

ISSN 0910-500X

英文學思潮

THOUGHT CURRENTS IN ENGLISH LITERATURE

VOLUME LXXXV

2012

THE ENGLISH LITERARY SOCIETY
OF
AOYAMA GAKUIN UNIVERSITY

青山学院大学英语学会

Arthur Miller's *The Crucible*: Fact and Fiction

Paul Howl

Introduction:

Arthur Miller, one of the greatest American playwrights of the twentieth century, wrote *The Crucible* as a reaction to the McCarthy hearings and The Salem Witch Trials. Why did Miller write *The Crucible*? Jean Christophe-Broudin posits that Arthur Miller read a book published in 1867 by Charles, W. Upham, a mayor of Salem at the time. This book had a true, profound effect on Miller and he knew he had to write about it (Broudin sec. 5.1).

He combined the tragic similarities between Salem and the 1950's trials. During these mid twentieth century proceedings, Joseph McCarthy began accusing Americans of being communists. A trial began which ruined the careers of important people in the entertainment industry. Miller utilized these events and created a classic drama. The characters and plot in the play are engaging, dramatic and beautifully written. E. Miller Budick in his essay entitled, *History and other Specters in The Crucible*, states that "Miller is making a statement about the relationship between objective fact and subjective fiction" (143). Budick explains that Arthur Miller combined facts about the trials and characters and created fictional ones for the purpose of his drama.

This paper analyzes the similarities and differences between characters and events in the play *The Crucible* and the facts in Salem in 1692. Focus is placed on specific characters and events and finding the true history behind them and how they compared with the play. In addition, the paper will examine Budick's objective fact and subjective fiction by furthering Budick's argument with one of my own: Miller's

Crucible foundation is based on objective fact, while subjective fiction is based on the playwright's imagination in creating the interior mental and emotional landscape of each character and event through dialogue.

Characters in *The Crucible*

One of the major differences between the play and the witch trials are specific characters. In the play, many characters were created from those in the real witch trials. These include: Giles Corey, Reverend Parris and John Hale. On the other hand, several characters are very different from the historical ones. For example: Abigail Williams, Mary Warren, Deputy Governor Danforth, Elizabeth Proctor and John Proctor. Arthur Miller needed memorable characters with depth and intensity and a dramatic plot that built to a blistering climax. These elements have to exist to allow a good play to be great.

First of all, Abigail Williams in Miller's *The Crucible* is very different from the historical one. Margo Burns states that Williams was only eleven (2011). On the other hand, Miller describes Williams as seventeen years old. The six year difference in age creates a much more cruel and manipulative character. She is a strong willed young woman driven by lust and desire to form a marriage between her and John Proctor, a local farmer who is about thirty five years old. Williams describes that lust for Proctor when she and other girls go to the woods, dance and fervently discuss their desires for the future. She is the strongest of all the girls and she manipulates them by telling them that they must keep silent regarding the dancing in the woods or suffer the consequences. "Now look you. All of you. We danced. And mark this. Let either of you breathe a word, or the edge of a word, about the other things, and I will come to you in the black of some terrible night and I will bring a pointy reckoning that will shudder you. I can make you wish you had never seen the sun go down" (Miller 1)

In this case, the real Williams was only eleven years old. In contrast, Miller's Williams, at seventeen, is at an age where emotional subjectivity

and vulnerability is at its height. She dictates to the other girls not to “breathe a word” of their dancing — “or the edge of a word” — while she explores her conscience, the specter of her conscience. Miller emphasizes her subjectivity as a fictional character by selecting intrusive, personifying, and emotionally heightened language: “Mark this...the edge of a word...I will come to you in the black of some terrible night and I will bring a pointy reckoning that will shudder you” (1). These powerful words describe a strong and assertive seventeen year old young woman who has an intense conviction to keep the event a secret. Williams wants to manipulate her situation in order to be with Proctor. An eleven year old girl would not have the knowledge or understanding of such an evil deed.

