# The New Independent Review

Featuring: Jack the Ripper, True Crime, LVP Social History . . . and Beyond!

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# Lieutenant Sullivan

By Joe Chetcuti

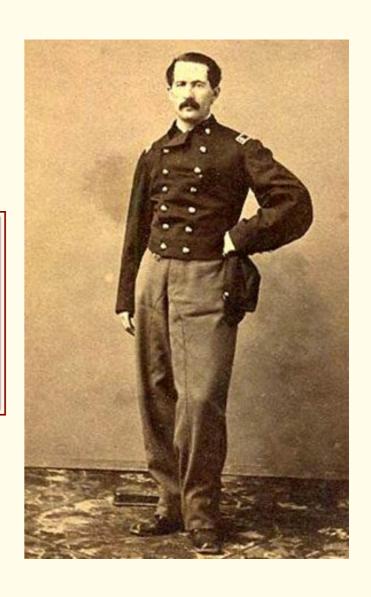
# The (PC) Long and Short of It



By Don Souden



By Michael Hawley



# **Contents**

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# Charles A. Dunham: For the Better Good

### By Michael Hawley

"I do not believe in fighting the Devil with fair play and honesty, and claim the right to use his own weapons."

Charles A. Dunham

For those who do not know who Charles A. Dunham was specific to Ripperology, he was the man who claimed to have seen Ripper suspect Francis Tumblety's anatomical museum of preserved female internal organs, or as he stated," the matrices of every class of women," and also claimed to hear Tumblety discuss a failed marriage with a former prostitute — powerful implications as to Tumblety being the Whitechapel murderer. These claims were in a New York World report on December 1, 1888. No other Tumblety source mentions these two dramatic claims.

It was then discovered that Dunham was an elusive character during the Civil War who had many aliases and fabricated many stories in print and in person and was a convicted perjurer. In view of this, the most of the Ripperology community has dismissed

these claims — especially since there is no other source corroborating these two stories.

The bad news is that significant misconceptions may have muddied the waters, ultimately affecting the search for the truth. Many Ripperologists who have researched Dunham claim he was "a pathological liar," "a loose cannon," an "unpredictable troublemaker with an enormous ego" and possessed "a personal agenda that sought fame and money." Because of these alleged failings, we should not accept any part of his New York World interview, many Ripperologists believe. Indeed, not only should we reject this interview, but any New York World articles on Tumblety — and, for that matter, any US newspaper articles on Tumblety should be taken with a grain of salt. Many Ripperologists have concluded that the practice of sensational journalism was so pervasive in the US in the nineteenth century that when they claim Tumblety had been implicated in the Whitechapel murders by Scotland Yard, it's just plain wrong.

Was Charles A. Dunham a lying troublemaker not to be trusted with anything he writes? Most

Ripperologists will agree that Carman Cumming, author of *Devil's Game: The Civil War Intrigues of Charles A. Dunham*, is the foremost expert on Dunham. Cumming's expert opinion seems to conflict with the common view of Dunham held by the Ripperology community. Cumming writes:

The first book-length study of one of the Civil War's most outlandish and mysterious characters, Devil's Game, traces the amazing career of Charles A. Dunham, double agent. Dunham was a spy, forger, "reptile journalist," and master of dirty tricks . . .

The puzzle is far from solved, but in recent years much has been learned of Charles A. Dunham (Sandford Conover), most notorious of the witnesses who swore that Abraham Lincoln's assassination had been ordered in Richmond and planned in Canada. A good deal of this newer material — unknown to historians for more than a century — relates to Dunham's incredible career as a Civil War spy, forger, reptile journalist, and dirty tricks artist and comes from the paper of Joseph Missemer . . .

My own interest in Dunham grew out of work on his intrigues among the Confederates in Canada, and

although I can add a few items to the story (especially his 1863 letter to Lincoln proposing a raid on Richmond to capture Jeff Davis), my aim is to build on what others have started, detailing as much as can be told of Dunham's career in the black arts of propaganda and false information. A good deal of that material is still open to interpretation, but striking patterns emerge. The most significant indicate that Dunham, for an extended period of the war, systematically and ingeniously faked stories damaging Confederates and Northern Peace Democrats. Circumstantial evidence suggests, as well, that in many of these projects, and in his intrigues in the South and in Canada, he may have worked in collusion with someone at Washington.

