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# Philip English and the Witchcraft Hysteria

Bryan F. Le Beau

The story of the Salem witch trials has been told many times. Yet historians are continually summoned to further explorations, especially of the personal side of the trials. No more fascinating personal story is to be found than that of Philip English. As one historian has written in reference to Philip English, "In the history of early New England few are to be found of more romantic interest."<sup>1</sup> Philip English was born Philippe L'Anglois on the Isle of Jersey in 1651 to a family of some prominence and of at least moderate wealth.<sup>2</sup> The circumstances, and even the date of Philip English's arrival in Salem remain unclear, but by 1674 he had become a successful, independent shipmaster trading not only with ports elsewhere in the British colonies of North America but also in Europe and the Caribbean. After 1680 he hired his own shipmasters and within the next decade English became one of the most successful entrepreneurs of his generation. He has been referred to as "the foundation stone of mercantile business in the colonies."<sup>3</sup>

In contrast to Philip English's immigrant status, Mary Hollingsworth, whom Philip married on September 25, 1675, could trace her ancestry nearly to the founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and to the accumulation of a shipping legacy which has been valued at approximately £10,000 in 1670. The Hollingsworth fortunes failed dramatically after 1674, but the reversal had little effect on Mary, who within one year married Philip English, adding a Hollingsworth wharf, warehouse, and tavern to English's rapidly-expanding commercial empire. Often referred to as "the ornament of her family," Mary developed somewhat of a reputation for exhibiting an "aristocratic" bearing towards those she considered "beneath" her.<sup>4</sup> By 1692 Philip and Mary English lived in "superior style." Philip English was believed to be the "richest man on the coast." He owned fourteen buildings, twenty-one sailing vessels, a wharf, and a warehouse. He lived in what was commonly called English's "great house," which he had built in 1683 on a frame brought from England. It was the largest and most opulent house in Salem, and it served as a combination counting-house, shop, and mansion. The house was staffed by fifteen to twenty servants.<sup>5</sup>

The degree of Philip English's public involvement rose with his commercial success. Beginning in 1682, he served a series of terms on various town committees and as town constable, while sitting regularly on county and provincial

juries. On March 8, 1692, he was elected Salem town selectman.<sup>6</sup> On April 21, however, a warrant was issued for the arrest of Mary English “for high suspicion of sundry acts of witchcraft done or committed . . . upon the bodies of Ann Putnam . . . Mercy Lewis . . . and Mary Walcott.” The issuance of such warrants had begun nearly two months before, and arrests were being made both in increasing numbers and of increasingly important personages. Mary English was examined on April 22 by town magistrates John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin, later indicted (the records for which no longer exist), and ordered held for trial.<sup>7</sup>

Susannah Hathorne, the granddaughter of Philip and Mary English, later recorded the family version of the events surrounding Mary English’s arrest. She recalled that the town sheriff and his deputies arrived with their warrant at about eleven o’clock in the evening, Mary and Philip having already retired to their bedchamber. When the arresting officers entered the room and ordered Mary to accompany them to the local jail, she refused, insisting that they return in the morning. The sheriff reluctantly agreed, but left his men to guard the house. When he returned early the next morning, Mary once again refused to enter into his custody until she had joined her family at breakfast, bid farewell to her servants, and instructed Philip as to the education of her children. When that was done, she announced that she was ready to die and she left with her jailers.<sup>8</sup>

Due to the privileges of social rank, and overcrowded conditions, Mary English was confined to a room at the Cat and Wheel Tavern rather than in the town jail. From that room, which was situated directly above the magistrates’ examination hall, she was able to listen to cases preceding her own and to prepare her defense. Her defense, it is said, included a questioning of the magistrates’ authority to conduct such hearings, an approach which practically guaranteed her condemnation.<sup>9</sup>

It should be noted that on the date Mary English was arrested, Magistrates Hathorne and Corwin received a letter which anticipated changes in the nature of succeeding indictments. That letter, signed by Thomas Putnam, began by thanking the magistrates for “the great care and pains” taken to date in the “cause or interest” of God, but it went on to warn them of things to come. Someone of “high and dreadful” status, otherwise referred to as a “wheel within a wheel,” was about to be revealed to them.<sup>10</sup> From the very beginning, the Salem witch hunters had been searching for the “black man” who led the witches in their Sabbath and organized the devil’s legions under his control.<sup>11</sup> By the tone of the letter, it would appear he was nearly within their grasp. The man to be so accused was yet to be “cried out upon,” but the mood had already shifted to the pursuit of more significant figures.

Nine days later a warrant was issued for the arrest of Philip English, the most prominent figure to be so accused thus far. He was charged with the same “suspicious” acts lodged against Mary English on the same girls—Walcott, Lewis, and Putnam—as well as on Abigail Williams, Elizabeth Hubbard, and Susannah Sheldon. In a document attached to the April thirtieth warrant, Susannah Sheldon testified that at “meeting” in the town church on Sunday, April twenty-fourth [three days after the arrest of Mary English], “being afflicted

in a very sad manner," she saw Philip English, spectrally, step over his pew and pinch her and a woman visitor from Boston. Later, when she was returning home, "a black man with a high crowned hat on his head" approached her, book in hand. Philip English accompanied the "black man" and told Susannah that his companion was her God, and that if she touched the book he offered her, English would not pinch her any more, nor would anyone else. The next day, English appeared to her again, this time threatening to kill her if she did not sign The "black man's book." A second warrant was issued on April thirtieth, that for the arrest of George Burroughs, believed to be the "black man."<sup>12</sup> The two men, English and Burroughs, were inextricably linked.

It is unlikely that the issuance of a warrant for his arrest surprised Philip English. Ignoring his wife's plea to flee the obviously pending indictment, English visited Mary in jail. He failed to attend her examination before the town magistrates, however, and when a warrant was sworn for his arrest, Philip English was not to be found. On May 6, 1692, a second warrant was issued for the arrest of Philip English, this time in Boston, to which it was believed he had fled to plead with provincial officials for Mary's release. On May thirtieth, having failed in his mission and possibly having given himself up, English was arrested. On May thirty-first, he was returned to Salem.<sup>13</sup> In his absence, the cases against him and Mary had grown more serious.