Another character in Miller's *The Crucible* who has a similarity and a difference to the historical one is Elizabeth Proctor, the wife of John Proctor, a local farmer. The main similarity is that Proctor was spared execution because she was pregnant. In the play, Deputy Governor Danforth allows her to survive for that same reason. Similarly, the special Court of Oyer and Terminer, a term used to describe an examination committee made up of judges, made the same decision. Bernard Rosenthal states that Elizabeth survived because of pregnancy (113). A major difference is the reason for arresting Proctor. Melissa M. Yost also states that the historical Proctor is arrested because, “during Elizabeth Proctor's examination, Abigail revealed she witnessed Elizabeth's specter along with forty other witches partake in a sacrament of blood drinking outside of the Parris house” (Yost 6). In contrast, Miller's Proctor is arrested because there is a poppet, a doll, in her house with a needle stabbed in it. Williams placed it there as a voodoo doll. While Abigail is at Reverend Parris's house, she falls onto the floor and takes out a needle from her stomach. Ezekiel Cheever, the arresting officer, enters the Proctor's house with a warrant. He explains why she needs to be taken away. “Tis hard proof! I find here a poppet Goody Proctor keeps. I found it, sir. And in the belly of the poppet, a needle's stuck” (2).

These differences are clear in both situations and yet both are false accusations. The historical and Miller's Proctor were both falsely accused by Williams. Here, Miller clearly uses many objective facts. On the other hand, the subjective fictional idea of the poppet creates a very strong image of a needle stuck in a doll. Miller is creating fear and terror for Elizabeth and other characters. It was never clear why the real Williams accused Proctor but she had a very evil motive in the play. In any case, both are very dramatic and put a woman's life in jeopardy.

The historical Mary Warren had a much louder and stronger presence in the examination proceedings and knew how to survive execution. Devan Kirk contributes that, "By the end of her examinations, Mary was established as an accuser, and she safeguarded her life by providing the magistrates with ample accusations and evidence." (Kirk 5). At first, she joins the girls in general accusations. Eventually she would have three examinations and within that time she accused many people including John and Elizabeth Proctor. Miller describes his Warren as, "a subservient, naïve, lonely girl" (1). This lonely girl is forced to go with Proctor to court to tell the truth about the reasons why the girls accused people of being witches. In these proceedings she is terrified and very quiet. Eventually she joins Williams and the other girls and accuses Proctor of being a witch. That is the extent of her examination experience. Obviously, the historical Warren was much more outspoken and at the same time harmed more people. There was a lot of historical information available about Warren because of courtroom records. Miller uses her character to develop his plot by having Proctor force her to accompany him and confront Abigail and the other women who are bringing the accusations against other villagers in Salem. After Williams and the girls turn on Warren, she breaks down and accuses Proctor of witchcraft and claims that he wants her to sign the devil's book. "He wake me every night, his eyes were like coals and his fingers claw my neck, and I sign, I sign..." (3). Here, Miller uses very descriptive and dark language to describe Warren's fear. This dramatic dialogue

enhances the moment and helps to clarify that Warren was more afraid of the girls' accusations than of Proctor.

Next, the real Proctor was also dissimilar to the theatrical one. Both were accused and executed. The historical Proctor was also a strong man who defended his wife when she was accused. He himself was accused by Warren. Before his death, he wrote a letter. Douglas O. Linder states that he sent a letter to the Clergy of Boston asking for the trials to be moved to Boston and the judges be replaced with more reliable ones. Before he was executed, he asked for more time because he claims he was unfit to die (2009). Miller's Proctor, on the other hand, did not ask for anything. He made a decision to die and keep his dignity.

