

# **TEXT #1: A Chronology of Events During the Salem Witch Trials (1692)**

from www.salemweb.com

What evil spirit have you familiarity with?

None.

Have you made no contract with the devil?

No.

Why do you hurt these children?

I do not hurt them. I scorn it.

Who do you imploy then to do it?

I imploy no body.

What creature do you imploy then?

No creature. I am falsely accused.

-Dialogue based on the examination of Sarah Good by Judges Hathorne and Corwin, from *The Salem Witchcraft Papers*, Book II, p.355

## January 20

Nine-year-old Elizabeth Parris and eleven-year-old Abigail Williams began to exhibit strange behavior, such as blasphemous screaming, convulsive seizures, trance-like states and mysterious spells. Within a short time, several other Salem girls began to demonstrate similar behavior.

# **Mid-February**

Unable to determine any physical cause for the symptoms and dreadful behavior, physicians concluded that the girls were under the influence of Satan.

#### **Late February**

Prayer services and community fasting were conducted by Reverend Samuel Parris in hopes of relieving the evil forces that plagued them. In an effort to expose the "witches", John Indian baked a witch cake made with rye meal and the afflicted girls' urine. This counter-magic was meant to reveal the identities of the "witches" to the afflicted girls.

Pressured to identify the source of their affliction, the girls named three women, including Tituba, Parris' Carib Indian slave, as witches. On February 29, warrants were issued for the arrests of Tituba, Sarah Good and Sarah Osborne.

Although Osborne and Good maintained innocence, Tituba confessed to seeing the devil who appeared to her "sometimes like a hog and sometimes like a great dog". What's more, Tituba testified that there was a conspiracy of witches at work in Salem.

## March 1

Magistrates John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin examined Tituba, Sarah Good, and Sarah Osborne in the meeting house in Salem Village. Tituba confessed to practicing witchcraft.



Over the next weeks, other townspeople came forward and testified that they, too, had been harmed by or had seen strange apparitions of some of the community members. As the witch hunt continued, accusations were made against many different people.

Frequently denounced were women whose behavior or economic circumstances were somehow disturbing to the social order and conventions of the time. Some of the accused had previous records of criminal activity, including witchcraft, but others were faithful churchgoers and people of high standing in the community.

## March 12

Martha Corey is accused of witchcraft.

## March 19

Rebecca Nurse was denounced as a witch.

#### March 21

Martha Corey was examined before Magistrates Hathorne and Corwin.

## March 24

Rebecca Nurse was examined before Magistrates Hathorne and Corwin.

## March 28

Elizabeth Proctor was denounced as a witch.

## April 3

Sarah Cloyce, Rebecca Nurse's sister, was accused of witchcraft.

## April 11

Elizabeth Proctor and Sarah Cloyce were examined before Hathorne, Corwin, Deputy Governor Thomas Danforth, and Captain Samuel Sewall. During this examination, John Proctor was also accused and imprisoned.

## April 19

Abigail Hobbs, Bridget Bishop, Giles Corey, and Mary Warren were examined. Only Abigail Hobbs confessed.

#### **William Hobbs**

"I can deny it to my dying day."

## April 22

Nehemiah Abbott, William and Deliverance Hobbs, Edward and Sarah Bishop, Mary Easty, Mary Black, Sarah Wildes, and Mary English were examined before Hathorne and Corwin. Only Nehemiah Abbott was cleared of charges.



## May 2

Sarah Morey, Lydia Dustin, Susannah Martin, and Dorcas Hoar were examined by Hathorne and Corwin.

# May 4

George Burroughs was arrested in Wells, Maine.

# May 9

Burroughs was examined by Hathorne, Corwin, Sewall, and William Stoughton. One of the afflicted girls, Sarah Churchill, was also examined.

## May 10

George Jacobs, Sr. and his granddaughter Margaret were examined before Hathorne and Corwin. Margaret confessed and testified that her grandfather and George Burroughs were both witches.

Sarah Osborne died in prison in Boston.

## **Margaret Jacobs**

"... They told me if I would not confess I should be put down into the dungeon and would be hanged, but if I would confess I should save my life."

