

*Skeletons in the Closet:
How the Actions of the Salem Witch Trials Victims'
Families in 1692 Affected Later Memorialization*

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On August 2, 1992 a convicted witch was quietly buried in a small pine grove cemetery in Danvers, Massachusetts. Enclosed inside a handmade wooden coffin, the purported remains of George Jacobs Sr. were lowered into a freshly dug grave as a small crowd of local reporters, historians and community members looked on.¹ Accused three centuries earlier during the 1692 Salem Village Witch-Hunt,² Jacobs remained without a memorial or even a grave marker until that warm summer day in 1992, when a community did what his own family was unwilling to do: give him a proper burial, and carve his name upon a stone so that he would not be forgotten.

Jacobs' family secretly buried him and his family's complicated legacy in 1692, and once his bones were uncovered in the 20th century no descendants stepped forward to claim his remains and the familial baggage that they carried. His bones were relegated to a box kept on various shelves and in closets around town, forgotten by the world.

One striking aspect of Jacobs' burial in 1992 is that he is not the only victim of the 1692 witch-hunt remembered with a marker in that cemetery. His final resting place, with a small reproduction 17th century headstone, lies in the shadow of an imposing granite memorial to another victim of the witch-hunt, Rebecca Nurse, which was constructed by her family over a century prior to Jacobs' quiet burial. While Jacobs was hidden away in an anonymous grave and then in a box over the course of three centuries with no attempt at memorialization made, Nurse's descendants held family reunions in her memory, and constructed a large granite monument in her honor in 1885—the only memorial to the legacy of any victim of the witch-hunt until the 1992 tercentenary commemorations.

This drastic difference in memorialization was not caused by the actions of either Nurse or Jacobs in 1692, but rather by the actions of their families during the witch-hunt. The Nurse family defended their wrongfully executed relative and continued to honor her

legacy through the years, while the Jacobs family sought to forget their innocent relation, afraid that the skeletons in their closet—another ancestor's guilt and complicity in his death and deaths of others in 1692—would be unearthed.

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At least 172 people from across Essex County and beyond were accused of practicing witchcraft during the 1692 Salem Village Witch-Hunt. Nineteen were hanged, one was pressed to death, and at least five died in dungeon-like jails.³ All were innocent victims of an impossible crime: signing a covenant with the Devil and using preternatural powers to harm, torture, and "afflict" women, men and children. Although Massachusetts recognized that the victims were innocent in the years following 1692, they were not—and to this day still are not—memorialized in similar ways.

This difference in memorialization is not due to how the victims themselves acted in 1692, because all the executed victims stated their innocence prior to their death. Instead, one significant reason for this difference is how the victims' families acted at the time, and whether the actions of each victim's family complicate the victim's legacy. This article examines the cases of two of the innocent victims hanged in the summer of 1692: Rebecca Nurse and George Jacobs Sr.

These two victims were chosen as case studies for several reasons. First, both maintained their innocence until their dying breath, and unambiguously asserted that the charges against them were false. Second, they came from similar socio-economic backgrounds as farmers near the border of Salem Village and Salem Town. Third, 19th century historians writing before and around the time that Nurse's family campaigned to build the 1885 monument positively portrayed both Nurse and Jacobs. Therefore, the views of historians in that time period do not account for their different levels of memorialization.

Fourth, they both left strong physical legacies and many local descendants through the end of the 19th century and beyond, when the first monuments related to 1692 were constructed. Also, the descendants of both Jacobs and Nurse lived in the same community, Danvers (formerly Salem Village), which was torn apart by the witch-hunt. The descendants of both victims living in the same community

eliminates the variable that descendants of victims in some communities came to terms with their tragic inheritance earlier than those in other locations.

Lastly, and most importantly, despite the many similarities above, the legacies of Jacobs and Nurse were memorialized in sharply divergent ways. Rebecca Nurse was the first victim of the witch-hunt whose descendants constructed a monument to her memory in 1885. George Jacobs Sr., on the other hand, was not memorialized at all by his family, despite having the best physical legacy in the community: his family still lived on his farm and in his house up until the 1930s, his walking sticks were in the collections of the Essex Institute in Salem, he was later immortalized in arguably the most famous painting depicting 1692 and he was the only victim whose body was later discovered.⁴ Yet, he received no memorial—not even a simple grave marker—until 1992. Indeed when he finally received this headstone, it was not his descendants but rather local residents who commissioned it.

One difference between the cases of Jacobs and Nurse is gender, but this is not the cause of their different levels of memorialization. Nurse's status as a woman accused of witchcraft made her less likely to be commemorated initially, due to the continued belief that women were more predisposed to witchcraft. Carol F. Karlsen notes in her examination of the role of gender in New England witch-hunts that between 1620 and 1725, 344 persons were accused of witchcraft in New England, and of those whose sex is known, 78% were women.⁵ This association of witchcraft with women continued after 1692, and was reexamined by early feminists during the women's suffrage movement.

As Marion Gibson describes, at the very end of the 19th century women's rights activists began to associate early American witch prosecutions with oppression of women by Christian religious authorities and so championed the cause of these innocent victims of witch-hunts.⁶ This connection was first made explicit in Matilda Joslyn Gage's *Woman, Church and State* (1893).⁷ But, this was not published until eight years after the dedication of the monument to Nurse and one year after the dedication of the monument to her supporters during the witch-hunt. The historical and fictional interpretations of the witch-hunt published before the dedication of the 1885 memorial to Nurse dealt with themes of superstition versus progress, not gender.

Additionally, the monument to Nurse describes her as a "Christian martyr" and her descendants invited several ministers to the dedication.⁸ This prominent inclusion of Christianity in her memorialization shows the distance between the lines of thought of the radical women's rights activists who saw Christianity as oppressive and Nurse's descendants who memorialized her as a devout Christian. Nurse's memorialization was not a product of Gage's 19th century radical feminist ideas, and gender overall did not have a significant effect on the difference in memorialization between Nurse and Jacobs.

Another factor that does not affect the difference in memorialization between Nurse and Jacobs is economic gain from tourism. The Nurse family dedicated the monument long before the rise of "witch tourism" in the City of Salem (now branded as "Witch City"), and the memorial is in Danvers, far from where commercial Salem tourist sites developed. The early tourist guidebooks to Salem placed emphasis on Salem's maritime past instead of its witch-hunt connections through the late 19th century, and not even the bicentennial of the witch-hunt in 1892 substantially changed this balance.⁹ Salem increasingly began to cater to witch tourism beginning during the Great Depression, but not fully until the 1970s.¹⁰ The memorial to Nurse was constructed at the site of her supposed burial, in a small family cemetery surrounded by farmland in Danvers, Mass. (formerly Salem Village), far from the commerce and business of downtown Salem. There was no money to be made by the Nurse or Jacobs descendants by constructing a memorial to their ancestors in the 19th century.

Fortunately, although unforeseen at the time, the monument's location on the Nurse Farm in Danvers instead of in the more commercial City of Salem allowed the memorial, which today is part of the Rebecca Nurse Homestead Museum, to elude the "witch kitsch" of Salem and retain its historical authenticity.¹¹ Though unanticipated at the time of its construction, this situation has allowed the monument to remain a true site of memorialization.

The main factor that caused Jacobs and Nurse to be memorialized in sharply contrasting ways is the actions of their family members in 1692. After Nurse was accused, her family gathered stacks of testimony on her behalf and collected signatures for a petition attesting to her good character. But, in Jacobs' case, although he forcefully maintained his innocence, his own granddaughter accused him and others of

witchcraft before she (later) admitted that her statements against him and the other innocent victims were lies. The actions of his granddaughter, Margaret Jacobs, therefore complicate the Jacobs family's legacy. Their descendants could not remember George's innocence without also remembering Margaret's complicity in the killing of innocent people.

