



Alan Lee's werewolf illustration in
The Golden Book of the Mysterious.

Wisconsin Werewolves: Visual Narration, Cultural Adaptation and Ostensive Action

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I should admit it straight from the start: I do not think the werewolf exists as a biological, nor even as a cryptozoological, species, that is to say, a species not yet officially discovered while it abides in the waiting room of biological discovery. Neither are werewolves misinterpretations of undiagnosed phenomena, such as porphyria or hypertrichosis, conditions that produce a lot of hair in normally bald places. Feral children are out of the question as well, as are a few other conditions, for instance ergot poisoning or rabies.¹ Werewolves are culture, just as gods are too. Werewolves only exist as a concept, a construct, an image, or a story. This starting point narrows the discussion down, while preventing useless speculations about the 'reality' behind werewolf sightings.

In this essay I will focus on the issue of visualisation, the way people claim to have seen a 'werewolf'. Indeed, the current term 'sighting' rather than 'tale' or 'legend' already points to the sense of seeing rather than hearing, although any 'sightings' are transmitted verbally. The narrator has become the 'witness', no matter that they both talk. What will be explored here is the interdependence between sightings and the most visual werewolves of the late 20th century as they appeared on the big or small screen, although on occasion pictorial artwork or text is in evidence. Mixed into all this is the as yet mostly undocumented local custom of male adolescents donning a hairy suit to frighten young women. The Wisconsin werewolves provide a nice example of what could perhaps be called the folkloristic side of the comparison, to give it a label that in my view, however, could easily be replaced by the more encompassing concept of 'culture', whether local or not. That is to say, to an anthropologist culture is how people give form and meaning to their daily life; discussing werewolves can be part of this.

I should also confess that I approach this issue from afar. I have not been to Wisconsin; I did not interview or correspond with anyone there. Instead I read books, watched films and surfed around the internet a bit. My outlook is one usually adopted by historians whose interlocutors are deceased and therefore cannot talk back.² This may be convenient, but it also carries the responsibility to respect the expressions and opinions of those who are the subject of research. Even when I do not always agree with them

(I have doubts about werewolves, for instance, but also about dates), at a particular moment in time they said what they said, or wrote what they wrote, or confided to print what someone else wrote. Nevertheless, connecting sightings to screens can reveal connections that have not been obvious before.

Bray Road

On Sunday, 29 December 1991, an article appeared in *The Week*, a free Sunday newspaper of Walworth County, Wisconsin. The article by the then cartoonist Linda Godfrey was headed: 'Tracking down "The beast of Bray Road"'. Monster or mirage, the sightings sound like something out of "Believe It Or Not"³. Subsequently Godfrey became embroiled by the ensuing media attention, which launched her career as a self-made werewolf expert and cryptozoologist. She produced a series of werewolf books,⁴ appeared on a number of radio talks and television shows and twenty-five years later, she still guides her followers through her website and blog.⁵ Thus she created a veritable mountain of material for the interested folklorist or anthropologist, more akin to legends than to any 'true account', but seriously attempting explanations and stimulating discussions and in such a quantity that it becomes impossible to cite or even summarise everything in detail. While I have no issue with her descriptions, we differ in our assessments (and that may be one of the reasons I did not get in touch with her). This article is mainly concerned with Godfrey's first book, *The Beast of Bray Road*, which reports the first ten years of her journey into monster land. It reads as a honest account without extra embellishments, also charting her experience with the media and her thinking about the subject.

The first story in *The Week*, told by a woman named Barbara,⁶ a 24-year-old bar manager, ran as follows:

I was driving home one night on Bray Road, and saw this thing on the side of the road. As I came up to it in my car its back was to me, so I saw it had ears and the whole bit. It was kneeling on the ground. It was kneeling!

Its elbows were up, and its claws were facing out so I knew it had claws. And it was eating roadkill or something, and as I drove by and I saw all this, it looked right at me and didn't run. It didn't get spooked, or anything.

And it had, like, glowing eyes which probably were a reflection of my headlights. It was right on Bray Road, right before the Bray farm, on the curve. And I saw it.

