

Sex With the Devil

The Sexual Other

by David Rosen

*... in nothing doth the raging power of original sin more discover itself ...
than in the ungoverned exorbitancy of fleshly lust.*
Samuel Willard, Puritan minister, 1640—1707¹

Sex with the Devil

The New World was besieged by numerous sex scandals during the first seventy-five years of Puritan settlement. For New Englanders and other British colonists up and down the Atlantic Coast, these scandals set the boundaries of acceptable sexual practice. They mostly involved premarital sex (fornication), extramarital sex (adultery), sodomy and interracial sex. Two offenses were most upsetting: bestiality involving young men and sexual witchcraft among older women. Among Puritans, as John Murrin points out, "Bestiality discredited men in the way that witchcraft discredited women."²

However, in New England, sex with the devil was the gravest of all sins! Puritan sexual scandals were a terrain of struggle that illuminates, if only in its exaggeration, America's most formative era of sexual identity. It is an identity that, like a threatening shadow, continues to hover over America today.

Mary Johnson, of Wethersfield, Connecticut, was one of ten Puritan women accused of having sex with Satan. In 1648, Johnson allegedly admitted to minister Samuel Stone (and reported by Cotton Mather): "She said her first Familiarity with the Devils



came by Discontent" with her role as a servant and that "she was guilty of the Murder of a Child and that she had been guilty of Uncleaness with Men and Devils." Two years earlier, she had been accused of thievery and was publicly whipped. However, for her truly unholy deed of consorting with the devil, she was convicted of witchcraft and executed.³

Another resident of Wethersfield, Rebecca Greensmith, admitted having participated in "a meeting under a tree on the green ... [where] we danced and had a bottle of sack"; she also admitted to Hartford ministers and magistrates that "the Devil had frequently the carnal knowledge of her Body"; in January 1663, she was hung along with her husband, Nathaniel, who denied all accusations until the bitter end.⁴ Ann Cole, of Hartford, was a woman reported to have suffered convulsions and fits; she was accused of taking part in "witches' night wandering." Her fate was sealed when she admitted that she allowed Satan to have "frequent carnal knowledge of her."⁵

The historian Richard Frances found that Sarah Parker had made a covenant with the devil due to "her great sin of Committing adultery" and that "the Devil had come to her & kissed her." It is not clear as to her fate.⁶ Elizabeth Godman, of New Haven, was socially different from many accused women in that she had

* Image: New York Historical Society

a sizable estate estimated at £200 at her death in 1660. However, as a widow with no sons she was vulnerable to a variety of social accusations. Some said she was “a malicious one” because she expressed discontent with religious teachings and practices, challenged the notion of “God’s elect” and “... [would] justify [witches] rather than condemn them,” practiced black magic, inspired fear in others and of gnashing her teeth and grinning. In 1653 neighbors complained that she “had laine with” Satan and that “Hobbamocke [an alleged Indian ‘devil god’] was her husband.”⁷ Another woman, Mary Parsons, of Springfield, Massachusetts, was disparaged for being married to a “papist”. In 1651, she was accused of “being seduced by the devil” and “making a covenant with him.” According to her fellow Puritan John Hale:

she had lost a Child and was exceedingly discontented at it and longed; *Oh that she might see her Child again!* And at last the Devil in likeness of her Child came to her bed side and talked with her, and asked to come into the bed to her, and she received it into the bed to her that night and several nights after, and so entered into covenant with Satan and became a witch.

Parsons was executed.

Still other women faced accusations of consorting with the devil. One woman, Goody Osborne, testified that “a thing like an indian all black” came to her in bed one night and, in the words of one historian, “pulled her by the back of her head toward her door.”⁹ Another woman, Sarah Bridges, is reported to have signed the devil’s book in blood, attended an Andover witches conclave with two hundred-plus witches and “gave her body” to the devil in the form of a man and an animal; surprisingly, she was not executed.¹⁰ Mary Warren, of Salem who earlier had been a servant to Henry Salter of Andover was accused of suffering

dreadful fits, of “yielding” to the devil and signing the devil’s book and, even though she confessed to being a witch, was not executed when the witchcraft panic subsided in 1693.¹¹

