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The Influence of Community Tensions on the Accusations of Philip and Mary Hollingsworth English during the Salem Witch Trials¹

Philip and Mary Hollingsworth English were each accused of witchcraft by multiple people during the Salem witch trials in 1692 and 1693, even though, as Phyllis Hunter observed, neither “fit the profile of a typical seventeenth-century witch.”² As Hunter summarized the matter, their high status, wealth, and Philip’s political power as selectman distinguished them from many if not most of the witches accused during the trials.³ Philip English’s high status might have helped ease the terms of his imprisonment, which allowed him and his wife to flee to New York and escape conviction, but did not stop him from being the target of witchcraft accusations, particularly from William Beale.⁴

The tangled legal histories of Philip English, the Hollingsworth family, and William Beale might illuminate why the people of Essex County accused such an anomalous couple. William Beale and his wife had clashed with the Hollingsworth family on multiple occasions in the past decades, rooting antagonism between them. Furthermore, Philip English and Mary English each stood out from the accepted norm in Puritan society in their own ways: Philip English’s Jersey identity and practices distinguished him from other wealthy merchants in Essex County, while Mary English’s status as a female inheritor stood against societal expectations.

¹ I would like to thank Cassidy Clark, Samantha Myers, Lauren Bergelson, Robert Chirco, John Hall and Rachel Mitnick for their invaluable suggestions for the improvement of this paper.

² Phyllis Whitman Hunter, *Purchasing Identity in the Atlantic World: Massachusetts Merchants, 1670-1780* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001), 61.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Mary Beth Norton, *In the Devil’s Snare: The Salem Witchcraft Crisis of 1692* (New York: Vintage Books, 2002), 238-239.

In 1692, William Beale gave two sets of testimony against Philip English. In the first, on August 2, Beale accused English of appearing in his bedroom in Marblehead, even though English had no reason to be in Marblehead, implying that English had used witchcraft to kill Beale's son.⁵ In the testimony on August 3, Beale described how English had tried to bribe Beale into being a witness for him to win a land title case concerning land belonging to Mr. Richard Reede. Beale suggested that when he refused, and in fact helped Mr. Reede find other witnesses, English used witchcraft to make Beale's nose bleed in "A most extraordinary manner."⁶ Mary Beth Norton argued that Beale's testimony further implied that "the witch Philip English had caused his sons' deaths in retaliation for William's opposition to his land claims."⁷ Although William Beale's nominal reason for thinking Philip English a witch was based on the land dispute, his antagonism towards English likely also drew from his several court confrontations with the family of English's wife, the Hollingsworths, as well as the particular positions of Philip and Mary English in Salem society.

Two Families: The Beales and the Hollingsworths

The Beale family came into conflict with members of the Hollingsworth family on multiple occasions before 1692, in cases that concerned the reputations of the defendants. The most dramatic confrontation between the families concerned the divorce of Martha Beale from her first husband, Thomas Rowlandson, many years earlier. In 1651, Martha was divorced from Thomas Rowlandson on grounds of impotence, one of the few legitimate reasons for divorcing in seventeenth century New England.⁸ The divorce clearly weighed on the minds of the Beales'

⁵ Bernard Rosenthal, et al, eds, *Records of the Salem Witch Hunt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 499.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 500; In quotations from the *Records of the Salem Witch Hunt* and the Essex County Court Records, I have kept the original spellings, except I have expanded abbreviated words and have changed 'u' to 'v' where applicable.

⁷ Norton, *In the Devil's Snare*, 145.

⁸ George Francis Dow, ed., Vol. I: 1636 – 1656 of *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts* (Salem, MA: Essex Institute, 1911), 221 (hereafter cited as Dow, ed., *RFQC*, volume: page); Mary

neighbors, who did not think the divorce was appropriate even if the courts had approved it, and who verbally and sometimes physically abused Martha for her actions.⁹

