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Vol. VIII.—No. 14.—Whole No. 196.

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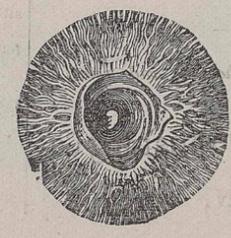
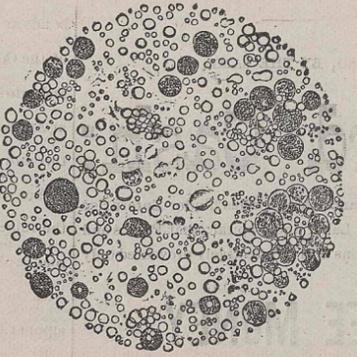
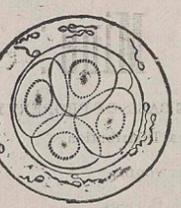
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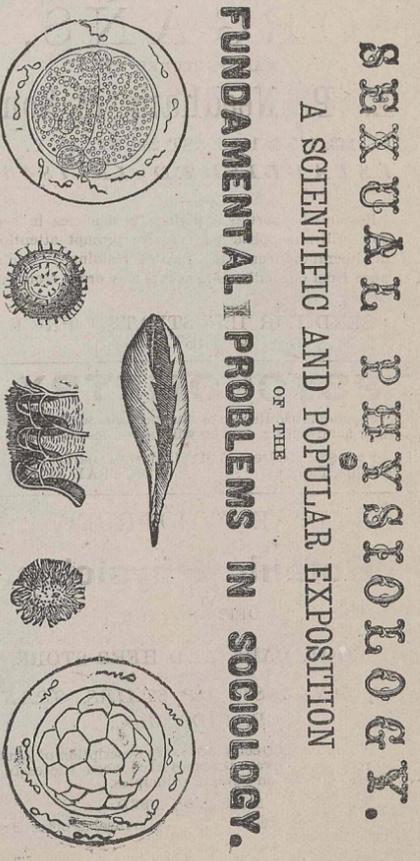
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[From the Daily Graphic.]

MR. MOULTON'S CARD TO THE PUBLIC.

TO THE PUBLIC:

I became a party almost accidentally in the unhappy controversy between Mr. Beecher and Mr. Tilton. I had been a friend of Mr. Tilton since my boyhood, and for Mr. Beecher I had always entertained the warmest admiration.

In 1870 I learned for the first time that Mr. Beecher had given Mr. Tilton so grave a cause of offense that, if the truth should be made public, a great national calamity would ensue. I believed that the scandal would tend to undermine the very foundations of social order, to lay low a beneficent power for good in our country, and blast the prospects and blight the family of one of the most brilliant and promising of the rising men of the generation. This disaster, as I deemed it and still regard it, I determined to try and avert.

For nearly four years I have labored most assiduously to save both of these men from the consequences of their acts, whether of unwisdom or passion—acts which have already seriously involved them in a needless and disastrous quarrel, which is made the pretext of pouring on the community a flood of impurity and scandal deeply affecting their own families, and threatening like a whirlpool, if not stilled, to draw into its vortex the peace of mind and good repute of a host of others. More than all, I saw that, because of the "transgression of another," innocent children would be burdened with a load of obloquy which would weigh most heavily and cruelly on their young lives.

All these considerations determined me to take an active part in the transactions which have since become so notorious.

This decision involved me in great anxiety and labor, for which the hope of saving these interests could be my only compensation. Even that reward has now failed me, and instead of it an attempt is made to throw on me a part of the shame and disgrace which belong to the actors alone.

One of them, whom I have zealously endeavored to serve, has seen fit, with all the power of his vast influence and matchless art as a writer, to visit on me the penalties of his own wrong-doing, at the same time publicly appealing to me to make known the truth, as if it would justify his attack on me!

I feel that the failure of my exertions has not been owing to any fault of mine. I worked faithfully and sincerely, under the almost daily advice and direction of Mr. Beecher, with his fullest approbation, confidence and beaming gratitude, until, as I think, in an evil hour for him, he took other advisers. I have failed; and now, strangely enough, he seems to desire to punish me for the sad consequences of the folly, insincerity and wickedness of his present counsellors.

Mr. Beecher, in his statement, testifies that he brought on this investigation without my knowledge or advice.

Even while mourning what seemed to me the utter unwisdom of this proceeding, I have done all I could honorably do to avert the catastrophe. I have kept silent, although I saw with sorrow that this silence was deeply injuring the friend of my boyhood.

Prompted by a sense of duty—not to one only but to all the parties involved—I denied the united and public appeals made to me by Mr. Beecher and Mr. Tilton to produce the evidence in my possession; partly because I felt that the injury thereby done to Mr. Tilton was far less calamitous than the destruction which must come on all the interests I had for years tried to conserve, and especially on Mr. Beecher himself, if I should comply with this request.

But I stated clearly that in one emergency I should speak: namely, in defense of my own integrity of action if it should be wanonly assailed.

I left Mr. Beecher untrammelled by the facts in my hands to defend himself, without the necessity of attacking me.

By the published accusations of Mr. Beecher affecting my character, my own self-respect, the advice of friends and public justice make it imperative that "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth" should now be fully declared.

I give to the public, therefore, the statement I had prepared to bring before the committee, without the alteration or addition of a sentence and scarcely a word—certainly without the change of a single syllable since I read Mr. Beecher's statement and evidence, or because of it.

This paper I withheld from the committee, when before it, in a last despairing effort for peace, at the earnest solicitation of some of Mr. Beecher's friends, and with the approval also of some of the most valued of my own.

I do not now give it to the committee, but to the public, because its production concerns myself rather than the principals in the strife. It is made for my own protection against public accusations, and not to aid either party to the controversy.

For the needless and cruel necessity that now so imperatively compels its production, I have the most profound grief, for which there is but a single alleviation: namely, that the disclosure of the facts at this time can scarcely work more harm to him whom I at first tried to befriend by withholding them from the public, than they would have caused him in January, 1871, when, but for my interference, the public most assuredly would have been put in possession of the whole truth.

This publication, to which Mr. Beecher forces me, renders fruitless four years of constant and sincere efforts to save him. It leaves him and Mrs. Tilton in almost the same position in which I found them, excepting in so far as their own late disingenuous untruthfulness in their solemn statements may lower them in the estimation of the world.

I reserve to myself the right hereafter to review the statements of Mr. Beecher in contrast with the facts as shown by the documents herewith subjoined and others which I have at my hand, the production of which did not seem to be necessary until some portion of the published evidence of Mr. Beecher demanded contradiction.

(Signed) FRANCIS D. MOULTON.

STATEMENT OF FRANCIS D. MOULTON.

Gentlemen of the Committee—I need not repeat to you my great, very great, sorrow to feel obliged to answer your invitation, and, with the permission of the parties, to put before you the exact facts which have been committed to me or come to my knowledge in the unhappy affair under investigation. In so doing I shall use no words of characterization of any of them or of inculpation of the parties, nor shall I attempt to ascribe motives, save when necessary to exactly state the fact, leaving the occurrences, their acts of omission and commission, to be interpreted by themselves. In giving conversations or narrative I, of course, can in most cases, give only the substance of the first, and will attempt to give words only when they so impressed themselves upon my mind as to remain in my memory, and of the latter only so much as seems to me material.

I have known Mr. Theodore Tilton since 1850 intimately, in the kindest relations of social and personal friendship. I have known Rev. Henry Ward Beecher since 1869, and then casually as an acquaintance and an attendant upon his ministrations up to the beginning of the occurrences of which I shall speak.

Seeing Mr. Tilton's valedictory, as editor of the *Independent*, on the 22d of December, 1870, I inferred that there had been some differences between himself and Mr. Henry C. Bowen, the proprietor, but learning that Tilton had been retained as contributor to that journal and editor of the *Brooklyn Union*, of which Bowen was also proprietor, I supposed that the differences were not personal or unkind. Up to that time, although I had been a frequent visitor at Tilton's house, and had seen himself and Mrs. Tilton under all the phases of social intercourse, I had never heard or known of the slightest disagreement or unkindness existing between them, but had believed their marital relations were almost exceptionally pleasant. On the 26th day of December, 1870, being at Mr. Tilton's house, he came home from an interview with Mr. Bowen, and told me with some excitement of manner that he had just had a conference with Bowen, and that in that interview Bowen had made certain accusations against Beecher, and had challenged him (Tilton), as a matter of duty to the public, to write an open letter, which Bowen was to take to Beecher, of which he showed me the original draft, which is as follows:

[FIRST DRAFT—MARKED "A."] December 26, 1870—BROOKLYN.

Henry Ward Beecher:

Sir—I demand that, for the reasons which you explicitly understand, you immediately cease from the ministry of Plymouth Church, and that you quit the City of Brooklyn as a residence.

(Signed)

THEODORE TILTON.

Tilton explained that the words "for reasons which you explicitly understand" were interlined at the request of Bowen, and he further stated that he told Bowen that he was prepared to believe his charges because Beecher had made improper advances to Mrs. Tilton. Surprised at this, I asked him, "What?" when he replied, "Don't ask me; I can't tell you." I then said, "Is it possible you could have been so foolish as to sign that letter on the strength of Bowen's assertion, and not have Bowen sign it too, although, as you say, he was to carry it to Beecher?" He answered, "Mr. Bowen gave me his word that he would sustain the charges, and adduce the evidence to prove them whenever called upon." I said, "I fear that you will find yourself mistaken. Has the letter gone?" He answered, "Bowen said he would take it immediately." I afterward learned from Beecher that Bowen had done so, because on the first of January following Beecher gave me the copy he received, as I find by a memorandum made at the time on the envelope, and I find by a later memorandum on the envelope that the original draft was given to me by Tilton on the 5th of the same month. I insert here the following memorandum of the facts above stated, made at the time, giving the hour when it was made:

BROOKLYN, December 26, 1870.

Theodore Tilton informed me to-day that he had sent a note to Mr. Beecher, of which Mr. H. C. Bowen was the bearer, demanding that he, Beecher, should retire from his pulpit and quit the City of Brooklyn. The letter was an open one. H. C. Bowen knew the contents of it, and said that he, Bowen, would sustain Tilton in this demand.

3:45 P. M.

In a day or two after that Mr. Tilton called on me at my house and said that he had sent word to Bowen that he was

going to call on Beecher within half an hour, or shortly; that Bowen came up into the office with great anger, and told him if he should say to Beecher what he, Bowen, had told him concerning his (Beecher's) adulteries, he would dismiss him from the *Independent* and the *Union*. Tilton told him that he had never been influenced by threats, and he would not be in the present case, and he subsequently received Bowen's letter of dismissal.

What those charges were and the account of the interview will appear in the following letter, addressed to Bowen by Tilton, bearing date the 1st of January, 1871, which also gives in substance and in more detail what Tilton had said to me in the two conversations which I have mentioned:

TILTON TO BOWEN.

BROOKLYN, January 1, 1871.

MR. HENRY C. BOWEN:

Sir—I received last evening your sudden notices breaking my two contracts—one with the *Independent* the other with the *Brooklyn Union*. With reference to this act of yours I will make a plain statement of facts.

It was during the early part of the rebellion (if I recollect aright) when you first intimated to me that the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher had committed acts of adultery for which, if you should expose him, he would be driven from his pulpit. From that time onward your references to this subject were frequent and always accompanied with the exhibition of a deep-seated injury to your heart.

In a letter which you addressed to me from Woodstock, June 16, 1863, referring to this subject, you said: "I sometimes feel that I must break silence, that I must no longer suffer as a dumb man, and be made to bear a load of grief most unjustly. One word from me would make a revolution throughout Christendom, I had almost said—and you know it. * * * * You have just a little of the evidence from the great volume in my possession * * * * I am not pursuing a phantom, but solemnly brooding over an awful reality."

The underscorings in this extract are your own. Subsequently to the date of this letter, and at frequent intervals from then till now, you have repeated the statement that you could at any moment expel Henry Ward Beecher from Brooklyn. You have reiterated the same thing not only to me but to others.

Moreover, during the year just closed your allusions to the subject were uttered with more feeling than heretofore, and were not unfrequently coupled with your emphatic declaration that Mr. Beecher ought not to be allowed to occupy a public position as a Christian preacher and teacher.

On the 26th of December, 1870, at an interview in your house, at which Mr. Oliver Johnson and I were present, you spoke freely and indignantly against Mr. Beecher as an unsafe visitor among the families of his congregation. You alluded by name to a woman, now a widow, whose husband's death you had no doubt was hastened by his knowledge that Mr. Beecher had maintained with her an improper intimacy. You avowed your knowledge of several other cases of Mr. Beecher's adulteries. Moreover, as if to leave no doubt on the mind of either Mr. Johnson or myself, you informed us that Mr. Beecher had made to you a confession of his guilt, and had with tears implored your forgiveness. After Mr. Johnson retired from this interview, you related to me the case of a woman whom you said (as nearly as I can recall your words) that * * *

During your recital of the tale you were full of anger toward Mr. Beecher. You said, with terrible emphasis, that he ought not to remain a week longer in his pulpit. You immediately suggested that a demand should be made upon him to quit his sacred office. You volunteered to bear to him such a demand in the form of an open letter, which you would present to him with your own hand; and you pledged yourself to sustain the demand which this letter should make—namely, that he should, for reasons which he explicitly knew, immediately cease from his ministry of Plymouth Church and retire from Brooklyn.

The first draft of the letter did not contain the phrase "for reasons which he explicitly knew," and these words (or words to this effect) were incorporated in a second, at your motion. You urged furthermore (and very emphatically) that the letter should demand not only Mr. Beecher's abdication of his pulpit, but cessation of his writing for the *Christian Union*, a point on which you were overruled. This letter you presented to Mr. Beecher at Mr. Freeland's house. Shortly after its presentation you sought an interview with me in the editorial office of the *Brooklyn Union*, during which, with unaccountable emotion in your manner, your face livid with rage, you threatened with a loud voice that if I ever should inform Mr. Beecher of the statements which you had made concerning his adultery, or should compel you to adduce the evidence on which you agreed to sustain the demand for Mr. Beecher's withdrawal from Brooklyn, you would immediately deprive me of my engagement to write for the *Independent* and to edit the *Brooklyn Union*, and that in case I should ever attempt to enter the offices of these journals you would have me ejected by force. I told you that I should inform Mr. Beecher or anybody else, according to the dictate of my judgment, uninfluenced by any threat from my employer. You then excitedly retired from my presence. Hardly had your violent words ceased ringing in my ears, when I received your summary notices breaking my contracts with the *Independent* and the *Brooklyn Union*. To the foregoing narrative of facts I have only to add my surprise and regret at the sudden interruption, by your own act, of what has been, on my part toward you, a faithful friendship of fifteen years. Truly yours,

(Signed)

THEODORE TILTON.

In this letter I have omitted the sentence quoted as the words of Mr. Bowen, after the words, "as nearly as I can recall your words, that"—simply desiring to say that it contained a charge of a rape, or something very nearly like ravishment, of a woman other than Mrs. Tilton, told in words that are unfit to be spread upon the record, but, if desired, the original is for the inspection of the committee.

On Friday evening, the 30th of December, being the night of the Plymouth Church prayer-meeting, Tilton came to me and said, in substance, that by his wife's request he had determined to see Beecher, in order to show to Beecher a confession of his wife of the intercourse between them, which he (Tilton) had never up to that time mentioned to him (Beecher), and the fact of the confession, of which his wife had told him that she had never told Beecher, although her confession had been made in July previous in writing, which writing he (Tilton) had afterward destroyed; but that his wife, fearing that, if the Bowen accusations against Beecher were made public, the whole matter would be known and her own conduct with Beecher become exposed, had renewed her confession in her own handwriting, which he handed to me to read, which was the first knowledge I had of its existence.

Tilton did not tell me how his wife came to make the confession in July, nor did I at that time or ever after ask. Indeed, I may state here, once for all, that I refrained from asking confessions of the acts of all the parties further than they chose to make them to me voluntarily for the purpose for which I was acting.

Tilton wanted me to go down and ask Beecher to come up and see him at my house, which I did. I said to Mr. Beecher,

"Mr. Tilton wants you to come and see him at my house immediately." He asked: "What for?" I replied: "He wants to make some statement to you in reference to your relations with his family." He then called to some one in the back room to go down and say that he should not be at the prayer-meeting, and we went out together.

It was storming at the time, when he remarked: "There is an appropriateness in this storm," and asked me, "What can I do? What can I do?" I said, "Mr. Beecher, I am not a Christian, but if you wish I will show you how well a heathen can serve you." We then went to my house, and I showed him into the chamber over the parlor, where Mr. Tilton was, and left them together. In about an hour Mr. Beecher came down, and asked me if I had seen the confession of Elizabeth. I said I had. Said he, "This will kill me," and asked me to walk out with him. I did so, and we walked to Mr. Tilton's house together, and he went in. On the way he said: "This is a terrible catastrophe; it comes upon me as if struck by lightning."

He went into Tilton's house and I returned home. Within an hour he returned to my house, and we left my house again together and I walked with him to his house. Tilton remained at my house while Beecher was absent at Tilton's house, and when he returned there was no conversation between them. When we arrived at Beecher's house, he wanted me to stand by him in this emergency, and procure a reconciliation if possible. I told him I would, because the interests of women, children and families were involved, if for no other reason. That ended the interview that night. During this evening nothing was said by Beecher as to the truth or falsity of Mrs. Tilton's confession, nor did he inform me that he had obtained from her any recantation of the confession, which I afterward learned he had done.

I returned to my house and had some conversation with Tilton, in which he told me that he had recited to Beecher the details of the confession of his wife's adulteries, and the remark which Beecher made was, "This is all a dream, Theodore," and that that was all the answer that Beecher made to him. I then advised Tilton that, for the sake of his wife and family, and for the sake of Beecher's family, the matter should be kept quiet and hushed up. The next morning as I was leaving home for business, Tilton came to my house, and, with great anger, said that Beecher had done a mean act; that he had gone from that interview of last night to his house and procured from Elizabeth a recantation and retraction of her confession. He said for that act he would smite him; that there could be no peace. He said: "You see that what I have told you of the meanness of that man is now evident." Tilton said that Beecher, at the interview of last night, had asked his permission to go and see Elizabeth, and he told him he might go, which statement was confirmed by Beecher himself, and Beecher left him for that purpose. I said to Tilton: "Now, don't get angry; let us see if even this cannot be arranged. I will go down and get that retraction from him."

I was then going to my business, so that I was unable to go that morning, but went that evening, saw Beecher, and told him that I thought he had been doing a very mean and treacherous act—treacherous, first toward me, from whom he wanted help, in that he did not tell me on our way to his house last night what he had procured from Mrs. Tilton, and that he could not expect my friendship in this matter unless he acted truthfully and honorably toward me. I further said: "Mr. Beecher, you have had criminal intercourse with Mrs. Tilton; you have done great injury to Tilton otherwise. Now, when you are confronted with it, you ask permission of the man to again visit his house, and you get from that woman, who has confessed you have ruined her, a recantation and retraction of the truth for your mere personal safety. That won't save you."

At that interview he admitted with grief and sorrow the fact of his sexual relations with Mrs. Tilton, expressed some indignation that she had not told him that she had told her husband, and that in consequence of being in ignorance of that fact he had been walking upon a volcano—referring to what he had done in connection with Bowen and with reference to Tilton's family. He said that he had sympathized with Bowen, and had taken sides with him as against Tilton, in consequence of stories which were in circulation in regard to him, and especially of one specific case where he had been informed that Tilton had had improper relations with a woman whom he named, and to whom a letter from his wife will make a part of this statement, and had so stated to Bowen. And he told me that he would write to Bowen and withdraw those charges, and gave me the rough draft of a letter which he wrote and sent to Bowen, which letter is here produced, marked "C."

BEECHER TO BOWEN.

BROOKLYN, January 2, 1871.

My Dear Mr. Bowen—Since I saw you last Tuesday I have reason to think that the only cases of which I spoke to you in regard to Mr. Tilton were exaggerated in being reported to me, and I should be unwilling to have anything I said, though it was but little, weigh on your mind in a matter so important to his welfare. I am informed by one on whose judgment and integrity I greatly rely, and who has the means of forming an opinion better than any of us, that he knows the whole matter about Mrs. —, and that the stories are not true, and that the same is the case with other stories. I do not wish any reply to this. I thought it only due to justice that I should say so much. Truly yours,

(Signed)

H. W. BEECHER.

Mr. Beecher told me that Mrs. Beecher and himself, without knowing of the confession of Mrs. Tilton to her husband, had been expressing great sympathy toward Mrs. Tilton, and taking an active interest with her against her husband. I said: "Mr. Beecher, I want that recantation; I have come for it." "Well," said he, "What shall I do without it?" I replied: "I don't know; I can tell you what will happen with it." He asked: "What will you do if I give it to you?" I answered: "I will keep it as I keep the confession. If you act honorably I will protect it with my life, as I would protect the other with my life. Mr. Tilton asked for that confession this morning, and I said: 'I will never give it to you; you shall not have it from my hands until I have exhausted every effort for peace.'" Mr. Beecher

gave me back the paper, the original of which I now produce in Mrs. Tilton's handwriting, marked "D," as follows:

MRS. TILTON'S RECANTATION.

DECEMBER 30, 1870.

Wearied with importunity and weakened by sickness, I gave a letter inculcating my friend Henry Ward Beecher, under assurances that that would remove all difficulties between me and my husband. That letter I now revoke. I was persuaded to it, almost forced, when I was in a weakened state of mind. I regret it and recall all its statements.

(Signed)

E. R. TILTON.

I desire to say explicitly, Mr. Beecher has never offered any improper solicitations, but has always treated me in a manner becoming a Christian and a gentleman.

(Signed) ELIZABETH R. TILTON.

Afterward Mr. Tilton left with me another letter, dated the same night of the recantation, December 30, bearing on the same topic, to be kept with the papers, which was in his wife's handwriting. It is here produced and marked "E," as follows:

MRS. TILTON'S RETRACTION OF HER RECANTATION.

DECEMBER 30, 1870—Midnight.

My Dear Husband—I desire to leave with you before going to sleep a statement that Mr. Henry Ward Beecher called upon me this evening, asked me if I would defend him against any accusation in a council of ministers, and I replied solemnly that I would in case the accuser was any other person than my husband. He (H. W. B.) dictated a letter which I copied as my own, to be used by him as against any other accuser except my husband. This letter was designed to vindicate Mr. Beecher against all other persons save only yourself. I was ready to give him this letter because he said with pain that my letter in your hands addressed to him, dated December 29, "had struck him dead and ended his usefulness."

You and I both are pledged to do our best to avoid publicity. God grant a speedy end to all further anxieties. Affectionately,

(Signed) ELIZABETH.

When I went home with the recantation I found Tilton there and showed it to him. He expressed his surprise and gratification that I should have been able to get it, and I then showed to him how very foolish it would have been in the morning to have proceeded angrily against Beecher. I made another appeal for peace, saying that, notwithstanding great difficulties appeared in the way, if they were properly dealt with they could be beaten out of the way. He expressed his willingness and desire for peace.

When I saw Beecher I made an agreement, at his request, to go and see him on Sunday, January 1. I went to his house in accordance with the engagement. He took me into his study, and then told me again of his great surprise that Elizabeth should have made the confession of his criminal commerce with her to her husband without letting him (B.) know anything about it, making his destruction at any moment possible and without warning to him. He expressed his great grief at this wrong which he had done as a minister and friend to Theodore, and at his request I took pen and paper and he dictated to me the following paper, all of which is in my handwriting except the words, "I have trusted this to Moulton in confidence," and the signature, which latter are in Mr. Beecher's. It is here produced and marked "F":

LETTER OF CONTRITION.

BROOKLYN, January 1, 1871.

[In trust with F. D. Moulton.]

My Dear Friend Moulton—I ask through you Theodore Tilton's forgiveness, and I humble myself before him as I do before my God. He would have been a better man in my circumstances than I have been. I can ask nothing except that he will remember all the other hearts that would ache. I will not plead for myself. I even wish I were dead; but others must live and suffer.

I will die before any one but myself shall be implicated. All my thoughts are running toward my friends, toward the poor child lying there and praying with her folded hands. She is guiltless—sinned against; bearing the transgression of another. Her forgiveness I have. I humbly pray to God that he may put it into the heart of her husband to forgive me.

I have trusted this to Moulton in confidence.

(Signed) H. W. BEECHER.