He was brownish-gray ... and he had big teeth and fangs. And he looked at me. He turned his head to look at me.

It was about the size of an average man, five-foot-seven maybe, about 150 pounds. It was holding the thing it was eating palms up, with the real long

claws and the pointed ears. He had a big long nose and a long chin, like this on this picture (she pointed to a drawing of a 'werewolf' from a library book).

This is exactly what I saw (the picture). This is it. This is what it looked like.

This happened to me two years ago. And after I heard that Pat had an incident with it, I decided to go to the library. I looked through a few library books they had for a picture of what it looked like, and I found that picture.

The knees were in a kneeling position, like a human would do.

It was night, and it was quite large, but I know what I saw. You don't mistake something like that. I don't take Bray Road in the dark anymore.⁷

The book version states: 'It was about 1:30 in the morning, quiet and desolate, which made the creature all the more startling.'⁸ Godfrey made her own artist's impression of the creature, thereby transferring the story into a picture, the oral into the visual. The car and the headlights have disappeared here and the frontal view, which from a moving car would only have lasted less than a second, materialises. There is also a full moon in the background, not mentioned in the original account. As Godfrey admitted: 'Of course I put a full moon in the background, although the witnesses I'd talked to so far weren't really sure if a full moon had been out at the time of their sightings. They were too busy gawking at the creature to check on atmospheric conditions.'⁹ (Figs 1 and 2)

The story, however, may have been visual from the start, as the library book, namely *The Golden Book of the Mysterious* (1976), contains a more dynamic kneeling werewolf with more human hind and front legs. Instead of the moon his (or her) dinner is steaming in the background.¹⁰ Godfrey may have partly based her drawing on the existing image (especially the head), and there is a distinct possibility that the image determined the sighting. Yet matters could also be more complex, as the sighting could have been staged with the help of the image. The woman could have encountered someone in a werewolf suit.

The second story in *The Week* article was told by 'Pat', a highschool student.¹¹ On the last day of October 1991 she was driving along Bray Road when she hit something. As she phrased it:

There was nothing on the road, no blood or anything. I didn't see anybody, and I felt like if I hit it, it should have stayed there. I walked to the end of the car, and here comes this thing, and it's just running up at me!

You could see the chest of this thing because it was big, and it was hairy. It was fast, that's for sure, because I see this thing, I get in the car, and by the time I got inside the car the thing had grabbed hold of the car.



Fig. 1: Linda Godfrey's sketch of the Bray Road werewolf, after Endrizzi.

Fig. 2: Alan Lee's werewolf illustration in *The Golden Book of the Mysterious*.



I just put my foot on the gas pedal and I started going. Maybe after I got going I looked back, but at the time I was more interested in leaving.

A road accident also opens the film *Wolf*, with Jack Nicholson starring as the main character Will Randal, a publisher who becomes more assertive when bitten by a wolf. Yet the film came out in 1994 and the Wisconsin story was told in late 1991. Although the film is not acknowledged to have been based on a novel, it follows the main plotline of Michael Cadnum's story *Saint Peter's Wolf* which had appeared that last year (1991). The similarities between book and film are so striking that one suspects that Michigan scriptwriter Jim Harrison read the novel before he dreamt of having hit a wolf while driving, as he told several journalists.¹² There is also a certain similarity between the scene in the book and the Bray Road story. The corresponding passages in Cadnum's book illustrate that:

A shape like something entirely imaginary, four-legged and indistinct, bounded across the street. My foot hit the pedal, the brakes squealed, and the car slipped out of control on the wet pavement. (...) The car lurched slightly, a gentle nudge. And then the front end rose and fell, as if I'd driven over a speed bump, a lump of earth. But it was not earth. I could feel my nerves wither. I've run over something. Something is hurt.¹³

Both 'Pat' and Cadnum's character Byrd get out of their car to have a look, but while the first sensibly flees back into hers, the latter takes the creature (which at that point he identifies as a dog) with him.

