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Gender Based Violence and All It's Erasure

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"I AM THE WITCH YOU HAVE MADE ME BECOME."

I

WITCH TRIALS
AND ALL THEIR ERASURE

BY: Ana Sofia Martinez

Part one of three of a radical act against gender-based violence
THIS ZINE CONTAINS POSSIBLY TRIGGERING CONTENT.
THERE WILL BE MENTION OF

SEXUAL VIOLENCE
GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE
MURDER
RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE
ENSLAVEMENT
HUMAN TRAFFICKING

PLEASE TAKE CARE OF YOURSELF.

An overzealous and broke college student produced this Zine and its siblings.
If you plan to print this, please make a donation to the author!
(Suggested $5-20)

Remember, only Nazis and Colonizers steal art ;)
A brief synopsis at the implicit gender-based violence embodied in the Salem witch trials.

"I AM THE WITCH YOU HAVE MADE ME BECOME."
PART 1 OF 3

witchcraft

1. acknowledgments (1 - 3)

2. a flower of resistance (4 - 7)

3. Salem (8 - 13)

4. their witch (14 - 21)

5. the accused (22 - 32)

6. self and community care (33 - 34)

A lithographic print from 1892 that was meant to depict the fantastical narrative of the Salem witch trials (1)

WHAT TO EXPECT
Julia Nalecz
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"i wish i was funny."

Julia’s art is tagged with the following symbol:

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"i don’t have a bio right now."

Aleena’s art is tagged with the following symbol:

Dr. Kristin Bezio
primary thesis advisor and mentor

Dr. Mariela Méndez
committee member, advisor, and mentor

Dr. Lauren Henley
committee member and overall great person

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
to those who helped make this happen,

the road that led me to this project was not easy. it was filled with moments of self-doubt, stress, fatigue, and pain. this topic is not easy, these stories are not easy. but they are worthy of hearing and telling.

i have had the honor to grow through the obstacles, but i recognize that couldn’t have been done without the many people who have supported me, most of whom do not fit on this page but are in my thoughts as i type this. to everyone who helped make this happen, thank you. from the bottom of my heart.


Con todo mi corazón,
Sofi
A MOMENT TO PAUSE BEFORE WE BEGIN.

This investigation is centered around Salem, Massachusetts. This land was wrongfully, violently, and forcefully stolen by English colonizers from the Agawam, Naumkeag, and Pawtucket people. Find out whose Indigenous land you are on using the QR code to the left.

These zines were published through the Jepson School at the University of Richmond. This University is Built on the stolen land of the Cheroenhaka (Nottoway), Chickahominy, Eastern Chickahominy, Mattaponi, Monacan, Nansemond, Nottoway, Pamunkey, Patawomeck, Upper Mattaponi, and Rappahannock tribes.

The university of Richmond is built above an enslaved people’s burial ground. Its founders have a disturbing history of owning enslaved peoples and calculatedly attempting to erase their history. Learn more using the code above.

Before beginning meditation, guides will often begin their session with the mantra of Buddha: “I acknowledge I am doing this practice for the betterment of myself, and for those around me.” Feel free to pause before beginning and complete this five minute mindfulness practice using the code.
Dear Reader,

There is an almost antithetical nature to activist work. On one hand, understanding intimately what brings about the evils of our world creates a collective connection between all those who have the eyes to see the same violence you see. It makes you feel less blind and guilty when you need to close your eyes. If done with compassion, however, each source you consume will open your heart further to the sorrows of the world. There is great pain in this process. If you allow yourself to approach these topics as a human being, part of the collective, and not merely as your singular identity, you will begin to see yourself in the victims and survivors of this brutality. Your ego will begin to die, and you will realize that luck is the only thing standing between you and the wickedness you read on these pages. Luck that you were born into the spaces that you were born into, that you had people in your community to care for you, that you were not in the wrong place at that one time that reminds you most of the stories you read.

This dear reader, is the unspoken goal of effective activism; to present the pertinent injustices of the world in ways that evoke an evolution of ethos. It’s a mighty request, but I hope you keep it in mind while you flip through these pages.

I was first introduced to gender-based violence in high school by my cousin, Jimena Martinez, who shared with me that she’d be participating in a digital workshop for an international collective against gender-based violence.

She is a year older than I am, and I had always carelessly seen her life as the mystified version of what mine could have been if my parents had stayed in Mexico. Her experience with GBV awoke me to how glamorized my perception of life there had been. I had to learn more.

