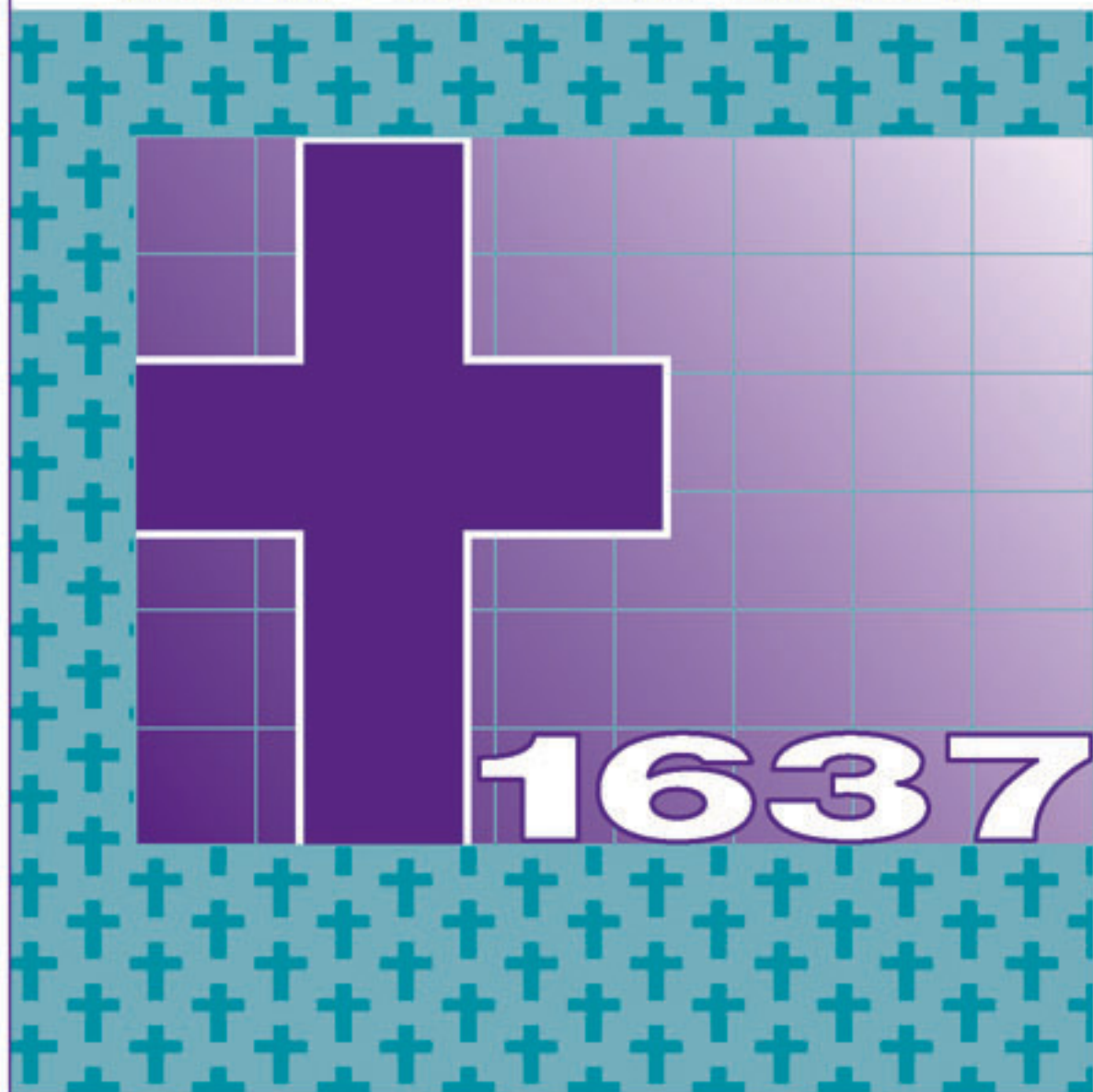


THE TRIAL OF ANNE HUTCHINSON



A Re-creation of a New England Woman's Trial for
Heresy in 1637



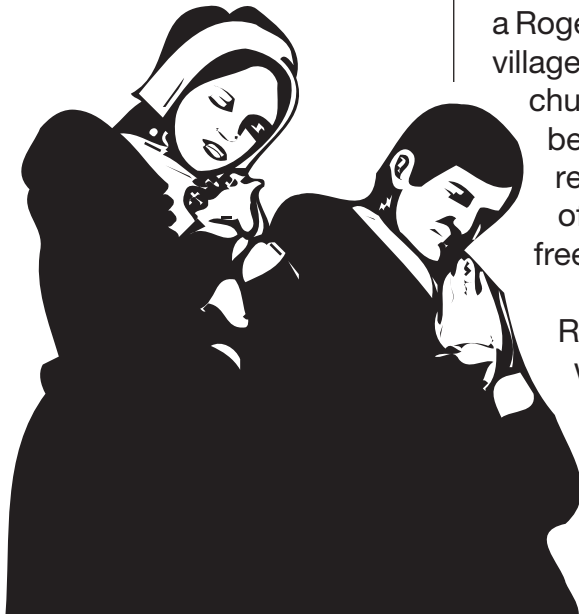
THE TRIAL OF ANNE HUTCHINSON

A re-creation of a New England woman's trial for heresy in 1637,
challenging her unorthodox religious views

BILL LACEY, author of THE TRIAL OF ANNE HUTCHINSON, has written for Interact since 1974. He has authored/edited more than 25 simulations, re-creations, and similar role-playing works. Among the items he has written, he is most proud of GREEKS, SKINS, and CHRISTENDOM. Bill uses many of his creations in his history classes at Fountain Valley High School in Fountain Valley, California.

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In the United States today we often take for granted our freedom either to worship God as we please or not to worship God at all. This freedom has not always been part of our heritage.

According to the Constitution, we as a free people have the right to practice our own religious beliefs. Yet the Constitution was assembled by enlightened men in the 1780s, and America was settled nearly 200 years before that. The learned founding fathers based their wise decision of religious freedom on precedents established while we were part of the British colonies.

It would be inaccurate to surmise that had there never been a Roger Williams or Anne Hutchinson living in a small Puritan village of the 1630s, there would not be a separation of church and state today. Eventually freedom would have been established. Nevertheless, these two brave spiritual rebels, bucking the harsh and severe religious beliefs of the Puritans, did indeed lay a foundation of religious freedom upon which later men and women would build.

Roger Williams, the first dissenter, was put on trial and was banished from the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Anne Hutchinson was similarly tried for her “heretical” beliefs. The results shook the foundations of the Puritan commonwealth.

Your students will re-create the Anne Hutchinson trial in class. During the preparation time, the trial itself, and the follow-up, they will learn the issues raised at the time and meet the personalities involved. Some students will take major roles such as Anne Hutchinson, Reverend John Cotton, and John Winthrop. Others will become community members for or against Mrs. Hutchinson.

This re-creation’s purpose goes beyond understanding the 1637 trial. Your students also need to understand Mrs. Hutchinson’s impact on later generations and the issues that surface whenever individuals oppose the prevailing “system.”

PURPOSE - 2



"... having clearer understanding of the words *justice*, *religious freedom*, and *fair trial* ..."

Specifically your students should experience the following:

Knowledge

1. Understanding some of the major issues of Puritan America in the 1630s
2. Knowing how one person can fight against injustice and have impact upon history
3. Realizing how a religious trial of the 17th century was conducted
4. Having clearer understanding of the words *justice*, *religious freedom*, and *fair trial* as they apply to Anne Hutchinson in the 1630s

Skills

1. Outlining major issues discussed in the trial into generalizations and supporting details
2. Writing extra questions and additional summation statements to use during the trial
3. Utilizing oral skills to sway opinion toward one side or the other
4. Using notes from arguments presented in the Hutchinson trial to make a personal decision about guilt or innocence

Feelings

1. Appreciating the fact that American history contains heroines as well as heroes
2. Trying to do one's best while playing a role which prosecutes or defends Anne Hutchinson
3. Taking a stand for or against Anne Hutchinson in her battle against the Puritan hierarchy and prevailing religious thought
4. Sensing what it was like to live in the 1630s and deal with a dangerous issue such as religious heresy when the outcome could mean freedom, banishment, or death

OVERVIEW

This re-creation is an excellent way to begin your teaching year if you believe in participatory learning, for your students will sense at the beginning of your course that this class is one in which issues are discussed. They will feel involved, and they will begin caring—early.



The trial of Anne Hutchinson is given but a few paragraphs in most secondary school history books. She and the battle she fought for freedom of religious conscience deserve more attention. For Anne Hutchinson—and Roger Williams before her—cemented a cornerstone into the foundation of American liberty.

The Puritan society in which Anne briefly lived was by any standard intolerant and strict, often dealing out harsh and cruel sentences to those who dissented. Mrs. Hutchinson represents not only the individuals who bucked the Puritan hierarchy but also those who have heard the beat of a “different drummer” throughout American history. For she risked her own life as well as the lives of her family and her followers to insure the right to think, a right constantly challenged throughout our history whenever intolerant and self-righteous groups strive to dictate what is “proper” and “just.”

The Hutchinson trial lasted less than two full days, November 7–8, 1637. The final sentencing took place in March 1638, by which time her accusers hoped she would recant her heretical beliefs. In any case, although she was given the opportunity to stand and answer her accusers’ questions, the trial most definitely was not a fair one.

As a teacher you may want to add your own creative ideas to enhance this re-creation. The more you strive to make the trial seem realistic, the more your students will respond and play their roles with dramatic flair.

HISTORICAL ACCURACY

How accurate is this re-creation?

The author of this re-creation has taken some liberties in order to facilitate the trial:

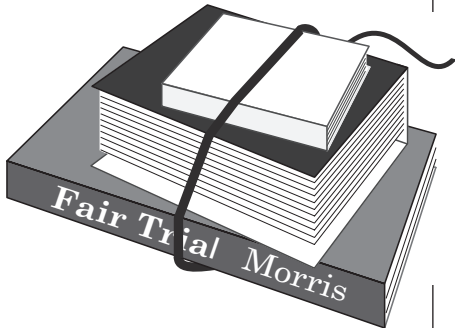
1. To strengthen Anne's case, some additional witnesses have been added. Mrs. Hutchinson basically carried her own defense by answering religious questions with caustic responses. Adding a few defense witnesses will allow more students a chance to participate and will also give Anne an occasional rest.
2. Some of the persons in this trial are composites. That is, one judge or witness will speak the ideas that a few or several really spoke during the 1637 trial.
3. Much of the dialogue in the re-creation—while certainly not verbatim—is based on the issues and opinions of people who were real participants. What actually will be used as dialog, as speeches, or as testimony depends on the preparation of your students.
4. The course of the trial, while not as dramatic as the Salem witch trials of 1692, nevertheless was intense. Included in this Teacher Guide are suggestions under Optional Creative Ideas and in some of the role handouts. These suggestions will heighten the drama of a “heretic” on trial in 1637.
5. Many of the questions asked of the witnesses are perhaps phrased differently than the ones used at the real trial. Questions suggested at the end of each role's handout were written to elicit the best responses from witnesses. Some of them are close in meaning to the actual questions used at the 1637 trial.
6. The author found several factual conflicts among the works he consulted while writing this re-creation. Sources were weighed, and the choices reflect his respect for various authors.