... A rival theory is that he was all along a loose cannon, a capricious troublemaker with enormous ego, imagination, and gall, but the weight of evidence suggests otherwise. [Emphases added.]

Cumming suggests Dunham had an agenda in support of the Union, although he also implies Dunham was guided by a financial agenda, especially in the case of Francis Tumblety.

Stewart Evans and Paul Gainey, authors of a modern account that paints Tumblety as a prime suspect in the unsolved Whitechapel killings, cite as crucial evidence an 1888 interview given to the New York World by "Colonel C.A. Dunham, a well-known lawyer who lives near Fairview, N.J." Evans and

Gainey say nothing of Dunham's inventive talents, although the "interview" sounds more like a written account and was probably, like most of Dunham's work, an act of imagination offered for profit. It may contain some truth about his Washington visits, however, or at least about the persona he cultivated late in life." [Emphasis added.]

Cumming writes about Dunham as a reptile journalist: *All these tales* [as a special correspondent for the New York Tribune] can now be seen as gross fabrication. *But Dunham often based his best fabrications on some basis of fact.*<sup>3</sup> [Emphasis added.]

From the above comments, Cumming clearly believes Dunham was *both* politically (as indicated by his support for the Union prior to the Lincoln assassination and against radical Republicans after the assassination) *and* financially motivated and not merely a lying pathological troublemaker. Moreover, Cumming does admit the financial motivation is not based upon direct evidence. He states "There is no proof Dunham was paid by anyone in Washington to produce this propaganda, but relationships of the kind were not unknown, and the government . . ."4

Well-respected Ripperologists who have researched Charles A. Dunham for the purpose of investigating Francis Tumblety always use Carman Cumming as a primary Dunham source — and for good reason. Yet, these same Ripperologists claim Dunham was a "pathological liar." In 2005, Tim Riordan wrote on Casebook.org, "Dunham was a

pathological liar yet it is the acceptance of his testimony that has been the basis for much of the speculation on Tumblety being the Ripper." [Emphasis added.] After reading Cumming's book, Riordan added: "Got a copy of the Cumming book and am reading it avidly. This is a very well researched book and given Dunham's slippery nature, a major accomplishment. While I have not finished the whole book yet, what I have read convinces me even more of the pathological nature of Dunham's lying. But what is more important here is his relationship to Tumblety."5

In his article "On the Trail of Tumblety - Part 1" (*Ripper Notes* No. 23, July 2005, p. 39) Wolf Vanderlinden stated, "Men were hanged on the strength of his [Dunham] word, and he was considered the government's star witness in the case against Confederate President Jefferson Davis. All this collapsed, however, when it was learned that Conover [Dunham] was a fraud and a **pathological liar** who perjured himself in court" Vanderlinden restated this claim on page 47, "... the same Sandford Conover we met earlier, the **pathological liar** and

<sup>1.</sup> C. Cumming, Devil's Game: The Civil War Intrigues of Charles A. Dunham (2004) p. Xi.

<sup>2.</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>3.</sup> Ibid., p. 58.

<sup>4.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5.</sup> Casebook Forums, February 17, 2005, http://www.casebook.org/forum/messages/4922/16125.html

<sup>6.</sup> Vanderlinden, 'On the Trail of Tumblety - Part 1', *Ripper Notes* No. 23, July 2005, p. 39.

master of the black arts of propaganda and false information."7 [ Emphasis added.]

Vanderlinden continued with his belief that Dunham was a pathological liar in Ripper Notes No. 24, October 2005, "Death in London's East End," in which he wrote "Charles Dunham was a con man and a **pathological liar**. The man who wrote his biography, Carman Cumming, ... "8 [Emphasis added.] Does Cumming ever claim Dunham was a pathological liar? No, Cumming never does, only that Dunham had both a political and a financial agenda for his deception. Ripperologists clearly accept Cumming as the Dunham authority, but their opinion on him being a pathological liar does not stem from Cumming.