The two Wisconsin stories were supported by two similar events which had occurred in the neighbourhood. At the time werewolves were a hot topic at the local (Elkhorn Area) high school and the animal control officer for Walworth County, Jon Frederickson, had a folder labelled 'Werewolf'. Many more people were talking about the beast than just the two young women interviewed by Godfrey. Unfortunately she did not research this as thoroughly as possible in the belief that a good newspaper story, hovering between news and entertainment, was enough. It also appeared that her main narrators formed a close, mostly female network of friends and neighbours, including people who later came forward as 'witnesses'.¹⁴ While it seems normal that they discussed the sightings among themselves, it seems to have restricted the initial group of people who had encountered the beast. It is as yet unclear if there were also several other groups involved.¹⁵ Whether the witnesses did or did not see something at the side of the road, the blueprints for these local narratives were readily available in the wider contemporary American culture. This becomes even more obvious with the case of the couple in the car.

The predator in Lovers' Lane

Early in Jos Whedon's television series *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, the episode 'Phases' included a werewolf. 'Phases' was first aired on 27 January 1998. Here the camera focuses on a lovers' lane where Xander and Cordelia are kissing in a car. Cordelia has borrowed her father's car to 'do things she cannot tell her father about', but Xander is distracted. At first he is thinking about his friends and then he hears something.

They lean in towards each other again. He jolts back.

Xander: Okay, now I know I heard something

Cordelia (moving away): That's it! Your mind has been not here all night.

How about I just drop you off at ...

*A large paw rips through the convertible top of the car and swipes between them.*¹⁶

They manage to start the car and shake off the monster. The next scene features Xander's report on the beast, which he describes as: 'Well, let's see, six feet tall, claws, a big old snout in the middle of his face, like a wolf.' Later he is shown as bipedal. Werewolves, it seems, are attracted to 'sexual heat'. The werewolf in 'Phases' bears a close resemblance to the composite picture of the Manwolf or Dogman drawn by Godfrey: 'a creature that stands five to seven feet tall, covered with dark shaggy fur, that can walk and even run erect yet retains dog-shaped legs and footprints, with a manlike body and a head like a wolf or a German shepherd'¹⁷ (see Figs 3 and 4).

As far as I have been able to establish, a lovers' lane did not feature in any earlier werewolf films. Nevertheless, the crucial motifs did: Joe Dante's film *The Howling* (1981) introduced both werewolves attacking a couple in a car in general and the motif of the paw that ripped through the roof of the car in particular.¹⁸ While this film uses werewolves to articulate the inescapable bonds of community and male dominance, it also stresses the futility of car safety. In the end the female reporter is bitten by a werewolf who has penetrated the car. When she starts to metamorphose in a live television broadcast, she is shot on sight.

The fictional screen presence of the werewolf is translated into personal narratives. On a website headed 'True Wisconsin Werewolf Story' posted in May 2010, a woman writes about her ordeal of an encounter with a werewolf in the neighbourhood of Horicon Marsh, Dodge County, supposedly in 1985.¹⁹ They parked on a 'local lovers' lane'. After a while it happened:



Fig. 3 Werewolf in *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* episode, 'Phases' (1998).

My friend must have felt the same fear, I felt him clench me closer to him. I think we both saw it at the same time. From the marshy area, where the moon caressed the water, we saw what looked like a large hairy man, walking upright. He was very big, with wide shoulders and a narrow waist. His arms were longer than a human. When he turned his head, we saw that it looked like that of a dog or wolf, and he seemed to be sniffing the air.

Total fear gripped me, I could not move, could not even utter a sound. Never since or then [sic] have I ever felt such heart-stopping fear. I know now why people have heart attacks from extreme fear. On the other hand, my boyfriend sprang into action. Within a few seconds, with sawed-off shot gun in hand, he stood by the side of the truck, ready to shoot.



Fig. 4 Linda Godfrey's composite picture of the 'Indigenous Dogman'.

The boyfriend took aim and must have missed, for the creature ran towards them and they barely escaped in the car. This tale is cast as a personal narrative and is framed by a discussion about spirituality and a comment on her partner's demise.

Buffy did not feature Xander with a gun, although there was a werewolf hunter walking around. The scene with the shooting guy comes straight out of *The Howling* (see Fig. 5), at the point where the final attack of the werewolves on the car has been halted and immediately following the penetration of the car roof. By 1985 *The Howling* may have percolated into a first-person account, but as the *Buffy* episode was not even conceived by then, I suspect that the 2010 narrator integrated it into her account and to that extent predated it.