In addition to revealing how the role of family members in 1692 affected memorialization of victims of the witch-hunt, this study also reevaluates how the construction of the Nurse memorial fits in the overall narrative of memorialization in Danvers and Salem. One recent work that describes the difference in memorialization and remembrance of the witch-hunt between the two communities, Marion Gibson's *Witchcraft Myths in American Culture* (2007), devotes part of a chapter to the monument memorializing Nurse.¹² However, the conclusion reached in this work is that it was the City of Salem that took the lead in coming to terms with the legacy of the witch-hunt. This paper instead reveals that the dedication of the memorial to Nurse in 1885, and the memorial to her supporters dedicated in 1892 instead show that it was the Danvers community—the community most affected by the 1692 witch-hunt—along with her descendants that took the lead in the first memorialization of the witch-hunt and the rejection of the judgements of their ancestors, not Salem.

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“I am as Innocent as the Child Unborn”

Rebecca Towne was born in England in 1621, and arrived in Salem around 1635.¹³ She lived with her parents and siblings in what was the Northfields area of Salem, coincidentally on the farm next to the one on which George Jacobs Sr. and family lived in 1692.¹⁴ She married Francis Nurse, and they had eight children together before adopting two more, one orphaned and one abandoned by her mother.¹⁵ They raised their children in Salem Town, where Rebecca was voted in as a covenant member of the Salem Church.¹⁶ In order to be become a covenant church member, the other members needed to be convinced of her inner grace and that she was predestined for heaven after her death. Few persons were deemed holy enough to be church members like Nurse. She and her husband Francis, along with their children who were not yet married, moved to Salem Village in 1678, where she lived until her death in 1692.¹⁷

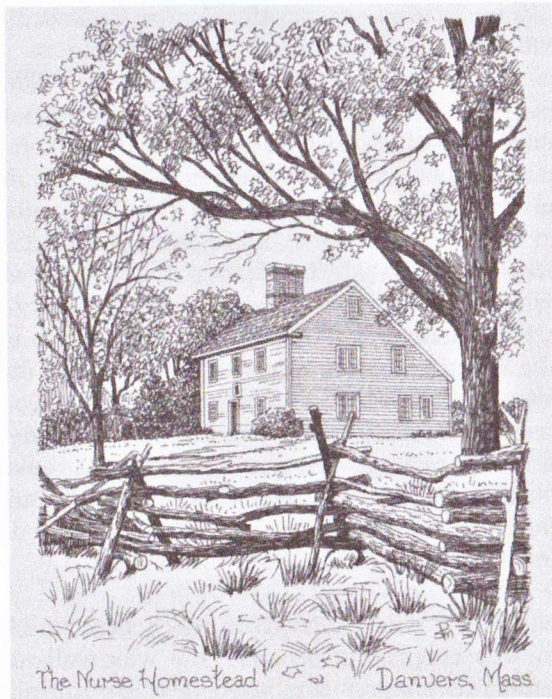
The witch-hunt began in late January 1692, when two young women in the household of Reverend Samuel Parris began acting strangely. Soon the behavior spread to young women and adult women in households across the Village and then to men as well. Fearful of the screams and contortions of the “afflicted,” their parents consulted the village doctor and he determined that “they were under an evil hand,” meaning that someone used witchcraft to cause their unnatural afflictions.¹⁸ The first witchcraft accusations soon followed.

The first three accused of witchcraft were Tituba, Sarah Good, and Sarah Osburn. All three women had details in their past, which made them more likely suspects to their neighbors. Tituba was a native slave from Barbados, not originally a Puritan, and was the domestic slave in Rev. Parris' household where the first two “afflicted” began acting strangely.¹⁹ Sarah Good was a middle-aged woman and a pipe-smoker, who had a tempestuous relationship with her husband, William Good. Her husband testified before the judges at her initial hearing that she “is an enemy to all good.”²⁰ The Goods did not have a home of their own, and Sarah was a beggar who went door to door. On at least one occasion she was heard suspiciously muttering while walking away from the parsonage after asking for alms.²¹ Sarah Osburn was an older sickly woman who, after her first husband died, scandalously married her servant. There was also a disputed inheritance between Osburn and the children of her first husband.²²

Rebecca Nurse was accused of witchcraft in March, 1692. Her accusation was surprising because she was well-respected and not a likely witchcraft suspect compared to those initially accused.²³ However, there was one instance when she showed a temper with a neighboring family over an issue of loose pigs that destroyed crops on her farm.²⁴ She was a 71-year old grandmother, a covenant member of the Salem Town Church, and her neighbors thought well of her, as they demonstrated by signing a petition drafted by her husband after her arrest that attested to her good character.²⁵ Additionally, for over a week prior to her accusation she was home sick in bed and she never attended any of the previous hearings of the witchcraft suspects or saw the “afflicted” in person since their fits began in January.²⁶

When first told of the accusation against her, Nurse responded, “I am as innocent as the child unborn.”²⁷ At Nurse's hearing after her arrest on March 24, 1692, her main accusers—Mrs. Ann Putnam (age

31), her daughter Ann Putnam Jr. (age 12), Mary Walcott (age 17), and Abigail Williams (age 11)—“cried out,” “screached,” and claimed to be hurt by her specter, an alleged ghostly image of her.²⁸ Magistrates Jonathan Corwin and John Hathorne ordered her held in jail to await a future trial.²⁹



Courtesy of the Rebecca Nurse Homestead Museum

In the meantime, Nurse’s family collected signatures on a petition attesting to her good character and gathered testimony to the same effect, along with testimony questioning the credibility of her accusers. This evidence was presented to a grand jury, which indicted her nonetheless, and it was later presented at her trial in June, 1692, at the town house in Salem Town.³⁰ At her trial, the testimony her family presented was enough to convince the 12-man jury to acquit her, but only temporarily. She was the first and only person to be acquitted by the Oyer and Terminer Court that oversaw witchcraft cases in 1692.

However, once the not guilty verdict was announced, Nurse’s accusers broke out into fits and screamed so loud that one judge on the court threatened to indict her again on witchcraft charges, and the jury departed to redeliberate.³¹ The jury returned to the courtroom and asked her further questions, to which she apparently did not respond.³² She was an ill, 71-year-old woman who had difficulty hearing, and was standing throughout her trial—likely for several hours at that point. She was possibly disoriented, or simply did not hear the question. Later, Nurse petitioned the court and stated that her lack of a response was because she was “hard of hearing, and full of grief.”³³ However, the jurors took her lack of an answer negatively, and after they redeliberated the jury found her guilty.

Nurse’s family still stood by her, and petitioned Sir William Phips, the recently-installed royal governor, for a reprieve, which he granted. Unfortunately, he rescinded the reprieve after lobbying by someone known only to history as “some Salem gentleman.”³⁴ Nurse was hanged with four other women on July 19, 1692, on the outskirts of Salem Town. Still maintaining the innocence of their mother, her sons reportedly retrieved her body and reburied her on the Nurse Farm in Salem Village.³⁵ As subsequent generations wanted to be buried around her supposed grave site, the Nurse Family Cemetery developed on her former farm. Today the cemetery has several anonymous graves marked only with simple rocks, typical of a 17th century farm, one of which is possibly the grave of Rebecca Nurse.

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“Burn me or hang me, I will stand in the truth of Christ”

Similar to Rebecca Nurse, George Jacobs Sr. began the year 1692 living at home with his family, only to be buried in a solitary grave by summer’s end. Before 1692 Jacobs managed to avoid appearing often before the county court, unlike many of the overly-litigious Puritan men in Salem at that time. However, there was an incident in 1677 when the court fined him because “in such a passion” he struck “one blow” on his neighbor John Tomkins Jr.³⁶ It is not clear what caused this neighborhood quarrel.