This was intrusted to me in confidence, to be shown only to Tilton, which I did. It had reference to no other fact or act than the confession of sexual intercourse between Beecher and Mrs. Tilton, which he at that interview confessed, and denied not, but confessed. He also at other interviews subsequently held between us in relation to this unfortunate affair, unqualifiedly confessed that he had been guilty of adultery with Mrs. Tilton, and always in a spirit of grief and sorrow at the enormity of the crime he had committed against Mr. Tilton's family. At such times he would speak with much feeling of the relation he had sustained toward them as pastor, spiritual adviser and trusted friend. His self-condemnation at the ruin he had wrought under such circumstances was full and complete, and at times he was so bowed down with grief in consequence of the wrong he had done that he threatened to put an end to his life. He also gave to me the letter the first draft of which, marked "A," is above given, in reference to which he said that Bowen had given it to him; that he had told Bowen that Tilton must be crazy to write such a letter as that; that he did not understand it, and that Bowen said to him, "I will be your friend in this matter." He then made a statement which Tilton had made to me at my house of the charge that Bowen had made to him (Tilton); said that Bowen had been very treacherous toward Tilton, as well as toward himself, because he (Beecher) had had a reconciliation with Bowen, of which he told me the terms, and that Bowen had never in his (Beecher's) presence spoken of or referred to any allegation of crime or wrong-doing on his part with any woman whatever. He gave me, in general terms, the reconciliation, and afterward gave me two memoranda, which I here produce, which show the terms of the reconciliation. The first is in the handwriting of Bowen, containing five items, which Beecher assured me were the terms which Bowen claimed should be the basis of reconciliation. It is as follows, and is marked "G":

BOWEN'S TERMS.

First—Report and publish sermons and lecture-room talks.

Second—New edition Plymouth Collection and Freeland's interest.

Third—Explanations to church.

Fourth—Write me a letter.

Fifth—Retract in every quarter what has been said to my injury.

The second paper is a pencil memorandum of the recon-

ciliation with Bowen in Beecher's handwriting, giving an account of the affair. It is marked "H," as follows:

RECONCILIATION WITH BOWEN.

About February, 1870, at a long interview at Mr. Freeland's house, for the purpose of having a full and final reconciliation between Bowen and Beecher, Mr. Bowen stated his grievances, which were all either of a business nature or of my treatment of him personally (as per memorandum in his writing).

After hours of conference everything was adjusted. We shook hands. We pledged each other to work henceforth without jar or break. I said to him: "Mr. Bowen, if you hear anything of me not in accordance with this agreement of harmony, do not let it rest. Come straight to me at once, and I will do the same by you."

He agreed. In the lecture-room I stated that all our differences were over, and that we were friends again. This public recognition he was present at and heard, and expressed himself as greatly pleased with. It was after all this that I asked Mr. Howard to help me carry out this reconciliation, and to call on Mr. Bowen and to remove the little differences between them.

Mr. Howard called, expressed his gratification.

Then it was that, without any provocation, he (Mr. Bowen) told Mr. Howard that this reconciliation did not include one matter, that he (Bowen) "knew that about Mr. Beecher which, if he should speak it, would drive Mr. Beecher out of Brooklyn." Mr. Howard protested with horror against such a statement, saying: "Mr. Bowen, this is terrible. No man should make such a statement unless he has the most absolute evidence." To this Mr. Bowen replied that he had this evidence, and said, pointedly, that he (Howard) might go to Mr. Beecher, and that Mr. Beecher would never give his consent that he (Bowen) should tell Mr. Howard this secret.

Mr. Bowen at no time had ever made known to Mr. B. what this secret was, and the hints which Mr. Beecher had had of it led him to think that it was another matter, and not the slander which he now finds it to be.

In that interview Beecher was very earnest in his expression of regret at what had been done against Tilton in relation to his business connection with Bowen, and besought me to do everything I could to save him from the destruction which would come upon him if the story of his (Beecher's) intercourse with Mrs. Tilton should be divulged. In compliance with the directions of Beecher, January 1, 1871, I took the paper marked "F," which he had dictated to me, to Tilton, detailed to him Beecher's expressions of regret and sorrow, spoke to him of his agony of mind, and again appealed to him to have the whole matter kept quiet, if for no other reason, for the sake of the children. To this Tilton assented. I found him writing the letter to Bowen of that date, which I have before produced, marked "B." He told me also of the contracts he had with Bowen with a penalty, when he left the *Independent*, to be editor of the *Brooklyn Union* and special contributor to the *Independent* at a salary of one hundred dollars per week, with another salary of equal amount for his editorship of the *Brooklyn Union* and a portion of the profits. Copies of these contracts I cannot produce, because both papers were delivered to Bowen after the arbitration of the controversy of which I am about to speak. These contracts provided that they could be terminated by mutual consent, or upon six months' notice, or upon the death of either party, or at once by the party who wished to break or annul them, paying to the other the sum of twenty-five hundred dollars. Tilton insisted that that sum, with his arrears of salary, was justly due him, and that he should bring suit against Bowen unless he settled, and he gave me an authorization to settle his affairs with Bowen, which paper I gave to Mr. Bowen when I went down to treat with him, retaining this copy, marked "I";

MOULTON'S AUTHORIZATION.

BROOKLYN, January 2, 1871.

MR. H. C. BOWEN:

Sir—I hereby authorize Mr. Francis D. Moulton to act in my behalf in full settlement with you of all my accounts growing out of my contracts for services to the *Independent* and the *Brooklyn Daily Union*.

(Signed)

THEO. TILTON.

Acting in the interest of Beecher, I told Tilton that this controversy with Bowen, if possible, should be peacefully settled lest it might reopen the other matters relating to Beecher's conduct in Tilton's family and the charges made by Bowen against Beecher. To this Tilton assented, giving me the authorization above quoted.

At my earliest convenience I called upon Bowen at his office upon this business, telling him that I wanted him to settle with me, as I was authorized by Tilton by this letter (handing him the letter) to settle for the breaking of his contract with Tilton as contributor to the *Independent* and as editor of the *Brooklyn Union*. I also handed him an article written by Tilton for the *Independent*, which he (Tilton) claimed was in part performance of his contract, which article was subsequently returned to Tilton by Bowen through me. Bowen said that he did not consider that he owed Tilton any money at all for breaking the contracts—that he had terminated them, having, in his opinion, sufficient reasons for so doing. "Well," I said, "Mr. Bowen, your contracts are specific." He said he knew they were, but they provided for arbitration in case of any differences between the parties. I replied, in substance, that the arbitration only referred to differences between the parties as to the articles to be published as editor and contributor by Tilton, and as to Bowen's conduct as publisher, and that there was a fixed sum as penalty for breach of the contracts. The interview terminated with his refusal to settle the claim I demanded, which refusal I reported to Tilton, advising him still not to sue Bowen.

The following correspondence is with reference to my meeting Mr. Bowen on this business. The letter marked "J 1" is my note to Mr. Bowen, and his reply, marked "J 2":

MOULTON TO BOWEN.

BROOKLYN, January 9, 1871.

MR. HENRY C. BOWEN:

Dear Sir—Referring to a recent interview with you, I would state that in consequence of illness I have been detained at home, and as I deem it of great importance to the interests of all concerned in the affairs about which we talked that you and I should meet at an early moment, if you will call at my house, No. 143 Clinton street, I shall be glad to see you at any hour convenient to yourself to-morrow. Truly yours,

(Signed)

F. D. MOULTON.

BOWEN TO MOULTON.

90 WILLOW STREET, BROOKLYN, January 10, 1871.

Sir—I am not very well myself, but will try to call at your house Thursday evening at eight o'clock. I am engaged to-morrow evening. I can go this evening if you will inform me that it will be convenient for

you to see me. Unless I learn from you to the contrary I will see you on Thursday evening. Very respectfully,
(Signed) HENRY C. BOWEN.

Mr. F. D. Moulton.

In pursuance of this correspondence we met at my house and entered into negotiations about the settlement of the contract with Tilton. At that time, during the interview, I showed Bowen the letter of January 1 of Tilton, (which he—Tilton—had placed in my hands to use in accordance with my own discretion), heretofore given, marked "B." Bowen, during the reading of the letter, seemed to be much excited, and at only one point of the letter questioned the accuracy of its statements, which states as follows: "that alluding by name to a woman, now a widow, whose husband's death no doubt was hastened by his knowledge that Mr. Beecher had maintained with her an improper intimacy." To that he said: "I didn't make that allusion; Mr. Tilton made it." I went on to the close of the letter and finished it, when Bowen said to me: "Has Tilton told Beecher the contents of this letter?" I replied: "Yes, he has." Said he: "What shall I do? What I said at that interview was said in confidence. We struck hands there, and pledged ourselves to God that no one there present would reveal anything there spoken." I said to him: "It would be an easy matter to confirm what you say or prove what you say is false. Mr. Oliver Johnson was there, and I have submitted this letter to Mr. Johnson, in Mr. Tilton's presence, and he tells me that there was no obligatory confidence imposed on any of the parties concerning anything said at this interview, save a special pledge, mutually given, that nothing should be said concerning Mr. Beecher's demonstrations toward Mrs. Tilton. Mr. Johnson also says—and this confirms what you say in regard to one point, namely, that the allusion to the widow was made by Theodore Tilton, and that you said you had no doubt that her husband's death was caused by his knowledge of her improper intimacy with Mr. Beecher. Quoting your language, he says that you said: "I have no doubt about it whatever." Mr. Johnson also says that your statements in regard to Beecher were not intimations of his adulteries, but plain and straightforward charges of the same. He says that you said that you knew of four or five cases of Mr. Beecher's adulterous intercourse with women. Mr. Johnson says also that you at that interview plainly declared that Mr. Beecher had confessed his guilt to you." I also said to him: "Mr. Tilton states that you said: "I can't stand it any longer. You and I owe a duty to society in this matter. That man ought not to stay another week in his pulpit. It isn't safe for our families to have him in this city." I also said to him: "Mr. Johnson also states that at the interview of December 26 at your house, Willow street, you voluntarily pledged your word to Mr. Johnson that you would take no further measures in regard to Mr. Tilton without consultation with him (Mr. Johnson), and that you had said substantially the same thing to him previously, during private conversations between you and him." I then said to Bowen that I thought he was a very treacherous man, and for this reason that I knew he had had a reconciliation with Beecher—or rather I was informed of it—which was perfected in the house of God, and that within forty-eight hours from that time he had avowed to Mr. Howard that he could, if he chose, drive Mr. Beecher out of town. I told him further that I was also informed that, prior to that reconciliation, he had made no charge against Beecher's character to Beecher, but only behind his back; and I said: "Mr. Bowen, I have the points of settlement between you and Beecher in your own handwriting, and there is no reference to any charge of crime of any kind against Beecher." Mr. Bowen made no denial of these assertions of mine, but seemed, on the contrary, abashed and dejected, and in reply to my question, "What do you say to these charges which you have made against Beecher?" he declined to say anything about them, but repeated the question: "What can I do?" I answered: "I am not your adviser; I cannot dictate to you what course you should pursue; but you have done great injustice to Mr. Tilton and to Mr. Beecher, and you ought to take the earliest means of repairing the injury. I should think it would be but just for you to restore Tilton to the *Independent*, but I don't believe he would go back if you should offer it to him." His reply was, "How can I do that now?" I told him I didn't know; he must find a way to settle his own difficulties. He again expressed his willingness to arbitrate the question of money between himself and Tilton, growing out of the contract. I told him that I would not arbitrate; that a plain provision of the contract provided that he should pay what I demanded, and he must fulfill it. Mr. Bowen rose to leave, and said before leaving, whenever I wanted to see him he would be happy to come to my house and confer on this subject; and he did, on several subsequent occasions, visit me at my house whenever I sent for him to consult on this matter. The means I have of giving so accurately the conversation between myself and Bowen as to the conversations had with Tilton and Oliver Johnson are, that prior to my meeting with Bowen, as I told him, I had an interview with Oliver Johnson in the presence of Tilton, where the whole matter was discussed, and a memorandum of Oliver Johnson's statement, in which he gave his recollection of the interview of December 26, when Tilton and Johnson were present, was taken down by Tilton in short-hand in my presence, and copied out at the time in Johnson's presence, which memorandum has been in my possession ever since, and from which I read each statement, one after the other, to Mr. Bowen. I here produce it, marked "K."

OLIVER JOHNSON'S STATEMENT.

At the interview of December 26 (Willow street, No. 90), Mr. Bowen voluntarily pledged his word to Mr. Johnson that he (H. C. B.) would take no further measures in regard to Mr. Tilton without consultation with Mr. Johnson. Mr. Bowen likewise had said substantially the same thing to Mr. Johnson previously during private conversations between those two persons.

There was no obligatory confidence imposed on any of the parties concerning anything said at this interview, save a special pledge, mutually given, that nothing should be said concerning Mr. Beecher's demonstrations toward Mrs. Tilton.

Mr. O. J. says that Mr. Bowen's statements in regard to H. W. B. were

not intimations of H. W. B.'s adulteries, but plain and straightforward charges of the same. H. C. B. stated that he knew four or five cases of Mr. B.'s adulterous intercourse with women.

O. J. says that H. C. B., at this interview, plainly declared that H. W. B. had confessed his guilt to H. C. B.

H. C. B.—I cannot stand it any longer. You and I owe a duty to society in this matter. That man ought not to stay another week in his pulpit. It is not safe for our families to have him in this city.

The allusion to the widow was made by T. T., and H. C. B. said he had no doubt that her husband's death was caused by his knowledge of her improper intimacy with H. W. B. "I have no doubt about it whatever."

To make an end of the statement as to the controversy between Tilton and Bowen, I further state that various negotiations were had between Bowen and myself, which resulted finally in an arbitration in which H. B. Claflin, Charles Storrs and James Freeland were referees; that there was very considerable delay arising from my own absence South in the early spring on account of sickness, Mr. Bowen's absence during the summer, and Tilton's absence during the fall and winter on his lecturing tour; so that the arbitration did not terminate until the 2d of April, 1872. This arbitration was determined upon by me, and my determination given to Mr. Claflin in the following note, which I sent, marked "K 2:"

MOULTON TO CLAFLIN.

BROOKLYN, April 1, 1872.

My Dear Mr. Claflin—After full consideration of all interests other than Theodore's, I have advised him to arbitrate on grounds which he will explain to you, and which I hope will accord with your judgment and kind wishes toward all concerned.

Cordially yours, (Signed)

FRANCIS D. MOULTON.

Tilton and Bowen and myself appeared before the arbitrators and all made statements. In Tilton's statement was included the letter marked "B," before given, which he had put into type, which fact influenced me to consent to the arbitration in order to do away with the necessity for its publication. After full hearing, nothing having been submitted to the arbitrators except the business differences of Tilton and Bowen, the arbitrators made an award that Mr. Bowen should pay Tilton the sum of seven thousand dollars, for which he (Mr. Bowen) drew his check upon the spot and the contracts were given up to him.

After the above settlement a paper, which has since been called the "tripartite agreement," was signed by Bowen and Tilton, Beecher signing it subsequently. The inducing cause to this arbitration was the fact that Tilton had commenced a suit against Bowen and prepared an article for the *Golden Age*, in which he embodied his letter (marked "B") to Mr. Bowen and a statement of the circumstances. He submitted that article to me, and I begged him to withhold it from publication. I also brought Beecher and Tilton together, and Beecher added his entreaties to mine. To prevent its publication and close the suit, which might work injury to Beecher and others, I agreed to submit Mr. Tilton's claim to arbitration, to which I had been invited before by Mr. Bowen but which I had refused, as before stated. In this interview between Beecher, Tilton and myself I said, "Perhaps we can settle the whole matter if I can see Mr. Claflin, for Claflin knows Bowen well, and understands the importance of all these interests." Beecher said he would send Claflin to me, and I might confer with him upon the matter. In consequence of this Mr. Claflin called on me and we conferred upon the matter, and subsequently the arbitration was agreed upon. At the conclusion of the arbitration the parties signed the "tripartite covenant," which was drawn up (as I understand) by Mr. Samuel Wilkeson. It was first signed by Bowen. In the form in which it was first drawn it bound the parties to say nothing of any wrong done or offense committed by Beecher, and fully exonerated him therefrom. After Bowen had signed it it was handed to Tilton to sign, and he refused. He was willing to sign an agreement never to repeat again the charges of Bowen, saying that, if for no other reason, if the matter should thereafter ever come to light, it would appear that there had been something between Beecher and Mrs. Tilton, and it might be used as evidence to the injury of himself and family, as well as of Beecher, and therefore it was not for the interest of either Tilton or Beecher to sign it in the form first proposed. No copy of that "tripartite covenant" was confided to me. Appended to this covenant, and made a part of it, was a copy of the proof-sheet article for the *Golden Age*, so that it might be known exactly to what scandal it referred. How that "tripartite covenant" came to be published I know not. As a part of that settlement it was arranged that Tilton should write a letter to Bowen, to be published in the *Independent*, with certain comments to be made by Bowen. The original draft of these, in full recantation and withdrawal of all charges and matters of difference between Tilton and Bowen is herewith produced and marked "L":

RECONCILIATION OF TILTON AND BOWEN.

Theodore Tilton.

We have received the following note from an old friend:
"OFFICE OF THE 'GOLDEN AGE,'
(Original date blotted.)

"HENRY C. BOWEN, Esq.:
New York, April 3, 1872.
"My Dear Sir—In view of misapprehensions which I lately found existing among our mutual friends at the West, touching the severance of our relations in the *Independent* and the *Brooklyn Union*, I think it would be well, both for your sake and mine, if we should publicly say that, while our political and theological differences still exist, and will probably widen, yet that all other disagreements (so far as we ever had any) have been blotted out in reciprocal friendliness and goodwill.

"Truly yours, (Signed) "THEODORE TILTON."
It is so long since Mr. Tilton's pen has contributed to the *Independent* that we give to his brief note his old and familiar place at the head of these columns. While we never agreed with some of his radical opinions (and quite likely, as he intimates, we never shall), yet we owe to his request as above printed the hearty response which his honest purposes, his manly character and his unstained integrity elicit from all who know him well. The abuse and slanders heaped upon him by some unfriendly journals have never been countenanced by the *Independent*. Regretting his opposition to the present administration, we nevertheless wish abundant prosperity to the *Golden Age* and its editor. H. C. B.

The above proposed card was subsequently and voluntarily changed by Mr. Bowen into a still stronger and more friendly notice of Mr. Tilton.

After the tripartite covenant was signed it came to the knowledge of Beecher, as he informed me, that Bowen was still spreading scandals about him, at which he was angered and proposed to write Bowen a letter stating the points that had been settled in their reconciliation and agreement, and the reason why Mr. Bowen's mouth should be closed in regard to such slanders. I find among my papers a pencil and ink memorandum of the statements intend to be embodied in that letter, which was submitted to my judgment by Beecher. It is in his handwriting and is produced, marked "M." It reads as follows:

BEECHER'S STATEMENT OF BOWEN'S SETTLEMENT.

I. That he allowed himself to listen to unfounded rumors.
II. That he never brought them either (1) to me (2) nor in any proper manner to the church; (3) that he only whispered them, and even that only when he had some business end in view.
III. That he did not himself believe that anything had occurred which unfitted me for the utmost trust shown.

(1) By continuing for twelve to fifteen years a conspicuous attendant at Plymouth Church.

(2) By contracts with me as editor of the *Independent*.

(3) By continued publication of my sermons, &c., making the privilege of doing so—even as late as the interview at Freeland's—one of these points of settlement.

(4) By a settlement of all difficulties at Freeland's (and a reconciliation which was to lead to work together), in which not a single hint of any personal immorality, but every item was business.

IV. As a result of such agreement—

(1) I was to resume my old familiarity at his house.

(2) To write him a letter that could give his family to show that I had restored confidence.

(3) To endeavor to remove from him the coldness and frowns of the parish, as one who had injured me.

(4) A card to be published, and which was published, giving him the right to put in *Independent* sermons and lecture-room talks, &c.

(5) I was invited to go to Woodstock and be his guest, as I was at Grant's reception.

V. Of the settlement by a committee whose record is with Claflin, I have nothing to say. I did not see Mr. B. during the whole process, nor do I remember to have spoken with him since.

VI. Now the force of the statement that he did not believe that I had done anything immoral which should affect my standing as a man, a citizen, and a minister, illustrated by the foregoing facts, is demonstrated by his conduct when he did believe that Theodore Tilton committed immoralities, his dispossession of the *Independent*, his ignominious expulsion from B. U., his refusal to pay him the salary and forfeit of contract.

As a part of this transaction, Beecher sent me the following note, marked "N:"

BEECHER TO MOULTON.

MONDAY.

My Dear Friend—I called last evening as agreed, but you had stepped out. On the way to church last evening I met Claflin. He says B. denies any such treacherous whisperings, and is in a right state. I mentioned my proposed letter. He liked the idea. I read him the draft of it (in lecture-room). He drew back, and said better not send it. I asked him if B. had ever made him statement of the very bottom facts: if there were any charges I did not know. He evaded and intimated that if he had he hardly would be right in telling me. I think he would be right in telling you—ought to. I have not sent any note, and have destroyed that prepared.

The real point to avoid is, to an appeal to the church and then a council.

It would be a conflagration, and give every possible chance for parties, for hidings and evasions, and increase an hundred-fold this scandal, without healing anything.

I shall see you as soon as I return.

Meantime I confide everything to your wisdom, as I always have, and with such success hitherto that I have full trust for future.

Don't fail to see C. and have a full and confidential talk. Yours, ever.

From the time of the tripartite covenant nothing occurred to disturb the relations between Beecher, Tilton, and Bowen, or either of them, so far as I know, until the publication in WOODHULL AND CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY of an elaborate story concerning the social relations between Beecher, Tilton, and Mrs. Tilton. After that publication appeared it again came to the knowledge of Beecher that Bowen was making declarations derogatory to his character. This was followed by the publication of the "tripartite covenant," which Beecher informed me was done by Mr. Samuel Wilkeson, and also that Beecher was not a party to its publication nor knew anything about it. There afterward appeared an account of an interview between Bowen, H. B. Claflin and Mrs. Woodhull, published in the *Brooklyn Eagle*, in which an attempt was made to obtain from her any letters which she might have showing that Beecher was guilty of criminal conduct, which attempt failed. Whereupon Beecher addressed me the following note, which I here produce, marked "N 2:"

BEECHER TO MOULTON.

I need to see you this evening any time till half-past ten. Can you make appointment? Will you call at 124, or shall I? At what hour? I send Claflin's letter. Keep it. Answer by telegraph. H. W. B.

I shall take tea at Howard's, 74 Hicks, and should you call, let it be there. Or I will go round to your rooms. I want to show you a proposed card.

I also produce a letter of Claflin to Beecher of June 28, 1873, which was inclosed with the above, marked "N 3":

CLAFLIN TO BEECHER.

NEW YORK, June 28, 1873.

My Dear Mr. Beecher—I have yours. It was distinctly understood that the call on Woodhull was entirely private and not to be reported. I told Bowen Woodhull had no letters from you of the least consequence to him or anybody else, and I was entirely satisfied after the interview that I was entirely right. I went there at Bowen's earnest solicitation, knowing it could not harm you and might satisfy him, as I think it did. It was in bad faith to publish the meeting. All present must have been disgusted at the utter lack of what Woodhull professed to have, but could not produce. Truly your friend, H. B. CLAFLIN.

P. S.—Wish you would call and see me if you pass the store. I am always in at about eleven a. m. H. B. C.

Beecher, when we met in pursuance of his note, produced to me a memorandum of a card which he proposed to publish in the *Eagle*, and which he submitted to my judgment, and gave me leave to alter the same as I thought fit. That paper is herewith produced, marked "N 4":

BEECHER'S PROPOSED CARD.

BROOKLYN, June, 1873.

I have seen in the morning papers that application has been made to Mrs. Victoria Woodhull for certain letters of mine supposed to contain information respecting certain infamous stories against me. She has two business letters, one declining an invitation to a suffrage meeting and the other declining to give her assistance solicited.

These, and all letters of mine in the hands of any other persons, they have my cordial consent to publish. I will only add in this connection that the stories and rumors which have for a time been circulated about me are grossly untrue, and I stamp them in general and in particular as utterly false.

