Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources:

- Adams, Sherman W., and Henry R. Stiles. "Chapter VII. Early Inhabitants of Wethersfield With Notes on Their Land Holdings." 1974. *The History of Ancient Wethersfield, Volume I.* Henry Stiles, 1904. 246-319. Print.
- While all of the information that I acquired from The History of Ancient Wethersfield collection was useful, the entry in the first volume on the Harrison Family is what most closely tied together the details of the map of the town cited in the bibliography. In the description of the family's land holdings, a transaction is described in which John Harrison ended up with the previous holdings of Robert Abbot, whose residence is also on the map. The plot between the Francis residence, associated with the Harrison clan, and that of Robert Abbot is vast, allowing me to match up the reported vastness of the estate with the territory that it truly spanned. It is evident, based on the maps, that there is definitely an area of town that would have been known as the Harrison property, a region that would soon be associated with Satan himself.
- Adams, Sherman W., and Henry R. Stiles. "The Francis Family." 1975. *The History of Ancient Wethersfield, Volume II*. Henry Stiles, 1904. 337-49. Print.
- The family genealogical records in The History of Ancient Wethersfield allowed me to use the map of the 17th century town to my advantage. Through this source, I analyzed the transactions of the Francis family, whose plot of land was said to have been adjacent to Katherine Harrison's. Amongst the interviews that I conducted and the historical society staff members that I spoke with, there seemed to be some confusion about the true whereabouts of Katherine

Harrison's residence, and the land that it encompassed. As a result of the time that I spent with these genealogical records, I acquired facts about the debate over her property from their original source.

Adams, Sherman W., and Henry Reed Stiles. "The Harrison Family." 1975. *The History of Ancient Wethersfield, Volume II*. Henry Stiles, 1904. 416-17. Print.

Like the other entry from Stiles' genealogical records, I was able to use the source at hand to gain a greater understanding of the families that my project concerned. In the paragraph about John Harrison in Stiles' book, I read about the passage of land from husband to wife that bred jealousy amongst Katherine Harrison's neighbors. In addition, while working with this source, it was unusual to see Harrison's name mentioned out of the context of witchcraft. The mundane nature of the records pointed to a reality that had not entered my mind until immersing myself in this source - all of those accused of witchcraft were regular townspeople prior to the misfortunes that they suffered at the hands of their neighbors. At one time, before her land and livestock were destroyed in other's acts of envy, Katherine Harrison was a somewhat average inhabitant of Wethersfield, happily married; perhaps this is what made her succession to an elevated social echelon all the more threatening.

Chester, John, Et Al. *Complaint of Witchcraft 1669 Wethersfield CT*. 1669. MS 95910

Oversize Box 3. Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford.

The manuscript cited here is the first source that I accessed for my project. This manuscript bears the signatures of thirty-eight townspeople who would not

stand for Katherine Harrison's freedom. It was this very document (that I was able to hold in my hands and scrutinize for a full hour), that prevented our Governor at the time, John Winthrop Jr., from releasing Katherine Harrison without any punishment. It is difficult to wrap my head around the fact that I came into contact with the actual, physical document that hostile neighbors used to avenge Katherine Harrison's socially unwarranted class succession.

"Elsen, Abraham, Wethersfield." *A Digest of the Early Connecticut Probate Records,*Vol. 1, Hartford District, 1635-1700. Comp. Charles W. Manwaring.

Hartford, CT: R. S. Peck and, Printers, 1904. 7-8. Print.

Many of the court records that I consulted for research contained repeated information that was required to reinforce the same necessary conceptual theme. While I was working out of the book of court proceedings cited here, I discovered facts that had been missing earlier in my research. After searching the index for the mark of the Greensmith family, I came to a page bearing the will of Abraham Elsen, not knowing how it related to the doomed couple that I was researching. Lo and behold, Abraham Elsen was the first of Rebecca Greensmith's three husbands. I had not known the details of the matrimonially active woman's earlier marriages until I came upon the record of Abraham Elsen's will. The experience of drawing conclusions from this fact in a collection of records was also informative in that it showed me how real historians would draw their conclusions. By confronting a primary source document, I was able to come away with information that I had not been able to track down elsewhere.

Exodus. King James Bible. 1611. The Official King James Bible Online. Web. 9 Dec. 2013.

When delivering my script, the quotes are the pieces to which I pay the most attention.

There is no better way to learn about the period than through immersion. In crafting my script, I tried to make it so that every sentence that was not a quote was not reeking with modernity of my own doing. Through references to primary documents, I can better create a resemblance to the language of the period. Furthermore, this quote in particular is worth special attention, seeing as this was the explicit statement in God's Law that led the Puritans to hang their neighbors. To conclude, I will point out that I have cited the 1611 version of the King James Bible, which does not betray its time period, seeing as the v's have been transcribed as u's.

Grantor Index to Land Records, Etc. E to M, from 1640 to Dec. 31, 1915. Wethersfield, CT. Print.

Through the use of the Grantor Index, I was able to locate and read the official town record noting the transfer of the estate of Katherine Harrison to her children. I expect that this change in ownership occurred as Katherine Harrison expected that her execution was drawing near. With the index, I was able to see how history has preserved what could have been the final acts of the influential female catalyst in the project. A handful of lines above the entry in which the names of Katherine Harrison's children are written, the name John is recorded as possessing the same assortment of lands. The land had to be passed from John Harrison to his wife Katherine before he perished, which exacerbated the already negative attitudes of Harrison's neighbors toward her, and led to

much of the later conflict. Nearly all of the property records highlight the problems that Harrison's neighbors would soon have with her sudden acquisition of an outstanding and unusually vast estate. However, no other sources besides those linked with John's name here show that Katherine Harrison inherited the land as a result of her husband's will and subsequent perishing. Though this would have been common procedure, I was still interested to see this necessity carried out due to its nearly fatal repercussions.

Grantor Index to Land Records, Etc. A to D, from 1640 to Dec. 31, 1915. Wethersfield, CT. Print.

While tracking down the land that ended up in the hands of Katherine Harrison, I searched for the name of Robert Abbott in the Grantor Index at the Wethersfield Town Hall. I was wide-eyed as I entered the room housing all of the land records, where the walls and shelves were full of volumes stuffed with the happenings of hundreds of years. When I had found the name Robert Abbott, I had no idea what the abbreviated terms in the different columns of the records indicated. These questions were not answered until I searched for the abbreviations or the terms that I suspected they might represent in the genealogical dictionary cited in this bibliography. Once I had used the index to determine the volume and page number of the original land records on which the note of the passage of Robert Abbott's property had been made, I headed over to the glass case housing photostat copies of the original handwritten records. If I did not have access to the land index, I could have navigated the copies of the land records, which are inscrutable even when you have managed to find the page on which the transactions that you are

searching for has been recorded. With the help of the shorthand records in the land index, I could give some context for the nearly indecipherable content of the original land records.