## **May 14**

Increase Mather returned from England, bringing with him a new charter and the new governor, Sir William Phips.

## **May 18**

Mary Easty was released from prison. Yet, due to the outcries and protests of her accusers, she was arrested a second time.

# **May 27**

Governor Phips set up a special Court of Oyer and Terminer comprised of seven judges to try the witchcraft cases. Appointed were Lieutenant Governor William Stoughton, Nathaniel Saltonstall, Bartholomew Gedney, Peter Sergeant, Samuel Sewall, Wait Still Winthrop, John Richards, John Hathorne, and Jonathan Corwin.

These magistrates based their judgments and evaluations on various kinds of intangible evidence, including direct confessions, supernatural attributes (such as "witchmarks"), and reactions of the afflicted girls. Spectral evidence, based on the assumption that the Devil could assume the "specter" of an innocent person, was relied upon despite its controversial nature.

## **May 31**

Martha Carrier, John Alden, Wilmott Redd, Elizabeth Howe, and Phillip English were examined before Hathorne, Corwin, and Gedney.



## June 2

Initial session of the Court of Oyer and Terminer. Bridget Bishop was the first to be pronounced guilty of witchcraft and condemned to death.

## **Early June**

Soon after Bridget Bishop's trial, Nathaniel Saltonstall resigned from the court, dissatisfied with its proceedings.

## June 10

Bridget Bishop was hanged in Salem, the first official execution of the Salem witch trials.

#### **Bridget Bishop**

"I am no witch. I am innocent. I know nothing of it."

Following her death, accusations of witchcraft escalated, but the trials were not unopposed. Several townspeople signed petitions on behalf of accused people they believed to be innocent.

#### June 29-30

Rebecca Nurse, Susannah Martin, Sarah Wildes, Sarah Good and Elizabeth Howe were tried for witchcraft and condemned.

#### **Rebecca Nurse**

"Oh Lord, help me! It is false. I am clear. For my life now lies in your hands...."

# Mid-July

In an effort to expose the witches afflicting his life, Joseph Ballard of nearby Andover enlisted the aid of the accusing girls of Salem. This action marked the beginning of the Andover witch hunt.

# July 19

Rebecca Nurse, Susannah Martin, Elizabeth Howe, Sarah Good, and Sarah Wildes were executed.

#### **Elizabeth Howe**

"If it was the last moment I was to live, God knows I am innocent..."

#### **Susannah Martin**

"I have no hand in witchcraft."

## August 2-6

George Jacobs, Sr., Martha Carrier, George Burroughs, John and Elizabeth Proctor, and John Willard were tried for witchcraft and condemned.

#### **Martha Carrier**

"...I am wronged. It is a shameful thing that you should mind these folks that are out of their wits."



## August 19

George Jacobs, Sr., Martha Carrier, George Burroughs, John Proctor, and John Willard were hanged on Gallows Hill.

#### **George Jacobs**

"Because I am falsely accused. I never did it."

# September 9

Martha Corey, Mary Easty, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeator, Dorcas Hoar, and Mary Bradbury were tried and condemned.

## **Mary Bradbury**

"I do plead not guilty. I am wholly innocent of such wickedness."

## September 17

Margaret Scott, Wilmott Redd, Samuel Wardwell, Mary Parker, Abigail Faulkner, Rebecca Eames, Mary Lacy, Ann Foster, and Abigail Hobbs were tried and condemned.

# September 19

Giles Corey was pressed to death for refusing a trial.

# September 21

Dorcas Hoar was the first of those pleading innocent to confess. Her execution was delayed.

# September 22

Martha Corey, Margaret Scott, Mary Easty, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeator, Wilmott Redd, Samuel Wardwell, and Mary Parker were hanged.

#### October 8

After 20 people had been executed in the Salem witch hunt, Thomas Brattle wrote a letter criticizing the witchcraft trials. This letter had great impact on Governor Phips, who ordered that reliance on spectral and intangible evidence no longer be allowed in trials.

#### October 29

Governor Phips dissolved the Court of Oyer and Terminer.

# **November 25**

The General Court of the colony created the Superior Court to try the remaining witchcraft cases which took place in May, 1693. This time no one was convicted.