Scholars like those I thanked at the beginning of this zine helped me recognize how intensely woven instances of violence were. I could not solely look at Mexico to understand this phenomenon, there was a framework that was begging for recognition.

Throughout this project, you will be introduced, or reintroduced, to three microcosms in history that had and continue to embody flagrant examples of gender-based violence:

- The executions of the Salem Witch Trials in Salem, Massachusetts
- The feminicides in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico
- The sexual harassment and assaults occurring at a private liberal arts university on the East Coast

A zine (An informal magazine style popularized in the 1990s for their ability to quickly reproduce and distribute information via copy machine) was created for each community, to illustrate the haunting parallels between seemingly distinct violence experienced in each space. Consequently, they need not be read in any particular order, or even in their entirety. Whatever is bolded is the most important, and even reading the keywords highlighted in colorful boxes will equip you with the language necessary to verbalize these issues more extensively.

These zines, reader, act as the background necessary for you to better understand and implement the practical element of this project; the Flower Index System I have created below. This system highlights an administration’s top eight more prominent characteristics that perpetuate gender-based violence. They are in no particular order.

- Non-transparent leadership
- Power Grabs
- Shift in Social Fabrics
- Colonial Infrastructure Dependency
- Over Policing of the people
- Corruption of administration
- Exchange of Impunity
- Financial strain

The presentation of these characteristics is intentionally disruptive and moves away from traditional indexing systems. Each character is represented by a petal, and those petals closest to each other interact the most when GBV is present. You can rank your organization using the color gauge below. Blue is a bearable manifestation of these qualities, and red is fatally experienced. I hope you take this flower into your personal toolkit of resistance and feel empowered to apply it to any administrative body you live under, no matter how big or small.

So allow yourself to cry, step back, return, and reflect. This work has been and will continue to be there for you when you are ready. All it asks is that you come with an open mind and an even more open heart.

Con Amor,
Sofie
The phenomenon is present, and should be spoken about immediately. It may be the first proven example of this phenomenon, but nevertheless there are people about to get hurt or currently being hurt by this. Life may be possible to live without thinking about it, but should it worsen it will begin to impact areas of one’s life.

This phenomenon has grown past a simple presence, its existence in the community has impacted the ways in which people have interacted with each other, the ability for people to live dignified lives, or move in the environment they are in.

This phenomenon has taken over the community. It’s impossible for someone to go through their day-to-day life without this phenomenon interfering. It is equally impossible to live any kind of life that protects basic human rights. Living in this environment, in part because of this phenomenon, has made day to day existence unbearable.
When ranking each petal on a scale of 1-10, it is important to look at the numbers and temperature gauge provided previously. They are intentionally grouped into three different ranges to help you narrow down exactly what score to give.

For example, the non-transparent leadership present during the witch trials in Salem was given a score of 8 because it not only embodied the characteristics of the petal (Little to no member participation in administrative decisions, little to no understanding of how the organization is run by the general public, and limited opportunities for the development of the political sphere) but those characteristics were so prominent they undoubtedly took over the community. It was impossible for someone to go through their day-to-day life without this phenomenon interfering, and the God-like power given to Parris made day-to-day existence unbearable in Salem.

With the same method, I ranked each of the petals and colored the center lightly with the score’s colored “temperature”. The resulting color of the center of the flower exposes the central “temperature” of the administration, and how drastically gender-based violence is affecting the lives of citizens.
Non-transparent Leadership

Power Grab
- Sudden loss of a central hierarchical figure
- Attempts to rewrite the organization's imaginary
- Extensive advantages for maintaining top positions financially, politically and socially

Shift in Social Fabric
- Challenging of foundational gendered dynamics
- Introduction of a "new" profile of individual that varies from the one that created the organization
- Binary and gendered divisions of the organization's individuals often viewing one as dominant over the other
- Racial identities and dynamics are ingrained into organizational hierarchies, denoting the colonizer's identity as superior and the deviant as inferior

Colonial Infrastructure Dependency

Financial Strain
- Distribution of wealth within members of the organization is healthy and proactively emphasizing equity in financial success.
- Little to no regulation and oversight over the spending of the organization's funds
- Individuals cannot sustain healthy lives without spending a considerable amount of their income

