

A DIRTY YEAR

Sex, Suffrage, and Scandal in Gilded Age New York

by Bill Greer

EXTENDED ENDNOTES

The endnotes in the published version of *A Dirty Year* are limited to quotations. For readers interested in detailed sourcing for facts, descriptions, and so forth, I have prepared this extended set of endnotes by chapter and page. These endnotes include the references for quotations found in the book, as well.

For ease of reference, the Bibliography follows these endnotes. I have added a handful of entries.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE ENDNOTES

CA—Commercial Advertiser

NYEP—New York Evening Post

NYH—New York Herald

NYT—New York Times

NYTrib—New York Tribune

WCW—Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly

NYS—New York Sun

Chapter 1

- 3 *love triangle . . . Herald . . . Day's Doings: NYT, Jan. 7, 1872; Aug. 31, 1872; July 3, 1872; July 12, 1872.*
- 3 *Fisk had spent: Fisk's life is well chronicled in newspapers from 1867 to 1872 and in several contemporary books: R. W. McAlpine, *The Life and Times of Col. James Fisk, Jr.* (New York: New York Book Company, 1872); Willoughby Jones, *The Life of James Fisk, Jr.* (Philadelphia: Union, 1872); Marshall Stafford, *The Life of James Fisk, Jr.* (Philadelphia: National Publishing, 1874). A modern biography is W. A. Swanberg, *Jim Fisk: The Career of an Improbable Rascal* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959).*
- 3 *Josie Mansfield . . . brownstone: McAlpine, 502–505; Jones, 335–339.*
- 3 *Grand Opera House . . . staged theatricals: NYT, Nov. 3, 1870.*
- 4 *Fisk invited . . . worked on Mansfield: Jones, 342. McAlpine, 501–502.*
- 4 *“the grand entrée” and “the Woodhull and Claflin Wing”:* NYT, Jan. 8, 1872.
- 4 *Stanton wondered: Address to Woman Suffrage Convention, Washington, DC, Jan. 19, 1869.*
- 4 *Douglass didn't: NYT, May 13, 1869.*
- 4 *“throw the Negro”:* NYT, May 14, 1869.
- 4 *led disgruntled members: NYT, May 18, 1869.*

- 4 *Catherine repudiated: NYT*, July 1, 1871.
- 4 “*fatherly care*”: Lois Beachy Underhill, *The Woman Who Ran for President: The Many Lives of Victoria Woodhull* (Bridgehampton, NY: Bridge Works, 1995), 44.
- 4 *spare a penny*: W. A. Croffut, *The Vanderbilts and the Story of Their Fortune* (New York: Belford, Clarke, 1886), 131.
- 4 *Woodhull put: NYH*, Jan. 22, 1870.
- 4 *Vanderbilt signed*: Henry Clews, *Fifty Years in Wall Street*, (New York: Irving, 1908), 439–441.
- 4 “*open sesame*”: Underhill, 62.
- 4 *fashionably dressed: NYH*, Jan. 20, 1870; Jan. 22, 1870; Feb. 7, 1870; Feb. 10, 1870.
- 5 *VANDERBILT’S PROTÉGÉS: NYH*, Jan. 22, 1870.
- 7 “*thorough-bred*” . . . *antecedents: CA*, Feb. 5, 1870; *Albany Argus*, Feb. 22, 1870.
- 7 “*so deafened*”: *NYTrib*, Jan. 24, 1870.
- 7 *making shirts: Revolution*, Mar. 3, 1870.
- 7 “*While others*”: *NYH*, Apr. 2, 1870.
- 7 “*This journal*”: *WCW*, May 14, 1870.
- 7 *Revolution commended: Revolution*, May 9, 1870.
- 8 “*Obscene Literature*”: *NYT*, Jan. 15, 1872.
- 8 *Great American*: Donna Dennis, *Licentious Gotham* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University

- Press, 2009), 235.
- 8 *gin-mill . . . vices*: Charles Trumbull, *Anthony Comstock, Fighter* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1913), 13.
- 8 *own sins*: Heywood Broun and Margaret Leech, *Anthony Comstock: Roundsman of the Lord* (New York: Albert & Charles Boni, 192), 56–57.
- 8 “*the moon lavishing*”: Broun and Leech, 57.
- 8 *toward obscenity . . . loathsome business*: *NYT*, Jan. 15, 1872.
- 9 *more abominable*: *NYT*, Jan. 12, 1872.
- 9 *Dr. Evans*: *NYT*, Nov. 4, 5, 1871. *NYH*, Nov. 3, 4, 1872.
- 9 *baggage-master . . . Rosenzweig*: *NYT*, Aug. 27–29, 1871.
- 9 “*A new victim*”: *NYT*, Aug. 22, 1871.
- 9 *Michael Wolff*: *NYT*, Jan. 27, 1871.
- 10 “*The Evil of the Age*”: *NYT*, Aug. 23, 1871.
- 10 *Ann Burns*: *NYT*, Sept. 6, 1871.
- 10 *Times lamented*: *NYT*, Jan. 12, 1871.
- 10 “*screech at*”: *WCW*, Sept. 16, 1871.
- 10 *Howe and Hummel*: Theron G. Strong, *Landmarks of a Lawyer’s Lifetime* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1914), 294–309.
- 10 *Dr. Evans*: *NYH*, Nov. 10, 13, Dec. 6, 1870. *NYT*, Dec. 8, 1870.

- 10 “put a head on”: *NYH*, Nov. 10, 1870.
- 11 *Rosenzweig*: *NYT*, Sept. 1, 1871.
- 11 *Ann Burns*: *NYT*, Dec. 13, 1871.
- 11 *divorces*: *NYT*, Jan. 1, 1872.
- 11 *social order*: James D. McCabe, Jr., *Lights and Shadows of New York Life* (Philadelphia: National Publishing, 1872), 502–507, 594–597, 822–830. Junius Henri Browne, *The Great Metropolis, a Mirror of New York* (Hartford, CT: American Publishing, 1869), 129–137, 205–213, 243–251, 362–332. *A Memorandum Respecting New-York as a Field for Moral and Christian Effort among Young Men* (New York Young Men’s Christian Association, 1866), 3–7. Timothy J. Gilfoyle, *City of Eros* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992), 270–297.
- 11 “gambling hells”: Gustav Lening, *The Dark Side of New York Life and Its Criminal Classes from Fifth Avenue down to the Five Points: A Complete Narrative of the Mysteries of New York*. (New York: Fred’k Gerhard, Ag’t., 1873), 285.
- 12 *National Reform*: *NYT*, Jan. 3, 1872. Constitution of the National Reform Association, adopted February 3, 1863. *Index*: Weekly Paper Devoted to Free Religion, published by the Index Association, Toledo, Ohio, Jan. 6, 1872.

Chapter 2

- 15 *diamonds*: James Fisk to Josephine Mansfield, Oct. 4, 1870, reprinted in McAlpine, 409.

- 15 *Devoe Manufacturing*: *NYT*, Jan. 9, 1871. *CA*, Jan. 9, 1871. *NYEP*, Jan. 9, 1871.
- 15 *maneuvered out*: *NYH*, Jan. 18, 1871. *NYTrib*, Jan. 18, 1871.
- 15 *He issued*: *NYTrib*, Jan. 13, 1871.
- 15 “*friend of the family*”: *NYTrib*, Jan. 13, 1871.
- 16 *burlesque*: *NYH*, Jan. 18, 1871.
- 17 *Stokes’s wife*: *Albany Argus*, Jan. 19, 1872. Jones, 484.
- 17 *Fisk’s men*: *NYE*, Jan. 9, 1871.
- 17 *\$110,000*: *NYTrib*, Jan. 18, 1871.
- 17 *filed suit*: *NYH*, Dec. 2, 1871.
- 17 *letters Fisk*: J. W. Goodspeed, *The Life of Col. James Fisk, Jr., “The Prince of Erie,” of Miss Helen Josephine Mansfield, “The Erie Princess,” of Edward L. Stokes, the Assassin, and of Hon. Wm. M. Tweed, of New York, the Notorious Leader of the Infamous Tammany Ring* (New York: H. S. Goodspeed, 1872), 90–111.
- 18 *arbitration*: *NYH*, Dec. 2, 1871.
- 18 *secured affidavits*: Jones, 378. Swanberg, 245.
- 18 *arbitration . . . injunction*: *NYH*, Oct. 10, 1871. *NYT* Oct. 10, 1871, Oct. 20, 1871.
- 18 *Mansfield sued*: *NYT*, Nov. 16, 1871.
- 18 *senior Mr. Stokes*: Goodspeed, 116–117. *Jamestown Journal*, Jan. 12, 1872.
- 18 *His habit*: Goodspeed, 118. *NYH*, Jan. 9, 1872.

- 19 *particular morning*: *NYH*, Jan. 6, 1872.
- 19 *Yorkville Police Court . . . Delmonico's*: *NYH*, Jan. 7, 1872. *NYT*, Jan. 7, 1872.
- 21 *Fisk slept . . . visited his wife*: Swanberg, 186, 189–190, 223, 262, 270.
- 21 *devastated Chicago*: Jones, 447–448.
- 22 *German musicians*: *NYTrib*, Nov. 10, 1871.
- 22 *tended to pressing . . . payroll*: *NYT*, Dec. 31, 1871, Jan. 8, 1872. Jones, 453, 467–468.
- 22 *John Chamberlain . . . Mrs. Morse*: Swanberg, 117, 270.
- 22 *Grand Central Hotel*: McCabe, *Shadows of New York*, 308.
- 23 *Stokes climbed*: The description of the Fisk shooting and its aftermath, from the movements of Fisk and Stokes to Fisk's funeral procession, including quotes, relies predominantly on *NYT* and *NYH* from Jan. 7, 1872 to Jan. 10, 1872. Other newspapers carried similar accounts.
- 23 *"I've got you now" through "Yes, and there goes"*: *NYH*, June 28, 1872.
- 23 *"Will anyone protect me" and "Is that you"*: *Albany (NY) Argus*, June 28, 1872.
- 23 *"I am shot" through "By Jove, if things"*: *NYH*, Jan. 7, 1872.
- 24 *"Let's go to the Station-house"*: *NYT*, Jan. 6, 1872.
- 24 *"Do you believe" through "He is the gamest"*: *NYH*, Jan. 7, 1872.
- 25 *"Is there even" and "Keep up a good"*: *NYH*, Jan. 8, 1872.
- 25 *"What do you think"*: *NYH*, Jan. 7, 1872.

- 25 “*Is Miss Mansfield*” through “*I want it distinctly*”: *NYH*, Jan. 7, 1872.
- 26 “*Doing nicely*”: *NYT*, Jan. 8, 1872.
- 26 “*Ah, they may*” through “*It is not only the personal*”: *NYH*, Jan. 8, 1872.
- 27 “*I shot him*” through “*I merely wished*”: *NYT*, Jan. 8, 1872.
- 27 *the Tombs*: Charles Sutton, *The New York Tombs* (San Francisco: A. Roman, 1874), 44–57. Browne, 528–534.
- 27 *Edwin Haggerty*: *Albany Argus*, Jan. 9, 1872.
- 28 *executive capacity*: Jones, 449–451. Matthew Hale Smith, *Twenty Years Among the Bulls and Bears of Wall Street* (Hartford, CT: J. B. Burr, 1871), 109–112.
- 29 “*I can only die*”: *NYH*, Jan. 8, 1871.
- 29 “*That as an expression*”: *NYT*, Jan. 8, 1871.
- 30 “*I am the resurrection*”: *NYH*, Jan. 6, 1871.

