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Tituba, Reluctant Witch of Salem: Devilish Indians and Puritan Fantasies. By Elaine G. Breslaw.

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but not alone. And as the Palouse people know, nothing is extinct; colonization still is sustained and maintained every day, which is what this book pictures for us so vividly. We are still on a journey of conquest, and Brooks sharpens and shapes our awareness of traveling/dancing that road, not in the past but right now, even as we view his pictures. This is what makes the book different from others with seemingly similar contents: Dee Brown's *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* and Limerick's own *Legacy of Conquest*.

By visual artifice, Brooks makes our history lessons something in which we can and must fully participate. Perhaps not every viewer will so participate, and the book risks enacting the paralysis-of-guilt narrative of "we know better now, but it's too late, the real Indians are all gone." The presences evoked by the images also risk the Indian-as-spirit-guide stereotype, the chief's-face-in-the-clouds romanticism ingrained in many Anglo-Americans by their childhood books. However, the risks seem worth it; Drew Brooks takes our bitter roots as people together and makes an experientially powerful concoction. There are no instant cures, but perhaps there are personal beginnings for the long, slow processes of displacing recriminations with some sort of harmony.

*Diana Drake Wilson*

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**Tituba, Reluctant Witch of Salem: Devilish Indians and Puritan Fantasies.** By Elaine G. Breslaw. New York: New York University Press, 1996. 243 pages. \$24.95 cloth; \$17.95 paper.

In *Tituba, Reluctant Witch of Salem: Devilish Indians and Puritan Fantasies*, Elaine G. Breslaw reconstructs the life of Tituba, focusing primarily on the role played by this enslaved American Indian woman in the 1692 Salem witch trials. Breslaw's study is an important addition both to the rich historiography of early American witchcraft and to the relatively meager body of scholarship on American Indian slavery. Throughout most of the book, Breslaw's interpretations are compelling and fairly well grounded in evidence. However, this biography of Tituba should be treated somewhat cautiously. There are a few points at which Breslaw's argument clearly overreaches her evidence.

*Tituba, Reluctant Witch of Salem* debunks two popular mis-

conceptions of Tituba. One of the most pervasive myths concerns her race. Since the mid-nineteenth century most American historians and writers have described Tituba as a woman of African heritage. By the early 1970s, the popular perception of Tituba as a black slave became so pervasive that even well-respected scholars like John Demos accepted this misconception. Reacting to this long tradition of historical inaccuracy, Chadwick Hansen, in a 1974 *New England Quarterly* article, insisted that late seventeenth-century documents identified Tituba as an Indian rather than an African American. In her biography, Breslaw follows up on Hansen's lead, providing an even fuller and more convincing case for Tituba's American Indian ancestry.

Breslaw also denies that Tituba played a key role in the initial occult activity of the Salem witch controversy. In Arthur Miller's version of this myth, Tituba presides over a clandestine ceremony designed to foretell the romantic futures of a number of Salem girls. As a result of their involvement in this disturbing occult experiment, some of the sensitive young participants fall sway to diabolical delusions. According to Breslaw, however, contemporary documents tell a very different story. The only active participants in this fabled fortune-telling episode were Betty Parris and her cousin Abigail Williams. There is no contemporary evidence that Tituba was involved or even present. Furthermore, Breslaw demonstrates that the Salem girls' fortune-telling ritual had clear English precedents, challenging assumptions that it was a direct borrowing from Afro-Caribbean or Native American traditions.

Breslaw argues that Tituba was involved in, but did not initiate, a second episode of occult activity. The Salem girls' emotional distress over the fortune-telling ritual manifested itself in bizarre physical symptoms which were interpreted as diabolical afflictions. Mary Silbey, a neighbor of the Parris family, recruited Tituba and her husband John Indian to make a witch-cake which would presumably help them track down young Betty's tormentor. Tituba, by associating herself with the case and the practice of magic, inadvertently placed herself on the prime suspect list of accused witches along with two socially marginal white women. Breslaw asserts that Mary Silbey escaped suspicion, despite her primary role in the witch-cake incident, because she was a well-respected, covenanting member of Parris' congregation. Breslaw does not explain why John Indian was not immediately rounded up with the other three suspects.

At this point, she might have referred to Carol Karlsen's *Devil in the Shape of a Woman* (1987), an excellent analysis of the gendered dynamics of early American witchcraft accusations. To her credit, Breslaw does demonstrate how John avoids suspicion after the initial stages of the witch-hunt by pretending to be suffering from the same afflictions as the girls.

When the Reverend Parris tried to beat a confession out of her, Tituba admitted to being involved in the witch-cake incident yet insisted that she was innocent of witchcraft. In Tituba's eyes, Breslaw maintains, the witch-cake was simply benevolent magic rather than witchcraft. However, after being summoned before an assembly of Salem interrogators, Tituba likely reasoned that a repeated denial of witchcraft would result in a second beating or worse. While the other two accused witches vehemently denied any responsibility for the afflictions, Tituba accepted the charges. Breslaw argues that Tituba's confession was a deliberate strategy to exert greater command over her own situation. Tituba gave her interrogators what they wanted—a confession of witchcraft. However, she placed primary blame on five other witches, casting herself as a reluctant participant who "had struggled against the overwhelming strength of the five evil ones" (p. 121). Tituba described the leader of the witches' coven as a tall man in black clothing. According to Breslaw, this was a "devious reference to Samuel Parris" because Tituba likely felt resentment toward her master after receiving a harsh beating from him a few days earlier (p. 120). Tituba insisted that the witches' coven also included a woman with clothing which distinguished her as a member of the Puritan elite. Breslaw argues that Tituba's references to the tall man in black and the well-dressed woman led to a broadening of the scope of the Salem witch-hunt. Tituba's testimony helps explain why there was a higher ratio of suspected well-to-do male witches in 1692 than in previous years.

