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slave and accused witch, was one of the few blacks in colonial New England to be born in the English colony of Barbados. Candy came to Salem Village, Massachusetts, with her owner Margaret Hawke sometime in the years immediately preceding the notorious witchcraft panic of 1692. As with many of the key players in the Salem witch trials, Candy has left little in the historical record other than the accusations against her, court testimony, and the judgment against her. Still, even this small amount of information is compelling. There were strong economic and political ties between Salem and Barbados, resting on the shipping industry and trade in slave-manufactured goods, particularly sugar and cotton. In fact the Reverend Samuel Parris and his famous Amerindian slave Tituba also were from Barbados and it was in his household that the witch panic of 1692 began.

On 2 July 1692 Candy was arrested for the crime of witchcraft in a later wave of accusations made by Mary Wallcot and Ann Putnam. Ann Putnam was the twelve year old who was one of the first afflicted in Salem. Her name appears over four hundred times in the Salem Witchcraft court documents and she was famous for her violent, physical reaction to the accused; eighteen year old Mary Walcott was also a frequent accuser. It is interesting and no doubt significant that Candy was not arrested in the first round of accusation, as the slave woman Tituba had been; neither being a person of color or a slave, it appeared, was enough to automatically attract the attention of the accusing girls. Once arrested and examined, however, Candy used her position as an outsider to her advantage. Unlike the only other black woman arrested, Mary Black, Candy confessed to her activity as a witch in some detail. She did not provide the sophisticated symbolic imagery of the devil and his color-coded animal familiars—such as the black dog, the yellow bird, and the red rat—as Tituba had done, rather offering material evidence of her Satanic actions. While spectral evidence was being used to convict others, Candy turned over physical objects that she asserted were part of her witch practice, including two pieces of cloth that she used for sympathetic magic in the manner of voodoo dolls. In the trial transcript there was dramatic evidence of the efficacy of these objects—three girls (Mary Warren, Deliverance Hobbs, and Abigail Hobbs) were afflicted by the pinching of the cloth, and when “a bit of one of the rags being set on fire, the afflicted all said they were burned, and cried out dreadfully” (*Salem Witchcraft Papers*, vol. 1). Candy also displayed bits of grass and cheese that she said she used for magical purposes. All of these are evidence of sympathetic magical practices but not necessarily of Satanic power to torment through mere will and spectral projection.

While Candy's confessions show a strong understanding of European notions of witchcraft (and possibly African sorcery), her use of the court to accuse her mistress is of even greater significance. As an alien, a woman, and a slave she could be seen-as powerless, and yet she was able to use her status to resist punishment in an effective fashion—she tied her fate to that of her free white owner. Her 4-July 1692 testimony includes the following exchange:

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Q. Candy, are you a witch?

A. Candy, no witch in her country. Candy's mother no witch. Candy no witch Barbados. This country, mistress give Candy witch.

Q. Did your mistress make you a witch in this country?

Understanding the power of the Essex County community's belief in witchcraft, Candy saved her own life by cleverly casting blame upon her owner, Margaret Hawkes, and by confessing to witchcraft but not to bringing Caribbean or African magic into Salem. It is significant that Candy denied her witchcraft as having roots in Barbados and, by extension, Africa. Many white colonials viewed Africans and Native Americans and their religious ceremonies as naturally connected to the demonic. In one simple statement, Candy asserted that she was bedeviled by a white Christian woman and not the other way around, an argument that might be expected to carry great weight since as a slave she by definition occupied a position of subjection. The truth of her testimony appeared to be corroborated by the spectral evidence offered by the accusing girls. All of this served to place Hawkes in jeopardy: "the black man and Mrs. Hawkes and the negro [Candy] stood by the puppets or rags and pinched them, and then they [the girls] were afflicted" (*Salem Witchcraft Papers*, vol. 1). Candy's testimony implicating Hawkes played upon Puritan expectations:

Q. What did your mistress do to make you a witch?

A. Mistress bring book and pen and ink, make Candy write in it.

Candy was led to Satan directly by her mistress through the classical method of signing the devil's book. In the end, as were all others who confessed, Candy was found not guilty of her crimes. She had successfully survived the onslaught that took many innocent lives. With the end of the trials Candy disappeared from the historical record and from popular memory, usurped by Tituba as the famous woman of color from Salem.

## Further Reading

Boyer, Paul, and Stephen Nissenbaum, eds. *The Salem Witchcraft Papers: Verbatim Transcripts of the Legal Documents of the Salem Witchcraft Outbreak of 1692* (1977).

Cracker, Wendel. "Spectral Evidence, Non-Spectral Acts of Witchcraft, and Confession at Salem in 1692," *The Historical Journal* 40.2 (1997).

Salem Witchcraft papers. Available at <http://etext.virginia.edu/salem/witchcraft/texts/transcripts.html>. <<http://etext.virginia.edu/salem/witchcraft/texts/transcripts.html>>