Chapter 3

- 32 *Stanton led*: *Washington Patriot*, Jan. 11, 1872, reprinted in *WCW*, Jan. 27, 1872.
- 32 *Victoria Woodhull*: *Washington Evening Star*, Jan. 10, 1872. *CA*, Jan. 11, 1872. *NYH*, Jan. 11, 1872.
- 32 “*It is an error to exclude*”: Victoria Woodhull to Isabella Beecher Hooker, Oct. 19, 1871, quoted in Underhill, 188.

- 33 *Benjamin Butler*: David MacRae, *The Americans at Home* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1870), 159–160. Edward Winslow Martin, *Behind the Scenes in Washington* (Continental Publishing, 1873), 207–209. Goldsmith, 211.
- 33 “*a good share*”: Edward Winslow Martin, *Behind the Scenes in Washington*, 207.
- 33 *she moved*: Mary Gabriel, *Notorious Victoria: The Uncensored Life of Victoria Woodhull* (Chapel Hill, NC: Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill, 1998), 68–70. Underhill, 94–97. Barbara Goldsmith, *Other Powers: The Age of Suffrage, Spiritualism, and the Scandalous Victoria Woodhull*, (London: Granta Books, 1998), 211–212.
- 33 “*third house*”: Underhill, 94.
- 33 “*feast his eyes*”: Underhill, 97.
- 33 “*a shyster*”: Underhill, 101.
- 33 *Samuel Pomeroy*: Ida Husted Harper, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony* (Indianapolis: Bowen-Merrill, 1899), ch. 22.
- 33 *appointed morning*: *NYT*, Jan. 12, 1871. *NYEP*, Jan. 11, 1871. *NYTrib*, Jan. 12, 1871. *Washington Evening Star*, Jan. 11, 1871.
- 33 “*It would ill become . . . especially a Beecher*”: *WCW*, Nov. 2, 1872.
- 33 “*a frisky lad*” and “*jerky movement*”: *Washington, DC, Evening Star*, Jan. 11, 1871.
- 34 “*anthems to Woodhull*”: *NYT*, Jan. 12, 1871.
- 34 “*coup d’état*”: *NYTrib*, Jan. 12, 13, 16, 1871.
- 35 *Some day you will occupy*: Goldsmith, 252.

- 35 *Cosmo-Political Party*: WCW, Jan. 28, 1871.
- 35 *Filled Lincoln Hall*: NYH, Feb. 17, 1871. NYTrib, Feb. 17, 1871. *Washington Chronicle* reprinted in WCW, Mar. 4, 1871. Theodore Tilton, “Victoria C. Woodhull, A Biographical Sketch,” in the *Golden Age*, 1871, 12.
- 35 “*her guardian spirit*” and “*her first discourse*”: Tilton, “Victoria C. Woodhull, A Biographical Sketch,” 12.
- 35 “*fire and freedom*”: *Washington Chronicle*, reprinted in WCW, Mar. 4, 1871.
- 35 “*Though I may be on the far*”: Paulina Kellogg Wright Davis, quoted in Underhill, 119.
- 35 “*the grand work*”: WCW, Mar. 4, 1871.
- 35 “*seiz[ing] the bull*”: WCW, Mar. 11, 1871.
- 35 “*the ablest woman’s journal*”: WCW, Mar. 4, 1871.
- 35 “*Bravo! My Dear Woodhull*” and “*Go Ahead!*”: WCW, Feb. 25, 1871.
- 35 “*ahead of anything*”: Susan B. Anthony to Victoria Woodhull, Feb. 28, 1871, quoted in Gabriel, 87.
- 35 “*who bring[s] brains*”: Susan B. Anthony to Isabella Beecher Hooker, Mar. 21, 1871, quoted in Goldsmith, 256.
- 35 \$10,000: Underhill, 114, 209.

- 36 *social system oppressed . . . same services*: WCW, Mar. 14, 1870, Sept. 17, 1870, Mar. 2, 1871, Sept. 23, 1871, Sept. 30, 1871, Feb. 10, 1872, Mar. 9, 1872, Oct18, 1873. *And the Truth Shall Make You Free: A Speech on the Principles of Social Freedom*, by Victoria C. Woodhull, delivered at Steinway Hall, Nov. 20, 1871. *Tried as by Fire; or, The True and the False, Socially*, by Victoria C. Woodhull, 1874.
- 36 “*To show men*”: WCW, Oct. 18, 1873.
- 36 “*That a woman had political rights*”: WCW, Feb. 10, 1872.
- 36 “*the ability to earn*” and “*the glorious freedom*”: WCW, Sept. 17, 1870.
- 36 “*the gilded palaces*” and “*the lowest purlieus*”: Woodhull, *And the Truth Shall Make You Free*.
- 36 “*head and front*”: NYH, Feb. 17, 1871.
- 36 “*branches of radicalism*”: WCW, Feb. 24, 1872.
- 36 “*party which*”: NYT, May 9, 1871. Full speech in Madeleine B. Stern, ed., *The Victoria Woodhull Reader* (Weston, MA: M&S Press, 1874).
- 36 “*the more radical and vital questions*”: WCW, ay, 12, 1871.
- 36 *pushed the limits*: WCW, Aug. 9, 1872, Oct. 25, 1873.
- 37 “*sovereignty of the individual*”: Woodhull, *And the Truth Shall Make You Free*.
- 37 “*short cut*” and “*hands are unclean*”: Mary Livermore quoted in Susan B. Anthony to Laura DeForce Gordon, Feb. 9, 1871, quoted in Goldsmith, 255.
- 37 *drew blood*: NYTrib, May 9, 10, 1871.

- 37 “dirty moral linen”: *NYH*, Mar. 13, 1971.
- 37 “slander upon”: *Albany Evening Journal*, May 11, 1871.
- 37 “Woodhull’s Women”: *NYH*, May 12, 13, 1871.
- 37 “honor Victoria”: *NYTrib*, May 10, 1871.
- 37 “If Congress refuse”: *NYTrib*, May 12, 1871. Full speech in Supplement to *WCW*, “the Great Political Issue of Constitutional Equality,” Aug. 12, 1871.
- 38 “Resolved, That this Convention”: *NYTrib*, May 13, 1871.
- 38 “best class of society” and “terrible earnestness”: *Washington Patriot*, Jan. 11, 1872, reprinted in *WCW*, Jan. 27, 1872.
- 38 “free love panic”: Martha Coffin Wright to Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Mar. 22, 1872, quoted in Goldsmith, 304.
- 38 *Minneapolis delegate*: Underhill, 147–148.
- 38 *single-minded*: Harper, vol. 1, ch. 22.
- 38 *Stanton echoed*: *Washington Patriot*, Jan. 11, 1872, reprinted in *WCW*, Jan. 27, 1872.
- 38 “We now propose”: *Washington Patriot*, Jan. 11, 1872, reprinted in *WCW*, Jan. 27, 1872.
- 38 *party putting*: *Washington Patriot*, Jan. 11, 1872, reprinted in *WCW*, Jan. 27, 1872.
- 39 *Woodhull addressed*: *Washington Patriot*, Jan. 11, 1872, reprinted in *WCW*, Jan. 27, 1872.
- 39 *Hooker took*: *Washington Patriot*, Jan. 11, 1872, reprinted in *WCW*, Jan. 27, 1872.

- 40 “conventionalities of red tape”: *Washington Patriot*, Jan. 11, 1872, reprinted in *WCW*, Jan. 27, 1872.
- 40 “embodying the purposes” through “a thousand other”: *NYH*, Jan. 11, 1872.
- 40 “our gracious masters . . . tremble”: *Washington Evening Star*, Jan. 11, 1872.
- 40 clock ticked . . . “humbugs”: *Washington Evening Star*, Jan. 11, 1872
- 40 “humbugs”: *Washington Evening Star*, Jan. 11, 1872.
- 40 “It is this” through “I was asked if I knew”: *Washington Patriot*, Jan. 11, 1872, reprinted in *WCW*, Jan. 27, 1872.
- 41 “Mrs. Woodhull’s voice”: *NYH*, Jan. 12, 1872.
- 41 “work for woman” through “my whole soul does homage”: *Washington Patriot*, Jan. 11, 1872, reprinted in *WCW*, Jan. 27, 1872.
- 41 angry spiritualist: *NYH*, Jan. 12, 1872.
- 41 peacemaker: *Washington Patriot*, Jan. 11, 1872, reprinted in *WCW*, Jan. 27, 1872.
- 41 lion and lamb: *NYH*, Jan. 12, 1872.
- 41 Alice Bowlsby: *Washington Patriot*, Jan. 11, 1872, reprinted in *WCW*, Jan. 27, 1872.
- 41 name Henry . . . Smith attacked: *Washington Patriot*, Jan. 11, 1872, reprinted in *WCW*, Jan. 27, 1872.
- 42 Senate Judiciary: *NYTrib*, Jan. 13, 1872. *NYH*, Jan. 13, 1872. *Washington Evening Star*, Jan. 12, 1872. *Washington Patriot*, Jan. 11, 1872, reprinted in *WCW*, Jan. 27, 1872.

43 “*The signs of the times*” through “*Woodhull for President*”: *Washington Chronicle*, reprinted in *WCW*, Jan. 27, 1872.

Chapter 4

44 *appeal of Ann*: *NYT*, Jan. 20, 1872.

44 *Mary Russell*: Russell’s story is based on *NYT*, *NYH*, and *NYE* from Sept. 5–12, 1871 and *NYH*, Dec. 12, 1871.

44 *the Bowery*: McCabe, *Shadows of New York*, 186–193. Matthew Hale Smith, *Sunshine and Shadow in New York* (Hartford, CT: J. B. Burr, 1868), 214–218. Herbert Asbury, *The Gangs of New York* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1928).

44 *Five Points*: McCabe, 398–421, Smith, 202–2013.

45 *laws of Heaven*: John Todd, *Serpents in the Doves’ Nest* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1867).

45 *devices*: Andrea Tone, *Devices and Desires* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001), 3–45.

Dennis, 211–215. Dr. Edward Foote, *Medical Common Sense: Applied to the Causes, Prevention and Cure of Chronic Diseases and Unhappiness in Marriage* (Published by the author, 1858).

45 “*moonlight excursions*”: *NYH*, Sept. 6, 1871.

46 “*I am too weak*”: *NYH*, Sept. 6, 1871.

- 46 *abortionist stewed in Sing Sing*: *NYT*, Dec. 25, 1871. Guy Cheli, *Sing Sing Prison* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2003); Denis Brian, *Sing Sing: The Inside Story of a Notorious Prison* (New York: Prometheus Books, 2005).
- 46 *Burn's help*: Ann Burn's story is based on newspapers covering her arrest, Sept. 5–16, 1871, and trial, Dec. 6–12, 1871, including: *NYT*, *NYTrib*, *NYEP*, *NYH*, and *CA*.
- 47 *Madame Restell*: Howe & Hummel, *Danger! A True History of a Great City's Wiles and Temptations* (Buffalo, NY: Courier, 188), ch. XVI. Browne, 582–587. Lening, 448. Clifford Browder *The Wickedest Woman in New York* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1988).
- 47 “trunk affair” and “could clear her skirts”: *NYTrib*, Sept. 6, 1871.
- 47 “the murder of Alice Bowlsby”: *NYTrib*, Sept. 6, 1871.
- 47 “Of late”: *NYT*, Sept. 7, 1871.
- 47 “quack doctors”: *NYH*, Sept. 6, 1871.
- 48 *paying for the best*: Strong, 294–309. Richard H. Rovere, *Howe & Hummel: Their True and Scandalous History* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1947), 56–64.
- 48 *the trial*: *NYEP*, Sept. 11, 1871. *NYT*, Dec. 12–13, 1871. *NYH*, Dec. 12, 1871.
- 49 *Three magistrates . . . parties involved*: *NYT*, Jan. 20, 1872. Charges of the Bar Association of New York against Hon. George Barnard and Hon. Albert Cardozo, Justices of the Supreme Court, 1872, iii–xxvi. *NYT*, Feb. 25, 1872.
- 49 *within his rights*: *NYT*, Jan. 20, 1871.