Exchange of Impunity
- Rates of crime are not deterred significantly by the existing justice system and are often counterproductive
- Individuals have higher rates of impunity for their crimes due to their social capital
- Overseeing protective agency does not equally respond to crime against some individuals

Corrupt Leadership
- Leadership is largely dominated by a body of people that are not representative of the organization in their race, gender, or class
- Overseeing protective agency punishes some individuals at an unfair rate due to their race, sexuality, or class
- The enforcement of an organization's laws are unfair and inconsistent to the mass population

Over Policing of the People
- Little is said or done to maintain the public aware of crime and what is being done to prevent it
- Rates of crime are not deterred significantly by the existing justice system and are often counterproductive

Leaders of the organization have faced accusations of discrimination based on race, gender, or class

Leadership is largely dominated by a body of people that are not representative of the organization in their race, gender, or class

Leadership is largely dominated by a body of people that are not representative of the organization in their race, gender, or class
The story of Salem is often told as a tragedy.

Tormented and confused little girls, excessively powerful judges, and a terrified community that was forced into doing the unspeakable: accuse, incarcerate, and formally execute 19 of their community members, 14 of whom were women. Within this narrative, formative cultural patterns can be observed to conceptualize this event as one of the first colonial cases of intraracial feminicide on (future) U.S. soil. The lack of acknowledgment of racial dynamics present in the trials inhibits the true nature of the violence experienced, which is so often embodied in the erasure of Brown and Black women who were victims of the trials such as Tituba, Candy, and Mary Black (2). Although categorically accurate, the account of the trials most often understood should be criticized for its inability to place the existence of this violence within the proper colonial contextual implications.

It was not merely a story of white witches burning at the hands of angry Puritans. Cultural depictions of the trials, such as The Crucible, lean heavily into the appropriation and mystification of the events, further advancing social agendas of Christianity, White Supremacy, Sexism, and Eurocentrism in the process. To promote an authentic account of the trials, it is important to deconstruct the words, images, and ideologies that represent them. The QR code provided on the index page provides a link to Yale Daily News’ historical account of society’s past 400 years of witches in fiction. Their intricate verbal archive can act as a reminder of why we should feel called...
Questions such as:

"Who embodied or represented a Witch?  
What was Salem like?  
To what extent should these feminicides no longer be given legal validation in being referred to as trials?"

begin to lead us to a reimagined truth.

In order to reclaim this history from the framework of patriarchal White Supremacy, we have to begin to untangle the realities of these events from their propagated cultural associations. In the quest to answer these questions, reader, we will be creating a new imaginary of the trials. One that honors the truth and begins a process of historical reparations for those whose existence was erased from the Salem Witch Trials narrative.
who was a Witch?

The Westernized understanding of The Witch, a perception that serves best in the analysis of Salem, depends greatly on blueprints drawn from Biblical condemnations. Witches, in a generalized sense, were viewed as conspirators against God, and, due to the various mentions of sorcery in the Bible (including in Exodus, Leviticus, Revelation, Galatians, 1 Samuel, Deuteronomy, 2 Chronicles, and 1 John), punishing a witch for practicing magic was seen as a permissible act.

However, it may be difficult to point to the New Testament for a physical description of this deviant character because, despite many people’s assumptions otherwise, there is none. Even though the Bible has been cyclically exploited to criminalize magic and witchcraft, the only definite sightings of Witches in the Bible are found in the Old Testament. Contrary to popular belief, the Geneva Bible which served as legal and ethical justification for Salem’s witch trials only provided passages on the rights of citizens to persecute witches, not what they looked like. The physical embodiments of a Witch, then, can serve as indispensable insight into who society, in essence, was prone to label as a conspirator against God. During the formative years of the United States, colonies feared a distinct archetype of The Witch.

She was often female, a spell-caster seduced by the Devil. Elderly, unmarried, unkept, and suspiciously secretive with her intentions, she utilized natural materials from her surroundings to hex God’s followers for her benefit.
If bribed at the right price, the Witch can bend magic to a person’s will, making her not only an evil entity but an entity who could easily entangle disobedient Christians along with her into the Devil’s snare. Much like Lucifer, however, it must be noted that the Witch was still considered a child of God. It is her ability to weaponize magic that proves her perversion from God’s image (3).