Miller created a Proctor that was vulnerable, aggressive and very courageous. According to Burns, the historical Proctor was aged sixty (2011). On the other hand, Miller describes Proctor to be thirty five years old. The twenty five year difference in age produced a much stronger and more combative man. He is the protagonist in the play who is forced into the trials and is eventually imprisoned and hung. He takes Warren to court with him because he knows the girls are lying and he wants her to tell the truth. Warren tries to explain but Danforth doesn't believe her. Eventually he is thrust into the proceedings and he is taken to jail because he tells the truth about his affair with Williams. Proctor understands that he is offered life if he provides a guilty plea and declares that he is a witch. In the end, he does not sign a confession and is sent to be hung. Miller's Proctor becomes a very strong but vulnerable character with many flaws. Proctor wants to save himself and he is willing to lie. He refuses to go on lying when he is asked to accuse others and to allow his name to be published. In the end, he does not comply with Danforth. Proctor's final speech, in which he is talking to his wife, describes his own moral compass. "I do think I see some shred of goodness in John Proctor. Not enough to weave a banner with, but enough to keep it from such dogs. Give them no tear! Tears pleasure them! Show honor now, show a stony heart and sink them with it!" (4).

Miller uses great license with Proctor when creating subjective fiction. Like Danforth, his dialogue is layered with deep and intense emotion. In this specific dialogue, Proctor, as a heroic protagonist, shoots back at his enemies, "Show honor now, show a stony heart and sink them with it." Miller again, uses powerful dialogue to describe a fictional event that stemmed from fact.

Proctor is keeping his dignity and will not relent to the needs of blind and limited people. He would rather die than subject himself to living a lie and pretending to be something he is not. He also understands that he cannot accuse others. This protagonist has gone through a great deal of pain and made extremely difficult decisions to end his life.

Giles Corey's inner strength and determination made him one of the most memorable persons, both as a historical person and a theatrical character. The real Corey went before a grand jury and was accused of witchcraft. Heather Snyder states that he was accused of witchcraft by Ann Putnam Jr, Marcy Lewis and Abigail Williams (Snyder 2). Because of these accusations, he was arrested and spent five months in prison. He did not confess to the charges of witchcraft and these actions allowed his children to keep his land. Because of his ambivalence, the court ruled that he must be executed. Instead of hanging, Corey was forced to lie on the ground with a heavy board on his body. Heavy stones were put on the board and the weight eventually crushed him. His conviction caused by the accusations against him made him a hero. It could be argued that Giles Corey was a martyr for the trials. Douglas O. Linder contends that, "Corey is often seen as a martyr who gave back fortitude and courage rather than spite and bewilderment. His very public death may well have played in building public opposition to the witchcraft trials." (Linder 6). After the trials ended, many people understood the terrible decisions that had been made and the terrible tragedies that had occurred. Giles Corey stayed strong in his beliefs and those beliefs were in fact true.

Miller's Corey was very similar. The only real difference is that Cory's wife reads books and that leads to the accusation that his wife is a witch.

He attempts to defend his wife by claiming that, Thomas Putnam, a wealthy Salem landowner, is greedy and wants his land. Unfortunately this backfires and Cory is sent to prison and is also accused of witchcraft. Miller utilizes Proctor to describe his death. "They press him. Great stones they lay upon his chest until he plead aye or nay. They say he gave them but two words. "More weight" he says, and died." (4). Here, the historical and fictional characters resemble each other more than any other characters. Objective fact and subjective become exact in language. These very dramatic and heroic two words provide clarity concerning Corey's courage against cruelty and lies.

As for Reverend Parris, the historical person and Miller's character are both greedy and selfish. Miller describes Parris in his notes. He writes, "In history he cut a villainous path, and there is very little good to be said for him" (1). He certainly created a storm in Salem. He argued with the town over his pay and how much firewood he would receive in the winter. At that time, ministers received these benefits as part of their remuneration. Parris was well-educated and thought he should be entitled to more. When his daughter Betty gets sick, he is more worried about his standing in the community. He doesn't want people to think his daughter has become a witch. He lies and tells Danforth that he saw no dancing in the woods. Eventually he asks Danforth to postpone the hangings. Again, he is trying to save himself. He expounds to Danforth the following dialogue:

"Judge Hathorne-it were another sort that hanged till now. Rebecca Nurse is not Bridget that lived three year with Bishop before she married him. John Proctor is not Isaac Ward that drank his family to ruin. I would to God it were not so, Excellency, but these people have great weight yet in the town. Let Rebecca stand upon the gibbet and send up some righteous prayer, and I fear she'll wake a vengeance on you. Excellency, I would postpone these hangin's for a time" (4).