The *Beast of Bray Road* featured two more modest versions, the Appleton account told in December 2001 and the Corncob Lane narrative, told 'recently', around 2002. The first runs as follows:



Fig. 5. Scene from *The Howling*.

Gill remembers incidents happening to other people before she moved from Appleton in 1960. A friend of hers in junior high school told Gill that she and her boyfriend were necking in a car in front of her house on Winnebago Street 'when something large, hairy, and very strong jumped on top of the car and snarled and rocked the car for over half an hour'. The girl's parents were not home, so there was no one to rescue her for the terrifying duration.²⁰

The Corncob incident, situated in 1964, involved a car that was rocked by something, and also disturbed a boy and his girlfriend. The former told about 'huge, furry black' paws on his windows and concluded:

Then the last and final thing I seen was two short cropped ears, a bushy black furry head, and just a glimpse of bright yellow eyes. This is all I needed to see! I slid across the seat and fired up the Chevey and backed out of there, hit the corn on the other side of the road, put it in low, and held the gas pedal to the floor for at least half a mile, mud flying everywhere!²¹

A third, even later instance that came Godfrey's way was also situated in Wisconsin, at the famous Bray Road, Elkorn, where another couple sought peace and quiet:

They pulled their car up next to some bushes just off the road where they wouldn't be easily seen. The hour was late, the farmhouse nearby was dark, and the only sound was the chirping of crickets in the fields. But just as they were about to kiss, the girl jumped back and screamed in horror. Something brown and hairy was hunched right outside the vehicle, trying to peer into the window. As her boyfriend turned his head to see what had frightened her, the creature ran into the bushes. Immediately, the teens decided the legends about the Beast of Bray Road must be true. In moments, they were speeding back towards the safety of the village.²²

Nothing is easier than predating a sighting, especially when a witness wants to avoid being linked to a popular television narrative. Although the stories of a predator in lovers' lane were already circulating in the 1950s, they were not about werewolves or manwolves or similar beasts.²³ Werewolves, I would argue, only became an issue of local culture after they were introduced through films and subsequently strengthened by literary accounts and illustrations. The five texts presented here are extreme examples, as they were first-person scare narratives and not something that happened to 'a friend of a friend'. They form the relatively new werewolf versions of the lovers' lane narrative and the juggling with the dates of occurrence should be understood in that context. Given the time of the telling after 1998, it is more than likely that four of them were derived from the fifth, 'Phases'.

Hoaxes

According to Godfrey, the last Elkorn report was a hoax, not because an episode of a television series was copied, but because: 'The hoaxer was renting a farm on Bray Road and

had grown sick of teens parking on his property. He had heard the rumors of the manwolf, too, and wanted to put an end to the trespassing.²⁴ The entire hoax discussion hinges on the following observation: 'the sightings that were reported in those first stories in the newspaper had happened one to three years earlier, and the witnesses were not teenaged, parking couples.'²⁵ Of course, such an observation does not exclude that someone could have seen a guy in a beast suit. But: 'While I know of none [i.e. no hoax] that occurred at times that could explain any specific sightings, I have no doubt that some of them could have fooled an onlooker or two.'²⁶ That is to say: the occasional evidence of foul play could not invalidate tens of sightings. A discussion of films or television series is strangely absent here; a sighting is either genuine or staged.

The possibility of hoaxes was suggested from the very start, by people with or without additional knowledge.²⁷ As Godfrey admitted: 'I learned that someone else on the road also played furry masquerader by the time the story broke.'²⁸ This earlier account concerned a man who had met another man at a wedding reception. The last guy had 'confessed that his dad was "involved" in the Bray Road sightings because he had worn a gorilla costume a couple of times to scare away kids who were parking on the property.'²⁹ If anything, this is an unique, though second-hand account from an attacker's point of view and not a first-person narrative. Godfrey only presented the story in a more recognisable Lover's Lane format in her next book. She warned people about playing werewolf, as they ran the risk of being shot.