I saw the editor of the Brooklyn *Eagle* at his office, and after consultation with him the card was published as follows:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BROOKLYN EAGLE:

Sir—In a long and active life in Brooklyn it has rarely happened that the *Eagle* and myself has been in accord on questions of common concern to our fellow-citizens. I am for this reason compelled to acknowledge the unsolicited confidence and regard of which the columns of the *Eagle* of late bear testimony. I have just returned to the city to learn that application has been made to [Mrs.] Victoria Woodhull for letters of mine supposed to contain information respecting certain infamous stories against me. [I have no objection to have the *Eagle* state, in any way it deems fit, that Mrs. Woodhull or any other person or persons who may have letters of mine in their possession, have my cordial consent to publish them. In this connection [and at this time] I will only add that the stories and rumors which have, for some time past, been circulated about me are untrue, and I stamp them in general and in particular as utterly [untrue]. Respectfully,

(Signed) HENRY WARD BEECHER.

In order that the emendations made by myself and Mr. Kinsella may be observed at a glance, I have inclosed in brackets the words which are not in the original. It will be thus seen how much of this card was the composition of Mr. Beecher, and how much he relied upon the judgment of others in its preparation.

I would have submitted this card to Beecher before publication, but he was absent. For obvious reasons I held myself excepted from this call for publication, as was well understood by Beecher. I know nothing further of the relations of Bowen and Beecher in this connection which is of importance to this inquiry. I have traced them thus far because that controversy at each stage of it continually threatened the peaceful settlement of the trouble of Tilton and Beecher, an account of which I now resume.

Another curious complication of the relations of the parties, arose from the publication by Mrs. Woodhull of the story in her journal. It is a matter of public notoriety that Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker, the sister of Beecher, had espoused the cause of Mrs. Woodhull on the question of woman suffrage, and had been accused still further of adopting her social tenets.

Beecher's relations to Mrs. Tilton had been communicated to her. This had been made a subject of communication from Mrs. Hooker to her brother, and, after the publication by Mrs. Woodhull, Mrs. Hooker addressed the following note to her brother, which contains so full and clear an exposition of all the facts and circumstances that I need not add a word of explanation. I produce Mrs. Hooker's letter to Beecher, under date of November 1, 1872, marked "N 5":

MRS. HOOKER TO BEECHER.

HARTFORD, November 1, 1872.

Dear Brother—In reply to your words "If you still believe in that woman," etc., let me say that from her personally I have never heard a word on this subject; and when, nearly a year ago, I heard that when here in this city she said she had expected you to introduce her at Steinway, I wrote her a most indignant and rebuking letter, to which she replied in a manner that astounded me by its calm assertion that she considered you as true a friend to her as I myself.

I inclosed this letter to Mr. Tilton, asking him to show it to you if he thought best, and to write me what it all meant. He never replied nor returned the letter to me as I requested; but I have a copy of it at your service. In the month of February, after that, on returning from Washington, I went to Mrs. Stanton's to spend Sunday. At Jersey City I met Mrs. W., who had come on in the same train with me, it seemed, and who urged me in a hasty way to bring Mrs. Stanton over on Monday for a suffrage consultation as to spring convention. Remembering her assertion of the friendship between you, and of her meeting you occasionally at Mr. Moulton's house (I think this is the name), I thought I would put this to test, and replied that if I could be sure of seeing you at the same time I would come. She promised to secure you if possible, and I fully meant to keep my appointment; but on Sunday I remembered an appointment at New Haven, which I should miss if I stopped in New York, and so I passed by, dropping her a letter by the way. Curiously enough sister Catharine, who was staying at your house at this time, said to me here, casually, the latter of that same week: "Belle, Henry went over to New York to see you last Monday, but couldn't find you." Of course my inference was that Mrs. W. either had power over you, or you were secretly friends. During that Sunday Mrs. Stanton told me precisely what Mr. Tilton had said to her, when in the rage of discovery he fled to the house of Mrs. —, and before them both narrated the story of his own infidelities as confessed to his wife, and of hers as confessed to him. She added that not long after she went to Mr. Moulton's, and met you coming down the front steps, and on entering met Tilton and Moulton, who said: "We have just had Plymouth Church at our feet, and here is his confession"—showing a manuscript. She added that Mrs. Tilton had made similar statements to Miss Anthony, and I have since received from Miss A. a corroboration of this, although she refuses to give me particulars, being bound in confidence, she thinks. From that day to this I have carried a heavy load, you may be sure. I could not share it with my husband, because he was already over-burdened and alarmingly affected brain-wise, but I resolved that if he went abroad, as he probably must, I would not go with him, leaving you alone, as it were, to bear whatever might come of revelation. I withstood the entreaties of my husband to the last, and sent Mary in my stead, and at the last moment I confided to her all that I knew and felt and feared, that she might be prepared to sustain her father should trial overtake them. By reading the accompanying letters from them, you will perceive that from outside evidence alone he had come to the conclusions which I reached only through the most reliable testimony that could well be furnished in any case and against every predisposition of my own soul. Fearing that they would hasten home to me, and thus lose all the benefit of the journey (for, owing to this and other anxieties of business, John had grown worse rather than better up to that very time, though the air of the high Alps was beginning to promote sleep and restoration), I telegraphed by cable, "No trouble here—go to Italy," and by recent letters I am rejoiced to hear of them in Milan in comfortable health and spirits. From the day those letters came the matter has not been out of my thoughts an hour, it seems to me, and an unceasing prayer has ascended that I might be guided with wisdom and truth. But what is the truth I am farther from understanding this morning than ever. The tale as published is essentially the same as told to me—in fact, it is impossible but that Mr. Tilton is the authority for it, since I recognize a verisimilitude, and, as I understand it, Mrs. T. was the sole revelator. The only reply I made to Mrs. Stanton was that, if true, you had a philosophy of the relation of the sexes so far ahead of the times that you dared not announce it, though you consented to live by it. That

this was in my judgment wrong, and God would bring all secret things to light in His own time and fashion, and I could only wait. I added that I had come to see that human laws were an impertinence, but could get no further, though I could see glimpses of a possible new science of life that at present was revolting to my feelings and my judgment; that I should keep myself open to conviction, however, and should converse with men, and especially women, on the whole subject, and as fast as I knew the truth I should stand by it, with no attempt at concealment. I think that Dr. Channing probably agrees with you in theory, but he had the courage to announce his convictions before acting upon them. He refused intercourse with an uncongenial wife for a long time, and then left her and married a woman whom he still loves, leaving a darling daughter with her mother, and to-day he pays photographers to keep him supplied with her pictures as often as they can be procured. I send you the article he wrote when, abandoned by all their friends, he and his wife went to the West and stayed for years. Crushed by calumny and abuse, to-day they are esteemed more highly than ever, and he is in positions of public trust in Providence.

You will perceive my situation, and by all that I have suffered and am willing to suffer for your sake, I beg you to confide to me the whole truth. Then I can help you as no one else in the world can. The moment that I can know this matter as God knows it He will help you and me to bring everlasting good out of this seeming evil. If I could say truthfully that I believe this story to be a fabrication of Mr. and Mrs. Tilton imposed upon a credulous woman—mere medium, whose susceptibility to impressions from spirits in the flesh and out of it is to be taken into account always—the whole thing dies. But if it is essentially true, there is but one honorable way to meet it, in my judgment, and the precise method occurred to me in bed this morning, and I was about writing you to suggest it when your letter came.

I will write you a sisterly letter, expressing my deep conviction that this whole subject needs the most earnest and chaste discussion—that my own mind has long been occupied with it, but is still in doubt on many points—that I have observed for years that your reading and thinking has been profound on this and kindred subjects, and now the time has come for you to give the world, through your own paper, the conclusions you have reached and the reasons therefor. If you choose I will then reply to each letter, giving the woman's view (for there is surely a man's and a woman's side to this beyond everywhere else), and by this means attention will be diverted from personalities and concentrated on social philosophy—the one subject that now ought to occupy all thinking minds.

It seems to me that God has been preparing me for this work, and you also, for years and years. I send you a reply I wrote to Dr. Todd long ago, and which I could never get published without my name (which for the sake of my daughters I wished to withhold), although Godkin of the *Nation*, Holbrook of the *Herald of Health*, Ward of the *Independent*, and every mother to whom I have read it all told me it was the best thing ever written on the subject, and the men said they would publish it if they dared, while Mrs. — urged me to give my name and publish, and said she would rather have written it than anything else of its length in the world, and if it were hers she would print it without hesitation. I send also a copy of a letter I wrote John Stuart Mill on his sending me an early copy of his "Subjection of Women," and his reply. I am sure that nearly all the thinking men and women are somewhere near you and will rally to your support if you are bold, frank and absolutely truthful in stating your convictions. Mrs. Burleigh told Dr. Channing she was ready to avow her belief in social freedom when the time came; she was weary now and glad of a reprieve, but should stand true to her convictions when she must. My own conviction is that the one radical mistake you have made is in supposing that you are so much ahead of your time, and in daring to attempt to lead when you have anything to conceal. Do not, I pray you, deceive yourself with the hope that the love of your church, or any other love, human or divine, can compensate the loss of absolute truthfulness to your own mental convictions. I have not told you the half I have suffered since February; but you can imagine, knowing what my husband is to me, that it was no common love I have for you and for the truth, and for all mankind, women as well as men, when I decided to nearly break his heart, already lacerated by the course I had been compelled to pursue, by sending him away to die, perhaps, without me at his side.

I wish you would come here in the evening some time (to the Barton cottage), or I will meet you anywhere in New York you appoint, and at any time. Ever yours,

BELLE.

Read the letters from John and Mary in the order I have placed them. I will send these now and the other documents I have mentioned another day, waiting till I know whether you will meet me.

On the 3d of the same month Mrs. Hooker addressed a letter to her brother, the Rev. Thomas K. Beecher, which I produce, marked "N 6":

MRS. HOOKER TO REV. THOMAS K. BEECHER.

[Please return this letter to me when you have done with it.]

HARTFORD, Sunday, November 3, 1872.

Dear Brother Tom—The blow has fallen, and I hope you are better prepared for it than you might have been but for our interview. I wrote H. a single line last week thus: "Can I help you?" and here is his reply: "If you still believe in that woman you cannot help me. If you think of her as I do you can, perhaps, though I do not need much help. I tread the falsehoods into the dirt from whence they spring, and go on my way rejoicing. My people are thus far heroic, and would give their lives for me. Their love and confidence would make me willing to bear far more than I have. Meantime the Lord has a pavilion in which he hides me until the storm be overpast. I abide in peace, committing myself to Him who gave Himself for me. I trust you give neither countenance nor credence to the abominable coinage that has been put afloat. The specks of truth are mere spangles upon a garment of falsehood. The truth itself is made to lie. Thank you for love and truth and silence, but think of the barbarity of dragging a poor, dear child of a woman into this slough. Yours truly."

Now, Tom, so far as I can see, it is he who has dragged the dear child into the slough and left her there, and who is now sending another woman to prison who is innocent of all crime but a fanaticism for the truth as revealed to her, and I, by my silence, am consenting unto her death.

Read the little note she sent me long ago, when, in a burst of enthusiasm over a public letter of hers which seemed wonderful to me, I told her how it affected me, and mark its prophetic words:

"NEW YORK, August 8, 1871.

"My Dear, Dear Friend—I was never more happy in all my life than I am this morning, and made so by you whom I have learned to love so much. From you, from whom I had expected censure, I receive the first deep, pure words of approval and love. I know my course has often been contrary to your wishes, and it has been my greatest grief to know that it was so, since you have so nobly been my defender. But all the time I knew it was not I for whom you spoke but all womanhood, and I was the more proud of you that your love was general and not personal. I am often compelled to do things from which my sensitive soul shrinks, and for which I endure the censure of most of my friends. But I obey a power which knows better than they or I can know, and which has never left me stranded and without hope. I should be a faithless servant indeed were I to falter now when required to do what I cannot fully understand, yet in the issue of which I have full faith. None of the scenes in which I have enacted a part were what I would have selfishly chosen for my own happiness. I love my home, my children, my husband, and could live a sanctified life with them and never desire

contact with the wide world. But such is not to be my mission. I know what is to come, though I cannot yet divulge it. My daily prayer is that heaven may vouchsafe me strength to meet everything which I know must be encountered and overcome. My heart is, however, too full to write you all I wish. I see the near approach of the grandest revelation the world has yet known, and for the part you shall play in it thousands will rise up and call you blessed. It was not for nothing that you and I met so singularly. Let us watch and pray, that we faint not by the way-side before we reach the consummation. We shall then look back with exceeding great joy to all we have been called upon to suffer for the sake of a cause more holy than has yet come upon earth. Again I bless you for your letter.

"Affectionately and faithfully yours, VICTORIA C. WOODHULL."

Oh, my dear brother, I fear the awful struggle to live according to law has wrought an absolute demoralization as to truthfulness, and so he can talk about "spangles on a garment of falsehood," when the garment is truth and the specks are the falsehood.

His first letter to me was so different from this, I read it to you, but will copy it lest you have forgotten its character:

"APRIL 25, 1872.

"My Dear Belle—I was sorry when I met you at Bridgeport not to have had a longer talk with you about the meeting in May. I do not intend to make any speeches on any topic during anniversary week. Indeed, I shall be out of town. I do not want you to take any ground this year except upon suffrage. You know my sympathy with you. Probably you and I are nearer together than any of our family. I cannot give reason now. I am clear; still, you will follow your own judgment. I thank you for your letter. Of some things I neither talk, nor will I be talked with. For love and sympathy I am deeply thankful. The only help that can be grateful to me or useful is silence and a silencing influence on all others. A day may come for converse. It is not now. Living or dead, my dear sister Belle, love me, and do not talk about me or suffer others to in your presence. God love and keep you. God keep us all. Your loving brother,

H. W. B."

The underscoring is his own, and when I read in that horrible story that he begged a few hours' notice, that he might kill himself, my mind flew back to this sentence, which suggested suicide to me the moment I read it: "Living or dead, my dear sister Belle, love me," and I believed even that.

Now, Tom, can't you go to brother Edward at once and give him these letters of mine, and tell him what I told you; and when you have counselled together as brothers should, counsel me also, and come to me if you can. It looks as if he hoped to buy my silence with my love. At present, of course, I shall keep silence, but truth is dearer than all things else, and if he will not speak it in some way I cannot always stand assenting to a lie. "God help us all."

Yours in love.

BELLE.

If you can't come to me, send Edward, I am utterly alone, and my heart aches for that woman even as for my own flesh and blood. I do not understand her, but I know her to be pure and unselfish and absolutely driven by some power foreign to herself to these strange utterances, which are always in behalf of freedom, purity—truth, as she understands it—always to befriend the poor and outcast, and bring low only the proud, the hypocrites in high places. The word about meeting at Mrs. Phelps' house I have added to the copy. If you see Henry tell him of this.

The reply to this letter by the Rev. Thomas K. Beecher to his sister is as follows, and needs but a single remark—the thought of a good man as to the value of testimony in this case. I refer to the last sentence of the postscript. This is produced, marked "N 7":

REV. THOS. K. BEECHER TO HIS SISTER.

ELMIRA, November 5, 1872.

DEAR BELLE: To allow the Devil himself to be crushed for speaking the truth is unspeakably cowardly and contemptible. I respect, as at present advised, Mrs. Woodhull, while I abhor her philosophy. She only carries out Henry's philosophy, against which I recorded my protest twenty years ago, and parted (lovingly and achingly) from him saying "We cannot work together." He has drifted, and I have hardened like a crystal till I am sharp-cornered and exacting. I cannot help him except by prayer. I cannot help him through Edward. In my judgment Henry is following his slippery doctrines of expediency, and, in his cry of progress and the nobleness of human nature, has sacrificed clear, exact, ideal integrity. Hands off, until he is down, and then my pulpit, my home, my church and my purse and heart are at his service. Of the two, Woodhull is my hero, and Henry my coward, as at present advised. But I protest against the whole batch and all its belongings. I was not anti-slavery; I am not anti-family. But as I wrote years ago, whenever I assault slavery because of its abominations I shall assail the church, the state the family, and all other institutions of selfish usage.

I return the papers. You cannot help Henry. You must be true to Woodhull. I am out of the circle as yet, and am glad of it. When the storm-line includes me I shall suffer as a Christian, saying: "Cease ye from man."

Don't write to me. Follow the truth, and when you need me cry out. Yours, lovingly,

(Signed)

TOM.

P. S.—I am so overworked and hurried that I see upon review that my letter sounds hard—because of its sentimentousness. But believe me, dear Belle, that I see and suffer with you. You are in a tight place. But having chosen your principles I can only counsel you to be true and take the consequences. For years, you know, I have been apart from all of you except in love. I think you all in the wrong as to anthropology and social science. But I honor and love them who suffer for conviction's sake. My turn to suffer will come in due time. In this world all Christians shall suffer tribulation. So eat, sleep, pray, take good aim and shoot, and when the ache comes say even hereunto were we called. But I repeat—You can't help Henry at present.

P. S.—I unseal my letter to inclose print and add: You have no proof as yet of any offense on Henry's part. Your testimony would be allowed in no court. Tilton, wife, Moulton and Co. are witnesses. Even Mrs. Stanton can only declare hearsay. So if you move, remember that you are standing on uncertain information, and we shall not probably ever get the facts, and I'm glad of it. If Mr. and Mrs. Tilton are brought into court nothing will be revealed. Perjury for good reason is with advanced thinkers no sin.

It will be observed in the letter of Mrs. Hooker that she speaks of having refused to go to Europe with her husband, and that she remained at home in order to protect her brother in this emergency of his life.

A letter came into my hands with the others from Mr. Hooker to his wife, under date of Florence, Italy, November 3, 1871, which tends to show that all this matter had been discussed between Mr. Hooker and his wife long before the publication by Mrs. Woodhull. I extract so much from the letter as refers to this subject. The remainder is a kindly communication of an absent husband to a loved wife, about wholly independent matters which have nothing to do with this controversy. It is produced, marked "N 8":

MR. HOOKER TO HIS WIFE.

FLORENCE, Sunday, November 3, 1872.

My Precious Wife—I hope you were not pained by what I wrote on Friday about the H. W. B. matter. I am getting much more at

peace about the matter, but I cannot look upon it in any other light, and it is a relief to me to speak my mind right out about it and then let it rest. I could not have been easy till I had sworn a little. The only mitigation of the concealment of the thing that I can think of is this—and it seems to me that some excuse, or at least explanation, may be found here—viz.: that a consideration of the happiness of both Mrs. T. and his wife required it, or seemed to, and the very possible further fact that he preferred to disclose it, but took the advice of a few of his leading friends in the church, and was overruled by them, they agreeing to take the responsibility of the concealment. This would take off somewhat from the hypocrisy of the thing, but leaves the original crime as open to condemnation as ever. But enough of this. Only let me request you to keep me informed of all that occurs, and do not rely upon my getting the news from the papers. I see by an extract from the Boston Advertiser that Mrs. W. has employed two Boston lawyers (it gives their names) to bring suit against the Republican and Woman's Journal, so that it looks as if the exposure is near at hand. I want to say one word more, however. Can you not let the report get out after the H. matter becomes public, without being exactly responsible for it, that you have kept up friendship with Mrs. W. in the hope of influencing her not to publish the story, you having learned its truth—and that is substantially the fact as I have understood it—and that you gave up going to Europe with me so as to be at home and comfort H. when the truth came out, as you expected it to do in the course of the summer? This will give the appearance of self-sacrifice to your affiliation with her, and will explain your not coming abroad with me—a fact which has a very unwise-like look. I know that you will otherwise be regarded as holding Mrs. W.'s views, and that we shall be regarded as living in some discord, and probably, by many people, as practicing her principles. It would be a great relief to me to have your relations to Mrs. W. explained in this way, so creditable to your heart. There is not half the untruth in it that there has been all along in my pretended approval of Mrs. Woodhull's course, and yet people think me an honest man. I have lied enough about that to ruin the character of an average man, and have probably damaged myself by it. * * *

After Beecher had seen these letters of his sister, Mrs. Hooker, he came to me, in trouble and alarm, and handed me all the letters, together with one under the date of November 27, which I herewith produce, with the inclosure, cut from the Hartford Times, to which it alludes. It is marked "N 9":

MRS. HOOKER TO BEECHER.

HARTFORD, Wednesday 27, 1872.

Dear Brother—Read the inclosed, clipped from the Times of this city last evening. [See inclosure below.] I can endure no longer. I must see you and persuade you to write a paper which I will read, going alone to your pulpit and taking sole charge of the services. I shall leave here on 8 A. M. train Friday morning, and unless you meet me at Forty-second street station I shall go to Mrs. —'s house, opposite Young Men's Christian Association, No. — Twenty-third street, where I shall hope to see you during the day. Mrs. — kindly said to me, when last in New York, "My daughter and I am now widows, living quietly in our pleasant home, and I want you to come there, without warning, whenever you are in New York, unless you have other friends whom you prefer to visit."

So I shall go as if on a shopping trip, and stay as long as it seems best.

I would prefer going to Mrs. Tilton's to anywhere else, but I hesitate to ask her to receive me.

I feel sure, however, that words from her should go into that paper, and with her consent I could write as one commissioned from on high.

Do not fall me, I pray you; meet me at noon on Friday as you hope to meet your own mother in heaven. In her name I beseech you, and I will take no denial. Ever yours in love unspeakable,

Signed,

BELLE.

[Inclosure mentioned in above letter.]

BEECHER AND MRS. TILTON.

"Eli Perkins," of the New York Commercial, a prominent Republican paper, has this to say:

"Nast's very boldness—his terrible aggressiveness—is what challenges admiration and makes Harper's Weekly a success."

"When I asked him if he didn't think it a great undertaking to attack Mr. Greeley, he said:

"Yes; but I knew he was an old humbug. I knew I was right, and I knew right would win in the end. I was almost alone, too. The people were fooled with Greeley, as they are fooled with Beecher, and he will tumble further than Greeley yet."

"We had a talk about Beecher and Tilton, and putting this with other conversations with personal friends of Mr. Tilton, and with newspapermen in New York, I am satisfied that a terrible downfall surely awaits the one who has erred and conceals it."

Beecher then informed me of his apprehension that his sister, in her anxiety that he should do his duty in presenting this truth as she understood it, and in protecting Mrs. Woodhull from the consequences of having published the truth, from which she was then suffering, would go into his pulpit and insist upon declaring that the Woodhull publication was substantially true; and he desired me to do what in me lay to prevent such a disaster. I suggested to him that he should see Mrs. Hooker, speak to her kindly, and exhort her not to take this course, and that Tilton should see her and so far shake her confidence in the truth of the story as to induce her to doubt whether she would be safe in making the statement public. In this course Beecher agreed, and such arguments and inducements were brought to bear upon Mrs. Hooker as were in the power of all three of us, to prevent her from doing that which would have certainly brought on an exposure of the whole business. During the consultation between Beecher and myself as to the means of meeting Mrs. Hooker's intentions, no suggestion was ever made on the part of Beecher that his sister was then or had been at any other time insane.

All these letters I received from Beecher, and they are those to which he alludes in his communication of the 4th instant, as the letters of his sister and brother delivered to me, and which I did not believe that I could honorably give him up, because I thought—and I submit to the committee I was right in thinking—that they form a part of this controversy, and were not, as he therein alleged, simply given to my keeping as part of his other papers, which he could not keep safely on account of his own carelessness in preserving documents.

Beecher was exceedingly anxious that Tilton should repudiate the statement published by Woodhull and denounce her for its publication, and he drew up, upon my memorandum book, the form of a card to be published by Tilton over his signature; and asked me to submit it to him for that purpose, which I here produce, marked "N 10":

[BEECHER'S PROPOSED CARD FOR TILTON.]

In an unguarded enthusiasm I hoped well and much of one who has

proved utterly unprincipled. I shall never again notice her stories, and now utterly repudiate her statements made concerning me and mine.

Beecher told me to say to Tilton substantially: "Theodore may for his own purpose, if he choose, say that all his misfortune has come upon him on account of his dismissal from the Union and the Independent, and on account of the offense which I committed against him; he may take the position against me and Bowen that he does; yet the fact is that his advocacy of Mrs. Woodhull and her theories has done him the injury which prevents his rising. Now, in order to get support from me and from Plymouth Church, and in order to obtain the sympathy of the whole community, he must publish this card; and unless he does it he cannot rise." He also said the same thing to Tilton in my presence. To this Tilton answered in substance to Beecher: "You know why I sought Mrs. Woodhull's acquaintance. It was to save my family and yours from the consequences of your acts, the facts about which had become known to her. They have now been published, and I will not denounce that woman to save you from the consequences of what you yourself have done."

To resume: After I had carried to Mr. Tilton the paper of apology which had reference to Beecher's adultery, and had received assurances that all between Tilton and Beecher should be kept quiet, I immediately conveyed that information to Beecher. He was profuse in his professions of thankfulness and gratitude to me for what he said were my exertions in his behalf. Soon after that I was taken sick, and while on my sick bed, on the 7th of February, I received the following letter from Beecher, marked "O":

BEECHER TO MOULTON.