This dialogue becomes subjective fiction created by both Miller and

Danforth himself.

Parris is telling Danforth to postpone the hangings because the town is dealing with very well respected people who could cause a riot. In reality, Parris found daggers at his front door. He knows that if these respectable people are hanged, there will be a riot and he will be killed. The historical Parris is similar to the fictional one. He argued about his pay with community leaders. Parris was depicted as a greedy man. He was also thought of as a fraud ("Arthur Miller and his Distorted Historical Accuracies" 13). He controlled his congregation in reaction to his relationship to town leaders and he did not recognize his mistakes when he made them. He had a less than warm relationship with the town and the witch trials only made it much worse. It took five years after the trials for him to finally leave.

In regard to John Hale, Miller took similar characteristics from the historical figure and created an honest, humble and practical man. In the play, Hale, a specialist in witchcraft, desires to seek out witches and destroy them in the name of God. He comes to Salem and visits each house, talks with each family and evaluates them. Eventually, having faith in the honesty and integrity of Proctor, he realizes the truth about Williams' treachery. He denounces the courtroom proceedings and becomes a man of practicality. At the same time, he realizes he didn't find the truth about the hysteria until it was too late and this causes him to lose some of his faith. In the following passage, he talks to Proctor about the need for her husband to lie about being a witch.

"Where I turned the eye of my great faith, blood flowed up. Beware, Goody Proctor-cleave to no faith when faith brings blood. It is mistaken law that leads you to sacrifice. Life, woman, life is God's most precious gift; no principle, however glorious, may justify the taking of it. I beg you, woman, prevail upon your husband to confess. Let him give his lie" (4).

Miller uses Hale's beautiful and heightened language and creates more subjective fiction. His fragile and unstable faith produces death, yet he

desperately wants to help Proctor make the right decision and save her husband's life.

It is clear, through his experience and humility, that Hale is doing his best to help Proctor by pleading with her to tell her husband to do the right thing and this will allow him to live. Hale is very practical and he is using this knowledge to help others survive and move on in life. The real Hale was very similar to Miller's character. He is an honest and practical Puritan pastor who sees the truth about the trials. In the beginning, Hale was a strong supporter. An examination of the Salem Witch Trials states that in 1692 John Hale was one of three north shore ministers to ardently support the witch hunt. He believed in rooting out evil. Through his knowledge of the bible, he listened to the examinations and determined that certain people were witches. Eventually he began to see the truth behind the lies. This occurred when his wife was accused. Johnson and Johnson conclude, in *Understanding the Crucible*, that something happened along the way to disillusion him: his wife was accused (109). Once again his practical nature took over and he began to see that the accusations were unfounded and ridiculous. Hale became very upset about the trials and wrote a book connected to the trials. It was called, "*A Modest Inquiry Into The Nature Of Witchcraft.*" Both the historical Hale and Miller's character had the same characteristics and used them to help people in time of need.

The historical Danforth played a very small role in the real witch trials. Marion L. Starkey states that although Thomas Danforth was not on the special Court of Oyer and Terminer, he was on a few examinations (227). The examinations he attended occurred after the hysteria had died down. On the other hand he became a very successful politician throughout his career. He was on important committees, a president of a district and eventually became deputy governor. Even though Danforth made very important decisions and possible enemies during his lifetime, he did not participate in the witch trials.