Scholars Barbara Ehrenreich and Deidre English, Mary Daly, and Carolyn Merchant argue that the concept of the Witch demonized then-popular medical practices, forcing many women to “submit to patriarchal control of the nuclear family,” which alienated her from some of the holistic understandings of nature that, until the Renaissance, “set limits on the exploitation of the female body,” (4). The reimagining of feminine identity during the colonization of the West served as a means to an end. Not only would the further subordination of women serve to reproduce the labor supply needed to feed a consumerist model, it dually reinforced binary gendered norms that placed men in more “lucrative and influential positions within emerging capitalist economies” (5). In the process, a woman’s once socially-accepted power became transformed into a threat to the state.
commodification of labor
When individual capabilities of production are exploited and turned into wage laborors.

During the commodification of labor, people with reproductive capacity were heavily policed to enforce the male-dominated hierarchy of a new economic field. Evidence for this interpretation lies in the very archetype we imagined when first discussing The Witch. A woman's rejection of her given gendered roles, which in the case of Salem includes Puritan interpretations of gendered roles, threatens the hierarchy.

Scholar Marianne Hester notes that there are important links between witch hunts and changing gendered dynamics. Witch hunts must be viewed as "instance[s] of sexual violence against women, relying on sexual constructs of masculinity and especially femininity" (6). The hunting of a witch can and must only be seen as the hunting of a woman disguised as righteousness. In reframing the way this history is told, removing the fantastical and religious condemnations of a witch instantly turn her back into the human she was when she was murdered. Reframing the Puritans’ fear of the Devil outside of his existence in the Bible forces us to contend with the bloody history of connecting capitalist ideologies with religion in the United States that arguably still allows for gendered violence to permeate through every part of the system, even mission statements from public officials.

Depiction of Satan by Gustave Doré

Bee balm in vase

capitalist ideologies
Capitalism is often thought of as an economic system in which private actors own and control property in accord with their interests, and demand and supply freely set prices in markets in a way that can serve the best interests of society.
Puritans believed in **predestination**. God knew if you were going to heaven or hell, but lived religion soon morphed this into a powerful anxiety that made people second-guess their fate based on the events that happened in their lives. The “imminent possibility of damnation—made certain by complicity with Satan—terrified the Puritans,” and encouraged submission to religious leaders in hopes of salvation (7). Possession by Satan was a constant fear, and although Puritans believed their souls were equal in front of God, they were not equal before the Devil (8). According to Puritan doctrine, **women were systemically and exponentially more likely to be seduced by the Devil**, and religious scrutiny was an ever-present force in the lives of **Puritan women**. As noted by Hester, **witch crazes** in the 17th century was almost entirely dominated by female witches, both in accusations and confessions. Culturally, this displayed the sense of “women’s inherent wickedness,” which both men and women of the community promoted (9).

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**Puritan predestination**

Puritanism, a belief based on Calvinism, includes the belief that God knows what individuals are damned and saved before they are born.

**witch crazes**

the term used to describe the witch hunts that occurred between the 15th and 18th centuries in Europe, eventually spreading to North America.
Women accused of witchcraft in Salem, Massachusetts did not identify themselves as witches. Social, political, and religious perceptions of their existence labeled them as such.

Carol Karlsen’s feminist social and economic interpretation suggests we include yet another parameter to our understanding of witchcraft. In her study of accused women of the late 1600s and early 1700s in the colonies, she found that many of the accused were potentially powerful women on the verge of inheriting substantial amounts of property (10). The challenging of traditional male land inheritance practices were more likely the cause of (or at least contributed to) their accusation more than mystical spellcasting, but history proclaims that they died as accused witches. Their lives, challenges, barriers, and identities are thereby legally and spiritually erased.

The gendered standards created by the promotion of witchcraft were aggressive and likely unavoidable during the trials in the colonies. Despite this, historical accounts prove that no one really explained why the same type of people were suspected of witchcraft, or “why specific behaviors associated with women aroused witchcraft fears while specific behaviors associated with men did not” (11). Even as the witch craze in the colonies disproportionately punished women, there was no widely shared discussion on the gendered nature of the persecution; women had historically been categorized by Christian religions as the perfect host for evil, so the gender of an insidious conspirator would inevitably be female.
This left the accused to suffer in silence, doomed to comprehend their situation within the constructs of the religion that bastardized them. Many died, having confessed to a crime that their community demanded they did, in full embodiment of the deviant archetype created by religious and administrative systems.