On May twelfth a complaint was made against Mary English for "afflicting" the same six girls, plus "others of Salem village and farms whereby great hurt hath been done."<sup>14</sup> On May twenty-third Susannah Sheldon furthered her attack on Philip English by testifying that English had appeared to her with a book and a knife, telling her that if she did not touch the book, he would cut her throat. A dead man, Joseph Rabson, then appeared, she continued, informing her that English had murdered him by drowning him in the sea, and that she should convey that information to Magistrate Hathorne. English warned Sheldon that if she did as Rabson told her, he would cut off her legs. Further, if he were to be arrested, he would "kill ten folks in Boston before the next six days" as well as the governor, whom he identified as his "greatest enemy."<sup>15</sup> On May thirty-first, Philip English was examined by Hathorne and Corwin, subsequently indicted, and ordered held for trial.<sup>16</sup>

On June first Mary English testified in support of statements given by Edward and Sarah Bishop and Mary Easty contending that Mary Warren had confessed to them that she had lied in court. Mary Warren, one of the "afflicted," had been jailed following her attempt to recant. She had told the court that the other girls "did but dissemble," but subsequently she withdrew her statement when cried out upon by those she accused. While in jail, English testified, Warren had said that "the magistrates might as well examine the keyser's [sic] daughter that had been distracted many years, [than] take notice of what she said as well as any of the afflicted persons."<sup>17</sup>

On June second the girls struck back, through Susannah Sheldon. In her complaint against Bridget Bishop and Giles Cory, as well as "a black man with a high crowned hat" and a book in his hands, Sheldon testified that Mary English had appeared to her with "a yellow bird in her bosom," an occurrence common-

ly associated with witches. When she refused to touch Bishop's book, English joined the others in biting her. The next day, according to Sheldon, Giles Cory and Mary English returned. When Cory failed to persuade her to touch his book, despite "a blow on the ear" and "an attempt at choking her," Philip English appeared. He told her that if she touched his book, he would not bite her, but he would if she refused. When she refused, he bit her and then went away. Mary English, Cory and his wife, and Bridget Bishop returned to Sheldon again that night and continued the harassment. At this point, Sheldon insisted that Cory and Bishop confessed to killing four women and that English reported that she had been a witch for twenty years, a point confirmed by the "black man."<sup>18</sup>

Testimony against Philip and Mary English continued for the next seven months. On August 2, 1692, William Beale testified before an Essex County grand jury that in March 1691, while lying sick in bed, Philip English had appeared to him. The next day, his son James, who had been recovering from smallpox, complained of a pain in his side before dying. The doctor "marvelled" at that development. At the same hour a matter of months before (January 23rd), Beale reported that another son had died of "a stopping in his throat." He too was recovering from smallpox.<sup>19</sup> The connection between English's appearance and Beale's misfortune was readily assumed. On August fourth, John Doritch, age sixteen, testified to the same grand jury that Philip English had appeared to and afflicted him as well.<sup>20</sup>

Four months later, on January 12, 1693, William Beale once again appeared before the Essex County grand jury to explain the circumstances of his first meeting with Philip English. He explained that "a few years before" (1690), English had asked Beale to show him the boundaries of his land in Marblehead. Beale responded that he "knew not of his land," but English insisted he did and offered in payment for the information "a piece of eight" and part of nearby land owned by Richard Reede of Marblehead. Beale refused and, implying that English's proposal was intended to defraud Reede of his land, said that he would so testify against English if called upon. English called Beale a liar and an argument ensued. That fall, Philip English had Richard Reede arrested in a dispute over the land in question. Beale, believing it was his duty to tell Reede of his earlier encounter with English, rode to see Reede's son. Beale reported that while passing through Lynn, his nose "gushed" a nosebleed which continued until he reached Marblehead.<sup>21</sup>

Also on January twelfth, Mercy Lewis testified that Philip and Mary English had visited her, along with three others of the accused. Mary had urged Mercy to "set her hand to a book," and, if she refused, Mary said she would "afflict" her "dreadfully" or even kill her. In the midst of her testimony, Lewis reported that both Englishes and "Old Pharoah," a slave, appeared to her in the room and "stroked her on the breast." They then choked her and said they would strangle her if they could.<sup>22</sup> The court could see only the manifestations of the attacks, not the attackers.

By the middle of April of 1692, Salem jail and other places of confinement were filled to capacity and the transfer of prisoners to other towns had begun. On May thirteenth, while her husband was still hiding from the law, Mary

English was sent to Boston. With her went George Jacobs, Giles Cory, William Hobbs, Edward and Sarah Bishop, Bridget Bishop, Sarah Wilds, Mary Black, Alice Parker, and Ann Pudeator. Half of the group would subsequently perish in the Salem gallows. Upon his arrest three weeks later, Philip joined Mary in John Arnold's jail, where the two remained for nine weeks.<sup>23</sup>

Possibly due to the intervention of influential friends while in jail, Philip and Mary English were given "privileges suitable to their station."<sup>24</sup> For example, they were allowed to leave during the day as long as they returned each evening. During one such absence, on the eve of their return to Salem for trial in early August, Philip and Mary visited Boston's First Church where they attended a service led by the Reverend Joshua Moody, an outspoken critic of the Salem witch trials. The text of Moody's sermon was taken from Matthew 10:23—"If they persecute you in one city, flee to another." Following the service Moody and his associate, Samuel Willard, visited Philip and Mary English in prison to impress upon them the applicability of Moody's sermon to their own case. According to Susannah Hathorne, Philip resisted their entreaties, saying: "God will not permit them to touch me." Recalling those already condemned, Mary responded: "Do you not think the sufferers innocent? Why may not we suffer also?" Mary was already stricken with consumption from her ordeal. When Moody and Willard insisted that at least she escape, Philip agreed to flee as well.<sup>25</sup>

Existing accounts of the escape of Philip and Mary English from their Boston jail point to the collusion of various men of position, including not only Moody and Willard, but Governor Phips of Massachusetts and Governor Fletcher of New York. The latter had already established himself as a protector of those displaced in 1692 by his welcoming of the escaped Elizabeth Cary. Most sources note that in the dark of night Philip and Mary escaped in a carriage supplied by sympathetic merchants, with letters of introduction to Fletcher from Phips and Moody.<sup>26</sup>

Little is known of Philip and Mary English in New York. One widely told story, not verified by the public record, notes that in the winter of 1692/93 Philip sent a ship with one hundred barrels of flour (some say corn) to Salem to feed the destitute, a particularly large group at that time due to disruptions in planting and harvesting caused by the witch trials.<sup>27</sup> It is known that no attempt was made to extradict the Englishes, and the point was not missed by proponents or opponents of the trials. One particularly damaging comment was made in a letter made public by Thomas Brattle, a Boston merchant known as a critic of the trials. Dated October 8, 1692, Brattle asked why, "if our justices do think that Mrs. C[ary], Mr. E[nglish] and his wife, Mr. A[lden] and others were capital offenders, and justly imprisoned on a capital account," and if their crimes were "really judged to be so heinous," no attempt had been made for their surrender, as was common practice. Brattle added that it was well-known where each was being "entertained."<sup>28</sup>