In June 1670, the Beales brought Mistress Eleanor Hollingsworth, mother to Mary Hollingsworth English, to court in Salem because Eleanor had come “to our dore the Last fall & charged us with Liveing in Adultery a Capital Crime worthy of death & that the church was a Cover for [Martha’s] Rogery.”¹⁰ The words Mistress Hollingsworth used against Martha Beale, and the relation of the church to this whole matter, was clarified in testimony given by Alexander Gellygin. Gellygin stated that in the fall of 1669, he had heard a conversation between Goody Beale and Mistress Hollingsworth outside Goody Beale’s house. Mistress Hollingsworth had told Goody Beale that she should have gone to Mistress Hollingsworth’s family for help in the church, to which Goody Beale responded that Mistress Hollingsworth’s husband was not even in the church, so she had no reason to go to him.¹¹ Mistress Hollingsworth seems to have taken offense at that statement, and she called Goody Beale a “base dissembling hypocrite” who had “come into the church by crying & whaleing” and would “Commit what Rogerry you will & the church is a cover to cover it all.”¹²

Mistress Hollingsworth’s insults reflected the fact that the antagonism between the families related to a concern over church membership: Martha Beale was part of the church, even though the divorce case stained her reputation, while the higher status and morally superior

Beth Norton, *Founding Mothers & Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), 89-91.

⁹ Norton, *Founding Mothers & Fathers*, 91-94.

¹⁰ Dow, ed., *RFQC*, 4:270; See Carol F. Karlsen, *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987), 107 for the relation of Eleanor Hollingsworth to Mary English; According to the *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, “rogery” was used to describe “conduct characteristic of a rogue; rascally behaviour; misconduct.”; *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. “roguery, n.,” accessed November 29, 2015, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oed.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/view/Entry/166900?rskey=BUMBGn&result=2&isAdvanced=true#eid25188585>.

¹¹ Dow, ed., *RFQC*, 4:270.

¹² *Ibid.*

William Hollingsworth had not yet gained membership.¹³ As part of her punishment, the court forced Mistress Hollingsworth to publicly acknowledge her crimes; she admitted calling Martha an “adulteress” and saying “hang you Jade” to her.¹⁴ At the end of her apology, Mistress Hollingsworth hoped that “all good people” would be able to “forgive me, & to take warning by me of such evill practices.”¹⁵

Each of the participants’ words revealed just how important reputations, and words concerning reputation, were to the people of seventeenth-century New England. Martha and William Beale’s statement revealed that they could not ignore charges of adultery, “a Capital Crime worthy of death,” which tainted their image in the eyes of their neighbors. Mistress Hollingsworth’s acknowledgement of her crimes ended with a recognition, presumably required by the court, that her slanderous words were “evil” and that people should take her as a counter-example to proper behavior. Such a punishment would have been highly humiliating for a woman of high status like Mistress Hollingsworth, especially when the court was forcing her to apologize to a decidedly lower status couple. The public humiliation of Mistress Hollingsworth would surely have deepened the hostility between the Hollingsworths and the Beales.

The Hollingsworth family was the highest status family to accuse Martha Beale of adultery, but the case also preoccupied many of the Beales’ other neighbors. In 1669, Henry Codner verbally abused William and Martha Beale, including calling William an “adultrous Roge” and specifically referencing Thomas Rowlandson.¹⁶ According to Martha’s son Samuel, Codner’s wife yelled out to William Beale, “Wheres the jade thy wife she is got into the Church

¹³ Norton, *Founding Mothers & Fathers*, 95.

¹⁴ Dow, ed., *RFQC*, 4:269; According to the *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, “jade” was used as a “term of reprobation applied to a woman.”; *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s. v. “jade, n.1,” accessed November 29, 2015, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oed.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/view/Entry/100606?rskey=t09o5P&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid>.

¹⁵ Dow, ed., *RFQC*, 4:269.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 4:161-162.

but I hope theile deliver her up To Satan shortly.”¹⁷ Again in 1670, William Beale brought Henry Codner to court, this time with Thomas Gatchell, because the two men had gone to Beale’s house with clubs and said “come out you cuckolly curr: we are come to beat thee: thou livest in adultery.”¹⁸

Both cases exemplified how much the Beales’ neighbors disapproved of Martha’s divorce and remarriage. The same antagonism appeared in other slander cases between the Beale and Hollingsworth families. In September 1670, William Beale sued William Hollingsworth for slandering his wife.¹⁹ The case revolved around testimony concerning events from about eight years before, when William Beale declared that most of Martha’s children were illegitimate.²⁰ According to Norton, William Beale successfully sued Mr. Hollingsworth for slander to stop spreading the story, which only confirmed the “community’s negative judgment of their morals” and implied that William believed his wife was an adulterer.²¹