- Heard another case: NYH*, Jan. 23, 1872.
- 50 *Mary Geary*: The story of Evan’s arrest for death of Mary Geary is based on: *NYH*, Nov. 3, 4, 10, 1870, Dec. 6, 1870; *NYT*, Nov. 4, 5, 12, 1870, Dec. 8, 1870; *CA*, Nov. 12, 1870.
- 50 *Ann O’Neil*: The story of Evan’s arrest in case of Ann O’Neil is based on: *NYH*, Nov. 4, 12, 1870, Dec. 6, 22, 1870; *NYT*, Nov. 12, 1870, Dec. 6, 1870; *CA*, Nov. 12, 1870, Dec. 10, 1870.
- 50 “*committing an abortion*” and “*This is worse*”: *NYH*, Nov. 12, 1870.
- 51 *The trial opened*: Evans’s trial based on *NYT*, *NYH*, *NYTrib* from May 13, 1871 to May 18, 1871, June 11, 1871.
- 51 “*guilty of an attempt*”: *NYH*, May 18, 1871.
- 51 *Judiciary Committee*: Charges of the Bar Association, iii–xxvi.
- 52 “*I find nothing*”: *NYH*, Feb. 11, 1872.
- 52 *Cardozo held*: *NYT*, Feb. 11, 1872.

Chapter 5

- 53 *John Hall*: Broun and Leech, 63, 86.
- 53 “*little wifey*”: Broun and Leech, 65.
- 53 *going well*: Broun and Leech, 61–70. Trumbull, 45–48.
- 53 “*So bright, so sweet*”: Broun and Leech, 64.

- 54 “*go to my Father*” and “*too cold*”: Broun and Leech, 70.
- 54 “*Give me a man*”: Broun and Leech, 69.
- 54 *body of*: Trumbull, 19–21.
- 54 “*the hydra-headed monster*”: Anthony Comstock, *Frauds Exposed; or, How the People Are Deceived and Robbed, and Youth Corrupted* (New York: J. Howard Brown, 1880), 389.
- 54 *minds of boys*: Comstock, *Frauds Exposed*, 1880, 389–390.
- 54 *William Simpson*: Trumbull, 52–53. Pratt, Frank. “Sketch of Life of Anthony Comstock, Taken Down Stenographically, from His Own Words on Friday Evening, December 17, 1886, at the Massasoit House, Springfield, Massachusetts.” Typescript, in Comstock biographical file, Kautz Family YMCA Archives, 2.
- 55 *Mercury taunted*: Pratt, 2. Anthony Comstock to Clinton Merriam, Jan. 1, 1873, published in Appendix to the *Congressional Globe*, Mar. 1, 1873.
- 55 “*Jesus never would wink*”: Broun and Leech, 72.
- 55 *Printing House Square*: McCabe, *Shadows of New York*, 244–257.
- 55 *netherworld of Nassau*: McCabe, 426–429.
- 55 *Comstock sought*: The description of Comstock’s arrests on Nassau are based on *NYT*, *NYH*, *NYTrib* and *Sunday Mercury*, Mar. 3–4, 1872; Indictment Records of the New York County Court of General Sessions, New York Municipal Archives; New York Society for the Suppression of Vice Records, 1871–1953 (Microfilm Edition, Reel 1).

- 56 “*There’s the man*” through “*the female form divine*”: *Sunday Mercury*, Mar. 3, 1872.
- 56 “*disgusting*”: *NYT*, Mar. 4, 1872.
- 56 “*bawdy*”: *NYH*, Mar. 4, 1872.
- 57 *William Haynes: Frauds Exposed* by Comstock, 388. Lening, 652. Dennis, 141–152.
- Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Rereading Sex: Battles over Sexual Knowledge and Suppression in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), 224–225.
- 57 “*all indecent and obscene*”: Dennis, 100.
- 58 “*the curiosity*” through “*it hitch[ed]*”: Dennis, 127–128.
- 58 “*print representing a woman*”: Dennis, 147.
- 58 “*Strokeall & Company*” and “*Ten inches up*”: Dennis, 148.
- 58 “*extreme penalty*”: *NYT*, Mar. 7, 1872.
- 58 *Brooks . . . McDermott*: Dennis, 241.
- 58 *introduce Comstock*: Anthony Comstock to Robert McBurney, Mar. 23, 1872, quoted in Horowitz, 373.
- 59 “*Tombs shyster*”: Anthony Comstock to Robert McBurney, Mar. 23, 1872, in Horowitz, 373.
- 59 *the proprietors*: *CA*, Mar. 15, 1872. *NYT*, Mar. 16, 1872. *NYH*, Mar. 17, 1872.
- 59 *Charles Manches*: *NYT*, Mar. 16, 1872.

- 60 *Grandin warned*: Trumbull, 60–63. New York Society for the Suppression of Vice Records.
- 60 “*Get out of the way*”: Trumbull, 62.
- 60 *worrying Haynes*: *NYT*, Aug. 28, 1872.
- 60 “*It is charged by their friends*”: Broun and Leech, 192.

Chapter 6

- 61 *The Patriarchs*: Ward McAllister, *Society as I Have Found It* (New York: Cassell, 1890), 207–236.
- 61 *Beggars’ Banquet*: *NYT*, Mar. 17, 1872.
- 61 “*Bohemian*” through “*as long as a woman’s*”: *NYT*, Mar. 17, 1872.
- 62 *French Ball*: *Sunday Mercury*, Jan. 21, 1872. *WCW*, Nov. 2, 1872.
- 62 *baseball season*: *NYT*, Mar. 8, 1872.

Chapter 7

- 65 *Niblo’s Garden*: *NYEP*, Mar. 28, 1872.
- 65 *venerable name*: T. Allston Brown, *History of the New York Stage from the First Performance in 1732 to 1901* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1903), vol. 1, 175–233.

- 65 *Black Crook*: *NYT*, Sept. 13, 17, 1866. *NYEP*, Sept. 13, 1866. *NYH*, May 7, 1872.
- 65 “*such unembarrassed disporting*”: *NYT*, Sept. 17, 1866.
- 65 “*an exhibition*”: *NYH*, May 7, 1872.
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- 125 “*too indecent*”: *National Archives Indictment Records, Criminal Docket, Volume 2, US Circuit Court, 1864–1872*, Henry Camp, 374; David Massey, 275; Charles Mackey, 376; Edward Grandin, 377.

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- 127 *County Courthouse*: *NYT*, July 20, 24, 26, 29, 1871, Sept. 6, 8, 1871, Oct. 3, 23, 26, 1871.
- 127 *Edwin Hagerty*: *NYT*, Mar. 22, 1872, June 12, 1872. *NYTrib*, Mar. 26, 1872, May 31, 1872. *CA*, May 30, 1872. *NYH*, May 31, 1872. *Pomeroy’s Democrat*, June 23, 1872.
- 127 “*Filthy as a Digger Indian’s cave*”: *Pomeroy’s Democrat*, June 16, 1872.
- 128 *trial of Edward S. Stokes*: Trial description draws on the many newspapers that exhaustively covered the trial, which began with jury selection on June 19, 1872, and ended with a verdict on July 15, 1872. New York papers include the *NYT*, *NYH*, *NYTrib*, *CA*, *Pomeroy’s Democrat*, *Sunday Mercury* and *NYEP*.
- 128 “*Society . . . will have*” through “*Isn’t he good looking?*”: *NYH*, June 19, 1872.
- 128 “*whose minds were*”: *NYH*, June 27, 1872.
- 128 “*Oyez! Oyez!*”: *NYH*, July 11, 1872.
- 129 “*I’ve got you now*”: *NYH*, June 28, 1872.

- 129 “*blood money*” and “*the rumble of ambulance*”: *NYH*, July 3, 1873.
- 130 “*what a change*” and “*with a look*”: *NYH*, July 9, 1872.
- 130 “*Don’t fire*” [and the remainder of Stokes’s testimony]: *NYH*, July 9, 1872.
- 131 “*said unless*” [and the remainder of Mansfield’s testimony]: *NYH*, July 9, 1872.
- 132 “*nature speaking*” and “*the imprisoned mind*”: *NYH*, July 14, 1872.
- 133 “*I understand*” through “*I do not care*”: *NYH*, July 15, 1872.
- 133 *murder fascinated*: Howe & Hummel, *Danger!*, “*Autobiographical.*”
- 134 “*Sixpence a head*”: Howe & Hummel, *Danger!*, “*Autobiographical.*”
- 134 *defend twenty-three*: Richard Rovere, “Profiles, 89 Centre Street, Can Lawyers Be Honest?” in *New Yorker*, Nov. 23, 1946, 36.
- 134 *eight of his clients*: Murder cases of Howe include Robert Hopson (*NYH*, Mar. 7, 1872); Philip Wilkie (*NYH*, Mar. 26, 1872); Michael Hayes (*NYH*, May 25, 1872); Jeremiah Evans (*NYH*, May 29, 1872); George Lavery (*NYH*, June 4, 1872); Justus Dunn (*NYH*, June 15, 1872); David Murphy (*NYTrib*, June 28, 1872); Nicholas White (*NYH*, July 27, 1872); William Chambers (*NYT*, July 31, 1872, *Pomeroy’s Democrat*, Aug. 4, 1872); and James Burns (*NYH*, Sept. 8, 1872, *Pomeroy’s Democrat*, Aug. 4, 1872).
- 134 *Howe accepted*: Richard Rovere, “Profiles, 89 Centre Street, The Weeper,” *New Yorker*, Nov. 30, 1946, 50.
- 134 *the emotion*: On Howe’s courtroom theatrics, see Richard Rovere, “Profiles, 89 Centre Street, The Weeper,” *New Yorker*, Nov. 30, 1946, 49.

135 *hotel guest*: Edgar Salinger, letter to the editor, December 18, 1946, *New Yorker*, Dec. 28, 1946, 62.

135 “*My God*”: Salinger, 62.

Chapter 16

136 *Dr. Selden*: *CA*, Aug. 31, 1872, Sept. 18, 1872. *NYT*, Aug. 31, 1872, Sept. 3, 1872. *Sunday Mercury*, Sept. 1, 1872. *NYH*, Sept. 1, 1872. *Troy Weekly Times*, Sept. 7, 1872. Comstock, *Frauds Exposed*, 413.

136 “*Ladies’ Physician*”: *NYH*, Aug. 14, 1872.

136 *wicked books* . . . “*ante-natal murderesses*”: Comstock, *Frauds Exposed*, 416–417. Anthony Comstock, *Traps for the Young* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1883), 131–134, 154–155.

136 “*ante-natal murderesses*” through “*relief from trouble*”: Comstock, *Traps for the Young*, 154.

137 *culprits went*: New York Society for the Suppression of Vice Records.

Chapter 17

138 *Attorney Beach* . . . *Ingraham* . . . *Mansfield*: *NYT*, July 23, 1872.

138 *Times ran*: *NYT*, Aug. 2–4, 1872, Aug. 10, 1872, Aug. 20, 1872.