In May of 1693 Governor Phips ended the Salem witch trials. He freed those still in jail awaiting execution, as well as those indicted and awaiting trial. Philip and Mary English were thus free to return to Salem. According to Susannah

Hathorne and others, they returned to welcoming bonfires and a day of thanksgiving proclaimed by the newly repentant, former witch hunter, Reverend Nicholas Noyes. It is said that the Englishes responded in kind by opening their coffers to the multitude and proclaiming: "We have enough for all the poor that have come. Let none go away empty."<sup>29</sup> If such was the initial atmosphere at Philip English's return to Salem, his attitude was soon to change. He discovered that the town sheriff had seized his possessions, for which he would not receive adequate compensation. A year later Mary died in childbirth complicated by the consumption she had contracted during her ordeal.<sup>30</sup>

Within a decade, acts of confession and repentance began. In 1696 Governor William Stoughton, once the zealous judge of the Court of Oyer and Terminer, proclaimed a day of fasting for "wrongs" committed in the trials.<sup>31</sup> On that day, jurors responsible for the indictments handed down in 1692 made the following statement: "We were not capable to understand nor able to withstand the many serious delusions of the power of darkness and prince of the air, whereby we fear we have been instrumental with others, though ignorantly and unwittingly, to bring upon ourselves the guilt of innocent blood."<sup>32</sup> In 1706 Ann Putnam, one of the "afflicted," confessed that she had been "deceived" by "a great delusion of Satan." She admitted her errors and asked forgiveness.<sup>33</sup> But the Reverend John Hale, one of the most highly regarded authorities on witchcraft in seventeenth century Massachusetts, may have best summarized the mood of the province when he wrote, "We walked in clouds and could not see our way."<sup>34</sup>

Philip English was not to be appeased by words alone. In 1694, upon the death of Mary, he began a series of lawsuits in search of compensation for his losses. In that year, he sued Salem Sheriff George Corwin for the confiscation of property from his wharf, warehouses, and house, despite the posting of a security bond of £4,000 when he had fled to New York. The Massachusetts Superior Court rejected English's claim, concluding that Corwin had acted on the orders of Deputy Governor Stoughton and that he was within the law which allowed for the confiscation of personal property belonging to those who fled the colony to avoid prosecution.<sup>35</sup>

Although Governor Phips had pardoned those convicted of witchcraft in 1692, not all of whom had been executed, their attainders had not been reversed. Therefore, they continued to have no legal existence or rights, including the right of inheritance. In consideration of the terms in her husband's will, Elizabeth Proctor petitioned the Massachusetts General Court in 1696 for a reversal of attainder. Her request was postponed until 1703, when it was joined with those of Abigail Faulkner and Sarah Wardwell, all of whom had their attainders reversed.<sup>36</sup> Others soon followed their example.

On May 25, 1709, seventeen of those convicted or indicted in 1692, or their survivors on their behalf, petitioned the governor and General Court for the "restoration of their reputations" and for compensation for their financial losses. Philip English was among them. He had never been attainted, never having been convicted, although his flight from justice would have been sufficient cause under seventeenth century British law to do so. As a consequence, he was less interested in that aspect of the petition that complained of the group's "im-

paired and blasted" reputations, than in that which mentioned their "damnified" estates.<sup>37</sup>

The petition of 1709 received the support of several important persons, including Cotton Mather. In a sermon delivered on November 2, 1709, he urged public support for the plea in order to relieve the petitioners of the "disabilities" to which they were liable and to show public disapproval of "past errors."<sup>38</sup> In May of 1710, the General Court appointed a committee of four to meet in Salem to investigate the claims of the petitioners of 1709 and others who had joined them in the interim. On September thirteenth, English submitted a letter to the committee in which he referred to Mary and himself as the victims of "severe prosecution" and to himself as "a great sufferer." He noted costs of £50 while imprisoned in Boston and "many other hundreds of pounds" when they were forced to flee for their lives, at which time their estates were "seized and squandered away."<sup>39</sup> With his note, English included a detailed list of those items confiscated by Sheriff Corwin, along with their value. The value of the confiscated items totalled £1,183-2s, including goods worth approximately £736 from four warehouses, £184 from his wharf, and £262 from his house. Once again he referred to his expenses in Boston and New York, as well as "a considerable quantity of household goods and other things" of which he could not give a particular account.<sup>40</sup>

On September 15, 1710, the special committee of the General Court issued its first report. With only slight modifications, the committee recommended payment of amounts equal to those requested, a total of £578-12s as well as reversals of attainder for those attainted. Philip English's petition was not mentioned. A second report was issued by the committee on September 28, 1711, adding individual payments and raising the total amount to £796-18s. Attached was a note stating that English's "demands" had been left to the Court's "consideration and determination."<sup>41</sup>

On October 17, 1711, the General Court ordered reversals of attainders for those petitioners so attainted, "as if no convictions . . . or attainders had ever been given." They explained that "the influence and energy of the evil spirit [was] so great at that time acting in and upon those who were the principal accusers and witnesses" that "persons of known and good reputation" were prosecuted. Furthermore, "some of the principal accusers and witnesses in those dark and severe prosecutions" had since "discovered themselves to be persons of profligate and vicious conversation."<sup>42</sup>

On December 17, 1711, Governor Joseph Dudley and the General Court appropriated £578-12s for payment to the petitioners. The money was to be distributed by a committee headed by Stephen Sewall. Payments ranged from £7-6s to petitioners for Martha Carrier to £150 for John and Elizabeth Proctor. The average was about £28. Philip English, who claimed nearly £1,200, received nothing.<sup>43</sup>

In November of 1717, the General Court appointed a special committee to consider the claim of Philip English. The committee met and received evidence until November of 1718, when it issued a report recommending payment of



£200 “in full satisfaction” of English’s petition. The report was “read and accepted,” but English refused the offer as insufficient. Following English’s death, payment of £200 was made to his estate.<sup>44</sup>

It is reasonable to assume that the lessening of Philip English’s enthusiasm for Salem’s Puritan church began soon after his return from exile, but conflict did not appear until 1714. In that year St. Michael’s (Anglican) Church was built in nearby Marblehead, and provided with a house of worship of his native faith, Philip English made the weekly trip with his family. The ferryman was reluctant to transport the Englishes, however, and eventually quit when the town passed legislation making it illegal to travel beyond five miles to a Church of England, a status maintained by Salem’s churches. Salem’s East Church, to which English belonged, was within five miles, but St. Michael’s was not.<sup>45</sup>