- "Greensmith, Nathaniel." *A Digest of the Early Connecticut Probate Records, Vol. 1, Hartford District, 1635-1700.* Comp. Charles W. Manwaring. Hartford, CT:

 R. S. Peck and, Printers, 1904. 121-22. Print.
- At the beginning of my performance, I portray a grave seventeenth century judge, and read aloud Nathaniel Greensmith's indictment. The death sentence for this section that I included in my script comes directly from the Early Connecticut Probate Records. I found that the raw introduction to the period provided by the unsettling content is the most immediate way to immerse the audience into the time period. Overall, reading original court records was one of the most fascinating parts of my project. Before accessing pages and pages of documented executions for the witchcraft, it was hard to accept that Connecticut's History includes official records that condemn witchcraft was an admissible crime. The language of the sentence is proof of the significant way in witchcraft beliefs in Connecticut had permeated the legal proceedings.
- "The Indictment of Katherine Harrison." 2009. *Colony of Connecticut Minutes of the Court of Assistants 1669-1711*. Ed. Helen S. Ullmann, CG, FASC. 1-2. Print. The indictment of Katherine Harrison appears on the first few pages of this comprehensive source. The introduction to this volume explains how the transcribed version that Helen Ullmann created matches up with the text in the erratic organization of the original records. I used these clues while trying

to navigate the microform version of the original records that I was ecstatic to excavate at the State Library. Katherine Harrison's indictment contains more detail than other court sentences that I read during my research, a sign of the significantly grave reputation that she had in the town of Wethersfield. In my script, Winthrop addresses the trial of Katherine Harrison as a focal point in the struggle of the Connecticut witch craze. Using the Ullmann's transcription, I could track down precisely the conflict that he was bound to resolve.

"The Indictment of Katherine Harrison." *Connecticut Colonial Probate Records*.

Hartford, CT, 1669. 1-2. Microform. *Conn. Colonial Probate Records Vols. 2*& 3 1649-1677 55 & 56: rg 1.

When I chose a History Day topic that almost entirely focused on Connecticut history, the thought of having the chance to use a microform machine again definitely crossed my mind. Before creating the initial draft of my script, I accessed the court records that contained Katherine Harrison's indictment. However, I had not had the opportunity to hunt down the primary material from which the transcription was created. At the State Library, I managed to track down a microform version of the original court records themselves. After an hour of searching, I finally caught a glimpse of Katherine Harrison's name. For the official recording the court records that day, her name could have been "John Smith", without making a difference to him. However, staring at the grayscale microform version of the wrinkled, ink-stained pages on which Harrison's name was recorded as guilty was undoubtedly chilling. The

the catalyzing event of my research was even more profound than the immense satisfaction that I gained from listening to the whirring of the microform machine while I worked.

McMartin Preschool: Anatomy of a Panic. Prod. Barbara Dury. By Laurence B.Chollet. Perf. Ray Buckey, Daniel Davis, Kee MacFarlane, Lael Rubin.Retroreport.org. New York Times Company, 10 Mar. 2014. Web. 11 June 2014.

Just as it was necessary to browse and cite depictions of the Connecticut witch-craze, I sought a visual representation of the most recent and penetrating hysterical counterpart to the trials, California's McMartin Case. As they say, seeing is believing, and I was in disbelief while watching newscasts that contained reports from the trials and clips from the interviews that Kee MacFarlane of Children's Institute International conducted with hundreds of victimized children. The way that I recoiled at what I witnessed in these videos informs me as to how the events of the early Connecticut courtrooms might have frightened citizens or their neighbors into seemingly irrational confession. A moving visual explanation of the McMartin Case is bound to have much more of an impact on the modern consciousness than what transpired in colonial Connecticut, and thus it was crucial that I connected myself to Connecticut's victim through exposure to a modern day equivalent. As a note, this source has been classified as primary due to video clips of Kee's Interviews and footage from the courtroom during the trial.

- Michael Griswold v. Katheren Harrison. Hartford County, Connecticut, County Court

 Minutes: Volumes 3 and 4 1663-1687, 1697 91. Hartford County. 3 Sept.

 1668. Print.
- My History Day project would not have been complete without citing the court case in which Katherine Harrison referred to one of her neighbor's wives as a savage whore. For my portrayal of Winthrop, I used primary source material, like this court case, in order to get a feel for the woman that I was defending. This was a court appearance that I was searching for after reading about Katherine Harrison's quick tongue in another document. If it weren't for this "fun fact" my performance might have been more unentertaining than it already is.
- Miller, Perry, and Thomas Herbert. Johnson. *The Puritans: A Sourcebook of Their Writings: Two Volumes Bound as One*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2001. Print.
- If John Winthrop was the defining agent of skeptic and progressive thinking in the witchcraft trials, then Cotton Mather was his antithesis. The Mather family was instrumental in proliferating witchcraft hysteria throughout New England. The cover of the volume cited here even includes the likeness of one of the malevolent men of the Mather family on the cover. This family was well known in the New World during the time that John Winthrop was alive. Because significant men chose to concern themselves with hunting witches, we can see the effects of their superstitious example. The recreational avenues of faith pursued by this notable clan are representative of the interests of the Bourgeois at the time, namely identifying and persecuting local servants of Satan.

"The Passage of Land Between Robert Abott and John Harrison." 1926. Wethersfield Land Records. Vol. 1. Wethersfield, CT. 69+. Print.

In the first volume of original Wethersfield Land Records, I used the Grantor Index cited elsewhere in this bibliography to locate the names and transactions of both Robert Abbott and John Harrison, two relevant Wethersfield residents at the time of our story. John Harrison added to his estate after coming to an agreement with Robert Abbott, an exchange to which I had direct access as I pored over the irregularly rectangular pages of the photostat copy of the land records. Merely checking the Grantor Index for the passage of land between these two property holders would have been rather dry. Through the use of this volume at the Wethersfield Town Hall, I could come as close to the original volume as I could get through the facsimile edition. Without the handwritten records of the Wethersfield residents, we would not be able to analyze the dealings and their repercussions centuries later. The experience of trying to decode the curly script containing the legal actions of characters in my project was valuable and unique, for while I had handled manuscripts before, I had never dealt with legal papers such as these. Working with primary material is always much more lively, even when it does not contain an in-depth explanation of the events that it records, for it informs the more descriptive secondary material that I accessed. From the primary source material, I could formulate my own ideas, and compare them to the conclusions of historians and essayists whose works I have read on the topic. When certain works are referenced in these essays, I am now able to picture exactly the volumes being discussed. I hope that some of the employees of

the Town Hall find this just as fascinating as I do. If not, maybe they would like to switch jobs.

- "The Passage of Land Between Robert Abott and John Harrison." *Wethersfield Land Records*. Vol. 1. Wethersfield, CT. 69-110. Microform. *Wethersfield Land Records and Deeds* 1-2: csl reel 4932.5.
- The microform version of the Wethersfield town land records allowed me to extend my view of the record keeping that I observed in the 21st century to what it would have liked like in the early colony. The two volumes that contain the original records, cited elsewhere in this bibliography, were used as a guide for navigating this primary document, whose pages contained the same information as the facsimile printed source. As with other microform sources, the most thrilling part came when a character's name that I had only seen printed is handwritten in the style of an earlier age.
- Records of the Particular Court of Connecticut 1639-1663. Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society and the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Connecticut, 1928. Print.
- Contrary to popular belief, the court appearances of Connecticut citizens from the seventeenth century can be as entertaining as some of the stories that are broadcasted on the news today. After gaining an understanding outside of the witch fiasco, I was able to collect facts that in turn informed the negative opinions of a few of the individuals persecuted. Even before Nathaniel Greensmith was charged with witchcraft, his noticeable behavior would have led many to formulate their own unfriendly notions about him and his wife.

In the amusing cases that I read, Nathaniel Greensmith is charged with stealing a "howe". He also files charges after his wife is slandered, the type of event that I imagine must have happened many times without the court being able to record it. The primary source of the Particular Court Records enhanced the accuracy of my picture of Wethersfield in the time when Katherine Harrison and her troubled, disliked counterparts roamed the earth.

The Rise and Fall of Newgate Prison: A Story of Crime and Punishment in Connecticut.

Dir. Karyl Evans. Prod. Karyl Evans. Perf. Walter Woodward. Karyl Evans

Productions LLC, 2007. DVD.