Breslaw argues that Tituba's testimony drew upon witchcraft traditions to which she had been exposed before her arrival in New England. Breslaw's analysis of the non-Puritan elements of Tituba's confession helps explain why witchcraft hysteria proved to be more contagious in 1692 than in earlier New England witchcraft controversies. Traditionally, Puritans who testified against witches tended to accuse socially marginal members of their own communities. In contrast, Tituba's testimony fueled fears of witches from outlying communities. Breslaw suggests that Tituba had learned during an earlier

stage of her life that malevolent magic typically came from outsiders. After her arrival in New England, Tituba also became aware of the Puritan tendency toward intracommunity witchcraft charges. In accusing people both inside and outside of Salem Village, Tituba combined Puritan and non-Puritan ideas about witchcraft. Breslaw effectively argues that Tituba's testimony exhibited enough Puritan influence to make it seem credible, while its non-Puritan elements contributed to an unprecedented contagion of witchcraft accusations beyond Salem.

Less convincing is Breslaw's effort to locate the exact origins of Tituba's non-Puritan conceptions of witchcraft. Breslaw speculates that Tituba was an Arawak Indian who had been captured in Guiana by Barbadian slave traders. In the early pages of the book, Breslaw also recognizes the possibility that Tituba might have been shipped to Barbados from the Carolinas or one of the Carib communities on the mainland or neighboring islands. However, she later insists without reservation that Tituba was an Arawak. Breslaw might have strengthened her study if she had investigated how Tituba's ideas about witchcraft would have been different if she had been a Carib from Antigua or a Westo from the Carolina backcountry. Even if Tituba had been an Arawak, it is not clear that she was necessarily familiar with Arawak cultural traditions. If she had been brought to Barbados as an enslaved child, she would have been immediately immersed in the Creole culture of the island. Breslaw should have explored in greater depth the Euro- and Afro-Barbadian witchcraft beliefs with which Tituba likely became familiar before she arrived in New England.

At two other key points, Breslaw attempts to press her argument beyond her limited sources. In the first chapter, Breslaw introduces the possibility that Tituba spent a few years on the Barbadian plantation of Samuel and Elizabeth Thompson before being sold to Samuel Parris. By chapter three, Breslaw begins to treat this conjecture as a confirmed fact, insisting that Tituba's former "mistress, of course, was Elizabeth Reid Thompson...." (p. 56). In the epilogue, Breslaw states with certainty that a young Indian woman named Violet was Tituba's daughter when only a few chapters before Violet is merely a shadowy figure who might have been Tituba's child (pp. 86-87; 175-176). While these changes might enhance the book stylistically, they detract from its historical accuracy. Apart from these oversights, Breslaw's biography is generally well written and carefully researched.

Breslaw's reconstruction of the life of Tituba offers unique insight into the mental world of an American Indian slave. Earlier studies of the history of Indian slavery such as Almon Lauber's *Indian Slavery in Colonial Times within the Present Limits of the United States* (1913) and Barbara Olexer's *The Enslavement of Indians* (1982) show little concern with Native American perspectives, focusing almost exclusively on Euro-Americans' wars of enslavement against Native Americans and the formulation of policies regarding the management of Indian slaves. In this biography, Breslaw accomplishes on a microcosmic level what needs to be attempted on a grander scale—a history of Native American slavery that examines how American Indian slaves perceived their circumstances and how these perceptions shaped their interactions with members of their communities.

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**Tribal Secrets: Recovering American Indian Intellectual Traditions.** By Robert Allen Warrior. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994. \$42.95 cloth; \$16.95 paper.

Robert Warrior's *Tribal Secrets: Recovering American Indian Intellectual Traditions* compares the works of John Joseph Mathews (Osage) and Vine Deloria (Sioux). Warrior historicizes these two thinkers into a time frame he designates "American Indian Intellectual Traditions from 1890 to 1990." He demonstrates how representative thinkers of this one-hundred-year period move from assimilationist to activist positions, and he locates his subjects within this paradigm, placing Mathews in a middle position and Deloria towards the activist. Warrior limits his prototypical choices from this period to published American Indian writers, since their works are more readily accessible.

*Tribal Secrets* both succeeds and fails. Parts of it offer brilliant insights, yet other sections present confusing overstatements and distortions because Warrior tries to cover far too much ground. Had he limited his discussion to an in-depth critical analysis of the works of Mathews and Deloria, this work would have been superb. Warrior is especially astute in reading Mathews, and he is quite right in asserting that Mathews needs more attention than he is presently receiving. Warrior's assessment that issues of land and community dominate the