

The Witches of Salem, the Angel of Hadley, and the Friends of Philadelphia

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Throughout 1992 and into the early months of 1993, Salem, Massachusetts, has observed the tercentennial of the witchcraft trials. Arthur Miller helped open the formal commemoration in November 1991 by unveiling the winning design for a monument to the victims. *The Crucible* was staged near Salem's Essex Institute, where Miller had done research for his play. While the town officials insist that the observance is not a "celebration" but a meditation on "human rights and due process," the anniversary has inflamed persistent questions about modern windfalls from an old tragedy. To avoid charges of exploitation, Salem left card-carrying witches off its tercentennial committee, prompting the official "State Witch," Laurie Cabot, to blast the town for perpetuating a "hate crime" and violating the witches' "civil rights." Others have blasted the town—and the witches—for glamorizing a debacle to lure cash. Witches ride along with the law on the logo of police cars. Visitor brochures list more psychics than medics. As its mayor joyously noted, Salem expected its tourist rate to double during the tercentennial, bringing more than a million sightseers into a Northeast weakened by recession.¹ Three hundred years ago, in the economically depressed backwoods of Salem Village, rumors of voodoo, sorcery and sexual misconduct incited the frenzy that stopped only after more than 150 persons were imprisoned and at least 23 individuals died for the crime of witchcraft. By medieval and Renaissance standards of religious paranoia and persecution, the Salem hysteria was remarkable for its brevity, yet Salem still remains the symbolic capital of witchcraft on the map of European and American history.² Even Salem's founder Roger Conant, born in 1592, now has to share his centennials with the devil.

Chances are that the anniversary would have passed with far less commotion if the judges at Salem had not been put on trial by American Romantics. Without doubt, the accusations and hangings at Salem were a major crisis for New England Puritans, and the trials were immediately recognized as an historical landmark. Cotton Mather relied on eschatology to defend the hearings, assuring parishoners that Satan's appearance in Salem was a sign that the tribulation was at hand. After Samuel Sewell and others publicly renounced their parts in the trials, Enlightenment historians often heard in the cries of the accused and the invective of the accusers the death throes of Puritanism. But it was during the Romantic era that the Salem panic most deeply stirred American writers, as New England novelists and poets explored and exploited the tragedy. At a time when "literary nationalists" were speculating about a distinctly American aesthetic, New England authors dug nervously through the history of Puritanism for the sources of a national culture. Part of the challenge, of course, was to sort out the prophets of nineteenth-century tolerance and progress—Roger Williams, Anne Hutchinson, the Pilgrims—from the relics of European superstition and autocracy—most notably, the Salem judges. As John Demos observes, the Salem disaster still has "a disproportionate hold on the public imagination," resulting in an "impoverished, not to say, distorted, view" that the events at Salem were "an utterly bizarre throwback to the 'medieval' superstition from which the first generation of colonial settlers had presumably escaped."³ The impoverishment and distorting of popular views of the Salem trials were, to a great extent, part of the mission of New England Romantics. While the Pilgrims—the "first generation"—were undergoing beatification as national saints, Cotton Mather, Samuel Parris and the witch hunters were saddled with most of the Puritan sins. In addition to its impact on Nathaniel Hawthorne, the witchcraft catastrophe provided the spark for at least twelve New England novels between 1820 and the publication of *The Scarlet Letter* in 1850.⁴ Ironically, turning the spotlight on the Salem crisis was one way to represent the trials as atypical, as a hideous throwback to a pre-American illiberalism and irrationality.

Almost from the moment it resurfaced in the 1820s as a parable on the regressive strain of Puritanism, the record of the Salem witch trials was jumbled in American fiction and drama with the legend of the Angel of Hadley. While attempting to exorcise the devil—or the most oppressive Puritans—from Massachusetts, American Romantics also tried to trace the shadowy path of the Angel, William Goffe, through the frontier towns of Massachusetts and Connecticut. In 1649, Goffe had been one of fifty-six members of the Parliamentary tribunal that ordered the beheading of Charles I. On the eve of the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660, Goffe, along with another regicide, his father-in-law Edward Whalley, shipped for New England before the new king could issue orders for his father's judges to be rounded up. Once those orders were issued, Goffe and Whalley scampered into the cover of Puritan friends. Near New Haven, Connecticut, they avoided the hounds of the king by hiding in a cave. In Hadley, Massachusetts, they took refuge in the cellar of a minister's home. Not long after

Whalley's death in 1667, Goffe abandoned his journal, and no one has been able to follow the trail of his later life. About all that survives from those years is one enigmatic tale—a legend for most, an article of faith for others. As the story goes, one day in 1676, during the early rumblings of King Philip's War, the white-haired, ghostly figure of William Goffe rushed into a Hadley church and warned of an Algonkian invasion. No sooner had he mustered the Puritans into an effective resistance than the regicide slid away, leaving the town bewildered about the identity of its savior.⁵ Between 1822, when Walter Scott retold the story in his novel *Pevekil of the Peak*, and the Civil War, the Angel of Hadley surfaced in more than a dozen American novels, short stories or plays—most of them full of witches and witch hunters as well.⁶

The blend of the American witch judges and the fugitive English judges proved to be a toxic brew. The Roundhead "Angel" became a synecdoche of Puritan saints and sinners. Some Americans rallied behind Goffe as a martyr of Independence. Presumably, his brave verdict against an oppressive monarch and his banishment to the wilderness of New England forecast the principles and sacrifices of the American Revolution. As Michael Davitt Bell observes, the Roundhead judges, with their commitments to Calvinism and Parliamentary republicanism, were even better suited to be "founding fathers" of the United States than the English immigrants who first landed in New England.⁷ However, for some—most memorably, Hawthorne and James Fenimore Cooper—the regicides' lethal verdict against the king resonated with the self-righteousness and autocracy of the Puritan commonwealth in America, and the Angel of Hadley's spectral presence in dark woods of New England confused political idealism with Puritan paranoia about slaves, women, Native Americans and noncommunicants. If the regicides' judgment against King Charles I foreshadowed the American revolt against King George III, the legend of the Angel of Hadley also cast the shadow of the witch hunt over the founding of the nation.