OPTIONAL CREATIVE IDEAS

1. Build enthusiasm days before the trial by teasing your students with chalkboard quotes. Examples: *"Hutchinson the Heretic," "Banish the Blasphemer," "The Devil Resides in Anne Hutchinson," "The woman is guilty. Who needs a trial?"*
2. Use risers in your trial. Most schools have them for assemblies. The author has found 16" to 24" risers are just about the right height. Use 24" risers for the three judges in order to make them more dignified and important. Use 16" risers for the witnesses.
3. If your class is mature enough to handle it, have your Anne Hutchinson use a pillow pinned under her dress to make her look pregnant. Have Anne stand the entire time until someone confronts the judges and suggests that she be allowed to sit down occasionally. In the real trial she didn't sit until the second day after some kind soul realized she was in the middle months of pregnancy. She should dress in black befitting the mourning of the death of her son months earlier.
4. Make about 90 percent of the participants and courtroom observers prejudiced against Anne. Since only a few spoke in her behalf, this environment of hostility will insure that students realize what an uphill battle she fought.
5. Have the ministers/elders/judges occasionally put their heads together and murmur loudly, especially after a rebuttal from Anne.
6. The author's interpretation of the trial is that besides Anne standing before her three judges, nearly everyone else who spoke merely stood up from where he/she was sitting. This situation will move the drama at times out among the students. Attention will therefore be intensified.
7. Have the Reverend John Wilson yell out "Heretic!" or "Satan's instrument!" or "Witch!" at Anne whenever any evidence is presented with his name attached to it.



SOURCES



Books and periodicals

Crawford, Deborah, *Four Women in a Violent Time*, New York, Crown Publishers, Inc., 1970.

Battis, Emery, *Saints and Sectaries*, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, University of North Carolina, 1962.

* Morris, Richard B., *Fair Trial*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1952.

* Newcomb, Wellington, "Anne Hutchinson Versus Massachusetts," *American Heritage*, Vol. XXV, No. 4, June 1974.

* Emphasized for historical accuracy

SETUP DIRECTIONS - 1

Before the trial

1. You will need to duplicate the number in parentheses, using the masters in this Teacher Guide:

Prosecution

- PROSECUTION TEAM STRATEGY (three: one for each judge/magistrate—four pages, back to back).
- PROSECUTION WITNESS: Henry Bartholomew (two: one for witness, one for Anne—two pages, back to back)
- PROSECUTION WITNESS: Rev. Thomas Leverett (two: one for witness, one for Anne—two pages, back to back)
- PROSECUTION WITNESS: John Cotton (two: one for witness, one for Anne—two pages, back to back)
- PARTICIPANT: Reverend John Wilson (two: one for volunteer “witness,” one for Anne—one page)

Defense

- DEFENSE TEAM STRATEGY (three: two for defense speakers, plus one for Anne—four pages, back to back)
- DEFENDANT: Anne Hutchinson (three: one for Anne, two for defense speakers—two pages, back to back)
- DEFENSE WITNESS: Mary Dyer (two: one for witness, one for Anne—two pages, back to back)
- DEFENSE WITNESS: William Coddington (two: one for witness, one for Anne—two pages, back to back)

Optional

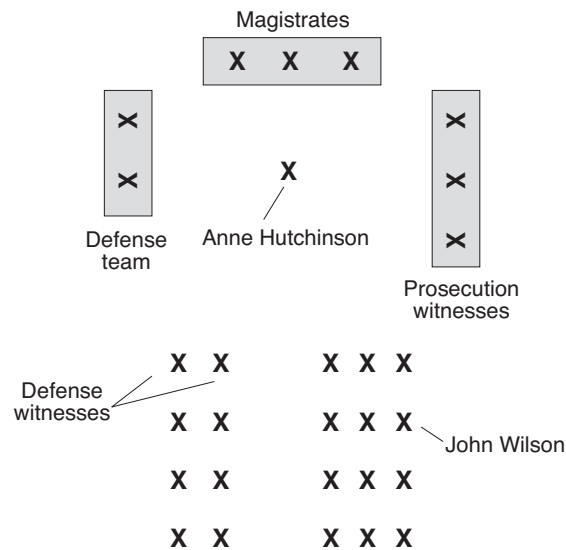
- * HISTORICAL AFTERMATH (class set—two pages, back to back)
2. About four days before the trial is scheduled, hand out roles for participants. Do this by dictation or allow students to volunteer. Perhaps you may wish to combine the above two options. In such a case, dictate the major roles and allow students to volunteer for minor roles.
 3. At least four days before the trial, hand out the Student Guides to students with speaking roles so they will be able to study the Trial Sequence. Distribute the role-playing handouts. Be sure the judges/magistrates and defense teams study the questions they will ask. Having these materials in advance helps key roles prepare and builds interest and confidence among the major participants.



Present some background information on the Puritans ...

SETUP DIRECTIONS - 2

- Three days before the trial, start leaving little quotes on the chalkboard. (See OPTIONAL CREATIVE IDEAS on page 5.)
- At least one day before the trial, make sure that the legal teams have an opportunity to prime their witnesses and are ready for the first day.
- Prepare lessons prior to the trial which deal with the Puritans (e.g., a film, a filmstrip, or a lecture).
- The afternoon before the trial begins, set up your classroom as a meetinghouse in 1637 might have been. Here is a suggestion:



John Wilson

- Fold sheets of paper and make individual name sheets to place on the tables or desks that will accommodate the magistrates, the prosecution witnesses, and the defense team.
- Consider the OPTIONAL CREATIVE IDEAS on page 5 for the trial.
- Ask if any role involved in the trial has any questions or problems.

Day 1

- Introduce the whole class to the Puritans with a lecture, filmstrip, film, or some reading selection.
- Pass out the Student Guide and have everyone read the Background Essay. After everyone has read it, go over its contents *carefully* so that those students who will serve as courtroom observers (and have not been preparing like the major participants have) will be mentally ready.

SETUP DIRECTIONS - 3

Research shows that students who write about what they are studying retain the information and the experience much longer.

3. Consider discussing courtroom procedure, emphasizing the legal freedoms or guarantees citizens have today that Anne Hutchinson didn't have in 1637.
4. If possible, allow 15–25 minutes for the legal teams to meet to finalize strategy.
5. Encourage at least the magistrates and Anne Hutchinson to dress up for their parts. Some left-over-from-last-year graduation robes make ideal garb for the judges. Choir robes also are appropriate.
6. If you plan to use them, have risers delivered to your room. Use the suggested diagram on page 8 for set up.

Day 2

1. Make sure all participants are present and sitting in their correct places. If someone is absent, replace the student immediately and give the proper role sheet to him/her.
2. Just before the magistrate begins the trial, ask if anyone has any questions about the information you handed out and discussed.
3. Remind the “community” members observing the trial of their responsibility to outline the major issues of the trial. They are to list below each generalization whatever evidence is presented that proves the general statement.
4. Get the class quiet and send Anne and the three magistrates outside. At this point turn the re-creation over to the bailiff, who goes to the door, opens it, and steps aside. Then the three magistrates enter and the community citizens rise.
5. Chief Magistrate John Winthrop begins by pounding his kevel (see number 2 of the Trial Sequence in the Student Guide). The trial proceeds as far as time permits during the remainder of Day 2.

Day 3

1. Continue with the trial after making certain that observers are outlining the case, that witnesses and legal teams are ready, and that everyone is present and in place.
2. The dramatic part of the trial takes place on this day when Anne confesses and is banished. Try to time everything right so learning is maximum and tension is high.
3. After the trial ends, have students polish their written trial responsibilities. (See the Role Responsibilities on page 5 of the Student Guide.) Tell students when you wish these written responsibilities turned in.

SETUP DIRECTIONS - 4

Duplicate the *HISTORICAL AFTERMATH* in advance if you decide to use it as a handout.

IMPORTANT



Read carefully.

Day 4

1. **Optional:** To let the students know what happened to Anne following the trial, pass out the *HISTORICAL AFTERMATH*, or you may simply use it for information to tell your students briefly what did happen.
2. Use whichever of the Debriefing and Follow-Up Activities on page 8 in the Student Guide that you feel are appropriate to your students' age, ability, and interest. The Sonia Johnson case mentioned in the Student Guide follow-up has some fascinating parallels with Anne's case. However, if you have a large concentration of Mormons in your area, you should judiciously approach discussing such parallels.
3. **A final concern of the author:** Watch that your students don't reach the conclusion that the Puritans were horrible persons. Counterbalance any such thinking by pointing out the many achievements Puritans brought to America:
 - the eventual spread of democracy;
 - the impetus toward individualism;
 - the inevitable movement into religious toleration;
 - the commitment to hard work, personal goals, and achievement; and
 - the numerous generations of committed individuals who have given moral backbone to American life.

If you personally want to deepen your appreciation of the achievements of the many fine descendants of those early Puritans who were so cruel to Anne Hutchinson, read Chapter 6 in Part II of Ellsworth Huntington's fine book, *The Mainsprings of Civilization*, Mentor Book, New American Library.

PROSECUTION TEAM STRATEGY -1

***(For judges/magistrates John Winthrop,
Thomas Dudley, and John Endicott)***

IMPORTANT



Read carefully.

You are not only the judges who will decide the fate of Anne Hutchinson. You are also her accusers! Trials where civil and religious control are in the same hands are often one-sided, and the verdicts are usually predetermined. Such is the case here. You will listen carefully to Mrs. Hutchinson, but since you consider her a dangerous menace to society, your bias should clearly show throughout the entire trial. Remember that Anne Hutchinson has been a thorn in the church's side for three years. *You want her to recant her transgressions of heresy, or you will banish her from your colony.* Since you will judge and also prosecute, make sure before the trial begins that you have carefully read the Student Guide, paying close attention to the Trial Sequence. Finally, meet in advance with your witnesses and carefully discuss with them their testimony on behalf of your case.

Your case against Anne Hutchinson

1. Anne Hutchinson is guilty of the charge—disturbing the tranquility of the colony—and therefore is a dangerous member.
2. Mrs. Hutchinson has been deluded in religious matters, and a simple confession of her sins would ease her personal torment and release her from a severe penalty.
3. Mrs. Hutchinson did indeed hold meetings in her home to interpret Reverend Wilson's sermons; thus she took upon herself responsibility not given to her.
4. By supporting a personal interpretation of the Covenant of Grace and by accusing local ministers of preaching a Covenant of Works, Anne Hutchinson is driving a wedge between the people and the church's authority. The effect will be chaos and fertile ground for Satan.

Advice and strategy

1. Assume Mrs. Hutchinson is "guilty until proven innocent." Nevertheless, let her defense team, her witnesses, and her own testimony do their best to reverse your assumption. Since most of the community is on your side (or at least they will support your verdict), feel free to talk harshly to her and her witnesses.
2. Act arrogant and pompous. Occasionally turn to one another and *murmur together* as if you have just heard matters of great weight. Sit in your lofty position as judges and ask questions and make prejudicial statements as often as you please. Tell Mrs. Hutchinson

PROSECUTION TEAM STRATEGY - 2

to “hush up,” cajole witnesses with threats, and ask for quiet in the courtroom whenever the need arises.