He found himself before the magistrates again when he was arrested along with his granddaughter Margaret Jacobs on May 10,

1692, accused of witchcraft.³⁷ Sarah Churchill (age 20), Mercy Lewis (age 17), Ann Putnam Jr. (age 12), and Abigail Williams (age 11) were among his accusers.³⁸

Williams was Rev. Parris' niece, and one of the first two "afflicted" in Salem Village. Sarah Churchill was Jacobs' domestic servant. Mercy Lewis, another of his accusers, claimed in a written deposition that the specter of Jacobs attacked her. Although in real life Jacobs was crippled by arthritis and needed to walk with two canes, Lewis claimed that Jacobs' specter quite agilely beat her repeatedly with its two spectral canes.³⁹ The written testimony of Lewis and that of Ann Putnam Jr. both use the exact same phrase to describe Jacobs: "dreadful wizard."⁴⁰ Both depositions were written by Putnam's father, Thomas, who inserted his own phrases into the many depositions he recorded for the trials in his role as an official court recorder—a clear conflict of interest since he was the father and husband of two leading accusers in 1692.⁴¹

At Jacobs' initial hearing on May 11, he used language reminiscent of Rebecca Nurse to reject the accusations against him, and said that he was "as innocent as the child born tonight."⁴² When it became clear that the magistrates believed the accusations of Sarah Churchill and rejected his protestations of innocence, he declared: "Well! Burn me or hang me, I will stand in the truth of Christ, I know nothing of it [witchcraft]!"⁴³ He maintained his innocence until his death.

A later deposition by Jacobs' daughter Ann (Jacobs) Andrews and Sarah Ingersoll states that after one of Jacobs' hearings before the magistrates ended, Churchill admitted to them that she lied in her testimony against him. The two witnesses recount Churchill as saying that the other accusers "threatened her and told her they would put her in the dungeon" if she did not testify against her master, Jacobs.⁴⁴ The deposition also describes how accusations of witchcraft were so readily believed in the climate of fear, but denials were easily dismissed. The document describes Churchill as saying that "if she told Mr. Noyes [one of the Salem Town ministers] but once that she had set her hand to the [Devil's] book he would believe her, but if she told the truth and said she had not set her hand to the book a hundred times he would not believe her."⁴⁵ Once accused, the assumption of guilt was insurmountable.

Jacobs' granddaughter Margaret also had her hearing on May 11, though no direct record of it survives.⁴⁶ Another document submitted as evidence at George Jacobs Sr.'s trial in August by Joseph Flint gives some insight into Margaret's hearing. Flint relates that on May 11, Margaret "confessed" to the impossible crime of witchcraft while being questioned by the magistrates, and Flint then went into the next room where George Jacobs Sr. was imprisoned and "told him that his granddaughter had confessed. He asked me what she had confessed. I told him that she confessed she was a witch or that she had set her hand to the Devil's book."⁴⁷ The next day, Margaret testified against Alice Parker, another individual accused of witchcraft, at her hearing.⁴⁸ She switched from being one of the accused, to being an accuser.

Margaret Jacobs was 17 at the time of the trials, and lived in her grandfather's household along with her parents.⁴⁹ On May 14, Margaret's parents George Jr. and Rebecca Jacobs (George Jacobs Sr.'s son and daughter-in-law) were charged with witchcraft and the magistrates issued an arrest warrant.⁵⁰ George Jr. fled before he could be detained, but Rebecca was arrested.⁵¹ She had four young children at home who were left behind when the sheriff took her away, and neighbors cared for them.⁵²

George Jacobs Sr.'s case went before a grand jury on August 4, which rejected one of the two indictments against him.⁵³ He was then put on trial either the same day or possibly the next day, and the jury found him guilty.⁵⁴ Transcripts from the jury trials in 1692 do not survive, but his granddaughter Margaret testified against him at some point in this process, for in a later document she stated, "What I said was altogether false against my grandfather."⁵⁵ After Jacobs' conviction, the overzealous sheriff, George Corwin, seized many of his household goods. Corwin even took the wedding ring off Jacob's wife Mary's finger.⁵⁶

Sometime after Jacobs' conviction, his granddaughter Margaret sent a written recantation of her confession and false accusations against others to the court. She describes the reason for her false confession: "They [her accusers] told me that if I would not confess, I would be put down into the dungeon and would be hanged, but if I would confess I should have my life; the which did so affright me, with my own vile and wicked heart, to save my life made me make the confession I did." Her statement continues, "What I said was altogether false against my grandfather... but the Lord, charging it to

my conscience, made me into so much horror, that I could not contain myself before I had denied my confession... choosing rather death with a quiet conscience than to live in such horror, which I could not suffer."⁵⁷ All that she said against her grandfather was a lie. She was not executed as she expected, but instead spent many months in jail.⁵⁸

In addition to recanting her confession to the court, she personally made an apology to Rev. George Burroughs, another of the accused she testified against. She met with him on August 18 in the Salem Jail, and likely met with her grandfather then too.⁵⁹ Even though he was still going to be hanged, Jacobs at least heard of her recantation, if he did not meet with her himself, because he wrote Margaret back into his will at the last minute.⁶⁰

The damage was already done, though, and both Jacobs and Rev. Burroughs were hanged on August 19, 1692. After his execution, Jacobs' family reportedly buried him in an anonymous grave on his riverbank farm, in a solitary spot not near any other family graves.⁶¹

The day after her grandfather was killed, Margaret wrote a letter to her accused father who was on the run from the sheriff. She ends her opening line, "the Lord look down in mercy upon me, not knowing how soon I will be put to death, by means of the afflicted persons."⁶² She informs her father of her grandfather's execution, and then describes her own situation, "The reason for my confinement is this, I having, through the magistrates' threatening, and my own vile and wretched heart, confessed several things contrary to my conscience and knowledge."⁶³ Margaret also painfully notes how she recanted her testimony against her grandfather before his execution, but it was already too late and she was not believed, "But blessed be the Lord, he would not let me go on in my sins... but I was forced to confess the truth of all before the magistrates, who would not believe me, but tis their pleasure to put me in here, and God knows how soon I shall be put to death."⁶⁴

She remained in jail throughout 1692. By confessing in May 1692, and not recanting until the summer of 1692, the backlog of cases to be tried meant that she was not put on trial until after the Oyer and Terminer Court was abolished. She did not have a trial with the newly created Massachusetts Superior Court of Judicature until January, 1693. Her confession in the spring of 1692 bought her time until the fear and panic passed, and she faced a more skeptical court than the Oyer

and Terminer Court that convicted her grandfather. Both she and her mother were tried on the same day, and the jury found both women not guilty.⁶⁵ They returned home to their farm, where Margaret's grandfather lay buried, with no marker to remind the family of her shame.

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Later Memorialization

Although they were both wrongly-killed innocent victims, in later centuries Rebecca Nurse and George Jacobs Sr.'s families memorialized them in starkly contrasting ways. At first, in the two decades immediately following their deaths, both victims' families acted similarly. Their relatives reportedly buried them on their respective family farms. Then, both families petitioned the Massachusetts General Court, the provincial legislature, to pass an act officially reversing the convictions and attainders of Nurse, Jacobs, and most of the other victims of 1692.⁶⁶ George Jacobs Jr. petitioned on behalf of his family, while Nurse's son Samuel petitioned on behalf of hers.⁶⁷ In 1711 the legislature passed "An Act to Reverse the Attainders of George Burroughs and Others for Witchcraft," which reversed the convictions and attainders on both Jacobs and Nurse, in addition to others convicted of witchcraft in 1692.⁶⁸

However, although these petitions cleared the names of their dear departed, the family members also acted out of self-interest in submitting these petitions. One petition to the Massachusetts legislature, signed by relatives of Nurse and several other victims of 1692, concludes by asking the government "to take off infamy from the names and memory of those who have suffered as aforesaid, that none of their surviving relations, nor their posterity may suffer reproach upon that account."⁶⁹ Another petition, signed by relatives of both Nurse and Jacobs requests that the legislature "restore the reputations to the posterity of the sufferers and remunerate them as to what they have been demnified in their estates."⁷⁰ These still-living relatives of the victims made these requests to the government to clear their own family names and reputations, not just to clear those of the dead. Also, the victims' relatives sought financial compensation from the government. The victims' families were the ones who stood to gain from this process more than the memory of the victims of 1692, so it is not a true attempt at redeeming and memorializing the victims for their sake alone.