Miller's Danforth was very different from the historical one. Miller

describes Danforth as, "A grave man in his sixties, of some humor and sophistication that does not, however, interfere with an exact loyalty to his position and cause" (3). In other words, Danforth is an intelligent, educated, strong willed man who is very connected to the church and abides by the letter of the law. Danforth, being a hardnosed law maker, will only respond to what he thinks is right. He does not take advice from anyone and eventually this becomes his downfall. In act four of *The Crucible*, Parris and Hale strongly encourage Danforth to wait and think about a solution before he makes a decision on hanging Proctor, his wife and others. Danforth realizes that these suggestions are good but he does not want to look foolish. He is extremely stubborn and will not allow anyone to change his tunnel vision. In act four he states: "If retaliation is your fear, know this-I should hang ten thousand that dared to rise against the law, and an ocean of salt tears could not melt the resolution of the statutes" (4). In this case, Miller's fictional Danforth is a dark and evil character. His dialogue is loaded with powerful imagery. An ocean of salt tears describes a deluge of weeping by the town. Danforth uses this very sharp and intense metaphor when he explains to Parris, Hale and Hathorne that he will not change his decision.

Danforth, knowing that this is a life and death situation, clearly understands that delaying the hangings will allow him to do the right thing. Unfortunately, because he does not want to look foolish, he informs the three men that he will stick to his decision and abide by his laws. Miller has created a powerful figure in Danforth which is very different from the historical person.

Events in The Crucible

Another major difference between the play and the witch trials were the sequence of events. Miller again fictionalizes historical events. There were many differences between his play and the events in Salem, from the causes of the mass hysteria, the witch trials themselves and their aftermath.

The first major difference is the cause of the witchcraft. The beginning of the real witch trials occurred because two girls, Betty Parris and Abigail Williams, exhibited strange behavior. Rosenthal writes about two Salem girls. "Betty and Abigail were bitten and pinched by invisible agents; their arms, necks, and backs turned this way and that way, and returned back again, so as it was impossible for them to do of themselves." (1) Their strange behavior caused people to think they had supernatural powers. The Salem Puritans were deeply religious people that would easily react to their environment. They strongly believed in the devil and when the girls pointed fingers at people, the community felt that these girls were telling the truth. Once the specific people had been accused of witchcraft, the firestorm began. The community truly believed that these people were witches and death sentences were made as a result of the events. Miller created a scene of pubescent girls dancing in the woods to create fear and apprehension from the beginning of the play. But there was never any dancing in the woods in Salem. Burns states that there was never any wild dancing rite in the woods and certainly Reverend Parris never stumbled upon them (2011). The objective fact that two girls were acting strangely added to his decision to create the dancing.

In truth, there were no witchcraft trials but examinations by a special court. Basically, a complaint would be filed, statements and depositions would be read and indictments and rulings would be made by the Court of Oyer and Terminer. Eliza S. and Melina M. writes about the Court of Oyer and Terminer. "Oyer and Terminer means to hear and to determine." (S.M. 1). This was a much more common practice within that time of history. Statements and depositions were common at that time because land was such a huge issue. If a person was convicted on being a witch, their land would be sold to the top bidder; the more land a person had, the higher the status. People were constantly fighting over land during that time. Miller's courtroom is adjacent to the main courthouse. Danforth and Hathorne made the decisions on all matters which once

again heightened the drama of the proceedings because their sentencing was final. Again, his subjective fiction became a coercive tool throughout the whole play.

In addition, the historical Tituba, a slave belonging to Parris, was another example of proof that no dancing occurred in the woods. Parris purchased Tituba, a slave, from Barbados and brought her home with him to Salem. At that time, Tituba had knowledge of African voodoo practice. Yet, her connection with witchcraft occurred through a different activity. She was told to make a witch cake and give it to a dog. This cake, made out of rye and girl's urine, was used to determine who the witch was and who was hurting the girls. Tituba was doing her best to find a resolution to the problem. Her activity was not a profound event as in the woods incident. In the play, Tituba is pressured into a confession about seeing the devil. "Mr. Parris, mean man and no gentle man, and he bid me rise out of my bed and cut your throat!" (1). Tituba uses fierce imagery to describe her need to murder. Miller creates a much more real and in depth character. This increases the believability of Miller's fiction.