Numerous critics have discussed how Hawthorne and Cooper tried to maneuver through this forest of facts and shadows to find the roots of American culture.⁸ Little attention, though, has been paid to the three works that first fused the Angel of Hadley episode with the spectacle of witchcraft. Almost immediately after Walter Scott released *Pevekil of the Peak*, James McHenry, an Irish expatriate en route to Philadelphia, published a romance entitled *The Spectre of the Forest*. One year later, in 1824, Philadelphia's Chestnut Street Theatre was the scene for the debut of *Superstition*, a drama by James Nelson Barker, former Republican-Democratic mayor of the town. That same year, an anonymous romance, *The Witch of New England*, was released by a Chestnut Street printer. All three works entangle William Goffe's rescue with the horrors of the New England witch scare, leaving a residue on the regicide saga that would remain in the works of Hawthorne, Cooper and others. For a brief season, the Salem crucible and the Hadley rescue became a Philadelphia story.

Walter Scott's *Peveiril of the Peak* ushered the Angel of Hadley into Romantic fiction, yet the tracks of the regicides had already been pursued by Enlightenment historians. In 1764, Thomas Hutchinson, loyalist lieutenant governor of Massachusetts, proclaimed that he had a story to tell that had "never been known in New-England." Drawing heavily from Goffe's handwritten journal, Hutchinson recounted the "constant terror" of the regicides' life on the run in his *History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay*. After following their journey through 1667, when Goffe's diary breaks off, Hutchinson confessed that he was "loath to omit" an "anecdote" that he had heard—the rumor about the "deliverer of Hadley."⁹ Nearly thirty years later, long after Goffe's manuscript had been lost in the Stamp Act riot on Hutchinson's home, Ezra Stiles, the president of Yale, published *A History of Three of the Judges of King Charles I*. Impressed with Hutchinson's research but annoyed with his loyalist slant, Stiles collected scraps of oral traditions about the judges' days in New Haven and set out to acclaim the regicides as the "intrepid and patriotic defenders of real liberty"—Puritan visionaries who foreshadowed the American and French Revolutions. Once Stiles was launched well into his enterprise, news that the defenders of real liberty in France had beheaded their king sent shudders through New England. Worried that the French terror would scar his Puritan saints, Stiles attached a long essay to his book protesting the execution of Louis Bourbon but defending the verdict against Charles Stuart.¹⁰ One of his successors at Yale, and one of his most persistent critics, Timothy Dwight, took a brief walk through the regicide country in his *Travels in New York and Connecticut*, published in 1821. By his own report, Scott encountered the "remarkable and beautiful story" of the Angel of Hadley in Stiles' history, though chances are his copy of the book was on loan when he wrote *Peveiril of the Peak*.¹¹ At least one scholar, Ursula Brumm, claims that Scott quickly inserted the Hadley affair into his novel after he rediscovered the episode in Dwight's travel book.¹²

Romantic novelists could draw upon works by several witnesses of the witchcraft trials, among them Samuel Sewell and Cotton Mather. Thomas Hutchinson also reviewed the Salem crisis rather harshly in the second volume of his influential history. In 1796 Robert Calef's indictment of Mather's complicity in the trials, *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, was reprinted. Published originally in 1700, Calef's book was initially assailed as slander because of its uncharitable reproach of Mather's character and its satire of Mather's treatise on witchcraft, *Wonders of the Invisible World*. Historians today generally recognize that Calef went overboard in his passion to expose Mather's villany. Although he did virtually nothing to discourage the paroxysms of the trials, Mather was far more troubled by the use of "spectral evidence"—the testimony of ghosts and spirits—than Calef implied; however, by the turn of the nineteenth century, Calef's image of Mather as the confidant of spirits and spectres had carried the day. In 1820, an anonymous romance, *Salem Witchcraft*, introduced the crisis into American fiction, treating Cotton and Increase Mather

as bigoted fools. McHenry decided to write *The Spectre of the Forest* in 1823—the same year that Calef's *More Wonders* was, once again, reissued.

With the release of McHenry's romance, the Angel of Hadley and the Salem witch hunters crossed paths for the first time—not in Massachusetts, but in western Connecticut. McHenry squeezed scores of New England characters and legends into the Housatonic River Valley and tried—with mixed results—to mold them into a coherent narrative about the New England spirit. The "Spectre" of the romance is a complex alloy of the author's sources. First of all, he is a father concerned about the welfare of his daughter, now under the guardianship of an "intelligent" and tolerant Puritan minister. That part, most likely, was suggested by Hutchinson's history, which includes a letter from Whalley's daughter to her husband, William Goffe. As Hutchinson noted, Goffe and his wife also traded letters under the pretense that they were parent and child.¹³ McHenry added his own twist to this familial tale by bringing the regicide's child to America and making her a suspected witch. Second, McHenry embellished Scott's portrait of the Angel as a morally ambiguous phantom. No one is quite sure what to make of an outcast who reads scriptures in the thunder and lightning and carries around a human thigh-bone. In fitting Goffe into both roles—the tender Christian father and the preternatural "Spectre of the Forest"—McHenry also took many of his cues from Calef's recently reprinted text.