It was almost 200 years before anyone took action solely for the memorialization of the victims. In Danvers (formerly Salem Village), the community most devastated by the witch-hunt, it took centuries for the community to come to terms with its role in the events of 1692. This delay is primarily because many of the townspeople had ancestors involved in the witch-hunt and they lived side-by-side with neighbors whose ancestors may have been on the opposite side of the accusations, thereby making the events of 1692 a more personal episode of history. The town did not completely reckon with the past until the tercentennial commemorations in 1992.⁷¹

In the years following 1692, there was little mention made locally of the witch-hunt, and no monuments were constructed until the end of the 19th century. In 1864, W. Elliot Woodward published the first collection of documents from the 1692 witch-hunt, his two-volume *Records of Salem Witchcraft Copied from the Original Documents*, which made the trial documents more accessible to following generations of historians.⁷² Nineteenth century historians writing on the witch-hunt described both Jacobs and Nurse positively, with no difference significant enough to be a factor in their memorialization.

Prior to the 19th century, Robert Calef was the first to describe the saga of Margaret Jacobs accusing her own grandfather of witchcraft, and in 1700 he republished a letter she wrote to her father from jail describing her situation.⁷³ Massachusetts Royal Governor Thomas Hutchinson, in the second volume of his *History of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay* (1768), later republished this letter from Margaret and was the first to publish the recantation of her confession and accusations that she sent the court right before her grandfather's execution.⁷⁴ The original versions of the letter from Margaret Jacobs to her father that Calef reprinted, and her recantation that Hutchinson reprinted, were subsequently lost to history, leaving these reprints as the earliest extant copies for later historians to use.⁷⁵

Joseph B. Felt's *Annals of Salem*, first published in 1827, included a brief section on the witch-hunt. Felt described Jacobs as "a reputable man."⁷⁶ He did not use any adjectives when mentioning Nurse, but noted the jury's reluctance in finding her guilty.⁷⁷ The second edition of his *Annals*, published in 1849, appears to be the first mention by a historian of the Jacobs family's tradition that George Jacobs Sr.'s son reburied him on his farm.⁷⁸ Felt's *Annals* was a well-known local

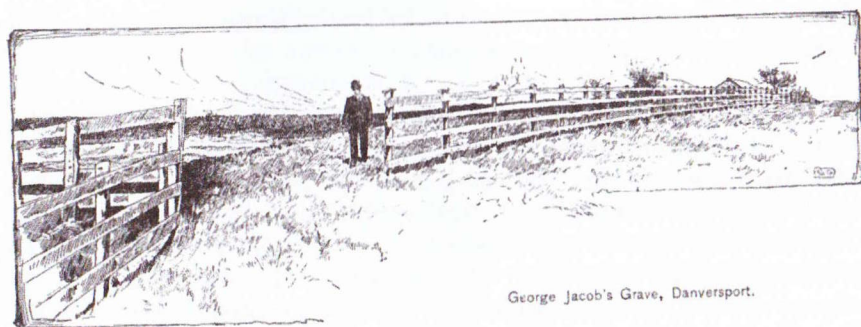
history of the area, and the mention of Jacobs' burial came only a few years before the discovery of his body.

Former Salem mayor and U.S. Congressman Rev. Charles Wentworth Upham wrote the first major historical work entirely devoted to the witch-hunt, *Salem Witchcraft*, published in 1867. This book became the standard historical work on the witch-hunt for almost a century, and Upham writes positively of both Nurse and Jacobs. As to Nurse, Upham notes "the eminent virtue and true Christian excellence of this venerable woman."⁷⁹ He also devoted a section to the Nurse family (primarily her husband Francis) and their role in Salem Village disputes during the years prior to the witch-hunt.⁸⁰ Of Jacobs, Upham describes him insisting on his innocence at his hearing before the magistrates: "His faculties were vigorous, his bearing fearless, and his utterances strong and decided."⁸¹ Both are portrayed as refusing to falsely confess, as others did, to a crime so abominable that the Puritan authorities believed it required the death of body and soul.

Writing in 1870, Zachariah Atwell Mudge described the witch-hunt and its leading personalities in *Witch Hill: A History of Salem Witchcraft Including Illustrative Sketches of Persons and Places*.⁸² Mudge writes of Jacobs that he was "of general good repute, and an honest tiller of the ground," and he writes of Nurse when she is first mentioned, "we greet her now with cheerfulness and respect, but shall part with her in pity, love, and tears."⁸³ His work does not change how historians perceived Nurse and Jacobs.

Following Mudge, Winfield S. Nevins wrote on the witch-hunt at the end of the 19th century, including a magazine article and a book, *Witchcraft in Salem Village*, published in the bicentennial year of 1892.⁸⁴ In both the magazine article and book Nevins profiled the Jacobs family and even included a pen-and-ink copy of a photograph that showed one of Jacobs' descendants standing along a fence at the edge of the field pointing to the site where Jacobs was purportedly buried.⁸⁵ The location of Jacobs' grave, though unmarked, was quite well-known. Yet his family, who still lived on his farm, made no moves to memorialize him.

The late 19th century was a period of increased interest in colonial history. Around the U.S. Centennial in 1876, there was widespread media coverage of commemorative events, and local history came into



George Jacob's Grave, Danversport.

Image of a Jacobs descendant pointing at the supposed grave of George Jacobs Sr., published by Nevins in 1892

vogue. Local historical societies were established, and a new middle class visited interesting historical sites.⁸⁶ In Danvers, it was in 1889 that the Danvers Historical Society was established. Its first president was a Putnam, the family whose ancestors played important roles on both sides of the witch-hunt in 1692, but is chiefly remembered for the accusations leveled by Ann Putnam Jr. against Nurse and others.⁸⁷

As Gretchen A. Adams argues, in the first part of the 19th century the schoolbooks used across the new American nation portrayed the Massachusetts Puritans as the founders of the American nation.⁸⁸ New England writers, as predominately Federalists, did this for ideological reasons and sought to inculcate a stable and conservative brand of republican virtue after a chaotic struggle for independence. The Massachusetts Puritan was their ideal proto-republican, and Massachusetts was described as the birthplace of the American nation—a birth that occurred well before the fighting at Lexington and Concord.⁸⁹ When the centennial of American independence approached and a generation of adults sought to celebrate, they naturally thought back to the Massachusetts Puritans who they learned in school were the true founders of the nation.

Though, interestingly, by this point in the 19th century perceptions on American history began to change and the Pilgrims of Plymouth increasingly replaced the Puritans as the founding myth of the American nation, due in part to a de-politicization of sectional conflict and the Civil War after Reconstruction ended. This time period also coincided with the 250th anniversary of the Pilgrim's landing

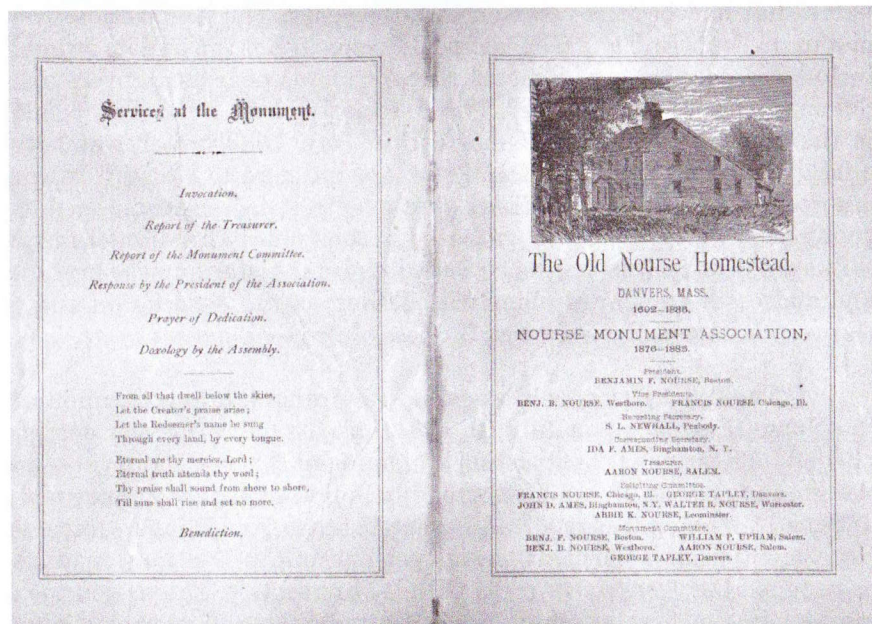
commemorated in 1870.⁹⁰ This displacing of the Puritans in the national consciousness in favor of the Pilgrims did not significantly affect Nurse's descendants' view of their ancestor, and it was in the 1870s amid the renewed interest in early American history that they made the first efforts to memorialize Rebecca Nurse.