# **Text #2: "Putting the Pieces Together ...The Puzzle of Salem,"** by Eric Miller, ©1994 (adapted and excerpted)

Looking back at 17th century colonial America, several key events grab the imagination. The founding of Jamestown, the voyage of the Pilgrims, and the first Thanksgiving all call great attention to themselves. One occurrence, however, lurks in the dark days of the early 1690s. That event is the Salem Witch Trials of 1692. This episode stands out among the others as a brutal and backward looking mistake in the course of American history. The history of this period is indeed tragic, but nevertheless, it still inspires great interest. How an event like this could happen less than one hundred years before the writing of the Declaration of Independence is a fascinating but elusive question. Medieval witchcraft beliefs, powerful sexism, village rivalries, and a society in flux are all partial answers to the question, but none of them alone can answer it.

The Puritans landed on Cape Cod, Massachusetts in December of 1620. The Puritans were pilgrims who traveled to America in search of a safe place to live and to practice their religion freely. Back in England, they sometimes faced discrimination over their desire to worship God in a simple and intense way. The Puritans clashed with the Church of England because they believed that their church was more about showing off and being excessive than about what was really important, as they saw it: worshipping God in a meaningful and pure way. Church leaders made life difficult for the Puritans and many were arrested and harassed. Therefore, when word spread about the New World throughout England, the Puritans decided to sail to America on a rented ship called The Mayflower. The Puritans worked very hard and built a thriving community in Massachusetts. News traveled fast and soon more and more Puritans sailed to America to join the original pilgrims. Due to both an increase in population and their deep faith in God, the Puritans strongly maintained their religious beliefs and practices in their home in the New World. The Puritans were very strict both in their religion and in their lifestyle. They strove to do good and act like moral individuals at all times. They strongly believed in a simple, pure lifestyle. They discouraged dancing and games as sinful play. They wore very simple clothes in very basic colors like white, grey, and black. They were sometimes intolerant of those who did not totally participate in the life of the Puritan church and community. Some fallen members of the community were banished from the villages and were left alone to survive in the wilderness.

The belief in witchcraft was popular in Puritan times. Many people believed that witches made a covenant with the Devil, from whom they acquired their magic powers. Puritans, as servants of God, were at odds with anyone they believed was practicing witchcraft. The Puritans, however, were hardly the first group of people to revolt against so-called witches. While ultimately 20 people were killed in Salem, over 10 thousand people were executed for witchcraft in Europe during the 16th and 17th centuries alone. As in England and Europe, the typical person accused of witchcraft in Salem was female, but there were many other characteristics that went into the making up of a witch. A New England witch tended to be a woman who was middle-aged and of a low social rank. Added to this was the fact that most accused witches, both male and female, had disagreeable, strong, or self-assertive personalities. Since the Puritans idealized a pure, simple life where everyone had to work



together in order to survive, those who were not cooperative or who stood out from the crowd wound up being easy targets.

All the hysteria began quietly in the kitchen of the Reverend Samuel Parris, in Salem Village, Massachusetts. A group of young girls and a servant from the Caribbean named Tituba, were trying to determine what their future husbands would be like. Utilizing a primitive crystal ball, the girls claimed they saw something that terrified them: a ghost in the likeness of a coffin. Soon the girls began to experience "odd postures," "foolish, ridiculous speeches," and "fits." While at first Parris and others sought medical explanations, they soon determined that the girls were under the spells of witches. The girls initially gave up three names of women they accused of witchcraft, including Tituba, all of whom roughly corresponded to the usual conception of a witch. While the others denied the charges, Tituba soon confessed, and all three women were locked up. However, the girls' fits did not stop. Ministers came to examine the situation, which appeared to cause the girls to have even more fits. As the Spring went on, more people became afflicted, and more people were accused of witchcraft.

The first witchcraft trial conducted, that of Bridget Bishop, returned a guilty verdict, and on June 10th of 1692, Bishop was hanged. The trials dragged on throughout the summer, and when they finally ended in September, due to the direct intervention of several ministers and the state Governor, there had been 141 accusations, and 20 people were dead. Part of the reason that the trials were eventually stopped was that the accusers began to name people who were community and church leaders, and people no longer believed them.