Matters grew worse in August of 1722 when Philip English was indicted by an Essex County grand jury for declaring in public that the Reverend Nicholas Noyes of Salem’s First Church had “murdered” John Proctor and Rebecca Nurse by his actions during the hysteria of 1692, and that he would no longer go to Noyes’ church or any other “infested” by Puritans. English pleaded not guilty, but was found guilty by the Court of General Sessions of the Peace and fined twenty shillings plus court costs. Further, he was ordered to post a £20 bond as security for his good behavior until the court met again in December.<sup>46</sup>

Although English’s conviction would be overturned on appeal to the Superior Court of Judicature, in August he was again brought before the Court of General Sessions for “behaving himself very unbecoming in words and speeches reflecting on the members of the court with abusive language.” In this instance English apologized to the court, begged their forgiveness, and promised to behave. The court admonished him and dismissed the case. On January 29, 1724, Philip English was in the same court for behaving “contemptuously and abusively to the majesties’ justices in court assembled with vile language.” The court found him guilty once again and continued his £20 security bond until June of 1724.<sup>47</sup> From this point on, Philip English registered his continuing protest by refusing to pay his church taxes. As a result, he was jailed briefly in 1725. Curiously, thereafter, despite his continued refusal to pay, there is no record of his being summoned to court again.<sup>48</sup> In 1732 English joined a group of fellow Anglicans in financing the construction of a church in Salem. In 1733 he and his family donated the land upon which St. Peter’s Church was built in 1734.<sup>49</sup>

Philip English’s deteriorating relationship with the town and church of Salem after 1693 was reflected in his public career as well. From 1694 to 1699 he reentered town service through a series of offices such as surveyor of highways and member of the watch committee, as well as juror for county and provincial courts. In 1700 he was once again elected selectman and, in the same year, elected representative to the Massachusetts General Court, where he served one term.<sup>50</sup> English was re-elected town selectman in 1701, but in 1702 he ran into difficulties. On March 28 the selectmen charged English and others with having “irregularly and disorderly presumed to warn or give notice publicly for a meeting of the proprietors of the common lands in Salem without the selectmen’s order or any other lawful authority,” thus creating a “great disturbance and

much broken the peace.” To the selectmen, English and others had “illegally and contemptuously” signed a “libellous” notice.<sup>51</sup>

Little is known of this case except that it developed out of a disagreement concerning Salem common lands, pitting the selectmen against that group of shareholders of which English was a member. The latter group appears to have attempted to take their case to all the shareholders, who had assembled without permission of the selectmen. English was found guilty by the Court of General Sessions, fined £6, and ordered to post a £20 bond as security for good behavior until the next session of the court in Salem. The decision was reversed on appeal to the Superior Court, but he remained out of public office for the next six years.<sup>52</sup>

In 1708 Philip English returned to public service and in the next five years served as juryman for the provincial Superior Court and the county, Salem town surveyor of highways, and town committeeman on land claims. In 1714 English was fined for “being at public house with other men on Saturday night after sunset,” but he still managed to be elected selectman in 1715 and 1716. After 1716, as his difficulties with Salem town and church grew more serious, English held office only twice, in 1723 and 1725, as constable. After 1725, the year he was jailed, he held no public offices whatsoever.<sup>53</sup>

Philip English re-entered the world of commerce upon his return to Salem in 1693, and he succeeded to a remarkable extent considering his ordeal and the difficulties facing all merchants from 1689 to 1713, which were years of war between England and France.<sup>54</sup> His fortunes began to fail only in the final years of his life, especially after 1725. By 1714 Philip English was able to re-establish trade with the ports he dealt with prior to 1692. Despite his success, however, English may no longer have been the most prominent merchant in Salem. Lotte and Bernard Bailyn’s study of official records of trading vessels kept for the period from 1697 to 1714 gives that position to English’s former associate and rival Benjamin Marston. Marston owned seventeen vessels, followed by John Browne with fourteen and Samuel Browne with twelve. John Turner and Robert Kitchen were listed as owning fewer than ten vessels, yet more than any other merchant in Salem.<sup>55</sup> All of these men had escaped the difficulties of 1692.

Philip English was not listed in the Bailyn study, indicating that he owned fewer than ten trading vessels. The various sources used in this study indicate that English owned ten vessels in the same period, but it is likely that as many as five were used for fishing and therefore were not included in the official records used by the Bailyns. Another vessel was lost in 1704, having been run aground at Barbados by French privateers. References to vessels owned by English from 1692 to 1697 and after 1714 show one more vessel for each period, one of which may also have been used for fishing. Records for two vessels belonging to English have been found without dates.<sup>56</sup>

Philip English’s success in commerce was matched by his accomplishments in land ownership. By 1700, possessing seven large lots, he was clearly one of the town’s largest property owners. Four of those lots were on or near English Lane with access to Salem Harbor. Three of those four lots had a total of six houses

on them, while one, formerly belonging to the Hollingsworths, included a storehouse, wharf, and tavern. One piece of property was on Essex Street, not far from the harbor, while the two remaining parcels were on the Point of Rocks and Daniels Street. The former was the largest lot on the point, while the latter included a house.<sup>57</sup>

The record of Philip English's taxes tells a similar story. In 1691, prior to his ordeal, English was among the top one percent of Salem's taxpayers. In 1694, when he returned to the tax lists he was still among the top four percent, and by 1700 he was once again included in the top one percent. In 1725, in the midst of his personal turmoil, English remained in the top six percent but his fortunes began to fade. In the decade that followed he gradually retired from the world of commerce and his bitterness began to take its toll.<sup>58</sup> On July 3, 1732, the Salem town selectmen ruled that Philip English's estate was "daily wasting," and that he was no longer capable of managing his affairs. They acted to appoint as guardians Thomas Manning of Ipswich, "being a particular friend and acquaintance of Philip English and knowing of his state and affairs," and his son, Philip Jr. They were dissuaded from doing so, however, by English's friends.<sup>59</sup> In 1734 the selectmen acted again, this time declaring Philip English "clouded of mind" and appointing the guardians.<sup>60</sup> In February of 1732, Philip English's land was valued at £1,780. At his death in 1736 the value of his entire estate was set at over £2,442, including the English mansion, and five other houses on ten parcels of land, one small island in Salem Harbor, and twenty-three Salem common rights. Within six years, however, the value of his estate was lessened by attachments totalling over £1,500.<sup>61</sup>

