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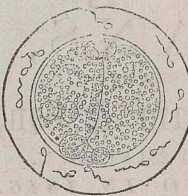
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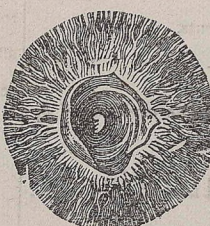
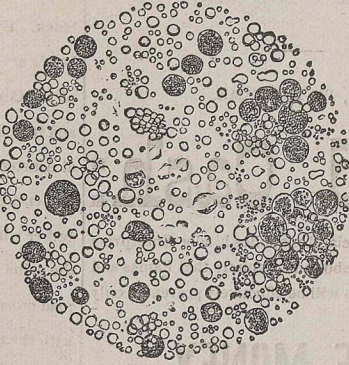
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CHAPTER X. [Continued.]

"You haven't told us who he was," said Avenil, who had entered during the relation. "Was he an Italian?"

"Ah, that is one of the strangest parts of the story," said Bertie. "When the people had done congratulating themselves and each other, they bethought themselves of their deliverer; but on searching for him, he was nowhere to be found. The government has advertised the thanks of the nation to the unknown aerialist, and offered to make any acknowledgment of his services in its power."

"Do you know any professional likely to have done it?"

"I know none who has an aeromotive corresponding with the description of this one; and it is not like a professional to think of concealing himself after doing a piece of business. I suspect it was some accomplished amateur, though I know of but one in the world capable of the feat."

"Could it have been Criss?"

"Here he comes to speak for himself," exclaimed one of the girls, who was looking out of the window. And presently the Ariel alighted on the broad veranda, and Criss entered.

But to all the questions with which they assailed him, he said only that he had hoped to escape being found out, and that the reason of his delay in returning was that he was so exhausted with the job that he had hurried off the moment he had let go the padre and the basket, and slept for twenty-four hours in a secluded nook on the opposite side of the mountain.

"Well, there is an Italian countship waiting for you whenever you choose to come out of your shell and claim it," said Bertie.

"Count Carol sounds charmingly," exclaimed the girls. "You may find it of immense use when you fall in love. A woman likes to be called Countess."

"Not a woman of much account, though, I suspect," returned Criss, making his first and last joke, as he disappeared and went to his own room.

"There, girls," said Avenil to his younger sisters after Criss was gone. "You see, a woman who wants to catch him will have to be on her best behavior. By the way, has he ever shown any signs of falling in love, any preferences for any of your sweet sex?"

"Never," said the youngest, Bessy Avenil, a blooming, practically-disposed damsel of nearly Criss's own age, now about seventeen. "And I believe he would need a good shaking to bring him to the point; or, rather, that a woman would have to do the proposing herself. But I don't believe it is 'goodness' that will win him; at least, not if opposites have the most attraction for each other."

"At any rate, he won't find his duplicate," said another, who was a little older. "My belief is that he will be better single, for he is just one to expect so much that he will always be disappointed with what he finds to be really the case. He seems to me like one of those men who in old times women would have thought it a sacrilege to love."

"At any rate," added Avenil, "he has now proved himself to be something more than a visionary; so let us hope that this adventure will develop his practical side."

"Meaning his matrimonial?" asked Bessie.

"Do you know," said Bertie to Avenil, "that I think you carry your aversion to the contemplative to the extreme."

"Call it rather the impractical speculative," replied Avenil. "The world's whole history down nearly to our own time has been little else than one long martyrdom, in which man has sacrificed himself at the altar of his own unverifiable phantasies. Ours is the first millennium of the Emancipation. It is the product of that scientific spirit, which refuses to divorce belief from knowledge. It is not that I find dear Criss's disposition aught but of the noblest, but that I fear the indulgence of that style of thought may lead to his sympathizing rather with the world's ancient worst than with its modern best."

"You know a good deal about his education," said Bertie; "have you found him defective in his views of history?"

"No, far from it. The professor of history at his school told me the boy's sympathies, as shown in his essays, were invariably of the widest and most radically catholic kind."

"And in chemistry, which you yourself undertook to teach him?"

"Ah, there is an illustration of what I mean. He applied himself to that with wonderful assiduity and success, making himself in a short time a complete master of chemical analysis. Then he suddenly dropped it, and on my inquiring the reason, said that it would not take him where he wanted to go, inasmuch as it failed to discover the universal entity that underlies all phenomena. It was not processes or stages that he cared for, but the ultimate analysis of things, whereby he could resolve the various material substances into their prime element. 'Is it past finding out, Avenil dear?' he cried, his eyes glistening with eagerness, as if his whole heart lay in discovering for himself what men call God. Of course I told him that it is past finding out by chemistry."

"But it must be there, and must be homogeneous," he cried, with the same eager manner. "If it is not homogeneous, it is not God. I cannot think of God as made up of substances eternally and essentially different." And he went on to declare that if the crucible failed to carry analysis back to the stage where all things meet, and to reveal to him the universal Substance or essential spirit of things, he should exchange the crucible of the chemist for the crucible of his own mind, and continue the search there."

"Considering it a perilous temperament that prompts the longing to merge one's individuality in the inscrutable universal—for what else is the Nirvana of the Buddhist?—I endeavored to check his indulgence of it by saying that as our faculties, being themselves phenomenal, cannot transcend phenomena, it is clearly our duty to rest content with phenomena, and not seek to trespass upon forbidden ground. He asked what the penalty is for making the attempt. I told him a wasted life, fatuity and oftentimes madness, as the history of the world amply showed. And I spoke seriously, as I wished to impress him with a sense of the danger he runs through indulging his theistic tendencies. But he laughed, and said, with that winning way he has:

"Dear Master Avenil, if I were made so, no doubt I should be able to remain content with mere phenomena, without seeking to know what it is that appears in and through them. But I feel that I am not made so. Suppose me, then, to be a bit of the universe, a conscious particle of the great whole, would you have me balk my longing to recognize, and be recognized of, the whole of which I am a part? Nay, supposing the theory which you favor to be correct, and that it is only in our consciousness that the Universe attains self-consciousness, would you forbid Nature such crowning satisfaction as it may attain through my consciousness?"

"What could I say? Bertie, what would you have said?"

"If the longing be genuine, fulfill your nature, only do not cultivate fancy to the neglect of experience."

"Well, that is very much what I contrived to say, and the boy cried, 'Ah, that is just as my own dear, wise Bertie would have spoken.'

"He added, too, that even if madness be the penalty for presuming to endeavor to penetrate the unfathomable, it was a penalty that was quite as likely to overtake him if he refused his nature full liberty of exploration. I suspect that his habits of physical discursiveness have something to do with this mental characteristic."

"You know his favorite motto, which he inscribes in his most private entries?" asked Bertie.

"No, what is it?"

"A text from Scripture, 'One with God.'"

Avenil sighed, for he really loved the lad.

CHAPTER XI.

The women of the Avenil family, both for their connection with Criss and as types of a dominant class, deserve a special chapter to themselves. Although by describing our recent social developments, and the steps whereby our national church was brought into accord with them, I may delay my story, my readers must not think that I am digressing from the main purpose of my book. The connection may not be at once obvious, but neither in these fortunate days is the special connection obvious between the church and the female part of the community. It was not so in the times to which I shall have to recur in order to make my story, as a story of the day should be, an index to the manners of the age.

I wish that it came within my scope fully to delineate the characters of old Mr. and Mrs. Avenil, who disappear from the scene about the time at which we have arrived. It is only permitted to me to say that they died as they had lived, contentedly resigned to the operation of the laws of that Nature which had ever been the subject of their deepest study. United, in harmony with the dictates of their consciences, in a marriage of the third class, and therefore trusting solely to their own sense of mutual fitness and sympathy for the continuance of their association, no cloud had ever intervened between them and the full sunshine of their happiness. Hand in hand they lived and loved and worked, trusting to their respect for the physical laws of life to find its due issue in the development of their moral natures. So they passed through life cheerful, reliant and self-sustaining, emulating in their own method the consummate ease and enchanting rhythm of the order of the universe, keenly enjoying in their heyday the rewards reaped of knowledge and obedience, and, in their decline, still finding pleasure in tracing and recognizing the inevitable sequence of the steps which marked their decay. To the very last, their delight in studying the phenomena of the present made them indifferent to those of the past or future. Neither regret nor hope found a place in their minds. Wherever is existence, they said, we shall find something worthy to be studied. Whatever lasts as long as we do is sufficient for us. Anticipation serves only to spoil the actual. Anxiety about the future implies dissatisfaction with the present. Such was

their religion, a term surely not misapplied, though devoid of that yearning toward a personified ideal which constitutes spirituality.

They left a large and distinguished family to inherit a temperament in which the intellectual faculties dominated to the exclusion of the spiritual. For they held it as an axiom that the spiritual faculty which has not the intellectual and moral for its basis—that is, which ignores evidence and utility—is apt to be as pernicious as the imagination which ignores experience and fact. Of this family, Mistress Susanna Avenil (to give the usual designation of women living in such wedlock as she insisted on) was the eldest, Charles himself coming next, and the younger ones, whom I have termed the Avenil girls, bringing up the rear. There was thus a very considerable interval between the eldest and the youngest of the brothers and sisters.

Bright, intelligent, cheerful and active, the sisters were a model of self-helpfulness and prudence. Though not devoid of sentiment in regard to the delicate matters of the affections, they were too practical in their management to let their affections minister to their discomfort. They had one and all asserted the privilege accorded to girls nowadays, of quitting the parental shelter at the same age that their brothers quit it, in order, like them, to follow the vocations they have chosen.

No sickly exotics were they, such as their foremothers of ages long past. For them was no herding together under the perpetual parental eye, like silly sheep sure to be lost if once they strayed; no sacrificing the individuality of their genius or their characters, and passing their lives in worthless frivolity or listless indolence, envious of the active careers of their brothers, powerless to earn or to spend, and absolute slaves to the exigencies or caprices of their parents, until marriage should come to deliver them to a new bondage. The days happily are long past, in which, while to men all careers were open, to women there was but one, and it depended upon the will of individual men to accord them that. It is little wonder that, thus placed, the women of those times should have devoted themselves to the pursuit of marriage, with an eagerness commensurate with the uncertainty of success, and reckless whether the issue promised ill or well. Nor is it strange that, caring nothing for the characters of the men, but only for their wealth, the women should have so deteriorated in their own characters that the men ceased to care for them, except as companions of the moment, and declined to ally themselves with them in any but the most temporary manner. The literature of the Victorian era, just preceding the Emancipation, abounds in evidences of the hapless condition of the British female of that period, particularly in the middle and upper classes. It was the very intensity of the despair of any amelioration of her condition by conventional remedies that precipitated the radical change of which we are now so richly reaping the benefits. That this change was not effected long before, was owing, it must be confessed, to the timidity of the men, and their want of faith in the inherent goodness of the female heart. The men had suffered the women to retain their belief in ecclesiastical infallibility long after they themselves had abandoned such belief. The irrevocability of marriage, dictated as it was by priests, had at least the appearance of being a revenge taken by them for their own exclusion from it. It was the disastrous result of ecclesiastical restriction upon the relations of the sexes, far more than a process of rational investigation, that opened the female mind to the baselessness of ecclesiastical pretensions. The men fought their own way to freedom by dint of hard brain-work. It was for them a battle royal between truth and falsehood, or rather between the right to obey the dictates of their own minds and consciences, and the claims of antiquated tradition. But they did not take their women with them. Either through difference of nature or difference of training, these were not amenable to the considerations which had influenced the men. Woman cared nothing for the abstract truth or falsehood of her religion. Her heart was the sole instrument whereby she judged such matters. The ordinance of the church which rigidly forbade all intercourse with the other sex, save on condition of an indissoluble life-long contract, had come to have the effect of abolishing even those very contracts. While those who were already involved in them, finding themselves unable to part, were driven more and more to desert. Woman had so far subordinated her intellect and moral sense to the authority of her priests, so far forgotten her heart, as to accept at their hands a deity and a faith which were independent of any considerations recognizable by those faculties. Her new-born infant might be consigned to everlasting torture for the omission by its parents of a prescribed ecclesiastical ceremony; but the system that kept her from getting a husband in this world was intolerable. And by insisting on the absolute permanence of the tie, the church had virtually abolished marriage.

That a great change was necessary and inevitable, was seen by both men and women long before the particular nature of the change could be forecast. The patience of the British people never received a more signal illustration. Desiring gradual amelioration, and not sharp revolution, generation after generation went on hoping against hope. But the evil continued to increase. The women flocked to their temples and performed ardent devotions; but they did not obtain husbands, neither did they lose the desire for them. In those few generations, when the evil was at its worst, millions of fair, well-grown, noble-minded women lived and died in hapless longing to fulfill their nature and find a scope for their affections. The causes were numerous, but they were all traceable to one general cause—the violation of natural law. Destructive wars, huge standing armies, colonization by males alone—these had served to destroy the proper numerical proportion between the sexes. Added to this was the artificial tone of society, whereby women had come to be regarded as weaklings unfit to bear the storms of life, or to help men to fight and win their way in the world; equal, however, to sharing the spoils after the victory had been won. Even parents preferred to see the

daughters pine and wither in singlehood, to their wedding on other terms.

It was not to destroy, but to restore marriage that the country at length consented to extend the principle of limited liability to the relations between the sexes. The evil was at its height when the Legislature passed an enactment recognizing as valid other contracts than those on which it had hitherto insisted in marriage. As is well known, the relief was instantaneous, the morals of the country were saved, marriage was restored, the family was preserved. Many, remembering the ancient feuds, declared that this only was wanting to complete the triumph of Protestantism. Our institutions were now free from the reproach of immorality attaching to all vows involving irrevocability. While many took this view of the indissoluble contract, unions without any contract were held in universal reprobation. People were free to make their own terms of partnership, but a contract cognizable by the State was regarded as indispensable for all persons possessing self-respect, and to marry without a formal contract was, as is still the case, regarded as highly improper. But it is for breaches of contract, whether formal or implied, that society reserves its strongest condemnation.

The ingenuity of the lawyers proved equal to the requirements of the new regime. Forms of contract suitable to all tastes and circumstances were duly invented. Practically, the marriages were (and are) of three kinds: those which were dissoluble only through the intervention of a court of law; those which required the mutual consent of the parties, and those which were voidable at the will of one of the parties. But in all of them room is generally found for legal assistance. They are called, respectively, marriages of the first, second and third class.

Thus the sequel showed how huge is the mistake made by man when he seeks to regulate existing society by ideas belonging to a remote past. The feelings of the living will not be ignored. Admitted to their due share in the council, they are an indispensable ally. The "Maids Revolt," as the woman's movement, which had its origin on the other side of the Atlantic, was called, was an important contribution toward the achievement of "the glorious Emancipation," which involved the utter fall of the old church system.

It was a comparatively small spark that fired so great a train. Had the ecclesiastical mind been of a more practical cast, it would have consented to concessions that might have saved the edifice for a long time to come.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

THE GREAT SOCIAL EARTHQUAKE.

[From the N. Y. Graphic.]

MOULTON VINDICATING HIMSELF AGAINST HIS ACCUSER.

To the Public:

I have waited patiently, perhaps too long, after giving to the public the exact facts and documents as they were given to me, in the statement prepared for the Committee of Investigation, of which they have made no use; nor did they call upon me for any explanation, or try to test the coherence of the facts by cross-examination, which, of course, I held myself ready to undergo after I felt myself compelled to make an *expose* of the facts in full.

I had hoped that Mr. Beecher himself would, ere this, have made a denial of any intimation, insinuation or averment in his statement that I had acted in any way dishonorable toward him, or had endeavored, in the interests of Mr. Tilton, to extort or obtain by cajolery or promise any money from him; and as such a withdrawal, in accordance with truth as Mr. Beecher knows it, would have rendered it unnecessary for me to take any further part in the controversy between the principals in this terrible affair, I trusted that I never would have felt myself called upon to make further statements which, if made, must be in the nature of accusations against him.

Failing in this hope, it seems to my friends and to myself that as a question of veracity is so sharply raised between Mr. Beecher and me, and as there are a large number of well-meaning, confiding men and women who desire, if possible, to believe him, and, although if the case between us were to be determined only by the thinking, scrutinizing people of the country, it would not be necessary to add another word; yet, to prevent these good, religious persons from being led astray in their convictions, not only as regards Mr. Beecher, but that I may maintain the station in their minds which I feel I ought to hold as a man of honor and purity of motive and action in this disgraceful business, I propose, by the aid of documents which I hold, and the necessary narrative, to make them intelligible, and by a comparison of Mr. Beecher's statements with the documents heretofore published, to show that it is impossible for his statement to the committee to be true in many very important particulars, and that the issue of truthfulness is not between his personal averments and mine, but between him and the facts themselves.

From his insinuations and inferences, if not the direct statements, feeling that my character as a man as well as my truthfulness as a witness has been impugned, I will endeavor, in the first place, to reinstate myself so far as I may by showing at how late a day he held other and entirely different opinions of me.

It will be observed that in my statement prepared for the committee I said that I refrained from producing any documents or "any papers or proposals for the 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;" and the reason was that in making the statement before the committee, I thought it unjust to the parties to parade before the committee the mutual concessions and arrangements made by the parties whom I had hoped, even at that late hour, might be saved from themselves by an adjustment of the strife.

I extract the following from Mr. Beecher's statement to the committee:

Until the reply of Mr. Tilton to Bacon's letters, I never had a suspicion of his (Moulton's) good faith and of the sincerity with which he was dealing with me; and when that letter was published, and Mr. Moulton, on my visiting him in reference to it, proposed no counter-operation—no documents, no help—I was staggered.

If this averment were true, he was rightly "staggered," and he rightly lost faith in me; for if I failed, in his then hour of peril, to do everything that in me lay to his satisfaction to rescue him, I was not the friend that I had professed to be, or that he acknowledged me to be, and was unworthy of his confidence or the confidence of any other.

It will be observed that the letter of appointment of the Investigating Committee, of which Mr. Sage is chairman, bears date Brooklyn, June 27, 1874, which was drawn out by the publication of the letter from Tilton in the *Golden Age* on the 21st (?) of the same month.

Mr. Beecher's statement was made before the committee on the 13th of August, wherein the accusation that I had deserted him first appears. Now, I aver that from the time of the preparation of the Bacon letter, before the 21st of June, down to the 24th day of July, I was in almost daily consultation with Beecher and his counsel, at their request, as to the best method of meeting that publication and averting the storm that was imminent; and until the 4th of August I enjoyed his entire confidence and regard as much as I ever had, so far as any expression came from him; and, instead of manifestations of distrust, he gave me, both verbally and in writing the highest praise for my friendly intervention. After we had been in consultation at my house, on the 5th of July, upon this subject, I walked with him, still continuing the conference, up past Montague Terrace, where we found Mr. Jeremiah P. Robinson, my business partner, standing at his door. We stopped and spoke to him, when Beecher, putting his arm around my neck and his hand upon my shoulder, said to Mr. Robinson: "God never raised up a truer friend to a man than Frank has been to me." Mr. Robinson replied: "That is true," and we passed on.

On the 24th of July I received a letter from Mr. Beecher, asking me to return to him certain letters and papers in order to aid him in making his statement to the committee. As previous to the 10th, when Tilton made his sworn statement, I had refused the same request from him, I did not think it right to grant that of Beecher, because it seemed to me to be taking sides in the controversy as between them, which I ought not to do; and especially, as he was about to make a statement of facts which were within his own knowledge, I did not see why he should need documents to aid him if the statement was to be a truthful one. I gave a verbal refusal to his counsel, who brought me the letter, and desired him to take the letter back to Beecher, which he declined to do. On that day I left town on imperative business and was gone until the 4th day of August, when I wrote Beecher a letter giving an answer to his request in form, stating substantially these reasons, which letter he has published, together with a reply, which was the first manifestation of unkindness of feeling I received from him.

It must be borne in mind that the point of veracity which is thus raised between us is not whether my efforts for the adjustment of this controversy were wise or well directed, but whether it is true that I made any efforts to aid him, or deserted him, as he asserts. Upon that point let the facts answer, which are, fortunately for me, so substantiated by documentary evidence, that as to them there can be no doubt. This is exactly what I did do:

When I was first informed by Tilton that he was preparing a reply to Dr. Bacon for publication, I said to him that I hoped he would do no such thing, as it would lead to an exposure of all the facts. He said, in substance, that Dr. Bacon being a leading Congregationalist of New England, his statement would seriously damage him there, if not refuted, in his character as a public man, and that he must reply or be deemed the "dog and knave" that the Doctor had characterized him, and be forever held to be simply a "creature of Beecher's magnanimity;" that he had given to Beecher, as I knew myself from being present at the time, an opportunity to repair the mischief which Bacon had done him, asking Beecher merely to write a letter to Bacon making it clear that he (Tilton) was not the creature of Beecher's magnanimity. I said to him: "Do you remember that Beecher pleaded the embarrassments of his situation, which hindered him from doing such a thing as that without in reality making a confession?" Tilton replied: "Beecher has acted in this matter simply with reference to saving himself, and thus leaves nothing for me but my own vindication by myself."