- 138 *Lydia Thompson*: *NYT*, Aug. 11, 1872. *NYH*, Aug. 13, 1872. *CA*, Aug. 13, 1872.
- 139 “*skillful and grotesque*”: *CA*, Aug. 13, 1872.
- 139 “*Worth a hot night*”: *CA*, Aug. 13, 1872.
- 139 “*One Wife*”: *NYT*, Aug. 1, 4, 1872. *NYTrib*, Aug. 23, 1872. *CA*, July 30, 1872.
- 139 “*Adultery served*”: *NYT*, Aug. 1, 1872.
- 139 *Booth’s Theatre*: *NYEP*, Aug. 19, 20, 1872. *CA*, Aug. 20, 1872. *NYH*, Aug. 20, 1872.
NYT, Aug. 1, 4, 1872.
- 139 “*so gloomy*”: *NYT*, Aug. 25, 1872.
- 139 “*King Carrot*”: *CA*, July 30, 1872, Aug. 24, 27, 31, 19872. *NYT*, Aug. 4, 27, 1872. *NYH*,
Aug. 4, 27, 1872. *NYEP*, Aug. 5, 21, 1872. *NYTrib*, Aug. 22, 1872.
- 139 “*We have our doubts*”: *NYEP*, Aug. 5, 1872.
- 140 “*to brighten the stage*” and “*brilliantly inaugurated*”: *NYH*, Aug. 27, 1872.

Chapter 18

- 143 *Beecher family*: See Debby Applegate, *The Most Famous Man in America* (New York: Doubleday, 2006), and Milton Allan Rugoff, *The Beechers: An American Family in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Harper & Row, 1981).
- 143 “*Give me war*”: Applegate, 327.

- 143 “*I need some little*” and “*My Darling Queen*”: Victoria Woodhull to Isabella Beecher Hooker, quoted in Goldsmith, 267, 271.
- 143 *Treated Woodhull*: *Washington Daily Globe*, Jan. 28, 1871. *Hartford Daily Courant*, Feb. 8, 1871, Nov. 11, 14, 25, 1871. Harriet Beecher Stowe, *My Wife and I* (New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1871), 1871, Preface, iiiiv–v.
- 143 “*A Citizen in Hartford*”: *Hartford (CT) Daily Courant*, Nov. 14, 1871.
- 144 “*terrible wash of dirty linen*”: Harriett Beecher Stowe, 266.
- 144 *Welcomed Catharine*: WCW, May 17, 1873. Goldsmith, 267–270.
- 144 “*Remember, Victoria Woodull*”: WCW, May 17, 1873.
- 145 “*personal and social magnetism*” through “*I do not seem to think*”: Rugoff, 369–372.
- 145 “*I came to love*”: Goldsmith, 90.
- 145 “*Have you come to see me?*” through “*I felt that I ought not*”: WCW, Nov. 2, 1872.
- 145 “*That that damned lecherous*”: WCW, Nov. 2, 1872.
- 146 “*No woman shall stand*”: Elizabeth Cady Stanton, interview in the *Brooklyn Argus*, July 26, 1873, in *Great Brooklyn Romance: All the Documents in the Famous Beecher-Tilton Case, Unabridged* (New York: P. H. Paxon, 1874), 34–35. Page numbers refer to the PDF version; pages in the original publication are unnumbered.
- 146 *Money was*: Interview with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *Brooklyn Argus*, July 26, 1874, reprinted in *Great Brooklyn Romance*, 34–35.
- 146 *Believe in free love*: Woodhull, *And the Truth Shall Make You Free*.

- 146 *Lib Tilton Loved*: WCW, Nov. 2, 1872.
- 146 *Defended herself*: NYT, May 22, 1871, *New York World*, May 22, 1871.
- 147 “*I do not intend*” through “*I believe in public justice*”: NYT, May 22, 1871.
- 147 “*Whom do*” and “*I mean you*”: WCW, Nov. 2, 1872.
- 147 *Village ruled*: Applegate, 200–203.
- 148 *Tilton had invited*: WCW, Nov. 2, 1872. *Great Brooklyn Romance*, 128—131.
- 148 *An infatuation*: J. E. B. Doyle, ed., *Plymouth Church and its Pastor or Henry Ward Beecher and His Accusers* (St. Louis: Bryan, Brand, 1875), 215–216, 220–222. Tilton, “*Victoria Woodhull: A Biographical Sketch*,” Robert Shaplen, *Free Love and Heavenly Sinners* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954), 145–146. Goldsmith, 290.
- 148 *Relived the horror*: WCW, Nov. 2, 1872.
- 148 “*opiates*”: Rugoff, 380.
- 148 *Woodhull sat . . . intimate moments, these arguments*: WCW, Nov. 2, 1872.
- 149 *Wrote his sister*: Goldsmith, 291.
- 149 *Carried the speech . . . Tilton intervened*: WCW, Nov. 2, 1872. Victoria Woodhull to Henry Ward Beecher, Nov. 19, 1871, reprinted in *NYH*, Aug. 22, 1874. Shaplen, 150.
- 150 “*Some day you*” through “*Mr. Beecher, if I am compelled*”: WCW, Nov. 2, 1872.
- 150 *Ringing speech*: Woodhull, *And the Truth Shall Make You Free*. NYT, Nov. 21, 1871. *NYH*, Nov. 21, 1871. *Pomeroy’s Democrat*, Nov. 25, 1871.

- 150 “*Yes, I am*”: Woodhull, *And the Truth Shall Make You Free*.
- 150 *Huge success*: WCW, Dec. 9, 1871.
- 150 “*The lecture in itself*”: Pomeroy’s *Democrat*, Nov. 25, 1871.
- 150 “*though its thunders*” and “*braying Ass*”: WCW, Dec. 9, 1871.
- 151 “*one of the dirtiest*”: *Independent*, Nov. 23, 1871, quoted in Gabriel, 150.
- 151 “*Will you lend*”: Victoria Woodhull to Henry Ward Beecher, June 3, 1872, reprinted in *NYH*, Aug. 22, 1874.
- 151 “*And please drop me a line*”: Henry Ward Beecher to Frank Moulton, June 3, 1872, reprinted in *NYH*, Aug. 22, 1874.
- 151 *When autumn arrived*: Doyle, 214–215, *Sunday Mercury*, Nov. 3, 1872. *New York World*, Aug. 28, 1872.
- 151 *Was exhausted . . . dragged herself to Boston . . . spirits seized*: WCW, Nov. 2, 1872.
- 152 *E. A. Meriweather*: *Memphis Sunday Appeal*, Nov. 17, 1872.
- 152 “*trooly loil*” through “*the proud daughters*”: *Memphis Sunday Appeal*, Nov. 17, 1872.
- 153 *Papers didn’t agree*: *Christian Watchman*, Sept. 19, 1872. *Springfield Republican*, Oct. 1, 1872. *Boston Herald*, Sept. 11, 30, 1872. *Hartford Courant*, Sept. 21, 1872. *Maine Farmer*, Sept. 21, 1872.
- 153 “*a disgraceful tirade*”: *Springfield (MA) Republican*, Oct. 1, 1872.
- 153 “*vile vituperation*”: *Boston Herald*, Sept. 11, 1872.

153 “never equaled in vulgarity”: *Boston Herald*, Sept. 30, 1872.

153 “obscene calumnies”: *Hartford (CT) Courant*, Sept. 21, 1872.

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154 *Another surprise*: *WCW*, Nov. 20, 1872.

154 *Turned into a home*: *Sunday Mercury*, Nov. 3, 1872. *Pomeroy’s Democrat*, Oct. 13, 1872.

San Francisco Chronicle, Oct. 27, 1872. *Cincinnati Commercial Tribune*, Oct. 28, 1872.

Doyle, 214–215. *WCW*, Nov. 2, 1872.

154 “as refreshing” and “jubilant joy”: Doyle, 214.

154 *Back to work*: *Springfield Republican*, Sept. 26, 1872. *WCW*, Nov. 2, 1872. Shaplen, 159.

155 *Her thinking . . . Does Plymouth Church?*: *WCW*, Nov. 2, 1872, Dec. 28, 1872.

155 “There is nothing secret”: *WCW*, Dec. 28, 1872.

155 *A reporter*: *WCW*, Nov. 2, 1872.

156 *TO THE PUBLIC*: *WCW*, Nov. 2, 1872.

156 “*The Philosophy*” . . . Luther Challis: *WCW*, Nov. 2, 1872. Woodhull court testimony reported in *Sunday Mercury*, Nov. 10, 1872, *NYH*, Nov. 9 and 10, 1872.

156 “*spring chickens*” and “*the red trophy*”: “The Philosophy of Modern Hypocrisy,” *WCW*, Nov. 2, 1872.

- 156 *THE BEECHER-TILTON SCANDAL* through “*If an omelet has to be made*”: *WCW*, Nov. 2, 1872.
- 157 *negotiating for lectures: Missouri Democrat*, Oct. 14, 1872.
- 158 *called on his colleagues . . . reading them aloud: NYH*, Nov. 9, 872.
- 158 *Twenty-seven thousand circulation: Geo. P. Rowell & Co.’s American Newspaper Directory* (New York: Geo P Rowell & Co., 1872), 124.
- 158 “*Eloquent and Thrilling*”: *Chicago Post*, Oct. 22, 1872.
- 158 “*animated and dashing*” and “*a new, simple*”: *Chicago Times*, Oct. 28, 1872, reprinted in *Cincinnati Commercial Tribune*, Oct. 31, 1872.
- 158 *Attended her lecture . . . select audience: Harrisburg (PA) Patriot*, Oct. 28, 1872. *Quincy Whig*, Oct. 28, 1872. *Illinois State Journal*, Oct. 28, 1872.
- 159 *Go to Press: NYH*, Nov. 9, 1872.
- 159 “*Weekly with the Beecher scandal*”: *WCW*, Dec. 28, 1872.
- 159 *American News Co. . . . Two presses rolled: WCW*, Dec. 28, 1872.
- 159 “*last and most desperate*”: *Springfield (MA) Republican*, Oct. 30, 1872.
- 159 “*If there is any*”: *Portland (ME) Daily*, Oct. 30, 1872.
- 159 *Handful of stories: Alexandria Gazette*, Oct. 31, 1872. *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, Oct. 31, 1872. *Cincinnati Commercial Tribune*, Oct. 31, 1872. *Leavenworth Daily*, Nov. 1, 1872. *Illinois State Register*, Nov. 1, 1872.

159 *Office was jubilant*: Doyle, 214. *NYH*, Nov. 9, 1872. *WCW*, Dec. 28, 1872.

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160 *Judge Benedict sentenced . . . collared Grandin*: *CA*, Oct. 3, 8, 1872. *NYEP*, Oct. 3, 8, 1872. *NYH*, Oct. 4, 8, 1872. *NYTrib*, Oct. 4, 1872. *NYT*, Oct. 8, 1872. National Archives Indictment Records, pp 374–377.

160 *federal obscenity statute*: For an examination of the original federal obscenity law, see Dennis, 254–258, and Horowitz, 358. On Comstock’s efforts for a new law, see Pratt, 4, and Broun and Leech, 128–132.

160 “*obscene book, pamphlet*”: Coverage of 1865 federal obscenity statute in Dennis, 254.

160 *His mentor . . . hundred dollars . . . Fainthearts*: Pratt, 4. Brown, *Morris Ketchum Jessup*, 56. Broun and Leech, 151–153.

161 *Carry the battle forward*: Broun and Leech, 150.

161 *Comstock prayed*: Broun and Leech, 134.

161 *Staff sprang*: *WCW*, Dec. 28, 1872.

161 *To the Independent*: *NYH*, Nov. 3, 1872.

162 *Comstock visited: Sunday Mercury*, Nov. 10, 1872. *CA*, Nov. 9, 1872.

162 *Osborn granted warrants*: *NYT*, Nov. 3, 1872.

162 *Woodhull spent Friday . . . plopped into their laps*: Doyle, 214. *WCW*, Dec. 28, 1872.