What, you might ask, is a pathological liar? Dr. Don Grubin, MD, in the Journal of the American Academy of Psychiatry, describes a pathological liar:

Thus, lies are of different degrees and are told for various purposes and with differing frequencies. Washington.10 [Emphasis added.] What, then, amounts to "pathological" lying, and what distinguishes the pathological liar from the person who just lies a lot? [Some researchers] suggest that the diagnosis is made when the lying is persistent, pervasive, disproportionate, and not motivated primarily by reward or other **external factors.** They also suggest, however, that a key characteristic of pathological lying may be its compulsive nature, with pathological liars "unable to control their lying," although another term they

use is "impulsive." In addition, they refer to other accounts that speculate on whether the pathological liar may be unaware that he is lying, although they point to evidence showing that, when challenged, the pathological liar admits to at least a partial recognition of his or her lies (which assumes, of course, that pathological liars can be accurately identified so this can be tested in the absence of a clear definition or operational criteria).9 [Emphasis added.]

Compare this definition with Cumming's description of Dunham, The most significant indicate that Dunham, for an extended period of the war, systematically and ingeniously faked stories damaging Confederates and Northern Peace Democrats. Circumstantial evidence suggests as well that in many of these projects, and in his intrigues in the South and in Canada, he may have worked in collusion with someone at

Who is correct, Cumming or the Ripperologists? Am I claiming we should now believe Dunham's story about Tumblety's anatomical museum or his failed marriage? No, I am not because Dunham certainly used deception as a tool to accomplish his agenda, but Ripperologists promoting pathological liar argument suggest we should reject Dunham's entire story. Cumming himself stated Dunham's stories were often based upon fact.

Cumming stated that his conclusions about this elusive chameleon are the product of discovering patterns of behavior after reviewing the volumes of information. This effective inductive reasoning approach is taken right out of the scientific inquiry playbook. I would like to show another Dunham pattern in a timeline of Dunham's life. We can break his life into three events, the Civil War, the Lincoln assassination, and his Presidential pardon:

#### 1. Pre-Civil War (25 to 28 years)

1832 (up to 1835) - 1861 — Joins a New York legal firm, practices as a lawyer, gets married to Ophelia and has first child in 1858. Certain shady adventures to have been guided by a financial motive.

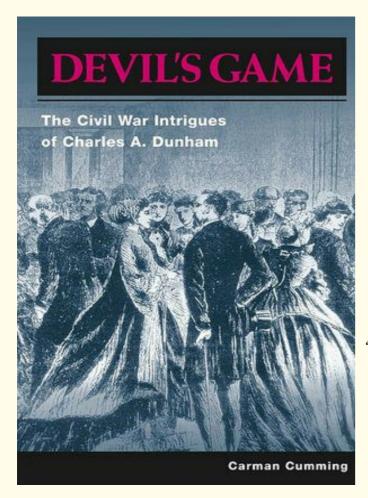
1860 - The Covode Affair — Dunham scammed (by baiting) a congressional investigation headed by John Covode, a veteran Pennsylvania Republican, by faking a letter. This was his first interaction with Washington, D.C., even though it was a local New York political battle. Dunham was a Democrat and believed he exposed the secret machinery of the Know-

<sup>7.</sup> Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>8.</sup> Vanderlinden, 'Death in London's East End', Ripper Notes No. 24, October 2005, p. 44

<sup>9.</sup> D. Grubin, MD, 'Commentary: Getting at the Truth about Pathological Lying', Journal of the American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law, 33:3:350-353 (2005).

<sup>10.</sup> Cumming, op. cit., p. xi.



Nothings, an anti-Catholic, anti-immigrant party that flourished briefly in the 1850s. He believed he was fighting the devil with the devil's own weapons. He has second child in 1860.