While the Bacon letter was being prepared I did not see it, but after it was written I thought it was but just to all the interests for which I was caring that I should see its contents, and therefore accepted an invitation from Tilton to hear it read. I again objected with great vehemence and warmth to its publication, in the presence of witnesses. After considerable discussion, finding it impossible to control its publication, I then sought to alter the phraseology of the inculpatory portion of it in such a manner as would still leave opportunity for such a reply from Beecher as might satisfy Tilton and would prevent the disclosure of Mr. Beecher's acts. After much persuasion I induced him to strike out the words in the letter as originally written—"Mr. Beecher has committed, against me and my family, a revolting crime"—and instead thereof to insert the words: "has committed against me an offense which I forbear to name or characterize," thus omitting the word "family," and substituting a softer word, "offense," susceptible of various interpretations, instead of "revolting crime" against the family, which might have been regarded as capable of only one. When thus modified even, I told Tilton that I would rather give him, from my own pocket, five thousand dollars in gold than to have him publish it.

During the time of the composition of the paper, while my importunities with Tilton were going on, I had frequent consultations with Beecher in regard to the letter, in which I told him that I should do everything in my power to prevent its publication, which I most assuredly did, as more than one person can testify. He understood as fully from me as I

had from Tilton that he (Tilton) might be goaded in self-defense to expose Beecher for misbehavior toward his family. Afterward, on the day that it went to press, and before I knew that it had gone, at the office of the *Golden Age* I again urged Tilton, with every power of persuasion that I had, not to publish it, and suggested certain other changes which would render Beecher's course in regard to it less difficult.

Immediately after the publication I sent for General Tracy, Mr. Beecher's counsel, to come to my house in the evening, where I read him the letter. I called his attention to the change in the phraseology that I had procured from Tilton, and tried to show him that this letter, bad as it was, would, if properly met, be the means of arriving at a final settlement and peace between the parties, and safety for the families, for which purpose I had made a written analysis of the letter in order to show how I thought the parties might be reconciled. I showed him that it did not charge a crime but an offense, for which it quoted an apology, and that Tilton, in the letter itself, stated that a settlement had once been brought about between him and Beecher upon the basis of that apology, which he deemed an honorable one, and which would have been observed but for the attacks upon him of Beecher and his friends, and the speech of Bacon to the students of Yale, and the articles in the *Independent*, which speech and articles Tilton had already given Beecher an opportunity to qualify so far as they related to him (Tilton).

At first Mr. Tracy did not accept this view of the case, but came to me a short time afterward and said that, after thinking over my remarks and plans, he "had become converted to my view of the case." The question, then, was as to the best course for Beecher to take in relation to the letter; and upon this matter I consulted with Tracy, and he agreed with me that we should undertake to settle the controversy upon the basis of an "offense."

A few days after the publication of the letter I met Tilton in company with three of his friends, when I again strongly represented the mistake which, in my judgment, he had made, especially toward himself, by the publication; and told him that he owed it to himself, his family and his friends, and to me in an especial degree, as well as all other interests involved, to help me to find a way still to suppress all further publication, and to bring peace and reconciliation between himself and Beecher. He said, in the presence of a witness, that he would say nothing more, and be satisfied if Beecher made no reply to the letter, and that he would not, publicly or privately, insist upon a reply; and, after discussing the policy of silence, or a reply by Mr. Beecher, I dictated to the party then present the following, which I said I would advise that Beecher should say in substance, in his lecture-room, to his church as a reply to the letter, or, if not, that he should be silent, with either of which courses Tilton had already expressed himself satisfied. The paper is marked "A."

MOULTON'S PROPOSED STATEMENT FOR BEECHER.

"This church and community are unquestionably and justly interested through the recent publication, by Theodore Tilton, in answer to Dr. Leonard Bacon, of New Haven.

"It is true that I have committed an offense against Theodore Tilton, and, giving to that offense the force of his construction, I made an apology and reparation such as both he and I at the time declared full and necessary. I am convinced that Mr. Tilton has been goaded to his defense by misrepresentations or misunderstanding of my position toward him. I shall never be a party to the reopening of this question, which has been honorably settled as between Theodore Tilton and myself. I have committed no crime; and, if this society believes that it is due to it that I should reopen this already too painful subject or resign, I will resign. I know, as God gives me the power to judge of myself, that I am better fitted to-day, through trials and chastening, to do good than I have ever been."

This paper I now have, in the handwriting of the gentleman who took it down at the time, and who can testify to the accuracy of this statement. Upon hearing it read Tilton pledged himself to peace and final settlement if Beecher would either speak or write the substance of the words above quoted or keep silent.

Within a day or two—I think, the next day—I saw Beecher at my own house, and in the presence of a witness had a consultation in reference to the Bacon letter, and discussed the best way of meeting that letter. We first considered the policy of entire silence; next, what was best to say in case anything was said; and, at his request, I gave him a copy of the paper above set forth. He said he would like to submit it to a few of his friends, saying at the same time: "I will copy it in my own handwriting, and not give it as yours." It was fully agreed there that he would make no reply or take any steps in relation to the Bacon letter without consulting me, and that he would either keep silence or make a statement substantially like that which I had given him, as Tilton had told me in the presence of witnesses that he was committed to peace if Beecher should take either of those courses.

I saw Tracy, and asked him if Beecher had submitted to him any paper with reference to the Bacon letter. He said that Beecher had shown him a memorandum which looked like my handiwork. I asked him what he thought of it. He answered that he approved of it in the main, but made objection to the words "I have committed no crime," saying that as adultery was no crime at common law, there would be an opportunity for criticism on that word as not being a sufficient denial. He suggested another doubt as to the propriety of the proposed action, because he did not know whether Tilton would keep faith or not. I replied that I thought he had already made a mistake in assuming everything against Tilton, and that if he should treat him with trust and confidence, he would get trust and confidence in return. "But," I said, "Mr. Tracy, the trouble with you and the parties you represent is, that you expect everything from Tilton, and are willing to do nothing yourselves that requires courage and confidence." He said he had had a talk a short time previous with Tilton, who had spoken, in his opinion, like an insane man, because he had replied to his remark that the world would never forgive him for having condoned his wife's offense by saying: "I take a higher view than you or the world do on this question, a view I don't believe that I am to be blamed for having condoned my wife's offense, or that it will help the man who has committed the

crime against my family to plead that I have." I said to Tracy that I thought he was acting more foolishly than Tilton in assuming, from such a remark as that, Tilton's insanity. I said: "You will get yourself and the people you represent into trouble, by just such statements, which only tend to incense; they do not tend to peace." Tracy said that he did not believe that Tilton ever intended peace. I replied: "There you make a mistake again, for I never yet have failed in any emergency, so far as I know, to get Tilton to acquiesce in what was fair to save all parties, except in the matter of the Bacon letter, and if you now go upon the assumption that he is a reasonable being, and as magnanimous as any of the other parties involved, you can have peace, and if you do not the responsibility must be upon yourselves." He spoke in this conversation of Tilton's great ability, and remarked that Tilton impressed him more and more strongly as a man actuated by high purposes. "But," said he, "he lacks balance." We parted, agreeing to confer further upon this topic.

On Sunday afternoon, July 5, after church services, I met Mr. Beecher walking with his wife in the street. He left her at Mr. Howard's and went with me to my house. I expected, if he said anything, that he would have taken the opportunity of Sunday to make the statement to his people of his course, which I had prepared with reference to the Bacon letter, but had learned that he had not so done. After we reached my house I said to him: "Well, Mr. Beecher, you did not speak from your pulpit the words we talked over. I wish you had, because the great sympathy manifested for you in this community would have made such words acceptable." "Well," said he, "you know we agreed upon silence, and you are responsible if I have made any mistake in not speaking." "Very well," said I. "I adhere still to the policy of silence as best; but if you say anything through the pressure that is brought to bear upon you, in my judgment what I wrote out is best, as Tilton has committed himself to a settlement if that is said; and if it is said, and he demands anything further, so far as I am concerned I shall destroy every paper and everything I have bearing upon the subject; and if he wants to open the fight he will have to open it without any aid or confirmation from me." Mrs. Moulton was present, and Mr. Beecher asked her opinion of what I had written for him to say, and she told him that it was the only hope she had ever seen for a settlement, aside from a frank and manly confession on his part of his sin, and asking man's forgiveness for it as he expected God's. He said to her that he would consider it, but that I was responsible for his having kept silence.

We then went together toward Mr. Howard's house, and while going there we met Mr. Robinson, when the conversation took place that I have before related. Perhaps I should have added that the reason why he made the remark he did to Mr. Robinson was because I had almost at the beginning of the affair told Mr. Robinson of all the facts concerning Beecher as I knew them and have now made them public, and had received from him valuable advice as to my conduct in regard to them, all of which I had communicated before that time to Mr. Beecher.

As we walked on together, in the course of further conversation, Beecher for the first time told me that he had acquiesced in the appointment of a committee of investigation, at which I expressed considerable surprise, and told him I thought it was a mistake, but we would try to get along even with that. He said he had had the naming of the committee himself, and gave me the names of most of them. I said: "I hope Shearman will not have anything to do with this committee." He replied: "We have purposely left him out because we do not want any element in it that will cause trouble." I said: "If this matter is to go before a committee of investigation I think I shall employ General Butler as my counsel to advise me in this matter. As you know, he was my counsel in another case, and I think well of his efforts in my behalf." Beecher appeared pleased at my suggestion. I may as well remark here, once for all, that I did not send for General Butler as counsel until after Tilton's sworn statement was prepared, and he arrived on the day it was delivered to the committee by Tilton, as will appear hereafter. As General Butler's name has been connected more or less with the progress of this case, I may as well state that from the time he came into the case he has labored unceasingly to prevent any disclosure or publication of the facts. He has done everything he possibly could, both in advising me and acting with the other parties to the controversy, to avert the consequences of the exposure which has been made. In every phase that the affair has taken his counsel to me has always been that I should try and have the difficulty reconciled, and that I should hold myself entirely impartial between the parties, acting as a friend to each, which advice I have endeavored to follow, and have only been driven from that position by circumstances which are too well known. I will further say that I never sent for him or counselled with him, except at the solicitation of the counsel for Mr. Beecher, until after Mr. Beecher's letter of August 4, when he demanded of me his papers and letters.

It seemed to me necessary to have able counsel, as many of the documents and papers were of a nature to implicate others, and it became important to know how far I might be liable for the use of their contents.

Mrs. Tilton made her first statement before the committee on the evening of July 8, without the knowledge of her husband, as both he and she say, and because of which she says: "He asked who the gentlemen were; said no more, rose, dressed himself, and bade her good-bye forever." The next day, July 9, I saw General Tracy, and we consulted as to how Tilton should act, and as to what he ought to say with reference to the denial of his wife, before the committee, of adultery on Beecher's part. I made an appointment with Tracy and Tilton to meet at my house that evening on this subject. Mr. Tracy told me that Mrs. Tilton had made a very fine impression upon the committee. I told him that he must convey, with great impressiveness, to Tilton, this fact, and of the kindness with which she had spoken of her husband. I warned Tracy that Tilton might be quite severe

in his characterization of his conduct, because he had allowed Mrs. Tilton's statement to be taken by the committee without his (Tilton's) knowledge, and called to his mind something that had happened in November, 1872, in regard to revelations that Tilton had made to him in confidence as to the Woodhull story, when Mr. Woodhull and myself were present, Tilton prefacing them with the statement: "You are to receive certain confidences; but if you do, will you feel yourself at liberty to act as the counsel of Beecher if we ever come into collision?" to which you replied, "Certainly not." I said: "Mr. Tracy, Tilton thinks now your being counsel for Beecher is a violation of that promise, and will undoubtedly use severe language in regard to it. But since the interests you have at heart and we are now in charge of are so grave, you had better endeavor to conciliate him and not return his denunciations if he indulges in them. Appeal as strongly as you can to the great love I know he still retains for his wife, and try to rouse the pride which he has in her and his family."

Mr. Tracy came to the interview, as I had arranged, and met as I had expected the denunciations of Mr. Tilton, but received them with great forbearance, and then, with strength and pathos of language, with tears flowing down his cheeks, he made so eloquent and manly an appeal to Tilton, picturing with great force his wife's tenderness and gentleness and apparent truthfulness before the committee, and her high eulogy of her husband, that Tilton was greatly moved and pacified therewith, and seemed desirous for reconciliation and renewed peace for his wife's sake. Tracy said to him also that as the committee, to his knowledge, felt that there was an offense committed by Beecher against him, they would undoubtedly make any report that he (Tilton) could suggest upon the basis of almost any offense this side of adultery—indeed, that he could quite guarantee they would.

In consequence of the assurances in this conversation, Tilton, who, as he informed us, had left his home never intending to go back to it, did go back, as he afterward told me, and there had a reconciliation with his wife, which is thus described in the statement of Mrs. Tilton to the committee:

The midnight following I was awakened by my husband standing by my bed. In a very tender, kind voice he said he wished to see me. I arose instantly, followed him into his room, and sitting on the bedside he drew me into his lap, said he was proud of me, loved me; that nothing ever gave him such real peace and satisfaction as to hear me well spoken of; that, meeting a member of the committee, he had learned that he had been mistaken as to my motive in seeing the committee, and had hastened to assure me that he had been thoroughly wretched since his rash treatment of me the night before, etc.

When Tilton left my house that night he said that he would go home, and, with Elizabeth, agree upon a report to be made to the committee that would be satisfactory to them. This fact is confirmed by Mrs. Tilton in her statement, as follows:

Theodore wrote a statement to present to the committee when they should call upon him, to all of which I heartily acceded.

Mrs. Tilton evidently did not understand that the report was one to be made by the committee, but to the committee by Tilton. He returned the next day with such a report, which he had copied out as follows, and which is marked B:

The undersigned, constituting the committee of Plymouth Church, to whom were referred certain recent publications of Dr. Leonard Bacon and Theodore Tilton, hereby present their unanimous report:

The committee sought and obtained a personal interview with each of the three following-named persons, to wit: Mr. Tilton. Mrs. Tilton, and the pastor, all of whom responded to the searching questions of the committee with freedom and candor. Documents, letters, and papers pertaining to the case were carefully considered. A multiplicity of details, needing to be duly weighed, occasioned a somewhat protracted investigation. The committee hope that the apparent tardiness of their report will be compensated to the parties by rectifying an erroneous public sentiment, under which they have all suffered misrepresentation.

I. The committee's first interview was with Mrs. Elizabeth R. Tilton, whose testimony was given with a modesty and touching sincerity that deeply moved those who listened to it. Her straightforward narrative was an unconscious vindication of her innocence and purity of character, and confirmed by evidences in the documents. She repelled with warm feeling the idea that her husband was the author of calumnious statements against her, or had ever treated her with other than chivalrous consideration and protection. She paid a high tribute to his character and also to the fortitude with which he had borne prolonged injustice.

II. The committee further find that Mr. Tilton, in his relations with the pastor, had a just cause of offense, and had received a voluntary apology. Mr. Tilton declined to characterize the offense for the following reasons: First, because the necessary evidence which should accompany any statement would include the names of persons who had happily escaped thus far the tongue of public gossip; next, that the apology was designed to cover a complicated transaction, its details difficult of exact or just statement; and last, that no possible good could arise from satisfying the public curiosity on this point. Mr. Tilton, after concluding his testimony, respectfully called the attention of the committee to the fact that the clerk of the church had spoken calumniously of Mrs. Tilton during the late council, and had since unqualifiedly contradicted and retracted his statements as untrue and unjust, and he (Mr. T.) requested the committee to ratify and confirm that apology, making honorable record of the same in their report, which is hereby cheerfully done.

III. The committee further find that the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher's evidence corroborated the statements of Mr. and Mrs. Tilton. He also said the church action, of which Mr. Tilton had complained, had not been inspired by the pastor, but had been taken independently by the church; that the popular impression that Mr. Tilton had been in the habit of speaking against him was unjust to Mr. T., and was owing mainly to the unwelcome introduction into the church of charges against Mr. T. by a mere handful of persons, who, in so doing, had received no countenance from the great mass of the congregation or from the pastor. He said that the apology had been invested by the public press with an undue mystery; that after having been led by his own precipitancy and folly into wrong he saw no singularity of behavior in a Christian man (particularly a clergyman) acknowledging his offense. He had always preached this doctrine to others, and would not shrink from applying it to himself.

The committee, after hearing the three witnesses already referred to, felt unanimously that any regrets previously entertained concerning the publication of Mr. Tilton's letter to Dr. Bacon should give way to grateful acknowledgments of the providential opportunity which this publication has unexpectedly afforded to draw forth the testimony which the committee have thus reported in brief, but in sufficient fullness, as they

believe, to explain and put at rest forever a vexatious scandal. The committee are likewise of opinion, based on the testimony submitted to them, that no unprejudiced court of inquiry could have reviewed this case as thus presented in person by its principal figures without being strikingly impressed with the moral integrity and elevation of character of the parties; and accordingly the committee cannot forbear to state that the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, Mr. Theodore Tilton and Mrs. Tilton (and in an especial manner the latter) must and should receive the increased sympathy and respect of Plymouth Church and congregation. (Signed)

Meantime, Beecher had been engaged in preparing his own statement for the committee, and had the night before come down from Peekskill for that purpose, and also to attend the Friday evening prayer-meeting the next day, and I suppose had not learned what had been done. Very early Friday morning I received the following note, marked "C":

BEECHER TO MOULTON.

FRIDAY MORNING, July 10, 1874.

My Dear Frank—Can you be seen this morning? and, if so, when and where? Any time after ten would suit me best, but any other hour I will make do. I came into town last night.

Yours ever,

H. W. BEECHER.

I replied to him in substance—for I have not a copy, having been up very late the night before; indeed, I believe I was still in bed when I received it—that I was quite tired, and would have to be busy, expecting to meet Tracy and Tilton again that day before Tilton should go before the committee in the evening. In response to my reply I received from Beecher the following reply, marked "D":

BEECHER TO MOULTON.

My Dear Frank—My papers are all here, and it would be far more convenient to have you here if you are not too tired.

Yours,

H. W. BEECHER.

In reply to this I informed Mr. Beecher that I was to meet Tilton at my house, that I would be in consultation with him, and advised him to come there and meet him also, as I hoped matters were in process of adjustment, and received from him on the same day the following note, marked "E":

BEECHER TO MOULTON.

My Dear Frank—I do not know as it is necessary to trouble you I only wanted to read you the heads and outline of a statement. When I do speak I intend to be believed. Of course, I shall not publish until I have seen you. But time is short. The crisis is at hand. I will not go forward long as heretofore. When I say, will not, I mean can not. Events are masters, just now.

There is no earthly reason for conference with Mr. T. It makes nothing better; everything worse. The matter is in a nut shell. No light is needed, only choice. Yours gratefully.

H. W. BEECHER.

July 10, '74.

I frankly confess that I felt hurt at this note, because I believed that I had been acting for the best in his behalf, and that matters were in process of adjustment. It seemed to me to be another cry of despair on his part, whereas I believed instead that he should have conferred with Tilton as his counsel had done.

During the day of the 10th Tilton's report drafted for the committee above quoted was submitted to Mr. Tracy, who said that with a few alterations that were not material, he thought he could have it adopted by the committee.

On the evening of the same day, the 10th of July, in response to the invitation of the committee, and in pursuance of the policy that had been marked out in our conferences with General Tracy, Tilton appeared before the committee and made a brief statement. Neither Tilton nor myself knew at that time what were the terms of the commission of the committee, or what were to be the extent and purpose of their inquiry, but both supposed that its purpose was to endeavor to settle the trouble between Beecher and Tilton, and not for the purpose of a full investigation of all the facts. This idea I had got from Mr. Beecher in the conversation which I have before related; and I had therefore supposed, as I stated to him, that I thought we could get along with the committee.

The first statement of Tilton before the committee not having been made public, I cannot know its terms, but he reported to me the substance of it as I find it made by him in his preface to his sworn statement of July 20 to the same committee; and as he was addressing the same individuals as to the facts which had taken place before them, I assume it to be a true statement. It is as follows:

I call you to witness that on my first brief examination before your committee I begged and implored you not to inquire into the facts of this case, but rather to seek to bury them beyond all possible revelation.