- 163 *Bankers and brokers rushed: NYH, Nov. 3, 1872. Sunday Mercury, Nov. 3, 1872.*
- 163 *At the courthouse [and their examination]: WCW, Dec. 38, 1872. NYH, Nov. 3, 1872. Sunday Mercury, Nov. 3, 1872.*
- 163 *“They are arrested on a charge” through “The idea of the government vindicating”:* NYH, Nov. 3, 1872.
- 164 *George Francis Train: Sunday Mercury, Nov. 3, 1872. WCW, Dec. 28, 1872.*
- 164 *William Howe advised: NYEP, Nov. 2, 1872. WCW, Dec. 28, 1872.*
- 165 *Woodhull and Claflin adjourned [in Ludlow Street jail]: NYH, Nov. 3, 4, 1872. Sunday Mercury, Nov. 3, 1872. WCW, Dec. 28, 1872. CA, Nov. 5, 1872.*
- 165 *“Fifth Avenue” and “citizen’s bedroom”:* NYH, Nov. 3, 1872.
- 165 *“the seed from which”:* NYH, Nov. 4, 1872.
- 165 *Colonel Blood . . . Andrews . . . police raided: NYH, Nov. 3, 1872. Sunday Mercury, Nov. 3, 1872. Brooklyn Eagle, Nov. 5, 1872. Albany Argus, Nov. 4, 1872. CA, Nov. 4, 1872.*
- 165 *“I tell you, Nettie” [and other comments at Plymouth Church choir practice]: Sunday Mercury, Nov. 3, 1872.*
- 166 *“For it is God”:* Brooklyn Eagle, Nov. 4, 1872.
- 166 *U.S. Circuit Court Monday: NYH, Nov. 5, 1872.*

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- 168 *“Let no Republican”*: *NYT*, Nov. 5, 1872.
- 168 *The Tribune*: *NYTrib*, Nov. 5, 1872.
- 169 *“the great Presidential battle”* and *“dreadful note of preparation”*: *NYH*, Nov. 4, 1872.
- 169 *“Let the Best Men Win”*: *NYH*, Nov. 5, 1872.
- 169 *Police force deployed*: *NYEP*, Nov. 5, 1872. *NYTrib*, Nov. 4, 1872.
- 169 *Republicans turning out*: *NYEP*, Nov. 5, 1872. *NYT*, Nov. 6, 1872. *NYH*, Nov. 7, 1872.
- 169 *Performing commendably*: *NYEP*, Nov. 5, 1872. *NYT*, Nov. 6, 1872.
- 169 *“Old Kaintuck”*: *NYT*, Nov. 6, 1872.
- 170 *Printing House Square*: *NYT*, Nov. 6, 1872. *NYTrib*, Nov. 7, 1872.
- 170 *Keeler’s Stereopticon*: *NYT*, Nov. 5, 6, 1872.
- 170 *Times patted itself*: *NYT*, Nov. 6, 7, 8, 1872.
- 170 *HORACE GONE WEST and HIS HANGERS-ON*: *NYT*, Nov. 6, 1872.
- 170 *“There was nothing purchasable”*: *NYT*, Nov. 7, 1872.
- 170 *“destitute of principle”* and *“as much open”*: *NYT*, Nov. 8, 1872.
- 170 *“confine its attentions”*: *NYT*, Nov. 7, 1872.
- 170 *Overwhelming victory*: *NYT*, Nov. 7, 1872, *NYH*, Nov. 6, 7, 1872.
- 171 *“worst beaten individual”*: *Illinois State Register*, Nov. 19, 1872.
- 171 *Frederick Douglass won*: *NYH*, Nov. 30, 1872.

- 171 *TODAY'S BREAKFAST TABLE*: *NYT*, Nov. 5, 1872.
- 171 *Susan B. Anthony was not putting: An Account of the Proceedings on the Trial of Susan B. Anthony, on the Charge of Illegal Voting, at the Presidential Election in Nov., 1872* (Rochester, NY: Daily Democrat and Chronicle Book Print, 1874). Harper, 423–429. Ann D. Gordon, *The Trial of Susan B. Anthony* (Federal Judicial Center, Federal Judicial History Office, 2005).
- 172 “*Do you swear that you will fully*” and “*Do you swear that you are*”: Election Laws of the United States and the New York State Registry Laws, Relating to Registration and Elections in the Incorporated Cities of the State, (New York and Brooklyn Excepted,) and in Incorporated Villages of the State Containing over Ten Thousand Inhabitants together with Forms and Instructions for the Guidance of Supervisors and Inspectors of Election (Issued under the Direction of Charles M. Dennison, Chief Supervisor of Elections, N. D. of N. Y., 1876), 21–22.
- 173 “*ladies at Rochester*”: *NYT*, Nov. 6, 1872.

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- 174 *First day of examination*: *NYH*, Nov. 9, 1872. *NYT*, Nov. 9, 1872. *NYTrib*, Nov. 9, 1872.
- 174 *Today's proceedings . . . next day's papers*: *NYH*, Nov. 10, 1872. *Sunday Mercury*, Nov. 10, 1872. *NYT*, Nov. 10, 1872.
- 174 “*in the name*”: *NYH*, Nov. 9, 1872.

- 175 “for a thousand years” and “a spiritual glow”: *Sunday Mercury*, Nov. 10, 1872.
- 177 “She is the individual” through “Your Honor, when I represent”: *NYH*, Nov. 10, 1872.
- 177 “Do you know a Mr. Cutler” [and the remainder of Challis’s testimony]: *NYH*, Nov. 10, 1872.
- 178 “spring chickens” [and the remainder of Woodhull’s testimony]: *NYH*, Nov. 10, 1872.
- 178 “very familiarly” and “Good evening, Mother”: *NYH*, Nov. 10, 1872.
- 178 “Did you ever hear” and “the red trophy of her virginity”: *NYH*, Nov. 10, 1872.
- 178 “words that were imputed”: *NYH*, Nov. 10, 1872.
- 178 *Printed the complaint*: *NYH*, Nov. 3, 1872.
- 179 *hospitality was startlingly*: *WCW*, Dec. 28, 1872.
- 179 *Husband Colonel Blood*: *CA*, Nov. 22, 1872.
- 179 *Kind notes*: *WCW*, Dec. 28, 1872.
- 179 *Defenders appeared*: *Hartford Times* and *Syracuse Morning Herald* quoted in *WCW*, Dec. 28, 1872. *Brooklyn Eagle*, Nov. 15, 1872. *Albany Argus*, Nov. 23, 1872.
- 179 “Mr. Beecher, this thing” and “Entirely”: *Jamestown (NY) Journal*, Nov. 22, 1872.
- 179 *sources Woodhull named*: *Albany Argus*, Nov. 15, 1872.
- 180 *Early on Woodhull wrote*: *NYH*, Nov. 12, 1872.
- 180 *A second letter*: *NYH*, Nov. 20, 1872.

- 180 *Bail the sisters*: NYEP, Nov. 28, 1872. NYT, Nov. 30, 1872, Dec. 4, 1872. NYTrib, Nov. 30, 1872. CA, Dec. 3, 1872. NYH, Dec. 4, 1872.
- 180 *Free colonel Blood*: NYH, Dec. 14, 1872. Sunday Mercury, Dec. 15, 1872.
- 180 “red hot” and “Their next”: Sunday Mercury, Nov. 10, 1872.

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- 181 “How do you like it here?” through “Justice! I’m damn sorry”: NYS, Jan. 31, 1872.
- 181 *Howe was still earning*: CA, Nov. 18, 1872. NYT, Nov. 19, 1872. NYH, Nov. 23, 1872.
- 182 “an error”: NYH, Nov. 23, 1872.
- 182 *Rosenzweig’s wife*: CA, Nov. 25, 1872. NYH, Nov. 26, 1872.
- 182 *Great hopes . . . recuperating in Europe*: Albany Argus, July 22, 1872.
- 182 *Day after day the papers reported*: CA, July 23, 26, 27, 1872.
- 182 *bailed from the House of Detention*: CA, July 24, 25, 26, 1872.
- 182 *discharge of a witness*: CA, Aug. 14, 1872. NYEP, Aug. 14, 1872.
- 182 *attorneys delivered the bad news*: NYTrib, July 27, 1872. Albany Argus, July 28, 1872.
- 182 *Cell felt*: NYT, Aug. 17, 1872.
- 182 *Tombs physician*: Albany Argus, Aug. 28, 1872.
- 182 *Stroll in the corridor . . . plunge bath*: NYH, Dec. 7, 1872.

- 182 *turned to poetry*: CA, Aug. 2, 1872. NYH, Dec. 7, 1872.
- 183 *railed against the injustice*: NYH, Dec. 7, 1872. CA, July 25, 1872. Albany Argus, Sept. 27, 1872. NYH, Sept. 29, 1872. NYTrib, Oct. 24, 1872.
- 183 *Fisk and Gould*: NYH, Dec. 7, 1872.
- 183 *new witness emerged*: NYEP, Oct. 16, 1872. NYTrib, Oct. 17, 1872. NYH, Oct. 16, 1872. NYT, Oct. 16, 1872.
- 183 *Father to penury*: Swanberg, 291.
- 183 *His brother Clinton*: NYH, Nov. 10, 12, 1872. NYEP, Nov. 12, 1872. CA, Nov. 12, 1872. Brooklyn Eagle, Nov. 11, 13, 1872

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- 184 *Largest circulation*: Brooklyn Eagle, Nov. 15, 1872.
- 184 *HOW A GROSS SCANDAL and "two women of bad reputation"*: Brooklyn Eagle, Nov. 14, 1872.
- 184 *He instigated*: Brooklyn Eagle, Nov. 19, 1872.
- 185 *"cannot too soon"*: Brooklyn Eagle, Nov. 19, 1872.
- 185 *"ranged itself" and "ranged himself"*: Brooklyn Eagle, Nov. 23, 1872.
- 185 *buried in the World*: New York World, Nov. 20, 1872.
- 185 *meticulous records*: New York Society for the Suppression of Vice Records.

- 186 *William Strong . . . William Buckingham . . . Senator Windom . . . Clinton Merriam: Broun and Leech, 128–132. Trumbull, 85. Horowitz, 380–381.*
- 186 *He wrote Merriam: Anthony Comstock to Clinton Merriam, Jan. 18, 1873, published in the Appendix to the Congressional Globe, Mar. 1, 1875, also in NYT, Mar. 15, 1873.*
- 186 *Editors praised: Columbian (CT) Register, Dec. 7, 1872. Chicago Post, Nov. 29, 1872. Cincinnati Enquirer, Dec. 11, 1872. Daily Missouri Democrat, Dec. 14, 1872. Morning Republican (Little Rock, AR), Dec. 6, 1872.*
- 186 *“the exterminator”:* *Chicago Post*, Nov. 28, 1872.
- 186 *YMCA was pressing:* *NYT*, Dec. 14, 1872.
- 186 *Comstock traveled:* Broun and Leech, 129.

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- 187 *“Moral Cowardice”:* *WCW*, Dec. 28, 1872.
- 188 *“The Distinguished Lady Bankers”:* *Boston Journal*, Dec. 16, 1872 and *Boston Traveler*, Dec. 17, 1872.
- 189 *Preview in Springfield: Springfield Republican*, Dec. 19, 21, 1872.
- 189 *Music Hall’s representative:* *NYH*, Dec. 23, 1872. *NYT*, Dec. 21, 1872. *WCW*, Jan. 25, 1873.
- 189 *“We have bad women enough”:* *WCW*, Jan. 25, 1873.

189 “*Stop their press*”: *Springfield (MA) Republican*, Dec. 21, 1872.