Mr. Hollingsworth, and many of the Beales’ neighbors, were clearly preoccupied with the morality of the couple and their marriage, believing they had the right to comment on it. Norton argued that marriages, and therefore divorces as well, “drew such concentrated attention because of their crucial importance to the maintenance of social order.”²² Marriage was therefore intricately tied to how people in seventeenth century New England saw their society, and marriages that did not fit the proper expectations could not be ignored. Martha Beale’s divorce

¹⁷ Ibid., 4:162.

¹⁸ Ibid., 4:282.

¹⁹ Ibid., 4:280.

²⁰ Ibid., 4:280-282.

²¹ Norton, *Founding Mothers & Fathers*, 93.

²² Ibid., 95.

and remarriage, and the subsequent assault the Beales faced from people like Mistress Hollingsworth, were capable of creating long-lasting antagonism between the families.²³

Perhaps William Beale and his wife felt so oppressed by the accusations against them that they felt the need to start making accusations themselves. In any case, in September 1670 a reversal of roles showed Mr. Hollingsworth successfully suing William Beale for slander.²⁴ Various witnesses claimed that Martha Beale had essentially called William Hollingsworth a drunkard. Mary Hudson testified that Goody Beale had claimed Mr. Hollingsworth had tried to bribe the members of the church of Ipswich with wine so that his children would be baptized, and Samuel Gatchell and Bethieah Gatchell claimed that Goody Beale had specifically called Mr. Hollingsworth drunk and blamed his misplacing his coat on his drunkenness.²⁵ This case showed the Beales finally acting against the Hollingsworths, probably influenced by the previous confrontations between the families.

By 1692, then, William Beale and his wife had already had a number of legal confrontations with members of the Hollingsworth family. In 1670, William Beale had even become the accuser instead of just the accused in a case involving the Hollingsworths. The legal history between the families would suggest that Beale's accusation of witchcraft against Philip English drew not just from the single land dispute conflict but from the history of accusations between Beale and the family of Philip English's wife.

Simply looking at the specific legal interactions of the Beales and the Hollingsworths is not enough, however, to understand the Salem witch trial court case. As Philip English was the specific target of William Beale's accusation, he must be examined in greater detail. The

²³ See Norton, *Founding Mothers & Fathers*, 91-95 for a fuller discussion of the antagonisms between the Beales and their neighbors.

²⁴ Dow, ed., *RFQC*, 4:286.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 4:287.

experience and position of Philip English within Salem society reveals more about what tensions would be brought into his accusation.

One Jerseyman and a Hollingsworth Heir: Philip and Mary English

Philip English's place as an outsider, even as he became one of the wealthiest men in Salem, likely created hostility against him in the community and contributed to the accusations of witchcraft. David Konig suggested that around 1670, Philip English became one of the first of a number of individuals to move to Essex County from Jersey, an island technically under the control of England but closer geographically and culturally to France.²⁶ Konig observed that Jerseyans had not fully accepted the "New England way" of life by the end of the 17th century, with many, including English, still attending Anglican services.²⁷ Hunter more explicitly placed English, and Jerseyans by association, in the context of Puritan attempts to establish a united identity around "religion and English origins," which were constantly "challenged and unsettled" by immigrants from other parts of England or Europe, but who brought the necessary skills, for example as merchants or mariners, to keep Salem afloat.²⁸

The wealth English built up in Salem was not enough to integrate him thoroughly into the town. Hunter described how English "established himself in Salem by marrying Mary Hollingsworth and inheriting her father's coastal shipping business and family property at the eastern edge of Salem" while also keeping his own "fishing fleet" on Winter Island, removed from the town center.²⁹ All of his fishing operations, ship trading and importation of goods, as well as his advantageous knowledge of and connections to the "Anglo-European commercial network," quickly made him wealthy and by 1689, English had become one of the "top five

²⁶ 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* 110 (1974): 168-169.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 171.

