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

MRS. TILTON TO MOULTON.

JUNE 25, 1874.

MR. MOULTON: It is fitting I should make quick reply to so masculine a monster toward you.

I learned from Emmons Clark last night that you greatly desire the publication of his statement to Dr. Bacon. I have conferred with Mr. Carpenter as avoiding it. Forgive me, and accept my gratitude.

ELIZ. R. TILTON.

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

I now return to the documentary evidence, and the necessary explanations thereof, which have grown out of the conduct of the affair as regards Beecher himself after the fall of 1873, as elucidated with the affairs of Bowen which I have already explained. At about this time I received the following letter, marked "MM2":

MRS. WOODHULL TO BEECHER.

BROOKLYN, FOUR-STREET, 12th, 1874.

[illegible] lessons which you are deeply interested in, as well as myself, and the cause of truth, I have an interview with you, without fail, at [illegible] hour. I have to-day written three letters [illegible] way I can avoid my engagement with you. I [illegible] letters written to various persons with whom [illegible] me, and thus to conceal the political [illegible]

I [illegible] see what it is and my power to strike [illegible] disastrous. I am at the right [illegible] I have a right [illegible] from those to whom I have a right [illegible] single counsel on your part will [illegible] I seek guardian, but I think you will [illegible] I feel as if I had lived in an interview [illegible] I try to speak I shall be able to meet you [illegible] morrow evening at [illegible] I have again and again proofed my [illegible] whether I was right in such feelings [illegible] the response is unequivocal that I am not. No man [illegible] the difficulties that environ me unless he stands [illegible]

[illegible] that I have a church on my hands is simple [illegible] to have the hundreds and thousands of [illegible] each one with its keen suspicion, or [illegible] of proceeding to publish to the world [illegible] out into ruinous defiance of me; to stop [illegible] seeming to do it; to prevent anyone [illegible] I have spent the best years of my life [illegible] my beginning years before this; to keep [illegible] as if I was not alarmed or disturbed; to be [illegible] home and among friends when I was suffering [illegible] I felt; to be able to go into the pulpit [illegible] and yet to come up fresh and full for Sunday [illegible] to be taken about, but the realizing [illegible] from the outside, nor its wearing [illegible] on the nervous system [illegible] that I have put more thought, and judgment and earnest desire into my efforts to prepare a [illegible] and I think ever I did for myself a hundred [illegible] As to the outside public I have never lost an opportunity to soften prejudices, to refute falsehoods, [illegible] feeling among all whom I met. I [illegible] an advocate of purer men and generally [illegible] of public opinion, and I have used every [illegible] to repair the evils which have been [illegible] I think with increasing success.

[illegible] the roots of this prejudice are long. The catastrophe which precipitated him from his place only disclosed a fact that had existed long. Neither I nor he can be aware of the feelings of classes in society, whether grounds than late rumors. I mention this to show why I have with absolute certainty that no [illegible] statement, letter, testimony or affirmation will reach the root of affairs and reinstate them. Time and work will.

But chronic evil requires chronic remedies. If my direction would place him all right, that shall not stand in the way. I am willing to step down and out, [illegible] offer more than that. I feel I do offer. Such [illegible] I would not take any more energy on a hopeless task. With such a man as T. T. there is no possible salvation for any that depend upon him. With a strong nature, he does not know how to govern it. With generous impulses, the undercurrent tendencies for evil. With ardent affections, he cannot love long that which does not repay him with admiration and praise. With a strong, theatric nature, he is constantly imposed upon with the idea that a position, a great stroke, a *coup d'état*, is the way to success.

Besides these he has a hundred good things about him, but these named traits make him absolutely unreliable.

Therefore there is no use in further trying. I have a strong feeling upon me, and it brings great peace with it, that I am spending my *last Sunday* and preaching my last sermon.

Dear, good God, I thank Thee I am indeed beginning to see rest and triumph. The pain of life is but a moment; the glory of everlasting emancipation is wordless, inconceivable, full of beckoning glory. Oh, my beloved Frank, I shall have received the crown, and forever hold fellowship with you, and look back and smile at the past. Your loving H. W. B.

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

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There are steady complexities enough.

We can well afford to run the risk of other complications which, in such a body, no man can foresee and no one control. There brooms a sense of responsibility for [illegible] and there would be a strong tendency to a kindly feeling to set in, which now is checked by the hollowness, without attendance, sympathy, or doctrinal agreement.

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H. W. B.

Don't forget to send back my speech.

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

TILTON TO MOULTON.

HUDSON RIVER RAILROAD, Monday Morning.