Animal disguises were far from alien in Wisconsin and the last day of October seems to have been a good day to don an animal suit.³⁰ In early 1993 a republican candidate for Congress, who had his headquarters in Elkhorn, said during his campaign that the local werewolf endorsed him and wasted no time in producing a guy in a werewolf suit to be photographed while signing his preference. The suit was rented from a shop in Milwaukee.³¹ No one seems to have interviewed the shopkeeper or his distributor. Over the years Godfrey nevertheless increasingly became more aware of what in her view were 'hoaxes'. In November 2010 she reported a new Bray Road sighting on her blog, only to warn eight months later: 'please note that I now have reason to doubt the complete truth of the information given me.'³² Her doubt still concerned only one story.

From a folklorist's perspective the hoax account may be comprehended as ostentation, as a story acted out.³³ That usually supposes, however, that the particular story is already scripted. In this case the particular content of the story may have been a new invention. In my view the 'hoax' events, the dressing up, constituted the core of the sightings. Once the media attention about Bray Road had made people familiar with the phenomenon, they could report anything they deemed strange. As Godfrey concluded: 'there is a high probability that everyone is not always seeing the same thing. It is possible some saw natural dogs or wolves, some jumped at shadows, and others

have accidentally stumbled upon something that had intended to stay hidden.³⁴ One could thus classify the different sightings as to their possible human involvement. For instance rocking a car, or putting a scary face against the window,³⁵ the last reminiscent of the 1985 film *Silver Bullet* written by Stephen King, does not seem very much like animal behaviour. And could one 'creature' with very long arms not actually have been two men?³⁶ Other sightings, especially of animals larger than 'normal', will probably have been just oversized or even normal animals.

A point in Linda Godfrey's favour is that she took her informants seriously. At the same time she did not keep enough distance to them since she had not been schooled as a researcher but stumbled into investigating the subject after the commotion caused by her first article. Although her grasp of the subject would grow over the years, she did not display the necessary rigour to separate the chaff from the wheat. In Godfrey's words: 'I put a lot of faith in the descriptions of those who did see it, because not only have most of them been reluctant to tell their stories, they also took the very real risk of ridicule.'³⁷ Yet seeing something was in the end all there was and the creature itself remained elusive. Only one or two witnesses reported paw prints and only one mentioned a creature that attacked a horse,³⁸ but both are far from conclusive because they were not supported by any other evidence. Wisconsin werewolves seem to have been satisfied with roadkill or small animals and left larger prey alone. They also only frightened humans and did not consume them. There is no report about how they lived, procreated, etc.; there are no references to bits of hair or droppings. No wonder that Godfrey veered towards a 'spiritual' explanation. As I wrote at the beginning of this essay, the cultural existence of werewolves has to be prioritised over a biological one and their exclusive visualisation certainly supports such a stance. Informants transmitted culturally available werewolf images. The hoax discussion points to another element of this transmission. It seems that (some) images were actively produced rather than merely passively experienced and that Godfrey's following observation is applicable: 'Wisconsinites can be a mischievous bunch.'³⁹

The temporal concentrations of the sightings, including those that I suspect to be predated,⁴⁰ became more dense after Godfrey's first article and the resulting attention, then again after the publication of her book *The Beast of Bray Road* in 2003.⁴¹ Her work invited people to react. Yet after 2010 there are hardly any entries on Wisconsin werewolves in her blog.⁴²

The female reporter and the werewolf

In a certain way, the confrontation between the female reporter and the werewolf predated the events in Elkorn by a decade, as it constitutes the main storyline of Joe Dante's film *The Howling* of 1981. Its protagonist was the television reporter and anchor

woman Karen White who, in an attempt to interview a werewolf, was traumatised and sent by her psychiatrist to a health colony to recuperate. In the novel on which the film was based, she was raped, but that did not make it into the script.⁴³ Unfortunately, the colony was inhabited by werewolves from which she barely escaped. Here is not the place for a history of werewolf films and I will only state that *The Howling* can be seen as one of the attempts to renew the genre in the early 1980s.⁴⁴ As a reaction to the films of several decades earlier, it was the product of male filmmakers' angst of the full moon: their solution was to portray women as victims of werewolves, and to underline that it is not the single male who is threatening but the whole community. In effect it shows what can happen to an independent, inquisitive woman: she is beset by one misfortune after another, and loses her friends and husband. In the end she is disposed of while revealing the existence of werewolves on prime television. This film was especially popular in the United States. In the words of director Dante: 'Audiences today seem to prefer the less sophisticated scares where you just throw things at the camera or have people fall out of closets.'⁴⁵