On the morning of the next day, the 11th, a new and double complication arose. It consisted first of the sudden and unexpected announcement by Mrs. Tilton to her husband at six o'clock A. M. that she meant to desert her home and family, and in a few moments afterward she carried this intention into effect by going to make her abode with Mr. and Mrs. Ovington; next, by the simultaneous publication, in that morning's newspapers, of the letter of appointment of the committee by Beecher, dated the 27th of June previous, but which letter had been kept back and not sent to the church until Tuesday, July 7. That letter called to have "some proper investigation made of the rumors, insinuations, or charges made respecting my conduct as compromised by the late publication made by Mr. Tilton. * * *

On the same day Tilton came to see me, and, announcing to me his wife's desertion and calling my attention to the above publication, was excited by these simultaneous events, which seemed to him to be part of a pre-arranged plan of action, and also excited him to great indignation. He said that Beecher was again playing him a trick, as he had done before when he attempted to settle the matter, by now appointing a committee to make examination of the facts, then getting his wife surreptitiously to go before the committee and exonerate him fully from the charges of adultery, then tempting her openly to desert her husband, so as to show that he (Tilton) had always been in the wrong, and was simply the creature of his magnanimity; and that now Beecher should have a full statement of all the facts and documents if it destroyed him, his wife, or his family; that justice should be done at length and the truth be known; that if Plymouth Church chose to accept an adulterer for its pastor they should

have the opportunity to do it; and that he was going home to prepare his full statement, and wanted me to give him the documents and evidence with which to do it. Upon my refusing to do so, he said that I was a traitor to him, because I had gone into this controversy in the beginning as his friend. I tried to pacify him; said everything I could to quiet him, assuring him that although we had been mistaken as to the purpose of the committee, yet, as Beecher had named them all, he had done so in his own interest, and would be surely able to control them. He said that Beecher, by the terms of his letter of appointment, had challenged him before the world, and he accepted the challenge. I told him that I saw nothing in the letter which prevented him from standing upon the terms of the Bacon letter that an offense only had been committed. But he said that this was simply folly on my part—indeed, called me a fool for so believing, and said: "If you choose to desert me in this emergency of my life, I will stand by myself and fight it alone." I appealed again to him for his children's sake, saying: "I cannot be in sympathy with any course of yours that will simply blast them and ruin your household and yourself." But he was obdurate and left me, reiterating his determination to make a full statement of the facts. Indeed, I had never seen a man so much changed as he had been in a few hours. In reference to this change in Tilton, I quote the following from Mrs. Tilton's statement:

I rose quietly, and, having dressed, roused him only to say, "Theodore, I will never take another step by your side. The end has, indeed, come!" He followed me to Mr. Ovington's to breakfast, saying I was unduly excited, and that he had been misrepresented, perhaps, but leaving me determined as before. How to account for the change which twenty-four hours had been capable of working in his mind than many years past, I leave for the eternities with their mysteries to reveal.

The causes of the change had, indeed, been revealed to me in a much shorter time.

I did not call upon Mr. Beecher upon this matter because I believed he was in sufficient trouble already, and I was devoting all my energies to keeping Tilton within the bounds of reason as to his own course.

On the same day—the 11th—I received an invitation from the committee to appear before them on the 13th, which is as follows, marked "F":

SAGE TO MOULTON.

BROOKLYN, July 11, 1874.

FRANCIS D. MOULTON, Esq.;

Dear Sir: The Examining Committee of Plymouth Church, at the request of Mr. Beecher, have appointed the following gentlemen, viz.: From the church—Henry W. Sage, Augustus Storrs, Henry M. Cleveland. From the Society—Horace B. Claflin, John Winslow, S. V. White—a committee to investigate, in the interest of truth and justice, certain charges made by Theodore Tilton in his recent letter to Rev. Leonard Bacon, which compromise the character of Rev. Henry Ward Beecher. The committee are informed that you have some knowledge of matters involved in the case, and instruct me respectfully to invite you to appear before them on Monday evening next, July 13, at 8 o'clock, at the residence of Augustus Storrs, Esq., 34 Monroe place, and furnish them with such facts as are within your own knowledge in the matters under investigation. Very truly yours,

H. W. SAGE, Chairman.

It will be observed that the committee only desired that I should "furnish them such facts as were within my own knowledge in the matter under investigation." The curious phraseology of this requirement would be quite patent to any one as the committee could hardly suppose that I had been called in to be a personal witness of any intimacies, guilty or innocent, between Beecher and Mrs. Tilton, and my statement, if so confined, would have been necessarily very short; and I might well suppose that the invitation was so worded in order that I might make no disclosure.

On my return to my house on Monday afternoon, at ten minutes to six o'clock, I received the following note from Mr. Beecher, marked "G":

BEECHER TO MOULTON.

MONDAY, 5 P. M.

My Dear Moulton—Will it be convenient for you to call around here any time this evening after half-past six? I shall be in and can be secure from interruption. I need to see you.

Truly yours and ever,
To which I immediately replied in a note as follows, marked "H":

MOULTON TO BEECHER.

MONDAY, 5:50 P. M.

My Dear Sir—I shall be at home until 7:15 P. M.; I am almost tired or would go to you. There will be no interruption here.

Truly yours,
Your last note grieved me. I have an invitation to appear before your committee this evening.

In reply to which I received the note heretofore published in my former statement, marked "JJJ," which is as follows:

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.

In pursuance of this note Mr. Beecher called on me and I read him the statement which I was to make to the committee that same evening, and he approved of its tone and character, and declared it, as I therein stated, honorable to both parties so far as I was concerned. I had also read the same to Tilton, and he agreed in the same opinion as to the propriety of its tone. What I did say has already been published, and contains, in the closing part, the advice to the committee which I had before given to Beecher.

The interview was somewhat hurried, as I left him to go to the committee.

Seeing in some newspaper a supposed interview of a committeeman, who claimed to speak for Beecher, in which was reported Beecher's opinion of what I had said before the committee, I called upon him (Beecher) in reference to that and other business, and, after the usual kindly salutations, I told him that I thought his committeemen were acting very foolishly in attempting to throw slurs or imputations upon me, and recited the facts, as I felt certain that he did not authorize or countenance the report. He told me that he had not seen the paper at all and knew nothing about it. We then commenced a discussion of the situation, and I

spoke of the fact that Tilton was preparing a statement, at which he expressed regret and sorrow. I told him Tilton had deemed the publication of the correspondence as to the appointment of the committee a challenge to him to come forward and make a full statement of all the facts; and that he regarded the act of his wife leaving his house a hostile one, prompted by the committee under the inspiration of Beecher. He said—as had already been published by an interviewer—that he had not authorized the publication of the letter of appointment at all; that he had intended to keep things quiet in accordance with my suggestion; but that now he thought he was compelled to make a statement, which statement he read to me, and which, while it took very much blame upon himself as to his course toward Tilton and his family, of course denied all guilt, but which thoroughly exonerated Tilton from any dishonorable act toward him. I expressed myself to Beecher, as I was, very much pleased with this statement, and said that if it was made to the committee before Tilton should make his, as Beecher informed me he intended to do, I had no doubt that I could prevail upon Tilton to agree to the statement proposed and to allow the whole matter to drop; and as evidence of his disposition to do so, I showed Beecher a report which Tilton had once consented might be made by the committee, provided Beecher's statement exonerated him (Tilton) from any dishonorable act. This report was in Tilton's handwriting, a copy of which I showed Beecher, and is marked "I":

PROPOSED REPORT OF COMMITTEE BY TILTON.

The committee appointed to inquire into the offense and apology by a Mr. Beecher alluded to in Mr. Tilton's letter to Dr. Bacon, respectfully report that upon examination they find that an offense of grave character was committed by Mr. Beecher against Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Tilton, for which he made a suitable apology to both parties, receiving in return their forgiveness and good-will. The committee further report that this seems to them a most eminently Christian way for the settlement of differences and reflects honor on all the parties concerned.

Said Beecher: "Will Tilton agree to that?" I answered: "He would have agreed to that, and I hope he will continue in that mind; for although he is writing his statement, yet I am dealing with him as I have dealt heretofore, allowing him to exhaust himself in writing out the statement, and then using my influence to suppress the publication, and I have no doubt I can do it again."

The conversation then turned as to what reply Tilton ought to make to Beecher's statement, which he had first read to me, if it were accepted by the committee. Thereupon Beecher stepped to his desk and wrote out the following for me to take to Tilton as the substance of what he should say in reply to Beecher's statement, and I was to use my very best exertions and all the influence I could over Tilton to have him agree to it. That paper, every word of which was written by Mr. Beecher, so that there is no opportunity for mistaking its language, I have in my possession. It is marked "J":

BEECHER'S PROPOSED STATEMENT FOR TILTON TO MAKE. The statement of Mr. Beecher being read, and if striking favorably, then a word sent, substantially thus, to committee:

I have been three years acting under conviction that I had been wronged, but was under the imputation of being the injurer. I learn from a friend that Mr. B. in his statement to you has reversed this and has done me justice. I am willing, should he consent, to appear before you with him, and dropping the further statements, which I felt it to be my duty to make for my own clearance, to settle this painful domestic difficulty—which never ought to have been made public—finally and amicably.

I left Mr. Beecher with this proposed statement for Tilton in my hand, went to Tilton, tried to persuade him not to publish—not to make his statement to the committee on the evening of the 20th, at which time they had summoned him—but found him exceedingly obdurate. He again asked me for documents and papers, which I refused, and I then left him.

Several publications were made about this time as to what was to be the nature of Tilton's statement, which caused great anxiety to Mr. Tracy and myself, who had consultations on this matter. Accordingly, on Sunday, the 19th, I received the following note from Mr. Tracy to meet me, evidently written in consultation with Beecher, because the note-paper bears precisely the same water-mark and is of the same texture as that of the notes which I had just previously received from Mr. Beecher from his house. It is here inserted, marked "K":

TRACY TO MOULTON.

BROOKLYN, July 19, 1874.

F. D. MOULTON:

My Dear Sir—Will you name a time and place to-day where I can see you? I think it important.

Yours truly,
We met, and it was there determined between us, upon my suggestion, that I should make one more attempt to prevent Tilton making his statement to the committee. Previous to the reception of this note, at Tracy's suggestion, I had summoned my counsel by telegraph to meet me in New York on Monday, the 20th. At the meeting on Sunday I found Tracy impressed with the idea that the documents relating to this affair had been destroyed, and that Tilton could not verify by the originals any statements from them. I answered him that that was not the case; that all the documents were in my hands with the single exception of Mrs. Tilton's confession, which had been returned to Tilton and destroyed, as Beecher knew; and that I should feel myself obliged to produce them before any tribunal which would compel testimony.

On the morning of the 20th, by arrangement with Tracy, I went with my counsel to Tilton's house, and there we both strenuously and urgently argued with him against the making of his statement to the committee that evening. We represented to him that such a statement would be ruin to himself, his family, and to Beecher, and that it was not for the interest of either or of the community that so great a calamity should happen as the exposure of all these facts. Tilton reiterated that he had been challenged by Beecher; that he had given his word to the committee that he would appear, and that if they were there he would do so, and that if he should refuse to appear Beecher's advisers would insist that he had no facts and was afraid to appear. It was then suggested to him that if the committee did not meet that

evening and he held himself in readiness to appear before them, that would be a sufficient answer to any such charge, and he was again persistently urged to take that course if a meeting of the committee could be prevented. Tilton exhibited great reluctance even to that, whereupon I felt obliged to tell him that I should consider this course in thus presenting the matter against Beecher a personal affront to myself, and that in such case I should take all the means in my power to prevent his statement being effectual. To this appeal, put to him in the strongest language I could command, Tilton finally consented, first, that if the committee were not present, so that he might be excused from appearing before them that evening, he would not publish his statement or let its contents be known until a future meeting of the committee, when I suggested to him the course that had been agreed upon by Beecher and the statement which had been prepared by Beecher might be submitted to the committee and an amicable report made.

After getting Tilton's consent I drove around to Mr. Tracy's house, took him into the carriage, and we drove to my house together, with my counsel. When we arrived there we narrated to Mr. Tracy what had taken place at Tilton's, and he (Tracy), agreeing that this course was best, undertook to get an adjournment of the committee till Wednesday evening, and suggested that it might be difficult to find them before the meeting, in which case it was understood that he himself would not be present on that evening. I undertook to see Tilton and have him agree that if Tracy should not be present he would refuse to go on until a subsequent meeting, on the ground that he desired Tracy to be there to cross-examine him after he had made his statement.

Mr. Tracy left my house for that purpose, and soon after returned and reported that he had called upon the chairman and left him a formal note, saying that he could not be present at the meeting of the committee and requesting the adjournment; that he had been to see another member of the committee, Mr. Cleveland, but failed to find him. He then left, saying that even if the committee held a meeting he would not be present.

I then saw Tilton, stated the difficulties about getting an adjournment of the committee, and asked his acquiescence in the arrangement not to deliver his statement to the committee if Tracy was not there. I made efforts to detain him at dinner until after eight o'clock, in order that the committee might adjourn before he came. He left my house after eight o'clock, and, not soon returning, in about an hour after I sent a messenger to the committee to learn what was being done, who returned with the word, to the unspeakable grief and surprise of myself and my counsel—who had co-operated with me in the interest of Mr. Beecher, as I had requested him—that Tilton was reading his statement to the committee! Almost in despair, but with a last lingering hope of preventing the public exposure of this unspeakably pernicious scandal, and to make one last effort, I went down to the house of the committee, and waited the coming out of Tilton, and conjured him not to give any copy of his statement for publication, hoping that the committee would see, as I did, that the necessities of the welfare of the whole community required that it should not be made public; and I got him to consent so to do; and on the next day I was present when he refused the request of a personal friend to allow it to be published in the *Herald*. The manner of its publication has been explained in the card of Mr. Maverick, a publication made without Mr. Tilton's consent or knowledge, and to the indescribable grief of both of us.

After the publication I saw nothing but strife and wretchedness, and nothing was left for me to do but to hold myself sternly aloof and allow the parties to fight it out without the aid of any documents or knowledge in my possession.

On the 24th of July I received a note from Beecher by the hand of Tracy, written on the same cross-lined water-marked paper as the note of Mr. Beecher of the 19th of July, requesting that I would send him the papers and documents in my possession, which note is inserted, marked "L":

BEECHER TO MOULTON.

JULY 24, 1874.

My Dear Mr. Moulton—I am making out a statement, and need the letters and papers in your hands. Will you send by Tracy all the originals of my papers. Let them be numbered and an inventory taken, and I will return them to you as soon as I can see and compare, get dates, make extracts or copies, as the case may be.

Will you also send me *Bowen's heads* of difficulty and all letters of my sister, if any are with you.

I heard you were sick. Are you about again? God grant you to see peaceful times.

Yours faithfully,
F. D. MOULTON.

H. W. BEECHER.

I said to Mr. Tracy that he had better take back that note, as I could not, in honor and conscience, give up the documents to either party to aid them in the preparation of statements against each other. Mr. Tracy suggested that perhaps I might send copies, to which I answered that that would seem to me the same breach of honorable obligation as to send the originals, and that it was impossible for me to have them copied, as I was about to leave town.

On the day of my arrival home, August 4, I received an invitation from the committee to come before it the next day, asking me only to bring the documents referred to in Tilton's statement. Having seen in the public prints that it was said that Beecher had received no answer from me to his request of July 24, I sent him the letter which has been published, of the date of August 4, explaining in form what I had said in substance through Mr. Tracy.

At ten minutes to eleven of that evening a letter was brought to me purporting to be signed by H. W. Beecher, but not in his hand-writing, asking for the production of all the documents before the committee, but which afterward, Mr. Sage, chairman of the committee, certified to be a correct copy of the original, which is here inserted, marked "M":

BEECHER TO MOULTON.

BROOKLYN, July 28, 1874.

My Dear Friend—The Committee of Investigation are waiting mainly for you before closing their labors. I, too, earnestly wish that you would come and clear your mind and memory of everything that can

bear on my case. I pray you also to bring all letters and papers relating to it which will throw any light upon it, and bring to a result this protracted case.

I trust that Mrs. M. has been reinvigorated, and that her need of your care will not be so great as to detain you.

Truly yours,

F. D. MOULTON.

Correct copy of original.

H. W. BEECHER.
H. W. SAGE, Chairman.

The letter of Beecher's of August 4, heretofore published, was the first indication that I had ever had from Henry Ward Beecher of unfriendliness, and I have the very best reason for knowing that the harsh portions of it were the suggestions of others and not of his own mind.

After receiving these notes of Beecher's, I came to the conclusion that if Tilton also consented I would make the full statement before the committee, which I have since published. When I began the preparation of my statement I did not design to include the letters of Mrs. Hooker and her brother, or Mr. Hooker, because, as they had only a collateral bearing upon the controversy, I was very unwilling to drag the name of Mrs. Hooker, for whom I entertain the highest respect, into this matter. But having seen in the newspapers an attack in advance upon Mrs. Hooker's sanity, inspired by the friends of Mr. Beecher, and Beecher, through the advice of his counsel, as I believe, having asserted that I retained letters of his brother and sister that were not given into my keeping as part of the documents in this controversy, I felt it at once due to the lady's position and myself that they should appear, and hence they were inserted.

After Tracy had learned by my published letter that I would go before the committee and make a full statement, he desired most earnestly that I should do no such thing, bringing to bear every argument that occurred to him to dissuade me therefrom, and among others, that if I made the statement it would have to come out in the cross-examination that I had received money from Beecher for the use of Tilton, and that Beecher's friends would thereupon make a charge of blackmail against me. I told him in the presence of my counsel—for whom I had again sent at his (Tracy's) request—that that would not come out on cross-examination, for the facts in regard to the money were already fully disclosed in my statement, and that in that transaction there was nothing dishonorable on Beecher's part, or my own that I should fear seeing the light of day. Tracy strongly assured me that I ought not, under any circumstances, to disclose the letters and documents in my possession; that I was bound, by every principle of honor and sacred obligation, to keep them private; and that it would be better, both for Tilton and Beecher, that I should do so.

At his suggestion I called a meeting on Monday morning of some of Mr. Beecher's friends, and some of my most valued friends who could be got together, to lay before them this proposition. At that meeting my counsel advised that there were two honorable courses before me. One was to seal my lips as to the personal statements, and produce no documents but those of which extracts had been made and already been put before the committee, as it would be but just to both parties that a part of a paper being seen, the whole should be known; or to make a full and complete statement of all the facts and documents, both parties having consented. These alternatives were discussed in the meeting of my friends, and by a majority of them it was determined that less harm would come to the community, to the families of the parties, and to the parties themselves if I took the former course. Yielding to the advice of those I so much respected, I concluded to go before the committee and make the simple statement of an intention not to take part in the controversy, and producing only the letters which had in part been before them in Tilton's statement, reserving the right to protect my own honor and purity of action in this matter if attacked, as I have since done.

In order that the exact credit due to Mr. Beecher's statement may be seen and its value as testimony may be fully appreciated as compared with the facts and documents that I shall hereafter bring forward in my own vindication, I am compelled to notice some other patent misstatements in this special plea of counsel made in behalf of Mr. Beecher, if not by himself; and one of the first in order which claims attention is the averment in his statement that "the only copy of Mrs. Tilton's confession was torn in pieces in his own presence" on the night of the 30th of December, 1870, an act about which he could hardly be mistaken. On the contrary, I have stated that that paper of "confession" was delivered into my hands the night of the meeting of Beecher and Tilton at my house, when Beecher was first charged with his adulteries with Mrs. Tilton; and afterward, when I demanded the retraction of him, he asked me: "What will you do with it if I give it up?" 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." I may be allowed to say here that at this remark I made reference to the pistol in my overcoat pocket, which I always carried in the night, as emphasizing the extremity of my defense of the papers. Yet Mr. Beecher says "he made no verbal threats, but opened his overcoat, and with some emphatic remark he showed a pistol." Why misrepresent? Is it possible that he gave his confidence at once to a man who extorted a paper from him with a pistol? Yet Beecher's committee make a point of this prevarication in their argument for the accused.

After the tripartite covenant I handed back that same paper to Tilton at the request of his wife, in order that she might be satisfied, and herself destroy it.

Now, which of these statements is true? Let contemporaneous facts and acts answer.

It will be remembered that that meeting was on Friday night, the 30th of December, 1870. Mrs. Tilton sent me a note, heretofore published, dated the next Saturday morning, in the following words:

SATURDAY MORNING.

My Dear Friend Frank—I want you to do me the greatest possible favor. My letter which you have, and the one which I gave Mr. Beecher 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,

E. R. TILTON.

The "letter" referred to, of course, it will be seen, is the "confession," the only letter I then had of hers referring to this matter.

And again, to show that I cannot be either mistaken or untrue, I refer to Mrs. Tilton's note to Beecher of April 21, following, heretofore published:

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.

Would not Tilton have caused such a paper to be preserved after he had founded an accusation upon it? This falsehood was put in by Beecher's lawyers, lest Tilton might produce a copy, as my statement had not then been published with its documentary evidence.