When Philip English died, he was generally considered deranged, but the story is told that on his deathbed Philip English did his Christian duty, as had his beloved Mary before him, in forgiving those who had "trespassed" against him. In the case of Judge John Hathorne, however, English added: "If I get well, I'll be damned if I forgive him." Little did he know that two of his granddaughters would marry two of the grandsons of John Hathorne, and that a not too distant descendant of one of those unions would be Nathaniel Hawthorne, the writer whose finest works grew out of his continued struggle with the troubled legacy of his forefathers.<sup>62</sup>

Much has been written on the causes of the Salem witchcraft hysteria of 1692. Some have found its origin among the troubled adolescents of a repressive society.<sup>63</sup> Others have seen the victims as scapegoats for a covenanted people's declining religiosity, made painfully evident in a series of disturbing events interpreted by a threatened clergy.<sup>64</sup> One group of historians has viewed the outburst as in keeping with "the triumphant age of superstition."<sup>65</sup> One scholar has even concluded that witchcraft did in fact exist in Salem, and that it was practiced, if through "psychogenic" rather than "occult" means.<sup>66</sup>

It is generally believed that Philip English's ordeal was the result of his conflict with the established church. There is little evidence, however, that this occurred before 1692. Prior to that date, although an Anglican, English joined Salem's First Church, attended services on a regular basis, had his children baptized there, and joined other leading citizens of Salem urging construction of a

larger structure. Mary, moreover, had made a religious commitment to the church quite early in her life and there is no reason to believe that commitment ever ceased. By the time she married Philip English, she was attending services on a regular basis, and in 1681 she was "admitted to full communion" as "a child of the covenant."<sup>67</sup>

Some historians have discovered the cause of Philip and Mary English's ordeal in their "haughty" lifestyle, a charge more often lodged against Mary than Philip. As one source put it, the Englishes were "almost gentry . . . [or] at least they gave themselves such airs," while another insisted that in her life with Philip, Mary "forgot her humble friends of former days." Philip was seen as "high spirited, not ungenerous, impulsive . . . and at times choleric, . . . kind to the poor, yet not over conciliatory to his peers."<sup>68</sup> Mary's reputation needs closer attention.

As has been seen, the Hollingsworth family had its origins in the earliest years of Salem's existence and it rose to prominence by the eighth decade of the seventeenth century. But it was Eleanor Hollingsworth, Mary's mother, that established the family's reputation for "airs." Eleanor Hollingsworth, it is said, came from a prominent English family with social ties to the Stuart monarchy. This background and her position as the wife of William Hollingsworth were continually flaunted in the eyes of her fellow townspeople by her habit, often commented upon, of never leaving home in the evening without a servant walking before her and another behind.<sup>69</sup>

When the aforementioned circumstances of the late 1670s forced Eleanor Hollingsworth to accept the socially degrading position of tavern keeper, her critics had their revenge. One, obviously in reference to her methods of operation, took advantage of her situation by calling her "a black-mouthed witch and a thief."<sup>70</sup> The assailant was subsequently fined for his words, but part of the message was not lost. In 1692, Eleanor Hollingsworth was "cried out upon" as being a witch, a charge dismissed by the court with a reminder that Eleanor had been dead for two years.<sup>71</sup> Mary, however, was still alive.

Another reason for the indictments of Philip and Mary English may lie in an explanation of the general hysteria as offered by Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum. They have presented the Salem witchcraft hysteria as the product of a factionalization of Salem which was symptomatic of a similar occurrence in New England at large. Such divisiveness, they explained, resulted from "the resistance of back country farmers to the presence of commercial capitalism and the social style that accompanied it." It was reflected in the breaking away of outlying areas from parent towns (Salem village from Salem town) and "the shifting locus of authority within individual communities."<sup>72</sup>

In large part, the problem of 1692 was a struggle over who would rule in Salem. Would it be the older, agrarian elite of the past or the rapidly rising merchant class with its international perspective? By 1692 the outcome seemed all too obvious. Merchants composed twenty-five percent of Salem's population, a figure equal to that for farmers, but the remaining artisan class was in close alliance with the merchants. Further, ten percent of the merchants of Salem con-

trolled sixty-two percent of the town's wealth, three times the amount of one generation earlier. Finally, where farmers had been elected to the office of selectman twice as frequently as merchants before 1665, after that year merchant selectmen outnumbered their rivals by six to one.<sup>73</sup>

It should be remembered that prior to 1692, Salem merchants did not seek to subvert the covenant system. Powerful merchants, Philip English among them, tried "to fulfill the expectations of Puritan society and to cover over the split between community and commercial ideals." They, as English, joined the church, served in public office, and generally espoused traditional Puritan values.<sup>74</sup> The change they represented, however, was readily apparent and was seen with great trepidation by those who opposed them.

The Salem town election of 1692 has been seen as the culmination of the struggle between Salem's agrarian and merchant factions and, therefore, of major significance for the witchcraft hysteria that occurred in the same year. It was that election in which the Putnam, or agrarian, faction staged one last desperate attempt at dislodging the Porter, or merchant, leadership. The Porter coalition won, but repercussions soon followed. Two newcomers to the office of selectman were elected in March of 1692 as part of the Porter group, namely Daniel Andrew and Philip English. Andrew was related to Porter through marriage. English was an outsider, a representative of what has been referred to as "the race of great merchants" that had come to Salem. He was "dazzling the eyes of his fellow townspeople with his enterprise" and may very well have been the symbolic figure of the day, especially to his opponents. Two months after their election to office, English and Andrew were arrested for acts of witchcraft and removed from office. In a special election their seats were filled by Putnamites.<sup>75</sup>

Philip English was not a Salem native; thus he was seen as an outsider. That he was from the Isle of Jersey, and, in fact, that he was a leader of that largely unassimilated and distrusted group, made matters worse. By 1692 there were over two dozen families with husbands of Jersey extraction in Salem. They came after Philip English and mostly as indentured servants. English made arrangements for many of them, as they were especially valuable at sea, as well as for several Jersey women whom Philip and Mary English employed in their own home. Jerseyans continued to speak French while in Salem and were more French than English in their customs. Though just as likely to be Reformed as Anglican, they were unenthusiastic in their acceptance of the Puritan way. They tended to live apart from native Salemites, often on land belonging to Philip English, and they were generally seen by native inhabitants as "rapacious swindlers" acting in "collusion" against the rest of the community.<sup>76</sup>

The suspected "collusion" between Philip English and the Jerseyans drew much of its sustenance from an incident which occurred in 1684. In that year, serving as constable, English was sued by the town selectmen for failing to collect taxes from a number of men in his ward, most of whom were Jerseyans. Being at sea for long periods of time, many of the Jerseyans considered themselves transients, and therefore not subject to town taxes. English made little effort to force them to pay. Unhappy with English's role in the matter, the town

attached a piece of his land equal in value to the taxes owed. In 1685, they sold it back to him for 18 pounds, 14 shillings, and 6 pence.<sup>77</sup>