“The truth always arrives too late because it walks slower than lies. Truth crawls at a snail's pace.” - Tituba’s rebuttal during her witch trial in Salem, MA, 1692 (12)

In a sense, the very accusers of witchcraft are more to blame for the appearance of witches than the innocent women themselves. In Salem, the validity of a witch's execution suggests an intersection of the Puritan doctrine and the existing legal systems. The process of legal secularization already occurring in Salem acts as our first hint at the motive behind the introduction of The Witch. The trials between February of 1692-1693 (13), like other trials at the time, coincided with disagreements among church and legal authorities about the reach of God in the courtroom (14).

This embodied a prominent contention of power between men in the church and state at the time. Colonial infrastructures encouraged and insisted men of God assert their legal and moral authority over any given legislation of a society. As villages grappled with the individualized opportunities of success made available through capitalism, churches had to fight for their right to remain in the center of people’s lives.
Who exactly represented these clashing forces? By the time Samuel Parris, the controversial minister who oversaw the religious implications of the trial, arrived in Salem, it was a community that had faced spiritual and material neglect. Recently abandoned by Deodat Lawson, an English immigrant who left Salem in 1689 to lead a campaign against Indigenous people in Maine, the small village of around 200 adults was known for its spiritual and political vulnerability. Without an official legal or religious body, quarrels of the citizens had to be delegated to Salem Town or neighboring jurisdictions as per colonial rule. Samuel Parris was thought to be the answer to the villager’s prayers for autonomy. He was called to serve as both the spiritual leader and moral guardian of the legal systems of the village, and hopefully put an end to the gridlock experienced after Lawson left.

Fresh off a boat from Barbados, Tituba, John, and their enslaver Samuel Parris was called to officially create a church in Salem Village. Previously a credit agent for sugar plantations, Parris was not known to have made a graceful transition into the tight-knit community.

Unlike the communal traditions of Salem’s past, Parris’s leadership style stressed the division between church-goers and everyone else, creating for the first time a spiritual (and thus political) hierarchy between the villagers. In his first few years as minister, he even went so far as to reject the idea of Halfway Covenant, or the practice of allowing babies to get baptized if their parents were but have yet to join the church (15). For a population so fearful of eternal damnation, exclusionary practices like those planted doubt in the community about Parris’s leadership. For the grueling seven years, he was minister, those who endorsed Parris were rewarded with religious affirmations. Those who challenged him, or represented something that challenged his view
of the church, were immediately viewed as enemies of the congregation.

The Witch, or, rather, the destruction of The Witch, was a perfect conduit of power for a leader who feared he was losing administrative control, especially in a community that has built its lives around the doctrine of Puritanism. **Once a woman was accused, she was damned if she did and damned if she didn’t.** Admitting guilt would at best land her in jail, and at worst at the end of a noose. Rejecting the accusation would only further enrage Parris and his fearful congregation would likely opt to agree with him rather than cross him.

**The village's fear of the devil ironically is what invited him in.**
Tituba was an enslaved person of Arawak descent. She is often described as being of African origin but is always remembered as the first official witch of Salem.

Unsurprisingly, the identity of a witch in Salem sustained racist ideologies of both enslaved people and Indigenous communities. Their resistance towards the pillaging of their land and bodies was frequently labeled as a conspiracy with the devil (16), and the wars lived by villagers easily confirmed a hatred towards people of color. The turmoil, economic instability, and wavering trust in leadership capabilities made the environment ideal for the utilization of The Witch. She could be the scapegoat for the town’s rotting crops or dying animals. Her hexes could be responsible for the lack of church attendance or feelings of doubt amongst the congregation. She would have to be unliked by the community, an easy target of rumors with little agency to refute them. She would have to be an outsider. She would have to be Tituba.

A: none
A: I do not hurt them
A: the devil for ought I know
A: the devil came to me and bid me serve him
A: 4 women sometimes hurt the children
A: goode Osburn and Sarah good and I doe not know who the other were Sarah good and Osburne would have me hurt the children but I would not shee furder saith there was a tale man of Boston that shee did see
A: Last night at Boston
A: no there is 4 women and one man they hurt the children and then lay all upon me and they tell me if I will not hurt the children they will hurt me
(17) A: yes, but I will hurt them no more
Tituba, an Indigenous Arawak woman who was enslaved to the minister of Salem, Samuel Parris, was first accused of practicing witchcraft on Parris’ daughter, Betty (nine), and niece Abigail (eleven) during the trials of 1692 (18). It is important to note, however, that the neighbor of her enslaver, Mary Sibley, initially coerced her into practicing anti-witchcraft to cure the afflicted daughter of the minister. This would rarely be acknowledged during Tituba’s trial and eventually handled with little to no consequence to Sibley, but remains a blatant example of how racial oppression produced impunity for white members of Salem.