The detailed description of the cultural climate of colonial Connecticut that is described in detail in this documentary provided great insight for understanding the lives of early Connecticut citizens. To the 21st century student, is hard to grasp the constant fear that these townspeople would have experienced, bordered on all sides by unruly woods that would certainly have stirred the characters of The Wizard of Oz to chanting the names of the menacing creatures within. In order to understand what would have caused members of the colony to prevaricating tales about their neighbors for their own protection, I first had to see what it was that the people needed protection against. In addition, the documentary's acknowledgement of the piety-drenched nature of the period left me with a memorable quote from none other than, you guessed it, Walt Woodward. Walt summed up the legal norms of the time in stating, "To puritans, man's law...[was] an extension of God's law." As a final note, this documentary featured pictures that qualify it to be classified as a primary source.

The Salem Witch Trials Reader. Cambridge, MA: Da Capo, 2000. Print.

An understanding of the witch trials in Europe that preceded the second wave of persecution in New England is essential for realizing the causes of these fatal events. With the history of earlier witch crazes under one's belt, it is easy to detect the pestilence of social and societal factors that traveled across the Atlantic with the Puritans. In addition, the discussion in this prefatory material highlights one of the major moral points in my presentation: if Salem had obeyed the laws that Connecticut established after suffering from the pains of witch craft persecution, the potential damage of the volatile factors that had not yet been extinguished in New England would not have come to fruition. With the information that I gained from this section, I was able to create a path of witchcraft from Europe to the Americas, and from Connecticut's failure to its more infamous sister phenomenon northwards. It is important to note that this is a collection including material from Salem trials, which is why it has been included in the primary section of this bibliography.

Squire, Samuel, John Wakeman, Simon Couch, Esther Grumman, and John Barlow.

"Sameul Wyllys Papers." 1692. MS 37. Connecticut State Library, Fairfield.

Connecticut State Library Digital Collections. Web. 15 Nov. 2015.

While the second wave of witchcraft in Connecticut took place after the banishment of Katherine Harrison, I found it appropriate to recognize this resurgence of hysteria. While Winthrop would have hoped that the state would never see another witch trial, I am sure that he would argue that the case of Mercy

"Disbrough" did not end in accusations because of the limitations on spectral evidence that he established. By recognizing the case of Goody Disbrough, we acknowledge the efficacy of Winthrop's jurisprudential preventative measures.

Summers, Montague, and E. A. Ashwin. Compendium Maleficarum: Showing the

Iniquitous and Execrable Operations of Witches Against the Human Race,
and the Divine Remedies by Which They May Be Frustrated. Ed. Francesco
M. Guazzo. Facsimile ed. London: Frederick Muller, 1970. Print.

The horrors contained in this volume are on par with its more familiar partner text, the Malleus Maleficarum. When I received this book, the lender warned me of the chilling content within. As it was described to me (and as I was able to conclude after reading), if the authors of this book had lived in the modern day, they would have been terrorists. Regarding the impact of this volume, the court cases that I covered dealing with witchcraft accusations contained certain characteristics repeatedly cited as evidence, for the Compendium Maleficarum was one text that set a precedent for what qualifies as incriminating evidence against reported witches. The volume itself primarily focuses on women, proving what the stereotypical image of a witch was at the time. It is the forceful nature of texts such as these that allowed me to truly understand how an entire community might agree upon a single individual as a devilish felon based on seemingly ridiculous evidence.

- Taylor, John M. "The Testimony of Rebecca Greensmith." The Witchcraft Delusion in Colonial Connecticut. New York, NY: Grafton, 1908. 99-100. Internet Archive. University of Toronto Libraries. Web. 10 Nov. 2013.
- The testimony of Rebecca Greensmith against her husband Nathaniel is without a doubt the most thrilling section of my script. If the material for all ten minutes of my performance had been taken exclusively from Rebecca Greensmith's testimony, I might enjoy my presentation of this project even more. Court sentences tend to distance the audience, because of the necessary formality of their delivery. However, Rebecca Greensmith's superstitious words are freed from this burden, delivering this listener into the terrible setting of the last reckoning that would fall upon the couple before their final judgment itself.
- Trumbull, J. Hammond, A. M., and Charles J. Hoadly. "A Court of Election Held at Hartford, May 12th, 1670." 992. *The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut from 1665 to 1678; with the Journal of the Council of War 1675 to 1678. Volume 2.* Hartford, CT: F. A. Brown, 1852. 126-35. Print.
- When I consulted this book for research, I was not sure whether there would be any information pertaining to my project to discover. After searching the index for the name Harrison, a process that I repeated for almost every text that I used for my research, I was surprised to find Winthrop's response to the official order of the court sentencing Katherine Harrison to death for witchcraft. The relevant impact of my project relies upon the baffling decision that Winthrop issued, which I had been unable to find until I unknowingly came upon this modest footnote in the colony's public records. After reading the words that Winthrop and his magistrates issued concerning

Katherine Harrison, it is easy to see why any Wethersfield resident would have been afraid. Winthrop was clearly compelled by a reason that he could not state explicitly, and went to greater length to defend Harrison than I can imagine that his fellow magistrates would have advised. Not only was Harrison spared the sentence for Witchcraft, but she was relieved of the imprisonment that awaited her as well. Winthrop was bold in a time where all of his contemporaries in the religious and legal offices of the colony were as terrified as the citizens that they persecuted. If it weren't for his sudden and seemingly unreasonable ruling, Connecticut may have been guilty of the murder of twenty more innocent citizens.

Ullmann, Helen S. *Hartford County, Connecticut, County Court Minutes 1663-1687,*1697. Vol. 3 & 4. Boston, MA: New England Historic Genealogical Society,
2005. Print.

In order to ascertain a full picture of the Wethersfield area at the time of our story, I had to consult different court records from multiple periods in the early colony.

The text cited before you is the first of the court records that I accessed, which I used in order to begin picturing the proud woman known as

Katherine Harrison. It was optimal to use the transcriptions created by Helen

Ullmann of the New England Genealogical Society in my work, for the names of the citizens involved in each court cases are bolded on the pages of the book, simplifying the task of scanning the pages for persons of interest. A particular case from this volume is cited individually elsewhere in this bibliography, in which Katherine Harrison spoke against Michael Griswold, a troublemaker, by referring to his wife as a savage whore. There are numerous

pages in this book of records on which Katherine Harrison's name (in many different bizarre spellings) appears multiple times, and the volume as a whole has been cited here to save having to cite each individual case.

- Ullmann, Hellen S., CG,FASG. *Hartford County, Connecticut, County Court Minutes : Volumes 3 and 4 1663-1687, 1697*. Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2005. Print.
- Katherine Harrison appeared in court an obscene number of times. One page in this book of records features her name every other line for nearly the entire page, each time in the context of a new conflict. Reading through each of her appearances, I gained that Harrison's neighbors were filled with a hatred that transcended reason. With this in mind, I realized the significance and difficulty of Winthrop's emancipation of Harrison, and how this could have acted as the turning point that it was. Imagine that a terrible criminal, one of America's most wanted, was living among you, thanks to freedom granted by President Obama then you are in the right ballpark.
- Welles, John. "Sameul Wyllys Papers." 1668. MS 6. Connecticut State Library, Hartford, CT. Connecticut State Library Digital Collections. Web. 16 Nov. 2013.
- At the time that I found this source, it was the first that I accessed containing an actual witchcraft testimony. In this manuscript from the Samuel Wyllys papers,

 "Katherin" Harrison is reported to have appeared behind a cow that was not her own while John Welles was paralyzed, and made it so that he was unable to move in her presence. The Samuel Wyllys Papers are probably the most

substantial collection of witchcraft documents, and it was invaluable to be able to view the physical marks that people left as remnants of the war that they waged with well-loathed neighbors.