²⁸ Hunter, *Purchasing Identity in the Atlantic World*, 33-34.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 49.

taxpayers in Salem.”³⁰ English’s success was limited, however, by his Jersey culture and practices. The people of Essex County saw the “Jersey French” as aggressive litigants, liars, and thieves, which only added to their already existing anti-French sentiment.³¹ Hunter specifically argued that even though English was for many years one of the wealthiest merchants in Salem, “both his French origins and his Anglican religion served to marginalize him in the merchant elite.”³²

Konig described Jerseyans, like Philip English, as having a “fondness for litigation” as well as an entirely different view of debts from the English settlers.³³ Jersey practice required that “a creditor had to assume the entire bankrupt estate – debts and all – or lose his credit assets in it,” so Jerseyans were diligent in suing for debt.³⁴ Hunter described how English “created a reservoir of resentment by acting quickly to sue debtors even if they had acknowledged his claim and made plans for repayment.”³⁵ The Essex County court records show that from 1674 to 1684, English sued for debt in at least six cases, including a couple of cases involving Richard Hollingsworth, the grandfather of his future wife, but not all of which were resolved in his favor.³⁶ In the case of a suit over payment for the passage of a maidservant travelling from Jersey, English essentially justified his frequent suits by stating “it is every dayes waye in every trading towne, for marchants upon neglect of payment, for to arrest their debtors.”³⁷

³⁰ Ibid., 42; Ibid., 53.

³¹ Ibid., 64-65.

³² Ibid., 45-46.

³³ Konig, “A New Look at the Essex ‘French’,” 173.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Hunter, *Purchasing Identity in the Atlantic World*, 64.

³⁶ See Dow, ed., *RFQC*, 5:348; Dow, ed., *RFQC*, 6:355; Dow, ed., *RFQC*, 7: 349; Dow, ed., *RFQC*, 9:193; Dow, ed., *RFQC*, 9:199.

³⁷ Dow, ed., *RFQC*, 7:111.

Despite his differences from his neighbors, English attained political office in the community. In 1683, English became a constable for an eastern part of Salem.³⁸ According to Hunter, part of his job was collecting taxes, but he refused to “collect taxes from mariners, who considered themselves transients and therefore exempt from town rates.”³⁹ In November 1684, therefore, the Salem selectmen sued Philip English on “behalf of the town of Salem... For not discharging the towns rates committed to him.”⁴⁰ Hunter argued that this conflict “derailed English’s integration into the Salem elite and his claims to the wider recognition and deference accorded every other leading merchant family.”⁴¹ However, Hunter’s narrative suggested that the conflict only “derailed” but did not completely destroy English’s attempts to become part of the merchant elite. In March 1692, the people of Salem Town elected English selectman, which meant he finally “joined the ranks of the merchant elite, holding economic and political power over and for their townsmen.”⁴² While he did technically, then, gain this power and become part of the merchant elite, his outsider status continued to hinder him. Within just a few months, the community would again turn against him again, and English would lose his local power with the start of the witch trials and the accusations against him.⁴³ Even though he had as much if not more money than the other merchant elite families in Salem, Philip English was separated by his Jersey identity and the practices he brought over with him.

In different ways, Konig and Hunter each saw English’s distinctiveness as making him more vulnerable to witch accusations in 1692. Konig argued that the “social hysteria” revolving around the English fear and distrust of the French would lead to witchcraft accusations against

³⁸ Hunter, *Purchasing Identity in the Atlantic World*, 55.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 56.

⁴⁰ Dow, ed., *RFQC*, 9: 348.

⁴¹ Hunter, *Purchasing Identity in the Atlantic World*, 56.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 57.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 59-60.

many French people in Essex County, including Philip English.⁴⁴ Hunter similarly saw fear as the motive in accusing English of witchcraft, but attributed the fear to English's role as a "direct threat to the powerful elite of Salem Town who served as justices in the witchcraft trials."⁴⁵ Philip English's "commercial success" and social mobility, as well as his propensity to "exceed local norms in aggressive court proceedings" made him a target for Puritans who felt their "definition of community" endangered.⁴⁶

Both of these arguments point to English's outsider status, and the hostility he created in the community, which positioned many in the community against him during the witch trials, including but not exclusively limited to the Beales.⁴⁷ As the first person to accuse Philip English of being a witch, Susannah Sheldon neatly reflects how the hostility created from his outsider status could contribute to his characterization as a witch during the trials. Norton discusses how Susannah Sheldon's family moved to Salem Village from Maine after the beginning of the Second Indian War and after the Black Point garrison where they previously lived was surrendered to the Wabanakis.⁴⁸ Susannah Sheldon's uncle and his brother were killed in attacks, and so her family was deeply affected by Indian attacks. Norton suggests that Philip English's

⁴⁴ Konig, "A New Look at the Essex 'French'," 180.