Still another variation from the truth occurs in Beecher's statement in regard to the destruction of the "letter of contrition." In his explanation of it he speaks as follows:

I did not trouble myself about it till more [sic] than a year afterward when Tilton began to write up his case [of which hereafter] and was looking up documents. I wondered what was in this old memorandum, and desired to see it for greater certainty, so one day I suddenly asked Moulton for that memorandum, and said, "You promised to return it to me." He seemed confused for a moment and said, "Did I?" "Certainly," I answered. He replied that the paper had been destroyed. On my putting the question again, he said, "That paper was burned up long ago;" and during the next two years, in various conversations; of his own accord, he spoke of it as destroyed. I had never asked for nor authorized the destruction of this paper.

Upon this point I have said in my statement that I retained that "letter of contrition" as one of the papers necessary to keep peace between the parties, and I now add that this was well known to Beecher, and I shall prove it at last from his own mouth. It will be remembered, so far from Beecher believing, within more than a year afterward, that it had been destroyed and burned up, that in April, 1872, Mr. Samuel Wilkeson, Beecher's friend, who acted in the capacity of counsel in his behalf in drawing up the tripartite covenant, wrote me the following letter, heretofore published in my statement, dated the same day with that remarkable covenant:

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.

Did Beecher or his friend want me to burn a "letter of contrition" in April, 1872, which Beecher avers I had told him and he believed had been burned long previous? But again, in Beecher's letter of June 1, 1873, he says: "The agreement [tripartite covenant] was made after my letter through you was written. He [Tilton] had had it a year." Yes, from January 1, 1871, to April 2, 1872. Does Beecher really believe himself when he says that I told him that letter was long before burned up? He had not seen his letter of June 1 when this falsehood was told for him. In view of such false statements is the anxiety of his counsel to get his letters and papers out of my hands, so they could square their statements by them, at all wonderful?

As bearing upon the want of veracity in the matter that we have just considered as to the destruction of the "letter of contrition," I take leave to call attention to a like misstatement as to the original preparation of this same "letter." I have stated that it was written out according to the dictation of Mr. Beecher. As an honorable man, looking only to a settlement between the parties, and at that moment certainly without any other possible motive which could be imputed to me, I could have only desired to reproduce exactly the words of Beecher, which I did do with exactness; and the most cursory examination of the phrases will show them to have been his words and not mine. I am not in the habit of using such language. Indeed, I hardly believe myself capable of composing it. I should not myself have used the phrase: "Humble myself before him as I do before my God." I was not used to that kind of expression, nor the phrase: "Toward the poor child lying there praying with folded hands." I never called a woman of nearly forty years old a "poor child" in my life. I did not know that she "was lying" anywhere with folded hands. Beecher did, because he says in his statement to the committee that she "lay there white as marble," like a statue of the old world, palm to palm, like one praying, thus reproducing four years afterward, almost the identical phrase and picture which he conveyed to me, and which I put in the "letter of contrition." I could not have used the phrase: "I have her forgiveness," because I did not know whether he had it or not, except as he told me, and if I had acted upon my belief in the matter I should suppose that he had not. This letter, after being prepared by me, was read by him before he put his signature to it.

The explanation put by Beecher in his statement—that "this paper was a mere memorandum of points to be used by him [me] in setting forth my [his] feelings. * * * But they were put into sentences by him [me] expressed as he [I] understood them, not as my [his] words, but as hints of my [his] figures and letters to be used by him in conversing with Tilton. * * * It is a mere string of hints, hastily made by an unpracticed writer, as helps to his memory in representing to Mr. Tilton how I felt toward his family"—all this explanation is a mere afterthought made up for the purpose of explanation merely. Beecher always treated this letter as his own in all the after conversations we had upon the subject.

Mr. Samuel Wilkeson, Mr. Beecher's friend and acting counsel, could have known nothing of that paper except from Beecher, as I had never told him or anybody else, save Tilton, anything of its contents, and both Beecher and Wilkeson supposed it was delivered by me to Tilton, as it was intended to be. And in his letter heretofore published, speak-

ing in the interest of Beecher, Wilkeson calls it "the written apology which he holds for the improper advances."

Beecher's letter of June 1, 1873, just before quoted, he speaks of it as "my letter that he [Tilton] had over a year," not "a memorandum for the purposes of conversation," written by an unpracticed writer, which did not represent his thought.

I have said this was an afterthought. The reason for so believing, outside the intrinsic evidence from the documents, is that when this controversy was about being renewed because of the publication and speeches of Dr. Leonard Bacon, which brought it on again, I was in consultation with Beecher upon what might be the effect of them, and predicting that if Bacon went on he would surely reopen the whole matter. In that conversation Beecher said to me—and I remember his words exactly, because it was quite a startling proposition—"Can't we hit upon some plan to break the force of my letter to Tilton? Can't we hit upon some form of note from you to me in which you shall state that that letter was not, in fact, a letter at all, but simply a memorandum of points of my conversation made by you for the purpose of expressing more accurately my thought and feeling toward Tilton and his family." I said, "I will think of that, but we must wait, I think, until the necessity arises before determining what I ought to do in that regard." He said, "I will prepare such a note, and you read it over carefully and see whether or not it is possible for you to sign it." I said, "Very well, prepare the note and I will consider it; but as you put the proposition now, of course it wouldn't be true." He never showed me such a note if he prepared it.

Another instance, to show how this lawyer's statement of Beecher cannot be trusted, I find stated in these words: "I never resumed my intimacy with the family; but once or twice I went there soon after my reconciliation with Mr. Tilton, and at his request."

Is this averment true? I confess that I believed it substantially true at the time I prepared my published statement, supposing that Beecher was acting according to his distinct instruction to Mrs. Tilton in his letter of February 7, 1871, and in accordance with his promise to me to have no further communication with Mrs. Tilton except through myself. I extract as follows, the whole letter having been published:

In him [Moulton] we have a common ground. You and I may meet in him. The past is ended. But is there no future—no wiser, higher, holier future? May not this friend stand as a priest in the new sanctuary of reconciliation and mediate and bless you, Theodore, and my most unhappy self? Do not let my earnestness fail of its end. You believe in my judgment. I have put myself wholly and gladly in Moulton's hands, and there I must meet you.

This is sent with Theodore's consent, but he has not read it. Will you return it to me by his hands. I am very earnest in this wish for all our sakes, as such a letter ought not to be subjected to even a chance of miscarriage. Your unhappy friend,

H. W. BEECHER.

Could Beecher have written that sentence of me if, as his committee reports, forty days before I had extorted a paper from him with threats by a pistol, for which they say I ought to have been handed over to the police?

And therefore I put forth in my statement what, when I prepared it, I believed to be true. I said:

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 Beecher to write to Mrs. Tilton, and the following is his letter—

—which is the letter of February 7, 1871, from which the above extract is made. I had no intimation that he received any correspondence from Mrs. Tilton that did not go through my hands, and certainly that he made none to her, or visited her. But since the preparation of that statement there have come into my hands certain letters from him to Mrs. Tilton that now show me he was unfaithful to his promise to me, and that he kept up his intercourse clandestinely with her, in violation of his solemn promises, his plighted faith to the wronged husband, to his own imminent and deadly peril, without the knowledge of his (Beecher's) wife—for doing all which things there could have been but one incentive. It becomes necessary, therefore, on the question of veracity of his statement as to the renewal of his intimacy with Mrs. Tilton, that some of these letters should be compared.

In her letter, dated January 13, 1871, written to a female friend—which certainly will not be claimed to have been dictated by Tilton—Mrs. Tilton says:

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 * * * These slanders have been sown broadcast. I am quoted everywhere as the author of them. Coming in this way and form to Mr. Bowen, they caused his [Tilton's] immediate dismission from both the *Independent* and the *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!

I do not quote the whole letter, as it has been already published and may be referred to. The peculiarity of the language of this extract should be noted. We find Mrs. Tilton on the 30th of December sick in bed with what she states to have been a miscarriage a few days before of what promised to be a "love-babe, you know"—a very curious expression from a woman nearly forty years old and the mother of six children, to describe a child begotten in lawful wedlock; especially when, as Mrs. Tilton now asserts, she and her husband had been fiercely quarrelling for many months, and, Besie Turner testifies, even to blows. Within six weeks of her getting off her sick bed, arising from that confinement, where Beecher says she lay white as marble, with eyes closed as in a trance, with her hands on her bosom, palm to palm, like one in prayer, she writes the following invitation to Beecher, which I received from his hand:

WEDNESDAY.

My Dear Friend: Does your heart bound towards all as it used? So (Continued on page 10.)

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPT. 26, 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, in dually, 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.

AN IMPORTANT QUESTION.

Mr. James Redpath says, in the Boston Herald, that "a Spiritualist told me that the 'World of Spirits' was bound that the whole story (the Tilton-Beecher case) and all the stories should come out." It is believed that there are few Spiritualists in the country, either radicals or conservatives, who do not indorse that statement. Now comes the important question, to which we desire a candid answer from all friends of the cause—Was the President of the Association of American Spiritualists to blame for her share in the exposition of the falsehood, hypocrisy and crime that disgraces our age? We ask this, more especially, because all her charges have been sustained, with additions, by eminent parties but not of the ranks of Spiritualists. Our conservative friends may not know the fact, but it is easier to be a Spiritualist outside than inside the walls of a prison; it is easier to be a Spiritualist backed by the world's good-will, than one in which it recognizes an enemy to its evil doings; and also that it is far easier for a Spiritualist to be discreetly silent, than to be legally robbed, maltreated, scorned and hated for speaking the truth. As to whether what Victoria C. Woodhull stated in the Beecher-Tilton affair in the famous November number of the WEEKLY was the truth, that question is now prominently before the people of the country, and we are cheerfully willing to abide by their decision.

THE NEW RELIGION—UNIVERSAL JUSTICE.

No. I.

The progress of social evolution is going forward so rapidly that it will soon arrive where certain questions, which it involves, will have to be answered. The freedom of woman, which will be the first grand result gained, will bring with it the necessity of methods for her support when performing her divine mission of maternity; and also of that of her progeny. As the mother of humanity, woman looks to humanity for the recognition and respect to which this relation entitles her, and when mankind awakens really to know what immense responsibilities devolve upon, and how much it owes to her, it will not be slow to concede her rights; it will hasten to provide as its divinest offering, such conditions as will guarantee to her the possibility of perfecting her mission, by the production of a perfect physical race, upon which, only, can high moral and intellectual culture be reared.

The mission of maternity, of the motherhood of humanity, has never been duly appreciated or honored. True, its fruits have never been such as to entitle it to any considerable degree of excellence; but this is more to be attributed to the low order of enlightenment that has surrounded and really conducted the mission, than to woman as its subject. All the energies of the male portion of the race are bent in the direction of securing the means of individual happiness; and so intently do men strive after these, that they seem to forget, or at least to ignore, the fact, that if woman did not perform her part of the human economy, there would soon be no people for whom to strive for anything. The labor of woman, then, is antecedent and superior to that of man, and instead of being left to itself as a mere incident of life, as it now is, so universally, it should be considered of, and treated in, the manner which its precedence and importance demand.

Especially in a property sense have the natural rights of woman been ignored. While the intimate companion of man, the mother of his children, the minister to his physical comforts and demands, she has never been deemed worthy to be the equal partner in the results of their mutual toil. These results coming, as they have, and do, directly from man's physical or mental exertion, woman's part in the matter is neglected, and she left dependent upon man's bounty where she should, of right, have been his equal in ownership.

This feeling of dependence, which seems to be, in a sense, innate in woman, and which in another sense, is accepted as a natural duty by man, has, perhaps, a very natural origin. Like all other customs that have prevailed so generally as this dependence has, it has its source in a great and fundamental truth; the errors that have arisen in applying this truth being rather of the head than of the heart. The chief error, and the one from which woman suffers most, is, that her dependence has been placed upon the individual man with whom, for the time, she consorts. It is useless to attempt to ignore the fact that the mission of maternity brings with it the dependence of woman for support. While she is performing this mission, she is incapacitated to maintain her equality with man in the production of physical necessities and comforts; therefore, there must be a certain dependence, a certain natural and rightful dependence, to make good this inequality. This means that it is a part of man's life to labor for woman, physically, to support life, while she is laboring, maternally, for the production of life itself. It is really then no dependence, and it ought not to be called by that name; but it is a mutual arrangement, contracted by nature herself, first to insure the perpetuity of man; and, second, to insure his happiness and comfort.

The question will now naturally arise: How shall this mutual business of life and its maintenance be carried out, if women are to be set free from dependence upon the individual man, and still not be compelled to provide for herself as an individual? This is the question of all questions to which the present progress of social evolution is leading up. It not only lies at the foundation of human justice, as between men and women as different sexes; but also points the way to the solution of the same question between men as individuals. The great problem to be solved is: What is human justice? And humanity will never begin its final progressive development until it shall have solved it, and based its institutions upon the solution.

It is an easy matter to give the direct answer to all the phases of this question, and to indicate a realization of its application; but this will not satisfy the mind that has not wrought out the problem for itself; or, at least, so far progressed in its solution as to have caught glimpses of the final point to be reached, realized and seized upon, as the law for the organization of society. Hence we must take up phase after phase of social life, as it now is, and show wherein each is unjust either to itself or in its relation to other phases, and carry it forward into the new order, and still show how it must be situated there, so that it shall both give and receive justice.

We do not hesitate to affirm that humanity is rapidly approaching that period of its development in which it is to enter upon its true organization; where the songs of poets and the hopes of prophets are to be realized; where there shall be really a human family, at least begun, upon the earth. Heretofore the world has been peopled by various human families with interests all at war with each other, but never yet by even one real human family whose interests

were the world's and whose love was as broad as the earth and as deep as humanity. There never has been a time when men and women, universally, could be called brothers and sisters. The orders of society that have prevailed, have made every man to war in some way with every other man. There has been no such thing possible as mutual interests in anything. It has been individual competition in everything. The gain of wealth has been raised to the chief end and aim of life, and each individual has been compelled in carrying out this theory, to use every possible endeavor of which he was possessed, either by virtue of physical strength or mental capacity and culture, to gain an advantage over every other individual with whom he has had contact of any kind. So, instead of there having been peace, there has been nothing but warfare between nations, communities and individuals.

But all this has nearly culminated, and it will culminate when woman shall have risen in the divine right of her maternity and demanded sexual freedom and human justice for herself. This will be the point which will compel the consideration of the question as to what human justice really is, and necessitate speedy action regarding its demands. When woman shall step forth in the majesty of her power as the mother of humanity, and shall declare that she will bear no more children until her just and proper position shall have been assigned to her, then will the key-note of human redemption be struck, indeed. When she shall rise in the dignity of her unsullied womanhood and declare that until justice shall be done her in regard to her rightful share and enjoyment of the physical comforts of life she will not minister to the demands of the procreative instinct, she will compel man to consider his own past injustice and hasten him in the doing of his natural duty, and bring him finally to recognize that what he has heretofore demanded and received as a rightful recompense for the maintenance which has been so niggardly bestowed, can hereafter be received only as he shall merit it, and woman confer it.

To what more exalted position could woman attain than this? The old and proverbial, because old, answer to the demands for woman, has been, that she will forfeit her claims upon the gallantry of men if she attempt to become independent. Let those who have been accustomed to use this argument consider for once with how much more reverence they will have to regard woman when she shall be elevated to her rightful position as queen in the domain of sex. Let them ask themselves what they may expect from woman then, if they do not render her the homage, the allegiance, the love and respect to which it is so easy now to refer as the natural results of her dependent and enslaved condition. Man respect woman and at the same time hold her in sexual bondage! Impossible. He only despises her because she is weak enough to remain there. Man respects the independent woman; his peer, his equal; respects her who will not bow to gain his favors; who will not barter her favors for his gold; who will not be bought or sold; and it is high time that women awaken to a realization of this fact.

Society has never been organized; it has merely existed. Its condition is properly analogous to that of an unorganized army. It is a mob and nothing else. The efficiency of a mass of men to be operated in warfare, depends wholly upon the perfection of its organization; but not more so than does that of society, to gain its ends and chiefest aims, upon the perfectness of its organization. Nor is the family as now constituted, or as it can ever be constituted, the unit of society. Society is not a mass of families, but a mass of individuals. It requires only the simplest analysis to show this. If the family is the unit of society the individual is not and cannot be a unit in society, and consequently those individuals who have no families are not units of society and do not constitute any part of it. This is an absurdity so apparent that none can entertain it who do not hold to the family organization so strongly as to abjure reason.

The organization of society must then begin with the individual, and every individual—man, woman and child—must be a unit of and occupy his or her proper position in the organization. In considering how human justice is to be secured to each individual in an organized society, it should first be determined what relations the individuals sustain to each other, since without this as a guide nothing could be constructed that would secure it. We have hinted merely as to what are the rights of women as a sex, and have said that to the collective man belongs the right no less than the duty of provision for her periods of maternal labor. But we would not have it inferred from this that woman is to be assigned no productive industrial position in the new order of society.

The needs of society as a whole demand certain amounts of certain orders of labor; and when these needs are really understood and the labor of society adjusted to provide for them, it will be found that so much as woman's nature fits her for, and no more, will fall to her to perform; and those labors that man is fitted by his nature to accomplish will fall to him to perform. Exercise is a necessity of health; and when the duties of industry are properly distributed; when each and every individual shall perform his or her appropriate portion, that portion will be performed as a pleasure instead of as a task. In a properly organized society all labor will be for pleasure and recreation, and will be performed by attraction and not by compulsion as it is mostly at present.

This result may be easily inferred when it is remembered

that, if every living individual should labor two hours per day, there would be the same aggregate production that there is now, when those who perform the work labor from eight to eighteen hours per day. And still more pointedly, when it is realized how differently the labors of a society will be conducted when all are engaged to attain the same end, which each individual now desires for himself. Vast combinations will be formed and labor-saving machinery will be used to its utmost capacity, and in various directions, which have not yet entered into human conception. At the same time, there will be vast economies of consumption instituted. The extravagances and waste of isolated households will be replaced by immense associations, where all the comforts and luxuries of life which are now known to the few will be provided for all; and where the amusements and intellectual enjoyments which are now only to be obtained by a small minority of the people will be at the command of everybody.

By such an order wealth will be held to mean something more vital and necessary than mere material production. Indeed, wealth *per se* will be only a means to a much greater and more worthy end. Never as yet has society permitted the development of its intellectual, social and moral genius. In their evolution and training will the future society find its greatest happiness, and the strife for pecuniary gain which now separates society into warring individuals, will be converted into a happy emulation for moral and intellectual position; not for the sake of the position but for the good which the position will permit of being done. In such a social order it will be possible for men and women to be brothers and sisters, and to love each other as such, where now the very picture is a lie and its practice an impossibility. That humanity may enter upon such a glorious career it is only necessary to answer for itself the oft repeated question: What is human justice? And when answered to have the courage, nay, the manhood, to reduce its teachings to a practical movement in which self-interest will be best conserved, where the interests of the whole are promoted by the efforts of each individual.

STIRPICULTURE.

There is no grander subject that can come before the Convention of American Spiritualists now in session at Boston, than that which treats of the physical improvement of mankind. It is the basal requirement that must be attended to before human beings can be expected to assume higher intellectual or moral positions than those they now occupy. It is also a subject over which we are in power, and on which we can readily legislate if we ordain so to do, and that it is our highest duty, as well wishers of our race, so to ordain and legislate, no true Spiritualist can either deny or doubt.

It is impossible to overestimate the value of the changes that may be effected for the good of our race by our operating to such end in concert with the known laws of nature. This assertion is really not stronger than is warranted. Look at the improvements man has made and is making in the vegetable world; in that of flowers; of fruits; and also in that of the lower orders of the animal creation. Note the changes—the advances that are constantly being made by careful breeding—in dogs, sheep, cattle and horses. There is only one step further that can be made in that direction, but it is the most important of all. It is the improvement of the human stock, the physical advancement of mankind.

Can it be effected by ourselves? That is the grand question, and we answer it fearlessly in the affirmative. How? By carefully examining the laws of nature and working with them as we have done in regard to the instances above given. The only difference being that, while in the latter case we can act arbitrarily, in the former we cannot. We are in power over brutes, but we are not in power over human beings. Individual or personal sovereignty in man or woman ought never to be infringed upon, it should never be surrendered, and we oppose marriage, as now constituted, because it overrides this grand cardinal right. But, if we cannot control the will, how can our purposes be effected? We answer, by education. We can perform, by means of the individual, and by operating through the instructed will of the individual, male or female, that which could not and ought not to be otherwise performed. For these reasons we demand that the subject of "unemasculated physiology" shall have its proper attention in our schools.

Although we are but on the primary form ourselves, we have learned enough of what may be termed "sexology," to assert that over affectional matters woman is naturally in power, and in spite of a false theology which says, "wives submit yourselves to your husbands," we claim that, as a fundamental necessity, before we can hope for an improved race of human beings, her rightful power must be admitted. Were our people really monogamic it would be readily recognized. But they are not. All must admit that the feminine half of the human unit is certainly more monogamic than the masculine. But the male is in power, and he is naturally promiscuous. The best hope of reversing the present sexual disorders that afflict mankind, consists in the annihilation of all man-made laws upon the subject of sexual unions, whether ecclesiastical or civil. Then, if the monogamic system is the best for our race, it will naturally be established by woman.