3. Try to get Mrs. Hutchinson to confess her sins of being critical of the following: a) church doctrine, b) Rev. John Wilson, c) strict Puritan laws, and d) other issues. If she does eventually “confess,” you should reprimand only her and her followers. In such a case, let it go at that since an example will have been made. If, on the other hand, you decide not to banish her and she then mocks and laughs at your verdict and admits God told her she would win—change your verdict immediately to banishment. If she will not confess, you also must banish her. If you must banish her, pronounce her a heretic in loud voices and send her out of the colony.
4. Make sure all of your witnesses present clear and simple testimony. You have the power to repeat questions and to clarify answers. Thomas Leverett’s testimony is theological and may escape most of the listeners. Therefore, go slowly as you question him. Reverend Cotton’s credibility as a prosecution witness against his friend will be strained. Be sure to make Cotton look sympathetic by insuring he comes off a “saint” who tells the agonizing “truth,” whomever it hurts. Bartholomew shouldn’t be a difficult witness. Make sure he looks and sounds sincere.
5. Refer to the charge often—she *has* disturbed the tranquility of the entire colony—whenever she tries to clarify her religious convictions and to proclaim freedom of conscience.
6. Have an effective closing statement ready even though no opening and closing statements were given in those days. Sum up Mrs. Hutchinson’s sins and each witness’ damning testimony. Actually you need to convince no one but yourselves of her guilt. (You alone—not a neutral jury—will decide her guilt or innocence.) Nevertheless, recognize that the verdict will fall on agreeable ears if you have given an effective summation.

IMPORTANT



Read carefully.

Examination of your witnesses

Henry Bartholomew

1. Mr. Bartholomew, you’re a decent, honest, and Christian man, are you not?
2. How long have you known Mrs. Hutchinson?
3. How would you assess her as a person and as a Christian?
4. Did she ever talk to you about her religious views on the Scriptures or about God?
5. If so, when was the first time?
6. Do you remember any details about what happened in the cemetery or what she said?

PROSECUTION TEAM STRATEGY - 3

7. Was there a second time in which she admitted that God spoke to her and revealed his truth—without, I add—the aid of a minister? Please describe the situation.
8. Mr. Bartholomew, do you consider the Alford cemetery or the ship *Griffin* to be public places?
9. In other words, did not Mrs. Hutchinson express her innermost thoughts on religion and her so-called “revelations” from God in a most public place in front of the ears of Christian folk impressionable to the words of a community leader such as Mrs. Hutchinson?

Rev. Thomas Leverett

1. Reverend Leverett, you are an ordained member of the church and a Christian above reproach, are you not?
2. Sir, we have called you to clarify for us the differences between a Covenant of Works and a Covenant of Grace. Please do so.
3. Do you believe ministers are necessary to help their congregation interpret the Scriptures?
4. Where do you feel Mrs. Hutchinson went astray in her beliefs?
5. Where did she go astray in her actions?
6. Do you consider Anne Hutchinson a heretic?

John Cotton

1. You are an ordained minister of the church now sharing a church in Boston with the Reverend John Wilson, are you not?
2. Reverend Cotton, how is it you consider yourself a close friend of the defendant and yet you are about to testify and give evidence that could easily condemn Mrs. Hutchinson?
3. Reverend, under what circumstances did you meet and know Mrs. Hutchinson?
4. Did Mrs. Hutchinson attend church regularly?
5. Since she is on trial here for her unorthodox views on religion, we would like you to tell us how you came to know of these so-called discussion meetings on Tuesdays.
6. What did the defendant tell you went on at these meetings?
7. Did she tell you that they discussed a person’s ability to interpret the Scripture’s on his or her own? Please give us some details.
8. Did they ever discuss the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of your colleague, Reverend John Wilson, as a preacher?
9. Sir, did she ever discuss with you her relations with the heathen savages? What did she tell you?
10. Considering you were once very close friends, did you as her minister ever give Mrs. Hutchinson any sound advice? What was it?

PROSECUTION TEAM STRATEGY - 4

Examination of defense witnesses

Mary Dyer

1. Mrs. Dyer, you are beholden to Mrs. Hutchinson for saving your life months ago, am I correct?
2. Could your enthusiasm for her and her theology stem from that incident?
3. You say the Tuesday meetings were social? How often did you discuss religion, the Scriptures, or Reverend Wilson?
4. What was Mrs. Hutchinson's opinion of Reverend Cotton?
5. What did Mrs. Hutchinson say about God's Covenant of Grace?
6. Did she accuse the ministers of preaching a Covenant of Works?
7. Did you find her behavior at any time strange and not of this world?
8. How much of what Mrs. Hutchinson has taught you do you now believe?

William Coddington

1. According to your deposition I have here, Mr. Coddington, you had a brief second meeting with Mrs. Hutchinson moments after the first meeting. What little secrets were passed at this time?
2. Are you aware that to be a Quaker in our colony is to be a heretic?
3. Are you a Quaker?
4. Why do you think Captain Underhill has chosen not to testify? Could it be perhaps that this meeting with Mrs. Hutchinson never took place? After all, the governor is on his way to England and Captain Underhill is nowhere to be seen. Did this meeting, where three prominent citizens of Boston—maybe only two—verbally lent support to the defendant, ever take place?

PROSECUTION WITNESS: Henry Bartholomew - 1



While studying this background information, think about questions such as these:

How old are you?

How should you walk?

How should you talk?

What expression should be on your face as you look at Anne Hutchinson while you pass her in court?

If people used one word to describe you, what word would they use?

Consider all the above as you develop your characterization.

Finally, see the director's comment on the next page.

You are called as a witness against Mrs. Hutchinson. You have known the defendant for several years, an acquaintance going back to Alford, England. Your testimony will center around Mrs. Hutchinson's revelations from God and how and when she admitted these revelations to you. The court will, of course, try to make these "revelations" sound as if they were admitted to you in a public place, and perhaps they were revelations not from God but from Satan himself.

One day in an Alford churchyard cemetery, Mrs. Hutchinson did tell you that God spoke to her of the coming death of two children who lived in the village. Incredibly, that year they both died! Later in the late summer of 1634 while on board the ship *Griffin* while sailing to America, Mrs. Hutchinson again told you that God divulged to her his word and that he speaks to her often.

You will have to make up (fabricate in your mind) details such as the following:

- your age;
- information about your family;
- exactly what happened (particularly what Mrs. Hutchinson said) in the cemetery and on board ship; and
- the names of children who died in Alford, England, etc.

An honest and decent man with no particular grudges against the defendant, you must show no malice. Instead you must radiate sympathy for Mrs. Hutchinson as you strive to speak the truth.

Questions you can expect

P = Prosecution; **D** = Defense

- P:** Mr. Bartholomew, you're a decent, honest, and Christian man, are you not?
- P:** How long have you known Mrs. Hutchinson?
- P:** How would you assess her as a person and as a Christian?
- P:** Did she ever talk to you about her religious views on the Scriptures or about God?
- P:** When was the first time?
- P:** Do you remember any details about what happened in the cemetery or what she said?
- P:** Was there a second time in which she admitted that God spoke to her and revealed his truth—without, I add—the aid of a minister? Please describe the situation.

PROSECUTION WITNESS: Henry Bartholomew - 2

- P:** Mr. Bartholomew, do you consider the Alford cemetery or the ship Griffin to be public places?
- P:** In other words, did not Mrs. Hutchinson express her innermost thoughts on religion and her so-called revelations from God in a most public place in front of the ears of Christian folk impressionable to the words of a community leader such as Mrs. Hutchinson?
-

- D:** Mr. Bartholomew, do you believe everything you read in the Scriptures?
- D:** Do you believe everything you are told by the church elders and for that matter, any and all things said to you about religion?
- D:** How can you remember so well what Mrs. Hutchinson, just a village housewife, said to you *years* ago?
- D:** Could you have misinterpreted Mrs. Hutchinson in regards to who spoke to her? Wasn't she possibly referring to *her own inner conscience*, a conscience such as we all hear now and then from inside our own minds?



PROSECUTION WITNESS: Rev. Thomas Leverett - 1



While studying this background information, think about questions such as these:

How old are you?

How should you walk?

How should you talk?

What expression should be on your face as you look at Anne Hutchinson while you pass her in court?

If people used one word to describe you, what word would they use?

Consider all the above as you develop your characterization.

You are a Puritan minister called to testify about the differences between the Covenant of Grace and the Covenant of Works. As the need arises, make up details about your background, your coming to the bay colony, and your church and congregation. Whenever you answer questions, speak clearly and forthrightly because the prosecution wants everyone to understand the difference between the two covenants. While explaining the Covenant of Works, shake your head and cluck your tongue. Convey to everyone how deluded Anne Hutchinson was to accuse the ministers of preaching a Covenant of Works rather than a Covenant of Grace.

Carefully study the Background Essay in the Student Guide. Particularly zero in on the sections headed The Covenant of Grace, The Elect, and The Covenant of Works. (If you have access to a good library, study the Puritans' beliefs in more academic encyclopedias such as the *Britannica* and the *Americana*.) Here are certain Puritan beliefs which are related to the two covenants:

- **Original Sin** Because Adam and Eve disobeyed God's commandments in the Garden of Eden, all descendants of Adam and Eve—that is, all human beings—inherit this “original” sin and, hence, are born in a sinful state.
- **Predestination** Although all human beings are so stained with this original sin that they deserve hell, God through his grace elects some to go to heaven.
- **Covenant of Grace** The Puritan ministers incorporated the ideas of original sin and predestination into a church doctrine that required all members of their congregation—regardless of whether they led good or bad lives—to adopt a fearful, constantly obedient and reverent attitude toward God and toward those trained to interpret God's words accurately—namely, the ministers.
- **Covenant of Works** This doctrine held that a person could overcome his/her original sin by doing good “works”—that is, by leading a good and religious life. The Puritan ministers, following the teaching of John Calvin, believed this to be a false doctrine. However, they did admit that a “good” life—that is, one wherein a person worked hard, was pious and properly respectful of church leaders and practices, and acquired considerable material goods—was evidence that he/she was in a “state of grace” or among the Elect.

PROSECUTION WITNESS: Rev. Thomas Leverett - 2

- **Heresy** Puritan leaders, believing that only they could determine whether or not a person was among the Elect, lengthily examined persons' lives to determine a person's state of grace. For an individual who was not a minister to claim to have the ability to see this "grace" was an act of heresy.
- **Satan** The Puritans believed Satan was constantly at work to deceive citizens and cause them to do evil things. Since one of the worst acts was to practice heresy, any person who denied the truth of church doctrine as taught by the ministers therefore must be in the hands of the devil.

Questions you can expect

P = Prosecution; **D** = Defense

- P:** Reverend Leverett, you are an ordained member of the church and a Christian above reproach, are you not?
- P:** Sir, we have called you to clarify for us the differences between a Covenant of Works and a Covenant of Grace. Please do so.
- P:** Do you believe ministers are necessary to help the members of their congregation interpret the Scriptures?
- P:** Where do you feel Mrs. Hutchinson went astray in her beliefs?
- P:** Where did she go astray in her actions?
- P:** Do you consider Anne Hutchinson a heretic?