⁴⁵ Hunter, *Purchasing Identity in the Atlantic World*, 62.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 66; *Ibid.*, 69.

⁴⁷ Many other members of the Essex Community besides the Beales also accused Philip and Mary English of witchcraft. According to the *Records of the Salem Witch Hunt*, Thomas Putnam, John Buxton and Jonathan Walcott made complaints about Philip and Mary English as witches in 1692 (Rosenthal, et al, eds., *Records of the Salem Witch Hunt*, 200; *ibid.*, 221; *ibid.*, 223; *ibid.*, 238). On May 10, 1692, Abigail Williams gave testimony against seven suspected witches, including Philip and Mary English (Rosenthal, et al, eds., *Records of the Salem Witch Hunt*, 254). On May 17, 1692, Susannah Sheldon gave testimony against eleven suspected witches, including Philip and Mary English (Rosenthal, et al, eds., *Records of the Salem Witch Hunt*, 279). Susannah Sheldon also gave a separate statement concerning seven suspected witches, including Philip and Mary English (Rosenthal, et al, eds., *Records of the Salem Witch Hunt*, 279-281). On May 23, 1692, Susannah Sheldon gave another statement, concerning four suspected witches, including Philip English (Rosenthal, et al, eds., *Records of the Salem Witch Hunt*, 309). On January 12, 1693, Mercy Lewis gave a deposition against five suspected witches, including Philip and Mary English (Rosenthal, et al, eds., *Records of the Salem Witch Hunt*, 776).

⁴⁸ Norton, *In the Devil's Snare*, 143.

trade would have required that his ships “sailed frequently along the coast of Maine.”⁴⁹

According to Norton, English would have aroused the suspicions of the people of Essex County because he was a native French speaker involved in trade in which he communicated with the French, who were allied with the Wabanakis.⁵⁰ Susannah Sheldon and her family therefore likely connected Philip English with the Wabanakis who had killed her relatives, which would have added to the resentment against him due to his outsider status.

William Beale would already have harbored resentment against Philip English because of his marriage into the Hollingsworth family, and the tensions with the Beales that came with the marriage. Philip English’s unwelcome outsider status would only have made it easier for Beale to accuse English of witchcraft, as Beale would likely have had community support for his actions. Beale might also have seen the witch accusation as a way to improve his own reputation, after the many years of slander and abuse he and his wife faced. Beale knew what it was like to be the subject of heated words and contempt, and might have found the opportunity to be on the other side of the scorn appealing. In making an accusation against English, whom the community would likely have already despised, Beale would have been able to position himself alongside his neighbors instead of against them. The 1692 witch trials therefore provided a perfect opportunity for Beale to bring his animosity toward English, and his suspicions of English’s true character, to a public forum.

Beyond her connection with her husband, Mary English might have been a target as well because of her family, and particularly her mother, Mistress Eleanor Hollingsworth. In 1679, Mistress Hollingsworth was accused of being a witch by the wife of William Dicer.⁵¹ John Demos observed that in some cases of witchcraft in New England, there seemed to be “some

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Norton, *In the Devil’s Snare*, 144.

⁵¹ Dow, ed., *RFQC*, 7: 238.

direct extension of the suspect role from parent to child,” in which children of accused witches could be accused themselves years later.⁵² If people believed in the “genetic transmission of witchcraft,” then they might well have believed that Mary English was a witch just like her mother.⁵³ Carol Karlsen further argued that witchcraft in Salem was connected to “anxieties about inheritance” – namely, that in cases where women inherited large amounts of property from their families due to a lack of male heirs, “these women were aberrations in a society with an inheritance system designed to keep property in the hands of men.”⁵⁴ Mistress Eleanor Hollingsworth and her daughter Mary fit into this category.