Next, Puritans were afraid of the woods because of their past experiences with Indians and their religion. As a result, every person in the Salem community would have no desire to dance in that location. During the King Phillip's War, many Indians invaded English colonists and a bloody war grew from that conflict. The Puritans believed that the Indians hid in the woods and tried to steal their land. Another reason they were afraid of the woods is because they took their religion very seriously. They strongly believed in purity and group piety. This purity connected them to the bible and their understanding of life and death and the piety provided humility and a humble life. They also took the devil very seriously and believed he could strike at anytime, especially in the woods. Kay Kizer writes about the Puritans. "The devil was behind every evil deed. This constant subjection of the probability of an unseen danger led to a scandal of epidemic proportions." (Kizer 9). Certainly

the woods were another evil and sinister place where the devil could hide and attack at any time. Once again, objective fact and subjective fiction blend together to create a sinister and evil environment. The real Puritans feared the woods and that created a very tenebrous and monstrous environment.

One interesting similarity between historical reality and the play is that in both cases, spectral evidence was used. This evidence would never be accepted in a court today and in Miller's time, the audience, too, would see it as completely unreliable and easily manipulated by the girls. Budick states that "life and literature are both spectres of consciousness" (144). Budick is explaining that both history and the play provided illusions and images for all the characters. These illusions, spectral evidence, were evidence used during the examinations to determine if someone was a witch. Testimony was heard regarding dreams and visions people had about other people who were witches. By taking this information seriously and hanging people, the examiners actions turned the tide on the examinations. It was probably the worst and lowest part of the trials. Cotton Mather, a New England Minister, wrote a letter to the court telling them not to use spectral evidence. At first they refused to hear his information and they killed a number of people.

In the end, Governor Phipps stopped all executions and the trials came to a close. This action was finally taken because initially, Williams, her cousin Parris and other girls began accusing the weak and the poor of being witches. Eventually it led up to the accusation of Phipps wife. In Miller's play, spectral evidence was a powerful tool to create hysteria during the trial. One of the most powerful moments was at the end of act three when Danforth was interrogating Warren. Initially, Warren, Williams and others were in court screaming and yelling that they saw spirits all around them. Eventually, with the help of Proctor, Warren comes and tells the truth to Danforth; yet he is not sure about her ambivalence. Williams enters with the girls and they suddenly see an image of a bird which they claim is connected to Warren. Williams speaks

in utter fear: "You will not! Begone! Begone, I say! Why-Why do you come yellow bird?" (4). A part of Danforth's decision making occurs because of this fearful and intense event. He is filled with fear and apprehension when he hears and sees the behavior of these girls. Yet again, objective fact and subjective fiction become unified. Spectral evidence, used in both the examinations and *The Crucible* trials, produced a massive amount of fear, apprehension and finger pointing. Miller uses this to his advantage when Williams speaks those terrifying words. A bird should be a positive and free image. In this case, it is evil and unforgiving.

Another major difference was the end of the witch trials. In the end of *The Crucible*, the trials suddenly end, John Proctor and Rebecca Nurse are hung and life goes on. These were very well respected people in the community and their deaths made others feel that their confessions and deaths created a conclusion to the hysteria. In real life the jails were overcrowded and many people were still confessing and making outrageous accusations. They made false confessions so they would not be put to death. Burns writes about the end of the hysteria in *17th Century Colonial New England*, "The hysteria did not die out. More and more people were giving false confessions." People were still very fearful about what they experienced and they were desperate to live. The terror continued for quite some time after the trials ended. Miller's subjective fiction created a very dramatic ending. Proctor, the hero, goes off and finds his fate. The objective fact continued and the horrible realities of people in jails even after the trials provided evidence that the horrible event in history did not end for some time.