Judaism and Christianity have touched upon the subject of pre-natal conditions, in the third commandment, in order

to "curse," but Spiritualism has examined the same subject in order to "bless" mankind. To that end it demands the collective care of the State or nation, cheerfully rendered, for all child-bearing and nursing women who may need its services. Under present circumstances in our cities, we can hardly hope for a progeny either morally or physically healthy. The surroundings of women in innumerable instances forbid it. Every surgeon knows that the biblical doctrine we have already quoted is a bad instruction in such cases. We must, as a civilized people, recognize the fact that a child-bearing woman is doing a higher duty to the State than any man can perform, and well merits all the collective care that can be bestowed on her. Man attends to inferior animals in such conditions; their young are valuable; it is monstrous to suppose that woman alone and her progeny may be neglected, and that an addition to the human stock of the nation is not worthy of the highest attention and care of the public.

What we have demanded for women in the foregoing paragraph we demand also for children. Were we even a Christian nation we should have no need to do so. The great Nazarene did not say "suffer" *my own* "little children to come unto me;" he had none; he therefore gave an unlimited command. The smug Pharisees of our churches can look upon the misery of children in our cities, and mentally contrasting their condition with those in their own homes, comfort themselves with the idea of their own paternal excellencies; but, to the true Spiritualist, all these little forlorn waifs are his family, their joys are his joys, and their misery his disgrace. This ought to be the case with the Christian also, but it is not. He does not say "suffer little children to come unto me," or he would at least keep one basket open for the reception of forlorn infants in the great city of New York.

The proper method of rearing children is also a subject that will bear examination. Those who have seen the pouponnat or nursery, at M. Godin's palace at Guise, are loud in its praises. There is no more forlorn object than an isolated child, and it is questionable whether children (privately instructed) in an isolated family are much better off. We hold that the Nazarene was the iconoclast of the "family arrangement," so much lauded by his self-interested followers. But we claim also, that his followers, who are peculiarly able, usually break it up where they can by sending their children to boarding school ten months in the year, and that they are right in so doing. Here we come upon another evil. The old monkish system of the division of the sexes in private schools, which is contrary both to Christianity and nature. If "it is not good for man to be alone" it is not good for boys to be alone either. Sexual isolation is always reprehensible, whether in a school or in a club-house; it is the prolific parent of crime. In childhood and early youth the commingling of the sexes does not stimulate but represses precocity; it does not encourage but prevents sexual aberrations. Up to a certain age there is a natural repulsion between boys and girls that is highly beneficial for both; they act as natural checks upon each other's evils and stimulants of each other's excellencies. If at present many of our private boys' schools, like our legislative halls, are hot-beds of vice and lewdness, it is because, in both cases, but one-half of the unit is in them represented.

But, after all, the foundation of all improvement in our race must be looked for in the establishment of social and sexual freedom. That alone can purge the world of the evils that are now decimating it. Man has tried his hand at enforcing sexual purity by law long enough, and the consequences of his efforts are fraud, hypocrisy, lying, fetus, child and mother murders. When all edicts are abrogated which interfere with the personal rights of woman, and when she is acknowledged as the rightful queen in the domain of the affections, things will be different. Whether, under her ruling, monogamy, polygamy, polyandry or promiscuity will prevail, it is not for us to say, but we have faith that woman will favor the first of these systems. Anyway, we are bold to believe that, whichever she ordains will be natural and not artificial, and will be best for mankind.

OUTWORN SYSTEMS.

All the labor movements now convulsing the civilized world have but one object; it is to secure to all producers their just share in (or rightful exchange for) the proceeds of their toils. It is manifest that they do not now obtain it, if they did the workers would ride and the speculators and money-manipulators would go on foot. But this simple and honest reform cannot be effected without a great revolution. No amelioration of the condition of the laborers (that is of the masses) of mankind can be looked for under our present law, land and money systems. Our very complicated law system to which justice is a stranger, has grown (chiefly during the past three centuries), out of our money system. That this is correct may be seen in the definition of the word "Interest" in the Encyclopedia Britannica. We are told there that it was first permitted by Christians in Italy, about the year 1500. When the Jews, of Lombardy, publicly loaned money, such was the moral condition of society that "they loaned it on the written word of the borrower," but, the article further states—"as there is in the loaning and borrowing of money a tendency to demoralize and derange society—mortgages were soon demanded, and litigation and

extortion followed in their train." Hence the law became complicated, and with every complication less beneficial and much more burdensome to the people. Our money system is based on the impious wrong, which has been protested against by the workers both of Europe and the United States, which permits a money value to be placed on the tillable land, and thus locks up the treasures of the earth from honest competition. If to these we add the system of distribution, which authorizes men to prey on their neighbors, and of which John Ruskin says,

"All rates of interest or modes of profit on capital which render possible the rapid accumulation of fortunes, are simply forms of taxation, by individuals, on labor, purchase, or transport; and are highly detrimental to the national interests, being, indeed, no means of national gain, but only the abstraction of small gains from many to prove the large gain of one,"

—we shall behold the true causes of the sad condition of the working classes here and elsewhere.

John Bright and the late lamented Richard Cobden, finding all hope of further reform stopped by the land system of Great Britain, were forced to face the proudest aristocracy on the globe, and, in spite of laws of entail, to declare to it that—"the land must be divided and sold in small quantities." As to the money system, do not the gambling dens of the money changers, and their howling orgies, stink to the nostrils of the people? In law have we not arrived at that pass when the wit of an advocate is more potent than right? And is not the motto of the distributor—"buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest"—a plain proof that our method for the exchange of commodities is based on fraud and oppression?

If these systems are great evils in despotisms, they are far greater evils in a republic. Our democratic form of government cannot endure long the classifications they generate. The height of an aristocracy of wealth or birth bears an exact proportion to the depth of human misery out of which it grows, and on which it exists. Riches are not now gained by superior labor, but extracted by superior craft. The community never obtains an equivalent for large accumulations. Probably the richest draper in New York has not added the value of a quarter of a yard of cloth to the wealth of the nation. He is merely a distributor of that article. But to distribute wealth is to do something comparatively useful. Many obtain vast fortunes whose lives are positively pernicious. Speculators in flesh and grain who amass money by creating artificial famines, and money and stock gamblers, who live by robbing their neighbors—legally. These latter are the Dick Turpins of modern society. Yet we do not attack individuals. Men of great wealth are not the enemies of the workers, it is the artificial systems, by which such are created, that are the deadly foes of the toilers. No laborer, however ill-rewarded be his toil, has a right to denounce a man as an oppressor or a moneyed aristocrat, unless he himself would refuse to accept a fortune. He has, however, a right to condemn the systems that rob him to generate wastefulness and crime. It is well for us to carefully attend to the above distinctions, in fighting the great labor battle, and to remember that we are working for the general good of all human beings, whether they be rich, or whether they be poor.

FRIGHTENING CHILDREN.

This may seem to be a very simple subject to descant upon. It is so; but while nine out of ten parents resort at times to establish their authority on the principle of fear; while our children themselves retail such evil instructions among one another; while a similar error is propagated in the government of many of our schools; and while terror is the base of many of our laws themselves, it is one surely needing discussion in the columns of the WEEKLY, and we therefore do not think it necessary to apologize to our readers for introducing the following article to their notice from the *Home Visitor* of Burlington, Vermont:

Nothing can be worse for a child than to frighten it. The effect of the scare it is slow to recover from; it remains sometimes until maturity, as is shown by many instances of morbid sensitiveness and excessive nervousness.

Not unfrequently fear is employed as a means of discipline. Children are controlled by being made to believe that something terrible will happen to them; are punished by being shut up in dark rooms, or by being put in places they stand in dread of. No one, without vivid memory of his own childhood, can comprehend how entirely cruel such things are. We have often heard grown persons tell of the suffering they have endured, as children, under like circumstances, and recount the irreparable injury which they are sure they then received. No parent, no nurse, capable of alarming the young, is fitted for her position. Children, as near as possible, should be trained not to know the sense of fear, which, above everything else, is to be feared, in their education both early and late.

The above is one phase of the subject, but there is another which is and ought to be even more important to all who call themselves Spiritualists. Bad as bodily fear is, and deplorable as are its effects, they are hardly comparable either in the one case or the other to that mental slavery which is being instilled into the minds of the young by the various priesthoods of the day. True, the latter is part and parcel of the same system as the former, but it is far more pernicious. We all know that the "fear of the ferule and the gallows" are the legitimate progeny of the "fear of death and of hell," and until such damnable stimuli are abrogated from among us, we can hardly hope for a race of human beings fit for true liberty.

MOULTON'S VINDICATION.

(Continued from page 7.)

does mine. *I am myself again* [sic.] 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.

There can be but one meaning in these phrases under such circumstances. "*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," etc. "*Of course, I should like to share with you my joy*."

I assume it will not be claimed that Tilton extorted from his wife this letter. Was this so significant hint to come "when she was all right" answered? The reply to that question will be found in two notes to Elizabeth from Beecher, the shorter one inclosed within the other. The first is as follows, marked "N":

BEECHER TO MRS. TILTON.

The blessing of God rest upon you. Every spark of light and warmth in your own house will be a star and a sun in my dwelling. Your note broke like spring [sic.] upon winter, and gave me an inward rebound, toward life. No one can ever know—none but God—through what a dreary wilderness I have wandered! There was Mt. Sinai, there was the barren sand, there was the alternation of hope and despair that marked the pilgrimage of old. If only it might lead to the Promised Land!—or, like Moses, shall I die on the border! Your hope and courage are like medicine. Should God inspire you to restore and rebuild at home, and while doing it to cheer and sustain outside of it another who sorely needs help in heart and spirit, it will prove a life so noble as few are able to live! and, in another world, the emancipated soul may utter thanks.

If it would be of comfort to you, now and then, to send me a letter of true inwardness [sic.]—the outcome of your inner life—it would be safe, for I am now at home here with my sister; and it is permitted to you [sic] and will be an exceeding refreshment to me, for your heart experiences are often like bread from heaven to the hungry. God has enriched your moral nature. May not others partake?

This is in Beecher's handwriting, but without direction or signature, but the note inclosed in pencil tells us the direction of it, as the words, "Your note broke like spring upon winter," tells also to what note it was in reply to, because that quotes the words of Mrs. Tilton, "Spring has come," asking him to "share her joy," she being "all right" now. The inclosure is on a slip of paper, marked O (but which I do not produce here, reserving it for presentation before another tribunal).

Was there ever a plainer case of renewal of intimacy, to say the least, than this? Mark, also, amid the prayers to God contained in the longer note Beecher's suggestion that Elizabeth can write him now "*with safety*," because *he is living alone with his sister—i. e., his wife is away!*

If this stood alone it would be all-sufficient to prove that he speaks falsely who says that Beecher never visited Mrs. Tilton except at her husband's request after the settlement, and fill my purpose, but I do not choose to leave it in its solitude as a single act, and therefore I reproduce from my statement the letter from Mrs. Tilton to Beecher, which bears date May 3, 1871:

Mr. Beecher—My future, either for life or death, would be happier could I but feel that you forgave me 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 knew. But now I ask forgiveness.

Perhaps Tilton extorted this letter, too, from his wife.

The italics are those of the writer. Will Beecher, in his first sermon after his vacation, please explain what sort of a spiritual "weapon" "*nest-hiding*" is, with which "a poor dear child of a woman" "keeps all suffering from her pastor," so as to leave him "forever ignorant of it," unless, indeed, "*nest-hiding*" is a carnal weapon, for in that case no explanation is needed. There are indications in this note that perhaps Beecher did not keep his appointment, and may have been the reason for its writing.

Whether this note was answered I do not now produce documentary evidence to show, nor is it necessary upon the question whether Beecher renewed his intimacy with her after the settlement, because I produce another note of January 20, 1872, undirected, but inclosed in an envelope addressed "Mrs. Elizabeth Tilton, Livingston street, Brooklyn," bearing the postmark of the same date. It is marked "P":

BEECHER TO MRS. TILTON.

20 January, 1872.

Now may the God of Peace that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is well pleasing in his sight through Jesus Christ.

This is my prayer day and night. This world ceases to hold me as it did. I live in the thought and hope of the coming immortality, and seem to myself most of the time to be standing on the edge of the other life, wondering whether I may not at any hour hear the call, "Come up hither."

I shall be in New Haven next week to begin my course of lectures to the theological classes, or preaching. My wife takes boat for Havana and Florida on Thursday.

I called on Monday, but you were out.

I hope you are growing stronger and happier. May the dear Lord and Saviour abide with you.

Very truly yours,

H. W. BEECHER.

I again call attention to the mixture of prayer and business in this note by the following words: "My wife takes boat for Havana and Florida on Thursday. I called on Monday, but found you were out."

But this is not the only note which establishes renewed intimacy. I produce another note, undirected and unsigned, but inclosed in an envelope postmarked the same day, directed "Elizabeth Tilton, care of Theodore Tilton, Esq., Brooklyn." This is the only one addressed to his care, and its contents are such that a husband might read as coming from a pastor to his parishioner, except that the husband was using the intimacy of the pastor with his wife for the pur-

pose of blackmailing him. But why leave it unsigned? It is here inserted, marked "Q":

BEECHER TO MRS. TILTON.

MAY 6, '72.

My Dear Friend—I was glad to see you at church yesterday. It is always a great comfort to me when you are, and a token of God's favor. I go to-night to Norwich, N. Y., where my grand-daughter, six years old, is dying, and her mother, my Hattie, awaiting her own confinement. I seem to live amidst funerals. The air is heavy much of the time with the odor of the grave.

I am again at work on the "Life," making haste while the day lasts—"the night cometh when no man can work."

I pray for you, that God would dwell in you by that spirit of divine love by which we are cleansed from anger, impatience and all self-assertion, and kept in the sweetness of that peace which passes all understanding. That it may please God to lift you up out of all trouble, and to keep you under the shadow of His wings, is my prayer for you. By His spirit animosity may be utterly slain and your better self may be clothed with the invincible spirit of a love which, springing from God and abiding in Him, will carry with it His victory.

And these letters, written, too, by a Christian minister to a woman whom he now characterizes in his statement thus: "I am in that kind of divided consciousness that I was in respect to Elizabeth, that she was a saint and chief of sinners." He knew all of her then that he does now, unless indeed he does know *more* now, and yet he wants "refreshment" from her "true inwardness."

I need not prolong this statement by the production of documents to show that the intimacy between Beecher and Mrs. Tilton did not cease after January 1, 1871, when he had solemnly settled the past injury with the husband and promised me that it should cease, and when he now states it did cease, for all these letters are subsequent to his settlement with Tilton, and some of them more than a year after.

I call attention to the fact that I have drawn no inferences as to the effect of these letters. I have only compared them, shown the relations of their several parts to their surroundings, except that I do insist that they show a renewal of intimacy with his family not under the supervision of either Tilton or myself, which is the point at issue between Beecher and me in this regard. I have avoided stating in terms the effect upon my mind, because in my former statement, having given only the results of conversations, I have been criticised; and disbelief of the facts I stated has been attempted because I did not state the precise words and manner of the admissions of the fact of sexual intercourse with Mrs. Tilton by Beecher. It has been said that, being a "man of the world," I drew inferences from his pure and unguarded expressions which they did not authorize, and therefore as to these letters I have left the inferences to be drawn by those who read them in the light which dates and facts now throw upon them.

But to answer this criticism in another direction, and to show the impossibility that I could be mistaken, not seeking to shelter myself under any supposed misunderstanding; but taking all the burden of veracity between Beecher, Tilton and myself, I now proceed to give such portions as are necessary of some few of the conversations in which Beecher made confession of adultery:

I have before stated that the first confession was made on the night I went for the "retraction" of Mrs. Tilton; that I there told him: "Mr. Beecher, you have had criminal intercourse with Mrs. Tilton, and you have done great injury to Tilton otherwise;" and I say further in my published statement: "that he confessed and denied not, but confessed." As he did not deny this charge, so explicitly made by me, whatever inferences I may have made from his words at other times, he certainly could not have mistaken mine at this time. When speaking of the relations of a man and a woman, "criminal intercourse" has but one "legal or literary meaning," even to a clergyman.

It, however, seems necessary that I should go still further, which I do, and I say that on that evening he confessed to me his relations with Mrs. Tilton in language so vivid that I could not possibly forget or mistake it. He said, "My acts of intercourse with that woman were as natural and sincere an expression of my love for her as the words of endearment which I addressed to her. There seemed to be nothing in what we did together that I could not justify to myself on the ground of our love for each other, and I think God will not blame me for my acts with her. I know that at present it would be utterly impossible for me to justify myself before man." This is impressed upon my mind because it was the first enunciation of a justification of the doctrines of free love that I had ever heard.

Not only on the occasion of handing back Mrs. Tilton's "retraction," and when giving me the letter of contrition of January 1, 1871, did he particularize with regard to the feelings that influenced him to do as he did with Mrs. Tilton, but in many of the conversations I held with him he strongly adverted to the absorbing love which he felt for the woman, and to the joys of his intercourse with her, which he always justified because of that love. Indeed, on one occasion when speaking of it he said so pure did the intercourse seem to him that the little red lounge on which they had been together seemed to him "almost a sacred thing."

If my testimony is to avail anything in this matter, I here commit it now fully to the statement heretofore made by me, which I then softened by omitting details, the language of which I thought it best for public morality should be suppressed. And I call attention to the fact made in my previous statement that, in the presence of myself and another witness, whom I still feel reluctant to bring forward—of course not Mr. Tilton—both Mrs. Tilton and Mr. Beecher admitted in language not to be mistaken that a continued sexual intimacy had existed between them, and asked advice as to the course to be taken because of it.

I trust I shall be pardoned for giving an instance or two out of the many that I might cite of the inconsistency of Mr. Beecher with himself. The theory of his statement is that Mrs. Tilton had confessed to her husband in the first place only his (Beecher's) "excessive love for her," and he maintains stoutly that in that confession there was nothing more confessed than that he had made "improper advances" to her. But again, he says the document was one "incriminat-

ing" him. Lastly, he gives an account of his interview with Mrs. Tilton when he got the retraction. This he describes in the following words:

I added that he (Tilton) said that I had made improper suggestions to her, and that she admitted this fact to him last July. I said: "Elizabeth, have you made such statements to him?" She made no answer. I repeated the question. Tears ran down her cheeks, and she very slightly bowed her head in acquiescence. I said: "You cannot mean that you have stated all that he has charged?" She opened her eyes and began in a slow and feeble way to explain how sick she had been, how wearied out with importunity; that he had confessed his own alien loves, and said that he could not bear to think that she was better than he; that she might win him to reformation if she would confess that she had loved me more than him, and that they would repent and go on with future concord.

The point between us is this: I averred in my statement that the document which Beecher saw as well as myself, was her confession that he had committed adultery with the wife. Which was it? A confession only of excessive love and improper advances on his part, or, as he describes it, an "incriminating" confession? Without stopping to advert to the fact that Mrs. Tilton in her confession, which went to Dr. Storrs, says that he asked her to be a wife to him, with all that that implies, and the singular fact appears that she does not therein say she said no to him, need I advert upon the likelihood of her making a negative with her great love for him if he took the initiative? Let us now judge Mr. Beecher by his own statement. He went to Mrs. Tilton and asked her if she had confessed all that her husband had charged, which he said were "improper advances." She bowed her head in acquiescence. He said: "How could you do that?" She now gives the reason and says Tilton had confessed his own *alien loves*, and said that he could not bear to think that she was better than he, and that "she might win him if she confessed she loved me more than him, and they would repent and go on in future concord."

Assuming this report of the conversation to be true, and the reason given by Mrs. Tilton for her confession, I am led to ask how would it tend to show that the husband, who had confessed his adultery to his wife, had a wife as bad as he was because she confessed to him that she had been tempted by her pastor and friend, and refused his solicitations, under circumstances of the greatest possible temptation? It can only be reconciled upon the theory that Tilton's confession of "alien loves" also included a declaration that he had not sinned in act with them. This supposition, however, both Beecher and Elizabeth reject with scorn. Both declare the same equivocal words as hers as to Tilton mean adultery only. May not, then, her "love" with Beecher, so "excessive," mean the same thing? If that theory as to themselves is true, would not such a confession to Tilton by his wife, instead of convincing him that she was as bad as he was as an adulterer, tend to show to him that she was the best of all women, and withstood temptation better than her grandmother Eve? Why confess her own entire worthiness in order to convince her husband of her unworthiness? On the contrary, does not this language plainly show that her confession was precisely what I have declared it was in the written confession, and what it was in fact?