At the outset of *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, Calef cited a long narrative, presumably by Cotton Mather, about the afflictions of the young Margaret Rule. According to this report, Rule was assailed by "a short and a Black Man" and "Eight cruel Spectres." She was also visited by a "White Spirit," adorned in "bright, Shining and glorious Garments," a comfort for her scariest hours. This White Spirit encouraged Margaret to submit to the care of a local minister. After the pastor implored the Lord to release Margaret from Satan so that he might "bring her home unto God," the White Spirit appeared to the troubled girl, telling her that "you are now to take notice that (such a Man) is your Father, God has given you to him . . . obey him, regard him as your Father, follow his Counsels, and you shall do well." Calef, however, understood Mather's narrative as a scheme to strengthen the clerical grip on the community by prolonging the delusion. Margaret's "extraordinary" torments occurred well after the "sorest Affliction and greatest blemish to Religion that ever befel this Countrey" had been tempered by reason and the executions had stopped, and Calef had little patience with Mather's scheme to shore up the authority of the clergy by appealing to the testimony of a "White Spirit."¹⁴

In McHenry's romance, the "witch-accusers" of Connecticut share Mather's faith that "spectral evidence" was needed to sort out the adherents of Satan from the followers of Christ. But McHenry, feeding off of Calef, turned the tables on the clergy by using the Spectre to unmask their hatred and bigotry. Knowing the Puritan fear and respect for white spectres, Goffe deliberately adopts his supernatural disguise: Puritan superstitions become part of his veil. Alert to rumors that a white phantom was lingering in the woods, the clergy boast that the ghost

will soon rally their charges against Satan; the Spectre of the Connecticut forest, they assume, is as primed for action as those “ghosts of Massachusetts” who helped Salem convict its witches and wizards. But as they wait for the Spectre to lift “his testimony against the witchcraft that was bringing the Lord’s wrath upon the land,” the “tall, solemn, and ghastly figure,” a “MESSENGER FROM HEAVEN,” barges into their quarters to proclaim the innocence of the suspects and to threaten the zealots with divine justice.¹⁵ The Spectre emerges, most of all, to rescue his daughter: he is Mather’s white figure, reborn as the devout father, intent on saving his child from Mather’s disciples.

This is a multi-tonal variation on the Angel of Hadley theme. Goffe’s rescue of a Puritan parish from an Algonkian attack has been transformed into the rescue of his daughter from a Puritan parish. On this occasion, the threat to the Puritan community comes from within the theocracy, not from the mysterious periphery. By turning the rescue into a plea for religious tolerance, McHenry added a new layer of political innuendo onto an already perplexing allegory. Hutchinson pitied the judges’ personal sufferings but discountenanced their “political conduct.” Stiles openly boasted that the Hadley rescue vindicated Goffe’s judgments during the English Civil War. Scott, a Tory, was not sure what to do with the Angel’s radical republicanism. Without blessing the fugitive’s act of “parricide,” he implied that the savior of Hadley might have been right about the Stuarts all along. McHenry seemed to keep an equally mixed mind. Praising the Puritans for having “taught a lesson to despotism” during the English Civil War, he still intimated that the regicide judge was “guilty” of being an “accessary” to a “*bloody deed*.”¹⁶ The fugitive’s plea for tolerance echoes his anguish over the Roundhead vindictiveness of his past.

The rescue scene, therefore, provides Goffe the chance to redeem his own honor and to repair his relationship to England, where the “whigs . . . now rule the day.” Even as Scott proclaimed that the judge might emerge again from the American shadows “should England need one of her noblest hearts,” McHenry dignified Goffe’s service and allegiance to Britain. From his position of exile, Goffe keeps friends in the British nobility informed of the “witch business” in New England, which the king finds “disgraceful and horrible.” He is no longer simply a fugitive protected from a vengeful king by rebellious Americans; he now spies on the American fanatics for the British court. And he eventually wins a pardon from William and Mary because they are assured that Goffe does not carry “his antipathy to all species of monarchical government so far as to include that which is now established in this country.”¹⁷ In earlier versions, such as Stiles’ history, the Angel of Hadley episode celebrated the confederacy of a banished Roundhead and the Puritan villagers, all of them refugees from Anglican intolerance. In McHenry’s rendition, the witchcraft episode drives Goffe away from the intolerance of the American colonists back into the favor of the throne.

This political allegory is far from water-tight. Despite his occasional lectures about the “evils arising from human credulity” in New England, McHenry was still fascinated with his own gothic paraphernalia and the sinister imagery of the

American woods, and some of the Spectre's mystical ways are not decoded by the rational narrator.¹⁸ With his royal pardon in hand, Goffe still chooses the secrecy of his American cavern, a fugitive till his death. In the end, though, the romance scurries toward a moral center between the frightening poles of Puritan dogmatism and royal tyranny, a position much like the Scot-Irish Presbyterianism of McHenry's youth. *The Spectre of the Forest* displays McHenry in his own moment of uprootedness, in transition between two continents. Born in Ireland, he studied for the Presbyterian ministry until, for health reasons, he turned to medicine, practicing in Belfast and Glasgow before immigrating to the United States in 1817. Early in his career, he had written a series of lyrics on the beauties of Larne Valley, his Irish birthplace, and the Scottish highlands, poems strongly indebted to Scott. He was still writing poetry during brief stays in Baltimore and Pittsburgh, publishing *The Pleasures of Friendship* in 1822, his most popular book. *The Spectre of the Forest*, his second work of fiction, was printed the following year in New York, just as he was relocating once again, this time to Philadelphia. In the heart of the old Quaker town, the former Presbyterian divinity student switched from medicine to merchandise, ran a dry goods store on Chestnut Street, and in 1824 founded *The American Monthly Magazine* as a rival to Boston's eminent *North American Review*.¹⁹