FEBRUARY 7, 1871.

MY DEAR MR. MOULTON—I am glad to send you a book which you will relish, or which a man on a sick bed ought to relish. I wish I had more like it, and that I could send you one every day, not as a repayment of your great kindness to me, for that can never be repaid, not even by love, which I give you freely.

Many, many friends has God raised up to me; but to no one of them has He ever given the opportunity and the wisdom so to serve me as you have. My trust in you is implicit. You have also proved yourself Theodore's friend and Elizabeth's. Does God look down from heaven on three unhappy creatures that more need a friend than these?

Is it not an intimation of God's intent of mercy to all that each one of these has in you a tried and proved friend? But only in you are we three united. Would to God, who orders all hearts, that by your kind mediation, Theodore, Elizabeth and I could be made friends again. Theodore will have the hardest task in such a case; but has he not proved himself capable of the noblest things?

I wonder if Elizabeth knows how generously he has carried himself toward me? Of course I can never speak with her again except with his permission—and I do not know that even then it would be best. My earnest longing is to see her, in the full sympathy of her nature, at rest in him, and to see him once more trusting her and loving her with even a better than the old love. I am always sad in such thoughts. Is there any way out of this night? May not a day star arise?

Truly yours always, with trust and love,

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

On the same day there was conveyed to me from Beecher a request to Tilton that Beecher might write to Mrs. Tilton, because all parties had then come to the conclusion that there should be no communication between Beecher and Mrs. Tilton or Beecher and Tilton, except with my knowledge and consent, and I had exacted a promise from Beecher that he would not communicate with Mrs. Tilton, or allow her to communicate with him, unless I saw the communication, which promise, I believe, was, on his part, faithfully kept, but, as I soon found, was not on the part of Mrs. Tilton.

Permission was given to Beecher to write to Mrs. Tilton and the following is his letter, here produced, marked "P":

[Here follows the letter commencing "When I saw you last I did not expect to see you again, or to be alive many days." For the complete letter see last week's issue.—ED.]

This was a letter of commendation, so that Mrs. Tilton might trust me, as between her and her husband, as fully as Beecher did. In the meanwhile Mr. Beecher's friends were continually annoying him and writing him about Tilton and the rumors that were afloat with regard to both, and on the 13th of February Beecher received the following letter from his nephew, F. B. Perkins, which he (Beecher) handed me, with a draft of a reply, on the 23d of the same February, which he sent without showing me again, and upon that draft I made the following note. I herewith produce these documents, marked "Q," "R" and "S" respectively:

PERKINS TO BEECHER.

Box 44, Station D, New York, February 13, 1871.

My Dear Uncle—After some consideration, I decide to inform you of a matter concerning you. Tilton has been justifying or excusing his recent intrigues with women by alleging that you have been detected in like adulteries, the same having been hashed up out of consideration for the parties. This I know.

You may, of course, do what you like with this letter. I suppose such talk dies quickest unanswered. I have thought it best to let you know what is being said about you, and by whom, however; for, whether you act in the matter or not, it has been displeasing to me to suppose such things done without your knowledge. I have thought other people base, but Theodore Tilton has in this action dived into the very sub-cellar of the very back-house of infamy. In case you should choose to let him know of this, I am responsible and don't seek any concealment.

Very truly yours, (Signed) F. B. PERKINS.

To Rev. Henry Ward Beecher.

P. S.—I can't say Tilton said "adulteries." He was referring to his late intrigues with Mrs. — and others, however he may have described them. What I am informed of is the excuse by implicating you in "similar" affairs. (Signed) F. B. P.

BEECHER TO PERKINS.

FEBRUARY 23, 1871.

My Dear Fred—Whatever Mr. Tilton formerly said against me—and I know the substance of it—he has withdrawn, and frankly confessed that he had been misled by the statements of one who when confronted backed down from his charges.

In some sense I am in part to blame for his indignation. For I lent a credulous ear to reports about him, which I have reason to believe were exaggerated or wholly false. After a full conference and explanation there remains between us no misunderstanding, but mutual good will and reconciliation have taken the place of exasperation. Of course, I shall not chase after rumors that will soon run themselves out of breath if left alone. If my friends will put their foot silently on any coal or hot embers, and crush them out, without talking, the miserable lies will be as dead in New York in a little time as they are in Brooklyn. But I

do not any the less thank you for your affectionate solicitude, and for your loyalty to my good name. I should have replied earlier, but your letter came when I was out of town. I had to go out again immediately. If the papers do not meddle this slander will fall still-born—dead as Julius Cæsar. If a sensation should be got up, of course there are enough bitter enemies to fan the matter and create annoyance, though no final damage. I am your affectionate uncle, (Signed) H. W. B.

NOTE BY MOULTON IN RELATION TO THE ABOVE.

"H. W. Beecher agreed to hold this letter over for consideration, but sent it before seeing me again. I at first approved of the letter, but finally concluded to consult with T. T., who offered a substitute, the substance of which will be found in pencil on copy of H. W. B.'s reply to P."

Following is a copy of the substitute referred to:

An enemy of mine, as I now learn, poisoned the mind of Theodore Tilton by telling him stories concerning me. T. T. being angered against me because I had quoted similar stories against him, which I had heard from the same party, retaliated. Theodore and I, through a mutual friend, were brought together, and found upon mutual explanations that both were the victims of the same slanderer.

No further correspondence was received from Perkins in this connection to my knowledge, except the following note to Tilton, herewith produced and marked "T.":

PERKINS TO TILTON.

MAY 20, 1871.

Mr. Tilton—If there had not been others by I would have said to you at meeting you this noon what I say now. Our acquaintance is at an end, and if we meet again you will please not recognize me.

Signed,

F. B. PERKINS.

Meanwhile Mrs. Morse, the mother-in-law of Mr. Tilton, who was from time to time an intimate of his family in Livingston street, had, as I was informed both by Mr. and Mrs. Tilton, learned from her daughter the criminal relationship heretofore existing between Beecher and herself, and who could not understand why that matter had been settled, and who had not been told how it had been adjusted, and who had had a most bitter quarrel with Tilton, accusing him of not having so carried his affairs as to keep what fortune he had, and who had called upon Beecher about the relations between Tilton and Mrs. Tilton, and who had, as Beecher had informed me, filled the minds of Mrs. Beecher and himself with stories of Tilton's infidelity and improper conduct to his wife, wrote the following letter to Beecher, under date of January 27, 1871, which he delivered to me the next day, as appears by my memorandum thereon, together with the draft of an answer which he said he proposed to send to Mrs. Morse. Her letter is herewith produced, marked "U," and Mr. Beecher's draft of reply, marked "V," and are as follows:

MRS. MORSE TO MR. BEECHER.

[Received January 27, 1871; received from H. W. B. January 28, 1871.]

Mr. Beecher—As you have not seen fit to pay any attention to the request I left at your house, now over two weeks since, I will take this method to inform you of the state of things in Livingston street. The remark you made to me at your own door was an enigma at the time, and every day adds to the mystery, "Mrs. Beecher has adopted the child." "What child?" I asked. You replied, "Elizabeth."

Now, I ask, what earthly sense was there in that remark? Neither Mrs. B., yourself, nor I can have done anything to ameliorate her condition. She has been for the last three weeks with one very indifferent girl. T. has sent — with the others away, leaving my sick and distracted child to care for all four children night and day, without fire in the furnace or anything like comfort or nourishment [sic] in the house. She has not seen any one. He says, "She is mourning for her sin." If this be so, one twenty-four hours under this shot, I think, is enough to atone for a lifelong sin, however heinous [sic]. I know that any change in his affairs would bring more trouble upon her and more suffering. I did not think for a moment when I asked Mrs. B. as to your call there, supposing she knew it, of course, as she said you would not go there without her.

I was innocent [sic] of making any misunderstanding if there was any; you say keep quiet. I have all through her married life done so, and we now see our error [sic]. It has brought him to destruction, made me utterly miserable, turned me from a comfortable home, and brought his own family to beggary. I don't believe if his honest debts were paid he would have enough to buy their breakfast [sic]. This she could endure and thrive under, but the publicity he has given to this recent and most crushing of all trouble is what's taken the life out of her. I know of twelve persons whom he has told, and they in turn have told others. I had thought we had as much as we could live under from his neglect and ungovernable temper. But this is the death-blow to us both, and I doubt not Florence has hers. Do you know when I hear of your cracking your jokes from Sunday to Sunday, and think of the misery you have brought upon us, I think with the Psalmist, "There is no God." Admitting all he says to be the invention of his half-drunken brain, still the effect upon us is the same, for all he's told believe it. Now he's nothing to do, he makes a target of her night and day. I am driven to this extremity: to pray for her release from all suffering by God's taking her himself, for if there's a heaven I know she'll go there.

The last time she was in this house she said: "Here I feel I have no home, but on the other side I know I shall be more than welcome." Oh, my precious child, how my heart bleeds over you in thinking of your sufferings! Can you do anything in the matter?

Must she live in this suffering condition of mind and body with no alleviation? [sic.]

You or any one else who advises her to live with him when he is doing all he can to kill her by slow torture, is anything but a friend.

I don't know if you can understand a sentence I've written, but I'm relieved somewhat by writing. The children are kept from me, and I have not seen my darling [sic] child but once since her return from this house.

I thought the least you could do was to put your name to a paper to help reinstate my brother (in the Custom House). Elizabeth was as disappointed as myself. He is still without employment, with a sick wife and five children to feed, behind with rent, and everything else behind-hand.

If your wife has adopted Lib [sic], or you sympathize with her, I pray you do something for her relief before it is too late. He swears so soon as her breath leaves her body, he will make this whole thing public, and this prospect, I think, is one thing which keeps her living. I know of no other. She's without nourishment [sic] for one in her state, and an want—actual want. They would both deny it, no doubt, but it's true.

BEECHER TO MRS. MORSE.

MRS. JUDGE MORSE:

My Dear Madam—I should be very sorry to have you think I had no interest in your troubles. My course toward you hitherto should satisfy you that I have sympathized with your distress. But Mrs. Beecher and I, after full consideration, are of one mind—that, under present circumstances, the greatest kindness to you and to all will be, in so far as we are concerned, to leave to time the rectification of all the wrongs, whether they prove real or imaginary.

It will be observed that in the letter of Mrs. Morse she says

(Continued on page 10.)

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"The diseases of society can, no more than corporeal maladies, be prevented or cured without being spoken about in plain language."—JOHN STUART MILL.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPT. 5, 1874.

THE ULTIMATUM.

FROM THE SPEECH "TRIED AS BY FIRE."

Sexual freedom, then, means the abolition of prostitution both in and out of marriage; means the emancipation of woman from sexual slavery and her coming into ownership and control of her own body; means the end of her pecuniary dependence upon man, so that she may never even seemingly have to procure whatever she may desire or need by sexual favors; means the abrogation of forced pregnancy, of ante-natal murder, of undesired children; means the birth of love children only; endowed by every inherited virtue that the highest exaltation can confer at conception, by every influence for good to be obtained during gestation and by the wisest guidance and instruction on to manhood, industrially, intellectually, and sexually.

NATIONAL SPIRITUAL CONVENTION.

In accordance with Article II., chapter 5, and Article I., chapter 7, of the Constitution of the Universal Association of Spiritualists, the Provisional National Council issue this call for a National Convention, to be convened in Parker Memorial Hall, Boston, on Tuesday, September 15, and to extend during three days.

This Convention is expressly for the purposes of discussion and propaganda; and all Spiritualists, Socialists, Infidels, Materialists, Free Religionists and Free Thinkers are cordially invited to attend and join in the effort to advance the cause of truth and human welfare. All subjects in which the good of the race is involved will be legitimate themes for discussion and for set speeches. Those who propose to speak upon specific subjects are requested to prepare their speeches, so that they may be published in the regular proceedings of the Convention.

By order of the Provisional National Council.

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL, President.

SPARKS FROM SOCIAL HELLS.

Startling reports of the social condition of the people, taken from the New York Sun and New York Herald, are given in another part of this paper. The returns of four days give fourteen cases, among which three may be found implicating clergymen of different denominations, viz.: The Rev. Mr. Glendenning, of Jersey City, Presbyterian, charged by Mary E. Pomeroy, since deceased, with fornication and bastardy; the Rev. W. H. Buttner, Lutheran, charged by his young housekeeper with breach of promise; and the Rev. Austin Hutchinson, Methodist, charged by his daughter Ida Hutchinson with incest.

Two of the above-mentioned cases are reported in full and commented on by us in our editorial columns. When it is considered how carefully all married people are apt to hide all such items of home misery, we can form some idea of the wide-spread horrors which the samples selected from two New York papers, in the short space of four consecutive days exhibit, and these are simply out-croppings that could no longer be hidden from the sight of the public.

THE JERSEY CITY HORROR.

Before the people have recovered from the shock of the Beecher Scandal, the public ear is again stunned with a social horror that appears, from present accounts, to be still more atrocious. As in the former instance the accused party is a clergyman, not of the Congregational but of the Presbyterian persuasion. We allude to the case of Miss Mary E. Pomeroy, an account of whose death we extract from the N. Y. Times of Aug. 19:

"The inhabitants of Jersey City Heights were thrown into a state of great excitement by the report that Miss Mary E. Pomeroy was dead. On inquiry, the report was found to be correct. On Monday night her condition seemed to be slightly improved and her attending physician thought that she might recover. Toward morning, however, she commenced to sink gradually, and it became evident she could not live. About 11 o'clock word was sent to Justice Aldridge that she was dying, and he was requested to come to the house to take her dying deposition. On being assured that it was the lady's own request, the Judge proceeded immediately to her residence. He found her very weak, but her mental faculties were unimpaired, and approaching her bedside the Judge asked her if she knew him and she replied that she did. He then asked her if she desired to make any statement to him, and she replied in the affirmative. Having neither pen nor ink at hand, the Judge took out a lead pencil and noted down the following statement as it fell from the dying girl's lips. "I feel as though I have not long to live. There have been a great many things said against me, but I now tell the truth in the sight of God, that John S. Glendenning is the father of my child. He has denied it, and still denies it, but he and no one else is the father of that child. He has said things against me. I was afraid of him but now I am not. He may have papers, but that does not clear him." The statement was made in a weak but clear voice, and during the pauses the girl's lips seemed to be moving as if in prayer. The Judge took the paper, and started for his office to make a copy of it in ink for the purpose of bringing it back for the girl's signature. When he had completed the work and returned to the house, in less than half an hour, Miss Pomeroy was dead. She breathed her last at precisely 11:25 o'clock. The immediate cause of her death was congestion of the lungs, superinduced by general debility, arising principally from mental depression. It is uncertain what legal aspect the death of the victim put upon the case with reference to Rev. Mr. Glendenning. Of course the charges of breach of promise and seduction will fall through, but it is probable that the Poormaster of the city will continue the suit against him for the support of the child. The usual course in such cases is for the complainant to make affidavit that she expects to have a child born, which is liable to become a charge upon the city unless the father is made to support it. This course was pursued by Miss Pomeroy some weeks ago, and then the Poormaster entered suit against the supposed father to compel him to give bonds for the support of the expected offspring. Thus the Poormaster becomes the plaintiff. A number of reporters and others called at Rev. Mr. Glendenning's residence yesterday and last night, but to the majority of them he was not at home, while to others he refused to say anything about the case. The papers referred to in Miss Pomeroy's deposition are supposed to be the letters which Glendenning declared he had, implicating six prominent members of the congregation. There was to have been a meeting of the vestry of Glendenning's church last night, but although it was only intended for the transaction of regular business no meeting was held. The death of Miss Pomeroy was the all-absorbing topic of conversation throughout the city yesterday and last night, and the utmost indignation was expressed against Glendenning."

If the statement be correct that the "immediate cause of her death was congestion of the lungs, superinduced by general debility, arising principally from mental depression," we feel that we have a right to arraign society as her murderer. We pass over the Rev. Mr. Glendenning, let him exist, if he can exist, after reading the dying statement of the mother of the child. If we know anything of the public, however, we would warn him to sink "the papers" the dying woman spoke of, a thousand fathoms deep, for, should he present them in court, they would assuredly not work to his advantage.

Since writing the above we have further accounts of the funeral of Miss Mary E. Pomeroy, and a sketch of the sermon preached on the occasion, deeming it highly important and desirous to use parts of it as texts on which to comment, we present it to our readers. It is from the N. Y. Herald of Aug. 21:

The scenes witnessed yesterday at the residence of Mr. James Smith Miller, where lay all that was mortal of Mary E. Pomeroy, will not be forgotten within the lifetime of those whose unpleasant lot it was to witness them. If a generous and lavish outpouring of sympathy can afford consolation to the living, or vindicate the memory of the dead, then the spirit of Mary E. Pomeroy may rest quietly in the country beyond the grave, and the gloom that now overshadows the home of an offending family may soon be dissipated. The funeral was such as has not been witnessed in Jersey City for many years. Men of high standing in the community, who were not acquainted with the deceased or with the family with whom she resided were there, not from curiosity, but to record a protest against the diabolical villainy that sent her into an early grave. The hour for the services was fixed at two o'clock, but from noon the house was crowded. When the appointed time arrived fully three hundred persons, all members of respectable families, were packed in the house or scattered through the lawn. Among those present were ex-Mayor Sawyer and lady. Mr. Sawyer remarked, expressively: "I determined I should come here at all hazards. As a man of family I want to show my appreciation of the sterling character of that young woman. She visited some of our best families, and from what I knew of her I say positively that if ever there was a pure, virtuous girl till she came across Glendenning she was one. If Glendenning's insinuations as to her character have any foundation, why did he allow her to occupy the sanctuary of God as organist up to the very Sunday before his arrest? Why, the very supposition is astounding. Whichever position he assumes he is guilty."

The rush was so great to view the remains that even the staircases and apartments of the house were filled, and the heat was excessive. At twenty minutes to three o'clock Rev. Mr. Tunison, of the Simpson Methodist Episcopal church, arrived. It was desired to have a clergyman of the Presbyterian denomination, but none could be found. He proceeded up stairs, and his first office was to baptize the little one whose mother lay cold in death. The child was named Ellen Stuart Glendenning, and Mr. and Mrs. Miller were the sponsors. It was a trying spectacle when the minister invoked a blessing on the guardians of the child, and called on them to love, cherish and protect it. The poor little one is three weeks and two days old, but of such small proportions and sickly appearance that it is hardly probable it will long survive its mother.

The minister, taking a position in the hallway, at the foot

of the staircase, read the service, commencing with "Man that is born of woman," etc., and then proceeded to deliver his address, as follows: "Something more than a quarter of a century I have mingled as a minister with Christian people. I have buried fathers and mothers, sons and daughters. I have been called upon to consign to the silence of the tomb those who had been called away in a moment. But the most painful duty I have been called upon as a Christian pastor to perform I realize this hour. It is not only painful, but delicate. I am not willing to say a word that would reflect unjustly on any human being, yet I speak boldly those sentiments which will promote your morals and secure your welfare. How is it that some of those who are the purest and best suffer the most, while those who are the vilest and the worst suffer the least? The sad event that called us here to-day teaches the importance of guarding against evil in all its forms. A little matter kindles a great fire. A little drop of poison quenches out a life. Bear with me if I speak of the experience of our departed friend. One single mistake broke a heart that was full of joy and destroyed a life. One single mistake on the part of her seducer made him a murderer. I stand here to repeat it, and am ready to answer for it at the bar of man. I am a father, and I speak to fathers and mothers. I would rather see the mangled and lifeless remains of my daughter, stricken down by the hand of the midnight assassin, brought to my door than to see her robbed of her honor and her virtue. If a man that robs another of life deserves death on the scaffold, a man that robs a woman of what is dearer to her than life deserves a thousand deaths on the scaffold. Oh! young men and young women who hear me, pause before you make one step toward the narrow way. A great shadow has been cast upon this household. Poor Mary Pomeroy, when she fell, realized that all the beauties had departed out of this life. What a fearful mass of human beings, who have made a similar false step, have robbed themselves and sometimes their innocent ones of life? Poor Mary Pomeroy! She raised her soul to God and prepared herself to pass to a world where she hoped there would be no suffering. 'I have made up my mind,' she said, 'that I must make a great effort if I will be saved. When I had fallen I felt that I was estranged from God and that I must make a great effort to be restored to His friendship. I would like to live longer, but I must go. I am content.' Oh! it is well for poor Mary Pomeroy that God has taken her from a world of woe to a world of gladness."

It may seem incredible to many, but such is the fact, that Glendenning appeared on the streets and passed through the city yesterday morning, regardless of the gaze of all observers. He was accompanied by Mr. Howell, one of the elders of his church.

Immediately after the funeral a meeting was held, and the following call was issued: "A meeting of the citizens of Jersey City Heights will be held at McPherson's Hall, on Saturday evening, August 22, at eight o'clock, to give expression to their feelings in regard to the outrage perpetrated on the community by the Rev. John S. Glendenning."

The first remark we have to make on this melancholy occasion is in praise of the people of Jersey City, who have done their duty in the matter. The poet says:

"One touch of nature makes the whole world kin."

and it may be seen that it has done so in regard to Mary E. Pomeroy's funeral. Overleaping all barriers to honor the dishonored of the world, the people, the grand jury of the nation, have thus examined into her case and pronounced her innocent by their presence. We honor them for so doing.

But what shall we say of Presbyterianism? "It was desired to have a clergyman of the Presbyterian denomination, but none could be found." Alas! is there no little church round the corner belonging to that rigid sect? Are there no priests in it willing to speak lovingly and kindly of one they, in their superior sanctity, may deem to have been a sinner? We know not, and for the sweet sake of Mary E. Pomeroy, we hope that such is not the case; we deem that it was merely an accidental occurrence, and shall maintain such to be the fact until we hear differently, for we would not willingly believe that even the disciples of John Calvin are more ferocious than savages.

Now, a word on the sermon, spoken, as it was, by a minister of the Methodist Church, who evidently had his heart in the work in which he was engaged; it reads like the words of a loving father—one who believes himself to be a follower of the great Nazarene. Let us take him kindly by the hand, if he will permit us, and ask him where he finds warrant for the following statement and how he justifies it, measuring it by the rules of the founder of his creed:

"I am a father, and I speak to fathers and mothers. I would rather see the mangled and lifeless remains of my daughter stricken down by the hand of the midnight assassin brought to my door, than to see her robbed of her honor and her virtue."

While we condemn such a statement we honor the feeling that prompted its utterance, but it is hardly Christian. The unchastity of a daughter is no greater crime than the unchastity of a son. Indeed, the great Nazarene condemned the latter, but refused to condemn the former. "Whoso looketh upon a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart." That is his judgment, and in our belief it applies to all men. But in the case of woman he was more merciful. When the Pharisees brought before him a woman taken in the act of adultery, we are told that he not only refused to punish her, but that he refused even to condemn her. "Go, and sin no more," was his verdict, and it should be that also of those who profess to follow his counsels. Let the Rev. Mr. Tunison review his judgment in his next homily, for, if he will look the present social condition of the world full in the face, he will find that free copulation, either in female or male, daughter or son, if it be a crime under such circumstances, which is disputed, is at least in accordance with nature, and is the smallest of sexual aberrations.

We rest assured that the time has gone by for making special distinctions between the sexes in punishing unchastity. The civil law recognizes no crime in natural copulation freely entered into, and it should not. Ecclesiastical law, though it may deem such to be reprehensible, knows that the word adultery, used in the seventh command, cannot justly be applied to the free, but only to the

cases of those who are bound in marriage. We demand from all priests of all denominations that they set society right as regards the above distinction; and there is absolutely no reason, either civil or ecclesiastical, why women should be specially the sufferers on such occasions. For ourselves we repudiate the monstrous injustice, and spit upon it with contempt; referring such unions to the domain of personal sovereignty, which is above law, and into which, in all cases, as no person can properly hold any other human being as a slave, it is an impertinence to inquire.

One word more. If we could believe that the people of Jersey City would have extended the same kind sympathy to Mary E. Pomeroy living that they have extended to her dead, that she had not purchased their love by her demise, this addendum would be needless. But we cannot. We know and feel that what killed her was the fear of the curse with which society visits all women who step over the bounds it has arbitrarily marked out. We wish it were not so; that we could believe otherwise, but we cannot. Poor Mary E. Pomeroy, deserted by her betrayer, looked up from her couch of sickness and read her fate. Like the words over Dante's "Inferno" it blazed before her: "Who enter here leave hope behind." She shrank from the fatal doom and perished. It does not seem to us to be fitting for that which has killed her to appear as chief mourner at her funeral. We feel that we, as advocates of justice to woman, have a better right to claim such position, and as reputed sinners, we demand to take her hand and look upon her face with love and sympathy, and to hang our garland upon her grave:

MARY E. POMEROY.
IN MEMORIAM.