Much like feminicide, witchcraft must be seen as a phenomenon. For Parris, it served as a tool to solidify hierarchies, alienate deviant community members, and impose patriarchal systems. This makes Tituba’s victimization all the more wicked, as she was one of the only people accused of witchcraft who had no autonomy prior to or during the trials.

Tituba’s enslavement played a crucial role in her demonization and cannot be simplified to a status. A deliberate and efficient system likely abducted Tituba from an Arawak community in Guiana. The community, whom the British accused of conspiring with the Dutch during the Anglo-Dutch war in 1672, were targeted by English settlers in Barbados during the steady decline of white indentured servitude on the island (19).

Q: Titube what evil spirit have you familiarity with?
Q: why do you hurt these children?
Q: who is it then?
Q: did you never see the devil?
Q: who have you seen?
Q: who were they?
Q: and did you hurt them?
Q: but did you not hurt them?

Tituba, the first witch of Salem
Salem Village is geographically small in comparison to the narrative it has created. Land grants from overseas initiated movement into the area that would eventually become the village of Salem. Salem Town, northwest of the village, became the first permanent settlement in Massachusetts Bay Colony shortly before in 1626 (19). The natural harbor made fishing bountiful, and immigrants flowed into the region in the following decade. By the time the trials occurred, however, Salem’s villagers were experiencing economic hardships, as well. Scholar Mary Beth Norton suggests we begin the reimagination of the Salem Witch Trials outside the village’s walls.

Geographic proximity with Northern New England, Essex, New Hampshire, and Maine indicate that many citizens of Salem had recently viewed the horrors of war firsthand (20).

King Phillip’s war (1675-1676) had occurred less than twenty years prior and marked the beginning of the deadliest confrontations between colonizers and the Indigenous population of New England. The northeastern and southern borders that once brought fish and settlers soon became an area of bloodshed as Indigenous communities banded together in one final attempt to drive out the colonizers. Although the colonies would eventually decimate the Indigenous populations of the area, a majority of colonial

Salem was fearful before the witches arrived
communities and their property were wiped out. Common citizens were drafted into the war, and they tore through Indigenous villages, killing men, women, and children. Some Indigenous victims made it out, but many died on the battlefield. In 1690, two years prior to the trials, colonial troops suffered so many defeats they abandoned the frontier altogether (21).

Geographic insecurities created by war often place pressure on a community to solidify their group identity through other means. In Salem, one could argue that Parris’s persistent othering of non-church-goers condensed the identity of a Salem villager to those who were a part of the church. This was not an uncommon practice in colonial social life; in fact, religious superiority was built into many legislative and judicial practices. However, Salem embodied a perverse combination of what religious fear and legitimate physical threats can do to a community’s psyche. Many of those directly involved with the trials had even known each other previously on the battlefield. Key accusers and confessors had been displaced from their original colonies and sought asylum in Salem and nearby Essex towns (22).

By the time the trials began, villagers were suffering from physical and emotional trauma, financial insecurity, and starvation. Fathers, traditionally expected to protect and provide for their families, felt powerless against the evils closing in on their community.

The recognition, if only briefly, of the community that raised Tituba forces us to reconcile with what her presence in Salem represented before she was turned into a witch. Her body, freedom, and identity were stolen from her in exchange for hours working toward the cultural invasion of the West. Intersectionality and her coincidental presence during the crisis of Parris’ administration furthered her victimization, as she was quickly turned into a pawn in a corrupt religious plot for power. As soon as her identities created the turmoil necessary to consolidate and secure Parris’ sense of control in the community, she was erased.
Dear Tituba,

The worst part about creating this project around your narrative is having to come to terms with the fact it would never fully grasp your identity. I may know where you came from, but without specific dates or regions, everything becomes an estimation. Without the insidious life of enslavement, there is no record of you. You are only known about by the narratives of tongues that erased you. This is devastating to me. You deserved so much more than what life on this earth offered you.