- Whiting, John. "John Whiting Describes the "possession" of Ann Cole." Witch-hunting in Seventeenth-century New England: A Documentary History, 1638-1692.By David D. Hall. Boston: Northeastern Univ., 1991. Print.
- The puritanical opinions of the Connecticut colonial period are potently conveyed in this document. To elaborate, in Whiting's description of Ann Cole, the central character, great emphasis is given to her piety. Through the interference of the devil, Ann fell victim to brutal fits and mutterings, somehow speaking in the Dutch tongue with impeccable accuracy. While reading the account, one cannot resist imagining the horror on a Hollywood set rather than a colonial home. In State Historian Walt Woodward's official presentation on the Connecticut witch craze, he emphasizes that the Connecticut citizens making accusations were truly petrified of their neighbors. With rumors of encounters with the supernatural such as these spreading around, the disbelief that one might have about the seeming insanity of the accusers vanishes.
- "The Will of Katherine Harrison." 1926. *Wethersfield Land Records*. Vol. 2. Wethersfield, CT. 149+. Print.
- The two volumes of land records that were utilized for this project contained much more personality than the strict Grantor Indices that were accessed alongside these raw primary documents. In this second volume, Katherine writes to transfer portions of her estate unto her children. The entry is written in the

first person, which was rare among the sources that I accessed. Her presence on this page is a testament to her strength and knowledge as a woman. It is not difficult to imagine that the other members of Katherine Harrison's community would have been frightened and intimidated by her agency. In the 21st century, the cultural archetype describing the widow is still that of weakness and frailty. Retrieving this primary source at the Wethersfield Town Hall allowed me to further familiarize myself with the effect of a woman who was not torn apart by the craven opinions of her neighbors. By reading the work of Katherine Harrison herself, I could add her physical imprint to my cumulative comprehension of the powers circulating Wethersfield in the early second half of the seventeenth century.

Willard, Arthur C., and H. D. Birmingham. 17th. Century Wethersfield Conn. - Data

From "Ancient Wethersfield, Connecticut" by Judge Sherman W. Adams &

Henry R. Stiles A.M. - M.D. Chapter VII - Vol. 1. Feb. 1951. Town Clerk's

Office, Wethersfield, CT.

To fully respect the setting of the events in my project, it was necessary to seek sources that gave a sense of the town in which the witch craze took place. The symptoms of a witch craze are observed on the community scale, and an understanding of any series of witch persecutions involves an understanding of the cultural and environmental factors involved. Regarding the witch craze in Wethersfield, I had to consult the map to accurately visualize Katherine Harrison's estate, and pinpoint the inspiration for her neighbor's jealousy. The scale of the intimate town setting, and the central position of the Harrison estate in relation to other landmarks in the early town all helped me to

imagine what Harrison's neighbors would have targeted in their attacks. Now, instead of picturing a colonial town and its layout based on movie depictions, my notion of the community that was home to Katherine Harrison is more precise (at least from an aerial standpoint).

Winthrop, John, Jr. City Upon a Hill. DOC.

In portraying Governor John Winthrop, Jr., my view of him ought not only to be that which stems from his involvement in witchcraft cases. In this extremely motivating speech, John Winthrop told his people of the obligation that they have to God to make their colony an example, and worthy of all the blessings that it has received. Through this document I was encouraged to include more references to the almighty while portraying John Winthrop, considering the number of times that the lord is referenced here. Overall, the speech cited here is excellent and extremely convincing; I suspect that it could be effectively used to rally any inchoate assemblage of citizens to make a kingdom resembling God's from ought of their new land. In my portrayal, I must be worthy of the man that delivered such words.

Witchcraft Woodcut 1. 1692. New England. Hog River Journal. Vol. 6. Connecticut Explorer, 2007. 35. Print. Ser. 1.

The woodcuts that were created to illustrate the terrible and immoral acts of witches are so numerous that it is difficult to trace a single image (such as this one) back to its original source. The individuals who crafted these images have been referred to, by Walter Woodward, our state historian, as the first pornographers, for the lewd happenings of the witches' sabbat were shown in

glorious and gleaming detail for all to see. Our state historian also refers to the past as a foreign country, and I cannot think of any better way to understand a foreign culture than through its art.

Witchcraft Woodcut 2. 1692. Hog River Journal. Vol. 6. Connecticut Explorer, 2007. 36. Print. Ser. 1.

Propaganda played a major role in the effect of a witch craze. Before the settlement of the Connecticut colony, many authors in Europe were publishing their views on the acts that proved an accused citizen's familiarity with Satan. Woodcuts, such as those cited in this bibliography, helped to illustrate the vile acts of the woman who had signed a pact with the difficulty.

Secondary Sources:

Arnott, Christopher. "Our Own Witch Trial: The Judy Dworin Performance Project

Dramatizes the Plight of a Connecticut Woman Accused of Witchcraft."

Hartford Advocate 31 Oct. 2013, Stage Sec.: 16. Print.

The comments that the artistic director of "The Witching Hour" included in the interview conducted for this article altered the way I planned to present the cultural climate and victims of colonial Connecticut. In describing the focus of the piece, Dworin commented, "I don't think this piece is trying to show witchcraft per se, because I don't think these women who were accused of being witches were practicing witchcraft. I'm trying to portray the response of the people in the community, the situation of false accusations, the ways that groups can make decisions based on not very good evidence." Those attending my project may expect an explanation of certain aspects of

witchcraft, as are seen frequently communicated in common or educational coverage of witchcraft events. I find instead, after reading this article, and visiting the settings across the state in which the witch trials occurred, that my responsibility is to portray the community. The events that occurred therein will follow, and are totally informed by the culture that wove this community together.

- Barstow, Anne Llewellyn. *Witchcraze: A New History of the European Witch Hunts*.

 San Francisco, CA: Pandora, 1994. Print.
- The text cited here was my free reading while completing my History Day project. It was through this source that I was able to understand the significance of the law of a region or district in determining the possible severity of a witch craze. Without this understanding, I could not have comprehended the impact of Winthrop and Bulkeley's revisions to Connecticut law and the legacy that they would have for the remainder of our history.
- *The Crucible*. By Arthur A. Miller. Dir. Gordon Edelstein. Hartford Stage Company, Hartford, CT. 5 Sept. 2011. Performance.
- Though I did not know at the time that I would later be completing a project about witch persecution (which never targets actual witches, but rather punishes deviants, scapegoats, and those who are generally disliked), I am thankful that I had the opportunity to see "The Crucible". While reading the play as part of my research process, I could imagine the visuals from this theatrical performance, and attempt to inflict the same quantum of fear with my project.

"Descendants of Condemned 'Witches' Ask Connecticut To Clear Their Relatives'

Names." *Foxnews.com.* FOX News Network, LLC., 6 Oct. 2012. Web. 16

Nov. 2013.

This source fell into a rare category in that it allowed me to understand how politicians in the 21st century are still responding to the repercussions of the Hartford witch-craze. During my research, I had the opportunity to speak with a descendant of a Hartford witch whose family has attempted to have their ancestor exonerated for the colonial court's sinful behavior. It is not often that a student is able to witness others of their generation trying to alter the record of history that they may have only been able to study in textbooks in the past. In addition, the discussion of issues such as witch craft persecution serves as a call to action for the court system as a whole. It is difficult to accept that these execrable events occurred in Connecticut in the first place, at the hands of religious figures whose parishes may still exist in some form today. While the laws that allowed for the abuses of witch craft trials to occur are no longer punishing the citizens of Connecticut, it is still a fact that the acts of the past may not go unexcused. When descendants of individuals involved in influential historical events take responsibility for the injustices of history, it is proof of one of the many ways in which history is still alive.