Gone to the Spirit Land!
Where all is beauty, harmony and peace;
Where toil and trouble, pain and sorrow cease.

To join the happy band
Who wander in the viewless fields of air,
To meet the good, the loving and the fair,
Who know not pain or care.

We would not call thee back
To face Society's stern doom; for thee
Life had been one long day of agony;
And on her cruel rack
She would have wrenched thy heart-strings in her spite,
And clouded o'er thy sunny morning bright
With densest, darkest night!

We will not mourn for thee,
Nor, like the Levite, coldly pass thee by;
Nor, like the Pharisee, with shrug and sigh
Lament thy destiny.

This would befit the pious and the great,
In sad review to 'tend thy course in state
And of thy sorrows prate.

Too gentle for the time!
Too trustful, loving, for the bitter fight
That all must share who battle for the right;
Such duty was not thine!
Thou could'st not meet the world's cold, scornful eye,
Thine to believe, to suffer, and to sigh!
To droop—to sink—to die!

But this is not our part;
We laugh to scorn man's judgment on thy case;
No sin was thine, save that to do him grace
Thou perilled thus thine heart.
Alas! 'tis lost; but not to thee the shame,
Thy worth and honor will we still proclaim,
And hold thee free from blame;

Cursing the unjust law
Beneath whose murderous fiat thou wert slain;
But well we know that thou wilt rise again
Without a stain or flaw,
Where thou shalt never more in sorrow pine,
For holy, trustful love is not a crime
In that celestial clime!

That realm of peace and joy!
Where all is open, truthful, fair and free:
Where cruel falsehood and hypocrisy
No more shall thee annoy.
Then, let us lay this lily on thy breast,
Nor longer mar the quiet of thy rest,
For thou art with the blest.

R. W. H.

Alas! that the young and the innocent should thus be sacrificed. It is said that love laughs at locksmiths, but it would be truer to say love laughs at laws. The woman of tact derides the mandates of society; she sits on the high places of the synagogues and applies her edicts to those who are not unfrequently far better than herself. The proud woman, knowing what a painted sham and hollow mockery it is, scorns the decrees of the world on affectional questions, and calmly defies all its wretched rulings. But, on the gentle, the timid and the trustful, they fall with accumulated weight, and the poor, patient, loving sufferers, who have not cunning enough to evade them, nor force enough to defy them, sink down under the fearful burden of their reproach, and seek and find refuge only in death.

TO INQUIRING FRIENDS.

In spite of our respectful warning, many presses insist upon it that the proprietors of the WEEKLY have received money in order to secure their absence in this crisis. Our friends forget to state that before Mrs. Woodhull and Miss

Tennie C. Clafin left this country for Europe, their evidence was offered and rejected by the Plymouth Church Committee. Pomeroy's *Democrat*, which is noted for the general accuracy or inaccuracy of its intelligence, asserts that the exact sum paid to Mrs. Woodhull for her Parisian trip was \$15,000. There is nothing like being correct in money matters, and the editor of the *Democrat* deserves credit for his boldness, and the power of invention he exhibits in that statement. Since then the New York *Sunday News* and the *Graphic* have joined in the cry, but they have not yet intimated the amount paid to secure the absence of the proprietors of the WEEKLY. Should they do so, let us inform them that we shall feel offended unless they add at least a couple of ciphers to the right of Mark Pomeroy's estimate, and, if they desire to obtain our real respect, they will add three. As to the question put by the *Graphic*, viz.: "Did any body connected with the Brooklyn Scandal furnish the funds?" also, "and if so, who?" all we can reply is, that if the *Graphic* will send a reporter round to our office, No. 111 Nassau st., Room 9, we will post him in regard to that matter; and that our knowledge, reduced to print, will not occupy more than four pages of the *Graphic*, and is heartily at its service.

A POETICAL HALLUCINATION.

The letter of Theodore Tilton, given by Mr. Moulton and marked F F F, must be taken by our readers "*cum grano salis*." They must remember that Mr. Tilton is a poet, and that he is blessed with a very vivid power of imagination. Nothing else would excuse his wild flight of fancy in saying that "he indignantly repudiated Mrs. Woodhull's acquaintance." The birds in our office sing a very different tune to that, but then our little warblers are accustomed to tell the truth, and are not troubled with wild and ecstatic flights of romantic genius.

ONCE MORE UNTO THE BREACH.

Our readers will remember that on the 13th of last January the people of New York city, pursuant to notice, met in Tompkins square, and were clubbed by the police for so doing. They were taken at advantage, and did not go armed, as they had a constitutional right to do, on that occasion. Many were overpowered in consequence, brutally clubbed, and made prisoners by the police. As it occurred on Tuesday the WEEKLY took cognizance of it the next day, and condemned the action of the police authorities. Although the police commissioners, two of whom have since been ejected from office for their crimes, were the real criminals, some innocent men who were then arrested have been imprisoned for defending themselves against the assaults of the police. Among them is one of the name of Christian Meyer, a quiet man and a good citizen, who still remains under sentence in prison. We are glad to perceive that another public meeting is called for in the same locality for the purpose of protesting against the action of Mayor Havemeyer and the police authorities at the time above specified, and to demand the release of Christian Meyer at the hands of Governor Dix of the State of New York.

We are glad to commend the action of Mr. Oliver, Mr. Frey and P. J. MacGuire, who have the work in hand, and who appear to know well how to go about it. Having been treated so uncourteously on the former occasion, the people have not thought proper to ask their public servants, the police commissioners, permission (but have simply notified them of their intention), to meet on Monday, Aug. 31, at 7 P. M. Our city authorities are not empowered to overthrow at their pleasure the constitutional rights of American citizens; and, if there be no other law that will compel public officers to respect our guaranteed liberties, the people will be justified in defending them themselves, and derelict in their duty to their posterity if they do not do so.

A WHITE LIE.

Weather-wise prophets foretell that, notwithstanding this is the month of August, there will be on Friday, August 26, a very heavy snow-storm in Brooklyn, L. I. It is expected that the deepest drifts may be looked for in and around Plymouth Church. Of course the public must expect plenty of mud and slush after it has fallen. Some think it will be a beneficent snow-storm, and will operate to cover up dirt rather than manufacture it. But they are in error. Snow will—must—soon melt in this hot weather, and then the streets of Brooklyn will be in a filthier condition than they were before it fell, and, heaven knows, that was deplorable.

THAT BASKET.

There is a devilish, cold, calculating piety about Protestantism that prevents any exhibit of charity on affectional questions. It is a sort of dot-and-carry-one religion, based on barter and subject to the laws of trade. It has been likened to a beautiful marble statue, perfect in everything but one—it lacks life. Nothing exhibits this more than the way in which foundlings are doomed where it prevails. The Catholic Church takes a pride in looking after these little forlorn waifs, and the Greek Church has established the noblest charities in the world in Moscow and St. Petersburg for their service and protection; while

in the two great Protestant countries, England and the United States, there is hardly charity enough to sustain a cradle for the reception of these forlorn little ones.

But though "*pater et mater familias*" are mighty slow coaches in moving to the rescue of babies who are not of the legitimate order, we are glad to notice that the little ones themselves are moving in the matter, as witness the following letter, taken from the N. Y. *Sun* of Aug. 19:

"To the Editor of the Sun:
"SIR—Please give the inclosed 50 cents to the little babies in the Roman Catholic Foundling Asylum, and please tell them to put the basket back.
MAMIE AND ANNIE."

We commend Mamie and Annie for thus teaching charity to their elders. Sir Robert Peel, who was probably the ablest English statesman of this century, estimated the civilization of a people by their consumption of soap; but, to our minds, the enlightenment of a nation in these times is best exhibited in its collective care of its progeny. We have, as a people, admitted half this proposition, in decreeing communism in education; let us go further, and assert it to be the duty of the nation to stand fully "*in loco parentis*" over all little ones needing its protection. Till then, let us reduce the number of baby murders by re-establishing the basket.

PROPERTY IN WOMAN.

Marriage, as it now exists, whether ecclesiastical or civil, conveys the idea of property in woman and the annihilation of her individuality. The reason that it does so is because all the laws in relation to it, or bearing upon it, have been made by man, and consequently in them the personal rights of woman as man's equal are ignored. Commencing with the demand for the surrender of her name, the law, with the exception of a very few modern ameliorations of the same, may be looked upon as a bill of pains and penalties attached to women who are daring enough to enter into the state of matrimony. Of course it affects single women also, but in a minor degree. It is based upon the idea of the superior power and intelligence of man, and the total unfitness of woman to govern herself in any position in life. The only equality woman has with man under the law, is when she stands convicted of crime in the prisoners' dock, and then she does not obtain an equality of justice (for she is never tried by her peers) but only an equality, and, on special occasions, a superiority of punishment.

It is true, that, as human beings advance in enlightenment, in spite of all edicts, the condition of woman becomes ameliorated. But in the best informed and higher circles the idea of property in the wife, being based on law from time immemorial, always remains. This may be seen in the case of Tilton *versus* Beecher. The former sues the latter for damages to himself—not to Mrs. Tilton. Now, it is certain that, if any party has been injured it is Mrs. Tilton. But the law does not see her, it only recognizes Mr. Tilton in the matter. Shakespeare in the mouth of Petruchio puts the case correctly. That worthy says, speaking of his wife Kate, that should any one molest her

"I'll bring my action 'gainst the proudest he
That stops my way in Mantua;"

and he justifies his action by stating correctly the legal position of his wife:

"She is my goods, my house; my wares my household stuff;
My horse, my ox, my ass, my anything."

The status of a wife in law is, as the great dramatist described it, simply the status of a slave, or the case of the wife might be reversed. Suppose that some other married woman had captivated Mr. Tilton and robbed Mrs. Tilton of his affection, were woman and man equal under the law, Mrs. Tilton would be empowered to bring her action for damages against the woman who had so injured her. But, as things are, the law would take no notice of her wrongs, all she could do would be to sue for divorce from Mr. Tilton. As for compensation or damages for her loss of his affections, that idea man's law has never contemplated.

So much for the operations of our masculine code of social law among the enlightened; with the unenlightened, the idea of property in woman, generated by the same law, often produces the most frightful effects. Two cases are given in the New York *Herald* of Aug. 30, which we quote:

"TWO VERY REMARKABLE STORIES OF CRIME.

"DAVENPORT, Iowa, August 17, 1874.

"Criminal history probably does not record two more extraordinary tragedies—extraordinary, whether we regard the brutal completeness characterizing their execution or the frightful moral and social laxity in which they had their origin—than those that have occurred within a couple of days of each other at Creston, and near Council Bluffs, brief but complete histories of which are here transmitted.

"At Creston were in the marble business two men named J. L. Brister and J. T. Burnett, the latter considerably the elder. His wife had quitted him on account, it is said, of ill treatment and threats. Brister had a wife and three children, having been married to the woman about 1869, at Barnesville, Belmont county, Ohio. A few months ago Brister told his wife—they were then at Bedford, Iowa—that he had sold a half interest in her to Burnett, whom thereafter she was to consider as equally her husband. He gave Burnett a contract to that effect, and Burnett shared her room and bed at Bedford. Next day, however, her husband, apparently dissatisfied with his bargain, abused her for submitting to Burnett, and went away. Burnett, however, consoled his remarkable property by assuring her he should defend her and kill Brister if he ever came back. Meanwhile, Brister went to Charlton and wrote threatening letters, which so frightened his wife that she begged to be sent back to Ohio. Burnett, instead of so doing, moved with her to Creston. He soon tired of his property. Brister came back to Creston and had an interview with Burnett, which resulted in an

agreement between them, for a certain sum loaned by Burnett to Brister, that the latter should again take possession of his wife. Brister refused to sign the papers, because they drew interest, and Burnett put his threat into execution.

"On Tuesday morning, at three o'clock, he stole into Brister's room, armed with a razor. All the parties slept above the marble works. Brister and his wife were sound asleep, and the murderer drew the blade of his weapon across the throat of the sleeping man at one terrible gash, severing his windpipe and the arteries. Ere he died, Brister staggered from the bed to the window to shout for help, but no sound could issue from the severed windpipe. Mrs. Brister, whose life Burnett also intended to take, leaped from the bed shrieking "Murder!" and the assassin had to abandon his purpose and fly ere he could dress himself. The people of Creston, terribly excited because of the perpetration of this second crime in their ordinarily quiet city, turned out en masse to track the murderer, whom they would certainly have hanged had they caught him. He, however, escaped to a thicket on the farm of a Mr. Barnes, near the city, where he lay without food and with no clothing but a night-shirt for twenty-nine hours, when, being nearly starved and frozen, he surrendered himself to the farmer. At the examination he pleaded guilty, but expressed no regret for his crime. His statement as to the cause of the murder is corroborated by the affidavit of Mrs. Brister.

"The other murder was committed at Silver Creek, a small settlement some ten miles from Council Bluffs. There for several years Jacob Staves and John J. Clarke have been living peacefully as neighbors till, about fifteen months ago, Staves discovered the existence of a criminal intimacy between his wife and Clarke. He took the guilty woman to Illinois with a hope of being able to break off the attachment by absence, but discovered that the two still maintained correspondence. Accordingly he entered into negotiations with Clarke, who agreed to give him \$1,000 and marry the woman (obtaining for that purpose a divorce from his own wife, a woman of irreproachable character) so soon as Staves should secure a divorce. Clark obtained his wife's consent to instituting proceedings for a divorce by threats. On Wednesday they all met at Council Bluffs to discuss matters, when Clarke, reluctant evidently to paying so much money when he could get the woman without it, declined to fulfill his contract. Staves then tried to get his wife to remain with him, and drop all proceedings, but she refused to do so, avowing her intention of remaining away with her paramour. Thereupon Staves departed, saying to Clarke as he went: 'Now it is either you or me.'

"The two men met again on Friday, Staves being armed with a shot gun, one barrel of which he immediately discharged at Clarke, wounding him in the head and bringing him to the ground. While his victim was writhing on the earth Staves approached him, and, placing the muzzle of the gun against his body, almost blew his heart out. The murderer was promptly arrested, and is now in custody at Council Bluffs. He refuses to make any statement, but it is not at all likely that any facts not herein related will be disclosed at the formal examination.

It will be seen that, in both the above cases, the wives of the parties were treated as merchantable articles; and it is certain that, both under Catholic and Protestant rule, some of the wives of the poorer classes of England have occasionally been sold in the market. Mrs. Dall, in her admirable work "The College, Market and Court," relates an instance which occurred in an English law court, in which a man was arraigned for brutally beating the woman with whom he lived. Fortunately for her she was not married to him; and, in delivering his judgment, the magistrate "almost" called attention to the fact. He said to the prisoner when condemning him: "It has been proved against you that you have cruelly maltreated the complainant, a woman over whom you had no legal right, as she is not your —." A titter from some women in the court here stopped the oratory of the learned judge, who began to perceive that it would not be to the advantage of morality to speak the truth and fill up the hiatus with the word "wife."

This idea of property, which certainly pertains to woman in marriage both under ecclesiastical and civil law, is highly objectionable to us. If the civil law treated a contract between John and Mary in the same way it would treat a contract between John and James, we should have nothing to say against it, but might have much to say in its favor. But when the tie of what is called "marriage" wholly alters the status of a woman, depriving her here of her individuality, there of her name, and places her under the charge of another human being simply because he is of a different sex, we think we do well to exclaim against its injustice. We are unwilling that a wife shall be assessed at a money value any more than a husband, as she always has been, and always will be, so long as the law recognizes her simply as an article of property. Yet, under our present marriage systems, ecclesiastical and civil, both of which forbid or place penalties upon a wife changing her social position, his must always be the case. It is for the above reasons that we object to marriage as now constituted, overburdened as it is, by a ton of laws. We affirm that love cannot endure such terrestrial chains; that the application of them often leads to evil consequences; that the state of matrimony, in most instances, a state of servitude, and that the marriage certificate itself is merely the "bill of sale" of the female partner in the contract.

ARTLESS BESSIE.

The discrimination of the pastor of Plymouth is well shown in his employment of counsel to sustain himself in the Plymouth Church investigation. A close examination of the evidence of the girl above named will prove to all candid and inquiring minds the truth of the above statement. It is a pity, though, that previous to having given her testimony, she should, in her letters, have twice admitted herself to be a liar. As to the propriety and decency of the Plymouth Church Committee publishing her bald-dash aspersing the characters of two of the worthiest women in the nation, we trust that will be subjected to the examination of a higher tribunal than ours.

MOULTON'S STATEMENT.

(Continued from page 7.)

Tilton has sent ***** with the others away. I purposely omit the name of this young girl. There was a reason why it was desirable that she should be away from Brooklyn. That reason, as given me by Mr. and Mrs. Tilton, was this: She had overheard conversations by them concerning Mrs. Tilton's criminal intimacy with Beecher, and she had reported these conversations to several friends of the family. Being young, and not knowing the consequences of her prattling, it seemed proper, for the safety of the two families, that she should be sent a distance to school, which was accordingly done. She was put at a boarding school at the West, and the expenses of her stay there were privately paid through me by Beecher, to whom I had stated the difficulty of having the girl remain in Brooklyn; and he agreed with us that it was best that she should be removed and offered to be at the cost of her schooling. The bills were sent to me from time to time as they became due, a part of them through Mrs. Tilton. Previous to her going away she wrote the following letters to Mrs. Tilton—marked "W" and "X"—and they were sent to me by Mrs. T. as part of these transactions:

***** TO MRS. TILTON.

BROOKLYN, January 10, 1871.

My Dear Mrs. Tilton—I want to tell you something. Your mother, Mrs. Morse, has repeatedly attempted to hire me, by offering me dresses and presents, to go to certain persons and tell them stories injurious to the character of your husband. I have been persuaded that the kind attentions shown me by Mr. Tilton for years were dishonorable demonstrations. I never at the time thought that Mr. Tilton's caresses were for such a purpose. I do not want to be made use of by Mrs. Morse or any one else to bring trouble on my two best friends, you and your husband. Bye by.

These notes are in Mrs. Tilton's handwriting, and on the same paper used by her in correspondence with me.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

JANUARY 12.

My Dear Mrs. Tilton—The story that Mr. Tilton once lifted me from my bed and carried me screaming to his own and attempted to violate my person is a wicked lie. Yours truly,

While this young lady was at school she did inform a friend of Mrs. Tilton, Mrs. P., of the stories of the family relations. These stories were written to Brooklyn and came to the knowledge of my friends, creating an impression upon their minds unfavorable to Mr. Tilton, and might possibly lead to the re-opening of the scandal. I, therefore, took pains to trace them back, and found that they came from Mrs. P., to whom the school girl had told them. I therefore called upon Tilton and asked if these stories could not be stopped. Soon afterward he produced to me a letter dated the 8th of November, 1872, written by Mrs. Tilton, with a note to me on the back thereof, to disabuse Mrs. P.'s mind as to this girl's disclosures. The letter is here produced, marked "Y:"

MRS. TILTON TO MRS. P.

BROOKLYN, November 8, 1872.

My Dear Mrs. P.—I come to you in this fearful extremity, burdened by my misfortunes, to claim your promised sympathy and love. * * * I have mistakenly felt obliged to deceive ***** these two years, that my husband had made false accusations against me which he never has to her or any one.

In order that he may not appear on his defense, thus adding the terrible exposure of a lawsuit, will you implore silence on her part against any indignation which she may feel against him; for the one only ray of light and hope in this midnight gloom is his entire sympathy and cooperation in my behalf.

A word from you to Mr. D— will change any unfriendly spirit which dear mother may have given him against my husband.

You know I have no mother's heart, that will look charitably upon all, save you. Affectionately your child (Signed), ELIZABETH.

Of course you will destroy this letter. Also, I produce—out of the order of time—a letter of Mrs. Tilton marked "Y 2," sent to me a year afterwards for money for the purpose of paying this young person's school expenses, and also a statement of accounts and letter of transmission, and note acknowledging receipt for quarter ending June, 1871, from the principal of that school, marked "Z 1" and "Z 2." All these sums were paid by Beecher, and I forwarded the money to settle them through Mrs. Tilton, or sent the money directly to the principal of the school at her request:

MRS. TILTON TO MOULTON.

TUESDAY, January 10, 1872.

Dear Francis—Be kind enough to send me \$50 for —. I want to inclose it in to-morrow's mail. Yours gratefully, (Signed) ELIZABETH.

Statement of Account.

FEMALE SEMINARY.

Table with columns: Miss, To, Dr. Items include: For boarding, For tuition, primary class, For washing, For fire (two months), For music (double lessons), For advanced items, Books and stationery, Music, Physician and medicine, Seat in church.

Amount, June 8, 1871. \$155 27

Mrs. Tilton—I send you with this a statement of Miss —'s bill for the past half school year.

— is doing very well in her studies, and is quite a favorite with us. Sometimes she is not very well, but I think, on the whole, her health is improving.

Could you not come and make us a visit, and bring Mr. Tilton with you? A little rest would do you both good.

Very respectfully yours, — is making very good progress in music, and in some of her common branches, as arithmetic, geography and spelling.

SEMINARY, December 18, 1873.

F. D. MOULTON, Esq.: Dear Sir—Yours containing check for \$200 in full for Miss —'s school bill is received. This pays all her indebtedness to this date.

Very truly yours, Beecher was very anxious to ascertain through me the exact condition of Tilton's feelings toward him, and how far the reconciliation was real, and to get a statement in writing that would send to free him (Beecher) from imputation thereafter. I more than once applied to Tilton to get a statement of his feelings toward Beecher, and received from him,

on the 7th of February, 1871, the following letter, which I produce, marked "AA:":

TILTON TO MOULTON.

BROOKLYN, February 7, 1871.

My Very Dear Friend—In several conversations with me you have asked about my feelings toward Mr. Beecher, and yesterday you said the time had come when you would like to receive from me an expression of them in writing. I say, therefore, very cheerfully, that, notwithstanding the great suffering which he has caused to Elizabeth and myself, I bear him no malice, shall do him no wrong, shall discountenance every project (by whomsoever proposed) for any exposure of his secret to the public, and (if I know myself at all) shall endeavor to act toward Mr. Beecher as I would have him in similar circumstances act toward me.

"I ought to add that your own good offices in this case have led me to a higher moral feeling than I might otherwise have reached. Ever yours affectionately, (Signed) THEODORE TILTON.

To Frank Moulton."

From that time everything was quiet. Nothing occurred to mar the harmony existing between Tilton and Beecher, or the kindly relations between Tilton and Mrs. Tilton, during the summer of 1871, except the idle gossip which floated about the city of Brooklyn, and sometimes was hinted at in the newspapers, but which received no support in any facts known to the gossip or the writer, or through any communication of Mr. or Mrs. Tilton or Mr. Beecher. And I received no letters from Beecher alluding to this subject upon any topic until his return, on the 20th September, from his vacation, showing that in fact the settlement was enabling him to regain his health and spirits. I produce this note, marked "BB":

BEECHER TO MOULTON.

SATURDAY, September 30, 1871.

My Dear Friend—I feel bad not to meet you. My heart warms to you, and you might have known that I should be here, if you loved me as much as I do you. Well, it's an inconstant world! Soberly, I should be glad to have you see how hearty I am, ready for work, and hoping for a bright year.

"I have literally done nothing for three months, but have 'gone to grass.' Things seem almost strange to come back among men and see business going on in earnest.

"I will be here on Monday, at ten A. M. I am, my dear Frank, truly and gratefully yours,

(Signed) HENRY WARD BEECHER."

Taking advantage of this lull in the controversy it may be as convenient here as anywhere to state the relations of Mrs. Tilton to the matter and her acts toward the several parties. I shall be pardoned if I do it with care, because my statement, unhappily for us both, must be diametrically opposite to one published as hers. I had been on terms very familiar, visiting at Mr. Tilton's house. I had seen and known Mrs. Tilton well and kindly on my part, and I believed wholly so on hers, and, as I have before stated, I had never known or suspected or seen any exhibition of inharmoniousness between her and her husband during those many familiar visits, and of course I had no suspicion of infidelity upon the part of either toward the other. The first intimation of it which came to me was in the exhibition of her original confession, of which I have before spoken. The first time I saw that confession was on the 30th of December, 1870. The first communication I had from Mrs. Tilton after I had read her confession on the Friday evening, as before stated, was on the next morning, the 31st of December, 1870, the date being fixed by the fact cited in her letter showing that she gave her retraction to Beecher on the evening previous. The letter from her is as follows, marked "CC":

MRS. TILTON TO MOULTON.