In 1677, after Mistress Hollingsworth notified the Salem Court that her husband died at sea, the court gave her “power of attorney” over her husband’s estate so “that she should act in the improvement of it as if her husband were yet alive.”⁵⁵ Karlsen implied that the efficiency with which the “aggressive and outspoken Mistress Hollingsworth” sorted out her late husband’s debts and properties might have raised suspicions about her being a witch.⁵⁶ Karlsen then described how after Mary’s brother William died in 1685, Eleanor passed the entire estate to Mary English, who was likely her only living child.⁵⁷ Mary English’s arrest as a witch therefore makes sense in the context of Karlsen’s discussion of how inheriting women threatened the male monopoly on property.

Although the order for the arrest of Mary English for witchcraft in 1692 came a week before her husband was accused, all of the extant accusations against her paired her with her husband. On May 10, 1692, Abigail Williams described how the spectre of George Jacobs Sr.

⁵² John Demos, *Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the Culture of Early New England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 70.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Karlsen, *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman*, 101.

⁵⁵ Dow, ed., *RFQC*, 6:369.

⁵⁶ Karlsen, *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman*, 107.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 107.

appeared to her and had told her that he had made “Mr English & his wife... set” their “hand to the book.”⁵⁸ Even when Mary English was accused of individual acts of witchcraft, her husband was also accused in the testimony. In a deposition in 1693, Mercy Lewis described how Mary English “urged mee to set my hand to a Booke & told mee she would Afflict mee Dreadfully & kill mee if I did not” and then continued to describe how in that “present time before the Grand jury” Philip English, Mary English, and Thomas Farrar Sr. had just appeared to her and almost killed her.⁵⁹

The statements against Mary English constantly connected her with her husband, suggesting that they were seen as a unit, and whatever one did reflected on the other. Even though William Beale never directly accused Mary English of witchcraft in his testimony against Philip English, the community clearly connected Mary English with her husband and so Beale would have connected them as well. Beale’s testimony against Philip English would be informed not just by English’s own outsider status, but by the peculiar position of his wife in Salem society. Furthermore, the hostility Beale held for the Hollingsworth family, including Mary English, due to their past confrontations could extend through marriage to Philip English as well.

Conclusion

The expectations and norms of seventeenth century Essex County society shaped how William Beale, Martha Beale, Eleanor Hollingsworth, William Hollingsworth, Philip English, and Mary English interacted with each other. William Beale’s testimony against Philip English should not be considered an isolated incident of one man accusing another of witchcraft. William Beale would have connected Philip English with his wife Mary Hollingsworth English and her family, and this connection would necessarily have brought memories of the troubled