You deserve more than an educated guess. You deserve to be imagined, told about, thought about, and remembered. After the trials were over and you were in a Boston prison, your enslaver like the coward we all know him to have been, left you. He disposed of you. This part of your story enrages me and fills me with so much resentment it can feel overwhelming. I cling to the possibilities of your life after. Since there is no record, we cannot be certain. Although history forces me to contend with the reality that you were likely enslaved for the rest of your life, I want to imagine you more free. I hope you escaped. I hope you found a home. I hope you knew peace.

You deserve a real name. The one your family gave you, the one that your community knew you for, the one that was said by those that first loved you. Until we find it, I will say the one associated with your being, as often and as loudly as I can. People now wear the title that they used to persecute you with pride, and we are angry for you, sister. We mourn for you. We are all now the witches they could not burn.
Write your own letter to a victim of Salem

If you feel moved to do so, write your own letter to a victim of the trials. If you’re not a writer, use this page to draw, create, collage, or express in whatever way will help aid in your process of humanizing those who were affected by the trials.

- How would a victim of the trials view the mainstream interpretation of the trials?
- What kind of emotions did they likely feel during the trials?
- If you could say something to Tituba, or any of those enslaved in Salem, what would you say?
Tituba was born into an Arawak community in South America. The exact location is unknown, but historians denote the area to include what is now Guyana, Suriname, Grenada, Bahamas, Jamaica, and parts of Trinidad and Tobago.

Tituba was captured around the age of 9 from her community. She was taken to Barbados by English enslavers and sold to a sugar plantation. This violence grew more and more prominent in this period of time with increasing capitalist demands of production favoring forced labor.

Because of his age and Titubas, and what is known practice for enslavement during the time, it is very likely Tituba was sexually enslaved and abused by Parris as well.

Tituba is now located in New England, moving with Parris after he traded in plantation life for ministry.

Tituba and John, another enslaved person under Parris, are married. It is believed Tituba had a daughter named Violet who likely remained in Parris’ house until his death.
The town of Salem, where Tituba lived and whom Parris had been entrusted with ministering not a year prior, begins to express discontent with his leadership. As a result, documents from local committee meetings show a rejection of a proposed tax to help pay his salary and for firewood through the winter.

Parris’ sermons would only get more aggressive against the town, focusing his energy mainly on warning the villagers of conspirators against the church and God.

Parris’ daughter, who is under Tituba’s care, begins to involve herself with what would have been considered devilish activities (which varies depending on the Puritan doctrine you follow) and begins to show symptoms of possession.

The town physician suggested it could be witchcraft, and Parris immediately began organizing prayer meetings and fasting days to spiritually support Betty.

It is made known that Tituba prepared a witch cake (a mixture of rye and Betty’s urine cooked and fed to a dog) to find out the identity of the malicious witch. Despite the fact it was actually Parris’ neighbor, Mary Sibley that instructed Tituba into practicing witchcraft, Betty and her cousin (who was also involved in the original bewitchment) would name her as the witch of Salem.

Public sentiment about the legitimacy of the trials would shift over the coming years, and eventually Tituba recanted her confession. This only further irritated Parris, who refused to pay the jailer’s fee for her release when she was transported to a Boston prison for trial.

Multiple accounts of Tituba’s physical condition after her arrest for witchcraft indicate Parris likely beat a confession out of Tituba. In her confession, she apologized for hurting Betty and provided evidence against two more alleged witches - Sarah Good and Sarah Osborne.

Tituba would spend 13 months in prison after 1692 until an unknown individual paid the 7 pounds for her release ($2,000 in USD today) and bought her. Nothing is known about Tituba or her whereabouts for the remainder of her life. (23)
## Names of People Accused, Dates, and Location, When Known