Two final suggestions:

Dress for your part.

Speak without using any notes. Doing this will be difficult because of the scholarly content of your testimony, but look at it this way: How often will you have a chance to role-play a 17th-century Puritan minister? Therefore, why not rise to the challenge?

-
- D:** Reverend Leverett, Mrs. Hutchinson believes God dwells in every man and woman and that by prayer and reading the Scriptures a person can become closer to God. How do you feel about her believing this?
- D:** Does Mrs. Hutchinson's intelligence seem to you to be below average, average, or above average?
- D:** Do you dislike having women study the Scriptures and listen to sermons so closely that they ask pointed questions?
- D:** Is there anything about Mrs. Hutchinson's courageous stand that you respect?
- D:** Anne Hutchinson is a Christian woman, a mother of 12 children, a lady who has helped persons throughout this colony. Do you feel she has any chance for salvation?
- D:** Would she have a chance if she renounced her particular interpretation of the Covenant of Grace?
- D:** Reverend Leverett, do you feel you are a member of God's Elect?

PROSECUTION WITNESS: John Cotton - 1



While studying this background information, think about questions such as these:

How old are you?

How should you walk?

How should you talk?

What expression should be on your face as you look at Anne Hutchinson while you pass her in court?

If people used one word to describe you, what word would they use?

Consider all the above as you develop your characterization.

You are the prosecution's most important witness. Since Anne Hutchinson has committed no real civil crime and deserves no civil punishment, her guilt or innocence in religious matters could rest on your testimony.

While you were the minister of a congregation in Alford, England, among your parishioners were the Hutchinson family members: Will, Anne, and their children. Anne has always respected your ministry, particularly your interpretation of the Covenant of Grace. You feel uneasy because you know that your conversations with her about this doctrine decidedly influenced her thinking. Your contacts with Mrs. Hutchinson over the last three years have always been friendly and respectful.

Your testimony will focus on two items: Anne's Tuesday home meetings (what was discussed, and what theology she spoke) and how much you influenced her. You must deny her claim that you gave her the idea that a person needs no minister to interpret the Scriptures. In fact, any questions about Anne's theology being based on your preaching should be dispensed with a simple answer such as this: *"Again, she has misinterpreted my meaning. She misunderstands often."*

Tell all you know about the meetings Anne held. You did visit Anne's meetings on a few occasions to see and hear for yourself. Anne told you that she and up to 60 other Boston women had been discussing the meaning of Sunday's sermon and had talked while working on quilts and rugs. She pointed out that Boston men had been meeting during the winter months to discuss the sermons—and they had excluded women. But the men's complaints about their wives being distracted from their household chores forced you to confront Anne. Since she had keen insight and had read the Scriptures so many times, Anne explained and interpreted what the minister, usually the Reverend John Wilson, who shared with you the congregation of the First Church of Boston, really meant to say. She told you that compared to your "wondrous sermons," Reverend Wilson's were nothing more than ceremony and formality.

Moreover, Anne explained that the women *discussed* how because the Holy Spirit dwelled in all of them, they had but to open their Bibles and God might speak to them directly through his word. To your knowledge, Anne and the women had continued these meetings for many months during which they discussed both an individual's personal relationship with God without the need of an ordained minister and John Wilson's ineffectiveness as a minister.

On one occasion while you visited Anne about her discussion group, she told you that she would continue to give aid and comfort to the Indians, especially the Indian women who wished counseling about child care.

In summary, Anne was and is still your friend, but she has not heeded your sound advice when she came to the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1634. You told her, "Here it be tactful to hold one's tongue." Interestingly enough you sponsored Anne's membership in the Boston church.

PROSECUTION WITNESS: John Cotton - 2

Questions you can expect

P = Prosecution; D = Defense

- P: You are an ordained minister of the church now sharing a church in Boston with the Reverend John Wilson, are you not?
- P: Reverend Cotton, how is it you consider yourself a close friend of the defendant and yet you are about to testify and give evidence that could easily condemn Mrs. Hutchinson?
- P: Reverend, under what circumstances did you meet and know Mrs. Hutchinson?
- P: Did Mrs. Hutchinson attend church regularly?
- P: Since she is on trial here for her unorthodox views on religion, we would like you to tell us how you came to know of these so-called discussion meetings on Tuesdays.
- P: What did the defendant tell you went on at these meetings?
- P: Did she tell you that they discussed a person's ability to interpret the Scripture's on his or her own? Please give us some details.
- P: Did they ever discuss the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of your colleague, Reverend John Wilson, as a preacher?
- P: Sir, did she ever discuss with you her relations with the heathen savages? What did she tell you?
- P: Considering you were once very close friends, did you as her minister ever give Mrs. Hutchinson any sound advice? What was it?

Two final suggestions:

Dress for your part.

Speak without using any notes. Doing this will be difficult because of the scholarly content of your testimony, but look at it this way: How often will you have a chance to role-play a 17th-century Puritan minister? Therefore, why not rise to the challenge?

-
- D: Reverend Cotton, I still don't understand how a friend of the defendant could testify against her in court. Do you, sir, have much to lose, rather than much to gain, by testifying against her?
 - D: These meetings you mentioned, are you aware that Boston men had been meeting months before in similar "discussion groups" and that they had excluded women?
 - D: Why do you suppose they excluded women? Are they not loving persons with intelligence much like you?
 - D: What was dangerous about these meetings? It appears to me that they were nothing more than sewing bees mixed with chatter about events of the day. Were the outcomes of these meetings enough to bring Mrs. Hutchinson to trial as a heretic?
 - D: Mrs. Hutchinson, it appears, was fond of your ministry and was spiritually uplifted by your "wondrous sermons." She, in turn, like the other Boston women was confused when the message of God came from the mouth of Reverend Wilson. Why do you suppose this occurred?
 - D: Sir, the theology concerning the two covenants has been discussed. Were your beliefs over this matter ever close to interpretation of the Covenant of Grace which Mrs. Hutchinson believes?
 - D: You told Mrs. Hutchinson, upon arriving in the colony, to watch her tongue. Are these words that you, too, have had to heed because of your personal unorthodox views? Why else would you so warn a close friend?

PARTICIPANT: Reverend John Wilson

You are a high-ranking minister in a Boston church. Yet in the trial your name is being defamed by the defendant, Anne Hutchinson, and others.

Defense testimony reveals that one of the main topics of discussion at Mrs. Hutchinson's Tuesday gatherings in her home has been your sermons. It seems that Mrs. Hutchinson believes you to have been so vague or incorrect in your Scriptural interpretation that she felt compelled to interpret the meanings of your sermons. To you this is heresy, for she is not an ordained minister of the church. Further, she is a *woman!*

You are horrified that this woman is confusing other women of the bay colony on matters of religion and keeping them from their intended earthly duties of attending to their husbands, their homes, and their children.

Read over the Trial Sequence in the Student Guide. Note that number 56 requires you to stand and deliver the following short speech officially casting out (banishing) Mrs. Hutchinson near the trial's end.

Your speech is a paraphrasing of Reverend John Wilson's speech of November 8, 1837. When you speak (why not memorize your part?), speak with anger and finality as if you feel God is speaking through you:



"Magistrates, allow me to speak!"

(Pause dramatically.)

In the name of our Lord and in the name of the church I not only pronounce Anne Hutchinson worthy to be cast out. I also cast you out in the name of our Lord. I deliver you to Satan, that you may no longer blaspheme God's teachings and seduce women's minds. I command you in the name of our Lord and of this church to withdraw yourself from this community as if you were a leper!"

DEFENSE TEAM STRATEGY - 1

(For John Coggeshall, William Aspinwall, and Anne Hutchinson)

In her 1637 trial, Anne Hutchinson was denied certain rights we are guaranteed today: specific charges, a bill of indictment, and a jury trial. In addition, Anne had no defense attorney nor did the court give her one. Mrs. Hutchinson simply made statements when she pleaded in her own defense. To make this trial easier to understand and to keep Anne from dominating the recreation, John Coggeshall and William Aspinwall, Anne's supporters and friends, have been added as her defense team.

IMPORTANT



Read carefully.

Make sure before the trial begins that you have read the Student Guide, paying close attention to the Trial Sequence. Finally, meet in advance with your witnesses and carefully discuss with them their testimony on behalf of your case.

Your case for Anne Hutchinson

1. Anne Hutchinson is a victim of nothing more than speaking out against an unfair system.
2. Mrs. Hutchinson is a woman who has just lost her youngest child and is pregnant; therefore, she deserves our community's sympathy.
3. The Reverend Cotton is a turncoat whose testimony is clouded by his willingness to serve up Mrs. Hutchinson to be excoriated by the magistrates.
4. Anne Hutchinson's position is not so important as her right to speak her own conscience. Specific tenets of beliefs are irrelevant compared to an individual's right to speak out on any matter.

Advice and strategy

1. Be aware that your chances of getting Anne vindicated of her sins are nil, for she probably is guilty of the charge that she disturbed the tranquility of the colony and went against church beliefs. Your duty is to air these differences before the townspeople and show how freedom of thought is restricted in Boston.
2. Let Anne carry the burden of the defense. In the 1637 trial Anne did it all. Obviously, Anne must speak in a forthright and positive manner. When necessary, she may speak sharply to both the witnesses and the magistrates. She is a proud and assertive woman. She realizes a sentence of banishment dangles over her head because she knows what happened to Roger Williams before her. Her purpose, though historically unclear, should be to make the townspeople aware of the restrictions placed on freedom of thought.

DEFENSE TEAM STRATEGY - 2

IMPORTANT



Read carefully.

3. Play on the sympathy of the judges in regards to Anne's bereavement and her pregnancy. Make the crime or sin seem only a difference of opinion which will soon pass. Have Anne wear black and faint once or twice under the strain of pregnancy.
4. Go after Reverend Cotton in a sly manner. Ask questions which emphasize his change—once a true friend but now a turncoat who has been threatened into abandoning Anne. Question his motivation.
5. Defense witnesses William Coddington and Mary Dyer can be effective if you plan your strategy carefully. Question these witnesses in simple, direct language. Use words that elicit simple, clear answers. Whenever necessary, object if you feel the magistrates are being unfair. But always remain civil!
6. Prepare a closing statement summing up both your client's case (e.g., the unfairness of the laws) and the testimony of each witness. No opening or closing statements were given in her actual trial, but, in this re-creation, a closing statement is needed in order to clarify what has been said. Hope for only a reprimand, in which case Anne should laugh and mock the decision and say, "God told me I would win." If this happens, the trial will reach a dramatic climax, for the magistrates will banish her.

Examination of your witnesses

Mary Dyer

1. Do you believe that Mrs. Hutchinson's accusers, in the governor's mind, did not have a solid case against Mrs. Hutchinson?
2. Mrs. Dyer, what are your feelings toward Mrs. Hutchinson?
3. Did she ever save your life?
4. Did you attend meetings held in Mrs. Hutchinson's home?
5. How many women usually came at first, and then later?
6. Would you say Mrs. Hutchinson had an influence on these women?
7. What was the primary reason for holding these meetings?
8. What did you talk about at these meetings?
9. Was Reverend Wilson's name ever discussed? In what manner?
10. Why did you discuss the previous Sunday's sermons?
11. Do you believe Mrs. Hutchinson is guilty of a crime? Should she be branded as a heretic?
12. Finally, has Mrs. Hutchinson's influence on you made you any less religious?