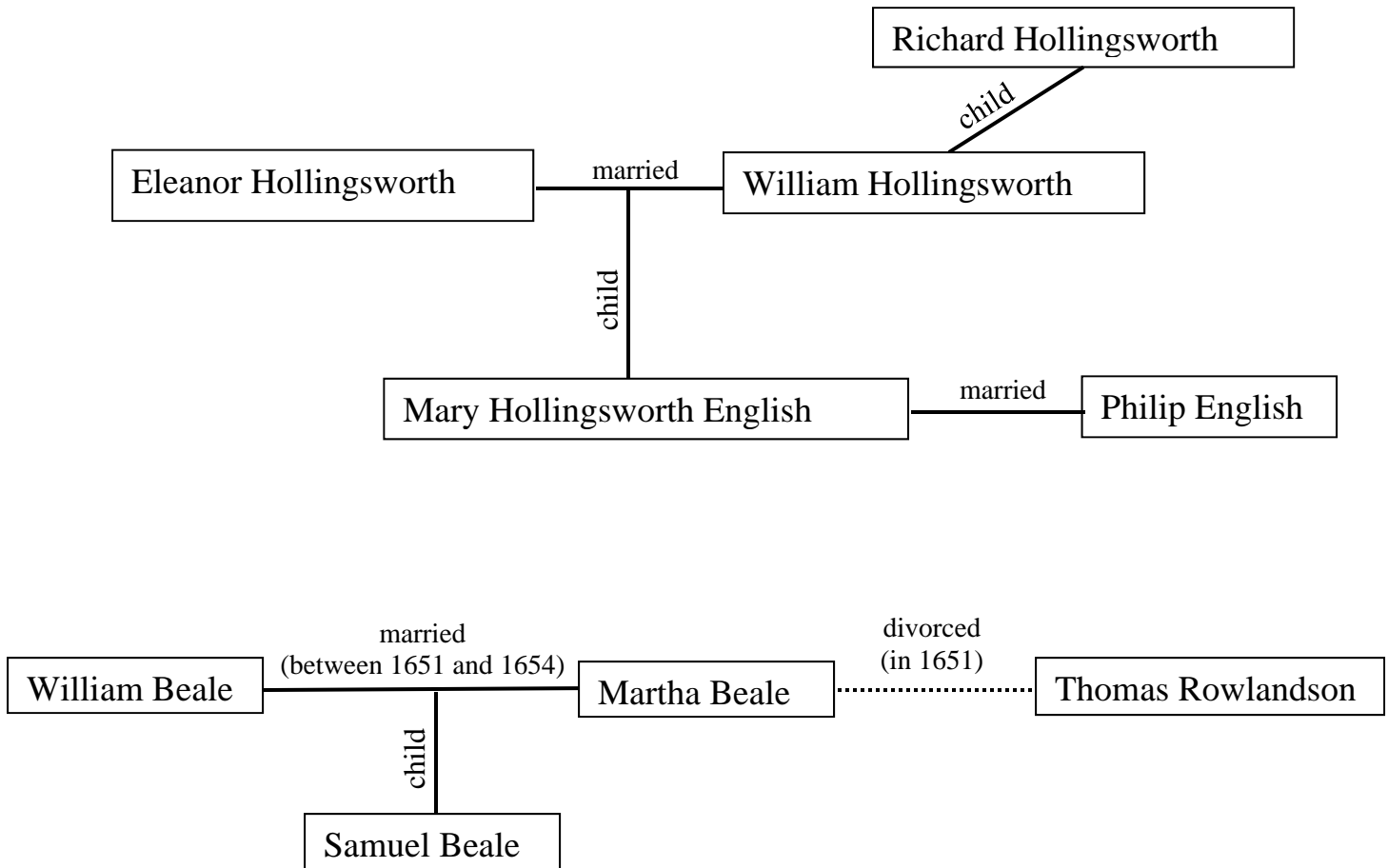
⁵⁸ Rosenthal, et al, eds., *Records of the Salem Witch Hunt*, 254.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 776.

relationship between the Beales and the Hollingsworths. Martha Beale's divorce from her first husband and remarriage to William Beale stirred up antagonism in the community that sometimes reached the courts. The Beales faced verbal and physical abuse for extended years after the fact of their marriage. Mistress Hollingsworth's participation in this abuse and her subsequent and public punishment for slandering the Beales would have humiliated the high status woman and strengthened the resentment between the families even more. The slander accusations between the families in later years showed how influential this resentment still was, and also showed that the Beales, in their slandering the Hollingsworths, were now willing to take the offensive against some of the neighbors that had tortured them in years past.

At the same time, Beale's accusations would have been influenced by the community's view of the English couple – Philip English as a 'French' outsider who did not follow the rules of Puritan society, and Mary English as descended from a witch and a female inheritor, against the normal practice of male owned property. William Beale's accusation that Philip English had caused his son's death would not have stemmed purely from the aforementioned land dispute. William Beale would have harbored antagonism towards English before the land dispute, and would have identified him as the likely witch torturing him because Philip English and his wife were so different from other Puritans in Salem, and because Beale knew Mary English's family to be particularly troublesome.

Families Chart



Notes on the chart:

The Hollingsworths, the Englishes, and the Beales all have other children who were excluded from the chart because they were not mentioned in the paper.

Evidence of the married status of Eleanor Hollingsworth and William Hollingsworth found at Dow, ed., *RFQC*, 4:269. Evidence of Richard Hollingsworth as William's father found at Dow, ed., *RFQC*, 1:361. Biographical information on Mary English found at Karlsen, *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman*, 106-107.

Martha Beale's divorce from Thomas Rowlandson found at Dow, ed., *RFQC*, 1:221, evidence of her marriage to William Beale found at Dow, ed., *RFQC*, 1:331, and evidence that Samuel Beale was their child at Dow, ed., *RFQC*, 4:162.

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