Dworin, Judy. The Witching Hour. Performance Program.

By referencing the program from the performance of "The Witching Hour", I was able to learn the names of the members of the ensemble, and reference them specifically in my interview with Judy. In addition, the program contained an explanation of the company's mission, which allowed me to asses my own

purpose in crafting the presentation that I entered this year as my History Day project.

Dworin, Judy. The Witching Hour. Script.

This copy of the script from "The Witching Hour" was passed on to me directly by Judy

Dworin, the director of the ensemble that created this performance. By

consulting the script, I was able to judge the credibility of the historical

aspects of the performance. In addition, there were quotes that I had not seen

before that I was able to track down and use to enhance my knowledge of the

characters that I spoke about in my presentation.

Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the Culture of Early New England. New York:

Oxford UP, 1982. Print.

Entertaining Satan is one of a few essential secondary sources concerning the

Connecticut witch craze. "The Demos Book", as it is often called in the far
and far between circles studying the Hartford witch trials, is contemporary,
like many of the other works that I accessed. This detail is refreshing for it
shows that history, and this topic in particular, still lives. As authors such as
Demos crafted their works, they may have consulted fellow historians who
were engaged in cataloguing tales about the same topic. With a source like
this, which is not unknown to historical society staff members, it is easy to
see how History Day research could develop into a modest career
undertaking.

Evans, Barbara J. A to Zax: A Comprehensive Dictionary for Genealogists & Historians. Alexandria, VA: Hearthside, 1995. Print.

Without this source, my comprehension of essential records in my research would have greatly suffered. While working, I often consulted staff members from whichever institution I found myself in that day to clarify abbreviations and altered meanings from seventeenth century sources. In the presence of this dictionary, I no longer had to pester the patient librarians and archivists that I had bothered with my questions in the past. This specialized dictionary is full of definitions that allowed me to do away with my modern understanding of certain terms, and replace them with the meanings as they applied to the time period of my project. As I attempted to interpret the content of wills and court records, I found that I kept returning to the book shelf to take down this trusty and highly necessary reading companion. Just as an Elizabethan scholar must have a Shakespearean lexicon at the ready, I equipped myself with the aid of Evan's efforts as often as possible.

Genocide in Bosnia. Houston, Texas: Holocaust Museum Houston. PDF.

Among the examples of mass execution of a demographic that I may add to my list of reappearances of the themes of the Hartford witch trials in the past century, I am able to cite the Bosnian Genocide. This parallel was inspired by a description of the relevance of the struggles of Salem in another source, and I find that it reinforces the idea that genocide is allowed to occur for reasons not unlike those that fuel a witch-craze. In the case of both the Holocaust and the Bosnian genocide, those in power imprisoned or executed any who opposed them, regardless of their affiliation, and it was a flood of fear that

allowed their respective dictator's shares of unrestricted power. The same reign of fear was seen on a small but no less paralyzing scale during the New England witch-craze. In addition to this, each of these examples explored prejudice and define it as the most devastating of all weapons of mass destruction, a thesis that I cannot help but champion.

- Gross, Alexandra. "Brenda Kniffen." *Law. UMich.edu*. The National Registry of Exonerations. Web. 11 June 2014.
- I was introduced to this relatively recent development in the history of hysteric solutions to fictitious problems late in my research process. While I must first be disappointed and frustrated to hear that the moral mistakes of centuries ago have not prevented similar events today, I was thankful to find another case of coerced testimony and unjust persecution to add to the examples that I might mention in my History Day interview. This case in particular was a valuable find, seeing as it deals with a threat that remains petrifying, and thus may be more powerful and relatable to the modern audience member.
- Hill, Frances. "Introduction." Introduction. *The Salem Witch Trials Reader*. By Frances Hill. Da Capo, 2000. Xvii-viii. Print.
- It is often easy to succumb to the temptation of exaggeration when writing a series of annotations that otherwise but still inevitably have a tendency to become indistinguishable from each other. However, I most sincerely state that if I could choose two pages from any source that I accessed to express the meaning of my project, and the way that it penetrates society and reflects the activity of any cultural, ethnic, or religious body that has coalesced upon our

earth, I would chose the introduction to "The Salem Witch Trials Reader". Not only was I exposed to even more recent occurrences of events that represent the human race's tendency to hysteria, but I found that the points that I try to convey in my presentation were expressed concisely in such a way that I will be able to recall certain pieces of this introduction at different points in my script to inform my inflection and reinforce the statements that I intend to be most meaningful. As an example, as well as a powerful note to end on, the author writes, "To study what happened at Salem is to gain a greater understanding of the human tendency to separate evil from good and project that evil into the enemy, and then to destroy it by destroying the enemy." While this statement has been made in a way that is intentionally and perhaps unappealingly blunt, it is an appropriate expression of the way in which the people of our planet have decided to slaughter scapegoats on a grand scale for personal gain - as a race, we are certainly responsible for the most atrocious acts of "goat" genocide that the world has ever seen.

Hoadly, Charles J., LL. D. "A Case of Witchcraft in Hartford." *Connecticut Magazine*Nov. 1899. *Connecticut American History and Genealogy Project*. Web. 2

Apr. 2014.

This article allowed me to obtained focused details during my research on the

Greensmith family. Not only did the site contain the testimony of Rebecca

Greensmith, sections of which I included in my script, but it also elucidated

Cotton Mather's opinion of the case. In addition, the testimonies against the

Greensmiths were detailed here, allowing me to understand the repulsive

reputation of this family in "Ancient" Hartford. Finally, and fittingly, I will

conclude this annotation by noting that this site informed me of the hanging location of Rebecca and her husband. Now knowing that the two were hung atop Gallows Hill, I realize I have walked on the grounds on the Trinity College campus in Hartford where many gathered centuries ago as spectators to the hanging.

Hood, Susan. "'The Witching Hour' Revisits Colonial Witch Craze." *The Hartford Courant* 27 Oct. 2013, My Towns Sec.: H12. Print.

The more sources that I consult, the more that I see that they commit to expressing a common theme. In expressing this universal conflict, this reporter chose to charge "The Witching Hour", with "vividly depicting how fears of difference can turn dangerous, and how designating scapegoats seems to appease the hysteria of mob mentality and other social ills." To explain the relevance of this cited performance review, "The Witching Hour" is a theatrical performance accurately and historically elucidating the cultural climate of colonial Connecticut through the tale of none other than Katherine Harrison herself. The article also states that the work, in one of its earlier incarnations, was presented with the National Award of Merit by the American Association of State and Local History. In my analysis of the script, I found no details that conflicted with those that I found elsewhere, and thus I consider this to be a credible source.

Howard, Sharma. "Personal Trials: Local History Presents A Special Challenge to Judy

Dworin With "Witching Hour"" *The Hartford Courant* 27 Oct. 2013, Curtain

Sec.: G3. Print.

While I have addressed Judy Dworin's The Witching Hour at many points in this bibliography, I find that one aspect of this review struck me most. In many of her performances, Judy includes sign language, and in all of her work that I have seen, this one uses it to the greatest effect. Rather than standing to the side in all black, the signer in this piece appears in costume, and serves as the narrator as well. When she signs in silence, she expresses the feeble and helpless nature of those in the community at the hands of the hysteria in which they have been immersed. All citizens were dragged into the mess of a witch trial, and with this almost mandatory participation due to the structure of the community, it was not hard to wonder whether one might be able to avenge their own personal vendettas by participating in the mix.

Karlsen, Carol F. *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England.* New York: Norton, 1998. Print.