189 *She protested*: *NYH*, Dec. 23, 1872. *WCW*, Jan. 25, 1873.

Chapter 26

190 *To arrest you*: On Anthony’s arrest, examination and indictment, see Harper, 1:426–429, Gordon, *The Trial of Susan B. Anthony*, 1–4, and *Account of the Proceedings of the Trial of Susan B. Anthony*, 1–3.

190 “*Is this your usual method*”: Harper, 1:426.

190 “*without having a lawful right*”: Enforcement Act of 1870, section 19, excerpted in Ann D. Gordon, *The Trial of Susan B. Anthony*, 52.

191 “*Not a particle*”: Harper, 1:427.

191 “*the indispensable ingredient*”: Gordon, *Trial of Susan B. Anthony*, 3.

191 “*If the former*”: Harper, 1:429.

Chapter 27

192 “*Paradise for murders*”: *Pomeroy’s Democrat*, Nov. 16, 1872.

192 “*Down with the Assassins*”: *CA*, Nov. 19, 1872.

192 “*Reign of Murder*”: *NYH* Nov. 20, 1872.

- 192 “*Is hanging for murder*”: *NYTrib*, Nov. 20, 1872.
- 193 *Prosecution opened*: The second trial of Ned Stokes relies on the many newspapers covering it. It began with jury selection on Dec. 18, 1872 and ended with sentencing on Dec. 6, 1873. New York papers include *NYT*, *NYH*, *NYTrib*, *CA*, *Pomeroy’s Democrat*, *Sunday Mercury* and *NYEP*.
- 193 “*As God shall judge me*”: *New York World*, Dec. 19, 1872, reprinted in *Albany (NY) Argus*, Dec. 20, 1872.
- 195 “*Gentlemen, have you reached*” through “*Guilty of murder in the first degree*”: *NYH*, Jan. 5, 1873.
- 195 “*upon that day*”: *NYH*, Jan. 7, 1873.

Chapter 28

- 196 *turned to Frank Moulton*: Henry Ward Beecher to Frank Moulton, Feb. 5, 1872, in *Great Brooklyn Romance*, 342.
- 196 “*What can I do*” and “*Mr. Beecher, I am not a Christian*”: Frank Moulton Statement to the Public, Aug. 24, 1874, in *Great Brooklyn Romance*, 253.
- 196 “*tripartite covenant*” and “*all causes of offense*”: The Tripartite Convention, Apr. 2, 1872, in *Great Brooklyn Romance*, 41–42.
- 196 *God looked down*: Henry Ward Beecher to Frank Moulton, Feb. 7, 1871, in *Great Brooklyn Romance*, 172.

- 197 *Sought his friend: Theodore Tilton vs. Henry Ward Beecher, Action for Crim. Con. Tried in the City Court of Brooklyn, Chief Justice Joseph Neilson, Presiding, Verbatim Report by the Official Stenographer* (New York: McDivitt, Campbell, 1875), Beecher Testimony, 2:840–843; Moulton Testimony, vol. 1, 88–89.
- 197 *rushed off . . . Beecher got nervous: Theodore Tilton vs. Henry Ward Beecher*, Tilton Testimony, 1:422, 423; Moulton Testimony, 89.
- 198 “*unguarded enthusiasm*” and “*utterly untrue*”: *Theodore Tilton vs. Henry Ward Beecher*, Tilton Testimony, 1:422.
- 198 “*Confide to me*”: Isabella Beecher Hooker to Henry Ward Beecher, Nov. 1, 1872, in *Great Brooklyn Romance*, 262.
- 198 “*Do not fail me*”: Isabella Beecher Hooker to Henry Ward Beecher, Nov. 27, 1872, in *Great Brooklyn Romance*, 266–267.
- 198 “*What is to be done?*” and “*Give me the letters*”: *Theodore Tilton vs. Henry Ward Beecher*, 1:424.
- 198 “*to the pillory*”: Goldsmith, 357.
- 199 *Mark Twain*: letter from Mark Twain, Nov. 26, Dec. 3, 1872, in *Mark Twain’s Letters*, vol. 5, 1872–1873, ed. Lin Salamo and Harriet E. Smith (Oakland: University of California Press, 1997), 235–236.
- 199 “*The people were fooled*”: *Detroit Weekly Tribune*, Nov. 29, 1872.
- 199 “*in the embraces*”: *Pomeroy’s Democrat*, Dec. 7, 1872.

- 199 “*Well, we always*”: *Theodore Tilton vs. Henry Ward Beecher*, 1:426.
- 200 “*True Story*”: *Theodore Tilton vs. Henry Ward Beecher*, 1:429.
- 200 “*A Complaining Friend*” and “*You urge*”: Theodore Tilton to the *Brooklyn Eagle*, Dec. 27, 1872, in *Great Brooklyn Romance*, 360–361.
- 200 “*vague, fast and loose letter*”: *Brooklyn Eagle* editorial, quoted in *Charleston (SC) Daily News*, Jan. 14, 1873.
- 200 *Tilton relived*: Letter to the West from Tilton, Dec. 31, 1872, in Doyle, 555–557.
- 200 “*blow after blow*”: Elizabeth Tilton to Theodore Tilton, Dec. 28, 1872, in *Great Brooklyn Romance*, 361.
- 200 *No horror worse*: Letter from Henry Ward Beecher to Frank Moulton, Feb. 5, 1872, in *Great Brooklyn Romance*, 175–176.

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- 203 “*something for Jesus*”: Broun and Leech, 116.
- 203 “*Present Situation*”: *WCW*, Dec. 28, 1872.
- 203 *Caught a train. . . secured warrants . . . found Colonel Blood*: Broun and Leech, 116–117. *CA*, Jan. 9, 10, 1873. *Albany Journal*, Jan. 9, 1873, *NYH*, Jan. 10, 1873
- 203 “*The Naked Truth*”: *NYH*, Jan. 4, 1873.
- 204 “*In my heart*”: Broun and Leech, 117.

- 204 “*lily-livered loons*” through “*the personification*”: WCW, Feb. 8, 1872.
- 204 *Beecher’s friends . . . Taylor’s Hotel . . . Tennie hid*: WCW, Feb. 8, 1873. NYS, Jan. 10, 1873. Gabriel, 202.
- 205 *thwart her* [on Woodhull’s arrival and speech at Cooper Institute]: NYS, Jan. 10, 1873. CA, Jan. 10, 1873. *New York World*, Jan. 10, 1873. NYH, Jan. 10, 1873. NYT, Jan. 10, 1873. WCW, Feb. 8, 1873.
- 205 “*Yes, I am here*”: CA, Jan. 10, 1873.
- 205 “*You are filling*”: WCW, Feb. 8, 1873.
- 206 *William Howe was . . . before Commissioner Davenport*: NYH, Jan. 11, 12, 14, 22, 23, 1873. NYT, Jan. 14, 22, 23, 1873. CA, Jan. 11, 14, 22, 1873. NYTrib, Jan. 11, 12, 14, 22, 23, 1873. NYS, Jan. 22, 1873. *Sunday Mercury*, Jan. 19, 1873.
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- 206 “*malignancy unprecedented*”: CA, Jan. 10, 1873.
- 206 “*the point of a bayonet*”: CA, Jan. 22, 1873.
- 206 *Davenport finally ruled*: NYEP, Feb. 3, 1873. *Lowell Daily Citizen*, Feb. 4, 1873.
- 206 *Government would never dare*: WCW, Jan. 25, 1873.
- 207 “*The Fearless*”: *Daily Albany (NY) Argus*, Apr. 18, 1873.
- 207 “*took a scalpel*”: WCW, Feb. 22, 1873.
- 207 *Criminal lawyers assured*: WCW, Mar. 1, 1873.

- 207 “a bouquet of advertisements” through “Modest and Delicate: WCW, Feb. 15, 1873. NYH, Feb. 9, 1873. NYT, Jan. 30, 1873.

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- 208 *Comstock climbed*: Trumbull, 86. Broun and Leech, 131.
- 208 “Blessed are they”: Anthony Comstock, diary entry, Feb. 1873, in Broun and Leech, 120–121.
- 208 *An Ohio paper: Vindicator* (Youngston, OH), Dec. 27, 1872, in WCW, Feb. 15, 1873.
- 208 *Inciting a mob: Troy Daily Press*, Jan. 25, 1873.
- 208 *Justice Strong . . . Congressman Merriam . . . Senator Buckingham*: Trumbull, 86. Broun and Leech, 131–132.
- 208 “my bill”: Trumbull, 90.
- 209 *Letters to nine doctors*: Broun and Leech, 133. *The Champions of the Church: their Crimes and Persecutions* by D. M. Bennett, 1028–1029.
- 209 “I am an employee”: *Anthony Comstock: His Career of Cruelty and Crime* by D. M. Bennett, 1028–1029.
- 209 *wife Maggie . . . Benjamin Butler . . . reception at the White House . . . special postal agent . . . Vermont Senator*: Broun and Leech, 133, 136. Trumbull, 86–89.

- 209 “*Special Agent*”: Anthony Comstock, diary entry, Feb. 17, 1873, in Broun and Leech, 136.
- 209 *called him to New York . . . publicity for their support*: Broun and Leech, 136–139. Trumbull, 91. WCW, Feb. 22, 1873.
- 209 “*subvert the people*” through “*to put the United States Mail Service*”: WCW, Feb. 22, 1873.
- 210 “*cheerless leaving*”: Anthony Comstock, diary entry, Feb. 1873, in Broun and Leech, 137.
- 210 *COMSTOCK’S CHRISTIANITY: NYH*, Feb. 24, 1873.
- 210 *No sooner had he heard*”: Broun and Leech, 137. Trumbull, 91.
- 210 “*The exhibitions of today*”: Anthony Comstock, diary entry, Feb. 1873, in Broun and Leech, 138–139.
- 210 *Blaine promised . . . Comstock despaired . . . Your bill passed*: Broun and Leech, 139–142. Trumbull, 94–99.
- 210 “*Remember the Sabbath day*” through “*Thy will be done*”: Trumbull, 95–99.

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- 212 “*I am a Polander*”: NYT, Feb. 14, 1873.
- 212 *His counsel understood*: Howe & Hummel, *Danger!*, ch. XVI.

- 212 *That day came: NYH*, Feb. 8, 1873.
- 213 “*all acts and parts of acts*”: *Laws of the State of New York Passed at the Ninety-fifth Session of the Legislature, Begun January Second, and Ended May Fourteenth, 1872, in the City of Albany*, (Albany: V. W. M. Brown, 1872), 1:509–510.
- 213 *indict Rosenzweig for murder: CA*, Feb. 20, 21, 22, 24 1873. *NYH*, Feb. 8, 11, 22, 23, Mar. 3, 4, 1873. *NYT*, Feb. 16, 22, Mar. 1, 1873. *Albany Evening Journal*, Feb. 22, 1873. *NYEP*, Feb. 27, 1873.
- 213 “*broadside*” and “*counsel more familiar*”: *CA*, Feb. 10, 1873.

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- 214 *Tombs contained: Sutton*, 49–52, 93–96. *NYT*, Jan. 8, 1873.
- 214 *William Foster: Albany Argus*, Feb. 26, 1873. *Troy Times*, Mar. 15, 1873. Thomas Byrnes, *Professional Criminals of America* (New York: Cassell & Co., 1886), 371.
- 214 *Hanging over Stokes: CA*, Jan. 7, 8, 1873. *NYH*, Jan. 7, 10, 1873. *NYT*, Jan. 8, 1873. *NYS*, Jan. 10, 1873.
- 214 *Hordes came to see: NYT*, Jan. 7, 8, 1873, June 12, 1873. *NYH*, Jan. 7, 8, 1873. *NYS*, Jan. 10, 1873.
- 215 *Horace brought news: NYT*, Feb. 15, 1873. *NYH*, Feb. 15, 1873. *NYTrib*, Feb. 15, 1873.
- 215 *Davis issued a ruling . . . Stokes staggered . . . leaves death row: NYT*, Feb. 16, 1873. *NYH*, Feb. 16, 26, Mar. 1, 1873.