SATURDAY MORNING.

My Dear Friend Frank—I want you to do me the greatest possible favor. My letter which you have, and the one I gave Mr. Beecher at his dictation last evening, ought both to be destroyed.

"Please bring both to me and I will burn them. Show this note to Theodore and Mr. Beecher. They will see the propriety of this request. Yours truly,

(Signed) E. R. TILTON."

I could not of course accede to this request of Mrs. Tilton, because I had pledged myself to Beecher that her retraction on the one side, and her confession to Tilton on the other—which are the papers she refers to as "my letter which you have, and the one I gave Mr. Beecher"—should not be given up, but should be held for the protection of either as against the other.

I learned in my interview with Beecher on the 1st day of January, 1871, that he had been told by his wife and others that Mrs. Tilton desired a separation from her husband on account of his supposed infidelities to her, and that Mrs. Tilton had applied to Mrs. Beecher for advice upon that subject. This being the first I had heard of any asserted infidelity of Tilton to his marriage vows, either the next day or second day after I asked Mrs. Tilton if it were so, and if she had ever desired a separation from her husband on that or any other account, wishing to assure myself of the facts upon which I was to act as mediator and arbitrator between the parties. She stated to me that she had not desired a separation from her husband, but that application had been made to Mr. and Mrs. Beecher through her mother, upon her own responsibility, to bring it about, and on the 4th day of January she sent me the following letter, which, although dated January 4, 1870, was actually written January 4, 1871, and dated 1870, as is a common enough mistake by most persons at the beginning of a new year. But it bears internal evidence of the time of its date, and also I know that I received it at that time, it being impossible that it should have been a year previous. I produce it, marked "DD":

MRS. TILTON TO MOULTON.

174 LIVINGSTON STREET, BROOKLYN, Jan. 14, 1870 (?).

MR. FRANCIS D. MOULTON:

My Dear Friend—In regard to your question whether I have ever sought a separation from my husband, I indig-

nantly deny that *such was ever the fact*, as I have denied it a hundred times before. The story that I wanted a separation was a deliberate falsehood, coined by my poor mother, who said she would bear the responsibility of this and other statements she might make, and communicated to my husband's enemy, Mrs. H. W. Beecher, and by her communicated to Mr. Bowen. I feel outraged by the whole proceeding, and am now suffering in consequence more than I am able to bear. I am yours, very truly,

“(Signed) ELIZ. R. TILTON.”

As bearing upon this topic of her husband's infidelity and her desire for separation, I produce another letter dated January 13, 1871, written by Mrs. Tilton and addressed to the person whose name I have heretofore and still suppress, as the one with whom Bowen had alleged an improper connection with Tilton, and because of which improper connection Beecher had been informed Mrs. Tilton was unhappy and desired the separation. It is marked “EE”:

MRS. TILTON TO ———.
“174 LIVINGSTON STREET,
“BROOKLYN, January 13, 1871.”

“My Dear Friend and Sister—I was made very glad by your letter, for your love to me is most grateful, and for which I actually hunger. You, like me, have loved and been loved, and can say with Mrs. Browning:

“Well enough I think we've fared,
My heart and I.”

“But I find in you an element to which I respond; when or how I am not philosopher enough of the human mind to understand. I cannot reason—only feel.

“I wrote to you a reply on the morning of my sickness, and tinged with fears of approaching disaster, so that when mail day arrived I was safely over my sufferings, with a fair prospect of returning health. I destroyed it lest its morbid tone might shadow your spirit. I am now around my house again, doing very poorly what I want to do well. All these ambitions and failures you know, darling, and when, in your last letter to Theodore—those good, true letters—you tell indirectly of your life with your parents, I caught and felt the self-sacrifice, admired and sincerely appreciated your rare qualities of heart and mind. I am a more demonstrative and enthusiastic lover of God manifested in his children than you will believe, and my memories of you fill me with admiration and delight. I have caught up your card-picture, which we have, in such moments, and kissed it again and again, praying with tears for God's blessing to follow you; and to perfect in us three the beautiful promise of our nature. But, my sweet and dear ———, I realize in these months of our acquaintance how almost impossible it is to bring out these blossoms of our heart's growth—God's gift to us—to human eyes. Our pearls and flowers are caught up literally by vulgar and base minds that surround us on every side, and so destroyed or abused that we know them no longer as our own, and thus God is made our only hope.

“My dear, dear sister, do not let us disappoint each other. I expect much from you—you do of me. Not in the sense of draining or weariness to body or spirit—but trust and faith in human hearts. Does it not exist between us? I believe it! My husband has suffered much with me in a cruel conspiracy made by my poor suffering mother, with an energy worthy of a better cause—to divorce us by saying that I was seeking it because of Theodore's infidelity, making her feeling mine.

“These slanders have been sown broadcast. I am quoted everywhere as the author of them. Coming in this form and way to Mr. Bowen, they caused his immediate dismissal from both the *Independent* and *Union*. Suffering thus both of us so unjustly—(I knew nothing of these plans)—anxiety night and day brought on my miscarriage; a disappointment I have never before known—a *love babe* it promised, you know. I have had sorrow almost beyond human capacity, dear ———. It is my mother! That will explain volumes to your filial heart. Theodore has many secret enemies, I find, besides my mother; but with a faithfulness renewed and strengthened by experience we will, by silence, time and patience, be victorious over them all. My faith and hope are very bright, now that I am off the sick-bed, and dear Frank Moulton is a friend indeed. (He is managing the case with Mr. Bowen.) We have weathered the storm, and, I believe, without harm to our *Best*. ‘Let not your heart be troubled,’ dear sweet. I love you. Be assured of it. I wish I could come to you. I would help you in the care of your loved ones, for that I can do. ‘My heart bounds toward all.’ Then your spirit would be free to write and think.

“But hereunto I am not called. My spirit is willing. My dear children are all well. Floy, on her return at the holiday vacation found me sick, and we concluded to keep her with us, and she has entered the Packer. Our household has indeed been sadly tossed about and the children suffer with the parents; but *the end has come*, and I write that you may have joy and not grief, for that is past. I am glad you love Alice. I have kissed her for you many times. I will teach all my darlings to love you and welcome your home-coming. Ralph is a fine, beautiful boy, and to be our only baby—very precious, therefore. Carroll is visiting Theodore's parents at Keyport. I hope your mother is now better and that you have reached the sunshine. Our spirits cannot thrive in Nature's gloom. Give much love to your parents. I am yours, faithfully and fondly.

“(Signed) SISTER ELIZABETH.”

This letter requires a word of explanation. It will be observed that in the course of the correspondence between Bowen and Beecher there had been claimed infidelities on the part of Tilton with a certain lady whose name is not disclosed, although well known to all the parties, and much of the accusations against Tilton connected him with that lady, and it was averred that they came from his wife. The above letter was written to that lady long after the accusations had been made against Tilton, and after they had been communicated to his wife, and I bring it in here as bearing on the question whether Mrs. Tilton desired a separation from her husband, as had been alleged, on account of his infidelities with this lady.

I have already stated that I had, as a necessary precaution

to the peace of the family and the parties interested, interdicted all the parties from having communication with each other—except the husband and wife—unless that communication was known to me, and the letters sent through me or shown to me. Mr. Tilton and Mr. Beecher, as I have before stated, both faithfully complied with their promise in that regard, so far as I know. I was away sick in the spring of 1871, as before stated, and went to Florida. Soon after my return Beecher placed in my hands an unsigned letter from Mrs. Tilton, in her handwriting, undated, but marked in his handwriting, “Received March 8, 1871.” I here produce it, marked “FF”:

MRS. TILTON TO BEECHER.
“WEDNESDAY.

“My Dear Friend—Does your heart bound toward all as it used? So does mine! I am myself again. I did not dare to tell you till I was sure; but the bird has sung in my heart these four weeks, and he has covenanted with me never again to leave. ‘Spring has come.’* Because I thought it would gladden you to know this, and not to trouble or embarrass you in any way, I now write. Of course I should like to share with you my joy; but can wait for the Beyond!

“When dear Frank says I may once again go to old Plymouth, I will thank the dear Father.”

Such a communication from Mrs. Tilton to her pastor, under the circumstances and her promise, seemed to me to be a breach of good faith. But desirous to have the peace kept, and hoping if unanswered it might not be repeated, I did not show it to Tilton, or inform him of its existence.

On Friday, April 21, 1871, Mr. Beecher received another letter, of that date, unsigned, from Mrs. Tilton, which he gave to me. It is here produced, marked “GG,” as follows:

MRS. TILTON TO BEECHER.
“FRIDAY, April 21, 1871.

“Mr. Beecher—As Mr. Moulton has returned, will you use your influence to have the papers in his possession destroyed? My heart bleeds night and day at the injustice of their existence.”

As I could not comply with this request, for reasons before stated, I did not show this letter to Tilton, nor did I call Mrs. Tilton's attention to it.

On the 3d of May Mr. Beecher handed me still another letter, unsigned, but in Mrs. Tilton's handwriting, of that date, which is here produced, marked “HH”:

MRS. TILTON TO BEECHER.
“BROOKLYN, May 3, 1871.

“Mr. Beecher—My future either for life or death would be happier could I but feel that you forgave while you forget me. In all the sad complications of the past year my endeavor was to entirely keep from you all suffering; to bear myself alone, leaving you forever ignorant of it. My weapons were love, a large untiring generosity, and *nest-hiding!* That I failed utterly we both know. But now I ask forgiveness.”

The contents of this letter were so remarkable that I queried within my own mind whether I ought not to show it to Tilton; but as I was assured by Beecher, and verily believed, and now believe, that they were unanswered by him, I thought it best to retain it in my own possession, as I have done until now. But from the hour of its reception what remained of faith in Mrs. Tilton's character for truth or propriety of conduct was wholly lost, and from that time forth I had no thought or care for her reputation only so far as it affected that of her children.

After this I do not know that anything occurred between myself and Mrs. Tilton of pertinence to this inquiry, or more than the ordinary courtesies or civilities when I called at her house, and I received no other communication from her until shortly before the question of the arbitration of the business between Bowen and Tilton was determined upon. I had learned that Mrs. Tilton had been making declarations which were sully the reputation of her husband, and giving it to be understood that her home was not a happy one, because of the want of religious sympathy between herself and her husband, and because he did not accompany her to church as regularly and as often as she thought he ought to do, and she thought it would be well for the children to do, and sometimes speaking of her unhappiness, without defining specially the cause, thus leaving for the busybodies and intermeddlers to infer causes of unhappiness which she did not state. I thought it my duty to the parties to caution her in that regard, and I said to her that I thought she ought not, in the presence of others, to upbraid her husband with their differences in religious feeling or opinions, and that it was not well for her to make any statement which should show her home unhappy, or that she was unhappy in it, because it might lead to such inquiries as might break it up, as well as the settlement, which she was so desirous to maintain for the sake of both families—Mrs. Beecher's and her own.

This conversation drew from her the following letter, marked “II”:

MRS. TILTON TO MOULTON.
“SUNDAY MORNING, February 11, 1872.

“My Dear Friend Francis—All the week I have sought opportunity to write you, but as I cannot work in the cars as Theodore does, and the time at our stopping-places must be necessarily given to rest, eating and sight-seeing, say nothing of lecture-going, I have failed to come to you before.

“It was given to you to reveal to me last Sabbath evening two things (for which God bless you abundantly with his peace): First, the truth that until then I had never seen nor felt, namely, whenever I remembered myself in conversing with others to the shadowing of Theodore I became his enemy! And the second truth was that I hindered the reconstruction more than any one else.

“Whenever I become convinced I know I am immovable. Henceforth silence has locked my lips and the key is cast into the depths! Theo. need fear me no longer, for I would be the enemy of no one.

“I have not been equal to the great work of the past year. All I have done is to cause the utter misery of those I love best—my mother, husband, Mr. B., and my dear children!

“But how greatly I prize your counsel and criticisms you

will never know. You do not at all terrify me; only convince, and I bless you.

“Pardon this hasty line, which I'm sure you'll do, since you forgive so much else. Good night.

“Affectionately (Signed), ELIZABETH.”

After the signing of the “tripartite covenant,” April 2, 1872, Tilton desired that I should return him the paper containing his wife's confession, in order, as he said, to relieve her anxiety as to its possibly falling into wrong hands, and she was very desirous that this paper should be destroyed. As I held it solely for her protection, and under pledge to him, I gave it to him, and he told me afterward that he gave it into her hands and that she destroyed it. She also confirmed this statement.

Some time after that—it is impossible for me to fix the date precisely—I learned from Beecher that Mrs. Tilton had told him that when she made her confession to her husband of her infidelity with him (Beecher), her husband had made a like confession to her of his own infidelities with several other women. This being an entirely new statement of fact to me, and never having heard Mrs. Tilton in all my conversations with her, although she had admitted freely her own sexual intercourse with Beecher, make any claims that her husband had confessed his infidelity or that he had been unfaithful to her, I was considerably surprised at this intimation made at so late a period, and I brought it to the attention of Tilton, in the form of a very strong criticism of his course toward me, that he had kept back so important a fact, which might have made a great difference as to the course that ought to be taken. Tilton promptly and with much feeling denied that he had ever made any such confession, or that his wife ever claimed that he had, and desired me to see Mrs. Tilton and satisfy myself upon that point; and he went immediately with me to his house, that I might see Mrs. Tilton before he should have the opportunity to see her, after he had learned the alleged fact. We went to the house together and found her in the back parlor. On our way to the house, Tilton said to me: “Frank, what is the use of my trying to keep the family together when this sort of thing is being all the time said against me? You are all the time telling me that I must keep the peace and forget and forgive, while these stories are being circulated to my prejudice.” On arriving at the house I asked Mrs. Tilton to step into the front parlor, where we two were alone. I then put the question to her: “Elizabeth, did you tell Mr. Beecher that when you made your confession to your husband of your infidelity with Beecher, your husband at the same time made a confession to you of his own infidelity with other women?”

“I was very much shocked and surprised at the denial, but of course could say nothing more, and did say nothing more upon that subject, and left and went home. The next morning I received the following letter from Mrs. Tilton, without date, so that I am unable to give the exact date of this transaction; but I know it was after the tripartite covenant. The letter is here produced, and marked “JJ”:

MRS. TILTON TO MOULTON.

“Dear Francis—I did tell you two falsehoods at your last visit. At first I entirely misunderstood your question, thinking you had reference to the interview at your house, the day before. But when I intelligently replied to you, I replied falsely. I will now put myself on record truthfully.

“I told Mr. B. that at the time of my confession T. had made similar confessions to me of himself, but no developments as to persons. When you then asked, for your own satisfaction, ‘Was it so?’ I told my second lie. After you had left I said to T. ‘You know I [was] obliged to lie to Frank, and I now say, rather than make others suffer as I now do, I must lie; for it is a physical impossibility for me to tell the truth.’

“Yet I do think, Francis, had not T.'s angry, troubled face been before me, I would have told you the truth.

“I am a perfect coward in his presence, not from any fault of his, perhaps, but from long years of timidity.

“I implore you, as this is a side issue, to be careful not to lead me into further temptation.

“You may show this to T., or Mr. B., or any one. An effort made for truth. Wretchedly,

“(Signed) ELIZABETH.”

This letter was wholly unsatisfactory to me, because nothing had occurred the day previous to which she could possibly have referred. After the publication, on the 2d day of November, 1872, in WOODHULL AND CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY, of the story of Tilton and Beecher's conduct in relation to Mrs. Tilton, and as my name was mentioned in the article as one possessing peculiar knowledge upon the whole subject, I was continually asked by my acquaintances, and even by strangers, upon their ascertaining who I was, whether that publication was true; and I found great difficulty in making an answer. A refusal on my part to answer would have been taken to be a confession of the truth of the charges. Therefore, when people inquired who had no right to my confidence, I answered them in such phrase as, without making a direct statement, would lead them to infer that the charges could not be sustained.

In some cases I doubt not that the inquirers supposed that I, in fact, denied their truth; but upon that point I was very studious not directly to commit myself. Finding that my very silence was working injury to the cause of the suppression of the scandal, I told Tilton that I wished to be authorized by his wife to deny it.

I thought it certainly could not possibly be true to the extent, and in the circumstances with the breadth, in which it was stated in that newspaper. Soon after I received the fol-

lowing paper, without date, from Mrs. Tilton, which is produced and marked "KK":

MRS. TILTON TO MOULTON.

"MR. MOULTON:

"My Dear Friend—For my husband's sake and my children's, I hereby testify, with all my woman's soul, that I am innocent of the crime of impure conduct alleged against me. I have been to my husband a true wife; in his love I wish to live and die. My early affection for him still burns with its maiden flame: all the more for what he has borne for my sake, both private and public wrongs. His plan to keep back scandals long ago threatened against me I never approved, and the result shows it unavailing; but few would have risked so much as he has sacrificed for others ever since the conspiracy began against him, two years ago.

"Having had power to strike others, he has forborne to use it, and allowed himself to be injured instead. No wound is so great to me as the imputation that he is among my accusers. I bless him every day for his faith in me, which swerves not, and for standing my champion against all my accusers.

(Signed) ELIZABETH R. TILTON."

Upon the strength of that I thereafter said that Mrs. Tilton denied the story. About the 16th December, 1872, Mr. Carpenter and Dr. Storrs undertook to look up the reports, with the intention, as I understood, of advising some public statement, or as being concerned in some investigation of the matter, and Mrs. Tilton wrote for them the following paper bearing that date, which I produce, marked "LL":

MRS. TILTON'S STATEMENT.

"DECEMBER 16, 1872.

"In July, 1870, prompted by my duty, I informed my husband that Mr. H. W. Beecher, my friend and pastor, had solicited me to be a wife to him, together with all that this implied. Six months afterward my husband felt impelled by the circumstances of a conspiracy against him, in which Mrs. Beecher had taken part, to have an interview with Mr. Beecher.

"In order that Mr. B. might know exactly what I had said to my husband, I wrote a brief statement, (I have forgotten in what form), which my husband showed to Mr. Beecher. Late the same evening Mr. B. came to me (lying very sick at the time), and filled me with distress, saying I had ruined him, and wanting to know if I meant to appear against him. This I certainly did not mean to do, and the thought was agonizing to me. I then signed a paper which he wrote, to clear him in case of a trial. In this instance, as in most others, when absorbed by one great interest or feeling, the harmony of my mind is entirely disturbed, and I found on reflection that this paper was so drawn as to place me most unjustly against my husband, and on the side of Mr. Beecher. So in order to repair so cruel a blow to my long suffering husband, I wrote an explanation of the first paper, and my signature. Mr. Moulton procured from Mr. B. the statement which I gave to him in my agitation and excitement, and now holds it.

"This ends my connection with the case.

(Signed) ELIZABETH R. TILTON.

"P. S.—This statement is made at the request of Mr. Carpenter, that it may be shown confidentially to Dr. Storrs and other friends, with whom my husband and I are consulting."

This paper was delivered to me, and the theory of the confession then was that Mr. and Mrs. Tilton should admit no more than the solicitation; but that endeavor to make an explanation of the business fell through, and after it was shown to those interested, as I was told, the paper remained with me.

I received no further communication from Mrs. Tilton until the 25th of June of this year (1874), and that communication came to me in this wise. When Tilton showed me his Dr. Bacon letter, I most strongly and earnestly advised against its publication, and said to him in substance, that, while I admitted the wrong and injustice of Dr. Bacon's charges, that he (Mr. T.) had lived by the magnanimity of Beecher, and that he was a dog and a knave, when I believed he had acted a proper and manly part in endeavoring to shield his family, yet that its publication would so stir the public mind that an investigation would be forced upon him and Beecher in some manner which I could not then foresee, and the truth would in all probability have to come out, or so much of it that Mrs. Tilton and Beecher would be dishonored and destroyed, and he himself be subjected to the severest criticism. Notwithstanding my advice, he was so wrought up with the continued assaults upon him by the friends of Beecher that he determined on the publication of the letter.

He said to me, in substance, that as the course I had advised in the matter in regard to the church investigation had been so completely set aside by Beecher's friends, and they had so far ignored all propositions coming from me as to the best mode of disposing of the matter, they evidently did not any longer intend to be guided by my counsel or wishes; and if Beecher and his friends set me aside in the matter, he (Mr. T.) could see no reason why he should any longer yield to my entreaties or follow my lead. The only modification that I was able to get of the Bacon letter was this: It originally read Beecher had committed against him and his family "a revolting crime."

I insisted that that should be changed into "an offense committed against me," which was done, and the letter was published in that form.

The reasons which actuated me to require this change by Tilton in his letter were in the hope that reconciliation and peace might still be possible. As the letter as amended would state an offense only, and also that an apology sufficient in the mind of Tilton had been made for that offense, if Beecher, in reply to the Bacon letter, should come out and state that it was true he had committed an offense against Tilton for which he had made the most ample apology, which had been accepted by Tilton as satisfactory, and as the matter was nobody's business but that of the parties interested, he would never become a party to any investigation of the subject, and that Tilton had acted not unjustly or unfairly toward him in what he had done; that in such case the affair might possibly have been quieted and peace maintained. But if the words "revolting crime" remained in

the letter, all hope of reconciliation or escaping the fullest investigation would be impossible. After the publication of that letter I so advised Mr. Beecher, his friends and counsel, but that advice was unheeded; and I also gave Mr. Beecher the same advice at a consultation with him for which he asked in a letter, which will hereafter, in its proper place, be produced. Some days subsequent to this advice of mine to Tilton, I received the following letter, of date June 25, 1874, from Mrs. Tilton, which is the last communication I have had with or from her on the subject. It is herewith produced, and marked "MM":

MRS. TILTON TO MOULTON.

"JUNE 25, 1874.

"Mr. Moulton—It is fitting I should make quick endeavor to undo my injustice toward you.

"I learned from Theodore last night that you greatly opposed the publication of his statement to Dr. Bacon. I had coupled you with Mr. Carpenter as advising it.

"Forgive me, and accept my gratitude.

(Signed)

ELIZ. R. TILTON."

Having now placed before the committee my statement of the facts concerning Mrs. Tilton, and the documentary evidence that I have to support them, and as they are diametrically opposed to nearly all that Mrs. Tilton appears to declare in her published statement, I deem it my duty to myself and my position in this terrible business, to say that during this affair Mrs. Tilton has more than once admitted to me and to another person to my knowledge—whom I do not care to bring into this controversy—the fact of her sexual relations with Beecher, and she never has once denied them, other than in the written papers prepared for a purpose which I have already exhibited; but, on the contrary, the fact of such criminal intercourse being well understood by Beecher, Tilton and Mrs. Tilton to have taken place, my whole action in the matter was based upon the existence of that fact, and was an endeavor, faithfully carried out by me in every way possible, to protect the families of both parties from the consequences of a public disclosure of Mrs. Tilton's admitted infidelities to her husband.

I now return to the documentary evidence, and the necessary explanations thereof, which I have of the condition of the affair as regards Beecher himself, after the fall of 1871, as disconnected with the affairs of Bowen which I have already explained. At about this time I received the following letter, marked "MM 2":

MRS. WOODHULL TO BEECHER.

"15 EAST THIRTY-EIGHTH STREET, 19th, 11th, 1871.

"REV. H. W. BEECHER:

"Dear Sir—For reasons in which you are deeply interested as well as myself, and the cause of truth, I desire to have an interview with you, without fail, at some hour to-morrow. Two of your sisters have gone out of their way to assail my character and purposes, both by the means of the public press and by numerous private letters written to various persons with whom they seek to injure me, and thus to defeat the political ends at which I aim.

"You doubtless know that it is in my power to strike back, and in ways more disastrous than anything that can come to me; but I do not desire to do this. I simply desire justice from those from whom I have a right to expect it; and a reasonable course on your part will assist me to it. I speak guardedly, but I think you will understand me. I repeat that I must have an interview to-morrow, since I am to speak to-morrow evening at Steinway Hall, and what I shall or shall not say will depend largely upon the result of the interview.

"Yours very truly,

(Signed)

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

"P. S.—Please return answer by bearer."

The foregoing letter occasioned Mr. Tilton much anxiety, lest Mrs. Woodhull, in proceeding against Mr. Beecher and his sisters, would thereby involve Mrs. Tilton.