Finally, we come to Bridget Bishop, the first woman at the Salem trials executed for her sins. She was first accused of being a witch in 1679 when her husband died. It was during the Salem trials (and when she was in her fifties) that she faced a second trial for being a witch, for attending a witches gathering at the Parris field, for having a body mark (or what was known as a “witch’s teat” or imp) and for giving her body and soul to the devil. She steadfastly insisted on her innocence, but was nevertheless hung.¹²

Three women were accused of having illegitimate children as a result of witchcraft—and were executed. Alice Lake was accused in 1651 by minister John Hale of being “... a single woman play’d the harlot, and being with Child used means to destroy the fruit of her body to conceal her sin and shame;” she was hanged for her sins.¹³ Martha Corey was accused of having “had born a bastard mulatto son,” of causing pain in others, of having a “black man” (i.e., a specter) whisper in her ear and of participating in witches’ sacrament with forty others at Parris’ pasture; she denied being a witch, even denied the existence of the devil—and was hung in 1692.¹⁴

Suzannah Martin, who was born in England and lived in Amesbury, Massachusetts, was first accused of being a witch in 1669. Subsequently, she was accused of having a bastard son and having had violent quarrels in her home; she was suspect for challenging male power in court. In 1692 and at age sixty-seven, she was again charged with witchcraft, this time based on the testimony of Bernard Peach, who claimed that during one of her night wanderings

Martin sexually assaulted him:

being in bed on a lords day night he [Peach] heard a [scratching] at the window. He this deponent saw susana martin ... com in at the window and jumpt downe upon the flower. Shee was in her hood and scarf and the same dress that shee was in before at metting the same day. Being com in, she was coming up toward this deponents faced but turned back to his feet and took hold of them and drew up his body into a heape and Lay upon him about an hour and half or 2 hours, in all which taim this deponent could not stir nor speake... .

She was executed for her sins.¹⁵

Other women were charged with witchcraft and adultery. Elizabeth Seager, of Hartford was accused of witchcraft in 1662, 1665 and 1666 but was acquitted; she was reported to have slapped a neighbor and was suffering various questionable pains; however, she was also accused and convicted of adultery and blasphemy, but fled to Rhode Island to avoid punishment.¹⁶ Rachel Clinton, who was born in England and lived in Ipswich, Massachusetts, was accused of having adulterous relations including with an indentured servant fourteen years younger and who she eventually married; she was also accused of expressing dissatisfaction with her inheritance settlement from her first husband and bringing the matter to court. In 1692 and at the age of fifty-eight, she was convicted of witchcraft, but pardoned by the governor a year later.¹⁷

We've come a long way since the British settlers first colonized the New World: People are no longer executed for consorting with the devil. A host of sexual prohibitions, including masturbation, premarital sex, adultery, homosexuality and interracial sex, are no longer considered sins by civil authorities, most moralists and a significant proportion of the public. Prostitution has become a discreet

business activity, regulated in two states, and relatively free from moralistic and police harassment. The limits to acceptable sex are based on consent among adults or among similarly aged adolescents over sixteen years. Strong prohibitions, both legal and ethical, attempt to halt nonconsensual sexual acts like rape, pedophilia, incest and bestiality. However, for the early Puritans and other colonists, both Satan and sex were threats to personal and public life—and nothing was worse than sex with the devil.

Sexual other

On April 5, 1614, Pocahontas, a Powhatan woman and reputed daughter of Chief Powhatan, married the Englishman John Rolfe near Jamestown, Virginia. The marriage took place just eight years after this first permanent English settlement was established in what would become the United States; it is the first recorded interracial marriage in the newly-colonized territory. Sixty-seven years later, in 1681, the first recorded legal marriage between an African man and a European woman is reported to have taken place on William Boarmans' plantation on the western shore of Maryland. The couple—Eleanor Butler, a white servant girl called Irish Nell, and Negro Charles, a black slave—was married by a local Catholic priest.¹⁸

During the early days of the settlement of the new nation, voluntary and noncommercial sexual relations between whites and people of color were not yet illegal. Nevertheless, colonial male leaders were particularly troubled by such relationships. While they were initially between British males and Native females, as the immigration of both free and indentured European women and the forced importation of African slaves, both male and female, increased, the complexity of such

relations multiplied.