So what exactly was happening to these girls? The Puritans could not explain the actions of the girls in any other way besides being possessed by the Devil. The afflicted girls would scream and convulse on the floor in an uncontrollable way, the touch of the accused witch would seem to halt their fits, they said that they could see the witches when no one else could, and claimed to have met the Devil. The evidence of these fits was a major reason why witchcraft was suspected in the first place, and ultimately, why many people went to their deaths.

The Puritans had come to a new land, built their community from the ground up, and worked extremely hard in order to survive in the new world. There was great pressure on every member of the Puritan community to do their part to contribute, even on the youngest members. Perhaps the extreme stress to conform to the rigid Puritanical standards led to these girls acting out through their fits and accusations. It drew attention toward them and gave them great power they most likely would never have had the opportunity to gain on their own. Yet, instead of considering that these girls might just be under stress, the Puritan community struck out at these strange occurrences in the only way they knew how. The world of Salem was a world in which the existence and powers of demons and devils was rarely questioned. Events that were, at the time, unexplainable were often attributed to witchcraft.



# Text #3: McCarthyism

On February 9, 1950, Senator Joseph McCarthy stepped into the spotlight of national attention with a speech given at Wheeling, West Virginia. McCarthy was nearing the end of his first term as senator and needed a big issue to energize his run for a second term. Holding up a piece of paper, he claimed to have in his possession information proving that more than 200 employees in the State Department were card-carrying members of the Communist Party. The charge--never substantiated--grabbed headlines at a time when friction with the Soviet Union and fear of communist subversion were growing in the country.

Fear of communism had existed since the 19th century but did not merit congressional investigation until after the Bolshevik Revolution and the close of World War I. In response to the "Red Scare" of 1919 a special Senate committee was convened. During the decade of the 1930s, governments adopted new and experimental techniques to combat the economic ravages of the Great Depression. Communist state economic planning, as well as certain Nazi and fascist economic measures, appealed to some desperate Americans. Some of the experimental programs of Roosevelt's New Deal fostered concerns that the federal government was falling under communist direction. These suspicions and fears led to the creation of a series of temporary House and Senate committees to investigate subversive threats to the government.

During World War II the United States and the Soviet Union were allies, but as soon as the war ended the two superpowers began to struggle against each other for supremacy. It was against the backdrop of this "Cold War" that the threat of internal subversion and external attack began to preoccupy Congress. Anticommunism dominated the political debates of the immediate post-World War II-era. The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), established in 1938 to monitor disloyalty to the United States government, was made a permanent committee in 1945. Postwar HUAC investigators probed whether Communists and sympathizers to communism had played an active role in the labor movement, the movie industry, and the executive departments of the federal government.

In 1948, before the HUAC, professed-Communist Whittaker Chambers accused former high-ranking State Department official Alger Hiss of espionage during the 1930s. State Department and other high-level administration officials publicly defended Hiss in his denial of the charges. Then Chambers led investigators to a pumpkin patch where microfilmed secret State Department documents were hidden. The media-charged proceedings that followed and the 1950 conviction of Hiss on charges of perjury (the merits of the case are still debated today) linked Communist activity and high government officials in the minds of many Americans. This case further fueled the anticommunist hysteria in the nation.

During the weeks before McCarthy delivered his Wheeling speech, China had fallen to the Communists and the Soviet Union had tested an atomic bomb. With Alger Hiss's perjury conviction and the confession of Klaus Fuchs, a physicist on the Manhattan Project, to having delivered atomic secrets to the Soviet Union, it was clear that government security had been compromised.



Particularly disturbing to average citizens was the Soviet Union's new atomic capability. Fearful Americans began to view all communists as traitors to our country. The stage was set for the freshman senator from Wisconsin.

Senator McCarthy was placed on the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Senate Committee on Governmental Operations and became its chairman in 1953. At the time of his chairmanship, the jurisdiction of the subcommittee was principally the investigation of waste, inefficiency, impropriety, and illegality of government operations. McCarthy manipulated the workings of the new committee to continue sweeping accusations of communist activity in the executive branch. His 1954 probe of the U.S. Army lead to his downfall. The Army-McCarthy hearings were televised nationally, and the public recoiled from McCarthy's bullying tactics. He was censured by the Senate and died in 1957.