Accordingly, knowing that Mr. Beecher and Mrs. Woodhull were to have an interview at my house on the next day, he came to it, uninvited, and urged Mr. Beecher to preside on that evening at Steinway Hall. After Mrs. W. left Tilton repeated this urgency to Beecher.

On that evening I went to Steinway Hall with Tilton; and finding no one there to preside, Tilton volunteered to preside himself, which, I believe, had the effect of preventing Mrs. Woodhull's proposed attack on the Beecher family at that time. On the 30th of December, 1871, Mrs. Woodhull also sent a letter to Beecher, desiring that he would speak at a woman's suffrage convention in Washington, to be held on the 10th, 11th and 12th of January following. That letter Beecher forwarded to me, with the following note of the date of 2d of January, 1872, herewith produced and marked "NN":

BEECHER TO MOULTON.

"BROOKLYN, Tuesday Evening, 2d January, 1872.

"My Dear Moulton—I send you V.W.'s letter to me, and a reply which I submit to your judgment. Tell me what you think. Is it too long? Will she use it for publishing? I do not wish to have it so used. I do not mean to speak on the platform of either of the two suffrage societies. What influence I exert I prefer to do on my own hook; and I do not mean to train with either party, and it will not be fair to press me in where I do not wish to go. But I leave it for you. Judge for me. I have leaned on you hitherto and never been sorry for it.

"2. I was mistaken about the *Ch. Union* coming out so early that I could not get a notice of *G. Age* in it. It was just the other way, to be delayed, and I send you a rough proof of the first page and the *Star* article.

"In the paper to-morrow a line, or so will be inserted to soften a little the touch about the *Lib. Christian*.

"3. Do you think I ought to keep a copy of any letters to V. W.? Do you think it would be better to write it again, and not say so much? Will you keep the letter to me, and send the other if you judge it wise?

"4. Will you send a line to my house in the morning saying what you conclude?

"I am full of company.

"Yours truly and affectionately.

(Signed) H. W. B."

There is a paragraph in this note which needs a word of explanation. I had advised Beecher, in order that he might show that there was no unkindly feeling between him and Tilton, to publish in the *Christian Union* a reference to the *Golden Age*. He agreed to do so, but instead of that he had a notice which I thought was worse than if he had said nothing, and the allusion in the second paragraph of this letter is to a letter which I had written to Beecher upon the two topics—this and Mrs. Woodhull.

A retained copy of my letter I herewith submit, marked "OO":

MOULTON TO BEECHER.

"My Dear Sir—First with reference to Mrs. Woodhull's letter and your answer: I think that you would have done better to accept the invitation to speak in Washington, but if lecture interferes your letter in reply is good enough, and will bear publication.

"With relation to your notice of the *Golden Age*, I tell you frankly, as your friend, that I am ashamed of it, and would rather you had written nothing. Your early associations with and your present knowledge of the man who edits that paper are grounds upon which you might to have so written that no reader would have doubted that in your opinion Theodore Tilton's public and private integrity was unquestionable. If the article had been written to compliment the *Independent* it would receive my unqualified approval."

On the 5th of February, 1872, I received from Mr. Beecher the letter which I here produce of that date, and marked "PP":

[This is the letter in which Mr. Beecher says: "But to live on the sharp and ragged edge of remorse, fear, despair," etc., see our last week's issue, page 6, for complete copy.—ED.]

This letter was to let me know that Elizabeth had written him, contrary to her promise, without my permission, and also to inform me of his fears as to the change in Tilton's mind, and its clear statement of the case as it then stood can not be further elucidated by me. On the 25th of March I received a portrait of Titian as a present from Mr. Beecher, with the following note, as a token of his confidence and respect. It is produced, and marked "QQ":

BEECHER TO MOULTON.

"My Dear Friend—I sent on Friday or Saturday a portrait of Titian to the store for you. I hope it may suit you.

"I have been doing ten men's work this winter—partly to make up lost time, partly because I live under a cloud, feeling every month that I may be doing my last work, and anxious to make the most of it. When Esau sold his birthright, he found "no place for repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears." But I have one abiding comfort. I have known you, and found in you one who has given a new meaning to friendship. As soon as warm days come I want you to go to Peekskill with me.

"I am off in an hour for Massachusetts, to be gone all the week.

"I am urging forward my second volume of 'Life of Christ,' for 'the night cometh when no man can work.'

"With much affection and admiration, yours truly.

"H. W. B.

"March 25, 1872. Monday morning."

After Tilton had written a campaign document against Grant's Administration, and in favor of Mr. Greeley's election, Beecher discussed with me the position taken by Tilton. Beecher also gave me a copy of his (Beecher's) speech opening the Grant campaign in Brooklyn. After the speech was delivered he sent me the following note of May 17, 1872, which I here produce, marked "RR":

BEECHER TO MOULTON.

"May 17, 1872.

"My Dear Frank—I send you the only copy I have of my speech at the Academy of Music on Grant, and have marked the passage that we spoke about last night, and you will see just what I said, and that I argued then just as I do now.

"Pray send it back, or I shall be left without a speech!

"I read Theodore's on Grant. I do not think it just. It is ably written; it is a case of *grape-shot*. Yet, I think it will overact; it is too strong—will be likely to produce a feeling among those not already intense, that it is excessive. Yours sincerely and ever.

"H. W. B.

"Don't forget to send back my speech!"

About the time of this occurrence Beecher and Tilton met at my house on friendly terms. In fact I cannot exhibit better the tone of Tilton's mind in the winter and spring of 1871-72 than to produce here a letter, written to me at that time without date, but I can fix the date as early as that. It is here produced, and marked "SS":

TILTON TO MOULTON.

"HUDSON RIVER RAILROAD, Monday Morning.

"MY DEAR FRANK: I am writing while the train is in motion—which accounts for the apparent drunkenness of this shaken chirography. Mrs. Beecher sits in the next seat. We are almost elbow to elbow in the palace car. She is white-haired and looks a dozen years older than when I last had a near view of her. My heart has been full of pity for her, notwithstanding the cruel way in which she has treated my good name. Her face is written over with many volumes of human suffering. I do not think she has been aware of my presence, for she has been absorbed in thought—her eyes rooted to one spot.

"A suggestion has occurred to me, which I hasten to communicate. She is going to Florida, and may never return alive. If I am ever to be vindicated from the slanders which she has circulated, or which Mr. Bowen pretends to have derived from her and Mrs. Morse, why would it not be well to get from her and Mrs. Morse a statement under oath (by such a process as last evening's documents make easy and harmless) of the exact narrations which they made to him and to others.

"It would be well to have them say what they said before.

he gets a chance to say what they said to him. Speak to Mr. Ward about it. Of course I leave the matter wholly to you and him.

"I am unusually heavy-hearted this morning. My sullen neighbor keeps the dark and lurid past vividly before my mind. If she actually knew the conduct which her priestly husband has been guilty of, I believe she would shed his blood—or, perhaps, saving him, she would wreak her wrath on his victims. There is a look of desperation in her eye today as if she were competent to anything bitter or revengeful. But perhaps I misjudge her mind. I hope I do.

"I shall not be home till Thursday afternoon instead of morning, as I said, leaving for Washington at nine P. M. that evening. Ever yours,
THEODORE."

On the 3d of June, 1872, Beecher received from Mrs. Woodhull the following letter of that date, which I here produce, marked "TT":

MRS. WOODHULL TO BEECHER.
"48 BROAD STREET, June 3, 1872.

"REV. HENRY WARD BEECHER:

"My Dear Sir—The social fight against me being now waged in this city is becoming rather hotter than I can well endure longer, standing unsupported and alone, as I have until now. Within the past two weeks I have been shut out of hotel after hotel, and am now, after having obtained a place in one, hunted down by a set of males and females, who are determined that I shall not be permitted to live even, if they can prevent it.

"Now, I want your assistance. I want to be sustained in my position in the Gilsey House, from which I am ordered out and from which I do not wish to go—and all this simply because I am Victoria C. Woodhull, the advocate of social freedom. I have submitted to this persecution just so long as I can endure to; my business, my projects, in fact everything for which I live suffers from it, and it must cease. Will you lend me your aid in this. Yours very truly,
"VICTORIA C. WOODHULL."

The above letter was sent to me inclosed in a note from Beecher of the same date, which is here produced and marked "UU":

BEECHER TO MOULTON.
"MONDAY EVENING, June 3, 1872.

"My Dear Mr. Moulton—Will you answer this? Or will you see that she is to understand that I can do nothing? I certainly shall not at any and all hazards, take a single step in that direction, and if it brings trouble—it must come.

"Please drop me a line to say all is right—if in your judgment all is right. Truly yours,
H. W. B."

This letter of Mrs. Woodhull, together with those before produced asking Beecher to speak at a suffrage convention, are all the letters I have from her to Beecher. To this letter no reply was made.

After the publication of the tripartite covenant by Mr. Wilkeson, which I believe was on the 29th of May, 1873, the story of the troubles between Beecher and Tilton was revived, with many rumors, and those claiming to be friends of Beecher were endeavoring, as Tilton thought, to explain the terms of that covenant in a manner prejudicial to him. Some enemies of Beecher were endeavoring to get some clue to the proofs of the facts lying at the bottom of these scandals.

After the publication of this "tripartite covenant" was made, Tilton deemed, from the comments of the press, that the statement reflected upon him, and he desired that in some way Beecher should relieve him from the imputation of having circulated slanderous stories about him without justification, for which he had apologized, and by advice of friends he prepared a card for me to submit to Beecher to have him sign and publish in his vindication. The original card I herewith produce, marked "UU 1":

A CARD FROM HENRY WARD BEECHER.

"A letter written by Theodore Tilton to Henry C. Bowen, dated Brooklyn, January 1, 1871, narrating charges made by Mr. Bowen against my character, has been made public in a community in which I am a citizen and clergyman, and thrusts upon me, by no agency of my own, what I could not with propriety invite for myself, namely, an opportunity to make the following statements:

"I. By the courtesy of Mr. Tilton, that letter was shown to me at the time it was written, and before it was conveyed to Mr. Bowen, two and a half years ago. By legal and other advisers, Mr. Tilton was urged to publish it then, without delay, or a similar statement explaining his sudden collision with Mr. Bowen, and his unexpected retirement as editor of the *Union*, and contributor to the *Independent*. But although Mr. Tilton's public standing needed such an explanation to be made, and although he had my free consent to make it, yet he magnanimously refrained from doing so, through an unwillingness to disclose to the public Mr. Bowen's aspersions concerning myself. Mr. Tilton's consideration for my feelings and reputation, thus evinced at the beginning, has continued to the end, and I have never ceased to be grateful to him for an uncommon manliness in accepting wounds to his own reputation for the sake of preventing aspersions on mine.

"II. The surreptitious and unauthorized publication last Sunday of Mr. Tilton's letter—a publication made without the knowledge either of Mr. Tilton or myself—gives me the right to say that Mr. Bowen long ago retracted his mistaken charges in the following words, under his own hand and seal, dated ———, namely:

"III. In addition to Mr. Bowen's voluntary statement, above given, I solemnly pronounce the charges to be false, one and all, and to be without any color of reason or foundation in fact.

"IV. All my differences with Mr. Bowen, and all temporary misunderstandings between Mr. Tilton and myself growing out of these, were long ago settled justly, amicably, and in the spirit of mutual good will.

"(Signed) HENRY WARD BEECHER."

Beecher felt much aggrieved at this claim upon him by Tilton, feeling that the matter had been all settled and ad-

justed, and he answered Tilton's application in this regard by the letter herewith produced under date June 1, 1873, marked "UU 2":

[The letter is that in which Mr. Beecher alludes to the feeling that he is spending his last Sunday and preaching his last sermon. See last week's issue, page 7, for full copy.—Ed.]

Meanwhile charges were preferred against Tilton for the purpose of having him dismissed from Plymouth church. This action, which seemed to threaten the discovery of the facts in regard to the troubles between Beecher and Tilton, annoyed both very much, and I myself feared that serious difficulty would arise therefrom. Upon consultation with Beecher and Tilton I suggested a plan by which that investigation would be rendered unnecessary, which was, in substance, that a resolution should be passed by the church amending its roll, alleging that Tilton having voluntarily withdrawn from the church some four years before, therefore the roll should be amended by striking off his name. This course had been suggested to me by Mr. Tilton about a year and a half before in answer to a letter by Beecher, dated December 3, 1871, marked "UU 3":

BEECHER TO MOULTON.

"My Dear Friend—There are two or three who feel anxious to press action on the case. It will only serve to raise profitless excitement when we need to have quieting.

"There are already complexities enough. We do not want to run the risk of the complications which, in such a body, no man can foresee and no one control. Once free from a sense of responsibility for him, and there would be a strong tendency for kindly feeling to set in, which now is checked by the membership, without attendance, sympathy or doctrinal agreement.

"Since the connection is really formal, and not vital or sympathetic, why should it continue, with all the risk of provoking irritating measures? Every day's reflection satisfies me that this is the course of wisdom, and that T. will be the stronger and B. the weaker for it.

"You said that you meant to effect it. Can't it be done promptly? If a letter is written it had better be very short, simply announcing withdrawal, and perhaps with an expression of kind wishes, etc.

"You will know. I shall be in town Monday and part of Tuesday. Shall I hear from you?

"DECEMBER, 3, 1871."

But when the meeting of the church was held for that purpose it was charged that Tilton had slandered the pastor. Tilton therefore took the stand and said, in substance, that if he had uttered any slanders against Beecher he was ready to answer them, as God was his witness. Beecher thereupon stated that he had no charges to make, and the matter dropped. But, when the resolution was passed, instead of being put so as to exonerate Tilton, it was declared in substance that, whereas certain charges had been made against him, and as he pleaded to those charges non-membership, his name be dropped from the roll.

This action of the church very much exasperated Tilton, who thought that Beecher should have prevented such a result, and that he might have done so if he had stood by him fully and fairly as agreed. In that, however, I believe Tilton was mistaken, because Mr. William F. West, who preferred the charges against Tilton, did it against the wish of Beecher and without any consultation with him, as appears by the following letter of June 25, produced here, and marked "VV":

MR. WEST TO BEECHER.
"NEW YORK, June 25, 1873.

"REV. H. W. BEECHER:

"Dear Sir—Moved by a sense of duty as a member of Plymouth Church, I have decided to prefer charges against Henry C. Bowen and Theodore Tilton, and have requested Brother Halliday to call a meeting of the Examining Committee in order that I may make the charges before them.

"Thinking that you would perhaps like to be made acquainted with these facts, I called last evening at Mr. Beach's house, where I was informed that you had returned to Peekskill.

"I therefore write you by early mail to-day. Yours very truly,
WM. F. WEST."

Meanwhile, through the intervention of Dr. Storrs and others, as I understood, an ecclesiastical council had been called. The acts of this council in attempting to disfellowship Plymouth Church were very displeasing to Beecher, and caused him much trouble, especially the action of Dr. Storrs, which he expressed to me in the following letter, dated March 25, 1874, which is here produced, and marked "WW":

BEECHER TO MOULTON.

[Confidential.]

"My Dear Frank—I am indigent beyond expression. Storrs' course has been an unspeakable outrage. After his pretended sympathy and friendship for Theodore he has turned against him in the most venomous manner, and it is not sincere. His professions of faith and affection for me are hollow and faithless. They are merely tactical. His object is plain. He is determined to force a conflict, and to use one of us to destroy the other if possible. That is his game. By stinging Theodore he believes that he will be driven into a course which he hopes will ruin me. If ever a man betrayed another he has. I am in hopes that Theodore, who has borne so much, will be unwilling to be a flail in Storrs' hand to strike at a friend. There are one or two reasons, emphatic, for waiting until the end of the council before taking any action:

"1. That the attack on Plymouth Church and the threats against Congregationalism were so violent that the public mind is likely to be absorbed in the ecclesiastical elements and not in the personal.

"2. If Plymouth Church is disfellowshipped, it will constitute a blow at me and the church far severer than that at him.

"3. That if council does not disfellowship Plymouth Church, then, undoubtedly, Storrs will go off into Presby-

terianism, as he almost, without disguise, threatened in his speech, and, in that case, the emphasis will be there.

"4. At any rate, while the fury rages in council, it is not wise to make any move that would be one among so many, as to lose effect in a degree, and after the battle is over one can more exactly see what ought to be done. Meantime I am patient as I know how to be, but pretty nearly used up with inward excitement, and must run away for a day or two and hide and sleep and there will be a funeral.

"Cordially and trustingly yours,
H. W. B."
"March 25, 1874."

"No one can tell under first impressions what the effect of such a speech will be. It ought to damn Storrs."

While these proceedings were pending, Rev. Mr. Halliday, the assistant of Beecher, called upon him and upon me to endeavor to learn the facts about the difficulties between Beecher and Tilton. I stated to Halliday that I did not think that either he or the church were well employed in endeavoring to reopen a trouble which had been adjusted and settled by the parties to it, and that it was better, in my judgment, for everybody that the whole matter should be allowed to repose in quiet. The result of the interview between Halliday and Beecher was communicated to me in the following letter, undated and unsigned, so that I cannot fix the date, but it is in Beecher's handwriting and is here produced and marked "XX":

BEECHER TO MOULTON.

"SUNDAY, A. M.

"My Dear Friend—Halliday called last night. T.'s interview with him did not satisfy but disturbed. It was the same with Bell, who was present. It tended directly to upsetting.

"Your interview last night was very beneficial and gave confidence. This must be looked after.

"It is vain to build if the foundation sinks under every effort.

"I shall see you at 10:30 to-morrow—if you return by way of 49 Remsen."

The anxiety which Beecher felt about these stories, and the steps he took to quiet them, together with the trust he reposed in me and my endeavors to aid him in that behalf, may perhaps be as well seen from a letter headed "25, 73," which I believe to be June 25, 1873, and directed, "My dear Von Moitke," meaning myself, and kindly complimenting me with the name of a general having command of a battle. It is here produced and marked "YY":

BEECHER TO MOULTON.

"25, 73.

"My Dear Von Moitke—I have seen Howard again. He says that it was not from Theodore that Gilkison got the statement, but from Carpenter.

"Is he reporting that view? I have told Clafin that you would come with Carpenter if he could be found, and at any rate by 9 to-night (to see Storrs), but I did not say anything about Storrs.

"I sent Cleveland with my horse and buggy over to hunt Carpenter.

"Will you put Carpenter on his guard about making such statements?

"From him these bear the force of coming from headquarters. Yours truly and ever,
H. W. BEECHER."

Meanwhile Halliday had had an interview with Tilton, the result of which, as unsettling the matter between Tilton and Beecher, was very anxiously awaited by Beecher, who communicated to me, and who was also quite as anxious that Tilton should take no steps by which the matter between them should get into the newspapers or be made in any manner a matter of controversy. With this view he stated the situation on the same night of the interview of Halliday and Tilton in the following letter, which is without date and was written in pencil in great haste, and is here produced marked "ZZ":

BEECHER TO MOULTON.

SUNDAY NIGHT.

"My Dear Friend—1. The *Eagle* ought to have nothing to-night. It is that meddling which stirs up our folks. Neither you nor Theodore ought to be troubled by the side which you served so faithfully in public.

"2. The deacon's meeting I think is adjourned. I saw Bell. It was a friendly movement.

"2. The only near, next danger is the women—Morrill, Bradshaw and the poor, dear child.

"If papers will hold off a month we can ride out the gale and make safe anchorage, and then when once we are in deep, tranquil waters we will all join hands in a profound and genuine *sans Deo*, for through such a wilderness only a Divine Providence could have led us undevoured by the open-mouthed beasts that lay in wait for our lives.

"I go on 12 train after sleepless night. I am anxious about Theodore's interview with Halliday. Will you send me a line Monday night or Tuesday morning, care of M. P. Kennard, Boston, Mass.

"I shall get mails there till Friday."

I have now produced to the committee all the letters and documents bearing upon the subject-matter of this inquiry which I have in my possession, either from Beecher, Tilton, or Mrs. Tilton, previous to the Bacon letter, and there is but one collateral matter of which I desire to speak.

I saw questions put in the cross-examination of Tilton, as published in the Brooklyn *Eagle*, and also published in the newspaper—with how much of truth I know not—that Mr. Samuel Wilkeson had charged that Tilton's case in controversy with Bowen was for the purpose of blackmailing him and Beecher, and that he (Wilkeson) knew that there had been no crime committed against Tilton or his household by Beecher. Beecher never intimated to me that he thought there was any desire on Tilton's part to blackmail him; and as I had the sole management of the money controversy between Tilton and Bowen, which I have already fully explained, I know there was no attempt on Tilton's part to blackmail or get anything more than what I believed his just due from Bowen. So that I am certain that Mr. Wilkeson is wholly mistaken in that regard.

The question whether Wilkeson knew or believed that any offense had been committed will depend upon the fact whether he knew of anything that had been done by Beecher or Tilton's wife which called for apology at the time he wrote the tripartite covenant. It will be remembered that the tripartite covenant was made solely in reference to the disclosures which Bowen had made to Tilton and Tilton had made to Bowen; and Tilton's letter sets forth that the only disclosure he made to Bowen of Beecher's acts toward himself were of improper advances made to his wife, and that he so limited his charge in order to save the honor of his wife. These questions will be answered by the production of the letter of April 2, 1872, written by Samuel Wilkeson, which is marked "AAA":

WILKESON TO MOULTON.

"NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY,
SECRETARY'S OFFICE, 120 BROADWAY,
NEW YORK, April 2, 1872."

"My Dear Moulton—Now for the closing act of justice and duty.

"Let Theodore pass into your hand the written apology which he holds for the improper advances, and do you pass it into the flames of the friendly fire in your room of reconciliation. Then let Theodore talk to Oliver Johnson.

"I hear that he and Carpenter, the artist, have made this whole affair the subject of conversation in the clubs. Sincerely yours.

"SAMUEL WILKESON."

This letter, it will be observed, contains no protest against blackmailing, either upon Tilton's part or my own, upon Beecher or Bowen, and is of the date of the tripartite covenant. Wilkeson, also, hearing of Tilton's troubles, kindly offered to procure him a very lucrative employment in a large enterprise with which he was connected, as appears from a letter dated January 11, 1871, which I herewith produce, marked "BBB 1":

WILKESON TO TILTON.

"NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY,
January 11, 1871."

"Dear Tilton—You are in trouble. I come to you with a letter just mailed to Jay Cooke, advising him to secure your services as a platform speaker to turn New England, Old England or the great West upside down about our Northern Pacific.

"Pluck up heart! You shan't be trampled down. Keep quiet. Don't talk. DON'T PUBLISH. Abide your time and it will be a very good time. Take my word for it.

"SAMUEL WILKESON."

It will be observed that this letter was dated after the letter of apology, and after the letter of Tilton to Bowen, and Wilkeson could hardly have desired to employ in so grave an enterprise one whom he then knew or believed to be attempting to blackmail his employer. And besides, his kindly expressions and advice to Tilton seem to me wholly inconsistent with such an allegation.

I think it just, in this connection, to state a fact which bears in my mind, upon this subject. On the 3d of May, 1873, I knew that Tilton was in want of money, and I took leave, without consulting him, to send him my check for a thousand dollars, and a due-bill for that amount to be signed by him, inclosed in a letter which I here produce, marked "BBB 2," all of which he returned to me with an indorsement thereon. The following is the document:

MOULTON TO TILTON.

"NEW YORK, May 3, 1873."

"Dear Theodore—I inclose you a check for one thousand dollars, for which please sign the inclosed.

"Yours,
F. D. MOULTON."

[Indorsement on above by Tilton.]

"Dear Frank—I can't borrow any money—for I see no way of returning it. Hastily,
"T. T."

After the above paper was returned to me, on the same day I sent him the thousand dollars, leaving it to be a matter as between ourselves, and not a money transaction.

I know, to the contrary of this so far as Beecher is concerned, that Tilton never made any demand on him for money, or pecuniary aid in any way or form. He asked only that Beecher should interpose his influence and power to protect him from the slanders of those who claimed to be Beecher's friends; while Beecher himself, with generosity and kindness toward Tilton, which had always characterized his acts during the whole of this unhappy controversy, of his own motion, insisted, through me, in aiding Tilton in establishing his enterprise of the *Golden Age*, for which purpose he gave me the sum of five thousand dollars, which I was to expend in such manner as I deemed judicious to keep the enterprise along, and if Tilton was at any time in need personally, to aid him. It was understood between myself and Beecher that this money should go to Tilton as if it came from my own voluntary contributions for his benefit, and that he should not know—and he does not know until he reads this statement, for I do not believe he has derived it from any other source—that this money came from Beecher, or thinks that he is in any way indebted to him for it. I annex an account of the receipt and expenditure of that sum, so far as it has been expended, in a paper marked "CCC":

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNT.