Columbia University sociologist Aaron Gullickson argues that “interracial sexual contact likely peaked sometime during the early colonial period when white indentured servants and black slaves were in close contact in large numbers.”¹⁹ Complaints about such liaisons drew various forms of protest. One of the most surprising was that of Lord Baltimore, Nell’s master, and other local whites. While they did not seek to prevent the marriage between Nell and Charles, they could not understand why a white woman would marry a slave and thus not only lose her own freedom but the freedom of her children.

Equally disturbing, sex between a white woman and a nonwhite man could result in a child that was legally white. This concern found particular expression in what are known as female captivity narratives that helped rally settler resentment against Native people. These tales were popular in the late-seventeenth century and championed women like Mary Rowlandson and Hannah Swarton who escaped capture by Native tribes while preserving their virginity. These tales were intended to undercut or deny the stories of women like Mary Jemison, Frances Slocum and Eunice Williams who, after captivity, chose to marry and live out their lives with Native people.²⁰

Bans on interracial marriage arose in the late-seventeenth century. For example, in 1662, nearly a half-century after Pocahontas married Rolfe, the Virginia Assembly established the first law against interracial sex. Thirty years later, in 1691, it passed a much stiffer law banning “negroes, mulattoes and indians intermarrying with English, or other white women, [and] their unlawful accompanying with one another.”²¹ Other colonies followed

with similar bans, as exemplified by the North Carolina colony that, in 1715, adopted laws prohibiting interracial marriages. Now, three-and-a-half centuries later, America has elected its first president of mixed-race origin, a child of once-scandalous interracial sex.

Pocahontas is one of the great American mythic figures. She has been immortalized in Disney animated children’s movies and in Terrence Malik’s beautiful film, *The New World* (2005), as well as in comic books and videogames, even toys and wallpaper. She has been effectively whitewashed into a popular-culture icon, the truth about her relatively short and remarkable life—and the scandal she precipitated—has all but been lost.

Pocahontas is the nickname for a girl born Matoaka in 1595 or 1596 upriver from the settlement of “James Towne.” According to the Native American scholar, Paula Gunn Allen, the nickname has a variety of meanings, including “wanton,” “mischievous,” “sportive,” “frisky” or “frolicsome.” She says the nickname, “at least as it was understood by the English,” was related to the rabbit or chipmunk, both considered tricksters by the Powhatan people. More importantly, Pocahontas was of royal blood, a chosen-one with the power of “Dream-Vision”; she was a female visited by spirits that foretold the future. As a child she had a prophetic vision involving the landing of a ship that would change the course of history and the appearance of a strange man whose life she would save.²²

John Smith, a mercenary soldier and adventurer, was the leader of the Jamestown settlement. Legend and subsequent scholarship tell us that, in 1608, he was captured while attempting to reach Chief Powhatan. The initial settlement at “Fort James,” established only a year earlier, was a

near disaster, with the British suffering from hunger, illness, loneliness, Native assaults and other privations. Rumors of sodomy among early settlers were not uncommon.²³ In an attempt to survive, Smith ventured forth to find the mighty chief and establish diplomatic relations.

As Allen tells the tale, Smith was captured and brought before the chief in the colony's great house during an important religious ceremony. He was forced to the ground with two warriors holding him down, their spears at the ready. He feared imminent execution, only to be saved at the last moment. Allen dramatically envisions the scene accordingly:

Pocahontas rises [from the assembled gathering] to her feet and swiftly runs the thirty feet to the center of the Grand House. She hurls her small body upon Smith's, wraps her arms tightly around him, and lays her head over him. Everything stops in a great tableau; only the smoke swirls upward through the roof. Then it is known and a great wail goes up among all the people. They are thanking the spirits, and they begin to dance.²⁴

Pocahontas, aged twelve or thirteen, recognized Smith as the fulfillment of her Dream-Vision. Had she not, his life would not have been spared.*

Early English settlers did not know how to relate to Native people, especially to females when it came to intimate matters. Robert Godbeer, in his essential study, *Sexual Revolution in Early America*, paints a compelling portrait of the complex and often contradictory sexual relations that defined this aspect of America's first century-and-a-half of nation formation. On one side, English settlers "were for the most part loath to join in sexual

communion with Native Americans." Yet, "Englishmen clearly found Indians beguiling; native women also had a reputation for being hard-working and faithful as wives."²⁵