DEFENSE TEAM STRATEGY - 3

William Coddington

1. Are you supporting Mrs. Hutchinson in any way?
2. What are your views of her as a person?
3. Are you close friends with the defendant?
4. Tell us about a meeting that occurred just days ago?
5. Are you saying that the governor of our colony, Sir Henry Vane, actually told Anne he supported her?
6. Do you agree that it is most unfortunate for Mrs. Hutchinson's case that such a prominent person as Governor Vane is not here to lend his support?

Examination of prosecution witnesses

Henry Bartholomew

1. Mr. Bartholomew, do you believe everything you read in the Scriptures?
2. Do you believe everything you are told by the church elders and for that matter, any and all things said to you about religion?
3. How can you remember so well what Mrs. Hutchinson, just a village housewife, said to you *years* ago?
4. Could you have misinterpreted Mrs. Hutchinson in regards to who spoke to her? Wasn't she possibly referring to *her own inner conscience*, a conscience such as we all hear now and then from inside our own minds?

Rev. Thomas Leverett

1. Reverend Leverett, Mrs. Hutchinson believes God dwells in every man and woman and that by prayer and reading the Scriptures a person can become closer to God. How do you feel about her believing this?
2. Does Mrs. Hutchinson's intelligence seem to you to be below average, average, or above average?
3. Do you dislike having women study the Scriptures and listen to sermons so closely that they ask pointed questions?
4. Is there anything about Mrs. Hutchinson's courageous stand that you respect?
5. Anne Hutchinson is a Christian woman, a mother of 12 children, a lady who has helped persons throughout this colony. Do you feel she has any chance for salvation?
6. Would she have a chance if she renounced her particular interpretation of the Covenant of Grace?
7. Reverend Leverett, do you feel you are a member of God's Elect?

DEFENSE TEAM STRATEGY - 4

John Cotton

1. Reverend Cotton, I still don't understand how a friend of the defendant could testify against her in court. Do you, sir, have much to lose, rather than much to gain, by testifying against her?
2. These meetings you mentioned, are you aware that *Boston men* had been meeting months before in similar "discussion groups" and that they had excluded women?
3. Why do you suppose they excluded women? Are they not loving persons with intelligence much like you?
4. What was dangerous about these meetings? It appears to me that they were nothing more than sewing bees mixed with chatter about events of the day. Were the outcomes of these meetings enough to bring Mrs. Hutchinson to trial as a heretic?
5. Mrs. Hutchinson, it appears, was fond of your ministry and was spiritually uplifted by your "wondrous sermons." She, in turn, like the other Boston women was confused when the message of God came from the mouth of Reverend Wilson. Why do you suppose this occurred?
6. Sir, the theology concerning the two covenants has been discussed. Were your beliefs over this matter ever close to interpretation of the Covenant of Grace which Mrs. Hutchinson believes?
7. You told Mrs. Hutchinson, upon arriving in the colony to watch her tongue. Are these words that you, too, have had to heed because of your personal unorthodox views? Why else would you so warn a close friend?

DEFENDANT: Anne Hutchinson - 1



While studying this background information, think about questions such as these:

How old are you?

How should you walk?

How should you talk?

What expressions should be on your face as you look at various persons while you are in the courtroom?

If people used one word to describe you, what word would they use?

Consider all the above as you develop your characterization.

Finally, see the director's comments on the next page.

At the time of the trial you are 45 years old, with a husband Will and 11 living children. As you stand before the magistrates accused of heresy and disturbing the tranquility of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, you are in mourning for the recent death of your youngest child Zuriel. You are also several months pregnant. You have been called brilliant, energetic, magnetic, but the one term you hear around Boston most often these days is mystic; for some townspeople feel you possess a mysticism in religious matters.

Rather than a heretic, you consider yourself an individualist living in an authoritarian world. You believe every person has a right and a responsibility to speak out. *God gave persons brains with which to think!* Therefore, when you hear and see ministers being overly strict or covering up their shoddy reasoning with religious *male* authority, you feel you have to resist. For you know you have achieved a very personal relationship with God. You resent that so much power over persons' lives on this earth has been placed in men's hands when the men sometimes incorrectly interpret the Scriptures.

Your background and specific religious viewpoints are not elaborated here. Instead they are presented in the various background and witness handouts. And since you are the most important person in your own trial, prepare yourself by studying all handouts and the Trial Sequence in the Student Guide several times. *It will indeed be a travesty of justice if you hurt your case by not being prepared.*

Since you will not get a fair trial, don't expect to be found innocent and released from custody. Knowing you will probably be found guilty of heresy and of disturbing the tranquility of the state, you might as well give the courtroom a dramatic performance. Wear black because you are in mourning. Pad your dress somewhat to look pregnant. Speak sharply, firmly, confidently. When you hear a lie or a half-truth, speak up! Call such persons liars, or say, *"You will burn in hell for such a lie!"* (The magistrates will not allow much of this and will tell you to shut up!)

Your attorneys will try to get you to give simple answers to their questions. You will, of course, deny any wrongdoing or transgressions. Always strive to sound intelligent in your responses.

Questions you can expect

D = Defense; **P** = Prosecution

D: Is this a fair trial in your eyes?

D: Have you done anything wrong, immoral, or illegal? Are you a witch, or a heretic?

DEFENDANT: Anne Hutchinson - 2

Want to be an effective actor? Dress for your part and practice in advance so that you will not have to use notes ...



- D:** Although it certainly isn't fashionable, are you not merely an individualist who believes in freedom of personal conscience?
- D:** Why did you hold these now-famous meetings? How many women attended? What did you talk about?
- D:** In your opinion, were these meetings dangerous and a threat to the "tranquillity of the Commonwealth"?
- D:** What other conflicts or differences of opinion with the elders might have caused the authorities to put you on trial for heresy?

-
- P:** Is our community better off than before you started your crusade to question Puritan authority? Aren't you sorry you brought so much ill-will to Boston?
- P:** Do you honestly believe that our community really supports you in your battle against the learned and righteous elders?
- P:** Are you not a strong-willed woman who has always challenged authority; and who has dominated those around you, including your husband; and who claims to have talked with God?
- P:** Is it normal to converse with God?
- P:** Does God dwell in every man and woman?
- P:** Won't you recant your heretical beliefs and confess that you were deluded and, in the end, wrong?

Additional instructions on testimony:

During the testimony of Henry Bartholomew, you should interrupt in the middle of the prosecution's questioning to add your views about your revelations. The prosecution question that triggers your specific outburst is this: *"In other words, did not Mrs. Hutchinson express her innermost thoughts on religion and her so-called revelations from God in a most public place in front of the ears of Christian folk impressionable to the words of a community leader such as Mrs. Hutchinson?"* At that moment explode and say: *"I did not confess such in public. But how did Abraham know it was God's voice when he commanded him to sacrifice his only son Isaac and how did he know that it was God's voice that stayed the knife? Are we to believe that God spoke only to Abraham and Moses? He spoke to Job, also, a common and plain man, and even to women, Elizabeth, sister of Mary, and others ..."*

Obviously, if you could have these words memorized (or their gist memorized), your outburst will be more powerful!

Final comment If after the witnesses are heard, the judges decide not to banish you, you should give a mocking laugh and say: *"I knew I would be saved. God has given me a sign that I would prevail, and I have."* Such a statement will heighten the tension, for you will have admitted publicly that you receive revelations. The judges will immediately banish you from the colony for being an abomination and a child of Satan.

DEFENSE WITNESS: Mary Dyer - 1



While studying this background information, think about questions such as these:

How old are you?

How should you walk?

How should you talk?

What expression should be on your face as you look at Anne Hutchinson while you pass her in court?

If people used one word to describe you, what word would they use?

Consider all the above as you develop your characterization.

Finally, see the director's comment on the next page.

You are a very close friend of Anne Hutchinson, and because you are younger and impressionable, you have been greatly influenced by her as a person and as a member of the church. Although you were never called as a witness at the trial—the defendant was not allowed witnesses on her behalf—this re-creation is stretching history to allow you to testify on Anne's magnetic personality, her views on religion, and her discussion group meetings. What detail is not on this handout you will have to make up (e.g., your background, age, family situation, etc.).

You noticed that almost immediately upon her arrival, Anne Hutchinson had a positive effect on the *people* of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, if not on the *church fathers*. She has been a breath of fresh air with her brilliance, her endless energy, and her desire to help many unfortunate persons.

A neighbor of the Hutchinsons in Boston, you were one of the first women to be invited to her weekly Tuesday discussion groups. You were eager to be with her because Anne's knowledge of herbal medicines perhaps had saved your life months earlier. These meetings were held for women of the village to drive away the boredom, tedium, and drudgery afflicting you women in your daily lives. You had heard that some of the men had been meeting over the winter of 1635-1636 to discuss the sermons preached on the previous Sunday and to chat about things in general. Mrs. Hutchinson felt that since women were excluded from these meetings, she would start her own group in her home on Tuesdays.

At first few women attended, mostly in fear of their husbands. But as Mrs. Hutchinson's reputation as an intelligent person with valuable religious insight spread, the numbers increased to 50 or more at these gatherings. Although religion was discussed at great lengths, the purpose of the meeting was largely social. You mainly met merely to talk while sewing rugs and quilts.

Mrs. Hutchinson seemed to have her own views on religion and often freely expressed these views at these meetings. She would tell the women present how each could interpret the Scriptures on her own without the benefit of the ministry because each person has God dwelling inside. She often criticized the formalism, the vagueness, and the facts in the pedantic sermons of the Reverend John Wilson, yet she praised the wondrous preaching of the Reverend John Cotton, with whom she had held a long friendship.

DEFENSE WITNESS: Mary Dyer - 2

Anne had strong beliefs on the relationship between God and human beings. She was not afraid to tell the women what she had learned from the Reverend Cotton while in his church in Alford, England: that God and human beings can have a bond or covenant based on love; and that salvation can be realized as a result of a dedicated spiritual life evidenced by prayer and personal interpretation of the Scriptures. As far as you knew, Anne arrived at this conclusion by listening to Reverend Cotton and her own reflections—not through divine revelation.

Questions you can expect

D = Defense; **P** = Prosecution

- D:** Mrs. Dyer, what are your feelings toward Mrs. Hutchinson?
- D:** Did she ever save your life?
- D:** Did you attend meetings held in Mrs. Hutchinson's home?
- D:** How many women usually came at first, and then later?
- D:** Would you say Mrs. Hutchinson had an influence on these women?
- D:** What was the primary reason for holding these meetings?
- D:** What did you talk about at these meetings?
- D:** Was Reverend Wilson's name ever discussed? In what manner?
- D:** Why did you discuss the previous Sunday's sermons?
- D:** Do you believe Mrs. Hutchinson is guilty of a crime? Should she be branded as a heretic?
- D:** Finally, has Mrs. Hutchinson's influence on you made you any less religious?