1873.	
May 2, received.....	\$5,000
May 3, paid.....	\$1,000
July 11, paid.....	650
August 15, paid.....	250
September 12, paid.....	500
September 30, paid.....	500
December 16, paid.....	200
1874.	
February 24, paid.....	500
March 30, paid.....	400
May 2, paid.....	250
May 20, paid.....	200
Total.....	\$4,550

I also annex two letters of March 30, 1874, from the publisher of the *Golden Age*, which will tend to vouch the expenditure of a part of the above amount. They are marked "DDD" and "EEE" respectively:

RULAND TO MOULTON.

"THE GOLDEN AGE, New York, March 30, 1874.
[Private.]

"Dear Mr. Moulton—We are in a tight spot. Mr. — is away, and we have no money and no paper. Can't get the latter without the former. We owe about \$400 for paper, and the firm we have been ordering from refuse to let us have any more without money. Haven't any paper for this week's issue.

"Truly yours,
O. W. RULAND.
"If you can do anything for us I trust you will, to help us tide over the chasm."

FROM SAME TO SAME.

"THE GOLDEN AGE, New York, March 30, 1874.

"Dear Mr. Moulton—I am more grateful than I can tell you for the noble and generous way you came to the rescue of the *Golden Age* this afternoon.

"Truly your friend,
O. W. RULAND."

I think proper to add further that Tilton more than once said to me that he could and would receive nothing from Beecher in the way of pecuniary assistance. I remember one special instance in which the subject was discussed between us. Beecher had told me that he was willing to furnish money to pay the expenses of Tilton and his family in traveling abroad, in order that Tilton might be saved from the constant state of irritation which arose from the rumors he was daily hearing. I rather hinted at than informed Tilton of this fact, and he repelled even the intimation of such a thing with the utmost indignation and anger. Therefore, I only undertook the disbursement of this sum at the most earnest and voluntary request of Beecher.

As I have brought before the committee the somewhat collateral matter of the letters of Mrs. Woodhull to Beecher to influence him into the support of her doctrines and herself socially, which I thought but just to him, it seems but equally just that I should make as part of my statement a letter, that came into my possession at the time it was written, from Tilton to a friend in the West—and not for the purpose of publication—explaining his position in regard to Mrs. Woodhull and the injurious publication made against him and his family and Mr. Beecher. The letter I here produce, marked "FFF 1":

TILTON TO A FRIEND IN THE WEST.

"174 LIVINGSTON STREET, BROOKLYN,
December 31, 1872."

"My Dear Friend—I owe you a long letter. I am unwell and a prisoner in the house, leaning back in leather-cushioned idleness, and writing on my chair-board before the fire. Perhaps you wonder that I have a fire, or anything but a hearthstone broken and crumbled, since the world has been told that my household is in ruins. And yet it is more like your last letter—brimful of love and wit, and sparkling like a fountain in mid-winter.

"Nevertheless you are right. I am in trouble; and I hardly see a path out of it.

"It is just two years ago to-day—this very day—the last of the year—that Mr. Bowen lifted his hammer, and with an unjust blow smote asunder my two contracts, one with the *Independent* and the other with the *Brooklyn Union*. The public little suspects that this act of his turned on his fear to meet the consequences of horrible charges which he made against Henry Ward Beecher. I have kept quiet on the subject for two years, through an unwillingness to harm others, even for the sake of righting myself before the public. But having trusted to time for my vindication, I find that time has only thickened my difficulties until these now buffet me like a storm.

"You know that Bowen long ago paid to me the assessed pecuniary damages which grew out of his breaking of the contracts, and gave me a written vindication of my course, and something like an apology for his. This settlement, so far as I am concerned, is final.

"But Bowen's assassinating dagger drawn against Beecher has proved as unable as Macbeth's to 'trammel up the consequence.' And the consequence is that the air of Brooklyn is rife with stories against its chief clergyman, not growing out of the Woodhull scandal merely, but exhaled with ever-fresh foulness, like mephitic vapors, from Bowen's own charge against Beecher.

"Verily the tongue is a wild beast that no man can tame, and like a wolf it is now seeking to devour the chief shepherd of the flock, together also with my own pretty lambs.

"For the last four or five weeks, or ever since I saw the Woodhull libel, I have hardly had a restful day; and I frequently dream the whole thing over at night, waking the next morning unfit for work.

"Have you any conception of what it is to suffer the keenest possible injustice? If not, come and learn of me.

"To say nothing of the wrong and insult to my wife, in whose sorrow I have greater sorrow, I have to bear the additional indignity of being misconstrued by half the public and by my many friends.

"For instance, it is supposed that I had a conspirator's hand in this unholly business, whereas I am as innocent of it as of the Nathan murder.

"It is hinted that the libellous article was actually written by me; whereas (being in the north of New Hampshire) I did not know of its existence till a week after it had convulsed my own city and family. My wife never named it in her letters to me lest it should spoil my mood for public speaking. (You know I was then toiling day and night for Mr. Greeley's sake.)

"Then, too, it is the sneer of the clubs that I have degenerated into an apostle of free-love; whereas the whole body of my writings stands like a monument against this execrable theory.

"Moreover, it is charged that I am in financial and other relations with Mrs. Woodhull; whereas I have not spoken to, nor met nor seen her for nearly a year.

"The history of my acquaintance with her is this: In the spring of 1871, a few months after Bowen charged Beecher with the most hideous crime known to human nature, and had slammed the door of the *Independent* in my face, and when I was toiling like Hercules to keep the scandal from

the public, then it was that Mrs. Woodhull, hitherto a total stranger to me, suddenly sent for me and poured into my ears, not the Bowen scandal, but a new one of her own, namely, almost the same identical tale which she printed a few weeks ago. Think of it! When I was doing my best to suppress one earthquake, Mrs. Woodhull suddenly stood before me portentous with another. What was I to do? I resolved at all hazards to keep back the new avalanche until I could securely tie up the original storm. My fear was that she would publish what she told to me, and, to prevent this catastrophe, I resolved (and, as the result proves, like a fool, and yet with a fool's innocent and pure motive) to make her such a friend of mine that she would never think of doing me such a harm. So I rendered her some important services (including especially some labors of pen and ink), all with a view to put and hold her under an obligation to me and mine.

"In so acting toward her I found to my glad surprise and astonishment that she rose almost as high in my estimation as she had done with Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Isabella Beecher Hooker, and other excellent women. Nobody who has not met Mrs. Woodhull can have an adequate idea of the admirable impression which she is capable of producing on serious persons. Moreover, I felt that the current denunciations against her were outrageously unjust, and that, like myself, she had been put in a false position before the public, and I sympathized keenly with the aggravation of spirit which this produces. This fact lent a zeal to all I said in her defense.

"Nor was it until after I had known her for a number of months, and when I discovered her purpose to libel a dozen representative women of the suffrage movement, that I suddenly opened my eyes to her real tendencies to mischief; and then it was that I indignantly repudiated her acquaintance, and have never seen her since.

"Hence her late tirade.

"Well, it is over, and I am left to be the chief sufferer in the public estimation.

"What to do in the emergency (which is not clearing but clouding itself daily) I have not yet decided.

"What I could do would be to take from my writing-desk and publish to-morrow morning the prepared narrative and vindication, which, with facts and documents, my legal advisers pronounce complete.

"This would explain and clarify everything, both great and small (including the Woodhull episode, which is but a minor part of the whole case), but if I publish it I must not only violate a kind of honorable obligation to be silent, which I had voluntarily imposed upon myself, but I must put my old friend Bowen to a serious risk of being smitten dead by Beecher's hand.

"How far Bowen would deserve his fate I cannot say; but I know that all Plymouth Church would hunt him as a rat.

"Well, perhaps the future will unravel my skein for me without my own hand; but whatever happens to my weather-beaten self, I wish to you, O prosperous comrade, a happy New Year.

Fraternally yours,

"THEODORE TILTON.

"P. S.—Before sending this long letter (which pays my debt to you), I have read it to my wife, who desires to supplement it by sending her love and good will to the little white cottage and its little red cheeks."

The first intimation of the insanity of Tilton arose in this wise: Prior to Sunday, March 29, 1874, a publication was made of a statement by a reporter of the *Brooklyn Union* purporting to be the result of an interview with Mr. Thomas G. Shearman, clerk of Plymouth Church, to the effect—I quote from memory—that Tilton was insane, and that he stated that Mrs. Tilton had mediumistic fits—whatever disease that may be—in which she had stated matters affecting the character of Beecher, and to the statement of neither of them, for that reason, was any credit to be given. This publication, as it tended not only to excite Tilton to a defense of his sanity, but also as coming from the clerk of Plymouth Church, might be supposed to be an authoritative expression of its pastor, annoyed Beecher very much, and he wrote the following letter, marked "FFF 2," which I herewith produce:

BEECHER TO MOULTON.

"SUNDAY NIGHT, March 29, 1874."

"My Dear Frank—Is there to be no end of trouble? Is wave to follow wave in endless succession? I was cut to the heart when C. showed me that shameful paragraph from the *Union*. Its cruelty is beyond description. I felt like lying down and saying: 'I am tired—tired—tired of living, or of trying to resist the devil of mischief.' I would rather have had a javelin launched against me a hundred times than against those that have suffered so much. The shameful indelicacy of bringing the most sacred relations into such publicity fills me with horror.

"But there are some slight alleviations. The paragraph came when the public mind was engaged with the council and with Theodore's letters. I hope it will pass without further notice. If it is not taken up by other papers it will sink out of sight and be forgotten; whereas, if it be assailed, it may give it a conspicuity that it never would have had. But I shall write Shearman a letter and give him my full feeling about it. I must again [be], as I have heretofore been, indebted to you for a judicious counsel on this new and flagrant element. My innermost soul longs for peace; and if that cannot be, for death, that will bring peace. My fervent hope is that this drop of gall may sink through out of sight and not prove a mortal poison.

Yours ever,

"H. W. BEECHER."

"I have written strongly to Shearman, and hope that he will send a letter to T. unsolicited. I am sick, head, heart and body, but must move on! I feel this morning like letting things go by the run!"

The letter of retraction, as proposed by Tilton, not being forthcoming, I felt it my duty, in his interest, to take such measures as should result in an apology from Shearman to Tilton. I accordingly carried to him a copy of the paper having the article, and laid it upon his desk in his office, and

said to him that if the statements in this article were not actually made by him he ought to retract them. Although it lay on his desk he said to me that he had not seen the article and did not mean to see it. I told him that he must see it, and if it was not true that he must say so. He said he didn't want to read it and wouldn't read it. I then left him. Afterward I saw Tilton and told him what I had done, and he said, "We will go up together," which we did, and met Mr. Shearman. Mr. Tilton called his attention to the statement in the Brooklyn Union as having come from him (Shearman), concerning himself and his wife, that one was crazy and the other subject to mediumistic fits. Said he: "Mr. Shearman, this is untrue, and if you are not correctly reported your simple duty is to say so; and if you have made such a statement I demand that you retract and apologize. If you do not, I shall hold you responsible in any way I can for such injurious statement." Shearman then read the paragraph in the Union and made an explanation in this wise: that he might probably have repeated to somebody a story which Tilton had told him of the mediumistic states of Mrs. Woodhull, and perhaps have made the mistake of using Mrs. Tilton's name instead of Mrs. Woodhull's. Tilton said to him, "Mr. Shearman, you know that you are deliberately uttering falsehood, and I won't allow you to think even that you can deceive me by such a statement as you are making now. You must make such an explanation of this statement in the Union as shall be satisfactory to me, or, as I said before, I shall hold you responsible." During the first part of this conversation Mr. Shearman called in a witness from his outer office, but when the conversation became earnest and Tilton began charging him with an untruth, Shearman bid the witness retire, which he did. Tilton and I then left the office.

Within a few days of this interview Tilton procured the affidavit of the reporter of the Union that the statement that Shearman had been reported as making he did in fact make. On March 30 Shearman sent to me for delivery to Tilton a note, of which I produce a copy under that date, marked "GGG." The original was delivered up to Shearman afterward:

SHEARMAN TO TILTON.

"BROOKLYN, March 30, 1874.

"Dear Sir—My attention has been called to a newspaper paragraph which I have not seen, but which I am told is to the effect that I stated to a reporter that you had described Mrs. Tilton as having, in a mediumistic or clairvoyant state, made some extraordinary statements of a painful nature.

"I have for some years past made it a rule never to send corrections to newspapers of anything relating to myself, no matter how erroneous such statements may be.

"But I have no objection to saying to you personally that this story, if correctly quoted here, appears to be an erroneous version of the one and only statement which I had from you over a year ago, viz.: that Mrs. Woodhull did exactly the thing here attributed to Mrs. Tilton.

"I do not know that I ever repeated that story in the presence of any reporter for the paper in question, but I have done so in the presence of others, and I may, of course, by an unconscious mistake, have used your wife's name in the place of another and wholly different person. If so, I beg that you will assure Mrs. Tilton of my great regret for such an error. Yours obediently,

T. G. SHEARMAN."

When I took this note to Tilton he refused to receive it, saying: "I will not receive any such note from Shearman. He knows it contains a falsehood and I cannot take it from him. You may carry it back to him." I did so, and stated to him Tilton's answer. Afterward he substituted for that note another, under date of April 2, 1874, which is here produced, marked "HHH":

SHEARMAN TO TILTON.

"BROOKLYN, April 2, 1874.

"Dear Sir—Having seen a paragraph in the Brooklyn Union of Saturday last, containing a report of a statement alleged to have been made by me concerning your family and yourself, I desire to assure you that this report is seriously incorrect, and that I have never authorized such a statement.

"It is unnecessary to repeat here what I have actually said upon these subjects, because I am now satisfied that what I did say was erroneous, and that the rumors to which I gave some credit were without foundation. I deeply regret having been misled into an act of unintentional injustice, and am glad to take the earliest occasion to rectify it.

"I beg, therefore, to withdraw all that I said upon the occasion referred to as incorrect (although then believed by me), and to repudiate entirely the statement imputed to me as untrue and unjust to all parties concerned.

"Yours obediently,

T. G. SHEARMAN."

"THEODORE TILTON, ESQ."

In no part of that negotiation did Mr. Shearman suggest to me that there were any doubts as to Tilton's sanity, and denied both to me and to him that he had ever said anything to the contrary, or that Mrs. Tilton was in any way incapacitated from telling the truth by reason of mediumistic fits or other physical disability. Shearman's action was communicated to Beecher; but meanwhile it had come to be spread about that Beecher had made a similar accusation as to the sanity of Mr. and Mrs. Tilton to that of Shearman.

A member of your committee, Mr. Cleveland, communicated the fact to Beecher, to which Beecher made an indignant denial, as appears by his note to Mr. Cleveland, who communicated a copy of it to me in a note under date of April 2, which I here produce, marked "III":

BEECHER TO CLEVELAND.

[Copy.]

"My Dear Cleveland—You say that I am supposed to have reported to some members of the council substantially the same story that is attributed to Shearman.

"How can any human being that knows me believe any such impossibility? I never opened my lips to any human being on the subject. I will defy any man to face me and say that by word, look, or intimation I ever alluded to it. I

have been as dumb as the dead. They that dare to say I have spoken of it are liars, if they mean to themselves, and the bearers of lies if they received it from others.

"I have a feeling too profoundly sacred to make such sacrilege possible.

"April 2, 1874.

H. W. BEECHER."

CLEVELAND TO MOULTON.

"FRANK MOULTON, ESQ.:

"Dear Sir—Herewith you have copy of a note received from Mr. Beecher respecting the matter of which it speaks.

"Not seeing you when I called this A. M., and leaving the city, I send by Mr. Halliday. Mr. Beecher wants to see you before or after the meeting this evening.

"Truly yours,

H. M. CLEVELAND."

Having retained the friendship of the principal parties to this controversy down to to-day, I have not thought it proper to produce herewith any letters that I have received from either of them, excepting the single one exonerating me from blame and showing Mrs. Tilton's confidence in me, which I thought was due to myself to do because of the peculiar statement attributed to her; nor have I produced any papers or proposals for a settlement of this controversy since it has broken out afresh, and since the publication of Tilton's letter to Dr. Bacon and the call of Beecher for a committee; nor have I since then furnished to either party, although called upon by both, any documents in my possession that one might use the same against the other. I have endeavored to hold myself strictly as a mediator between them, and my endeavor has been, even down to the very latest hour, to have all the scandals arising out of the publication of the facts of their controversies and wrongs buried out of sight, deeming it best that it should be so done, not only for the good of the parties concerned and their families, but that of the community at large.

If any evidence were needed that, in the interest of the parties, and especially of Beecher, I was endeavoring to the latest hour to prevent the publication of all these documents and this testimony, and that I retained the confidence of at least one of the parties in that endeavor, I produce a letter of July 13, 1874, being a note arranging a meeting between myself and Beecher in regard to this controversy. It is marked "JJJ":

BEECHER TO MOULTON.

JULY 13, 1874.

"My Dear Frank—I will be with you at seven or a little before. I am ashamed to put a straw more upon you, and have but a single consolation—that the matter cannot distress you long, as it must soon end; that is, there will be no more anxiety about the future, whatever regrets there may be for the past. Truly yours and ever,

H. W. BEECHER."

If there is any paper or fact supposed by either of the parties or by the committee to be in my possession which will throw any further light upon the subject of your inquiry, I shall be most willing to produce it if I have it, although I do not believe that there is any such; and I am ready to answer any proper question which shall be put to me in the way of cross-examination by any of the parties concerned or their counsel, as fully as my memory or any data I have will serve, so that all the facts may be known. For if any part of them be known, I deem it but just to truth and right that all should be known. As, however, controversy has already arisen as to the correctness of the reports of evidence taken before the committee, I must ask leave, if any cross-examination is to be had orally, to be accompanied by my own stenographer, who shall take down the evidence I may give as a necessary measure for my own protection.

Leaving to your committee, without comment, the facts and documents herewith presented,

I have the honor to remain, yours truly,

FRANCIS D. MOULTON.

SPARKS FROM SOCIAL HELLS.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18.

Miss Mary E. Pomeroy, the repudiated victim of the Rev. John S. Glendenning, a Presbyterian parson of Jersey City reported as dying.—N. Y. Sun.

Bessie, the girl mentioned in the Beecher scandal case, is said to have been a waif, left at Mr. Tilton's door. She was repudiated by her father, a prominent Tammany politician, and by her mother, who lived in Fifth avenue in opulence, but refused to see her or own her.—N. Y. Sun.

Death of Richter, a German, by trade a piano-tuner, who had trouble with his wife, separated from her and afterward shot himself.—N. Y. Sun.

Henry Boettger and his son John, arrested on suspicion of murdering the wife of the former at Brownsville Turnpike Road, Pittsburg.—N. Y. Sun.

Arrest of Colby, of Boston, reported. Accused of an assault on Mary Tynan, whom he had previously wronged.—N. Y. Sun.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19.

The Rev. W. H. Buttner, of St. Luke's Lutheran Church, N. Y. City, sued by his young housekeeper for breach of promise. He resigns his pastorage.—N. Y. Sun.

Robert Castlebury, arrested in N. Y. City, charged with running away with an actress and \$2,000 worth of diamonds.—N. Y. Sun.

Henry Yore and Sarah Wood, his mother-in-law, arrested at the Virginia House. He is about 32, she 39 years of age. Yore says his father-in-law treated his mother-in-law in the most shameful manner, and he determined to rescue her from further wrong. Parties locked up.—N. Y. Sun.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 20.

Austin Hutchinson, a prominent Methodist minister, of Vermont, accused by his daughter, Ida Hutchinson, of incest and of being the father of her five months old babe.—N. Y. Sun.

B. H. Johnson and wife, of North Lexington, Mo., murdered. Report that they had not lived happily together.—N. Y. Sun.

Report of two ghastly murders in Iowa. The idea of prop-

erty in wives the basis of both. Names of the slain parties J. L. Brister and John J. Clarke. For full particulars see "Property in Woman."—N. Y. Herald.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 21.

Thomas Murphy, of New York, arrested for brutally beating his wife Margaret, while under the influence of liquor. She is not expected to recover from her injuries.—N. Y. Herald.

George C. Harding, editor of the Indianapolis Herald, reported as having shot Solomon Moritz, a Hebrew merchant of the same city, for the seduction of his daughter, a girl of about 18 years of age.—N. Y. Herald.

The above are the gleanings from two of our New York dailies on evils connected with our present social system. The clergy, it will be seen, maintain a sad pre-eminence in such delinquencies. They are only the outcroppings of an immense mass of similar sorrows, for it is not too much to assert that every other house contains a skeleton of a similar ghastly character.

BUSINESS EDITORIALS.

LAURA CUPPY SMITH'S engagements are as follows: August, Manchester, New Hampshire and vicinity; September, January and March, Boston; October, New Bedford, Mass.; Dec., New Haven, Conn.; February, Salem, Mass. Societies desiring to engage her for the intervening months would do well to apply at once. Address, till further notice, 27 Milford street, Boston, Mass.

PERSONAL.

W. F. Jamieson is now speaking in McLean and Lansing, N. Y. In September he will hold another debate with Elder Miles Grant. Is engaged to return to Boston for the Sundays of October. Will receive applications for week-evening lectures in vicinity of Boston. Address No. 9 Montgomery place, Boston, Mass.

DR. H. P. FAIRFIELD.

Is engaged to speak at Lake Pleasant Camp Meeting on Sunday, August 16. He will also speak for the First Spiritual Society in Springfield, Mass., at Liberty Hall, during the month of September, and in Putnam, Conn., during October. Would make other engagements. Address Greenwich Village, Mass.

QUARTERLY CONVENTION.

The third quarterly Convention for 1874 of the N. J. State Association of Spiritualists and Friends of Progress will be held in Hammonton on Saturday and Sunday, Aug. 29 and 30. Three sessions each day. Hammonton is midway between Philadelphia and Atlantic City. Fare from Philadelphia less than \$1; from New York, \$3. The friends in Hammonton are noted for their liberality and the excellence and variety of their fruits. It is expected that the Association will join in an excursion to Atlantic City on Aug. 31. Good Speakers will be in attendance. Subject: Spiritualism; Its Relation to Science and Reform. All are invited. Those going by way of New York will take the boat at Pier 8 North River to Sandy Hook, thence by cars to Winslow Junction of N. J. S. & Camden & Atlantic R. R., thence three miles to place of meeting. Those who propose attending the Convention and wish further particulars, please address

D. J. STANSBERRY, Secy.

Or L. K. COONLEY, Pres., Newark, N. J.

DR. L. K. COONLEY has removed from Vineland to Newark N. J. Office and residence No. 51 Academy street, where he will treat the sick daily and receive applications to lecture Sundays in New Jersey, New York or elsewhere in the vicinity.

L. K. COONLEY.

THE Universal Association of Spiritualists, Primary Council No. 1 of Illinois, meets every Sunday at 3:30 P. M., at hall 204 Van Buren street, corner of Franklin, Chicago. Free conference and free seats.

H. AUGUSTA WHITE, Cor. Sec.

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The First Primary Council of Boston, of the U. A. of Spiritualists, have leased the new "Parker Fraternity (lower) Hall," corner of Berkly and Appleton streets, where they give lectures every Sunday afternoon and evening.

JOHN HARDY, Cor. Secretary.

MAN IN EMBRYO.

We have published in pamphlet form, with the above title, the oration in verse of John A. Jost, which was printed in our No. 187, of July 4. It makes a pamphlet of twenty pages, and it can be obtained from us here, or from John A. Jost, Ogden, Utah. Price 10 cents per copy.

D. W. HULL is now in the East, and will answer calls to lecture at any place. Address 871, Washington st., Boston.

R. W. HUME, Associate Editor of WOODHULL & CLAFLIN'S WEEKLY, is prepared to deliver lectures on Radical Spiritualism, and on all the reforms of which it is the base. For further particulars, list of lectures, etc., address box 3,791 New York City.

NELLIE L. DAVIS will lecture in New York during August; in Bay City during September; in San Jose, California, during November; in San Francisco during December. Permanent address, 235 Washington street, Salem, Mass.

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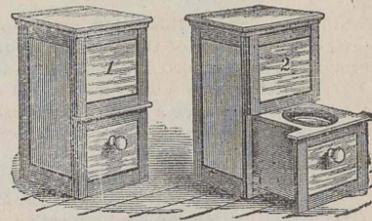
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