- 215 “with regret”: *NYT*, Feb. 16, 1873.
- 215 *Foster had exhausted . . . had good news*”: *NYH*, Feb. 26, Mar. 1, 1873.*NYTrib*, Mar. 7, 1873.
- 215 “*Poor fellow*”: *NYH*, Mar. 1, 1873.
- 216 *The mournful fate* [Foster’s hanging]: *NYH*, Mar. 20, 22, 1873. *Albany Argus*, Mar. 24, 1873.*CA*, Mar. 5, 1873. *NYTrib*, Mar. 22, 1873. *NYT*, Mar. 22, 1873. *NYEP*, Mar. 18, 22, 1873.
- 216 “*the awful toilet*”: *NYH*, Mar. 22, 1873.
- 216 “*It’s too long*”: *NYH*, Mar. 22, 1873.
- 217 *Coolest of any prisoner*: *NYH*, May 7, 1873.
- 217 “*Stokes downcast?*”: *NYH*, May 5, 1873.

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- 218 “*assailed by a nameless animal*”: *Albany (NY) Argus*, Dec. 3, 1872.
- 218 *annual pew auction*: *Brooklyn Eagle*, Jan. 8, 1872.
- 218 *Eagle headlined stories*: *Brooklyn Eagle*, Apr. 15, 16, 21, 23, 24, 25, 1873; May 5, 29, 30, 1873.
- 218 *BEECHER VS. BOWEN*: *Brooklyn Eagle*, Apr. 15, 1873.
- 218 *THE BOWEN-BEECHER SCANDAL*: *Brooklyn Eagle*, Apr. 21, 1873.

- 218 *People blamed . . . sent the letter to the Eagle: Brooklyn Eagle, Apr. 21, 1873.*
- 218 *Outright treachery: Great Brooklyn Romance, Beecher Statement, 176.*
- 218 *disappeared with his family . . . Beecher would have footed the bill: Great Brooklyn Romance, Tilton Testimony, 62; Theodore Tilton to Henry Ward Beecher, May 1, 1874, in Great Brooklyn Romance, 53.*
- 219 *Lib Tilton's mother: Mrs. Morse to Henry Ward Beecher, Oct. 24, 1871, in Great Brooklyn Romance, Moulton statement, 335. Theodore Tilton vs. Henry Ward Beecher, Moulton testimony, 1:118.*
- 219 *Bessie Turner: Great Brooklyn Romance, Moulton Statement, 335.*
- 219 *mortgaged his home: Great Brooklyn Romance, Tilton Statement, p.381, Moulton Statement, 335–336. Beecher Statement, 179, 187–188.*
- 219 *paper had gotten hold . . . Beecher sent his carriage: Great Brooklyn Romance, Frank Carpenter Testimony, 35–36. Theodore Tilton vs. Henry Ward Beecher, 1:43.*
- 219 *Times published the covenant: NYT, May 30, 1973. Brooklyn Eagle, May 30, 1873.*
- 219 *“benefit his health”: Brooklyn Eagle, May 31, 1873.*
- 219 *Friday night prayer meeting: Brooklyn Eagle, May 30, 1873, May 31, 1873.*
- 220 *“From every stormy”: Brooklyn Eagle, May 31, 1873.*
- 220 *Moulton summoned Beecher: Theodore Tilton vs. Henry Ward Beecher, Tilton Testimony, 1:430–433. Moulton Testimony, 1:93–96, 99–101. Prosecution Opening Address, 1:43–44.*

- 220 “*This I will not*”: *Theodore Tilton vs. Henry Ward Beecher*, 1:54.
- 220 *Beecher’s confession*: Henry Ward Beecher to Frank Moulton, Jan. 1, 1871, in *Great Brooklyn Romance*, 255.
- 220 “*I will die*”: Henry Ward Beecher to Frank Moulton, Jan. 1, 1871 [known as “Letter of Contrition”], in *Great Brooklyn Romance*, 255.
- 220 *fetid flood of scandal*, *Great Brooklyn Romance*, Beecher Statement, 179.
- 220 *forming an investigative committee*: *Brooklyn Eagle*, Mar. 4, 12, 26, 1873.
- 220 *He would resign his pulpit*: *Theodore Tilton vs. Henry Ward Beecher*, Beecher Testimony, 2: 859–860.
- 220 “*For two years*”: Henry Ward Beecher, draft of unsent resignation letter, May 31, 1873, in *Theodore Tilton vs. Henry Ward Beecher*, 1:43.
- 220 *carried his resignation to Moulton’s study*: *Theodore Tilton vs. Henry Ward Beecher*, Tilton Testimony, 1:430–433; Prosecution Opening Address, 1:43–44.
- 221 “*If he publishes*”: *Theodore Tilton vs. Henry Ward Beecher*, 1:44.
- 221 *mess would ever end*: *Great Brooklyn Romance*, Beecher statement, 175–179; letters from Henry Ward Beecher to Frank Moulton, Feb. 5, 1872, and June 1, 1873, in *Great Brooklyn Romance* 175–176, 178.
- 221 *poison he kept in his study*: *Great Brooklyn Romance*, Moulton Statement, 341–342.
- 221 *a sound sleep . . . letter to Moulton*: Henry Ward Beecher to Frank Moulton, June 1, 1873, in *Great Brooklyn Romance*, 178.

- 221 “*as befits one*” through “*Your loving H.W.B.*”: Henry Ward Beecher to Frank Moulton, June 1, 1873, in *Great Brooklyn Romance*, 178.
- 221 “*For the Former*” and “*Today is a good day*”: *Brooklyn Eagle*, June 2, 1873.
- 222 *letter from Beecher . . . did not mince words: Theodore Tilton vs. Henry Ward Beecher*, Moulton cross-examination, 1:270–273. Frank Moulton to Henry Ward Beecher, June 1, 1873, in *Great Brooklyn Romance*, 178–179.
- 222 “*It would be simply reported*”: Frank Moulton, statement to the public, Sept. 11, 1874, in *Great Brooklyn Romance*, 342.
- 222 *Soon Tilton arrived: Theodore Tilton vs. Henry Ward Beecher*, Tilton Testimony, 1:430–433.
- 222 “*I don’t believe*”: *Brooklyn Eagle*, June 2, 1873.
- 222 *Beecher called to Frank Carpenter: Affidavit of F. B. Carpenter*, July 18, 1874, in Charles F. Marshall, *The True History of the Brooklyn Scandal* (Philadelphia: National Publishing, 1874), 1874. *Theodore Tilton vs. Henry Ward Beecher*, Prosecution Opening Address, 1:45.
- 222 “*Have you seen*” through “*I can bear anything*”: *Theodore Tilton vs. Henry Ward Beecher*, 1:45.
- 222 *Moulton easily convinced: Theodore Tilton vs. Henry Ward Beecher*, Prosecution Opening Address, 1:45. *Brooklyn Eagle*, June 2, 1873.
- 223 “*Mr. Tilton’s course*”: *Brooklyn Eagle*, June 2, 1873.

- 223 *to see Mrs. Moulton: Theodore Tilton vs. Henry Ward Beecher*, Emma Moulton Testimony, 1:721–722. Beecher Testimony, 2:857–858.
- 223 “*Go down to your church*”: Emma Moulton, testimony, in *Theodore Tilton vs. Henry Ward Beecher*, 1:721.
- 223 *His general health*: W. S. Searle, “Beecher’s Personality,” in *North American Review*, May 1, 1887, 494.
- 223 “*I am a little heart-hungry*”: Henry Ward Beecher to Frank Moulton, July 14, 1873, in *Great Brooklyn Romance*, 338.

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- 225 *appeared in the Court of Oyer and Terminer*: *NYT*, June 3, 4, 1873. *NYH*, June 4, 1873.
- 225 *sister’s obscenity case*: *CA*, June 4, 1873. *NYTrib*, June 5, 1873.
- 225 *city’s horrible heat . . . pitch of intensity*: *New York Star*, June 8, 1873, reprinted in *WCW*, June 21, 1873.
- 225 *feeling ill . . . pronounced dead . . . Saturday’s New York Sun*: *New York Sun*, June 7, 1873.
- 226 “*You must not speak*” and *VICTORIA WOODHULL DYING*: *NYS*, June 7, 1873.
- 226 *news rocketed across the country*: *Boston Herald*, June 7, 1873. *Chicago Post*, June 7, 1873. *Los Angeles Daily Star*, June 7, 1873.

- 226 *in and out of danger*: *NYH*, June 8, 1873. *NYTrib*, June 9, 1873. *NYS*, June 9, 1873.
Auburn Daily Bulletin, June 9, 1873. *CA*, June 12, 1873.
- 226 *little respite in the courts*: *NYTrib*, June 13, 1873. *Albany Evening Journal*, June 12, 1873.
Albany Argus, June 9, 1873.
- 226 “*Well . . . if she wants to be willful*”: *NYTrib*, June 13, 1873.
- 226 “*Is It a Crime*”: Harper, 1:436.
- 226 *change of venue*: Gordon, *The Trial of Susan B. Anthony*, 5–6.
- 227 *The trial: An Account of the Proceedings on the Trial of Susan B. Anthony*, 81–85.
- 227 “*At that time*”: *An Account of the Proceedings on the Trial of Susan B. Anthony*, 6.
- 227 “*She is not competent*”: *An Account of the Proceedings on the Trial of Susan B. Anthony*,
14.
- 227 “*It is for the jury*” through “*Gentlemen of the jury*”: *An Account of the Proceedings on
the Trial of Susan B. Anthony*, 66.
- 227 *jurymen spoke freely*: Harper, 439.
- 227 “*It is for the jury*” through “*Gentlemen of the jury*”: *An Account of the Proceedings on
the Trial of Susan B. Anthony*, 66.
- 227 “*Has the prisoner*” and “*Yes, your honor*”: *An Account of the Proceedings on the Trial of
Susan B. Anthony*, 81–84.
- 228 “*The sentence is*” and “*May it please your honor*”: *An Account of the Proceedings on the
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- 228 *Woodhull's trial*: NYS, June 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 1873. *Brooklyn Eagle*, June 27, 1873.
WCW, June 12, 1873.
- 228 *Howe had taken sick*: CA, June 23, 1873. *NYH*, June 24, 2873.
- 228 *"I am feeling"*: *Brooklyn Eagle*, June 26, 1873.
- 229 *"Stick to the case"*: NYS, June 27, 1873.
- 229 *"I want to get"*: NYS, June 28, 2873.
- 229 *"We want a verdict" through "the court room was as empty"*: *NYH*, June 28, 1873.
- 230 *No applause burst out . . . the Woodhull & Claflin prosecution*: *NYH*, June 28, 1873.
- 230 *"And thus ends the most" through "No sane person"*: WCW, July 12, 1873.
- 230 *"several month's intimacy"*: WCW, July 12, 1873.

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- 232 *"That gentleman" and "In shape and gesture"*: *NYH*, Aug. 7, 1873.
- 232 *Court of Appeals ordered*: *NYT*, June 11, 1873.
- 232 *"Law good enough to satisfy"*: *NYH*, June 11, 1873.
- 232 *"wretch Rosenzweig"*: *NYH*, Aug. 7, 1873.
- 232 *"pet case" through "In this Summer weather"*: *NYH*, July 8, 1873.