All sources that discuss the greater history of the European witch-hunting era (an epoch that arguably continues up until this day, albeit in mutated, more "responsible" forms) are indubitably indebted to a single author in their coverage of the corresponding events in colonial New England. Every paragraph in other sources addressing the continuation of witchcraft persecution in the New World contained a reference to Karlsen's revered and popular work. By following the well-trodden trail of footnotes to Karlsen, I was able to trace many quotes back to their raw origins for the enrichment of my project and necessary immersion into the period as a whole. In addition, the book generously offers suppletory statistics that could not be found anywhere else; conversely, the content is not bereft of the moral perspective

required to fully understand the terrifying period that I have chosen to research. In conclusion, after dissecting Karlsen's work, I was able to logically investigate how illogical the events of the Connecticut witch-craze truly were.

- Langdon, Carolyn S. "A Complaint Against Katherine Harrison, 1669." *The Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin* 34.1 (1969): 18-25. Print.
- While I was ecstatic to come into contact with the actual document that Katherine

 Harrison's neighbors signed against her, I soon became discouraged when I

 could make out very few words on the faded and smudged parchment. If it

 were not for the help of this primary source, I would not have known the

 exact words used by Harrison's adversaries. Many times during this project I

 was able to work with Katherine Harrison's quick retorts, or the statements of
 her magistrates, but this was one of few opportunities that I had to read the

 claims of her fellow Wethersfield residents, who feared her in the same way
 that we would fear a terrorist living among us today.
- Lavanture, Douglas. "Fear as Governance: Arthur Miller's The Crucible as

 Contemporary Reflection." *Steppenwolf.org*. Steppenwolf Theatre Company,

 2007. Web. 8 June 2014.
- This source allowed me to analyze the intent and repercussions of Arthur Miller's play

 "The Crucible". The plot, crafted as a parallel to the twentieth century

 Communist witch-hunts that blacklisted many popular figures in the

 entertainment industry, did not slip by Senator Joe McCarthy, who had

 Arthur Miller persecuted as a result. The most revealing observation from this

source, which I was in turn able to transfer to my understanding of the factors that contribute to a witch-craze, is that often those who attempt to speak up against the insanity numbing their community are soon captured, silenced, and regarded as the primary enemy so that their sane opinion can not spread elsewhere. In the case of the Hartford witch-craze, the changes came from the top down, allowing reason to intervene immediately and put a stop to suffocating injustice.

Linder, Doug. "The McMartin Preschool Abuse Trial: A Commentary."

Law.UMKC.edu. University of Missouri - Kansas City, 2003. Web. 11 June 2014.

Considering the seemingly distant time period, and the amount of time that I have spent working on this project, often I feel that I have become immune to the severity of what took place in witch trials. If this diagnosis were correct, I can assure you that it was broken by the exhaustive and endlessly distressing details that I read about on this site. The McMartin Case was the longest and most costly criminal trial in American history, and probably contained the most unsettling testimonies as well. After reading about this eighties fiasco, I do not think that anyone has the right to definitively argue that our attitude towards the toleration of perjury and hearsay has evolved since the 17th century. At the same time, it is also necessary to acknowledge that the motives of the parents belonging to the persecution in the McMartin case inform our understanding of the genuine fear that New Englanders possessed in protection of their families centuries ago. In each of these deadlocked

circumstances, we are caught between blaming a parent for defending their child and blaming the court for listening to them.

- Matterson, T. A. *Examination of a Witch*. 1853. *Coursesite.UHCL.edu*. University of Houston Clear Lake. Web. 3 Dec. 1853.
- To enhance the richness of my research, I sought to cite an actual painting rather than a mere digital image. This painting in particular shattered the idea I had of a strict colonial courtroom, seeing as the room exemplifies mayhem. However, this tendency towards chaos may have been what made witch trials so appealing in Puritan New England a release from the constraints of daily life and an opportunity to exhibit raw temptation and the most basic impulses. A well-known example of this in the New England setting would be Cotton Mather, who is cited for inspecting the witches that he met in the courtroom in ways in which the almighty would most certainly not approve.
- McCain, Diana R. "Witchcraft Persecution: Demystifying a Fatal Cultural Phenomenon in Connecticut." Personal interview. 30 Nov. 2013.
- Diana McCain has written and spoken about the witchcraft trials in Connecticut on multiple occasions. She has sat alongside our state historian and other revered authors on the poignant and penetrating topic of our Satan-riddled past.

 Speaking with Diana, I asked her about the cultural justification and bias of those making witchcraft accusations. Together, we explored the court cases that led to the execution of those accused, and other easily accessible sources that would serve as portals to seventeenth-century Connecticut.

McCarthyism and The Crucible. Austin, TX: Office of Curriculum, 2012. DOC.

While my project certainly aims to enlighten others about the intrusive social practices present in any witch trial, I found it most informative to focus on the legal changes that Governor John Winthrop Jr. was able to carry out as one of few rational and humane figures involved. It was not until my research brought me to this source, however, that I was able to truly observe how the revisions that he and Reverend Bulkeley insisted upon were the most effective and appropriate for the circumstances. This document dealt with the details of the Salem witch trials as communicated in Arthur Miller's play "The Crucible", alongside the actual facts of the trial and its cessation. The doubts that eventually brought Salem's infamous period of witch persecution to a close are the same that Bulkeley and Winthrop expressed while trying to find a way around Katherine Harrison's suspiciously ludicrous charges. In reading from this document, the point was proven to me that Salem would not have occurred if the magistrates had obeyed the rules put forth in Connecticut by abandoning spectral evidence and thus dismissing pure but possibly fatal poppycock.

"McMartin Preschool Case – What Really Happened and the Coverup." *Ritualabuse.us*. SMART. Web. 11 June 2014.

In the current discussion of witch hunts, the motion to exonerate those who were wronged, and to dismiss what happened as insanity and abuse of procedural stops and prevention methods, is most common. To expand my viewpoint, and realize why events like these may have occurred in the first place, I accessed the article on this site, which argues that the press attempted to

cover up the true opinions of those in the McMartin Case, thus allowing child abuse to continue. As conspiracy theorists, the authors of the site, who have held annual conferences about the dangers of ritual abuse for over a decade, argue that there were in fact tunnels discovered under McMartin preschool, among other evidence that they point out has been swept under the rug. In the History Day setting, it is expected that we will express disbelief when events like these occur, however we must also recognize that there are those who still feel that history has wronged them, and would prolong trauma and fiercely reexamine these failures of history.

Meyers, Kevin E. "Miller Recounts McCarthy Era, Origins of "The Crucible"" *The Harvard Crimson*. The Harvard Crimson, Inc, 12 May 1999. Web. 8 June 2014.

If I had not consulted a source dealing with a speech that Arthur Miller himself delivered, I may not have been able to find out that the playwright was accused of harboring anti-American opinions even before the publication of the polemic "The Crucible". When the film version of the playwright's Pulitzer Prize winning "Death of a Salesman" was to be released, it was requested that he sign a document proving that he did not have any Communist associations, since the work was found to be loaded with complaints against capitalism that were far too true to be released freely. Miller refused, and we can be sure that the episode came into the picture when he was blacklisted after writing "The Crucible", a precisely directed missile towards McCarthy's activities in the 50s. Just as in the Hartford witch trials, the slightest deviance from the norm could be labeled as insurgence

and grounds for persecution. As Arthur Miller learned, speaking out against this corrupt and corrosive practices abound would only confirm one's affiliations as "one of them".