Stories developed that portrayed English as being as “rapacious” as the rest of his countrymen. Such tales were encouraged by the fact that he was one of the very few non-Puritan immigrants to Salem prior to 1692 to rise above a marginal standard of living, and that he was one of only four immigrants to be elected selectman in that period. One popular explanation for his success pointed to him as the “coniving suitor.” In this version of his first years in Salem, English was seen as having married the daughter of William Hollingsworth in order to enhance his social and economic position.<sup>78</sup>

Certainly one of the most irritating characteristics of the Jerseyans, as far as native Puritans were concerned, was their litigiousness. Jerseyan litigiousness grew out of their own land’s legal system, largely mercantile in substance, which encouraged court actions as a means of protection against defaulting debtors. It was enhanced by Massachusetts law which allowed for seizures of property in cases where there was any chance of a debtor’s fleeing, divesting, or going bankrupt. Combined with ease of access to the Essex County Court, lawsuits became plentiful for both Jerseyans and Salemites, often against one another.<sup>79</sup>

The Essex County Court heard 3,942 cases between 1672 and 1686, or over two hundred cases per year on average. Looked at another way, in 1683, 556 men were listed as taxpayers in the town of Salem. Sixty-two were involved in court cases that year and over fifty percent appeared in legal actions between 1672 and 1692. Of a sample of 506 men who appeared in court in the same period, 357 were there an average of four times and 216 of that number were always plaintiffs. Philip English was in court seventeen times and usually as plaintiff.<sup>80</sup> As he explained, “It is every days way in every trading town, for merchants upon neglect of payment to arrest their debtors.”<sup>81</sup>

The Puritan attitude toward law is well-known. Often quoted are the words of John Calvin: “We know that man is of so perverse and crooked a nature that everyone would scratch out his neighbor’s eyes if there were no bridle to hold them in.”<sup>82</sup> Further, research has shown the importance of the increased litigation of the second half of the seventeenth century in Salem in maintaining stability in a period of rapid growth and change. But such was not the conclusion of Philip English’s critics, those who comprised the non-commercial opposition. To them, the increased litigation was what we now label socially pathological behavior or a reflection of social divisiveness and the collapse of a coherent social ideology.<sup>83</sup>

Animosity between Jerseyans and Salemites reached new heights in the years immediately preceding the witch trials. Part of the difficulties arose from the arrival of another French group, the Huguenots, whose irritation of the natives was transferred to all French-speaking residents. Following revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the first group of Huguenots arrived in Salem in 1686, with their different culture and language, but also largely impoverished. Officials of the Dominion of New England, already distrusted by native Puritans, readily accepted the immigrants, accorded them all the rights of British citizenship upon

their taking an oath of allegiance, and organized a large-scale financial aid program for their relief. Philip English took a leading role in the relief program, including the providing of a large house, known as the "French house" for temporary lodging of the Huguenots.<sup>84</sup>

The second source of increased antagonism between the Jerseyans and Salemites was the continued war between Great Britain and France which spilled over into the colonies of North America. In 1690 a slave, who was captured in an attempted escape from his master, "revealed" a plot said to involve a number of Jerseyans, five hundred Indians, three hundred French troops, the French fleet, and some slaves in the overthrow of the British in New England. James, the slave, told the residents of Salem that the plot was being fomented in their midst by Jerseyan Isaac Morrill. When others testified of Morrill's suspicious actions, he was arrested, but tensions continued to run high.<sup>85</sup> In October of 1692, in the midst of the witchcraft hysteria, the Massachusetts General Court proposed that armed parties be used to search all "French" communities within their borders for powder and arms, and that an oath of allegiance be required of all "French" in the colony. They further resolved that "among the many French gentlemen . . . that reside among us . . . there be sundry of them that are . . . enemies to their majesties and the weal of the province."<sup>86</sup>

Several Jerseyans became the victims of the hysteria of 1692, but it was done in an indirect manner. Jersey men were not attacked directly, but indirectly through their wives—the native Salem women who married them. Those women were what anthropologists now call "interstitial persons" of a dangerously ambiguous status. They were members of neither the predominant group nor the clearly defined subgroup. They were, therefore, of doubtful loyalties and actually distrusted more than their husbands. Examples of the women to be singled out were Mary De Rich, Mary De Riels, Mrs. Zachariah White (Le Blanc), and Mary English (L'Anglois).<sup>87</sup>

Why, then, was Philip English accused of witchcraft? One could make the case that he was the husband of the "haughty," "interstitial" Mary English, who was arrested before him. This would certainly fit the pattern for the period, but there was obviously more to it. Philip English may very well have been the prime target himself, and the arrest of his wife the safer first step in the prosecution.

Philip English was "haughty." He was irritably litigious, and his election to the position of town selectman in 1692 as a member of the merchant faction undoubtedly hastened his arrest. But the ultimate reason for his ordeal may lie in the fact that he was an outsider, a distrusted Jerseyan, who rose to economic, social, and political prominence riding the tide of change that a large and still powerful part of Salem's population resented and sought to stem. He represented all that his critics held as threatening to their existence as a covenanted community. Without even the minimal protection of native birth, his arrest was all but assured.

In the years following his death, Philip English came to represent something quite different. Like many of those of succeeding generations who survived similar outbursts of persecution, he became a symbol of resistance to injustice. Seldom is it told, however, what price he paid for such posthumous recognition.

## NOTES

The research for this study was made possible in part by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