Obtained from the University of Oregon library (http://library.uoregon.edu/ec/wguthrie/mccarthyism.html)



# Text #4: McCarthyism

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s America was overwhelmed with concerns about the threat of communism growing in Eastern Europe and China. Capitalizing on those concerns, a young Senator named Joseph McCarthy made a public accusation that more than two hundred "card-carrying" communists had infiltrated the United States government. Though eventually his accusations were proven to be untrue, and he was censured by the Senate for unbecoming conduct, his zealous campaigning ushered in one of the most repressive times in 20th-century American politics.

While the House Un-American Activities Committee had been formed in 1938 as an anti-Communist organ, McCarthy's accusations heightened the political tensions of the times. Known as McCarthyism, the paranoid hunt for infiltrators was notoriously difficult on writers and entertainers, many of whom were labeled communist sympathizers and were unable to continue working. Some had their passports taken away, while others were jailed for refusing to give the names of other communists. The trials, which were well publicized, could often destroy a career with a single unsubstantiated accusation. Among those well-known artists accused of communist sympathies or called before the committee were Dashiell Hammett, Waldo Salt, Lillian Hellman, Lena Horne, Paul Robeson, Elia Kazan, Arthur Miller, Aaron Copland, Leonard Bernstein, Charlie Chaplin and Group Theatre members Clifford Odets, Elia Kazan, and Stella Adler. In all, three hundred and twenty artists were blacklisted, and for many of them this meant the end of exceptional and promising careers.

During this time there were few in the press willing to stand up against McCarthy and the anti-Communist machine. Among those few were comedian Mort Sahl, and journalist Edward R. Murrow, whose strong criticisms of McCarthy are often cited as playing an important role in his eventual removal from power. By 1954, the fervor had died down and many actors and writers were able to return to work. Though relatively short, these proceedings remain one of the most shameful moments in modern U.S. history.

Obtained from: http://www.pbs.org/wnet/americanmasters/episodes/arthur-miller/mccarthyism/484/



# **Text #5: McCarthyism** by John Simkin for Spartacus Educational

The Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) was originally established in 1937 under the chairmanship of Martin Dies. The main objective of the HUAC was the investigation of un-American and subversive activities. Soon after his appointment Dies received a telegram from the Ku Klux Klan: "Every true American, and that includes every Klansman, is behind you and your committee in its effort to turn the country back to the honest, freedom-loving, God-fearing American to whom it belongs."

The HUAC originally investigated both left-wing and right wing political groups. Some called for the leaders of the Ku Klux Klan to be interrogated by the HUAC. Martin Dies however was a supporter of the Klan and had spoken at several of its rallies. Other members of the HUAC such as John Rankin and John S. Wood were also Klan sympathizers. Wood defended the Klan by arguing that: "The threats and intimidations of the Klan are an old American custom, like illegal whisky-making."

Eventually Ernest Adamson, the HUAC's chief counsel, announced that: "The committee has decided that it lacks sufficient data on which to base a probe." John Rankin added: After all, the KKK is an old American institution." Instead, the HUAC concentrated on investigating the possibility that the American Communist Party had infiltrated the Federal Writers Project and other New Deal projects.

#### Franklin D. Roosevelt and the HUAC

The Alien Registration Act passed by Congress on 29th June, 1940, made it illegal for anyone in the United States to advocate, abet, or teach the desirability of overthrowing the government. The law also required all alien residents in the United States over 14 years of age to file a comprehensive statement of their personal and occupational status and a record of their political beliefs. Within four months a total of 4,741,971 aliens had been registered.

The main objective of the Alien Registration Act was to undermine the American Communist Party and other left-wing political groups in the United States. It was decided that the House of Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), that had been set up by Congress under Martin Dies in 1938 to investigate people suspected of unpatriotic behavior, would be the best vehicle to discover if people were trying to overthrow the government.