- 233 *Sheriffs unlocked the door . . . prepare to depart: NYT, Nov. 2, 1873. NYH, Nov. 2, 1873. Sutton, 578–581.*
- 233 *His trial had ended: NYT, Oct. 28, 30, 31, 1873. NYEP, Oct. 30, 1873.*
- 233 *“In rendering”:* NYEP, Oct. 30, 1873.
- 234 *“Guilty of manslaughter” through “Anybody else think that?”: Pomeroy’s Democrat, Nov. 8, 1873.*
- 234 *“misery”:* NYH, Nov. 2, 1873.
- 234 *young dandies: NYH, Nov. 2, 1873.*
- 235 *Howe had argued the case: CA, Sept. 27, 1873. NYH, Sept. 28, 1873. NYT, Sept. 28, 1873.*
- 235 *Judge Sutherland agreed: NYEP, Nov. 12, 13, 1873. NYH, Nov. 13, 1873. NYT, Nov. 13, 18873, Nov. 14, 1873. NYTrib, Nov. 14, 1873.*
- 235 *Rosenzweig’s wife and daughter: NYT, Nov. 11, 1873.*
- 235 *“a manifest miscarriage”:* Howe & Hummel, *Danger*, ch. 16.

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- 236 *On Halloween, the lecture hall: Brooklyn Eagle, Nov. 1, 1873.*
- 236 *an intimate place: Smith, Sunshine and Shadow, 95–96*
- 236 *returned from his summer vacation . . . “to avoid any manner”:* Brooklyn Eagle, Oct. 4, 1873.

- 236 *William West: Great Brooklyn Romance*, 48, 131.
- 236 *They agreed on a solution: Great Brooklyn Romance*, 48.
- 237 *Beecher delivered . . . Tilton strode: Brooklyn Eagle*, Nov. 1, 1873.
- 237 “*God is a present help*”: *Brooklyn Eagle*, Nov. 1, 1873
- 237 *Tilton discovered a short piece . . . disputed the Sun’s account: NYS*, Oct. 27, 1873.
Brooklyn Eagle, Oct. 27, 1873.
- 237 “*charges*”: *NYS*, Oct. 27, 1873.
- 237 *William West wrote: Brooklyn Eagle*, Oct. 29, 1873.
- 238 *Tilton could not abide: Theodore Tilton to Rev. Leonard Bacon*, undated, printed in the
Golden Age, July 21, 1874, reprinted in *Great Brooklyn Romance*, 47–49.
- 238 *The business meeting: Brooklyn Eagle*, Nov. 1, 1873.
- 238 “*dropped from the rolls*”: *Brooklyn Eagle*, Nov. 1, 1873.
- 238 “*if I have slandered him*” through “*Are we to understand*”: *Brooklyn Eagle*, Nov. 1,
1873.
- 239 *Tilton responded emphatically, Brooklyn Eagle*, Nov. 1, 1873.

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- 240 *People filled Cooper Institute: NYS*, Oct. 18, 1873. *NYH*, Oct. 18, 1873.

- 240 *Woodhull's speech*: Victoria Woodhull, *Reformation or Revolution, Which? Or Behind the Political Scenes*, 1873.
- 240 *climbed aboard a horsecar*: Woodhull speech to the American Association of Spiritualists convention, Chicago, Sept. 16–18, 1873, in *WCW*, Oct. 18, 1873.
- 240 “*For heaven's sake*”: *WCW*, Oct. 18, 1873.
- 240 *arrested twice . . . three obscenity indictments*: *NYS*, Oct. 18, 1873. *NYH*, Oct. 15, 1873. *NYT*, Oct. 14, 1873.
- 240 *The audience tonight*: *NYS*, Oct. 18, 1873. *NYH*, Oct. 18, 1873.
- 240 “*Go in, old gal*” and “*Wet your whistle*”: *NYH*, Oct. 18, 1873.
- 241 *tumult that had rocked the country*: Supplement to *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly* 940, Oct. 4, 1873. *NYTrib*, Sept. 18, 1873. *CA*, Sept. 18–21, 1873. *NYS*, Sept. 19–21, 1873. *NYH*, Sept. 19–21, 1873. *The Nation: A Weekly Journal Devoted to Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, Sept. 25, 1873. Michael A. Bellesiles, *1877: America's Year of Living Violently* (New York: New Press, 2010).
- 241 “*mad terror*”: *Nation*, Sept. 25, 1873.
- 241 “*We are on the verge*” [and the remainder of Woodhull's speech]: Woodhull, *Reformation or Revolution, Which? Or Behind the Political Scenes*.
- 242 “*Black Crook*”: *NYH*, Oct. 18, 1872.
- 242 *People flocked to her lectures*: For an assessment of Woodhull's career as “Queen of the Rostrum,” see Frisken, 117–145.

- 242 “the crowd began to swarm”: *St. Paul Daily Press*, Feb. 12, 1874, reprinted in WCW, Mar. 7, 1874.
- 242 “members of the senate”: *Atlanta Constitution*, Feb. 10, 1876.
- 242 “ladies who were”: *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, Nov. 7, 1875.
- 242 “hear exactly how”: *Atlanta Constitution*, Feb. 10, 1876.
- 243 “the scalpel of her oratory”: *Reading Times*, Oct. 22, 1874.
- 243 “the diseases that”: *The Standard (Northfield, Minnesota)*, Feb. 12, 1874, reprinted in WCW, Mar. 7, 1874.
- 243 “in impressing the most”: *Waterton Daily Times*, Sept. 1, 1875.
- 243 “That she tells much truth”: *Monroe County Republican*, reprinted in WCW, Mar. 7, 1874.
- 243 “If you want to put”: *St. Paul Pioneer*, Feb. 13, 1874, reprinted in WCW, Mar. 7, 1874.
- 243 “one of the two or three”: *Waterton Daily Times*, Sept. 1, 1875.
- 243 “seems to speak”: *Monroe County Republican*, reprinted in WCW, Mar. 7, 1874.
- 243 “launch[ing] forth”: *Leavenworth Daily Times*, Jan. 11, 1874.
- 243 “They do say as how”: *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 4, 1874.
- 243 “People’s ideas now”: *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, Nov. 7, 1875.
- 243 “masterpiece” through “and if she lives”: *Waterton Dispatch*, Sept. 1, 1875, reprinted in WCW, Sept. 18, 1875.
- 243 “the best known woman”: *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, Nov. 7, 1875.

- 243 “*the most remarkable woman*”: *Waterton Dispatch*, Sept. 1, 1875, reprinted in *WCW*, Sept. 18, 1875.
- 243 “*more talked and written about*”: *Elmira (NY) Daily Advertiser*, Sept. 14, 1875, quoted in Frisken, 143.
- 243 “*Victoria came; Victoria conquered*”: *Quincy Daily Whig (IL)*, Jan. 30, 1874.

Epilogue

- 245 *Crowds thronged*: *NYT*, Jan. 12, 13, 14, 1875. *NYH*, Jan. 12, 13, 1875.
- 245 *Plymouth Church had violated*: *Brooklyn Eagle*, Nov. 28, 29, 1873. Dec. 1, 6, 20, 1873. *Great Brooklyn Romance*, 31–32, 47–49. Marshall, 35–40, 63–65.
- 245 “*the rumors, insinuations*”: Henry Ward Beecher to Examining Committee of Plymouth Church, June 27, 1874, in *NYT*, July 11, 1874.
- 245 *Committee interviewed scores*: *Great Brooklyn Romance* and Marshall’s *The True History of The Brooklyn Scandal* present the committee’s investigation, including statements by those involved in the scandal and related letters and other documents.
- 245 *did not commit adultery*: Marshall, 431–432.
- 246 *Herald called it an inquiry*: *NYH*, Sept. 2, 1874.
- 246 “*contriving and willfully intending*”: *Theodore Tilton vs. Henry Ward Beecher*, 1:3.

- 246 *Emma Moulton's statement: Theodore Tilton vs. Henry Ward Beecher*, 2:85. Applegate, 445–446.
- 246 *He took the stand: NYT*, Apr. 1, 1875. *Theodore Tilton vs. Henry Ward Beecher*, 2:49, 892–893, 902. Marshall, 259–263. Applegate, 447.
- 246 *"thrust her affections": Theodore Tilton vs. Henry Ward Beecher*, 2:49.
- 246 *"Gentlemen, you have seen": Theodore Tilton vs. Henry Ward Beecher*, 2:85.
- 246 *"It is a miracle" and "produce sufficient evidence": Theodore Tilton vs. Henry Ward Beecher*, 3:842.
- 246 *"Gentlemen, you have seen": Theodore Tilton vs. Henry Ward Beecher*, 2:85.
- 246 *As a Beecher biographer expressed it: Applegate*, 446.
- 246 *"It is a miracle" and "produce sufficient evidence": Theodore Tilton vs. Henry Ward Beecher*, 3:842.
- 246 *jury went into deliberations: NYT*, June 25, 1873, July 3, 1875. *NYH*, July 3, 1875.
- 246 *diverging opinions: NYT*, July 4, 1875.
- 247 *reaction of Plymouth Church: NYT*, July 5, 8, 1875. *Alexandria (VA) Gazette*, July 3, 1875.
- 247 *"No voice uttered": Alexandria (VA) Gazette*, July 3, 1875.
- 247 *not support such blind loyalty: NYT*, July 3, 1875.
- 247 *survey of attorneys: NYH*, July 3, 1875.

- 247 *loyal brother William*: NYT, July 6, 1875.
- 247 “*the old scandal*”: Henry Ward Beecher to a friend, Feb. 16, 1877, in Joseph Howard, *Life of Henry Ward Beecher* (Philadelphia: Hubbard Brothers, 1887), 547–548.
- 247 *fought his way . . . stop in Iowa*: Gabriel, p 457.
- 247 *new chapter in her life . . . sailed for England . . . topic was sex*: Underhill, 271–278.
Gabriel, 240–247.
- 248 “*I wish to leave*”: Underhill, 273.
- 248 *Martin*: Underhill, 279. Gabriel, 247–251
- 248 “*I was charmed*”: Gabriel, 247.
- 248 “*She was more alive*”: Gabriel, 251.
- 248 *Marriage*: Underhill, 280–285. Gabriel, 250–255.
- 248 “*the happiest year*”: Underhill, 286–287.
- 248 *The Humanitarian*: Underhill, 292.
- 248 *returned to the United States*, Underhill, 293.
- 249 *supported causes*: Underhill, 304.
- 249 *old suffrage friends*: Underhill, 290–291.
- 249 *the automobile*: Underhill, 301, Gabriel, 290.
- 249 “*It will be*”: Underhill, 301.
- 249 “*We hope that you will find*”: Trumbull, 238.

- 249 *Comstock Claimed*, Trumbull, 239. NYT, Sept. 22, 1915.
- 249 *entrapped Madame Restell*: Browder, 188.
- 249 “*distinctly and disgustingly obscene*” and “*Not at all libidinous*”: *New York Evening World*, Aug. 5, 1893.
- 249 *Art Students League . . . unclad mannequins . . . nudes in art gallery windows*: Broun and Leech, 216–220, 250, 238–239.
- 250 *Mammoth Physical Exhibition*: NYT, Oct. 6, 10, 1905.
- 250 *threatened a producer*: NYT, Oct. 24, 26, 1905.
- 250 “*the world’s standing joke*”: Broun and Leech, 229–230.
- 250 *His final case*: NYT, Sept. 5, 11, 1915.
- 250 “*It is indeed*”: NYT, Sept. 11, 1915.
- 250 *birth control clinic*: NYT, Sept. 12, 1916, Oct. 28, 1916.
- 250 *American Birth Control League*: NYT, Apr. 23, 1922.

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