1. Henry W. Belknap, "Philip English, Commerce Builder," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 41 (1931): 17.
2. George Chever, "A Sketch of Philip English: A Merchant in Salem from About 1670 to About 1733-34," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, 1 (1859): 157-58, continued in volume 3 (1861); Charles A. Bernau, "Ancestry of Philip English, Seventeenth Century Merchant of Salem," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, 75 (1939): 27, 30, 40.
3. Chever, I: 158-161; Ralph Bertram Harris, "Philip English," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, 66 (1930): 272-276; Fred A. Gannon, *Philip English: Sailor, Merchant, Witchcraft Victim and "the Cornerstone of American Commerce"* (Salem, 1941), p. 8; Belknap, pp. 18-21; Bernard Bailyn, *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1955), pp. 144-45; English Papers, box 1, folder 4, Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts; Ralph D. Paine, *The Ships and Sailors of Old Salem: The Record of a Brilliant Era of American Achievement* (New York, 1909), p. 25.
4. Ira J. Patch, "Abstracts from Wills, Inventories, etc. on File in the Office of Courts, Salem, Massachusetts," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, 1 (1859): 11; 2 (1860): 279; 3 (1861): 175; & 4 (1862): 283; James Duncan Phillips, *Salem in the Seventeenth Century* (Boston, 1933), pp. 96, 213; Sidney Perley, *The History of Salem, Massachusetts* (Salem, 1924), III: 80-81; William Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley* (Gloucester, 1962), II: 465.
5. Ralph D. Paine, *The Old Merchant Marine, A Chronicle of American Ships and Sailors* (New Haven, 1919), p. 6. Tax Records, Town of Salem, Essex Institute; Chever, I: 1611; English Papers, box 1, folder 7; Harris, pp. 176-77; Bentley, *Diary*, I: 248; II: 26.
6. Perley, II: 8, 401; Salem Town Records, box 1, folder 1, Essex Institute; Richard P. Gildrie, *Salem Massachusetts, 1626-1683: A Covenant Community* (Charlottesville, 1975), pp. 157-59; *Town Records of Salem, Massachusetts*, ed. Sidney Perley (Salem, 1868-1934), III: 265.
7. Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, eds., *The Salem Witchcraft Papers: Verbatim Transcripts of the Legal Documents of the Salem Witchcraft Outbreak of 1692* (New York, 1977), I: 805, 806; II: 429.
8. Bentley, *Diary*, II: 22-26.
9. Chever, I: 163.
10. Charles W. Upham, *Salem Witchcraft, With an Account of Salem Village and a History of Opinions on Witchcraft and Kindred Subjects* (New York, 1867), II: 1391.



11. See for example the testimony of Tituba on March 1, 1692 in Boyer and Nissenbaum, *Salem Witchcraft Papers*, III: 747-49.
12. William Elliot Woodward, ed., *Records of Salem Witchcraft, Copied from the Original Documents* (1864; rpt. New York, 1972), I: 189, 191-92; Boyer and Nissenbaum, *Salem Witchcraft Papers*, I: 150.
13. Most of the men accused of witchcraft during the Salem outbreak were the husbands of accused witches. John Demos, "Underlying Themes in the Witchcraft of Seventeenth Century New England," *American Historical Review*, 75 (1970): 1315; Chever, I: 163; Woodward, I: 190-91.
14. Boyer and Nissenbaum, *Salem Witchcraft Papers*, II: 474.
15. *Ibid.*, II: 693. No records exist tying the death of Joseph Rabson to Philip English.
16. *Ibid.*, I: 315-16.
17. Woodward, I: 134-35.
18. *Ibid.*, I: 168-69.
19. "Testimony of William Beale of Marblehead versus Philip English," Moore Collection, New York Public Library.
20. Lincoln R. Stone, "An Account of the Trial of George Jacobs for Witchcraft," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, II (1860): 50.
21. Boyer and Nissenbaum, *Salem Witchcraft Papers*, I: 317-19; "English Versus Reede (1690)," *Essex County Court Records: 1682-1692*, ed. Archie N. Frost (Salem, 1936), 49: 137-39.
22. Boyer and Nissenbaum, *Salem Witchcraft Papers*, I: 319.
23. *Ibid.*, III: 873; "To the Honored Committee . . ." (a petition by Philip English), Records: volume 135, nos. 127, 128, 129, Massachusetts Archives, Boston.
24. Little direct evidence exists as to the involvement of provincial authorities in the cases of Philip and Mary English. Their concern is reflected, however, in references to Philip English in various letters. See, for example, a letter by Thomas Newton, provincial attorney general, to Isaac Addington, secretary of the province, dated May 31, 1692, in Boyer and Nissenbaum, *Salem Witchcraft Papers*, III: 287.
25. Upham, II: 309; Harris, pp. 284-85; Samuel Willard would later author *Some Miscellany Observations . . .* by P. E. and J. A. in which he criticized the witch trials. There is no reason to believe that Philip English and John Alden took part in its composition as the initials were intended to imply. P. E. and J. A., *Some Miscellany Observations on Our Present Debates Respecting Witchcraft in a Dialogue Between S and B* (Philadelphia, 1692). (S and B were intended to represent Salem and Boston.) Bentley, *Diary*, II: 24.

26. Cary escaped from the Cambridge jail where she was awaiting trial on July 30, 1692. Upham, II: 242; Paine, *Ships and Sailors*, pp. 27-28; "William Bentley to T. Alden, Jr.," in William Bentley, "History of Salem," *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 1st ser. 10 (1809): 66. Also in New York was Joseph Dudley, former deputy governor of Massachusetts, and critic of the witch trials. If letters of introduction ever existed, they have not survived. Chever, I: 164.
27. Harris, p. 287; Chever I: 166; Bentley, *Diary*, II: 24.
28. Text in David Levin, *What Happened in Salem?* (2nd ed., New York, 1960), pp. 237-38. John Alden also escaped to New York.
29. Bentley, *Diary*, II: 25; Chever, I: 167; Harris, p. 287.
30. Starkey, p. 256. In 1698 English married Sarah Ingersoll, a widow, who had been critical of the witch trials and testified against Sarah Churchill, one of the "afflicted." Chever, III: 163, 199.
31. Chadwick Hansen, *Witchcraft at Salem* (New York, 1969), pp. 207-208.
32. Text in Starkey, p. 262.
33. Quoted in Starkey, pp. 258-59.
34. Quoted in Starkey, p. 263.
35. Bentley, *Diary*, II: 25; Joseph Barlow Felt, *The Annals of Salem, From Its First Settlement* (Salem, 1827) p. 308. In 1696 English was successful in obtaining a court order for the return of a horse and carriage which had been taken from his house in 1692 by private individuals. See "English versus Pinsent (1696)," and "English versus Robinson (1696)," in Records of the Superior Court of Judicature, volume 68. Massachusetts Superior Court Library, Boston. George Corwin remained the implacable enemy of the unforgiving Philip English. When Corwin died in 1697, English attached the estate for £60-3s for outstanding debts. Payment was received in plates, linen, and other goods. Hansen, p. 212; "Bentley to Alden," in Bentley, "History of Salem," p. 220.
36. Hansen, pp. 215-16.
37. Boyer and Nissenbaum, *Salem Witchcraft Papers*, III: 972-73.
38. Hansen, p. 217.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 218; Boyer and Nissenbaum, *Salem Witchcraft Papers*. III: 988-90.
40. "To the Honored Committee" (English petition).
41. Boyer and Nissenbaum, *Salem Witchcraft Papers*, III: 1010, 1012-13.
42. Woodward, II: 216-18.
43. Starkey, pp. 267-68; Woodward, II: 219-21; Winfield S. Nevins, *Witchcraft in Salem Village in 1692* (1916; rpt. New York, 1971), p. 256. Elizabeth