Let me give a single other instance. When called upon in his cross-examination to explain his phrases in the letter of June 3, 1872: "I have determined to make no more resistance. Theodore's temperament is such that the future, even if temporarily earned, would be absolutely worthless, filled with abrupt changes and rendering me liable at any hour or day to be obliged to stultify all the devices by which we saved ourselves"—he says:

Devices did not refer to me, but to him (Moulton)—his whole style of acting.

Q. Theodore said he was born for war, and Moulton probably born for diplomacy? A. Yes.

By Mr. Cleveland—Were the plan and method by which from time to time these things were managed by your suggestions or by Mr. Moulton? A. I made suggestions from time to time, generally without any effect, and the essential course of affairs, so far as it has not been forced upon us from outside influences, has been of his (Moulton's) procuring.

Again he answers to another question as follows:

Q. The "devices"—did that refer to all the places and arrangements and steps that had been taken? A. It referred to this: If I had been left to manage this matter simply myself, I should have said "yes" or "no." That would have been the whole of it, but instead of that the matter went into Moulton's hands, and Moulton is a man that loves intrigue in such a way that, as Lady Montague said of somebody, "he would not carve a cabbage unless he could steal on it from behind and do it by a device."

Let us see if this is true. I certainly did not manage the "device" of getting the retraction from Mrs. Tilton of December 30, 1870. I did not manage the "device" of the reconciliation with Bowen in 1870. I did not manage the "device" of the tripartite covenant. I did not suggest his proposed letter to Claflin, and of his sending me to him to ascertain whether he had learned the "very bottom facts." I did not suggest the "device" of putting the card in the Brooklyn Eagle denying the facts—I only made it more intelligible. I did not suggest the "device" of attempting to stop the mouth of Mrs. Hooker, for I could know nothing about it until Beecher came to me with it.

I did not suggest the "device" of his proposed card to Tilton by which he should repudiate the Woodhull statement. I did not manage or suggest the "devices" of the two letters of February 7, 1871, that I should be made a priest at the altar of reconciliation, because it appears from the letters themselves I was then on a sick-bed. I did not suggest the "device" as to his letters to Mrs. Woodhull, for he wrote them and then sent them to me for my approval. I did not suggest the "devices" of silence, or of writing to Shearman to send letters of explanation to Mr. Tilton, nor the letter to Mr. Cleveland, of which he sent me a copy; nor of sending Cleveland with his horse and buggy to hunt Carpenter, in order to shut up his mouth, lest his statement should appear "to have come from headquarters," as Beecher wrote me he had done it. Neither did I manage the "device," since the publication of the Bacon letter, of the proposed statement for Tilton to make to the committee in reply to the one which he (Beecher) was to make.

These all, as appear from the letters and documents themselves, are the emanations of Mr. Beecher's own diplomacy to cover up the fact that he had given bad advice to the wife of his friend upon a misstatement of the truth as to a domestic difference. Is Mr. Beecher to be believed when he states all these were my "devices;" or rather, was not his state of mind better described by himself in his cross-examination where he is asked to explain—what indeed is unexplainable on any other theory than the truth of his guilt—his letter of February 7, 1871. I quote:

Q. In your letter of the same date to Mr. Moulton this occurs: "Would to God, who orders all hearts, and by his kind mediation, Theodore, Elizabeth and I could be made friends again. Theodore will have the hardest task in such a case." Precisely what did you mean? Why that last sentence? A. It is all a muddle to me, as I don't recall the precise working of my mind.

It is, indeed, true that his mind is all "a muddle" in undertaking to carry through the explanation made by his lawyers. Yet even this poor excuse, that "he cannot recall the workings of his mind," he does not leave to himself, because in his written statement he says: "I labor under great disadvantages in making a statement. My memory of states of mind is clear and tenacious, better than memory of dates and details;" and yet, in his cross-examination he utterly breaks down upon "the state of his mind" and declares it "all a muddle."

But it is not my purpose, nor will it be profitable, to push the analysis of this statement of Mr. Beecher's lawyers further. From these specimens of its inconsistencies, and from these contradictions of the facts, I shall leave the truth of our respective statements to be judged of by all good men who take an interest in them.

I have here at first given what I am sorry to say is a prolix but faithful narrative of every event and act in which I took part, with the documents and papers, occurring since the inception of the Bacon letter. And I ask the judgment of every candid mind upon the question of veracity first herein stated, whether the statement of Henry Ward Beecher before the committee—that "when that Bacon letter was published, and Mr. Moulton, on my visiting him in reference to it, proposed no counter-operation—no documents, no help—I was staggered, and when Tilton subsequently published his statement, after he came to this committee, when that came out I never heard a word from Moulton; he never sent for me, nor visited me, nor did a thing; I waited for him to say or do something"—can be true in general or in either particular.

His averment covers the whole period from before the 21st of June to the hour he made his statement. Does he not know that he himself placed in my hands his proposition in his own handwriting as to what Tilton should say in reply to his statement before the committee, written more than three weeks after the publication of the Bacon letter? Does he not know he visited my house in reference to my own statement, to be made before his committee, when he came according to his letter of appointment of July 13. Does he not know that I wrote out for him my view of the words by which he could shield himself from the consequences of that Bacon letter, to be used in his pulpit, which he copied out to show to his friends? Does he not remember when he put his arms around my neck, during that consultation of the 5th of July, fourteen days after the Bacon letter, and in the presence of my business partner spoke of me as the "best friend that God ever raised up to a man?" In view of these facts thus vouched, how can he stand before the community otherwise than as a convicted falsifier and slanderer of "his only and best friend," who was loyally doing all he could to save him day by day?

From this bitter issue there is in my own mind for Beecher but one escape, to which I gladly turn—that these statements are put into his mouth by his lawyers and advisers, and are not his own; and while that may well protect him from the charge of ungrateful, wicked lying, at the same moment it disposes of his statement to the committee as evidence in this controversy not being the truth told by himself or another, but the special plea of his counsel.

Whatever may have been my own mistakes in acting for him; whatever may have been the faults and foolishness of my advice in his behalf, to save him in the years of his deadly peril, thank God they brought him into no such terrible dilemma as this, by which his character as a man of truth and Christian piety is forever gone or his pretended statement ceases to be evidence in his own behalf!

I have gone through all these facts with another purpose also, and that is that I may in some degree reinstate myself with the public from the charge of treachery and broken faith to Mr. Beecher, which, if true, ought to render any word I might say in my own behalf as to any other charge useless.

If I have not thereby succeeded in substantiating my truthfulness as a witness, my purity of motive and the loyalty of my conduct toward Beecher—always acknowledging everything of unwisdom or want of judgment in my actions that may justly be alleged against me—all that I may say further in regard to the charges of blackmail so liberally visited upon me by Mr. Beecher may as well remain unsaid.

As to the charge of blackmailing upon Rev. Mr. Beecher, I premise by saying that whatever money transactions were had with him in this regard were had through myself alone; and therefore if blackmail was levied upon Mr. Beecher, as he avers, it was done by my procurement and consent, and for which I am alone blamable, as I confirm his own statement that Tilton never spoke to him on the subject of money. Beecher's account of the blackmailing is substantially as follows, being abbreviated from various parts of his statement and cross-examination:

Money has been obtained from me in the course of these affairs in considerable sums, but I did not at first look upon the suggestions that I should contribute to Mr. Tilton's pecuniary wants as savoring of blackmail. This did not occur to me until I had paid perhaps \$2,000. Afterward I contributed at one time \$5,000. After the money had been paid over in five \$1,000 bills—to raise which I mortgaged the house I live in—I felt very much dissatisfied with myself about it.

Again he gives this account of the \$7,000 in his cross-examination—all the money that he says he ever paid:

Q. By Mr. Cleveland—In your statement you have alluded to one payment of \$5,000. Have you furnished any other money to those parties? A. I have furnished at least \$2,000 besides the \$5,000.

Q. To whom did you pay that money? A. To Mr. Moulton.

Q. In various sums? A. In various sums, partly in cash and partly in checks.

Q. Have you any of those checks? A. I have several; I don't remember how many.

Q. Where are they? A. I have some of them here: one of June 23, 1871, drawn on the Mechanics' Bank to the order of Frank Moulton, and indorsed in his handwriting; and one of November 10, 1871, payable to the order of Frank Moulton and indorsed in his handwriting; and of May 29, 1872, to the order of Frank D. Moulton, and also indorsed in his handwriting. Each of these that are marked for deposit across the face have been paid.

Q. As nearly as you can recollect, how much money went into the hands of Mr. Moulton? A. I should say I have paid \$7,000.

Q. To what use did you suppose that money was to be appropriated? A. I supposed that it was to be appropriated to extricate Mr. Tilton from his difficulties in some way.

Q. You did not stop to inquire how or why? A. Moulton sometimes sent me a note saying, "I wish you would send me your check for so much."

Q. Did you usually respond to the demands of Mr. Moulton for money during those months? A. I always did.

Q. Under what circumstances did you come to pay the \$5,000 in one sum? A. Because it was represented to me that the whole difficulty could be now settled by that amount of money, which would put the affairs of the *Golden Age* on a secure footing; that they would be able to go right on, and that with the going on of them the safety of Tilton would be assured, and that would be the settlement of the whole thing. It was to save Tilton pecuniarily.

It will be observed that in this account of the \$7,000—all that he claims he ever paid—Mr. Beecher does not allege that the thought of blackmailing was in his mind until after he had paid the \$2,000, or that Tilton had ever asked him for any money. It will also be observed that he produces certain checks to the committee in his cross-examination, but does not give the several amounts of those checks but does the dates. But being in the position of being required to tell the whole truth, he entirely conceals the fact that a large portion of the \$2,000 was paid for the education and support of the girl Bessie Turner, now his swift witness before the committee, contradicting two written statements which have been published, made by her relative to the same facts, wherein she designates what she tells before the committee as a "wicked lie." See her letter:

BESSIE TURNER TO ELIZABETH TILTON.

JANUARY 12.

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

BESSIE.

She now says that she was carried "sleeping," not "screaming." For a young woman of twenty she slept reasonably soundly, as she did not wake up till after she was in his bed!

Her character for truth and virtue has been by Beecher's advisers thus forever ruined to save him, because, as the story was first told, no young girl was ever "lifted from her bed and carried screaming to his own" by a ruthless ravisher and remained pure, especially as the witness nowhere suggests that he was interfered with.

The checks which he produced before the committee, which are not published, will be seen, I have no doubt, to have been payments on her account, as their dates show them to be six months apart, as her half-yearly bills became due, with perhaps a single exception. Let me say to Mr. Beecher that if he will apply to the principal of the Steubenville (O.) schools he can find out just how much he has paid there, and Mrs. Tilton can tell him what became of the rest of the supposed two thousand dollars. All this matter of the support of this girl was arranged by Mrs. Tilton and Beecher, Tilton doing nothing about it, and a portion of the money was paid to Mrs. Tilton herself, as appears by the following letter, extracted from my published statement:

TUESDAY, January 18, 1873.

Dear Francis—Be kind enough to send me \$50 for Bessie. I want to inclose it in to-morrow's mail.

Yours gratefully,

ELIZABETH.

Would not ingenuous truth have required Mr. Beecher to state that this large sum was paid for this young girl's support in order to relieve him from his difficulty and prevent the exposure of the recital of his own acts, which she had heard in the family, in the neighborhood where they were most likely to be taken up? Did he not know the facts? Will anybody believe him when he intimates in his examination that he did not know? Is it possible that he never asked his dear friend Moulton where this money was going to, especially as he is careful to instruct Moulton to "feed out" the \$5,000 to Tilton. Instead, he puts forward the phrases: "Money has been obtained from me in the course of these affairs in considerable sums; but I did not at first look upon the suggestions that I should contribute to Mr. Tilton's pecuniary wants as savoring of blackmail"—thus putting the amount of the \$2,000 and the \$5,000 in his statement as if they went together to Tilton for the same purpose.

In order to give color to this allegation of blackmail, trumped up after the charges against Tilton of forging letters and insanity had failed them, Beecher's lawyer's make the following report of the conversation of July 5, in answer to a question prepared for that purpose:

Q. Did Moulton ever question you in regard to this matter whether you had ever spoken on that to any one or expressed any anxiety in your mind about it? A. He did, not many weeks ago, among the last interviews I had with him.

Q. Since the publication of that Bacon letter? A. Yes; I think it was on the Sabbath day after the appointment of this committee. I preached but once on that day, and, on the afternoon of that day, he saw me and said to me in a conversation: "You have never mentioned about that \$5,000." I said: "Yes, I had, to one or two persons. I mentioned to Oliver Johnson for one, because he was saying something to me one day about what some of Tilton's friends were saying, and I incidentally mentioned that to him, which he never repeated, I suppose, to anybody." Moulton said: "I will never admit that; I shall deny it always."

In regard to this statement Beecher is wholly mistaken, if he does not intend to falsify. I remember that part of the conversation very well and what I said on that occasion to him, which was: "General Tracy, your counsel, says that

you must never say anything about the payment of any money on account of Tilton, because that will go very much against you. Have you ever said anything?" Beecher replied: "Only to Oliver Johnson, who will keep it to himself, and I never will say anything about it to anybody else." That was all that was said upon the matter of keeping silence about that money.

Now, when the fact is seen that I especially and exactly set forth, as well the money paid Mrs. Tilton and for Bessie's support as the \$5,000 in my statement prepared for the committee, without being called upon to do so by anybody, and while I supposed it rested wholly between Beecher and myself, and Beecher himself says it did wholly rest between him and Johnson, why should I have, at the very hour that I was looking forward to the probability of making my statement before the committee that I have made, stated to Beecher that I never would admit it to anybody? I frankly confess that I never had told it to anybody, and never meant to tell it to anybody, not on Beecher's account, because I thought the advance of \$5,000 to the *Golden Age* was an act of nobleness and generosity on his part, and so said in my statement, and my only desire to keep it secret was lest it should get to Tilton that he was under obligations to Beecher. It never occurred to my thought, under any circumstances whatever or in any form, that it could enter into the imagination of man that this was an extortion of money from Beecher. On the contrary, he knew that I myself had advanced sums in aid of Tilton's enterprise, who had never accused me of any improper intimacy with or advances toward his wife. My partners had subscribed and advanced money for the purpose of supporting the *Golden Age*. Many other prominent citizens of Brooklyn had done the same thing, and I had no thought that Beecher was doing anything other and different from what the rest of us were doing—except that he had, perhaps, an additional personal motive—to sustain an enterprise which we all favored, and the results of which were looked upon as an honor to journalism.

It will also be observed upon a careful examination of Beecher's own statement, although attempted to be concealed by ambiguous phrases, that the suggested payment of \$5,000 first came to me from him, and was not made by me to him; and that part of his statement which relates to what I told him in regard to the kind friend who had made an advance to Theodore Tilton in cash and notes would have been quite nearly correct if he had added the rest of the truth which I then told him—that Tilton had refused to receive that advance from the party offering to make it; and that I also told him at the same time that Tilton, I was sure, would not take any money from him, and therefore it was arranged between us that it should be given to Tilton in small sums as coming from me, as I had already made him like advances. Nor did the amount of \$5,000, which Beecher subscribed seem to me at all extravagant for him to give. Having been for many years in the possession of a reputed income, from his salary and literary labor, of from forty to fifty thousand a year, and having apparently reasonably economical habits of living, I supposed him to be a man of very considerable if not large fortune, from his almost necessary accumulations, and I leave him to explain why it was, with such ample income from which he ought to have accumulated a large fortune with habits of prudence and no known extraordinary expenses, to explain how he had impoverished himself and impaired his credit to so great an extent as not to be able to raise the paltry sum of \$5,000 from among his rich parishioners without mortgaging his house, unless, indeed, he felt called upon to support others as he did Bessie.

I will venture to mention the name of another gentleman who has shown himself in this controversy to be a staunch and fast friend of Beecher, and who, before ever he proposed it to me, had advised Beecher that he ought to subscribe in aid of Tilton, and to whom Beecher, as he reported, made the reply that he had offered to give money in order to aid Tilton, but he would not receive it. I now refer to Mr. Thomas Kinsella, of the Brooklyn *Eagle*, who has so loyally supported Beecher in this his final struggle for his pulpit and good name.

It will be observed that Beecher, in his statement, says that I was to "feed out" this money to Tilton, which exactly comports with what I said in my statement, that I was to give it to him from time to time as I found he needed it, and that I had not yet paid all that sum to him, as the account in my published statement shows. Why, then, with that knowledge and that statement by Beecher that this money was to be "fed out," does Beecher speak of the "mollifying effect" of \$5,000 to Tilton, which he now confesses he knew Tilton had not received, and why say that Tilton had had "his gold jingling in his pockets" for years? Or are these insinuations and flings on so solemn an occasion only the "jokes" which Mrs. Morse, Mrs. Tilton's mother, says "he cracked from Sunday to Sunday, while he leaves his victim suffering in cold and hunger at home, mourning for her sin?" I quote from Mrs. Morse's letter of January 27, 1871, published in my former statement:

But this is a death blow to us both, and I doubt not Florence (Tilton's daughter) 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."

Mrs. Morse is now one of his witnesses before Beecher's committee, and his adopted mother from a spiritual marriage with her daughter, as will be shown by the following letter, which I here insert, marked "R":

MRS. MORSE TO BEECHER.

OCTOBER 21.

My Dear "Son"—You must pardon me for the request I now make. Can you help me in any way by the first of November? I am still alone, with no prospect of any one, with a rent of \$1,500 and an income of \$1,000. The consequence is, with other expenses, I shall be by the first of the month terribly behindhand, as I agreed to pay in monthly installments.

I know full well I have no claim upon you in any way (sic), excepting your sympathy for my lonely and isolated condition. If I could be released from the house I should gladly do so, for I'm convinced it's too far out. All who have been to see my rooms say so. My darling spent most of yesterday with me. She said all she had in the way of money was forty dollars per week, which was for food and all other household expenses

aside from rent, and this was given her by hand of Annie Tilton every Saturday. If you know anything of the amount it takes to find food for eight people, you must know there's little left for clothing. She told me he (T.) did not take any meals home from the fact she could not get such food as he liked to *nourish his brain*, and so he took his meals at Moulton's. Just think of that!

I am almost crazy with the thought. Do come and see me. I will promise that the "secret of her life," as she calls it, shall not be mentioned. I know it's hard to bring it up, as you must have suffered intensely, and we all will, I fear, till released by death. Do you pray for me? If not, *pray do*. I never felt more rebellious than now, more need of God's and human help. Do you know I think it strange you should ask me to call you "son." When I have told darling, I felt if you could in safety to yourself and all concerned, you would be to me all this endearing name. Am I mistaken?

MOTHER.

This letter bears date October 24. I fix the date to be in 1871, because it was at that time that Mrs. Morse had the house for which she was paying \$1,500 rent, and is the time when Tilton was allowing his wife \$40 per week for household expenses. This letter was given me by Beecher as written by Mrs. Morse, Elizabeth's mother, and is a call on him for money, which may explain the necessity for mortgaging his house otherwise than by paying \$5,000 to me. It is the outside family that is always the most onerous to a man.

It will be remembered that Elizabeth confessed that Beecher asked her to be his wife, with all that the name implies. Mrs. Morse tells him—and she would not dare tell him so if it was not so—"Do you know, I think it strange you should ask me to call you 'son.' When I have told darling, I felt if you could in safety to yourself and all concerned, you would be to me all this endearing name. Am I mistaken?"

The delicacy of this adopted mother, who says: "Do come and see me. I will promise the 'secret of her life,' as she calls it, shall not be mentioned," will be appreciated, especially because she knows it is cruel to bring it up, "as you must have suffered intensely, and we all will, I fear, till released by death."

Who believes that this note to Mr. Beecher—a married man—accompanied by a demand for money, with the reminder of the "secret" of a daughter's life, means only that Beecher once gave some bad advice about a separation between man and wife, which, so far as I know, never took place?

The trouble is, Beecher mistakes the persons who blackmailed him. It was Mrs. Morse and Bessie, and nobody else, and they are now repaying him by testifying in his behalf. If such conduct as this goes unpunished and unrebuked, unchristian men will be prone to agree with the Psalmist and Mrs. Morse, that "there is no God."

Upon the whole, there were very curious relationships among these parties by adoption, of which I think it would trouble a heraldry office to make a family tree, and which seem to have been a mystery even to Mrs. Morse, for she says in her first letter which I have quoted above, "The remark you made to me at your door was an enigma to me, and every day adds to the mystery: 'Mrs. Beecher' has adopted the child.' 'What child?' I asked. You said, 'Elizabeth.' Now, I ask, what earthly sense was there in that remark?" Mrs. Beecher had adopted Elizabeth; Beecher had adopted her mother, and wanted Elizabeth to be all that a wife could be to him; and Mrs. Morse says she believes he would be all the endearing name of son can be to her, and wants to know if she is mistaken. Query: Under this arrangement, what relation is Mrs. Beecher to Beecher if she had adopted the child of his mother, and her husband had married the daughter of her mother? Who wonders that Mrs. Morse thought it a mystery?