Although the periodical failed within a year, it did succeed in making "Dr. McHenry" a familiar name in local literary circles. One Philadelphian who paid heed to the new arrival was town alderman James Nelson Barker. A leader of Philadelphia's Republican-Democratic Party and a strong advocate of literary nationalism, Barker had interrupted his life as a dramatist in 1819 for a brief stint as mayor. In 1824 he resumed his career as a playwright by bringing the Angel of Hadley to the stage of the Chestnut Street Theatre. Barker's blank verse play, *Superstition, or the Fanatic Father*, "a serious dramatic tale," bears the imprint of McHenry's fiction. The two writers were good friends, and Barker occasionally rallied to the defense of McHenry, who had a talent for provoking quarrels in print and angering stage managers. In 1828 Barker wrote the preface to McHenry's first play *The Usurpers*, publicly granting a "stranger's welcome" to the Irishman and urging a "patient hearing" for the new tragedy. In appreciation, McHenry dedicated the printed drama to Barker.²⁰

Superstition, however, contorts McHenry's tale of reconciliation and rapprochement into a communal tragedy. Though Barker also borrowed from Scott and Hutchinson, most of the emotional threads of his play are McHenry's innovations—the daughter's search for her banished father and his fear that she will be a victim of the witch hunt.²¹ Counterpoised against that drama of familial love is the repressive relationship between the "fanatic father" Ravensworth, the town minister, and his child Mary. In addition to juggling two father-daughter motifs, Barker linked the two rescue scenes found in his major sources: Scott's account of the Angel's gallantry at Hadley was adapted into a preface to McHenry's episode about the regicide's intervention against the "witch accus-

ers.” When the play reaches its finale, the symmetry of these two rescues has become fearful. With a dramatist’s license for anachronism, Barker pressed the 1676 deliverance of Hadley and the 1692 delusion at Salem into the same day. Rather than redeeming his Roundhead past, Goffe’s mysterious, almost occultish, appearance at Hadley augments the “superstition” of the Puritans and provokes the suspicion and terror of the witch trials.

Barker, like Scott and McHenry, introduced the regicide as an exile caught between guilt and grace. Goffe, known simply as the “Unknown,” admits that the “mark of Cain” has been imprinted upon him; he laments that his “holy cause” has forced him to “shun my species” and to “Shut out the common day” by hiding “in caves of night.” Although he turns an “unblenching eye” toward heaven, he asks God, at alternate moments, to defend and to “forgive” his act.²² When the Algonkian “savages” press toward the village, the Unknown emerges from the woods and declares that he was “sent to save you,” scolding those “Christian men” who doubted “providence” by contemplating retreat.²³ But his sudden disappearance after the battle clouds his divine mandate. According to Stiles’ history, the fugitive’s quick exit left Hadley unable to “account for the phenomenon, but by considering that person as an Angel sent of God upon that special occasion for their deliverance.” In Barker’s play, the lingering question is whether the “mysterious leader” is “an angel—or a fiend.”²⁴

Within hours of the rescue, the Unknown’s deliverance of the town comes back to haunt his daughter Isabella and his grandson Charles during the witchcraft trials. Seen holding “mysterious converse” with the “supernatural visitant” who “Appear’d this day among us,” Charles cannot shake the “charge of sorcery.” In the final debacle, Barker made ironic sport of his sources. As in McHenry’s volume, the regicide bursts through the door to intervene against the witch hunt—but this time too late. The executed Charles is carried on a bier into the courtroom, where Isabella assumes the part of King Lear mourning over a murdered child until she faints and dies from grief. Barker also altered McHenry’s scene about the pardonning of Goffe into a cry of despair. Originally excluded from the “general amnesty,” the Unknown eventually learns that Charles II has pardoned him. But the pardon is granted in “fatal tardiness”—moments after Charles’ execution and Isabella’s collapse. Devasted by the loss of his last surviving relations, the Unknown chooses to ignore the king’s forgiveness and “seek a grave, unknown, unseen by man.”²⁵ In his catalog of oral traditions, Stiles treated the unknown gravesites of the regicides as a reminder that the vindictiveness of Charles II denied the exiles the chance to make their homes in the Puritan community; however, Barker twisted that tradition to imply that the regicide’s final exile was self-imposed, a flight from the theocrats of New England not their English king.

As the courtroom veers toward disaster, Barker strained credibility with one more ironic confession. He disclosed that Isabella was raped and secretly married by Charles II. Though historically unfounded, this revelation underscores Barker’s depiction of the witch hunt as sexual terror. Isabella, as well as her child,

is stranded between the licentiousness and misogyny of the Stuart king and court and the sexual repressiveness of the New England clerics. “Made gloomier” by his wife’s death, Ravensworth confuses his struggle for doctrinal precision with his need to cling to his daughter for emotional support. Any sign of romantic interest in Mary is denounced by the father as a desire for “rape” and “murder” and equated with witchcraft. Part of Ravensworth’s evidence against Charles is that his love casts “spells” on Mary. In *Superstition*, the Puritan desire to sublimate sexuality into familial devotion ends up destroying the families—and therefore the continuity of Puritanism as a religious and cultural force in America. Even Goffe’s chances for reunion with his daughter are impeded by sexual guilt: Isabella worries that the Roundhead judge will reject her for her liaison with the Stuart king. Only after the death of her son does Isabella hear her father confess that he knows of her marriage and can “forgive and bless” her.²⁶ Rather than renouncing the extremism of the Roundheads, Ravensworth and the Puritan witch hunters actually repeat the act of regicide, executing young Charles, the undisclosed heir to the crown. This satire is all the more severe since Charles, a hybrid of Puritan and Cavalier, is the one who might have preceded the king’s Catholic brother, James II, to the throne and made the world safe for Puritans. By trapping the Roundhead judge in the heart of the Salem terror, *Superstition* implies that Puritanism—as a political continuity in England and as a social and domestic covenant in America—collapsed on its own.