Smith reports that Englishmen who stayed overnight were presented with "a woman fresh painted red with pocones and oil to be his bedfellow." According to Allen, the well-dressed Powhatan woman of the time—anyone at and above puberty—wore a capacious garment that resembled an apron. It was made of a length of cloth that draped downward from the hips, falling over the crotch to a length of maybe ten inches below the navel. And she adds, "the outfit was sans bodice, a fact that undoubtedly contributed to the Englishmen's view of the woman of the *tсенacommacah*, the largest Powhatan community, as uncivilized..."²⁶ Smith described an "antic," or wild fete, in which "thirty young women came naked out of the woods (only covered behind and before with a few green leaves), their bodies all painted." And, after performing, "they solemnly invited Smith to their lodging, but no sooner was he within the house, but all the nymphs tormented him more than ever, with crowding, and pressing, and hanging upon him, most tediously crying, love you not me?"²⁷

The sexual temptation of Native women was very threatening to upstanding British settlers, especially those alone in an alien land. Many British feared that such intimacy would bring about "cultural degeneration" among settlers in the colonies, whether in Ireland or the New World. The great fear was that sexual relations with "savages" would lead to the erosion of what made the British "civilized." In response to this fear, the British passed the "Laws Divine, Moral, and Marital" in 1610 that called for the death penalty for any settler who raped an Indian woman or ran away

* This incident is much debated. It is based on Smith's account published 17 years after it allegedly took place and subsequent to Pocahontas' death.

with an Indian.²⁸

While colonists “perceived Anglo-Indian unions to be degrading and potentially dangerous,” sexual relations appear to have flourished. There appears to be a goodly number of reported incidences of sexual intimacies between settlers and Native people, both in the Chesapeake region and further north. For example, Jacob Young, of Maryland, was charged with marrying and fathering children with a woman of the Susquehanna Nation. The Puritan Thomas Morton, when he took over a plantation in 1626, renamed it the Merry Mount and, according to reports from members of the nearby Plymouth Colony, “set up a maypole, drinking and dancing about in many days together, inviting the Indian women for their consorts, dancing and frisking together.” However, Godbeer notes a singular story of an early female settler in Northampton County, Virginia, who, according to a local doctor, “defiled herself” in a sexual relation with an Indian male.²⁹

Given this cultural environment, how did Pocahontas come to marry John Rolfe? After she saved Smith, Pocahontas became his “spiritual guide” (and Smith was given an Indian name, Nantaquod), making regular visits to Fort James, enjoying the friendship of other settlers and serving as a go-between for the British and Chief Powhatan. During this period, Smith returned to England and was replaced by Thomas Dale as leader of the settlement. Also during this period, Pocahontas married Kuocum, a fellow Powhatan, and they had a child.

This story, however, takes a strange turn in 1612 when Pocahontas was apparently abducted by an English settler, Samuel Argall (aka Argyall). She was held in captivity in Jamestown for over a year, during which period she met Rolfe, a 28-year-old widower

and tobacco planter. As a condition of her release, she agreed to marry Rolfe. What actually happened between them remains a mystery. What is known is that Pocahontas converted to Christianity and was renamed Lady Rebecca. Her appearance radically changed as she adopted British formal dress and, in 1614, married Rolfe.

To legally marry Pocahontas, however, Rolfe had to secure permission from Dale. In 1614, he formally petitioned to marry, arguing that his intent for union with her was not based on an attraction derived from “the ugly sort, who square all men’s actions by the base rule of their own filthiness”; he insisted that his intent was due to true love, “not any hungry appetite, to gorge myself with incontinency.” He assured Dale that he was motivated by a higher calling than “the unbridled desire of carnal affection.” He argued that their marriage would be a form of spiritual redemption. It would save her from evil: “for the converting to the true knowledge of God and Jesus Christ an unbelieving creature, namely Pocahontas.” Finally, he pointed out the alliance would strengthen the political relations between the settlers and the Powhatan people.