## **Hollywood Motion Picture Industry**

In 1947 the House of Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), chaired by J. Parnell Thomas, began an investigation into the Hollywood Motion Picture Industry. The HUAC interviewed 41 people who were working in Hollywood. These people attended voluntarily and became known as "friendly witnesses". During their interviews they named nineteen people who they accused of holding leftwing views.

One of those named, Bertolt Brecht, a playwright, gave evidence and then left for East Germany. Ten others: Herbert Biberman, Lester Cole, Albert Maltz, Adrian Scott, Samuel Ornitz,, Dalton Trumbo,



Edward Dmytryk, Ring Lardner Jr., John Howard Lawson and Alvah Bessie refused to answer any questions.

Known as the Hollywood Ten, they claimed that the 1st Amendment of the United States Constitution gave them the right to do this. The House of Un-American Activities Committee and the courts during appeals disagreed and they all were found guilty of contempt of congress and each was sentenced to between six and twelve months in prison.

Larry Parks was the only actor in the original nineteen people named. He was also the only person on the list who the average moviegoer would have known. Parks agreed to give evidence to the HUAC and admitted that he had joined the Communist Party in 1941 but left it four years later. When asked for the names of fellow members, Parks replied: "I would prefer, if you would allow me, not to mention other people's names. Don't present me with the choice of either being in contempt of this Committee and going to jail or forcing me to really crawl through the mud to be an informer."

The House of Un-American Activities Committee insisted that Parks answered all the questions asked. The HUAC had a private session and two days later it was leaked to the newspapers that Parks had named names. Leo Townsend, Isobel Lennart, Roy Huggins, Richard Collins, Lee J. Cobb, Budd Schulberg and Elia Kazan, afraid they would go to prison, were also willing to name people who had been members of left-wing groups.

## **Red Channels & the Blacklist**

In June, 1950, three former FBI agents and a right-wing television producer, Vincent Harnett, published *Red Channels*, a pamphlet listing the names of 151 writers, directors and performers who they claimed had been members of subversive organizations before the Second World War but had not so far been blacklisted. The names had been compiled from FBI files and a detailed analysis of the *Daily Worker*, a newspaper published by the American Communist Party.

A free copy of *Red Channels* was sent to those involved in employing people in the entertainment industry. All those people named in the pamphlet were blacklisted until they appeared in front of the House of Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) and convinced its members they had completely renounced their radical past.

Edward Dmytryk, one of the original Hollywood Ten, had financial problems as a result of divorcing his wife. Faced with having to sell his plane and encouraged by his new wife, Dmytryk decided to try to get his name removed from the blacklist. On 25th April, 1951, Dmytryk appeared before the House of Un-American Activities Committee again. This time he answered all their questions including the naming of twenty-six former members of left-wing groups.

Dmytryk also revealed how people such as John Howard Lawson, Adrian Scott and Albert Maltz had put him under pressure to make sure his films expressed the views of the Communist Party. This was particularly damaging to those members of the original Hollywood Ten who were at that time involved in court cases with their previous employers.



If people refused to name names when called up to appear before the HUAC, they were added to a blacklist that had been drawn up by the Hollywood film studios. Over 320 people were placed on this list that stopped them from working in the entertainment industry.

# Joseph McCarthy

On 9th February, 1950, Joseph McCarthy, a senator from Wisconsin, made a speech claiming to have a list of 205 people in the State Department that were known to be members of the American Communist Party (later he reduced this figure to 57). The list of names was not a secret and had been in fact published by the Secretary of State in 1946. These people had been identified during a preliminary screening of 3,000 federal employees. Some had been communists but others had been fascists, alcoholics and sexual deviants.

McCarthy also began receiving information from his friend, J. Edgar Hoover, head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). William Sullivan, one of Hoover's agents, later admitted that: "We were the ones who made the McCarthy hearings possible. We fed McCarthy all the material he was using."

With the war going badly in Korea and communist advances in Eastern Europe and in China, the American public were genuinely frightened about the possibilities of internal subversion. McCarthy, was made chairman of the Government Committee on Operations of the Senate, and this gave him the opportunity to investigate the possibility of communist subversion.

For the next two years McCarthy's committee investigated various government departments and questioned a large number of people about their political past. Some lost their jobs after they admitted they had been members of the Communist Party. McCarthy made it clear to the witnesses that the only way of showing that they had abandoned their left-wing views was by naming other members of the party.