Regret played a major part in the events that followed the trials. Because of the horrible deaths caused by the hysteria, some judges on the examination council felt deep remorse for what they had done. Many letters had been sent to the judges describing the absurdity of the trials, but these judges did not take them seriously. They still made their decisions and many people were hung. In the end, Samuel Sewall made a public apology for his terrible actions. Johnson and Johnson states that

Sewall wrote a proclamation, asking for God's help and forgiveness for anything that might have gone wrong with regard to the trials (72). People realized that there was no real evidence of witches or any kind of supernatural events. They realized that because of their religious beliefs and the young girls falsely pointing fingers, the hysteria created a firestorm in the community. Samuel Sewall was an example of a person who felt deep regret for his actions and he had to take action to tell his community that the trials were wrong and that many people were actually innocent. Heather E. Jones writes about Sewall. "Sewall's apology had certainly been made in earnest, as he genuinely feared the wrath of God." (Jones 8). His feelings of regret truly enhanced the knowledge that the trials were a terrible event. Miller's subjective fiction provided Hale with a great deal of regret. He regretted the fact that he could not help the community find a solution. His intentions were good but his actions came too late.

In conclusion, there are numerous differences and a few similarities between characters and events in the play and the Salem Witch Trials. Arthur Miller took facts and fiction from these trials and molded them into a classic drama. He was writing about a hysteria in his own time, the fear of Communism. He is warning his audience of a similar outcome. Innocent people could be harmed through blind fear and trials. In addition, Miller is writing about Proctor and the individual conscience versus the mob. On the other hand, there was a great deal of real drama in the true Salem Witch trials. Miller, using objective fact as a springboard and creating subjective fiction, heightened the play through visceral dialogue and textured characters. All of the real characters had difficult and challenging lives and went through hell during the trials. In some cases, only a small amount of information is known about some characters but on the other hand a great deal is known about others. In fact with some characters, there is a lot of detail that is known about their lives. As far as the events are concerned, the activities of the young girls and the trials themselves are what stand out. These girls started the

hysteria and chaos. Whether they were trials or examinations, drama permeated these meetings that took place and the judges made decisions that killed people and almost destroyed a community. In any case, *The Crucible* and The Salem Witch Trials will not soon be forgotten. They will remain in our memory for many, many years to come.

Works Cited

- Broudin, Jean-Christophe. "Why did Arthur Miller write *The Crucible*?" 1999 section 5.1 Reocities 6 Sep 2012
- Budick, Miller E. "History and other specters in *The Crucible*." *Arthur Miller*. Bloom, Harold. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1987, 127-144.
- Burns, Margo. "Arthur Miller's *The Crucible: Fact & Fiction*." 2011. Johnson Claudia Durst, Johnson Vernon E.. *Understanding The Crucible*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1998.
- Johnson Claudia Durst, Johnson Vernon E.. *Understanding The Crucible*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1998.
- Kirk Devan "Mary Warren". 2002 Salem Witch Trials Documentary Archive and Transcription Project University of Virginia 24 Aug 2012.
- Linder Douglas O.. "Giles Corey" 2009. Famous American Trials Salem Witchcraft Trials 2009 University of Missouri-Kansas City 23 August 2012.
- Linder Douglas O.. "John Proctor" 2009 Famous American Trials Salem Witchcraft Trials 1692, University of Missouri-Kansas City 23 August 2012.
- Miller, Arthur. *The Crucible*. New York: Penguin Books 1983
- Rosenthal, Bernard. *Salem Story*. New York: Cambridge, 1993.
- Snyder Heather "Giles Corey" 2001 Salem Witch Trials Documentary Archive and Transcription Project University of Virginia 24 Aug 2012
- Starkey, Marion L. *The Devil in Massachusetts*. New York: Dolphin Books, 1963.
- Yost Melissa M. "Abigail Williams". 2002 Salem Witch Trials Documentary Archive and Transcription Project University of Virginia
- "Arthur Miller and his Distorted Historical Accuracies." 123HelpMe.com 23 Aug 2012
- Eliza S. Melina M. "Court of Oyer and Terminer". Salem Witch Trials of 1692
- Kizer, Kay. "Puritans". Notre Dame. 6 Sep 2012
- "Salem Witch Trials 1692 Sites Tour John Hale House". Salem Witch Museum. np.nd. Web. 24 Aug. 2012