-
- P:** Mrs. Dyer, you are beholden to Mrs. Hutchinson for saving your life months ago, am I correct?
 - P:** Could your enthusiasm for her and her theology stem from that incident?
 - P:** You say the Tuesday meetings were social? How often did you discuss religion, the Scriptures, or Reverend Wilson?
 - P:** What was Mrs. Hutchinson's opinion of Reverend Cotton?
 - P:** What did Mrs. Hutchinson say about God's Covenant of Grace?
 - P:** Did she accuse the ministers of preaching a Covenant of Works?
 - P:** Did you find her behavior at any time strange and not of this world?
 - P:** How much of what Mrs. Hutchinson has taught you do you now believe?



Want to be an effective actor?

Dress for your part and practice in advance so that you will not have to use notes ...

DEFENSE WITNESS: William Coddington - 1



While studying this background information, think about questions such as these:

How old are you?

How should you walk?

How should you talk?

What expression should be on your face as you look at Anne Hutchinson while you pass her in court?

If people used one word to describe you, what word would they use?

Consider all the above as you develop your characterization.

Finally, see the director's comment on the next page.

Although you never appeared as a witness at the trial of Anne Hutchinson, you were in the Newton meeting house for those two days and supported the defendant. We are stretching history, however, so that you can testify as a defense witness. Your testimony will center around a meeting held in November 1637, not long before the trial, a meeting crucial to the defense.

In the early days of November 1637, you, the governor of the colony Sir Henry Vane, and Captain John Underhill went to visit Anne Hutchinson. Sir Henry, the group's leader, wanted to discuss with Anne the reasons why he had signed the proclamation for her trial. As a reasonable man with a soldier's mind rather than a theologian's, he pointed out that he would try to be unbiased as the chief magistrate in her trial. He told her his fairness and even support of her as an individual speaking her mind would counter the wrath of the still-powerful ex-governor, John Winthrop. In fact, Vane had said, "This shall be no cut-and-dried affair. Your accusers shall be obliged to prove their points."

Captain Underhill also spoke for Mrs. Hutchinson. He told her he was a soldier, a "rough, fighting man for God," and he didn't like to see women, especially mothers, publicly threatened and humiliated. If need be, he would defend Puritan women and their honor with his life.

You agreed with what the two of them had said. When you left Mrs. Hutchinson's house, you had a good feeling that with such prominent men on her side, Anne stood a fighting chance. A few moments after you three split up, you returned to Anne's house and told her several things:

1. That you were a "secret Quaker";
2. That at the trial you would help her case by playing a small role;
3. That you hoped the trial would break through the rigid and stern formalism which covered Massachusetts Bay Puritanism.

However, events soon changed in the church fathers' case against Anne Hutchinson. Sir Henry Vane, governor of the colony and influential in civil as well as religious thought, sailed to England and would not be able to participate in the trial. Now Captain Underhill plans to remain silent. This leaves only you to testify about that early November meeting.

DEFENSE WITNESS: William Coddington - 2

Questions you can expect

D = Defense; **P** = Prosecution

- D:** Are you supporting Mrs. Hutchinson in any way?
- D:** What are your views of her as a person?
- D:** Are you close friends with the defendant?
- D:** Tell us about a meeting that occurred just days ago?
- D:** Are you saying that the governor of our colony, Sir Henry Vane, actually told Anne he supported her?
- D:** Do you agree that it is most unfortunate for Mrs. Hutchinson's case that such a prominent person as Governor Vane is not here to lend his support?
- D:** Do you believe that Mrs. Hutchinson's accusers, in the governor's mind, did not have a solid case against Mrs. Hutchinson?
-

- P:** According to your deposition I have here, Mr. Coddington, you had a brief second meeting with Mrs. Hutchinson moments after the first meeting. What little secrets were passed at this time?
- P:** Are you aware that to be a Quaker in our colony is to be a heretic?
- P:** Are you a Quaker?
- P:** Why do you think Captain Underhill has chosen not to testify? Could it be perhaps that this meeting with Mrs. Hutchinson never took place? After all, the governor is on his way to England and Captain Underhill is nowhere to be seen. Did this meeting, where three prominent citizens of Boston—maybe only two—verbally lent support to the defendant, ever take place?



HISTORICAL AFTERMATH - 1

What happened to Anne Hutchinson?

From our historical frame of reference, Anne Hutchinson obviously did not receive a fair trial in 1637. The Puritan fathers deciding her case looked toward Biblical justice rather than English Common Law, which in the 1630s was still in rough form. John Cotton, a prominent figure in this trial, said: “The more any law smells of man, the more unprofitable it is.” So went Anne’s chances for fairness. Yet we wonder what the outcome would have been if Anne’s guilt or innocence had been determined by a jury of her peers, rather than by magistrates. Interestingly enough, four years after Anne’s trial, the Bay Colony established trial by jury.

The case against Anne Hutchinson ended on November 8, 1637, after two days of “religious debate.” The judges voted 30-1 to banish her from the colony. This severe punishment followed a moments-earlier verdict which was only a severe reprimand. But Anne mocked this verdict, and the judges retaliated with banishment. In a sense, then, Anne determined her own final fate in Massachusetts. Her mocking statements seem to further reveal her personality’s puzzling mysticism. However, the strain of bereavement and pregnancy are likely more plausible reasons for her sudden and erratic behavior.

For more than three months after the trial Anne was imprisoned in Roxbury away from her friends. On March 15, 1638, Anne, “defeated and debilitated,” once more faced her church congregation in Boston. With the “help” of Reverend Cotton, Anne’s “errors” were read to her, and she was asked whether or not she would renounce them or not. Tired, lonely, her old spirit gone, and with Reverend Cotton solidly against her, Anne gave up. On March 22, 1638, Anne told the church congregation the error of her ways—her version of a confession. As Cotton pried further to clarify her vagueness, Anne stubbornly said, “My judgment is not altered, though my expression alters.”

Reacting immediately to this haughty statement, the ministers concluded that this woman was an imposter and deserved no sympathy. Reverend Wilson then pronounced the sentence of excommunication, calling her a heathen and a leper. It was a dramatic moment.

Within the month the Hutchinson family left Boston for Quincy, later moving to Providence, Rhode Island, where several months before the banished Roger Williams had established a settlement. On the island of Aquidneck in what is now Portsmouth, Rhode Island, Anne, Will, and the other Hutchinsons settled to live.

The strain over the previous six months became evident when she gave birth to a stillborn child. Her Boston critics called this child a “monster” and used its death to justify punishment from God for her

HISTORICAL AFTERMATH - 2

And the destiny of the others?

heresy. Long after the child was in its grave, its ghost haunted all would-be nonconformists.

Hardship and tragedy seemed to stalk the Hutchinsons permanently. In 1642, Will Hutchinson, a weak but yet loving husband to Anne, died. Finally, Anne settled with her six youngest children near the outskirts of what today is New York City, close to where the Hudson River flows into Long Island Sound.

In 1643 with little warning, Indians attacked and massacred Anne and five of her children. Again, as with her stillborn child, when word of Anne's death reached the ears of the Puritan fathers, they used her death as sign of God's punishment for heresy.

The trial and banishment of Anne Hutchinson began a long period of repression of personal freedom in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Her circumstances foreshadowed one of the darkest moments of American history. In 1692 in a small village near Boston, the Salem Witch Trials resulted in 19 persons being hanged.

The cast of characters in the ordeal of Anne Hutchinson went on to their own separate destinies:

- **Reverend John Cotton** lived until 1652 when he died and was given a state funeral.
- **Reverend John Wilson** eulogized Cotton as a "learned, judicious, holy, pious, and faithful servant." He remained so famous as a religious leader that a generation of New England women named their sons after Cotton.
- **Sir Henry Vane**, governor just before Anne's trial and possibly a vital witness had he not departed for England, was beheaded by the king in 1662 for treason. He was 49.
- **Captain John Underhill**, a member of the group that met with Anne only days before her trial, left the colony to settle in a wild part of Connecticut. He founded the town of Greenwich.
- **William Coddington**, one of Anne's staunchest supporters, joined the minor exodus to Providence, Rhode Island, where he, too, could speak and exercise his freedom without fear.
- **John Wheelwright**, the courageous pastor who spoke up for Anne, went north into New Hampshire and began the town of Exeter.

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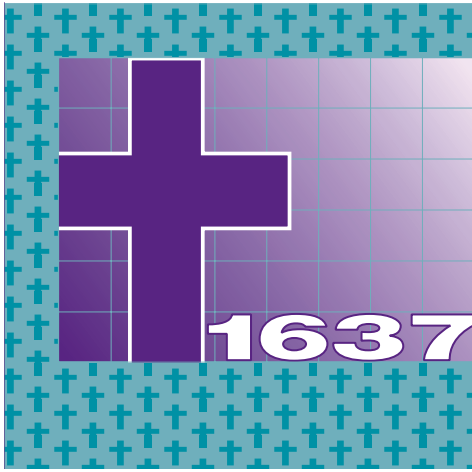
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THE TRIAL OF ANNE HUTCHINSON

A re-creation of a New England woman's trial for heresy in 1637, challenging her unorthodox religious views

OVERVIEW

Most secondary history books give only a paragraph or two to the 1637 trial of Anne Hutchinson, “a woman of ready wit and bold spirit” who dared speak her own opinions on matters of religion in theocratic New England. The event deserves more than a few paragraphs, for her stand on her right to interpret the Bible and to follow her own conscience has had an enormous impact on subsequent American history.

By the time of her November 1637 trial, Anne Hutchinson, mother of 13 children and once again pregnant, had angered the Puritan elders of her Boston community in the New World. Her unorthodox views about religion challenged the power and influence of Puritan leadership. On trial was more than a woman accused of heresy. Anne Hutchinson symbolized then, as she does today, the rebel fighting the establishment, the nonconformist standing up to authority.

An observer at the trial could have readily predicted the outcome. In the Massachusetts Bay Colony of the 1630s, a person did not win a verdict against the Puritan hierarchy, especially when the charges—violating the precepts of male domination, speaking out against the orthodox views, and generally upsetting the “tranquility of the state”—were considered heresy.

PURPOSE

While re-creating the trial of Anne Hutchinson as an American history student, you will gain in several ways.

- First, you will gain knowledge about certain important people and issues of early colonial America.
- Second, you will learn how a religious trial of the 17th century was similar and dissimilar to a public trial today.
- Third, you will learn how one person can alter subsequent history by standing up to those in power and, in spite of losing, have a great influence.
- Fourth, you will develop or sharpen skills in taking notes, delivering speeches, and making decisions related to the trial.
- Fifth, playing a role as a witness, judge, or courtroom observer will give you a sense of what it must have been like to be a participant in one of America's first major trials.

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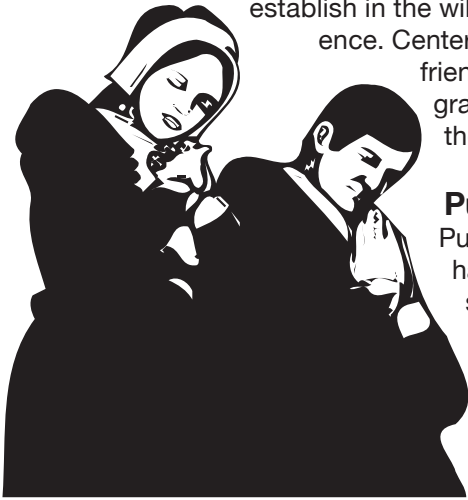
... how one person can alter subsequent history by standing up to those in power ...