### Others Accused in 1692

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nehemiah Abbot</td>
<td>Topsfield</td>
<td>May 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nehemiah Abbot, Jr.</td>
<td>Topsfield</td>
<td>April 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capt. John Alden</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>May 31</td>
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<tr>
<td>Daniel Andrew</td>
<td>Salem Village</td>
<td>May 14</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abigail Barker</td>
<td>Andover</td>
<td>September 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Barker</td>
<td>Andover</td>
<td>August 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Barker, Sr.</td>
<td>Andover</td>
<td>August 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Barker, Jr.</td>
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<td>August 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah Basset</td>
<td>Lynn</td>
<td>May 21</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bridget Bishop</td>
<td>Salem Village</td>
<td>April 18</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edward Bishop</td>
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<td>Eunice Frye</td>
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<td>Dorcas Good</td>
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<td>Mary Green</td>
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<td>Sarah Hawkes</td>
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<td>Elizabeth How</td>
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<td>John Howard</td>
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<td>Francis Huchens</td>
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<td>John Jackson, Sr.</td>
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<td>John Jackson, Jun.</td>
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<td>(enslaved person)</td>
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<td>[Daughter of Roger Toothaker]</td>
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<td>Job Tooky</td>
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<td>Hannah Tyler</td>
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<td>Martha Tyler</td>
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<td>September 16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mercy Wardwell</td>
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<td>Unknown</td>
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<tr>
<td>Samuel Wardwell</td>
<td>Andover</td>
<td>September 1</td>
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</table>
Sarah Wardwell
Mary Warren
Sarah Wilds
Ruth Wilford
John Willard
Sarah Wilson, Sen.
Sarah Wilson, Jun.
Mary Withridge
Andover
Salem Village
Topsfield
Haverhill
Andover
Andover
Salem Village
September 1
April 18
April 21
August 18
September 17
Unknown
May 14

The accused in previous witchcraft cases had most often been adult men. In Salem, the key accusers were women and girls under the age of 25 who would accuse a witch of not only committing maleficium but rather torturing and tempting them. These complaints, especially by female-presenting people, had never been taken more seriously before in witch trial history.

Judges in Massachusetts commonly expressed skepticism about witchcraft prosecutions and were reluctant to convict or subsequently execute accused witches. The Court of Oyer was established to handle the first set of Witchcraft prosecutions. They not only convicted every defendant but also oversaw the executions of almost all of them. 10

The next largest New England witchcraft incident in Hartford in the early 1660s involved at most 11 formally accused. The geographical reach of the accusations as depicted by the list above is astounding. All prior witchcraft trials in the region involved only one or two adjacent towns. The Salem accused came from 22 different places, 15 of those in Essex County (25)

maleficium
any magical act performed with the intention to hurt or damage people or property.

notes about the names of Salem village

“Even after 300 years, Salem’s witch trials remain a defining example of intolerance and injustice in American history. A new exhibition seeks to ask: In moments of injustice, what role do we play?”
This oil pastel drawing by our incredible artist Julia Nalecz has intentionally collided the case studies of Zine I (The Witch Trials) and Zine III (Campus) to further personify the threads of violence that link all colonial systems together.

The house itself is a rendition of colonial meeting houses, which was often the location of witch trials in a given community. **This drawing may bring up various emotions.** Write them down, along with any other initial thoughts that you have. Once you have read Zine III, please return to this image and check in with your emotions again. **Have they changed?** Does the meaning of the image remain the same for you? **Why or why not?**
Take a second to check in with yourself. What are you feeling? Were you reminded of anything? Did parts of this reading make you stop and reflect or step away?

Journal, talk, draw, dance, etc. it out! If you have reflections helping you process the material, express them in your physical world. This phenomenon gets its power from cultures of silence. Seek out the community to help you synthesize what you’re learning!

Remember that even in reading a portion of this zine, you are helping put an end to GBV! Interacting with something as complex as this can make us feel helpless—But radical resistance also means acknowledging and embracing any and every moment we try and make the world a better place.

Step away from the zine to reassess! It’s easy to get sucked into this subject, but it is violent in nature. Too much negativity will drain you from your ability to interact with this material.

MEDITATE! Scan the code below to access this author’s favorite mindfulness practices.
"From the politically charged origins of the word "witch" to the present-day magical resistance, this bold handbook explores the role of witchcraft in our modern world. Author, activist, and practicing witch Sarah Lyons takes readers on a journey through a leftist history of magic – from the witch hunts of early modern England, through the Salem Witch Trials, and up to our present moment. Pairing mystical acts, including sigil magic and soul flight, with core organizing tactics, like power mapping and protests, Revolutionary Witchcraft offers a blueprint for building a politically grounded magical praxis."

"Voices Against Justice focuses on promoting awareness of social injustice issues, recognizing and celebrating individuals and organizations who work to confront fear and social injustice with courage, and creating programs and events that help foster tolerance, understanding and reconciliation within the communities we serve."