There is an escape hatch. The spontaneous combustion of Puritanism during the witchcraft tragedy is juxtaposed with a civic Quakerism—a roadmap, as it were, to Barker’s own town. In the opening scene, Mary puts her own opposition to the “grave solemnity” and paternalism of Puritanism in Quaker terms. While a friend proclaims that she is “content to follow” wherever “our fathers lead,” Mary endorses Quaker notions of her own direct communion with a “gentle” God:

Religion

Descends not like the vulture in its wrath;
But rather like the mild and gentle dove,
Emblem of peace and harbinger of joy,
Love in its eye and healing on its wing;
With pure and snowy plumage, downy soft,
To nestle in the bosom of its votaries.

Ravensworth, of course, is the “vulture” who will soon descend in wrath upon his own people; his name even sets him against the Quaker “dove” of “peace” and “joy.” Barker also left room to doubt whether the witch hunt was inspired by a genuine belief in Satan or by the clergy’s anxiety over religious pluralism. Ravensworth’s attack on sorcery erupts out of his crusade to “root out” the “alien sectaries” that “choke the soil.”²⁷ First performed within earshot of the Liberty Bell, Barker’s drama invited its community to celebrate its heritage as the heartland of religious freedom—as well as its independence from Puritan New

England. In 1824, with Federalism in abeyance, the tragedy by the devout Jeffersonian also reverberated with the joy of political partisanship.

Three months after the first performance of *Superstition*, the regicide and witchcraft judges showed up once again in Philadelphia. Only a few blocks from the Chestnut Street Theatre, the printing house of Lea and Carey published an anonymous romance, *The Witch of New England*. The author seems certain to have paid at least one visit to the theatre. Many of Barker's characters and variations survive in the romance, even though there are also clues that the author read Scott and Stiles—and probably McHenry as well. Like Scott's novel, *The Witch of New England* mistakenly identifies Whalley as the Angel. A preface to the romance claims that this saga was mysteriously passed along by a weathered traveler, an echo of Scott's and McHenry's introductions. Fascinated by the "traditionary information" and local anecdotes, Stiles spent a full chapter pondering the theory that Whalley was buried near New Haven beneath an eroded gravestone bearing only the letters "E.W." And, sure enough, *The Witch of New England* marks the regicide's death by noting that a "plain stone, with the initials E.W., is still traditionally supposed to mark the grave of General Whalley, in the old church-yard."²⁸

As an anthology of themes and motifs from earlier sources, *The Witch of New England* is more like the patchwork of a farm quilt than the relentless synthesis of a Puritan sermon. The regicide and witchcraft episodes are scraps that show up here and there, part of the same collage, though not always laced together. Most of all, the novel offers a much more colorful assortment of religious options than previous regicide tales. Ostensibly set in Massachusetts, the romance begins with a lament that the "Pilgrims and their children" had not forgotten their "belief in witches" when the *Mayflower* crossed its "Lethe"; however, the hot-tempered cleric of this tale, Reverend Bradley, is a minister of "true Presbyterian exactness." His "superstitious, narrow-minded," "unrelenting, obstinate and cruel" dogmatism is reminiscent of the Salem judges, but his "great enthusiasm in addressing his audience" links him not with the hierarchy of settled pastors in Massachusetts but with the itinerant "New Light" Presbyterians in the Middle Colonies during the Great Awakening. He is also a kinder, gentler fanatic than the father of Barker's tragedy. A widower, his pastoral "zeal" is softened by his need to play a maternal role, by his tenderness and respect for his step-daughter and his son.²⁹ And his obsession with witches stops far short of his daughter's death or his community's demise.

Instead, the tale has dressed the Puritan village in the religious diversity of Pennsylvania and insisted upon a level playing field. The Presbyterian clergyman quarrels with other creeds—namely, Episcopalianism, Quakerism, and the liberal, Miltonic Calvinism favored by his son Edward—but appears unable to legislate doctrine. All creeds have their attractions and their faults. The strongest invectives against Annie Brown, the "witch of New England," are tossed against her by supporters of the king, presumably Anglican sympathizers. Even the

Quakers are not idealized as the simple, meek antitheses to their Calvinist oppressors evident in Barker's play. The young Quaker of the novel can anathemize Calvinist "errors" and "backslidings" with the same "wild and brutal lustre" as his antagonists.³⁰ Though the novel seems like a motley array of scenes and incidents next to Barker's taut, suspenseful plot, *The Witch of New England* offers a more finely nuanced recording of the sound and fury of religious diversity.