”

BACKGROUND ESSAY

The Puritans arrive

When a religious group called the Puritans left England for America in the 1630s, they wanted to establish in the wilderness their Zion, a haven where they could practice their faith without interference. Centered around Boston, the Puritan experiment was tested not only by the not-always friendly Indians and harsh climate but also by religious dissenters whose numbers gradually increased after 1640. Because the Puritans had little tolerance for doubters, they dealt harshly with dissenters.



Puritan religion

Puritans were not as stern and somber in all aspects of life as the stereotype we have created over the last 350 years. Nevertheless, in matters of religion, they were self-righteous and intolerant. They believed human beings were basically evil. So whenever sin raised its ugly head, they dealt with it quickly and harshly. The workings of Satan, always present, could rapidly spread and infect others with evil.

Therefore, citizens found guilty of committing sins were humiliated before the villagers. They had to sit in stocks, stand in pillories, and be dunked in ponds. Others were forced to wear letters of disfavor on their clothing (A for adulterer, D for drunkard, B for blasphemer, etc.). Leaders of the community, however, often had to deal with much larger threats than drunkenness and gossiping.

In the seven to eight decades of the Puritan commonwealth in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, two persons particularly threatened the spiritual harmony of the community and the theocratic power of the elders. These two individualists, Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson, wrote their names into history by bucking the system and setting in motion the idea of the free-thinking, open-minded American.

The impact of Roger Williams

The Puritans had barely enough time to build permanent dwellings before one of their flock, Roger Williams, disrupted the community's harmony. Believing the church had too much power in civil affairs, Williams supported a separation of church and state. His sermons asserted that the Puritan magistrates were not the spiritual descendants of the prophets of Israel. Furthermore, they had no sanction to punish transgressors. What really angered the elders was Williams' insistence that only the Indians, not the king or Puritan leaders, had the power to transfer land from one person to another. This belief was a direct challenge to the validity of the Massachusetts Bay Colony's land title.

Opposition rose. Roger Williams' days in Massachusetts were numbered. Finally, after a trial before 50 magistrates and elders, he was banished from the colony in 1636. Soon after, he established a settlement in Providence, Rhode Island. There church and state were separated and the ideas of freedom of personal conscience, civil rights, and due process of law were all advanced.

Anne Hutchinson

The controversy between the church and Roger Williams was just heating up when Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, her husband Will, and their 12 children arrived on the ship *Griffin* from Alford, England. The date was September 1634. Anne probably never met Williams. Nevertheless, she was influenced by his ideas of personal freedom which she herself would follow over the next three years.

“

*... Williams supported
a separation of church
and state ...*

”

The tenets of Anne's beliefs were formed long before she arrived in America. Born in 1591(?) to independently minded parents (her father was a liberal clergyman), Anne seemed from the start to challenge authority. By the time she was ready to publicly challenge the Puritans in 1636, she was in her mid-forties, a woman possessing energy, intelligence, personal magnetism, and a trace of mysticism. To understand the problem she had, you must understand three concepts important to the Puritans: the Covenant of Grace, the Elect, the Covenant of Works.

The Covenant of Grace

“... only God’s grace saves sinful persons from hell’s eternal fires ...”

How could one woman with strong feelings upset an entire community? When Anne arrived, she and her family settled in Boston. Her religious beliefs were greatly influenced by John Cotton, a minister she revered. In fact, he was one of the reasons she had immigrated to New England. Anne had particularly embraced Cotton’s belief in the Puritan Covenant of Grace: the belief that only God’s grace saves sinful persons from hell’s eternal fires. Anne was so influenced by Reverend Cotton’s preaching on God’s grace that she came to believe a truly holy individual has an intuitive awareness of whether he or she is in a “state of grace”—or to put this belief another way—whether or not he or she is among God’s Elect.

“

... a woman possessing energy, intelligence, personal magnetism, and a trace of mysticism ...

”

The Elect

To John Calvin, the theologian whose beliefs the Puritans closely followed, being among the Elect meant God had chosen some persons at birth for salvation while he had predestined most to hell. Seventeenth-century Puritans spent much of their daylight and nighttime hours examining their own lives and the lives of others for “signs” as to which destiny was theirs. They were continually wondering whom God had elected—that is, chosen—to go to heaven and hell. Anne concluded that persons who lived pure lives often were able to sense that they were in a state of grace—that is, that God had predestined them for heaven. This interpretation started Anne’s trouble, for Puritan ministers believed that only they were capable of determining a person’s state of grace.

The Covenant of Works

“... They were continually wondering whom God had elected ...”

All good Puritans in Anne’s days stated that they believed in the Covenant of Grace. However, Puritan ministers continually had to combat what they considered an evil belief, the Covenant of Works. Individuals believing this doctrine felt that if a person worked hard to be morally good, his/her good works (good deeds) would open the doors of heaven. To the Puritans such a covenant was blasphemy for several reasons. First, it made man’s will more important than God’s will. Second, it gave false comfort to those who thought salvation could come through works alone. Finally, it slyly promoted the false notion that one who did good deeds did not need the Puritan ministry for determining grace.

“... good works would open the doors to heaven ...”

To counter-balance this tendency, ministers pressured Puritans to give evidence of a state of grace. In fact the clergy began denying church membership to persons they considered sinners: individuals who didn’t obey church authority, who violated moral law, and who disagreed with the ministers’ interpretation of the Bible. When the clergy either stated or subtly conveyed the idea that only they knew who were members of the Elect, Anne began to doubt such ministers’ leadership. Since these ministers often used good deeds as evidence of grace, she began wondering if they themselves weren’t preaching the Covenant of Works rather than the Covenant of Grace. She also sensed that she was as intelligent and moral—maybe even more so—than some of the ministers she met.

Anne’s meetings

Anne’s real troubles with the clergy began within months of her moving to Boston. She started holding meetings on Tuesdays in the front parlor of her home. Women met to discuss the meaning of the previous Sunday’s sermons. At first the gatherings were small, but when her fame as a bright, positive, and magnetic personality spread, the size of the group increased. At its peak, more than 60 Boston women—and even a few men—regularly attended the meetings, much to the anger of husbands who wished to see their women stay at home. To the men, Anne was a dangerous person who was upsetting the harmony of the family by encouraging the colony’s women to bypass their ministers in interpreting the Bible. Here for certain was a heretic. She must be stopped!

Other conflicts

At the same time the elders were seething over Anne’s gatherings, they were also incensed over her views on some other issues. She believed that buying and selling Negro and Indian slaves—a common practice in early America—was unlawful and un-Christian. She also attacked certain church ceremonies. For example, she said baptizing a child is silly because the baby cannot possibly be aware of what is happening. Another church ritual this strong-willed woman personally attacked was communion. She believed that to substitute bread and “the juice of a silly grape” for the body and blood of Christ was more black magic than dedicated Christianity.

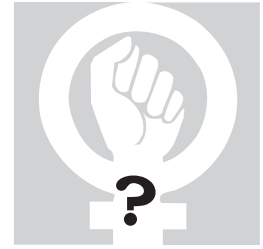
The ministers' dilemma

By 1637, after listening for nearly three years to the heretical and dangerous words of Mrs. Hutchinson, the elders were ready to act. But what should they do? Should they punish her as a common transgressor and put her in the stocks? Or should they put her on trial and allow her foolish words to be challenged by Puritan magistrates? Within the last 12 months the magistrates had tried another heretic, Roger Williams. They had banished him. Wasn't this an almost identical case?

The case against Anne

As her ideas became widespread, Anne was ridiculed and condemned for her unsettling influence on the colony. By November 1637, her enemies were ready to act. In that month, a General Court met and banished Jonathan Wheelwright, a minister who supported Anne by delivering sermons critical of the Puritan hierarchy. At the same time the court disenfranchised or banished a number of prominent Bostonians for signing a petition on Anne's behalf. Anne, in turn, circulated a petition supporting Wheelwright, who had done nothing more than preach a sermon based on her beliefs.

*Interesting
historical
question ...*



*Did these
women realize
they were the
first American
group working
for women's
rights?*

BRIEF SUMMARY OF MAJOR ROLES

The persons playing these roles will receive special identity handouts.

Defendant

Anne Hutchinson On trial as a heretic for going against the Puritan religious beliefs, you have little chance of acquittal. Nevertheless, you must speak out confidently and forcefully against the charges and support your own witnesses. The trial's success depends upon your ability to hold your chin high, look the judges defiantly in the eye, and act as if you are totally convinced of your innocence.

Magistrates

John Winthrop, John Endicott, Thomas Dudley You three are in charge of this trial, not only as judges but also as Anne's accusers. A stern group of dedicated Puritans, you are determined to get Mrs. Hutchinson to confess her sins. Always act as if you hear the voice of God speaking to you, urging you to save the Massachusetts Bay Colony by rooting out all evil.

Defense team

John Coggeshall, William Aspinwall, Anne Hutchinson Although Anne Hutchinson actually defended herself in 1637, you two will aid her defense in this re-creation. You face an uphill battle in defending Anne, but hard work and a carefully thought-out strategy will help her case.

Prosecution witnesses

Henry Bartholomew Your testimony deals with words spoken by the defendant before she came to Massachusetts. Although your testimony is not major, it nonetheless could help condemn her as a heretic.

Reverend Thomas Leverett An expert on matters of theology and the Scriptures, your testimony centers on the conflict between the Covenant of Grace and the Covenant of Works. Show that you have a good memory. Strive to dress and act like a man of the cloth, learned and dignified.

John Cotton Your role is difficult for you because you have been made a prosecution witness against your friend Anne Hutchinson. Show the community how difficult it is for you to tell this truth: Mrs. Hutchinson has committed heretical acts against the church authority.

Defense witnesses

Mary Dyer One of Mrs. Hutchinson's closest friends and admirers, you must testify on her behalf to show the courtroom what a positive effect Anne has had on the colony. Be very specific as you describe all her wonderful qualities and how she made life more bearable in Boston for women such as you.

William Coddington You are a soldier who met the defendant briefly only a few days before the trial. Perhaps what you say in court will be crucial as it gives evidence that the governor of the colony, who is not a witness, actually supports Mrs. Hutchinson. Since the facts in your testimony are not known to the townspeople, they will be interested in what you have to say.

Other participants

Bailiff As an officer of the court, you have a minor yet important role in this historical re-creation. You are in charge of courtroom behavior. See that the courtroom is orderly at all times. You have some trial words to speak wherever your title is in bold face type in the TRIAL SEQUENCE sheet.

Reverend John Wilson You are an observer sitting in the courtroom who hangs on every word. Because your name is mentioned several times in a most critical way, your anger should build slowly until Anne is sentenced. At that time, you will explode with an important statement.