This witch-hunt and anti-communist hysteria became known as McCarthyism.

## McCarthyism

In 1952 McCarthy appointed Roy Cohn as the chief counsel to the Government Committee on Operations of the Senate. Cohn had been recommended by J. Edgar Hoover, who had been impressed by his involvement in the prosecution of Julius Rosenberg and Ethel Rosenberg. Soon after Cohn was appointed, he recruited his best friend, David Schine, to become his chief consultant. McCarthy's next target was what he believed were anti-American books in libraries. His researchers looked into the Overseas Library Program and discovered 30,000 books by "communists, procommunists, former communists and anti anti-communists." After the publication of this list, these books were removed from the library shelves.



In October, 1953, McCarthy began investigating communist infiltration into the military. Attempts were made by McCarthy to discredit Robert Stevens, the Secretary of the Army. The president, Dwight Eisenhower, was furious and realized that it was time to bring an end to McCarthy's activities. The United States Army now passed information about Joseph McCarthy to journalists known to be opposed to him. This included the news that McCarthy and Roy Cohn had abused congressional privilege by trying to prevent David Schine from being drafted. When that failed, it was claimed that Cohn tried to pressurize the Army to grant Schine special privileges. The well-known newspaper columnist, Drew Pearson, published the story on 15th December, 1953.

Dwight Eisenhower also instructed his vice president, Richard Nixon, to attack Joseph McCarthy. On 4th March, 1954, Nixon made a speech where, although not mentioning McCarthy, made it clear who he was talking about: "Men who have in the past done effective work exposing Communists in this country have, by reckless talk and questionable methods, made themselves the issue rather than the cause they believe in so deeply."

# **End of McCarthyism**

Some figures in the media, such as writers Freda Kirchway, George Seldes and I. F. Stone, and cartoonists, Herb Block and Daniel Fitzpatrick, had fought a long campaign against Joseph McCarthy. Other figures in the media, who had for a long time been opposed to McCarthyism but were frightened to speak out, now began to get the confidence to join the counter-attack. Edward Murrow, the experienced broadcaster, used his television program, *See It Now*, on 9th March, 1954, to criticize McCarthy's methods. Newspaper columnists such as Walter Lippmann and Jack Anderson also became more open in their attacks on McCarthy.

The senate investigations into the United States Army were televised and this helped to expose the tactics of Joseph McCarthy. One newspaper, the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, reported that: "In this long, degrading travesty of the democratic process McCarthy has shown himself to be evil and unmatched in malice." Leading politicians in both parties, had been embarrassed by McCarthy's performance and on 2nd December, 1954, a censure motion condemned his conduct by 67 votes to 22.

Raymond Gram Swing, who had been forced to resign from the Voice of America because of McCarthy, argued in his autobiography, *Good Evening* (1964) that this did not mark the end of McCarthyism:

"I am more than a little disquieted that McCarthy's condemnation by the Senate and his subsequent death have satisfied so many people that McCarthyism is over. For one thing, I consider that the condemnation by the Senate has given unwarranted satisfaction. It was based on an altogether peculiar sense of the importance of secondary matters. I am profoundly grateful that the committee went as far as it did. But I feel that it left out of account in its condemnation most of what Senator McCarthy had injuriously done. It ignored his roughshod disregard of civil rights and his irrepressible mendacity, and the fact that they existed while he was acting with the authority of the Senate. These transgressions were not specifically and helpfully rebuked at the time or ever. American principles and ethics were not



strengthened by the Senate resolution of condemnation. The nation did not become healthier through it. It simply was rid of a menace because some Senate conservatives realized that their dignity was being sullied."

McCarthy lost the chairmanship of the Government Committee on Operations of the Senate. He was now without a power base and the media lost interest in his claims of a communist conspiracy. As one journalist, Willard Edwards, pointed out: "Most reporters just refused to file McCarthy stories. And most papers would not have printed them anyway." Although some historians claim that this marked the end of McCarthyism, others argue that the anti-communist hysteria in the United States lasted until the end of the Cold War.