A couple of years later, Pocahontas and Rolfe traveled to England in search of both financial support for the Virginia colony and to promote his new commercial product, tobacco. She became, as they say, the toast of the town, feted by all. While in England, she had a son, Thomas, in 1617, and shortly thereafter, while beginning the voyage back to the New World, became ill and died.³⁰

Following Pocahontas’s death, the inherent tensions between the ever-expanding settlers and the Powhatan broke out into open warfare that lasted from 1622 to 1646. It was a period in which social relations, let alone sexual unions, became more and

more difficult to achieve. In the end, the Powhatan's people were decimated and a form of colonization was established that defined the dominant white culture's relations to the Native peoples for the next two centuries.

Culture war

The Puritans landed in New England in 1620 and, for the first quarter-century of settlement, occasional accusations of witchcraft were raised, but no one was executed. However, during the following half-century, 1647-1693, over two hundred people were accused of witchcraft and about thirty were executed. Most of these alleged witches were women who came from more than thirty communities in Connecticut, Massachusetts and New Hampshire, including Easthampton, Long Island, now part of New York. Following the notorious Salem trials of 1692-1693, convictions and executions for witchcraft essentially ended.

Puritan notions of sin and punishment have cast a long shadow over the nation's conscience. A century-and-a-half after the trials, Nathaniel Hawthorne recalled the Puritan anxiety over adultery in *The Scarlet Letter* (published in 1850) and, a hundred years later, Arthur Miller invoked the trials in *The Crucible* (published in 1953) to challenge anti-Communist hysteria. Today, charges of Puritan repression are still heard against Evangelical and other religious fundamentalists, especially those holding powerful government offices like former attorney generals John Ashcroft and Alberto Gonzales.³¹

Few remember just how troubled were the lives of the early Puritans. Their settlement was inspired by the desire to civilize the New World, to wrest from the devil both the natural world and the aboriginal people, and thus create New Jerusalem. Yet, they found

themselves confronted at every turn by formidable threats, in constant fear of nature's uncertainties and in dread of innumerable battles with hostile Native tribes. The New World was a hostile environment in which to create heaven on earth.

Making matters worse, their attempt to establish New Jerusalem was hampered most by the very fragile humans who were expected to accomplish this religiously inspired mission. Humans were seen as imperfect creatures, scarred for all eternity by original sin yet, given the predetermination that directed all of God's actions, capable of being saved and achieving a state of grace. These troubled beings were subject to a nearly inexhaustible list of sins that fell into two broad categories, sins of character and sins of the flesh. Among the former were pride, anger, envy, malice, lying, discontent, dissatisfaction and self-assertion. Among the latter were seduction, lust, bestiality, masturbation, fornication, adultery, incest, polygamy, sodomy and temptations like carnality, drunkenness and licentiousness. Almost anything could be a sin.³²

Puritan society permitted sexual relationship only within the context of marriage and only between a man and woman for the purpose of procreation. Everything else was sin. Nevertheless, sex was as much a duty as a delight between people who loved one another. As Godbeer argues, "Puritans were both exuberantly permissive and vehemently restrictive. ... Puritans sought not to repress their sexual instincts but to keep them within ordained borders."³³ He stresses that marital sex was crucial in order to populate New England as well as to prevent illicit, non-marital sex. Unfortunately, this intimate aspect of personal life was undermined by the Puritan belief in original sin, a sin reproduced from generation to

generation through this very sexual intimacy.

The Puritans fought mightily against the overpowering threats that were as much external as internal, especially sexual threats. They fashioned, in the words of Godbeer, “a culture of sexual surveillance and regulation” to strictly oversee and control interpersonal relations.³⁴ First and foremost, this surveillance was intended to prevent premarital sex and pregnancy or what was known as bridal pregnancy. It was not uncommon for neighbors to carefully observe interpersonal encounters taking place in homes or in fields, on roadways or in the woods. No place was considered private, beyond the bounds of community monitoring. This control was only intensified given the close physical proximity under which Puritan settlements existed. The personal information garnered through surveillance provided the basis for many of the reported scandals involving alleged witchcraft.