The romance is not, therefore, Barker's fable about the insular, nearly incestual disintegration of New England Puritanism. Instead, the novel dwells on the confrontation of a heterogeneous Anglo-American culture and the indigenous culture of the continent. It offers a contrapuntual melody of respect for the Native Americans and repulsion at miscegenation. Banished from European settlements, the regicide learns to revere Indian beliefs and customs and develops a special rapport with one young chieftain, Uncas—a model perhaps, as Bell suggests, for Fenimore Cooper's last Mohican. Edward Bradley, a confidant of the regicide, also proclaims that the "traditions of some of these aboriginal tribes" are not only "beautiful, full of fancy and poetry," but also distinguished by "scrupulous and extraordinary accuracy." The specific tradition that Bradley has in mind is a creation tale: the Great Spirit, as this story goes, realized that humans were "white and very imperfect," improved on the model with the "Negro," and finally perfected the species with "red clay." But this account, despite placing the Indian at the pinnacle of humanity, also condones separatism and white expansion. Placed "on this great island, separate from the white and black men," the "pure" Native Americans became "exceedingly ill-tempered and wicked," and the Great Spirit sent another version of the Flood—thunder, lightning and buffaloes—to weed out the population.³¹ Europeans infiltrate a continent that has already been cleared for them by Native American sins.

Similarly, the regicide's role as the "rescuer" of the settlers gets tangled in fears over the extremes of genocide and miscegenation. *The Witch of New England*, much like Cooper's tale of the regicide, *The Wept of Wish-ton-Wish*, tries to shy away from the violence and racism of the Angel's participation in King Philip's War. The regicide's young friend, Edward Bradley, is saved from the Algonkians, not by the fugitive judge, but by a young Algonkian girl, Haneda. In this respect, the myth of the Angel of Hadley is blended with the Pocahontas myth, as if this novel, printed in a Pennsylvania town, provided a meeting place for New England and Virginian folklore. But *The Witch of New England* cannot endure for long the burden of Edward's moral indebtedness to his "benefactress." So, in her "simple and cultivated mind," Haneda quickly comes to accept that the "man she loved could only be happy with his own countrymen," and she helps Bradley escape into the hideous forest, where he is rescued a second time—this time from the pursuit of more hostile "savages" or from dehydration and death—by the regicide's daughter, newly arrived in America.³² The Angel of Hadley's role as rescuer has been passed to a second generation; the romance is less concerned with the hope of evading the ambiguous shadow of the English Civil War than

with the task of planting English culture on Native American soil. If Protestant pluralism is the antidote to the insular biogtry of Calvinist New England, it is also the happy coalition of diverse Protestant sects that justifies a uniform tragedy for the Native American people. At the end, the tale's musing on the witchcraft delusions is muddled by Annie Brown's relations with her "red friends." On the one hand, the ministers and judges irrationally and obsessively concoct charges against Annie for "sorcery" and "necromancy," relying on evidence from a young girl about a "black cat."³³ Yet, on the other hand, the reader already knows that the deranged Annie is guilty of brutally murdering an English hunter and seeking refuge and companionship within the most bellicose native tribe. The complicity of witch and "savage" makes it easier to condone the territorial expansion of the witch hunter.

Critics laud Hawthorne as the one who exploited the darker implications of the regicide myth. But this triumverate of "Philadelphia stories" reveals that the legacy of witchcraft was already stitched onto the Angel of Hadley legend before Hawthorne paraded his Gray Champion through Boston streets. Witchcraft would remain a persistent theme in the Angel fable. When the "gloomy" Puritans in Hawthorne's sketch confront the royal Governor Edmund Andros, they assure themselves of "Heaven's blessing on a righteous cause" and prepare for the imminent moment when "Satan will strike his master-stroke." In Delia Bacon's novella *The Regicides*, the colonists attribute demonic qualities to a "Lady of the Mist," none other than Goffe's daughter, and the fugitives take refuge in a house long considered "haunted." Perhaps the bleakest parody of Goffe's heroics at Hadley occurs in William Alexander Caruthers's *Cavaliers of Virginia*, where the Angel leaves his "subterranean cell" in the "black mask" of an evil spirit to invade a wedding ceremony so that he can prevent his daughter from committing incest.³⁴ Similiar conjunctions of the witch scare and the regicides' flight appear in James Kirke Paulding's novel *The Puritan's Daughter* (1849) and the anonymous tale *Salem Belle* (1842).

It is hard to uncover a singular Romantic lesson in this anachronistic meeting of Salem judges and Roundhead fugitives. Why did American writers cut and paste their chronologies to get the Angel of Hadley and the disciples of Satan onto the same page? Did the Romantics want the regicides to bear part of the shame of the witchcraft delusion? Certainly Barker prompts one to wonder if the zeal of the Roundheads was indeed all that different from the delirium of the Salem accusers. But the tales also offer glimpses of patriotism in the darkness of the Salem crisis. The publication of Scott's *Peveiril* in 1822 and the reissue of Calef's *More Wonders* in 1823 threw the regicides and the witchcraft judges into the limelight at a common moment—a moment when American writers were caught in the flush of literary nationalism. As American politicians grew more secure about the nation's independence following the War of 1812, American writers began to predict a robust future for the nation's literature. All the while Noah Webster was gloating about the beauty of American English, historical novelists

dug through the British colonial past for the crude ore of American republicanism. Although the Roundhead crusade and the Salem crucible bore scars of hysteria and violence, both events also revealed Anglo-American culture in process of refinement. Once the irrationality and fanaticism of the Puritan Civil War and the Puritan witchcraft trials were burned away, the republican instincts at the heart of the Puritan movements would presumably become clearer. In some tales, the regicides even compensate for their Roundhead extremism by intervening to stop the Salem rage. When all has been said and done, both the guilt-ridden Roundheads and the frenzied judges of Salem village give way to a more enlightened, tolerant core of Puritan rationalists. The compressed saga of regicide and Salem judges, therefore, often serves as a fable about the purification of New England Puritanism.