- Johnson was the only other petitioner to receive nothing, probably due to her "bad character." Nevins, p. 257.
44. Boyer and Nissenbaum, *Salem Witchcraft Papers*, III: 1043-45; Bentley, *Diary*, II: 26.
  45. Clinton T. Macy, *A Brief History of St. Peter's Church* (2nd ed., Salem, 1958), p. 5.
  46. "Noyes versus English (1722)," Records of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, ser. IV, vol. 4, p. 76, Essex Institute.
  47. "Noyes versus English (1722)," Records of the Superior Court, volume 80; "Superior Court versus English (1722)," Records of the Court of General Sessions, ser. IV, vol. 4, pp. 77-78. "Superior Court versus English (1724)," Records of the Court of General Sessions, ser. IV, vol. 4, p. 123.
  48. Chever, I: 162-175; East Church Rate Book, Essex Institute.
  49. Bernau, p. 5; Starkey, p. 256. The land English donated was valued at £120, less £25, considered the value of a pew he received in return. George Batchelor, "Salem," *History of Essex County, Massachusetts*, ed. Duane Hamilton Hurd (Philadelphia, 1888), I: 44; Felt, p. 403.
  50. Salem Town Records, box 1, folders 1, 3, 5; Phillips, p. 319; Perley, III: 252.
  51. "Selectmen versus English (1702)," Records of the Court of General Sessions, ser. IV, vol. 3, p. 101; Salem Town Records, box 1, folder 3.
  52. "Selectmen versus English (1702)," Records of the Court of General Sessions, ser. IV, vol. 3, p. 101; Salem Town Records, box 1, folder 3, "Selectmen versus English (1702)," Records of the Superior Court, volume 74.
  53. Salem Town Records, box 1, folders 1, 7; "Selectmen versus English (1714)," Records of the Court of General Sessions, ser. IV, vol. 3, p. 286.
  54. Chever, I: 167.
  55. *Ibid.*, I: 167-68, 171-73; Paine, *Ships and Sailors*, pp. 28-29; Bernard Bailyn and Lotte Bailyn, *Massachusetts Shipping, 1697-1714: A Statistical Study* (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 31-37.
  56. Felt, p. 339; English Papers, box 1, p. 29; Chever I: 167-68, 173-175; Paine, *Ships and Sailors*, pp. 28-29; Thomas Hutchinson, *The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay*, ed. Lawrence Shaw Mayo (1768; rpt. Cambridge, 1936), II: 320.
  57. Taken from the map in Phillips, n.p.
  58. Tax Records, Town of Salem, Essex Institute.
  59. English Papers, box 1, folder 7; Chever, I: 173-175.
  60. Harris, p. 287; Starkey, pp. 256-57.

61. English Papers, box 1, folder 7; Philip English will (1736), Probate Records, Probate Office, Salem.
62. Starkey, pp. 256-57; Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The American Notebooks*, ed. Claude M. Simpson (Columbus, 1972), pp. 74-75; English Papers, box 1, folder 7.
63. Starkey, p. 214; Demos, pp. 324-25.
64. Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft* (Cambridge, 1974), p. 212; Kai T. Erikson, *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance* (New York, 1966), p. 153; Clarence L. VerSteeg, *The Formative Years: 1607-1763* (New York, 1964), pp. 144-46.
65. Upham, I: 12; Erikson, pp. 153-54, 400; George L. Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England* (New York, 1956), p. 329.
66. Hansen, p. x.
67. Harris, p. 282; Chever, II: 162; Starkey, p. 146; Macy, p. 4; *Town Records of Salem*, III: 259; Perley, III: 153-54; *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts* (Salem, 1901-1975), VII: 402.
68. Upham, II: 143; Harris, pp. 281, 283; Starkey, 143, 146; Chever, I: 164, 176-77.
69. Bentley, *Diary*, II: 82.
70. Perley, III: 90.
71. Bentley, *Diary*, II: 23.
72. Boyer and Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed*, p. 180.
73. *Ibid.*, pp. 87, 180; Gildrie, p. ix; Donald Warner Koch, "Income Distribution and Political Structure in Seventeenth Century Salem, Massachusetts," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, 105 (1969): 50-51, 58.
74. Gildrie, pp. 120, 163.
75. Boyer and Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed*, pp. 103, 109, 131, 181, 190; Batchelor, p. 8.
76. David T. Konig, "A New Look at the Essex 'French': Ethnic Frictions and Community Tensions in Seventeenth Century Essex County, Massachusetts," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, III (1974): 169-174; David Thomas Konig, *Law and Society in Puritan Massachusetts: Essex County, 1629-1692* (Chapel Hill, 1979), p. 72; English Papers, box 1, folder 7 and box 17, folder A.
77. *Town Records of Salem*, III: 114, 118, 141, 151; Konig, *Law and Society*, p. 72; Konig, "Essex French," pp. 167-80; *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts*, IX: 309, 348-49, 424, 571.
78. Gildrie, pp. 168-69; Konig, *Law and Society*, p. 73.

79. Konig, "Essex French," p. 173; George Lee Haskins, *Law and Authority in Early Massachusetts: A Study in Tradition and Design* (Hamden, 1968), p. 216; Konig, *Law and Society*, pp. 78-79.
80. Konig, *Law and Society*, pp. xi, 154-56; Although most of the lawsuits initiated by Philip English were business-related, a few involved friends and even family. In 1674, for example, English brought suit against Richard Hollingsworth, Mary's brother. Mary testified in the case the year before she married English. "English versus Hollingsworth (1674)," *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts*, V: 348; VII: 249, 354; *Essex County Court Records*, XXXIX: 69-78. After 1692, with the securing of a mercantile economy, litigation rose to even new heights, yet it drew less criticism and incurred less opprobrium. Philip English once again was in the forefront of litigants. Between 1693 and his death, he was involved in approximately 35 cases. Konig, *Law and Society*, p. 188; the English case count was taken from sources such as *Records of the Court of General Sessions*, *Records of the Court of Common Pleas*, and *Records of the Superior Court*.
81. Konig, "Essex French," p. 173.
82. Konig, *Law and Society*, p. 4.
83. *Ibid.*, p. xii.
84. Konig, "Essex French," p. 177.
85. *Ibid.*, pp. 178-79.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 179-80.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 180; Konig, *Law and Society*, p. 183; Harris, p. 282.