Miller, Arthur A. *The Crucible*. 3rd ed. New York, NY: Viking, 1959. Print. To the sophisticated American of our surroundings, "The Crucible" is probably and justifiable seen as the most memorable source of content about the events of the Salem witch trials. In his role as a playwright who is most well described by the word "conscientious", Miller captures the terror of the period perfectly with his pen. The most disturbing example of this proficiency may be found in the scene in the second act when a devil's familiar appears to the vulnerable but perhaps equally demonic adolescents of the courtroom. If a source about the Salem witch trials were necessary to my project to serve as a connection to those who are not familiar with an equally horrific set of events that occurred on American soil, one that masterfully showcases the theatrical medium would be most appropriate, based on the performance category into which I have entered my project. Arthur Miller was able to tell the tale of the Salem witch trials with complete honesty and authenticity as far as I am able to judge, and this is the standard to which I had to hold myself as I created my own depiction of the Connecticut colony's culturally inspired witch

Miller, Arthur A. "Why I Wrote "The Crucible"" *New Yorker* 21 Oct. 1996. Print.

The process that playwright Arthur Miller underwent in creating the Crucible was sufficiently more multifaceted than I imagine a large portion of the

infestation.

population expects. An established author's response to the microcosmic dilemma of McCarthyism in 1950s America. Unremarkable. If applicable, only to those instances that have already received plenty of attention on the social justice plane. Genocide? Prejudice? We have got that covered. However, McCarthy's inspection of the driving forces behind the Salem witch trials indulges a symbolic and penetrating exploration of the eternal social tendencies of man. Before issuing his critique of the way that our race has acted in the face of allegations of a disguised enemy, Arthur Miller is obliged to argue that, "the paranoid, real or pretended, always secretes its pearl around a grain of fact". However, in furthering his argument, and getting to the meat of his philosophical article, he writes retrospectively, regarding The Crucible "the play seems to present the same primeval structure of human sacrifice to the furies of fanaticism and paranoia that goes on repeating itself forever as though imbedded in the brain of social man."

Oh, Joyce, and Amanda Latham. "Senator Joseph McCarthy, McCarthyism, and the Witch Hunt." *Coldwar.org*. The Cold War Museum, 2008. Web. 10 June 2014.

Among the sources that I accessed to bolster my own understanding of the communist witch-hunts of the 1950s, this site in particular had the most details about McCarthy's corruption. The article cited here points out that McCarthy's decision to expose seditious Soviet sympathizers was not grounded in genuine fear on his part, but was instead a political maneuver to exploit the American people's widespread fear of Eastern oppression and recover his embarrassingly miserable political history. In addition, this site offered

information about the criteria, if one could honestly refer to it as such, that McCarthy used to determine which politicians and popular figures around him were opponents of the American government. The point that this official and credible Cold War archive makes is that the initial components and later additions to McCarthy's list of disguised members of the American Communist Party were his personal opponents, not opponents of our government. The same common and corrupt practice of capitalizing upon the fear of the community can be seen in any event of European witch persecution, particularly the Salem witch trials.

- Pagliuco, Christopher. "Wethersfield's Witch Trials." *Hog River Journal* 1st ser. 6.1 (2007): 34-39. Print.
- This loose expository article concerning the witchcraft trials in Connecticut was a major source in the early stages of my research. The names and events described in this document sketched out a map for later research, introducing me to new figures and encouraging me to search for new quotes. Finally, the text in this article was enhanced with images of propaganda concerning witchcraft from the period, leaving me not only with names to keep in mind, but sinful faces as well.
- Philips, David E. "Bride's Brook." *Legendary Connecticut: Traditional Tales from the Nutmeg State*. Second ed. Willimantic, CT: Curbstone, 1992. 119-20. Print.

 Legendary Connecticut is one in a series of sources that allowed me to visualize and accurately understand Connecticut during the period in which my History

 Day project takes place. The relevant stories in this volume center around the

Winthrop family, the powerhouse dynasty who helped to limit and eventually eliminate spectral evidence during the trial of Katherine Harrison. Winthrop and Harrison are the two most essential characters in my research, for it was Winthrop's rational defense of Harrison that set a precedent of courtroom responsibility in a hazardously superstitious Connecticut. The anecdote-esque descriptions in this source allowed me to base my presentation of Winthrop on Connecticut citizen's actual opinions. The illustrative tale in this section told of another legal quagmire, involving marriage, in which John Winthrop Senior was immediately consulted for resolution. The dilemma involved a limitation on Winthrop's ability to marry two citizens who were not under his administrative jurisdiction. To allow to the two to be wed, he stood on one side of a brook, while they stood on another, assuming that the meek body of water served as the necessary boundary. From this story, I was able to conclude that Winthrop was a very perceptive man, who could be counted on to find solutions that dealt with his citizens on a personal basis. This is the example that he would have set for his descendants; it is likely that the soonto-be Connecticut Governor would have heard this story beside the fireplace in his youth.

- Philips, David E. "The Charter Oak." *Legendary Connecticut: Traditional Tales from*the Nutmeg State. Second ed. Willimantic, CT: Curbstone, 1992. 136-41.

 Print.
- Legendary Connecticut is one of the few secondary sources in this bibliography that describe seventeenth century Connecticut. While I spent plenty of time with dense primary records during my research, it was very rare that I sought

understanding in a more accessible form. Throughout the complicated research that I conducted in the records and testimonies of the time, I repeatedly read John Winthrop Jr.'s name in the context of a charter incident. With this source in hand, I was finally able to acquaint myself with the background of the situation that caused Winthrop to leave Connecticut during his service. In his absence, more virulent and less reasonable magistrates took his place, ending the lives of Winthrop's citizens. For the scholars who are spared of having to learn about the gruesome history of witchcraft, Winthrop's name is most often associated with the very charter that was described here. Having worked with this source, I am now able to recognize and analyze Winthrop through the event most familiar to the average historian. As an added note, it was curious, though not unexpected, to find out that Samuel Wyllys was involved in this fiasco as well - the Charter Oak stood on Wyllys' property.

Quish, Rachel. "Hands-On History: Mapping the Epicenters of Action in the

Connecticut Witch-Craze onto Modern Wethersfield." Telephone interview.

11 June 2014.

I am typing this annotation immediately after getting off the phone, and I must tell you I am very excited. During this phone interview, I was guided along a map of 17th Century Wethersfield (cited elsewhere in this bibliography) with locations such as the area that we expect to have been the estate of Katherine Harrison pointed out along the way. In addition, details such as the size of Katherine Harrison's holdings in comparison to those of her neighbors, as well as quotes conveying her reputation in the town were disclosed. How

could I talk about Katherine Harrison's case without acknowledging that she was referred to as a "notorious liar, a Sabbath-breaker, and a fortune teller"? I think Katherine would be eager to fiercely and unforgivingly respond to such a charge.

Tomlinson, Richard G. "Rights and Responsibilities Regarding Exoneration, and the Truth of the Matter on Court Procedure and Cultural Influence in the Connecticut Witchcraft Cases." Telephone interview. 1 Dec. 13.

Richard Tomlinson is the author of an authoritative work on witchcraft persecution.

Without a doubt, he is among those most familiar with the matter of witches in Connecticut. In our discussion, I asked him about the troubling question of exoneration for those condemned in the witchcraft trials. While expressing regret for the executions that took place, he explained that Connecticut was legally justified in the decisions that it made during this period in history, while Salem is unable to make this claim. In addition, Tomlinson stressed that those involved were rational people; the magistrates involved in Connecticut were not eager to execute if this was not the case. In the historical process, conversations such as these, with knowledgeable individuals who have immersed themselves within the culture of a period and its prominent (and less prominent) individuals, are the best resource for a full understanding. If it weren't for the enlightenment of our historians, I may still be viewing the cases of witchcraft as shameless acts of skullduggery.

Watts, Richard, Jr. "Introduction." Introduction. *The Crucible*. By Arthur A. Miller. 3rd ed. New York, NY: Viking, 1959. Vii-Xii. Print.