In December 1875, a group of Rebecca Nurse's descendants formed the Nourse Monument Association, using a spelling of the name that had become common in later years. The Association first met in the New England Genealogical Rooms in Boston, and its officers included descendants of Rebecca Nurse from as near as Danvers and Salem, and as far as Chicago. The Association held a "basket picnic" in the fields of the Nurse Homestead in July, 1883, which was both a family reunion and a fundraiser for a monument to Nurse.⁹¹ It was reported in *The New York Times* that over 200 descendants, aged as young as one to as old as 85, gathered in the fields of her former farm. William P. Upham, son of the famed witch-hunt historian, was present and addressed the crowd along with leaders of the Association and a Danvers minister, Rev. Charles B. Rice.⁹²

The Association held a second fundraising family reunion at the Nurse Homestead on July 19, 1884, and the following year accomplished its mission of constructing a monument.⁹³ These gatherings on the grounds of the Nurse Homestead became increasingly renowned, and the 1884 event was reported a great distance from Danvers, including a mention in a Vermont newspaper and in the German-language newspaper *Der Nordstern* in St. Cloud, Minnesota.⁹⁴ The nation took interest in the first attempt in the United States of memorializing someone wrongly accused and executed for witchcraft.

Prior to the monument's completion, the Nurse family and one branch of the Putnam Family (which later bought Rebecca Nurse's former farm from her descendants) inked an agreement to jointly build a fence around the cemetery.⁹⁵ In the 18th century one of Nurse's descendants married a descendant of Nathaniel Putnam, one of her neighbors and defenders during the witch-hunt, and the Nurse family sold the farm to their Putnam cousins.⁹⁶ Both families worked together to establish the area's permanent status as a burying ground set aside from the rest of the farm, fittingly preserved and delineated with a dignified stone and iron rail fence.

The Association dedicated the memorial to Rebecca Nurse on July 30, 1885, a fair summer day that saw a crowd arrive by steam trains, street cars, and “horse-cars.”⁹⁷ There were even carriages scheduled to leave each hour from downtown Salem near the train station to take visitors directly to the Nurse Farm. In total, around 600 attended the dedication, which was the first remembrance service for any person ever executed for witchcraft in the United States.⁹⁸



Inside pages of the program from the dedication of the Nurse monument, July 30, 1885
(Courtesy of the Rebecca Nurse Homestead Museum)

First, the attendees gathered a short way down the road from the Nurse Homestead in the meetinghouse of the First Church of Danvers, formerly known as the Salem Village Church. The minister of the First Church of Danvers, Rev. Charles B. Rice, addressed the crowd along with the Rev. Fielder Israel of the First Church of Salem, of which Rebecca was a covenant member.¹⁰⁰ Following the addresses in the church a banquet was served, after which the gathered crowd processed down what was once the main road in Salem Village to the cemetery on the Nurse Farm for the dedication.¹⁰¹



The crowd of Nurse’s descendants and members of the Danvers community present at the dedication of the memorial to Rebecca Nurse on July 30, 1885. The minister of the First Church of Danvers, Rev. Charles B. Rice, is sitting in the front left next to an open seat.
(Courtesy of the Danvers Archival Center)

The monument itself is a polished granite obelisk designed by a Nurse descendant who was a partner at a Worcester, Mass. architectural firm.¹⁰² Danvers resident John Greenleaf Whittier, described at the time as “one of the most eminent and beloved poets of the present age,” was enlisted to craft an inscription for the memorial.¹⁰³ Whittier asked that his name not appear on the monument below the inscription he drafted, and insisted to the Association that only Nurse’s name should be on such a monument. In a letter, he expressed confidence to the committee that even without his name on the granite his contribution would not be lost to history.¹⁰⁴ Whittier’s words are carved on one face of the obelisk:

O Christian Martyr! who for Truth could die,
When all about thee owned the hideous lie!

The world, redeemed from Superstition's sway
Is breathing freer for thy sake to-day.

On another face is carved Rebecca's statement of her innocence:

Accused of Witchcraft
She declared
'I am innocent and
God will clear
My innocency.'

Once acquitted yet
Falsely condemned
She suffered death
July 19, 1692.

In loving memory
Of her
Christian character
Even then attested
By forty of her neighbors,
This Monument
Is erected
July, 1885.

The monument stands in silent witness, among the tall pine trees in the family burial ground.

That night, the *Boston Globe* dedicated almost half of the front page of its evening edition to the dedication of the monument, including images of both the Nurse Homestead and the monument itself.¹⁰⁵ It republished Rev. Charles B. Rice's address, recounted the story of Rebecca Nurse during the witch-hunt, and described the dedication of the monument. A slightly briefer version of the article also appeared in the next morning's edition. It included the same image of the Nurse House, though instead of a drawing of the memorial the inscription was printed.¹⁰⁶



Photograph of the 1885 memorial to Rebecca Nurse, as it appeared in the 1890s

(Courtesy of the Danvers Archival Center)

The *New York Times* and newspapers in Delaware, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Tennessee and the Dakota Territory also ran brief articles or mentions of the memorial.¹⁰⁷ Worldwide, the monument's dedication was reported in Australian, British, Dutch, and French newspapers.¹⁰⁸ This widespread coverage was in addition to the coverage of previous reunion fundraisers, including the description of the prior year's fundraiser published in a Vermont newspaper and in the German-language newspaper in Minnesota.¹⁰⁹ Although the dedication was a local event organized and attended by Nurse's descendants and members of the Danvers

community, its prominent and continued presence in national and international media shows that the significance of the event was widely recognized.

But the Nurse descendants did not stop there. At the time of the monument's dedication, the Association recognized the need to also memorialize those brave neighbors in 1692 who signed the petition in support of Rebecca Nurse. They desired to mention each signer by name, but decided that due to space constraints on the obelisk a monument to the petitioners needed to be a separate project.¹¹⁰ They continued holding family reunions, and accomplished their second goal in 1892, the bicentennial of the witch-hunt.¹¹¹

On July 30, 1892, a stone tablet was dedicated in "the little pine grove burial place" on the Nurse Farm, as reported in *The New York Times*.¹¹² This event also featured a family reunion as descendants from many branches of the family gathered to listen to poems, sermons and speeches from family members and ministers. This second monument memorialized those who stood with Rebecca in 1692, and therefore is a reflection of her legacy just as it also commemorates those whose names are inscribed upon the stone.

This memorialization of Rebecca Nurse and the other righteous from 1692 was the first step in commemorating the witch-hunt, and it occurred in Danvers (formerly Salem Village, the community most affected by the witch-hunt) instead of Salem. The inclusion of the local Danvers community in this process, most prominently the First Church of Danvers and its minister Charles B. Rice who gave a key address at the 1885 dedication, is very significant when comparing the process of memorializing the witch-hunt in Danvers and Salem. Though Marion Gibson argues that "While the people of Danvers were the main participants in the witchcraft-related events of their community, it was to Salem that they turned for leadership and resolution—and it is now in Salem where the most persistent myths of witchcraft were and are made, remade and sold." As the memorializing of Nurse shows, it was actually Danvers, and not Salem, that provided the "leadership and resolution" in first confronting the tragedy of the witch-hunt; Salem led Danvers only in the commercialization of this legacy.¹¹³

It was to Danvers that the descendants came to first memorialize one of the victims of the witch-hunt and begin to reckon with the

legacy of 1692. It was to Danvers that the minister of the First Church of Salem was invited to come and speak glowingly about Rebecca Nurse, who was a member of the Salem Church during her lifetime. And it was in Danvers that Nurse and her supporters during the witch-hunt were enshrined in stone.