As judgment for a sinner’s bad conduct or warning to one so tempted, the Puritans drew upon a wide assortment of punishments to enforce social control. They ranged from the threat of excommunication, disenfranchisement and banishment, to public shaming and whippings, to selling a convicted person’s children into bondage, to branding, cutting off body parts (e.g., an ear) and body mutilation (e.g., disfiguring the nose), and, when all else failed, to hanging and even being pressed under rocks until death. Unfortunately, these threats and punishments did not work.³⁵

An insight into early New England sex panic is suggested by Kai Erikson’s assessment of fornication convictions based on the court records of Essex County, Massachusetts, between 1636 and 1682. In *Wayward Puritans: A*

Study in the Sociology of Deviance, Erikson points out that convictions increased among married couples who delivered their first child too soon after their wedding. During the period of 1651–1655, the fornication conviction rate was 0.78 per 100 people and, a decade later, 1661–1665, the rate had fallen to 0.44 per 100; yet, over the following decade fornication convictions more than doubled, reaching, by 1676–1680, 1.02 per 100. Fornication conviction rates suggest the general pattern of sex offenses during the Puritan era. Erikson links the “bulge” in the crime rate to the Puritan campaign against Quakers, but other factors were surely at work.³⁶

John Underhill, for example, was excommunicated for fornication in 1640. Mary Hitchcocke, of New Haven, admitted in 1662 “that her way had been very evil & sinful”; and Jacob Moline, also of New Haven in 1662, was whipped. However, in 1669, Bethia Stanly, of Beverly, Massachusetts, repented her sin and was welcomed back into her congregation.³⁷ During this period, fornication was neither uncommon, nor a terribly serious offense—and it did not result in capital punishment. This would change three decades later during the witchcraft trails.

Puritans distinguished between a sinner, even one convicted of a sexual offense, and a witch. According to historian Elizabeth Reis, “a witch [was] the most egregious of sinners.” She insists: “Those who admitted signing [the devil’s pact] crossed the forbidden line between sinner and witch.” This act, signing the devil’s book with one’s own blood, marked forsaking God and aligning with Satan. Equally critical, it was a voluntary act, a personal decision, motivated neither by seduction nor temptation.³⁸

The sinner and the witch could engage in the same sexual act, but the

meaning for each was fundamentally different. For the sinner, sin was a survivable offense and offered a chance for redemption. This was especially true for male as opposed to female sinners. For the witch, however, there was only hanging and eternal damnation. In addition to fornication, women accused of witchcraft could also be charged with other sex offenses, including adultery, illegitimacy and, the worst, sex with the devil.

Another colonist

One of the grandest sex scandals of the early colonial era may never have occurred. Rumor has long persisted that Lord Cornbury (Edward Hyde), Britain's governor-general of New York and New Jersey, opened the New York General Assembly of 1702 in an exquisite, formal gown in the Queen Anne style—a hooped gown with an elaborate headdress and carrying a fan. As has become a popular legend, the governor insisted that he dressed in drag to better represent the Queen, his first cousin. Looking back, Lord Cornbury may well have been the nation's most famous drag queen—if he was a transvestite at all.

Shelley Ross, writing in his popular history, *Fall From Grace*, calls the Cornbury affair one of "the most notorious—and bizarre" tales of "sex, scandal, and corruption in American politics." According to Ross, Cornbury "was a thief, a bigot, a grafter, a drunk, and, strange as it was, a transvestite." An image of Cornbury in drag is immortalized in a painting first exhibited in London in 1867 and now held by the New-York Historical Society. Ross' opinion is shared by

other scholars, including George Bancroft, a leading nineteenth century historian. A contemporary scholar, Patricia Bonomi, points out that he "is notorious in the historical literature as a moral profligate, sunk in corruption, and perhaps the worst governor Britain ever imposed on an American colony."³⁹

Cornbury served as the colonial general during the 1702–1708 period. In addition to his alleged drag outfit worn at the opening of the 1702 Assembly, he reportedly dressed in drag at his wife's funeral in 1707, deeply upsetting his contemporaries. There is even a story that he was arrested as a prostitute.

However, Bonomi argues in her study, *The Lord Cornbury Scandal*, that there is no direct evidence, legal or otherwise, to substantiate these claims, only four letters from three of Cornbury's political opponents. She insists that "the sight of a royal governor parading about the streets, or even the ramparts of the fort, in female dress would have scandalized friend and foe alike." More so, she points out that at the end of the seventeenth century, colonial America moved aggressively against cross dressing. She notes that during the seventeenth century two men were arrested in New York for appearing in public in women's cloths; in 1696, Massachusetts passed a law against cross dressing; and in 1703, a man named John Smith was arrested in Philadelphia for being "MASKT, or Disguised in women's apparel... ." Thus, one of America's grand sex scandals might well have been no scandal at all.