I am not specially acquainted with the habits of men or women who obtain money by blackmail, but I had supposed if they so obtained money they did what they pleased with it, and not have it doled out by a third person in little sums as he deemed there was need, without the knowledge of the blackmailer where it came from, who obtained the money by threats and extortion.

Again, Beecher says that "my confidential friend" told him that Tilton would publish his statement unless another \$5,000 was paid, which he refused to do. Does Beecher mean that I was that friend? If he meant so, why did he not say so? He knows that I never suggested that he should pay a dollar, or ever believed that the matter could be composed by the payment of money, as it might have been by other proper action if he had acted like a noble and courageous man, as I at one time hoped he might do and might be. This statement is insinuated to prejudice me in advance after he learned, on the 4th of August last, he could not use the best friend that "God ever raised up to a man" to act dishonestly and falsely to serve his selfish purposes. The charge is as false as another answer made on cross-examination to injure me by showing that I opened his letters, as follows:

Q. By Mr. Winslow—Can you tell us what became of Mrs. Woodhull's threatening letter? A. Mr. Moulton opened it.

The falsehood of this answer can be shown in a moment. That threatening letter—as indeed both letters from Woodhull to Beecher—were sent to me—was dated June 3, 1872, and was sent inclosed in a note from Beecher to me of the same date, with a request to answer it, as follows:

My Dear 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 that all is right—if, in your judgment, all is right.

Truly yours,

H. W. B.

Why does this minister of the Gospel make such reckless statements? Again, let us ask, does any man wonder, when they fall into such contradictions with his own letters, that Beecher and his lawyers should have desired so much to get possession of my documents in order that they might square their statements and escape these contradictions?

And in the whole course of all the negotiations had with his friends or his counsel as to the settlement of this controversy after the publication of the Bacon letter, I challenge any one to say that the word money was ever used by me, or by Tilton in my presence, as a method of settling this matter. True, before that publication I said to Tilton—what I say here

openly and freely—that from my own fortune I would give \$5,000 in gold to save its publication. And I also stated the fact that I so said to Beecher; and I also said to him that he had better give his whole fortune if that would stop it (and I believed it much larger than that I do now), in order to convince him how necessary it was, in my judgment, that this controversy should not be reopened.

No letter will be produced, I venture to say, from Tilton, and, I know, none from me or from mine, asking Beecher to take any course except to keep silence and cover his own sins as well as he might in this unhappy affair; and the only thing that seems to me like blackmailing him because of his connection with Mrs. Tilton is the plain demand of her mother (and, as now appears, his adopted mother), Mrs. Morse, that he should use his influence as a Christian minister to reappoint her brother in the Custom House at New York. "And Elizabeth was disappointed that he did not, too."

I now produce certain letters of Mr. Beecher, which seems to contain an answer to his charge that when he paid the \$5,000 he thought it was blackmailing, and was very much "dissatisfied with himself," for doing it. If he was so dissatisfied he certainly did not make it known to me, who had, as he says, extorted the money from him. It will be remembered that the \$5,000 was paid on the 2d of May, 1873. The 7th of the following July brought me a very cordial invitation to visit him at his house in the country, contained in the following letter of that date, marked "S":

BEECHER TO MOULTON.

PEEKSKILL, July 7, 1873—Monday, 7 P. M.

My Dear Frank: I have just arrived. I called Saturday evening to learn that you would not return till Monday. Can you come up Tuesday or Wednesday or Thursday? Let me know by letter or telegram. The trains are A. M. 8, 9:10, 10:45; P. M. 2, 4, 4:15, 5:30, 6:20, and 7. The four P. M. is express and good train; if you come in the afternoon you should allow forty-five minutes from City Hall to reach Forty second street station, and about one hour from your store.

I have not seen you since the card. I will take good care of you, and if others don't think so much of you as I do, I will try and make up. My vacation is begun, and am I not glad? Next week we expect company.

The drought is severe—no real soaking since the last of May, and things are suffering; but yet the country is beautiful. The birds are as good to me as David's harp. I only need some one to talk to, and that one is you.

Come when you can, and, coming or going, believe me faithfully and affectionately yours,

H. W. B.

It will be seen that to complete his happiness he only wanted "some one to talk to, and that one is you"—the man who had just extorted money from him as blackmail so that he felt "dissatisfied with himself," and to whom he says, "Coming or going, believe me faithfully and affectionately yours,"

H. W. B.

On the 9th came another invitation in a letter of that date, which I insert, marked "T":

BEECHER TO MOULTON.

THURSDAY EVENING, July 9, 1873.

My Dear Frank—Why not come on Saturday and spend Sunday? You must get your comfort out of Nature and me, and not notice any withholding of countenance elsewhere.

I preach in the village in the morning, but you can lie on the hill side—in peace.

The afternoon and evening will be open for all gracious influences which forests hide or heavens distill. The birds are not yet silent, though their pipes are somewhat feebler. Flowers are burnt, grass withered, grain reapt, grapes not ripe, strawberries gone, blackberries not come, raspberries in good condition and abundant, also water-melons, and, besides, a demijohn of—water!

I want to see you and show you a letter, etc. Do you know what Bowen is doing? Will he publish? Find out if anything is on hand.

Truly yours,

H. W. B.

Send me a line on Friday if you shall come, so that I may meet the train. Otherwise, pay your own hack hire.

This, it will be seen, promises me every inducement and entertainment if I would come. Besides, he wants to see his blackmailer and to "show him a letter, etc." For what purpose?—to be blackmailed again? He also wants to know what Bowen is doing, and whether he will publish any statement. Was ever blackmailer treated by his victim so before? The only punishment he threatens to put upon his blackmailer is that if he will not so arrange his business that his victim can have the chance of meeting him and driving him home in his carriage, he shall have to pay his own hack hire.

I also produce another letter of July 14, 1873, which, if it is not a full refutation of the charge that, up to that time, I had blackmailed Beecher or aided in blackmailing him, or that he believed I had done anything except in his interest, a charge of blackmail can never be contradicted. It is here inserted, marked "U":

BEECHER TO MOULTON.

My Dear Frank—I looked for you Saturday, and received your note this morning—Monday.

Howard writes that T. T. has sent to Mr. Halliday a note announcing that he did not consider himself for two years a member of the church.

There is also a movement to let the other party [meaning Bowen] go to trial, and also to give him an avoidance of trial by some form of letter, I don't know what. I have not been consulted. I do not mean to meddle. It is *vacation*. Governor Claflin and wife, of Mass., will be here this week. I am getting at my writing again—at work on my book. I despaired of finishing it. I am more encouraged now. For a thousand encouragements—for service that no one can appreciate who has not been as sore-hearted as I have been, for your honorable delicacy, for confidence and affection—I owe you so much that I can neither express nor pay it. Not the least has been the great-hearted kindness and trust which your noble wife has shown, and which have lifted me out of despondencies often, though sometimes her clear truthfulness has laid me pretty flat.

I mean to run down some day; will let you know beforehand, that I may not miss you, for to tell the truth I am a little heart-hungry to see you; not now because I am *pressed*, but because I love you, and will ever be faithfully yours,

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

Peekskill, July 14, 1873. This shows how utterly and confidently Mr. Beecher trusted me, and yet he now states that I had been blackmailing him for years, and that Tilton had been a co-conspirator with me. And yet this letter recites that Tilton had written a note to the assistant pastor of the church that he had not considered himself a member for two years.

Again, the letter shows that as to "the other party," Bowen, his church was colloquing together to give him an avoidance of a trial by some form of letter for the slanders of

Bowen, lest Beecher should be injured. I say the church was colloquing, because Beecher says he had not been consulted and did not mean to meddle.

Mark, I call attention again, to emphasize it, to this letter, in order that there may be no mistake as to what Beecher's opinion was of the man who he now says he felt was blackmailing him at the time, to the phrases: "For a thousand encouragements, for service that no one can appreciate who has not been as sore-hearted as I have been, for your honorable delicacy"—what, delicate blackmailing?—"for confidence and affection, I owe you so much that I can neither express nor pay it."

Again, mark his promised visit to the blackmailer in these words: "To tell the truth, I am a little heart-hungry to see you, not because I am *pressed*, but because I love you and will ever be faithfully yours."

I think I may be pardoned for lingering over this letter, for in it is my vindication from a black charge to which Henry Ward Beecher is driven, to save himself, to make against me. Not only was I serving him at this time, but my wife—who knew all and knows all that I know—was saving him from despondencies and threatened suicide, and this letter gives the thanks he felt for her efforts, "although," he says, "sometimes her clear truthfulness has laid me pretty flat." I have already given one of those exhibitions of her truthfulness when she advised him to confess his sin, and ask forgiveness of man as he expected forgiveness of God.

Again, I produce a letter of October 3, 1873, five months after the time when, he says in his statement, he believed that I was blackmailing him and "felt dissatisfied with himself" that he permitted it. It is marked "V":

BEECHER TO MOULTON.

FRIDAY NOON, October 3, 1873.

My Dear Frank—I have this morning got back, sound and fresh, and want to send my love to you and yours. I should see you to-morrow, but shall be out of town till evening. God bless you, my dear old fellow!

H. W. BEECHER.

Let all the lawyers search all the annals of the crime of blackmailing, overhaul every police report, and produce another instance where, five months after it was known to the victim, he addresses his blackmailer with a "God bless you, my dear old fellow!"

It will be observed that these letters which I have thus far produced upon this question were *subsequent* to the time he learned that he was blackmailed. I now produce a letter of *previous* date, February 16, 1873, inclosing a check of that date, which is marked "W":

SUNDAY MORNING, February 16, 1873.

My Dear Frank—I have tried three times to see you this week, but the fates were against me. I wanted to store up a little courage and hopefulness before my three weeks' absence.

I revisit my old home and haunts, and shall meet great cordiality.

I inclose check subject to your discretion.

Should any accident befall me, remember how deeply I feel your fidelity and friendship, your long-continued kindness and your affection. With kindest remembrances to Mrs. M., I remain, always yours,

H. W. BEECHER.

This discloses a still more singular transaction, because it shows that without being called upon the victim has tried three times to see me in one week, but failed. He was to be absent for three weeks, going to his old home, and wanted "to store up a little courage and hopefulness" for the occasion, although his old friends were to meet him with great cordiality. He says: "I inclose a check subject to your discretion;" that is: "Feed my lambs while I am away." Why don't Beecher produce the check of that date among those that he paraded before the committee, and let us see how much of the \$2,000 that made? I wait for his reply before I speak further, lest "other hearts ache." Not content with expressions of gratitude while leaving, the note shows that he makes a will. He leaves it as a legacy to me in case of accidental death, that he died with the memory in his heart of my fidelity, friendship and long-continued affection.

Is it necessary to my vindication that I should pursue this miserable afterthought of a charge of blackmail further?

If to obtain advantage to one's-self by using the unfortunate situation of another is blackmail, then Beecher himself will come fully within that description. Beecher protected himself from Bowen by using the power that Tilton had over Bowen to get the tripartite covenant out of him, and yet he puts the fact in exactly the contrary light:

The domestic offense which he [Tilton] alleged was very quietly and easily put aside, but yet in such a way as to keep my feelings stirred up, in order that I might, through my friends, be used to extract from Mr. Bowen \$7,000, the amount of a claim in dispute among them. The check for that sum in hand, Mr. Tilton signed an agreement of peace and concord, not made by me, but accepted by me as sincere.

The precise contrary of this is true. Mr. Bowen had made certain charges against Beecher, and thereby caused Tilton to write a letter on the 26th of December, 1870, requiring Beecher to leave his church and city, which Bowen carried to Beecher. Why should Tilton have selected Bowen to be the bearer of such a letter if Bowen had not made the statements which Tilton recites in his letter to him were made when Oliver Johnson was present, of five different acts and specifications of adulterous intercourse with five different women?

That letter was read by Beecher, and the dreadful accusations made by Bowen were fully known to him; and as this matter was contemporaneous with the accusations made by Tilton as to his own wife, Beecher desired that I should endeavor to protect him from these also, and insisted that I should agree to a reference to an arbitration, of which his friend and present committeeman, Mr. H. B. Claflin, was chairman, and submit Tilton's claim for damages for breach of contract by Bowen to that arbitration. And after a full hearing, in which all these so grave charges by Bowen to Tilton against Beecher—one of which was no less than rape—were stated in Bowen's and their presence, the arbitration unanimously agreed, first, that Bowen should pay Tilton \$7,000 for a breach of his contract, and it was also made a condition that Bowen and Tilton should sign a covenant that they would not thereafter repeat accusations which were annexed to the paper; a majority of Bowen's friends on that arbitration—who had been agreed to by me because

they were Beecher's friends—insisting upon Bowen and Tilton signing such a covenant in behalf of Beecher before Bowen and Tilton could have their money accounts settled; all of which was done at the same day and date. So that Beecher in fact used Tilton's position with Bowen to extort from Bowen a certificate of good character, and that, too, after he had agreed to give Bowen three business advantages, and had also given him a certificate of good character and conduct in the church, in February, 1870, which he renewed at this time in these words:

"I deeply regret the cause of suspicion, jealousy and estrangement which have come between us. It is a joy for me to have my old regard for Henry C. Bowen and Theodore Tilton restored, and a happiness to me to resume the old relations of love, respect and reliance to each and both of them."

How could Beecher, if innocent, have signed such a certificate as that to Bowen upon a simple withdrawal of the charges, one of which described a brutal rape, without any averment that they were untrue, Bowen merely saying that he did not "know anything of them?" And yet, without even the withdrawal of those charges privately a year before, after these statements had been made by Bowen, and after the accusations were well known to Beecher, "after hours of conference, everything was adjusted and we shook hands;" and Beecher stated the fact of the reconciliation in Plymouth church, and spoke highly of his Christian brother, Bowen, and a new adjustment was obtained again in the manner I have stated at the time of the tripartite covenant. I do not republish the documents which show all this under Beecher's own hand, as they are already published in my former statement and lithographed.

I agree that these facts are so unusual, so strange, so more startling than anything in fiction, that if I should state them upon my bare word I should challenge discredit everywhere except among those who know me well. But that they probably were well known to Mr. H. B. Claflin, one of Beecher's committee, will appear from a letter heretofore published from Beecher to me, which I reproduce, as follows:

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. [Bowen] 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 a statement of the very bottom (sic) 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 an appeal to church and then to 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. (Claflin) and have a full and confidential talk. Yours ever.

It will be seen from this note that it was not Tilton's accusations that I had then in charge, but Bowen's, and the real point to avoid was "an appeal to the church and then to a council," and with such an appeal it would be a "conflagration."

In obedience to that letter I had a confidential talk with Claflin, and told him of the "treacherous whisperings" of Bowen, and also gave him the name of the party to whom Bowen had said that it was true that Beecher had made confession to him; and, as nearly as I can remember, that Bowen had not and did not intend to retract the charges which he had made against Beecher. Mr. Claflin deemed this so serious that he thought it best to call on Bowen with me, and we went, accompanied by the gentleman who had reported Bowen's conversation to me, and he repeated to Mr. Bowen in the presence of us all exactly what Bowen had said to him, "and," said he to Bowen, "if you say to the contrary you utter a falsehood."

Now, to conceal these "bottom facts," known to me if not to Claflin, Beecher had influenced Claflin to require, as an arbitrator, the tripartite covenant—to which all Bowen's charges, as set forth in Tilton's letter of January 1, 1871, were annexed—as a condition of the settlement of money matters between Tilton and Bowen, which alone were referred to that arbitration. What were those "bottom facts?" So far as Mr. Beecher is concerned, I have his full liberty to disclose all that I may know, as put in his public statement, and the public will now be in position to judge whether he really meant that I should:

Q. Has Moulton any secret of yours in paper, in document, or in knowledge of any act of yours that you would not have seen the light this hour? A. Not that I am aware of.

Q. Have you any doubt? A. I have none.

Q. Do you now call upon him to produce all he has and tell all he knows? A. I do.

Passing by the more indefinite charges of Bowen—"the many adulteries committed by Beecher"—let us take the crime, the exact language of which in my former statement I felt called upon to omit in the interest of public decency. But in order that the charge of Bowen, which was twice reconciled and condoned by Beecher—using this word both in its legal and literal sense, because if not true there can be no more outrageous libel, which is a crime—I feel compelled, in the cause of public justice, to give the very words as they originally appeared in Tilton's private letter to Bowen, of January 1, 1871, and as they are annexed to the covenant of reconciliation:

You [Bowen] related to me the case of a woman whom you said (as nearly as I can recall your words) Mr. Beecher took in his arms by force threw down upon a sofa, accomplished his devilry upon her, and left her flowing with blood.

Could an innocent clergyman have allowed such a charge to be made and more than once reiterated, however guardedly, by a leading member of his church, and rest content until his innocence was fully and clearly established, if in no other way, in a court of justice? Bowen, I was informed, claimed to have the details of this transaction from the woman's own lips. And it was to avoid the investigation of this charge among others that Beecher says in his letter that

"the real point to avoid is an appeal to the church and then to a council," and upon that he advised with me.

I feel it due to myself, however, before proceeding further in this narrative, to make this explanation. In my former statement to the public, prepared for the committee, I endeavored in all matters to state the facts with as much delicacy as their wickedness would allow, the consequence of which was that my very reticence and suppression of the exact language in which Beecher's confessions were conveyed to me were by his friends made a ground of accusation that I had either mistaken the purport of what he said, or that if I were telling the truth I would give his words. Therefore I am now compelled, in narrating this most shameful affair, to violate the bounds which I set myself in my former statement, in order that no such like accusation may be reiterated against me. And if that is published which ought not to be published, it is not my fault, but the necessity made by Beecher and his friends for my own vindication. Exactly how the matter came about is as follows:

I showed to Mr. Beecher the letter of Tilton to Bowen bearing date January 1, 1871, containing charges alleged to have been made by Bowen in the presence of Tilton and Oliver Johnson, and he (Beecher) deemed it necessary to tell the truth concerning the adultery with the woman to whom he supposed Bowen referred in that interview, although the charge gave no names. According to Tilton's letter, Bowen charged Beecher with the rape of a virgin. Beecher said he was in —'s house, told me for what purpose he was there, and mentioned the name of the woman, who, he said, when he was leaving, gave him what he strangely termed a "paroxysmal kiss"—I never heard that word before, which causes me to remember it vividly—and that, being tempted by the woman, he had sexual intercourse with her. He said: "I knew she was not a virgin," and described to me his means of knowing that fact, the precise language of the description of which I trust his friends will excuse me from repeating. He said that she immediately retired from the room, went up-stairs, and came down very much fluttered, saying, "Oh, I am covered with blood!" He said he knew she lied, and was surprised at her, feeling convinced that she had had other and previous experiences of the same sort.

Having myself had knowledge of the facility with which he could obtain from his women a retraction of such charges and denial of the fact, as in the case of Mrs. Tilton of the confessed adulteries by her, on the 30th December—twelve days before—I said to him, "It will be necessary for you, if you are on friendly terms with that woman, to get from her a retraction. Otherwise you may find yourself some day at Bowen's mercy." He went to get a retraction from her, and on the 10th January, 1871, brought back the paper I here insert, which he so obtained:

Some ten years ago, when under great grief and excitement, I said things injurious to Mr. Beecher to Mr. Bowen. I always speak strongly, and then I was near beside myself and used unmeasured terms, which represented rather my feeling than my judgment.

I afterward became convinced that in many things I was mistaken. I became satisfied that Mr. Beecher's course toward me was meant to be kind and honorable.

From that day to this our relations have been cordial and friendly.

JANUARY 10, 1871.

A casual glance at this document shows that Mr. Beecher was not as successful in this retraction, which he evidently did not dictate, as in the case of Mrs. Tilton; and the retraction itself, in its cautious wording, was so much more damaging as evidence than a direct charge of the woman that might be contradicted would be, that it was thought best that it should not see the light of day, and it has not until now.

The question was, Did he ravish this person? He admitted to me the connection, but insisted that he used no force, only dalliance. That accusation had been repeated by Bowen, and the best Mr. Beecher could get from her was that she had "told Bowen things injurious" to Beecher: that she "always speaks strongly," and was "nearly beside herself and used unmeasured terms, which represented rather my feeling than my judgment."