Godfrey was only metaphorically bitten; she certainly helped to spread the werewolf virus. The scenario that emerged in Wisconsin, then, is best understood as another version of the dominant motif of the vulnerable female which is powerfully present in American patriarchal society. This does not imply that I consider the actual reporter as too easily swayed by the narratives presented to her but that people in Wisconsin, especially men, may have seen it that way and told her or encouraged others to tell her stories people would normally dismiss. As she formulated it from her point of view: 'They finally felt that they could spill what they'd been keeping inside them, and spill they did.'⁴⁶ It may explain some of the reactions to Godfrey's article in 1992 and in later years. A folklore interviewer, in contrast, would have tried to collect as many stories as possible in a certain area (Elkhorn, for instance) to gain some insight into the occurrence of a concept (such as a werewolf) among different groups and not just the 'witnesses'. Among other things this would have determined whether an informant was just venting a singular tall tale or whether a sighting had some support in the wider community. Proper folklore research would have revealed the depth, or the shallowness, of werewolf concepts in Wisconsin. As things stand now there are only the sightings to work with, and many of them appear to be just individual experiences at the most, or at least tall stories told to a reporter who was open to them. As I have tried to show here, the werewolf sightings were a relatively new phenomenon and encapsulated by available images. That the sightings are accompanied by a discussion about hoaxes, has, if one rules out biological or supernatural connotations, consequences for their assessment in general rather than only invalidating a single occurrence. In other words, some sightings were reinterpretations of genuine

observations in the light of werewolf culture, others can be seen as stories that were not based on any encounters (but were just good stories), and yet other sightings of were- or manwolves arose because people were marauding in suits. While I cannot present any figures about the relative importance of each of these possibilities, the last one was probably as prominent as the other two.

The Wisconsin werewolf stories were saturated with gender dynamics, with initially mainly women reporting sightings. I suspect that a number of men played their part, too, by running around in hairy suits and causing scares. It may have started as a joke, but got out of hand through the subsequent attention, not in the least by Linda Godfrey. For the time being, however, the joke part can only be inferred.

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Willem de Blécourt

Notes

1. Willem de Blécourt, 'Monstrous Theories: Werewolves and the Abuse of History', *Preternature: Critical and Historical Studies on the Preternatural* 2 (2013), 188-212.
2. Willem de Blécourt, 'The Differentiated Werewolf: An Introduction to Cluster Methodology', in Willem de Blécourt (ed.), *Werewolf Histories* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2015), 1-24.
3. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ripley's_Believe_It_or_Not!_\(TV_series\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ripley's_Believe_It_or_Not!_(TV_series)). The reference will be to the second series, running from 1982 to 1986. The show did not pay any attention to werewolves.
4. Linda S. Godfrey, *The Beast of Bray Road: Tailing Wisconsin's Werewolf* (Black Earth, 2003), reissued 2015; *Hunting the American Werewolf: Beast Men in Wisconsin and Beyond* (Trails Books, 2006); *Werewolves* (Infobase Publishing, 2008); *Real Wolfmen: True Encounters in Modern America* (Tarcher, 2012).
5. <https://lindagodfrey.com/>. A section of this site is dedicated to: Real Wolfmen, Beast of Bray Road, Werewolves, Dogmen and Other Upright Canids.
6. Her name was Lori Endrizzi in *The Beast of Bray Road* (2015 edition), 9.
7. <http://www.theweekextra.com/news/1206/122406beast.html> (no longer accessible). The original article appeared on page 28 of the last issue of 1991.
8. Godfrey, *The Beast of Bray Road*, 9.
9. Godfrey, *The Beast of Bray Road*, 13.
10. <http://the-haunted-closet.blogspot.co.uk/2010/08/golden-book-of-mysterious-1976.html>
11. Doris Gipson. Her sighting is dated on Halloween 1991.
12. Peter Biskind, 'Who Is Afraid of the Big Bad Wolf?', *Premiere* 7.7 (March 1994), 56-63; Tim Prokop, 'Adding Teeth to Wolf', *Cinefex* 59 (September 1994), 97-106.
13. Michael Cadnum, *Saint Peter's Wolf* (Carroll & Graf, 1991), 11-12.
14. <http://www.prairieghosts.com/brayrd.htm> (accessed 27/2/2012).
15. One informant mentioned that 'a lot of' nurses at Elkhorn's Lakeland Hospital 'said they had seen it [the Bray Road werewolf] when they would step outside to smoke at night'. Godfrey, *Hunting the American Werewolf*, 38.
16. This scene was later recreated in the 'Monster Movie' episode in the series *Supernatural*.
17. Godfrey, *Hunting the American Werewolf*, xiii.
18. The motif is also cited in the werewolf episode of *Campfire Tales* (1997); cf. Mikel J. Koven, *Film, Folklore, and Urban Legends* (Scarecrow Press, 2008), 109.
19. <http://magnoliaz.hubpages.com/hub/True-Wisconsin-Werewolf-Story> (accessed 27/2/2012).