Notes

¹ Richard Godbeer, *Sexual Revolution in Early America* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2002), 58-61.

² John Murrin, "Things Fearful to Name: Bestiality in Early America," in Elizabeth Reis, ed., *American Sexual Stories* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), 29.

³ Carol F. Karlsen, *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 22-23; Mather quote in John Demos, *Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the Culture of Early New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 345-46.

⁴ Damos, 174 and 352; Karlsen, 25, 28 and 113.

⁵ Kai T. Erikson, *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance* (New York: Macmillan, 1966), 194; Mary Beth Norton, *In the Devil's Snare: The Salem Witchcraft Crisis of 1692* (New York: Knopf, 2002), 137-38; Karlsen, 25-26.

⁶ Richard Francis, *Judge Sewall's Apology: A Biography* (New York: Harper, 2005), 147-48.

⁷ Karlsen, 23, 60-61, 80, 116, 125-27, 138 and 287; Demos, 75, 89, 90, 186, 189, 249 and 295.

⁸ Karlsen, 22; Demos, 71, 74, 89, 271-74 and 284.

⁹ Francis, 88.

¹⁰ Elizabeth Reis, "The Devil, the Body, and the Feminine Soul in Puritan New England," *The Journal of American History* (vol. 82, issue 1 [January 1995]), 10; Norton, 258 and 291.

¹¹ Reis, 10; Norton, 164, 165 and 167; Richard Godbeer, *The Devil's Dominion: Magic and Religion in Early New England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 113.

¹² Norton, 79, 112-13, 195, 204-07, 210 and 214-15; Karlsen, 75 and 259; Demos, 66.

¹³ Reis, 125.

¹⁴ Norton, 44-47, 58, 60 and 74-75; Godbeer, *Devil's*, 201; Karlsen, 107-09.

¹⁵ Reis, 12; Norton, 146-47 and 205; Karlsen, 32, 89-94, 108, 117, 137, 140 and 296; Demos, 74.

¹⁶ Karlsen, 26 and 140; Demos, 179, 183, 189 and 216.

¹⁷ Karlsen, 108-09, 128, 140 and 260; Demos, 21-33 and 85-86.

¹⁸ Martha Hodes, *White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the 19th-Century South* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 19-22.

¹⁹ Aaron Gullickson, "The Significance of Color Declines: A Re-Analysis of Skin Tone Differentials in Post-Civil Rights America," *Social Forces*, September 2005.

²⁰ Godbeer, 165-68.

²¹ Willie Lee Rose, ed., *A Documentary History of Slavery in North America* (University of Georgia Press, 1976), 20—22.

²² Paula Gunn Allen, *Pocahontas: Medicine Woman, Spy, Entrepreneur, Diplomat* (New York: HarperCollins), 32; see also, pp. 27-81.

²³ Godbeer, 123.

²⁴ Allen, 50.

²⁵ Godbeer, 156 and 163.

²⁶ Allen, 85.

²⁷ Smith quote in Allen, 88-89.

²⁸ Godbeer, 160.

²⁹ *Ibid*, 163-64.

³⁰ Allen, 273-87.

³¹ See Tristram Hunt, "A Puritan on the Warpath," *The Observer*, September 1, 2002.

³² Godbeer, 66-68; Kalsen, 119 and 127-30; Reis, 96.

³³ Godbeer, 55.

³⁴ *Ibid*, 228.

³⁵ Reis, 114; Karlsen, 200; Erickson, 117, 119, 122, 149, 187-88 and 197.

³⁶ Erikson, 171, 174 and 175-76.

³⁷ Reis, 129-30.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 131-32.

³⁹ Shelley Ross, *Fall From Grace: Sex, Scandal, and Corruption in American Politics from 1702 to the Present* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1988), 3; Patricia U. Bonomi, *The Lord Cornbury Scandals: The Politics of Reputation in British America* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 1998), 3.

⁴⁰ Bonomi, 141.