New Englanders certainly fanned these fires of purification. Along with other literary nationalists throughout the United States, many northern authors shared the “good feelings” after the Treaty of Ghent and the end of the War of 1812. Like *The Witch of New England*, much of the historical fiction written during the 1820s and 30s depicts the Salem debacle as the purging of Old World bigotry from New World soil. In this respect, the Romantic fascination with the witchcraft tragedy reveals some of the postwar optimism about American freedom from European cultural and political dominance. Though parties in the failed venture in Parliamentary self-rule, the exiled regicides are at least permitted to watch the end of the old Puritan order and the emergence of a new American republicanism. And some of the regicide tales—certainly *The Witch of New England* and Caruthers’ *Cavaliers of Virginia*—are anxious to spread that republicanism west. American writers frequently projected the evils of witchcraft onto the Native Americans in order to condone expansion. *The Witch of New England*, for instance, denounces the paranoia of New England Calvinists even as it confirms their suspicions that Native Americans often keep counsel with the devil.

It is well to remember, though, that the regicide-witchcraft tales betray interstate rivalries, not simply international feuds. New Englanders appear as eager to rescue the regicides from Philadelphian pluralism as from English tyranny. As sequels to the three Philadelphian variations on the regicide theme, the New England stories about the Roundhead exiles, even Hawthorne’s satirical stare at his Gray Champion, seem as affectionate as they are ironic. Barker’s hint that Quaker gentleness could redeem Puritan intolerance was generally not the lesson that New England Unitarians drew from the tragedy. According to Lawrence Buell, the Romantic preoccupation with the witchcraft trauma gained strength from the Unitarian crusade for the disestablishment of Congregationalism as the state religion of Massachusetts, finally accomplished in 1833.³⁵ Unitarian historian Charles Wentworth Upham delivered three lectures at Salem on witchcraft in 1831, and he later revised and expanded those lectures into a major two-volume treatise, *Salem Witchcraft*, still regarded as an indispensable contribution to the scholarship on the calamity. As much as Upham deplored the

excesses of the trials, he still sought to salvage the progressive Puritan spirit as the seed of American idealism. "Whenever the place we live is mentioned," Upham lamented, "this memorable transaction will be found associated with it; those who know nothing else of our history or our character will be sure to know, and tauntingly to inform us that they know, that we hanged the witches." Consequently, he returned to the scene of horrors to honor his Puritan fathers and mothers: "It is surely incumbent upon us to possess ourselves of correct and just views of a transaction thus indissolubly connected with the reputation of our home, with the memory of our fathers, and, of course, with the most precious part of the inheritance of our children." Admitting that there were "few passages in the history of any people" as "pitiable and tragical" as the witch hunt, he nonetheless protested that his ancestors had been "visited with unmeasured reproach" and he urged all to withhold "sentence" until the "darkest features of the transaction" could be distinguished from the glimpses of insight and courage.³⁶ Such pleas for tolerance reveal that Upham, like Hawthorne and others of Unitarian temper, had much invested in the belief that liberal New Englanders could find their own way out of the dark.

The meeting of regicides and Salem judges, therefore, resists an easy moral. Consider the mixed messages in the advice given by Unitarian historian and minister John Gorham Palfrey. In 1821, one year before the *Pevevil of the Peak*, Palfrey insisted that American novelists had more reason to boast of their Puritan heritage than Walter Scott did. The religious dissidents who "stayed by their comfortable homes to quarrel with the church and behead the king," Palfrey asserted, "were but an inferior race" to the Puritans who "left behind them all that belongs to the recollections of infancy and the fortunes of maturer life . . . to lay the foundation of a religious community" in New England. Among the many "sublime" and "pathetic" incidents from the colonial past was the history of "Goff and Whaley," who "made acquaintance with every hiding-place, whether friend's cellar or hollow tree, from Massachusetts Bay to the Connecticut, from Hadley to the Sound." Palfrey's excitement about the regicides fits well with his thesis: the fugitive judges witnessed the failure of Parliament's "quarrel with the king" and enjoyed the sanctuary of New England's "religious community." But Palfrey also invokes a strange image to endorse the regicides and other Puritans to Romantic writers. The exiles' story, like so many scenes from Puritan history, could be discovered by any American novelist who could "hold the witch-hazel wand that can trace it."³⁷ Whatever disdain Palfrey had for religious paranoia and demonology, the Unitarian minister still equated historical fiction with the craft of the necromancer. The darkness of the American woods—the province of witches, regicides, and savages—was a rich source for American fiction, a realm of the mysterious and the "sublime." American authors could find their national voice by giving the devil his due.