MY DEAR FRANK: I am writing while the train is in motion, and you will excuse the apparent strangeness of this shaken chirography. Mrs. Beecher sits in the easy seat. We are on our way to church in the palace car. Mrs. Beecher is tired and looks a little worn, for her man worn I last had a clear view of her. My heart has been full of pity for her, notwithstanding the cruel way in which she has treated my wife and home. Her face is written over with the tragic volumes of human suffering. I do not think she has been aware of my presence, for she has been absorbed in thought—her eyes rocted to one point.

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Friday afternoon instead of morning. I will stay for it assuming that is what is wanted. Very yours, T.

On the 2d of June, 1872, Beecher received from Mrs. Woodhull the following letter of that date, which I here produce, marked "TT":

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48 BROADFIELD STREET, June 2, 1872.

Rev. Henry Ward Beecher.

MY DEAR SIR: The social fight against me being now waged in this city is being rather better than anticipated. The danger, standing unsupported and alone as I have done of now. With the past two weeks I have been shut out of hotel after hotel, and am now, after a day's search, in a private family, with a friend of mine, and female, who are determined that I shall not be molested. The excitement has completely [illegible] the public mind against me. I have not yet obtained a room in which to lay my head. Tilton has taken position in the Grand Hotel, from which I am expected, and, I know, will be served with a writ of attachment for my arrest, on the charge of social freedom. I have submitted to this persecution partaking of such extremes by my presence, simply, in the expectation of being required to do so by my friends, in order to avoid a trial which I felt would be injurious to the cause. Will you lend me your aid in this? Yours very truly,

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

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

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MY DEAR MR. MOULTON: Will you answer this or will you say that she is to understand that I can do nothing? Everybody shall hear any such thing. Such a single service is that direct n. and if it brings me, it must come.

I care drop me a line to say that all is right, if in your judgment all is right. Truly yours, H. W. B.

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

After the publication of the tripartite covenant by Mr. Wilkeson, which I believe was on the 28th of May, 1874, the story of the trouble between Beecher and Tilton was revived, with many rumors, and those claiming to be friends of Beecher were endeavoring, as Tilton thought, to explain the terms of that covenant in a manner prejudicial to him. Some enemies of Beecher, under the guise of friends, got some clue to the proofs of the facts lying at the bottom of these scandals.

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

A CARD FROM HENRY WARD BECHER.

A letter written by Theodore Tilton to Henry C. Bowen, dated Brooklyn, May 3, 1874, intimating that Mr. Beecher has been guilty of my character, has been made public in a community in which I am a stranger and an original, and I feel it incumbent on me, in the spirit of fair play, and in order that I may have the opportunity of meeting my accuser face to face, and, if guilty, an opportunity to make the following statement:

In the courtesy of Mr. Tilton, that letter was shown to me at the time it was written, and before it was conveyed to Mr. Bowen, two months and years ago. By I gail and other advisers Mr. Tilton was urged to publish it to me, without delay, or a similar statement explaining his sudden coolness with Mr. Bowen, and his unexpected retirement as editor of the *Independent*, and consequent loss of his salary. Mr. Tilton's public standing needed such an explanation to be made, and although he had my free consent to make it, yet he hesitated and refrained from doing so, through a false kindness to disclose to the public Mr. Bowen's aspersions concerning myself. Mr. Tilton's consideration for my feelings and reputation, thus evinced at the expense of his own, I felt bound to regard, and I have never ceased to be grateful to him for an uncommon manliness in accepting wounds to his own reputation rather than speak of provoking aspersions on others.

II. The surreptitious and unauthorized publication last Sunday of Mr. Tilton's letter—a publication made without the knowledge either of Mr. Tilton or myself—evidences the fact that Mr. Bowen now has retracted his mistaken charges in the following words, under his own hand and seal, dated ——, namely:

"I, in a conversation with Mr. Bowen, a voluntary statement, above given, I solemnly pronounce the charges to be false, one and all, and to be without any color of reason or foundation in fact."

IV. All our differences with Mr. Bowen, and all temporary misunderstandings between Mr. Tilton and myself growing out of these, were long ago settled justly, amicably, and in the spirit of Christian charity.

(Signed) HENRY WARD BECHER.

Beecher felt much aggrieved at this claim upon him by Tilton, feeling that the matter had been all settled and adjusted, and he answered Tilton's application in this regard by the letter herewith produced under date June 1, 1873, marked "UU 2."

BECHER TO MOULTON.

SUNDAY MORNING, June 1, 1873.