But what was desired to get denied was the fact itself, and that fact the criminal connection, which was neither matter of "feeling" nor "judgment," in the sense in which the words are used in the retraction. But whether done by force or dalliance is a question of both feeling and judgment, and so much is retracted; and knowing the relations between this woman and Beecher to have been not only "cordial and friendly," but there afterward very intimate, I give credit to this version of his intercourse, and particularly because Mr. Beecher, to confirm his statement that he had not ravished her, brought to me several letters from her to him, which I still hold, showing the continuance of friendly relations with her. I do not give the lady's name, and withhold the photo-lithograph of her letter, because I do not wish needlessly to involve a reputation which has thus far escaped public mention by any of the parties to this controversy. If the facts stated here should identify the person concerned with him, and if those who are interested in her feel aggrieved let them avenge that grief, if upon any one, upon the pastor of Plymouth Church, and not upon me, as I have been threatened it would be if I ventured to state the facts of Beecher's guilt in this case. I have felt the blows of Plymouth Church already because I have told the exact truth about their pastor. I have been threatened with more if I shall continue to do so. But, unawed by threats, and, as far as I may be, unbiased by wrong, injustice and false accusations, the facts shall be stated as they are known to me—and known to God; and only adding that this last terrible narrative of crime was given me by Beecher in the presence of a witness, I dismiss this tragic episode to the main controversy.

I submit that if I had been inclined to blackmail Henry Ward Beecher, either for myself or Tilton, Beecher knew and the public now knows, in a degree, that I had much more cogent and all-powerful facts in my possession to strip him of his fortune to purchase my silence than the case of Mr. Tilton; and that if I had been, as he alleges, untrue to him, or if I had been, as is alleged in the report of his committee, a "coadjutor with Tilton," "secretly from the beginning" to extort money from Beecher through a

series of years, instead of standing as a shield to him, protecting him any and everywhere against the consequences of his own wicked acts, and only receiving money from him to aid in so shielding him—first, to support and educate the girl Bessie, lest she might injure him by prattling in the church under the influences of Mrs. Tilton's mother, Mrs. Morse, who, Bessie says, in her letter in former statement promised her dresses to tell lies, which fact she relates under her own hand—and only otherwise to aid him in some degree to repair the wrong which he admitted and now admits he had done to Tilton in breaking up his business, so that the temptation of poverty and want might not come to him as an inducement to turn upon Beecher, the author of his misfortunes; I say if I had been inclined to extort money from him, either Tilton or myself might to-day have been the recipients of all the salary, earnings and emoluments of Henry Ward Beecher, except enough only for a reasonably economical living for himself and family.

In view of these terrible revelations, the question will, indeed, well be asked, as it has been: "How could you, Mr. Moulton, sustain Beecher, knowing all these things, so monstrous, horrible and revolting?" To this question, urgently springing from the facts, I answer that I did not know them all at once, as the public now know them. I began in the interest of a friend. I met another man of brilliant genius and high standing, older than I, who asked my friendship, which I promised him, and who trusted me implicitly; and as disclosure came after disclosure, as fact piled on fact, I could only stagger along under the load. These acts of guilt had already been done, many of them, years before, and at the time he promised me most faithfully and with sincere sorrow, tears rolling down his cheek, that all that was past, and his future should be bright and holy, as his past had been deemed to be by those who knew him not. However much I might cease to respect or love any party in the controversy, yet there were other hearts to ache. There were innocent children to be destroyed, families—more than one or three—to be separated, and a blight put upon Christianity and a shock to the moral sense of the community such as it never before received, if I threw down my burden; and therefore I have borne it as best I could, and now only speak in defense of my own honor, which I have endeavored to keep untarnished, so that those who come after me may not be overwhelmed in this maelstrom of vice and wickedness in which I have nearly been submerged.

It is also objected to me that when I have been questioned in regard to these facts I have made a denial of them; and Mr. Beecher himself, or his lawyers, have had the temerity to publish in his statement a letter of mine to him of June 1, 1873, in answer to his despairing one of same date, telling me how he had lost all hope, and intimating to me in writing, as he had frequently before in words, that his only refuge was suicide.

Having made an allusion to Beecher's suicide, it may be well for me to state here the full circumstances of his confession concerning his proposed design. He told me—and repeated to another in my presence—that he had within reach in his own study a poison, which he would take if the story of his crime with Elizabeth should ever come to the public. He told me of a visit he had made to a photographer's gallery, where he learned that one of the employees had mistaken a glass of poison for a glass of water, and, having taken and drunken it, had fallen dead, with scarcely time to drop the glass. Beecher said that was what he wanted for himself; and, under plea of making some photographic experiments, he procured some of this same poison from the photographer, which he told me he intended to use if the revelation of his crime should be made. "And then," he said, "it would be simply reported that Beecher died of apoplexy; but God and you and I will know what caused my death." If those who blame me could have looked into his grief-stricken face and listened to the tones of his voice in the great emergencies in which he said there was no refuge for him but in death, they would have felt impelled, as I was, to as generous, as open-hearted a service as I practiced toward him. It would have taken a harder heart than mine, being witness of his sorrows, not to forget his sins.

"I have," he writes, "a strong feeling upon me, and it brings great peace with it, that I am spending my last Sunday, and preaching my last sermon." I did, indeed, write to him, "you can stand if the whole case were published to-morrow." I did believe that, if he had made, as he was advised to make, a full and frank confession of the whole truth, as he had done to me, accompanied by such expressions of contrition and repentance as he had made to me, his church and the world would have forgiven him, and he would have stood. How much more, then, must I believe it now, when he can stand before the public preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ with all the facts made known, and I am driven by blows and assaults of his people from that which should be the house of God, wherein his adulteries and hypocrisies have been condoned by an admiring church?

For all this, I would not blame the deceived and worshipping Christians of that church, knowing how grossly they have been misled by those who have undertaken to exculpate Beecher at all hazards. They will at some time know. And when they do, they will pardon the strength of my language when I denounced in their presence their orator, who was addressing them, by the name of "liar." He stood before them vouching for the innocence of Beecher, and told them that he was the only one, besides the lawyers, who knew all the facts. Poor, deluded young man!

Beecher's committee rest his exculpation upon my interview with the Rev. Mr. Halliday, in which, in language guarded, but intended to mislead that simple, confiding agent of Beecher, his assistant, I spoke to him what Beecher desired and instructed me to say, when even that simple-minded old man's suspicions had been aroused by conferences with Tilton and others; and for that speech, by which I admit Halliday was misled, I received from Beecher the following letter, heretofore published, sent me on the Lord's day by a Christian minister, giving his thanks for my pervariation in his behalf to his assistant:

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 unsettling. 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.

It has been held honorable for men who had had amours with a reputable woman to deny even under oath those amours, to protect from exposure the fair fame and name which had been confided to their keeping. Not by any means intending to set up any such standard of morality, but which is sustained in Beecher by a portion of the press which says he ought to stand by the woman, under how much more temptation was I acting when in my charge had been placed, without any guilt on my part, the honor of women of fair name and high station, the welfare of a church, the upholding of the fame and reputation of the foremost preacher of the world, the well-being of Christianity itself, and the morals of the community—all, and more, involved in my failure to hold the facts concealed from every mortal eye! The silent "volcano" on which he says he was walking might have been at any time caused to burst forth by my imprudent answers to scandal-loving, curiously-prying men and women, or ministers of the Gospel who were engaged in endeavoring to find out; and my silence when their questions were put to me, stating supposed facts, would have been at once deemed assent.

But if there was any wrong in my concealment of these facts from the world, let Plymouth Church labor with Mr. Bowen, one of its leading members, who concealed them from the church in consideration of the publication of his pastor's letters and sermons in the *Independent*. Let Mr. Claflin, Beecher's chosen committeeman, who, presumably, had been told the "very bottom facts," he dealt with; and, indeed, let him who is without sin among them all in that regard, first cast a stone.

I do not review or animadvert upon the report of the committee, because every one has expected the result of its labors from the beginning. No disclosures were made to them, and they took care not to call before them any witnesses who knew the facts except the parties implicated, and have clearly shown that it was a partisan tribunal organized to acquit—as Beecher confessed to me on the 5th July last it was. By thinking men no weight will be given to its unsupported opinions, however speciously argued in a report which is but a rehash of the statements of the accused criminal, both written in whole or in part by his lawyers.

I was quite aware that I was to be struck down in case I did not side with Beecher, if "I did not choose between Tilton's statement and mine," as he states he asked me to do. My friends put before me the consequences of standing firm in what I knew to be the truth and the right; that I must incur the enmity, as I have felt the assaults, of Plymouth Church; that great financial interests are involved in the standing of that church, whereby much gain comes, in money if from nothing else, to some favored members thereof; and I feel that I have a right to say that if I could have been swerved from my sense of duty to myself and to justice, every outside inducement urged me to stand by "Beecher's statement." Of course I discerned that any statement I should make must be ruinous to Mr. Beecher, and if I made it I must be taken as siding with the falling cause of my nearly ruined friend, Theodore Tilton. And I appeal to the fair judgment of all men; what motive could I have in making myself his ally and the enemy of Mr. Beecher, except impelled by integrity of purpose and all that makes up the word "duty," to stand by the right as I knew the right to be?

I have, however, the consolation of knowing that I only suffer as everybody else suffers who dared to say a word for the truth against Beecher. Each and all in turn have been assailed by every form of obloquy and detraction as the new phases of the case required for the exculpation of the accused. First, it was heard through the press that the letters which Tilton put in his sworn statement were forgeries, when it was supposed that the originals would not be forthcoming. Then, Tilton was insane, and a labored analysis of all the maladies of his family was paraded before the public to show that he was insane; but the "method in his madness" exploded that theory. And then, the last refuge was that all that he had done was for the purpose of blackmailing Beecher, and as all that was done was through my hand, of course I must be destroyed, or the new theory of a conspiracy of four years' duration would come to nought. Everybody who should come forward to say a single word upon the subject unfavorable to the accused has received the same treatment. Mr. Carpenter is placarded to the world through Beecher's statement as "a kind of genial, good-natured fool," and Mr. Beecher's sister, the amiable, intelligent, enthusiastic, and clear-headed Mrs. Hooker, now, happily for her peace, abroad, who had become the recipient of the knowledge of the facts of Beecher's guilt, was placarded as insane; and when she had advised him to make a clear and full confession, in the interest of truth and justice, to rescue a woman from jail whom Mrs. Hooker believed was incarcerated for having told simply the truth, and threatened to disclose the truth from his pulpit, if Beecher would not, by Beecher's authority, and under his advice, conveyed through me with his approbation, Tilton went to poor Mrs. Hooker and broached the slander that she, too, was charged with being guilty of adultery from the same source as his wife was, and when Mr. Beecher was told that his sister sunk down in tears and gave up under such a gross accusation, he chuckled at the success of the "device." Whatever "devices" were used to protect Henry Ward Beecher to save himself, it was not one of mine to defile the fair fame of his sister. And, until it was ascertained what part she would take in the controversy, his wife, Mrs. Beecher herself, was struck at in his behalf, by his elder brother, Rev. William Beecher, in an interview published in a Western paper, from which I extract the following, the correctness of which has not been, so far as I know, denied.

I believe he [Beecher] looks upon the marriage relation as sacredly as

any one. In fact I know he has suffered great trouble on account of his wife, and has endeavored to be faithful to her, notwithstanding the sore trials she has cost him. It has separated him from his kindred, from his brothers and sisters, who were prevented from coming to the house on her account. Yet he bore with her, and in every way endeavored to arrange matters so that they might visit him. Still I think she loved him and was faithful to him.

Notwithstanding this, Beecher appeals in his statement to "his happy home" as one of the reasons why he could not have been unfaithful to his marriage vow.

Again, it is paraded in the newspapers that Mrs. Beecher produced before the Committee all Mrs. Tilton's letters, having opened them before Beecher had had an opportunity to read them, as she did all of his other letters, and this report gains credence from the fact that he wrote to Elizabeth after he declares he had stopped all intimacy, as he had promised to do, "that she was now permitted to write to him because he was living alone with his sister;" and in another letter takes care to inform her of the fact that his wife has sailed for Havana and Florida. And Mrs. Tilton, too, after having said and unsaid everything in order to save Beecher, after having falsified and stultified herself in every possible way for his salvation, and so become useless hereafter as a witness or "refreshment," only remains in his mind "under a divided consciousness" that "she was a saint and chief of sinners." And she is thrown aside like a worthless weed in this cruel paragraph of the report of his Committee:

It is not for the Committee to defend the course of Mrs. Tilton. Her conduct upon human responsibility is indefensible.

All these attacks were before me, and I knew I should not escape, and I have not, although all the blessings of heaven were called down upon me by Beecher in every note he ever wrote me, all of which breathed the fullest confidence in me up to the 4th of August, nine days before he made his statement, wherein he charges me with a most contemptible crime because I refused to give up the papers to him which I knew were my only protection against him; for I had learned to know the selfishness and cruelty of the man who sacrifices all for himself.

And yet, in view of our relations for the past four years, I can scarcely realize the fact that he turned upon me, even when at his request I was keeping silent for his sake; and now, with all that he has put upon me, it is with difficulty that I summon sufficient of resolution, in anguish of spirit, to enable me to put forth the statement that I am now compelled to do. For I here aver that I never have made public what was the nature of Beecher's offense, or what was the evidence in my possession to prove it, until I did so in my former statement prepared for the committee, although statements were made in the newspapers to that effect which may have inflamed the mind of Beecher against me. I had pledged my honor to silence except I was attacked, and I have redeemed that pledge at whatever violence to my feelings and sense of justice. Nor have I ever made public the facts in this subsequent statement until they now appear, and yet there has been a newspaper report publishing what purports to be a portion of them, but which was gathered from others and not from me. On the contrary, I have taken every and all means that I could to conceal and keep them out of sight, driven even to answer many men who asked me in regard to them in such a way as to mislead them without stating to them any absolute falsehood, although I have no doubt some of them, remembering the impression they got from me, thought that I have stated to them what has since been contradicted by my published statement of what has actually been known to me, and the reasons of which I have heretofore explained.

All the present necessary facts to form a correct judgment of Henry Ward Beecher, and my own course and character are now before the public, and I submit to the candor and judgment of all good men and women whether, under all the emergencies in which I have been placed, I have not endeavored to do that which seemed to me to be right and proper, faithfully and loyally to those whose interests I had in charge, and especially to Beecher himself, pleading guilty to everything of want of judgment and unwisdom in trying to master the almost insurmountable difficulties which surrounded me, which can rightly be imputed to me.

If the true interests of the Christian Church are promoted, under the light of existing and known facts, by sustaining Beecher, as the foremost man in it, it is a matter of concern to Christian people in which my judgment will not be consulted. But let them remember as they do so the teachings of the Master from the Mount:

"Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery."

"But I say unto you, whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart."

"And if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee, for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell."

FRANCIS D. MOULTON.

BUSINESS EDITORIALS.

LAURA CUPPY SMITH's engagements are as follows: Sept., 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.

W. F. JAMIESON is engaged to return to Boston for the Sundays of Oct. 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 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.

ADDIE L. BALLOU

Having had quite an extended tour through California, where she has been greeted by large and enthusiastic audiences, has gone to Oregon for a term of some weeks, after which she will return to the States, about the 1st of November. Parties along the route wishing to make engagements with her to stop off for one or more lectures on her return will please make as early application as possible, to secure time; till middle of Oct., care Box 666, San Francisco; later and for winter engagements, to Terre Haute, Ind.

DR. R. P. FELLOWS, the distinguished magnetic physician heals the sick with surprising success by his Magnetized Powder. Those who are suffering from Nervous and Chronic Diseases should not be without it. \$1 per box.—Address Vineland, N. J.

THE NORTHERN ILLINOIS ASSOCIATION OF SPIRITUALISTS will hold their Ninth Quarterly Meeting in Grow's Opera House, No. 517 West Madison street, Chicago, Ill., commencing on Friday, Oct. 2, 1874, at 10:30, A. M., and continue over Sunday, the 4th.

The platform will be free, and all subjects germane to humanity are debatable on our platform. Good speakers and mediums will be on hand to entertain the people. Come, Spiritualists of Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana and Michigan, to our Convention. See and hear for yourselves. The First Society of Spiritualists of Chicago will do all they can to make your stay pleasant during the Convention.

O. J. HOWARD, M. D., President.

E. V. WILSON, Secretary.

E. M. Flagg, dentist, 79 West Eleventh street, New York city. Specialty, artificial dentures.

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.

ERNEST J. WITHEFORD, Cor. Sec.

Dr. Slade, the eminent Test Medium, may be found at his office, No. 25 East Twenty-first street near Broadway

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.

CHAS. H. FOSTER, the renowned Test Medium, can be found at No. 14 West Twenty-fourth street, New York City.

BENJAMIN & MARION TODD have removed from Ypsilanti to Port Huron, Mich. Their correspondents will please address them accordingly.

THE Henry County (Ill.) Association of Spiritualists will hold its regular quarterly meeting in Cambridge, on the 26th and 27th September, 1874. T. B. Taylor will be the speaker. A good medium is expected.

JOHN M. FOLLETT, Secretary.

Miss Nellie L. Davis will speak in Bay City, Mich., in Sept.; in San Francisco, Cal., in December; in San Jose, during February. Permanent address, 235 Washington st., Salem, Mass.

Religion superseded by the *Kingdom of Heaven*; official organ of the Spirit World. A monthly journal, established in 1864, to explain and to prove that Spiritualism has prepared the way for the second coming of Christ. Thomas Cook, publisher, No. 50 Bromfield street, Boston, Mass.

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

OMRO, Wisconsin, Aug. 14, 1874.

TO THE SPIRITUALISTS OF WISCONSIN, GREETING.

The Northern Wisconsin Spiritual Conference will hold their next quarterly meeting in the Spiritual Hall in Omro, on the 25th, 26th and 27th of September, 1874. The regular speakers engaged for the occasion are C. W. Stewart and Mattie H. Parry. We also extend a cordial invitation to all speakers and mediums to meet with us. Let there be a grand rally of Spiritualists from all parts of Wisconsin. The platform will be free for the discussion of all subjects that will benefit the human race. The society of Omro will make every effort to entertain (free) all who may attend the meeting. Arrangements will be made with the hotels of the place (at reduced rates) for those who prefer stopping with them. Let all come to the love feast.

DR. J. C. PHILLIPS, for Society.

Efforts are being made to have Mrs. E. A. Blair (spirit artist) of which due notice will be given.

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Hoping that this may induce others who need their services to test their skill, I cheerfully give this testimony in their favor, and hope that they may be the means of restoring hundreds of those suffering as I did to health and strength.

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JOHN A. VANZANT.

Bright's Disease of the Kidneys Cured.

NEW YORK CITY, Nov. 3, 1869.

Eight years ago I was taken with bleeding from the kidneys, which has continued at intervals ever since. All the best physicians did me no good, and finally gave me up as an incurable case of Bright's Disease of the Kidneys. My friends had all lost hope, and I had also given up, as

I had become so weak that I could scarcely walk a block. A friend advised me to go to the Magnetic Healing Institute, and see what could be done for me there. I went, and after being examined was told I could be cured only by the strictest Magnetic treatment. The first operation affected me strangely, sending piercing pains through my back and kidneys; but I began to improve at once, and now, after one month's treatment, I have returned to my employment and can walk several miles without fatigue. I can be seen at 101 Clinton avenue, Brooklyn, or at 23 South street, New York.

T. P. RICHARDSON.

Inflammation of the Face and Eyes Cured.

NEW YORK CITY, June 21, 1869.

I had been afflicted for several years by a serious inflammation of the face, involving the eyes, which were so bad that at times I could not see at all. One eye I thought entirely destroyed. I tried various remedies and the most eminent physicians, but could not even get relief, for the most excruciating pain accompanied it. As a last resort I applied at the Magnetic Healing Institute. They explained my disease and said it could be removed. Though thoroughly skeptical, I placed myself under treatment, and, strange as it may seem, am now, after six weeks' treatment, entirely cured; the eye I thought destroyed, is also restored. I consider my case demonstrates that the mode of treating diseases practiced at the Institute is superior to all others, as I had tried them all without benefit.

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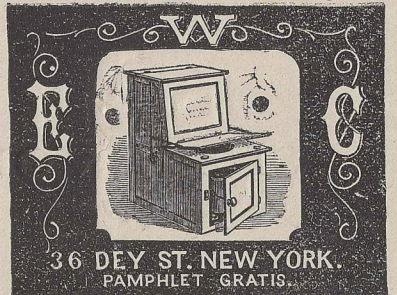
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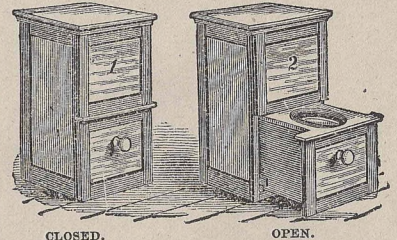
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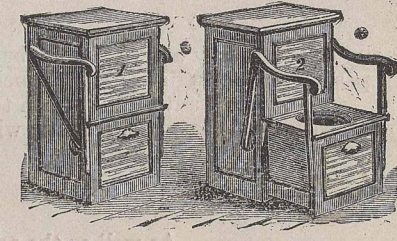
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