ROLE RESPONSIBILITIES

Witnesses, magistrates, defense personnel, bailiff

1. Prepare for your role by carefully reading the Background Essay and your role sheet.
2. Attentively follow the procedure in the TRIAL SEQUENCE. Play your role as authentically as possible.
3. After the trial ends, turn in a one-page summary of why your character acted as he/she did and a brief evaluation of how effectively you played your role during the trial.

Members of the courtroom audience

1. Read the Background Essay. Attentively follow the proceedings during the trial.
2. During the trial react in a dramatic manner to sudden changes or shocking testimony. These reactions might include *controlled* loud outbursts, hysteria, dismay, laughter, etc.
3. Turn in a two- to three-page outline of the issues raised and points used by each side to prove its case. Use **GSs** (**G**eneral **S**tatements) and **SDs** (**S**pecific **D**etails) as you outline each side's arguments. Here is an example of such a GS-SD outline:

| | |
|---|--|
|  | GS Anne Hutchinson somewhat altered the Puritan belief in a Covenant of Grace, interpreting it according to her own religious insights. |
| | SDs |
| | 1. Sincere, God-fearing and God-loving persons can use prayer and scripture reading to reach a very personal relationship with God—often without help from their ministers. |
| | 2. Ministers of the church are sometimes incapable of preaching a pure interpretation of the Covenant of Grace. In fact, these ministers sometimes are guilty of preaching a Covenant of Works in order to put fear in persons' souls and to keep their congregations "in line." |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |

**Get ready to return to
the Massachusetts Bay
Colony of 1637 ...**

TRIAL SEQUENCE

Special note: Whenever words are *italicized* and surrounded by quotation marks, *these words must be read verbatim* by the person playing the role.

John Winthrop:
*Establish order
immediately!*



**Anne
Hutchinson:**
*Add your
comments
during the
testimony.*

1. The three magistrates (John Winthrop, John Endicott, and Thomas Dudley) come in. They are robed, wigged, and stern-looking. As they enter, persons in the courtroom rise in respect to the three men.
2. Winthrop, the head magistrate, pounds a kevel (similar to a gavel). Everyone immediately sits down.
3. **Winthrop:** *"Will the bailiff please bring in Mrs. Hutchinson."*
4. **Anne Hutchinson**, wearing black to mourn the death of one of her children, comes into the courtroom with the bailiff holding her by the arm. She is not bound or hand-cuffed. Accompanying her is her minister/adviser, Reverend John Cotton.
5. **Hutchinson** now walks down the center aisle to a position in front of the judges. Before they can speak, she says: *"I am called here to answer before you, but I hear no things laid to my charge."*
6. **Winthrop** retorts: *"I have told you already, and I can tell you more charges."*
7. **Hutchinson:** *"Name one, sir."*
8. **Winthrop** responds angrily: *"Quiet, woman! We are your judges; you are not our judge!"*
9. **Hutchinson:** *"This court, it appears to me, is a travesty."*
10. **Winthrop:** *"Again I ask you to be quiet and orderly. The charges against you are well-known and obvious. It is hoped that you will confess your sins and wrongdoing before us and before God."* (Pause) *"Anne Hutchinson of Boston, you are charged for moving against Public Law and order and the tranquility of the State."*
11. **Dudley:** *"Let me add, chief magistrate, about three years ago, we were all in peace. Mrs. Hutchinson from the time she came to our colony hath made a disturbance. Her meetings in her own house hath gained her a flock of her own followers, who now doubt the Scriptures as interpreted by our clergy. And she hath espoused a personal interpretation of the Covenant of Grace that supersedes our established one. She even accuses the ministers of preaching a Covenant of Works! (Dudley pounds his desk.) This is not to be suffered!"*
12. **Hutchinson** reacts: *"I pray, sir, prove it that I said the ministers preached nothing but a Covenant of Works. I ask you. Prove it! I did not come hither to answer petty questions of this sort."*
13. **Winthrop:** *"Enough of this insolence! Mrs. Hutchinson, you are called here as one of those that have troubled the peace of the commonwealth and the churches here. You are known to be a woman that hath had a great share in the promoting and divulging of those opinions that are causes of this trouble. Therefore, we have sent for you so that you can understand how things are. Let us now call witnesses who will give testimony as to the guilt or innocence of Mrs. Hutchinson. Let the witnesses against her be called first. Bailiff, as officer of this court, you are instructed to attend to the first witness against Mrs. Hutchinson."*
14. **Bailiff:** *"Henry Bartholomew, please rise and testify against Mrs. Hutchinson."*
15. **Bartholomew** (stands): *"Yes, chief magistrate."*

16. **Winthrop:** *"Let us proceed."*
17. **Bartholomew** is questioned by the magistrates as a prosecution witness. (Individual handouts have suggested questions to be asked of all witnesses by both the prosecution and the defense.)
18. **Defense** cross-examines Bartholomew.
19. **Bailiff** calls Reverend Thomas Leverett to testify. *"Reverend Thomas Leverett, please rise and testify against Mrs. Hutchinson."*
20. **Leverett** (stands): *"Yes, chief magistrate."*
21. **Winthrop:** *"Let us proceed."*
22. **Leverett** is questioned by the magistrates as a prosecution witness.
23. **Defense** cross-examines Leverett.
24. **Bailiff** calls Reverend John Cotton to testify. *"Reverend John Cotton, please rise and testify against Mrs. Hutchinson."*
25. **Cotton** (stands): *"Yes, chief magistrate."*
26. **Winthrop:** *"Let us proceed."*
27. **Cotton** is now questioned by the magistrates as a prosecution witness.
28. **Defense** cross-examines Cotton.
29. After Cotton's cross-examination, **Endicott**, spokesman for the magistrates, says: *"We have no need for further witnesses. Let the defense witnesses be heard."*
30. A **member of the defense team** asks Mary Dyer to stand in the audience and testify in Anne's behalf. Then he says: *"Mary Dyer, you love God, the Scriptures, and your fellow human beings and creatures."*
31. **Dyer:** *"Yes, with all my heart."*
32. **Defense:** *"Are you prepared to give honest testimony?"*
33. **Dyer:** *"Yes, I am."*
34. **Dyer** is questioned as a defense witness.
35. **Dyer** is cross-examined by prosecution/magistrates.
36. **Defense** calls William Coddington to the witness stand.
37. A **member of the defense team** asks William Coddington to stand in the audience and testify in Anne's behalf. Then he says: *"William Coddington, you love God, the Scriptures, and your fellow human beings and creatures."*
38. **Coddington:** *"Yes, with all my heart."*
39. **Defense:** *"Are you prepared to give honest testimony?"*
40. **Coddington:** *"Yes, I am."*
41. **Coddington** testifies as a defense witness.
42. **Coddington** is cross-examined by prosecution/magistrates.
43. **Defense** calls Anne Hutchinson to testify on her own behalf.
44. A **member of the defense team** asks Anne Hutchinson to stand in the audience and testify on her behalf. Then he says: *"Anne Hutchinson, you love God, the Scriptures, and your fellow human beings and creatures."*
45. **Hutchinson:** *"Yes, with all my heart."*
46. **Defense:** *"Are you prepared to give honest testimony?"*
47. **Hutchinson:** *"Yes, I am."*
48. **Hutchinson** is questioned by defense.
49. **Hutchinson** is cross-examined by prosecution/magistrates.
50. **Magistrates** ask the defense: *"Are there any words of summation you wish to give before we, as Mrs. Hutchinson's judges, decide her fate?"*
51. **Defense** makes a summary statement.
52. **Magistrates** form a circle to discuss their verdict ... or they briefly leave the courtroom to decide. Then they return to courtroom.
53. **Chief Magistrate Winthrop** renders a verdict.
54. **Hutchinson** reacts.
55. **Magistrates** react.
56. **Reverend Wilson** stands and speaks what is on his role identity handout.
57. **Reverend Cotton** speaks with great emotion: *"I agree with the magistrates and Reverend Wilson. In the words from Isaiah 16: 'For it shall be as a wandering bird is cast out of the nest, so will be the sons and daughters of Moab ... into the wilderness Hide the outcasts, betray not him that wandereth ...I will bewail with weeping for this vine, that has been cut off.' "* Cotton, in shame, lowers his head.
58. **Anne** collapses into the arms of John Coggeshall
59. **Chief Magistrate Winthrop:** *"Go, woman, Jezebel, from this colony. Ye are banished from this community."*



PROCEDURE AND SEQUENCE

Anne Hutchinson's trial was not conducted in a manner similar to our contemporary courtroom trials. As was the custom in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, Mrs. Hutchinson was not given the rights an accused person is entitled to today, including a bill of indictment and a jury. In fact, her trial was actually a religious tribunal rather than a trial.

Try to imagine a forthright, pregnant, middle-aged woman *standing* in a somber Newton meeting house. (Puritans didn't call their houses of worship "churches"; they called them "meeting houses.") Anne stood for nearly two days in front of 200 curious persons and before three stern magistrates who were also her accusers.

In this re-creation the prosecution and defense will each present witnesses who will testify about Mrs. Hutchinson's beliefs and actions. Enter into the spirit of the trial, whatever your role, pretending you are a Puritan caught up in the most explosive, fascinating event in the short history of your colony. Since only those with speaking parts will have copies of the TRIAL SEQUENCE handout, Anne's trial should keep you in suspense as you take two to three pages of GS-SD outline notes on each side's arguments.

DEBRIEFING AND FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES

Prepare yourself to speak on what you know or how you feel about these four questions ...

Discussion

1. What testimony was most effective in convincing you as to Anne Hutchinson's guilt or innocence?
2. How would Anne's trial be different if she were tried in a courtroom today? Describe the changes in law and judicial processes that have taken place since the early 17th century.
3. Name some women in our society who have been outspoken and have exercised their freedom of conscience (e.g., Jane Fonda during the Vietnam War). How have their lives been influenced? How have they influenced our lives?
4. What forces in our society today could create an atmosphere similar to the one present when Anne Hutchinson went on trial in 1637? Would the results be similar?

Optional follow-up activities

1. Go to your school or community library and look at the covers of many magazines: *Time*, *Newsweek*, *Sports Illustrated*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Glamour*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Self*, *People*, *Us*, *Lear's*, *Ms.*, etc. Are any of the women on these covers non-conformists like Anne Hutchinson? Make a list of what women make the covers and what endeavor they represent. What do you conclude?
2. Pick an issue from today's newspapers and build a case in which a strong-willed woman could involve herself. Devise arguments for both legal teams if this woman's actions resulted in a trial similar to Anne Hutchinson. For example, study the case of Sonia Johnson, a Mormon mother who got into trouble with her church hierarchy for supporting the Equal Rights Amendment and differing with her church's position. (This case is discussed briefly in *Ms.* magazine, March 1980, page 39ff., and in the *Los Angeles Times*, March 28, 1980.)

What women get the most attention in today's American society?

BILL LACEY, author of THE TRIAL OF ANNE HUTCHINSON, has written for Interact since 1974. He has authored/edited more than 25 simulations, re-creations, and similar role-playing units. Among the items he has written are GREEKS and CHRISTENDOM, on periods of world history; and SKINS, on the American mountain men in the early 19th century. Bill uses many of his creations in his history classes at Fountain Valley High School in Fountain Valley, California.

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