MY DEAR FRANK: The whole earth is tranquil and the heaven is serene, as befits one who has about finished his world-life. I could do nothing on Saturday—my head was confused. But a good sleep has made it clear and vital. I have determined to make no more resistance. Theodore's temperament is such that the future, even if temporarily earned, would be absolutely worthless. I could bear with slander, and rendering me liable at any hour or day to be obliged to stultify all the devices by which we have saved ourselves. It is only fair that he should know that the publication of the letter by his counsel makes it impossible for me to do what I had proposed, and I would leave him far worse off than before.

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BECHER TO MOULTON.

MAY 17, 1872.

MY DEAR FRANK: I send you the only copy I have. I my sermon, and have made some verbal changes, and have inserted a passage that we spoke about last night, and you will see in it what I said, and that I argued then just as I do now.

Shall I see you to-morrow, or shall it be left without a speech?

I feel Theodore's on trust. I do not think it just. It is only without the excuse of gospel or [illegible] I think it is quite as much to Christ's interest to produce a feeling among those not since very intense, that it is excessive. Yours sincerely and ever,

H. W. B.

Don't forget to send back my speech.

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

TILTON TO MOULTON.

HUDSON RIVER RAILROAD, Monday Morning.

MY DEAR FRANK: I am writing while the train is in motion, and you will excuse the apparent strangeness of this shaken chirography. Mrs. Beecher sits in the easy seat. We are on our way to church in the palace car. Mrs. Beecher is tired and looks a little worn, for her man worn I last had a clear view of her. My heart has been full of pity for her, notwithstanding the cruel way in which she has treated my wife and home. Her face is written over with the tragic volumes of human suffering. I do not think she has been aware of my presence, for she has been absorbed in thought—her eyes rocted to one point.

A suggestion has occurred to me, which I hasten to communicate. She is going to Florida, and may never return to Brooklyn. If I am even to be vindicated from slanders which she has circulated, or which Mr. Bowen pretends to have received from her and Mrs. Morse, why would it not be well to get from her and Mrs. Morse a statement under oath of its extent and process that evidences make easy and harmless of the exact narrations which they made to him and to others.

It would be a great relief to my family, and would be for me a chance to say what they said to him. Speak to Mr. Ward about it. Of course I leave the matter wholly to you and him.

I shall be at your house this morning. My sublimen hour keeps the clerk and mail past various order my mind. If he actually knew the concert which has been in operation to ruin my family, I think he would shed his blood for them. Perhaps, say he, she would wear her truth on his cross. There was look of desperation in her—to-day it was—as we were compelled to meet in the cars. Yours in haste, T.

Friday afternoon instead of morning. I will stay for it assuming that is what is wanted. Very yours, T.

On the 2d of June, 1872, Beecher received from Mrs. Woodhull the following letter of that date, which I here produce, marked "TT":

MRS. WOODHULL TO BEECHER.

48 BROADFIELD STREET, June 2, 1872.

Rev. Henry Ward Beecher.

MY DEAR SIR: The social fight against me being now waged in this city is being rather better than anticipated. The danger, standing unsupported and alone as I have done of now. With the past two weeks I have been shut out of hotel after hotel, and am now, after a day's search, in a private family, with a friend of mine, and female, who are determined that I shall not be molested. The excitement has completely [illegible] the public mind against me. I have not yet obtained a room in which to lay my head. Tilton has taken position in the Grand Hotel, from which I am expected, and, I know, will be served with a writ of attachment for my arrest, on the charge of social freedom. I have submitted to this persecution partaking of such extremes by my presence, simply, in the expectation of being required to do so by my friends, in order to avoid a trial which I felt would be injurious to the cause. Will you lend me your aid in this? Yours very truly,

VICTORIA C. WOODHULL.

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

BECHER TO MOULTON.

MY DEAR MR. MOULTON: Will you answer this or will you say that she is to understand that I can do nothing? Everybody shall hear any such thing. Such a single service is that direct n. and if it brings me, it must come.

I care drop me a line to say that all is right, if in your judgment all is right. Truly yours, H. W. B.

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

After the publication of the tripartite covenant by Mr. Wilkeson, which I believe was on the 28th of May, 1874, the story of the trouble between Beecher and Tilton was revived, with many rumors, and those claiming to be friends of Beecher were endeavoring, as Tilton thought, to explain the terms of that covenant in a manner prejudicial to him. Some enemies of Beecher, under the guise of friends, got some clue to the proofs of the facts lying at the bottom of these scandals.

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

A CARD FROM HENRY WARD BECHER.