For a play with such an intimate relationship with the time period from which it grew, it was essential that I understood the implications of Miller's work not only in regards to McCarthy's infamy and activities, but to his own stature as one of the three American playwriting pillars of the time. As I must be conscious of the effect that my morally tinted performance about the Hartford witch trials will have on its audience. I was thankful to be able to read about the experience and reception of a notable figure who was attempting to accomplish a similar act of public and historical enlightenment. I also did not factor the response of the masses to Miller's "Death of a Salesman" into my consideration of the interpreted meaning of "The Crucible", an influence that must be taken into account due to the unusually favorable public response to that classic American tragedy, and the consequent conclusions that were drawn about the playwright. On another note, despite the seeming solidity of this illuminating introduction to "The Crucible", it suffered from a fault of modern selective righteousness and irrational thinking that my project seeks to remedy. In the introduction, the author writes, "the danger from Russian subversion was a more believable menace than the witch cults of pioneer Massachusetts." Writing in 1959, it appears that the author of the introduction is still succumbing to the temporal culture-based suspicion of the East that mass-produced the fear out of which McCarthy fashioned his cause, and reasoning that our current fear of unseen activities of American soil is somehow more tangible to us than the omens of witchcraft were to the Puritan colonies. The sooner that we are able to separate ourselves from judgments that have only stemmed from our specific ignorance-inducing cultural upbringing, the further we will be from yet another historical tragedy

to which "The Crucible", and hopefully the contents of my project, could serve as a stirring parallel.

- White, Craig. Depiction of a Courtroom During the Salem Witch Trials. Digital image.

 *Coursesite.UHCL.edu.** University of Houston Clear Lake. Web. 3 Dec.

 2013.
- To create my set, I sought sources that would give me an idea of the appearance of a colonial court room. In addition, this image served the purpose of justifying my inclusion of a gavel as a prop, seeing as the judge is wielding one here.
- Whitmore, Kyle. "McCarthy Was Right, The Crucible Shouldn't Be Taught in Schools, Alabama Congressional Candidate Beason Says." Web log post. *AL.com*. Alabama Media Group, 16 Mar. 2014. Web. 8 June 2014.
- The political statements published in this article explain why community hysteria could stem from something as seemingly ridiculous as a witch craze. When the representatives in control of the common core curriculum for our public schools record themselves joking around about black communities as belonging to Aborigines, we cannot be sure that other dangerous, archaic opinions will no longer endanger the masses. Instead of acknowledging the crimes committed by our government against those randomly targeting as engaging in communist activities during the McCarthy era, the senator described in this article insists that Arthur Miller's "The Crucible" be removed from the common core so as not to breed socialists in our public schools. When policy makers are determined to mask wrongs of the past by invalidating the most sacred institution, education, safety can never be

guaranteed. Even if socialist opinions stemmed from "The Crucible", the danger would be minor compared to the threat of a troglodytic legislature. As a final note, it is important to point out that this article was published only a few months ago, evidence of active prejudice that is not much different than that which precipitated the Connecticut witch-craze.

The Witching Hour. By Judy Dworin. Charter Oak Cultural Center, Hartford. Oct. 2007.

Performance.

Cited here is the fateful performance that started it all. The Witching Hour was centered around the trial of Katherine Harrison, and the prejudices of patriarchal Puritan society. If it were not for this exposure to Hartford's involvement in witchcraft persecution, the History Day effort before you now may have been driven by an entirely different documented development of the past. Through the stark portrayal of the rigid and frightening figures of this tale, I saw that the magistrates and victims existed on two different planes; one unceasingly subjugating the other. In addition, my familial connection (my mother performed in the cited piece) allowed me to interact with the minds behind the performance, meeting up with costume designers and the descendants who those who became deceased at the cost of their neighbors fabled protection. No other source had such a great baring on my interpretation of this historical happening for the creation of my project, for no other recreated the fear of the 17th century colony before my eyes. In my performance, I have attempted to inflict the understanding and engrossing emotion of this event in the same enlightening way that The Witching Hour imposed it upon me.

- Woodward, Walter W. "New England's Other Witch Hunt: An Evening with the Charming and Incomparably Knowledgeable Walter Woodward." Personal interview. 22 Nov. 2013.
- While crafting my script and interpreting other sources, the wisdom imparted upon me by Connecticut's State Historian was the greatest source that I had. Without my prompting, Walt Woodward framed his discussion of the witchcraft trials in Connecticut in terms of rights and responsibilities. He argued that it was through Governor John Winthrop Jr.'s recognition of his citizens' social schisms and his propensity for magic that Connecticut was able to extinguish its witchcraft hysteria. Doesn't that sound like a thesis to you?
- Woodward, Walter W. "New England's Other Witch-hunt: The Hartford Witch-hunt of the 1660s and Changing Patterns in Witchcraft Persecution." New England's Other Witch-hunt. Christ Episcopal Church, Stratford, CT, Stratford, CT. 22 Nov. 2013. Lecture.
- State Historian Walter Woodward's presentation critically changed my views concerning the Connecticut witch craze. When I began my research for this project, I had the perspective of a righteous 21st student researching early colonial crimes against women. After attending Woodward's lecture, I felt that I had become a student with the ability to apply the factors at play in the early Connecticut colony to justify why these radical crimes may have truly occurred. In his analysis of the hysteric period of history, Walt Woodward does not dismiss prejudice as a factor. However, his entire argument regarding witchcraft is not dependent on gender prejudice, as was the case in

many of my secondary research materials. Woodward's lecture also contained stories of other witchcraft situations that disturbed the Hartford area, inspiring me to turn to primary materials to trace these tales to their original source. After hearing Woodward explain some of the events that occurred, it was easier to understand the dense yet satisfying accounts that I had to turn to unearth the horrors that Connecticut witches faced. While working with these sources, the easily forgotten names were now associated with identities from the stories that Woodward had shared. Overall, Walt Woodward's lecture is one of the most valuable sources in my project, for it dealt with the reality of the delicate situation through characters that really lived outside of the texts themselves.

Woodward, Walter W. "New England's Other Witch-hunt: The Hartford Witch-hunt of the 1660s and Changing Patterns in Witchcraft Persecution." *OAH Magazine of History* July 2003: 16-20. Print.

The article cited here served as the inspiration for the lecture of the same name also cited in this bibliography. Though the two sources are far from identical, I was able to use the original article as a reference when trying to recall information about the lecture itself. In addition, the title of this source suggests the comparison to Salem that the text contains. In a History Day project, analysis of one's topic must include consideration of the significance of the event on a grand scale, and the research of other outbreaks of witchcraft persecution allowed me to gain this perspective. Furthermore, the crux of my project, the jurisprudential revisions implemented by John Winthrop and his fellow magistrates, are put into the spotlight in this source.

Woodward's interpretation is in convenient alignment with the expected attitude of the History Day student. Finally, combining the numerous perks of this article, the discussion of Winthrop's changes juxtaposed with the downfall that was Salem allowed me to see how Winthrop's legal alterations prevented the recrudescence of a witch-craze in Connecticut.

Woodward, Walter W. *Prospero's America: John Winthrop, Jr., Alchemy, and the*Creation of New England Culture, 1606-1676. Chapel Hill: Published for the

Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture by the U of

North Carolina, 2010. Print.

I could have singlehandedly used this source in order to create my entire project.

Woodward's compendium of Winthrop's experiences goes into great detail about Katherine Harrison's trial, and the changes that Winthrop and Gershom Bulkeley made to Connecticut Jurisprudence regarding witchcraft.

Furthermore, the consideration of the matter through the perspective of Winthrop's undeniable influence proved the point of the effect of his morally exemplary attitude and its effect of ending Witchcraft trials in Connecticut, an integral part of my History Day thesis.