Notes

1. David Arnold, "Finding Someone to Blame 1692 or 1992," *Boston Globe*, January 31, 1992, 1; Bella English, "Salem's Plans Offend Witches," *Boston Globe*, September 18, 1991, 21; Peter S. Canellos, "The Witching Year: Salem of Two Minds on How to Portray Past Horror," *Boston Globe*, October 31, 1991, 1.
2. For a perspective on the Salem crisis in comparison with other episodes of seventeenth-century witchcraft, see Carol F. Karlsen, *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England* (New York, 1987), xi-xii, as well as the tables in the appendix to John Putnam Demos' *Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the Culture of Early New England* (New York, 1982), 401-409.
3. Demos, *Entertaining Satan* 3.
4. Michael Davitt Bell, *Hawthorne and the Historical Romance of New England* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1971), 99.
5. Two of the most recent historical studies of the regicides are Douglas Wilson, "Web of Secrecy: Goffe, Whalley, and the Legend of Hadley," *The New England Quarterly*, 60 (1987), 515-548, and Lemuel A. Welles, *History of the Regicides in New England* (New York, 1927). Wilson challenges conventional wisdom by arguing for the historicity of the Angel of Hadley episode.
6. Bell, *Hawthorne and the Historical Romance* 28n.
7. *Ibid.*, 33. In addition to Bell's study, critical assessments of the regicides as patriotic icons in American legend include G. Harrison Orians, "The Angel of Hadley in Fiction. A Study of the Sources of Hawthorne's 'The Gray Champion,'" *American Literature* 4 (November 1932), 256-269; Neal Frank Doubleday, *Hawthorne's Early Tales, A Critical Study* (Durham, North Carolina, 1972), 85-92; Ursula Brumm, "A Regicide Judge as 'Champion' of American Independence," *Amerikanstudien* 21 (1976), 176-186; and George Dekker, "Sir Walter Scott, the Angel of Hadley, and American Historical Fiction," *Journal of American Studies* 17 (August 1983), 211-227.
8. Two scholars who stress Hawthorne's ironic treatment of the regicide legend are Frederick Newberry, in "'The Gray Champion': Hawthorne's Ironic Criticism of Puritan Rebellion," *Studies in Short Fiction* 13 (1976), 363-370, and Michael J. Colacurcio, in *The Province of Piety: Moral History in Hawthorne's Early Tales* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1984), especially 208-218.
9. Thomas Hutchinson, *History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts-Bay*, ed. Lawrence Shaw Mayo, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1936) I, 183, 186n, 187n.
10. Ezra Stiles, *A History of Three of the Judges of King Charles I* (Hartford, Connecticut, 1794), 339. See also the biography of Stiles by Edmund S. Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan* (New Haven, 1962), 458-461. In a recent essay, I discuss Stiles' history as a political response to Hutchinson's loyalist interpretation of the judges. See "Thomas Hutchinson, Ezra Stiles, and the Legend of the Regicides," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 49 (July 1992), 431-448.
11. Walter Scott, *Pevevil of the Peak* 2 vols. (New York, 1901), I, 351n.
12. Brumm, "A Regicide Judge," 181.
13. James McHenry, *The Spectre of the Forest, Or the Annals of the Housatonic, A New England Romance* 2 vols. (New York, 1823), II, 65; Hutchinson *History of Massachusetts-Bay*, I, 441-442, 186n.
14. Robert Calef, *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, in *The Witchcraft Delusion in New England*, ed. Samuel G. Drake, 3 vols. (New York, 1866), I, 37, 38.
15. McHenry, *The Spectre*, II, 65, 97, 98, 99.
16. Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts-Bay*, I, 187; Scott, *Pevevil*, I, 350; McHenry, *The Spectre*, I, 112; II, 183.
17. McHenry, *The Spectre*, II, 139; Scott, *Pevevil*, I, 150; McHenry, *The Spectre*, II, 182, 188.
18. McHenry, *The Spectre*, II, 18.
19. Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, *The Literary History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1906), 215-216; Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines 1741-1850* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1957), 274.
20. Henry Simpson, *The Lives of Eminent Philadelphians, Now Deceased* (Philadelphia, 1859), 26-28; Oberholtzer, *Literary History of Philadelphia* 240; William Dunlap, *History of the American Theatre and Anecdotes of the Principal Actors* (New York, 1963), 316; McHenry, *The Usurpers, An Historical Tragedy* (Philadelphia, 1829), v, vi.
21. For Barker's debt to Hutchinson, see Paul Musser, *James Nelson Barker* (Philadelphia, 1929), 92-94.
22. James Nelson Barker, *The Tragedy of Superstition*, in *Representative American Plays From 1767 to the Present Day*, ed. Arthur Hobson Quinn, Seventh Edition (New York, 1953), 120.
23. *Ibid.* 127, 128.
24. Stiles, *History of Three of the Judges*, 109; Barker, *Tragedy of Superstition*, 129.
25. Barker, *Tragedy of Superstition*, 138, 139, 133, 139, 140.
26. *Ibid.* 116, 138, 139.
27. *Ibid.* 115, 117.

28. Stiles, *History of Three of the Judges*, 30; *The Witch of New England; A Romance* (Philadelphia, 1824), 208.
29. *Witch of New England*, 14, 13, 14, 30, 31, 30, 32.
30. *Ibid* 148, 149.
31. Bell, *Hawthorne and the Historical Romance*, 94; *Witch of New England*, 117, 116.
32. See James Fenimore Cooper, *The Wept of Wish-ton-Wish* (New York, 1895), 371-388; *Witch of New England*, 98, 194.
33. *Witch of New England*, 109, 211, 212.
34. Nathaniel Hawthorne, "The Gray Champion," *Centenary Edition of the Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, eds. William Charvat, et al., 16 vols. (Columbus, Ohio, 1974), IX, 11; Delia Bacon, "The Regicides," *Tales of the Puritans* (New Haven, 1831), 106; William Alexander Caruthers, *The Cavaliers of Virginia, or the Recluse of Jamestown* 2 vols. (New York, 1834-1835), I, 50, 222.
35. Lawrence Buell, *New England Literary Culture* (Cambridge, England, 1986), 219-224.
36. Charles Wentworth Upham, *Salem Witchcraft; With An Account of Salem Village, and a History of Opinions on Witchcraft and Kindred Subjects*, 2 vols., (1867; Williamstown, Massachusetts, 1971), I, 4-5.
37. John Gorham Palfrey, "Yamoyden," *North American Review*, 31 (April 1821), 480, 483.