20. Godfrey, *The Beast of Bray Road*, 133.
21. Godfrey, *The Beast of Bray Road*, 137.
22. Linda Godfrey, *Werewolves*, 70.
23. Jan Harold Brunvand, *The Vanishing Hitchhiker: American Urban Legends and their Meanings* (W.W. Norton & Co., 1981), 47-9; see also Brunvand, *Encyclopedia of Urban Legends* (ABC-CLIO, 2001), 199-201.
24. Godfrey, *Werewolves*, 70.
25. Godfrey, *Hunting the American Werewolf*, 268.
26. Godfrey, *Real Wolfmen*, 285.
27. Godfrey, *The Beast of Bray Road*, 10, 17.
28. Godfrey, *Hunting the American Werewolf*, 267.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Of course, Godfrey noticed the Hallowe'en connection. Her comment: 'But if this was a hoaxer, it was a strangely invincible, stubborn, and very well-costumed one.' *The Beast of Bray Road*, 10.
31. Godfrey, *The Beast of Bray Road*, 48-50.
32. LindaGodfrey.com, update 8 July 2011 at blog entry for November 2010.
33. The classic article is Linda Dégh & Andrew Vázsonyi, 'Does the Word "Dog" Bite? Ostensive Action: A Means of Legend-Telling', *Journal of Folklore Research* 20 (1983), 5-34.
34. Godfrey, *The Beast of Bray Road*, 161.
35. Godfrey, *The Beast of Bray Road*, 127.
36. Godfrey, *The Beast of Bray Road*, 137.
37. Godfrey, *The Beast of Bray Road*, 24-5.
38. Godfrey, *The Beast of Bray Road*, 12-13, 52.
39. Godfrey, *The Beast of Bray Road*, 19.
40. The starkest example of pre-dating concerns the 1936 'sighting': actually an account of early 1992 about something the narrator's father revealed to him in 1958. Godfrey, *The Beast of Bray Road*, 26.
41. Cf. the timescale in *Hunting the American Werewolf*, 68.
42. I have only found one, dated 25 March 2015 from Westby. Once more it concerns an encounter between a 'manwolf' and a car, presumably having happened in 1990 or 1991.
43. Gary Brandner, *The Howling* (London, 1978).
44. Willem de Blécourt, 'The Werewolf Pack: A Cinematic Metamorphosis', *Contemporary Legend*, series 3, vol. 4 (2014 [= 2016]), 59-74.
45. Phil Hardy (ed.), *The Overlook Film Encyclopedia: HORROR* (Overlook Books, 1994), 350; 'Techniques of the Horror Film', *Filmmakers Monthly*, 13,11 (September 1980), 20-3, at p. 21.
46. Godfrey, *Hunting the American Werewolf*, 7.