The sermons that the Danvers and Salem ministers gave on the dedication day in 1885 give a clear comparison between attitudes on the memory of the witch-hunt between the two communities. Gibson rightly describes the power of Rev. Charles B. Rice's sermon at the dedication of the 1885 memorial. In comparing Rice's address to that of Rev. Fielder Israel, she writes, "Accordingly, he offered a striking testament, which contrasted uncomfortably with Israel's gentle platitudes... It was Rice's extraordinarily pointed speech that set the tone of the day and embodied the association's endeavors over the previous decade."¹¹⁴ Gibson wrongly describes Rice as the minister from the Salem Church, a church that embraced a more liberalized version of Christianity when it transitioned from Congregationalism into Unitarianism, and previously had witch-hunt historian Charles W. Upham as its minister. With this described background, it appears natural that he would give the more pointed and cutting rejection of the past. But, the fatal flaw of this argument is that Rice was not the minister of the liberal First Church of Salem as Gibson identifies him, he was actually the minister of the conservative, small-town First Church of Danvers, in whose parsonage the fits of the afflicted in 1692 first began, located right down the road from the Nurse Cemetery.¹¹⁵

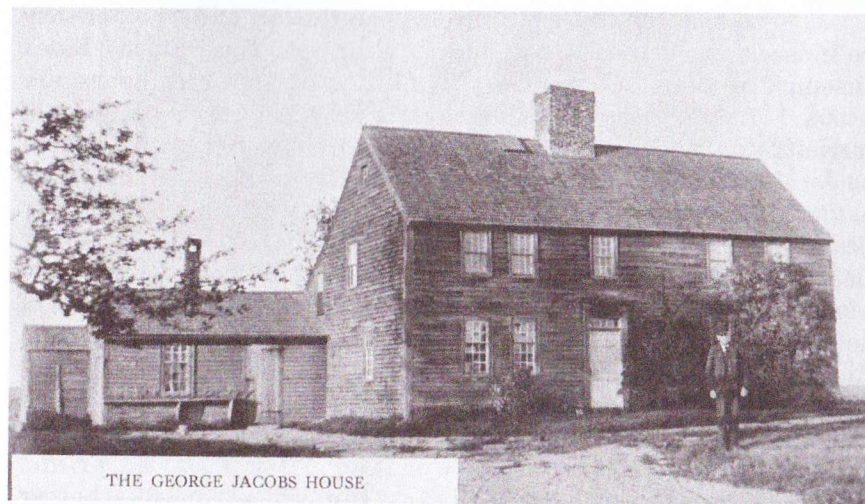
It was Rice, as leader of the Danvers church that declared, "There is sufficient reason for our coming thus together today—or on any like occasion. The children of any of those who have suffered grievous injury in the former generations may properly take redress from mankind in the following ages... there is a public interest also with every man demanding that public errors of the past should stand in the light and be reprov'd."¹¹⁶ Rev. Rice, as leader of the local Danvers congregation was also invited to speak at the initial fundraiser for the monument in 1883, showing his early involvement in the effort as a leader of the local Danvers community supporting Nurse's descendants.¹¹⁷ It was in Danvers, scene of the outbreak of the witch-hunt and the community that suffered most in 1692, that locals first supported and accomplished any form of memorialization of the witch-hunt, led by the descendants of a witch-hunt victim, with a desire to let old errors

“stand in the light and be reproved,” as Rice stated. Despite a developing trade in witch-related souvenirs during the following years, Salem did not dedicate a memorial to any of the witch-hunt victims until over a century after the dedication of the monument to Nurse.

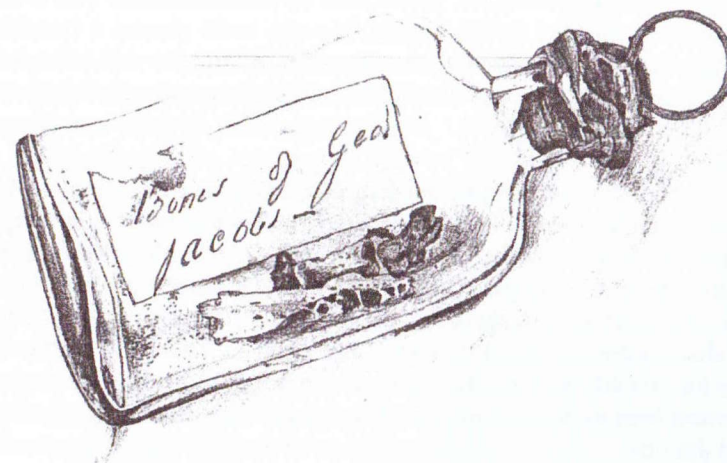
Fittingly, the *Times* reporter in 1892 described the small cemetery in the former Salem Village where Nurse’s descendants and the local community gathered as “the only spot in all Christendom where just such a commemorative occasion could find observance.”¹¹⁸ For, across town, there was buried another innocent victim of 1692 and a family farm where no observances were ever held.

In 1854, three decades before the dedication of the Nurse monument, George Jacobs Sr.’s body was exhumed from the land of his former farm. Family tradition maintained that in 1692 Jacobs’ son retrieved his body from the execution site, strapped it on the back of his horse, and brought it back to Jacobs’ riverbank farm in the Northfields (present-day Danversport) for burial.¹¹⁹ However, his descendants (who continued to live on the rest of the farm) sold the section of land containing Jacobs’ grave in the 19th century, despite knowing that he was said to be buried there. The new owner opened the grave to investigate whether it was indeed that of Jacobs. He found a body in “a good state of preservation.” He picked through the remains and noted the brown tuft of hair on the skull—reported at the time to be from a wig.¹²⁰ Those present assumed the bones to be the remains of Jacobs, as they discovered the body right where his grave was rumored to be, and the remains were those of an aged man.

One curiosity is a claim that someone present at the exhumation took two finger bones from the skeleton and kept them in a jar while the rest of Jacobs’ bones were reburied. Writers occasionally state that this episode occurred in 1783, but there is no record of any exhumation before 1854.¹²¹ There does exist today in a storage room of the Peabody Essex Museum a glass jar with the opening sealed with red wax, containing what appear to be two finger bones. The museum’s catalog record describes the bones in the jar as from the body of Jacobs, and it also describes other small items in the jar as pins from his clothes and a nail from his coffin.¹²² There is a drawing of the bone and jar done in 1971, and a copy of the image is on file at the Danvers Archival Center in Danvers, Mass. It is reproduced here:



THE GEORGE JACOBS HOUSE
Nineteenth-century photograph of the Jacobs House with a Jacobs descendent and then-owner of the farm standing in front, reproduced as a postcard
(From the author’s collection.)



Jar purported to hold finger bones from George Jacobs Sr., bequeathed to the Essex Institute and now held by the Peabody Essex Museum. Pencil drawing, 1971
(Courtesy of the Danvers Archival Center)

Who took the bones that are now in the jar, and whether they are indeed from Jacobs is not entirely clear, but, the Peabody Essex Museum's catalog record unequivocally states that the bones are Jacobs'.¹²³ At the turn of the century this jar was in the possession of Harriet Putnam Fowler, whose family lived in Danversport not far from the Jacobs Farm.¹²⁴ According to the 1902 *Annual Report of the Essex Institute*, she left a large bequest to the Essex Institute (which later became the Peabody Essex Museum) at her death in 1901.¹²⁵ Fowler donated a collection of books on the 1692 witch-hunt that previously belonged to her father, Samuel P. Fowler, which became the nucleus of the Essex Institute's (and then the James Duncan Phillips Library's) witchcraft collection. In addition to books and manuscripts, she left items for the Institute's "Cabinet Collection," the category into which an object such as the jar fell.¹²⁶ Unlike the remainder of Jacobs' bones, no medical tests were ever conducted on the bones in the sealed jar, and therefore it cannot be confirmed what type of bones they are, whether they are indeed Jacobs', or if they came from the grave on his farm.