A letter written by Theodore Tilton to Henry C. Bowen, dated Brooklyn, May 3, 1874, intimating that Mr. Beecher has been guilty of my character, has been made public in a community in which I am a stranger and an original, and I feel it incumbent on me, in the spirit of fair play, and in order that I may have the opportunity of meeting my accuser face to face, and, if guilty, an opportunity to make the following statement:

In the courtesy of Mr. Tilton, that letter was shown to me at the time it was written, and before it was conveyed to Mr. Bowen, two months and years ago. By I gail and other advisers Mr. Tilton was urged to publish it to me, without delay, or a similar statement explaining his sudden coolness with Mr. Bowen, and his unexpected retirement as editor of the *Independent*, and consequent loss of his salary. Mr. Tilton's public standing needed such an explanation to be made, and although he had my free consent to make it, yet he hesitated and refrained from doing so, through a false kindness to disclose to the public Mr. Bowen's aspersions concerning myself. Mr. Tilton's consideration for my feelings and reputation, thus evinced at the expense of his own, I felt bound to regard, and I have never ceased to be grateful to him for an uncommon manliness in accepting wounds to his own reputation rather than speak of provoking aspersions on others.

II. The surreptitious and unauthorized publication last Sunday of Mr. Tilton's letter—a publication made without the knowledge either of Mr. Tilton or myself—evidences the fact that Mr. Bowen now has retracted his mistaken charges in the following words, under his own hand and seal, dated ——, namely:

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

IV. All our differences with Mr. Bowen, and all temporary misunderstandings between Mr. Tilton and myself growing out of these, were long ago settled justly, amicably, and in the spirit of Christian charity.

(Signed) HENRY WARD BECHER.

Beecher felt much aggrieved at this claim upon him by Tilton, feeling that the matter had been all settled and adjusted, and he answered Tilton's application in this regard by the letter herewith produced under date June 1, 1873, marked "UU 2."

BECHER TO MOULTON.

SUNDAY MORNING, June 1, 1873.

MY DEAR FRANK: The whole earth is tranquil and the heaven is serene, as befits one who has about finished his world-life. I could do nothing on Saturday—my head was confused. But a good sleep has made it clear and vital. I have determined to make no more resistance. Theodore's temperament is such that the future, even if temporarily earned, would be absolutely worthless. I could bear with slander, and rendering me liable at any hour or day to be obliged to stultify all the devices by which we have saved ourselves. It is only fair that he should know that the publication of the letter by his counsel makes it impossible for me to do what I had proposed, and I would leave him far worse off than before.

The *agreement* was made after my letter through you was written. He had had it a year. He had condoned his wife's fault. He had enjoined upon me with the utmost earnestness and solemnity not to betray his wife nor leave her children to a blight. I had honestly and earnestly joined in the purpose. Then this settlement was made and signed by him. It was not my making. He revised his part so that it should wholly suit him, and signed it. It stood unquestioned and unblamed for more than a year. *Then it was published.* Nothing but that. That which he did in private when made public excited him to fury, and he charges me with *nothing but my share in practically purchased by me!* It was his own deliberate act, with which he was perfectly content till others saw it, and then he charges a grievous wrong home on me!

My mind is clear. I am not in haste. I shall write for the public a statement that will bear the light of the judgment day. God will take care of me and mine. When I look on earth it is deep night. When I look to the heavens above I see the morning breaking. But, oh! that I could put in golden letters my deep sense of your faithful, earnest, undying fidelity, your disinterested friendship! Your noble wife, too, has been to me one of God's comforters. It is such as she that receives a waning faith in womanhood. Now, Frank, I want you to take any more energy on a hopeless task. With such a man as T. T. there is no possible salvation for any that depend upon him. With a strong nature, he does not know how to govern it. With generous impulses, the undercurrent tendencies for evil. With ardent affections, he cannot love long that which does not repay him with admiration and praise. With a strong, theatric nature, he is constantly imposed upon with the idea that a position, a great stroke, a *coup d'état*, is the way to success.

Besides these he has a hundred good things about him, but these named traits make him absolutely unreliable.

Therefore there is no use in further trying. I have a strong feeling upon me, and it brings great peace with it, that I am spending my *last Sunday* and preaching my last sermon.

Dear, good God, I thank Thee I am indeed beginning to see rest and triumph. The pain of life is but a moment; the glory of everlasting emancipation is wordless, inconceivable, full of beckoning glory. Oh, my beloved Frank, I shall have received the crown, and forever hold fellowship with you, and look back and smile at the past. Your loving H. W. B.

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

BECHER TO MOULTON.

MY DEAR FRIEND: There are two or three who feel as I do, that we should meet this week. It will only serve to raise profitless excitement, when we need to have quieting.

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