Newspapers reported the exhumation of Jacobs' remains in 1854 as front-page news as far away as Richmond, Virginia.¹²⁷ Not only was the discovery known to Jacobs' descendants and local residents, but it was national news! Yet, there was no remembrance service, and no memorial dedicated to his legacy. No one even placed a headstone on the spot. Instead, his bones were examined, and he was reburied in the same "lonely grave" (as the Richmond newspaper describes it) in which they were found.¹²⁸

In addition to the publicizing of Jacobs' exhumation in newspapers, the discovery of his body led to arguably the most famous piece of art relating to the witch-hunt, Tompkins Matteson's grand painting *The Trial of George Jacobs, 5th August 1692* (1855).¹²⁹ Painted one year after Jacobs' body was discovered the painting portrays a white-haired George Jacobs Sr. on one knee with his cane on the floor beside him, begging for his life before the stern-faced Puritan judges as accusers wail around him and point at him. The image commands sympathy for poor old Jacobs.

The image was purchased by Charles A. Ropes of Salem, who donated it to the Essex Institute in Salem, where it prominently hung over the central staircase of Plummer Hall. This donation inspired historian Lincoln R. Stone to give a presentation to the Essex Institute in



Tompkins Matteson's *The Trial of George Jacobs, 5th August 1692*, painted in 1855
(Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Detroit Publishing Company Collection.)

1859 on the life and trial of Jacobs. His lecture was reprinted in the *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*, along with transcriptions of documents related to Jacobs' trial in 1692.¹³⁰ Pointing out the family's knowledge of the location of Jacobs' grave but the lack of a memorial, Stone bemoaned this situation, and suggested that the Essex Institute (a historical organization in Salem) step in, "Would it not be well for the Institute to erect some tablet on the spot?"¹³¹ Those outside of the Jacobs family saw the need for a memorial at least as early as 1859 but the family took no action. Jacobs' descendants, who saw the location of their ancestor's anonymous grave each day when they looked out their windows, did nothing because they had to confront a difficult family legacy of the witch-hunt with which outsiders and descendants of Nurse did not have to contend.

Even if in 1854 it was too soon for the community and Jacobs' family to come to terms with the effects of 1692, his body's location was still known in the 1880s when Nurse's family constructed her memorial, and during the bicentennial year of 1892 when Nurse's family

dedicated the smaller monument to her supporters during the witch-hunt, Nevins twice published the image of Jacobs' descendant pointing at the location of Jacobs' grave.¹³² The construction of these monuments shows that it would not have been revolutionary for the Jacobs family to build a small monument—or even a simple grave marker—for Jacobs at the end of the 19th century, but nothing was done.

After the monuments to Rebecca Nurse and those who signed her petition were dedicated at the end of the 19th century, no more memorials to any of those wrongly killed in 1692 were constructed for a hundred years. Jacobs had an equal, or better, physical connection to the present compared to Nurse, and the unique situation of having the exact location of his remains known, and his body previously exhumed. And like Nurse, in 1692 he staunchly maintained his innocence.

The significant difference that accounts for Jacobs' lack of memorialization is not his actions, but instead those of his family. The Jacobs family could not memorialize George, without also digging up the legacy of Margaret who was unambiguously on the wrong side of history, because of her false accusations against her grandfather and later confession that she lied in her testimony. It was impossible to remember the insisted innocence of one without the complicity of the other in the killings of 1692. The actions of Margaret Jacobs robbed George Jacobs Sr. not only of his life, but also his chance to be remembered.

* * *

It was not until 1992 that the community of Danvers fully reconciled with its role in the witch-hunt and dedicated a prominent memorial to all of the victims of 1692 across the road from where the Salem Village meetinghouse once stood.¹³³ The structure honors all the victims of the witch hunt, including those executed and those who died in jail. It includes imagery of shackles and the "Book of Life," which has two meanings for the memorialization of the victims and the restoration of their legacies as innocent people.

First, it references the Book of Revelation, in which it is said that all those Christians granted eternal life have had their names inscribed in the Book of Life. Those accused of witchcraft were alleged to have signed their names in the Devil's book. The victims of the witch-hunt refused to falsely confess to such a crime, a lie that they believed

would cause their names to be blotted out of the Book of Life. Second, this book is also meant to symbolize the historical record which, after 1692, redeemed the good names of the innocent victims. On either side of the Book of Life are metal shackles in the style of those worn by the accused in 1692. The shackles are divided by the book and smashed open to symbolize truth conquering falsehood.¹³⁴ This memorial is a fitting bookend for a community that began the process of memorializing the witch-hunt with the monument to Nurse's legacy in 1885.

A few months after the 1992 construction of Danvers' memorial to the witch-hunt victims, George Jacobs Sr. finally received a proper burial and a modest grave marker. Prior to his final minor memorialization, his house was torn down in 1940, and his farm was sold and subdivided into oblivion. Adding further insult, Jacobs' remains were dug up once again in the 1950s—by a bulldozer digging a cellar hole.¹³⁵

The construction crew turned Jacobs' bones over to the custody of several Danvers historical groups in 1956, and the bones were kept in a box for decades, sitting on various shelves. At one point the box containing his bones resided under a local lawyer's dining room table until his housekeeper threatened to quit over the grave matter, and then later in a glass box on a table in a local resident's bedroom.¹³⁶ In 1968 his remains appeared in the glass box alongside his canes and witchcraft trials judge John Hathorne's leather manuscript case on a local history exhibit table during a Saturday morning community antique sale in the Danvers High School cafeteria.¹³⁷ Also in the 1960s, pathologists examined the bones and determined that they were from an elderly white man who walked with two canes due to osteo-arthritis.¹³⁸ Jacobs fit this condition, and is known to have walked with two canes—which today reside in a storage room of the Peabody Essex Museum in Rowley, Mass.¹³⁹ Finally, on August 2, 1992, the Witchcraft Tercentennial Committee of Danvers, led by historian Richard B. Trask, removed Jacobs' remains from ad-hoc storage and reburied him.¹⁴⁰

After a 17th century-style service in the reproduction of the Salem Village meetinghouse, Jacobs was laid to his final rest. Interestingly, the chosen spot for his grave was a corner of the Nurse Family Cemetery in Danvers, and he is buried alongside Nurse's descendants rather than his own. The Tercentennial Committee chose the Nurse Cemetery because it likely holds the remains of Rebecca, the only other grave of a 1692 victim whose probable approximate location

is known. Jacobs' remains now lay under a replica 17th century-style slate headstone.

However, his small grave marker lies in the long shadow of the towering granite memorial that Rebecca Nurse's descendants built to her in the same cemetery, over a century before Jacobs' name was ever carved into stone. It is a fitting picture of unequal legacies.

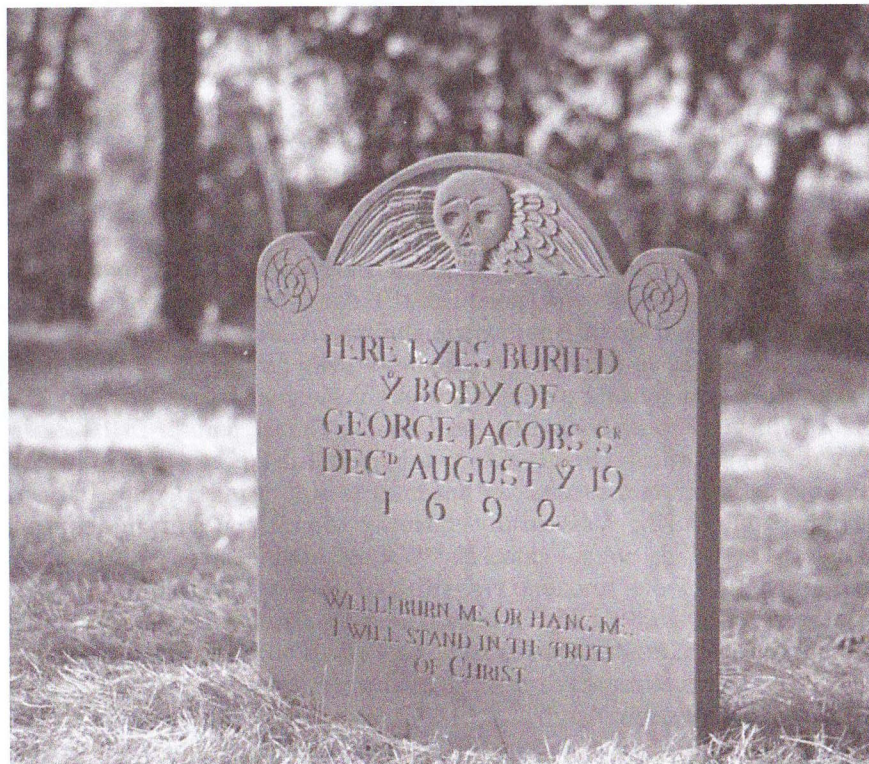


Image of George Jacobs Sr.'s headstone, produced by the Danvers Witchcraft Tercentenary Committee after Jacobs' reburial in 1992.
(Photograph by Richard B. Trask)

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NOTES

1. Myrna Fearer, "The Burial of George Jacobs Sr., 300 Years Later," *The Danvers Herald*, August 6, 1993, reprinted in Richard B. Trask, ed., *Danvers Remembers: The Commemoration of the 1692 Salem Village Witchcraft Delusion* (Danvers, Mass.: Salem Village Tercentennial Committee of Danvers, 1993), 46-47. This volume edited by Trask is an excellent source of information on the Danvers Witchcraft Tercentenary events.
2. The term "witch-hunt" is used for the name of this event in following with how Bernard Rosenthal and the many associate editors entitled the authoritative collection of documents from 1692, see: Bernard Rosenthal, ed., *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
3. For the total number accused and how it is calculated, see: Emerson W. Baker, *A Storm of Witchcraft: The Salem Trials and the American Experience* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 126-127.
4. Jacobs' canes were in the collections of the Essex Institute since at least before 1859, see: C. M. Endicott, "Minutes for a Genealogy of George Jacobs Senior, of Salem Village, Who Suffered the Utmost Penalty of Of the Law During the Witchcraft Tragedy, Enacted in New England, A.D., 1692," *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* 1, no. 2 (May 1859): 14 note.
5. Carol F. Karlsen, *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987), 47.
6. Marion Gibson, "Retelling Salem Stories: Gender Politics and Witches in American Culture," *European Journal of American Culture* 25, no. 2 (2006): 86-89.
7. Matilda Joslyn Gage, *Woman, Church and State: A Historical Account of The Status of Women Through the Christian Ages* (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr and Company, 1893).
8. William P. Upham, "Account of the Rebecca Nurse Monument," in *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, vol. 23 (Salem, Mass.: The Essex Institute, 1886), 153.

9. Stephen Olbrys Gencarella, "Touring History: Guidebooks and the Commodification of the Salem Witch Trials," *The Journal of American Culture* 30, no. 3 (2007): 274-275.
10. Robert E. Weir, "Bewitched and Bewildered: Salem Witches, Empty Factories, and Tourist Dollars," *Historical Journal of Massachusetts* 40, no. 1/2 (Summer 2012): 191-194.
11. For an examination of Salem's witch tourism *vis à vis* the 1992 construction of a memorial in that city, see: Judith Wasserman, "Retail or Re-Tell?: The Case of the Salem Tercentenary Memorial," *Landscape Journal* 22, no. 1 (2003): 1-11.
12. Marion Gibson, *Witchcraft Myths in American Culture* (New Haven: Routledge, 2007), 57-67.
13. Her brother was apprenticed in England in April 1635, which suggests that the family had not yet left at that time. But, judging from when the land of the Salem neighborhood into which they moved was granted, she likely arrived in Salem no later than 1635. Lois Payne Hoover, *Towne Family: William Towne and Joanna Blessing, Salem, Massachusetts, 1635* (Baltimore, MD: Otter Bay Books, 2010), 2; Marilynne K. Roach, *Six Women of Salem: The Untold Story of the Accused and Their Accusers in the Salem Witch Trials* (Boston: Da Capo, 2013), 8.
14. Sidney Perley, "Northfields, Salem, in 1700. No. 3," in *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, vol. 49 (Salem, Mass.: Essex Institute, 1913), map opposite 187, 190; Southern Essex (Massachusetts) Registry of Deeds, 1:35. The record books use two sets of page/folio numbers. The newer page number is given here, as that is how they can be accessed online.
15. Hoover, *Towne Family*, 9-10; George Francis Dow, ed., *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County*, 9 vols. (Salem, Mass.: The Essex Institute, 1911-1975), 5:430, 6:294.
16. First Church in Salem, *The Records of the First Church in Salem, Massachusetts, 1629-1736*, ed. Richard D. Pierce (Salem, Mass.: Essex Institute, 1974), 127.

17. Southern Essex Registry of Deeds, 4:643-646.
18. John Hale, "A Modest Enquiry Into the Nature of Witchcraft," in *Narratives of the New England Witchcraft Cases*, ed. George Lincoln Burr (Mineola, New York: Dover, 2002), 413.
19. For a discussion of several theories regarding Tituba's background, see: Roach, *Six Women of Salem*, 62-75.
20. Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Doc 5.
21. Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Doc 345; Marilynne K. Roach, *The Salem Witch Trials: A Day-By-Day Chronicle of a Community Under Siege* (Lanham, Maryland: Taylor Trade, 2002), 13-14.
22. Roach, *The Salem Witch Trials*, 20.
23. Robert Calef, "More Wonders of the Invisible World," in *Narratives of the New England Witchcraft Cases*, ed. George Lincoln Burr (Mineola, New York: Dover, 2002), 360.
24. Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Doc 358.
25. First Church in Salem, *The Records of the First Church in Salem*, 127; Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Doc 254.
26. Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Doc 31.
27. Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Doc 31.
28. Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Doc 29; Roach, *The Salem Witch Trials*, Appendix B, 611-612.
29. Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Doc 28.
30. Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, evidence in her defense: Docs 31, 35, 254, 293, 294, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, and indictments: Docs 285, 286, 287, 288.
31. Calef, "More Wonders," 358.

32. Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Doc 416.
33. Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Doc 417.
34. Calef, "More Wonders," 359.
35. Charles W. Upham, *Salem Witchcraft: With an Account of Salem Village and A History of Opinions on Witchcraft and Kindred Subjects*. (1867; repr. Mineola, New York: Dover, 2000), 513-514.
36. Dow, *Essex County Quarterly Court*, 6:292-293.
37. Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Doc 131.
38. Roach, *The Salem Witch Trials*, Appendix B, 610-612.
39. Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Doc 134.
40. Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Docs 134, 136.
41. For an examination of Thomas Putnam's role in recording documents for the court in 1692, see: Bernard Rosenthal, "General Introduction," in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, 30-32.
42. Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Doc 133.
43. Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Doc 133.
44. Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Doc 261.
45. Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Doc 261.
46. Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Doc 483.
47. Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Doc 483.
48. Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Doc 144.
49. Marilynne K. Roach, "Biographical Notes," in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 947; Roach, *The Salem Witch Trials*, 112.

50. Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Docs 151 and 152.
51. Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Docs 151, 152.
52. Calef, "More Wonders," 371.
53. Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Docs 478, 479.
54. The trial is dated as August 4 by Rosenthal et al., but as August 5 by Roach, see: Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, 514; Roach, *The Salem Witch Trials*, 227.
55. Margaret Jacobs' recantation reprinted in Thomas Hutchinson, *The History of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay*, 3 vols. (Boston: Thomas and John Fleet, 1765-1828), 2:38-40, <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001261893>.
56. Calef, "More Wonders," 364.
57. Margaret Jacobs' recantation reprinted in Hutchinson, *The History of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay*, 2:38-40.
58. Upham, *Salem Witchcraft*, 554-556.
59. Calef, "More Wonders," 364-365.
60. Upham, *Salem Witchcraft*, 531.
61. For first mention of this tradition in print, see: Joseph B. Felt, *Annals of Salem*, 2nd ed. (Salem, Mass.: W. & S. B. Ives, 1849), 482; For a descendent recounting the oral tradition that Jacobs son buried him, see: C. M. Endicott, "Minutes for a Genealogy of George Jacobs Senior," 52.
62. Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, 512.
63. Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, 512.
64. Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, 512.
65. Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Docs 752 and 754.

66. Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Doc 931.
67. Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Doc 930.
68. Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Doc 931.
69. Rosenthal, *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Doc 876.
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