#### 2. Civil War (4 to 5 years)

1861 - 1865—The vast majority of national 'Dunham' activity is during the Civil War era, from trying to raise a New York regiment to his CSA and Canadian spying experiences, to his New York reptile journalism. Cumming claims his actions show a

pattern of Union support, even the use of aliases when doing reptile journalism. Has two children between 1861 and 1865.

## 3. End of Civil War/Lincoln Assassination to his Presidential Pardon (3 to 4 years)

1865 - 1869 – Dunham seems to have been recruited by Radical Republicans, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton and the Judge Advocate General of the Army Joseph Holt, to generate witnesses in their attempt to convict and execute Jefferson Davis for President Lincoln's murder. Evidence suggests Dunham used his favorite baiting technique in order to foil their agenda. Holt even stated that Dunham, "sold himself to the friends of Davis." The result was Dunham being convicted for perjury and getting prison time. This seems to have been another case of fighting the devil with the devil's own weapons.

# 4. After his Presidential Pardon to his Death (31years)

1869 - 1900 - Goes back to being a lawyer in New York City and leaves the national limelight. Has three more children. In 1888, Dunham is interviewed in the *New York World* about Ripper suspect Francis Tumblety. Dies in 1900. For 31 years after his pardon, Dunham never seeks the limelight, with the possible exception of the Tumblety interview.

An interesting pattern in Dunham's life is that for more than 60 years of his 68-year lifespan, he lives out a normal existence in New York and New Jersey as a lawyer and a family man doing legal work (albeit sometimes shady) and trying to make money. It's only during the dramatic Civil War and Lincoln assassination events that we see Dunham utilizing his courage, intelligence, charisma, and creative literary and story-telling talents as a double-agent during dangerous times. I believe it is in the job description of a double-agent to not only be deceptive but make it believable. This was a perfect job for an intelligent and sometimes unscrupulous lawyer. The Dunham timeline certainly conforms to Cumming's conclusions as a Union double agent and not the perception of many Ripperologists. It certainly does seem he used the devil's tools against the devil for his country. Even when he was baiting the Radical Republicans, it seems very plausible he was using the

The next question, then, is why did Dunham even comment about Tumblety in 1888? This is important, since it may point to Dunham's actual agenda in being interviewed about Tumblety. Many suggest, even Cumming himself, that he was doing it for profit. Some even suggest Dunham was a publicity hound and this was an opportunity to gain national attention as he did during the Civil War. The problem with that explanation is that it does not fit with his "later-in-life" ventures, as Cumming himself admits: "The Chameleon's later life is for the most part hidden. If he ever followed up on the threat to write his own dangerous memoirs, they have never been discovered.

11. Ibid., p. 191.

His later public ventures (**except for the strange** with murder by jumping bail back to the US. **1888 column on Dr. Tumblety**) seem to have Maintaining Dunham's "M.O.," so to speak, of "using been confined mainly to attempts to tap into rich estates." [Emphasis added.] good," Dunham may have wanted to assist in his

So, later in life, Dunham was not a publicity hound (which certainly conforms to Cumming's conclusion that Dunham wrote for the papers during the Civil War for political reasons in support of the Union). Nor does it seem he was financially strapped, since he was a lawyer dabbling in high-end estates.

I suggest Dunham's motivation has less to do with a financial opportunity or heedless attention seeking and more to do with wanting to get his *valuable* two cents into the public discussion. If his motive was not fame nor financial gain, the reasons for him discussing Tumblety in the *New York World*, may actually have been that his recollection of the man suggested he could very well be the killer.

Consider what may have occurred. One week prior to his *New York World* interview, Dunham read the newspaper articles on Francis Tumblety being a JTR suspect just like everyone else. It interested him greatly, because not only had he known this quack well during the Civil War, he had interacted with him in New York since the War. If he believed that this person could very well be the killer, it would have also irritated him that Tumblety was literally getting away

with murder by jumping bail back to the US Maintaining Dunham's "M.O.," so to speak, of "using the Devil's own weapons against him for the greater good," Dunham may have wanted to assist in his eventual conviction — only if he believed him to be the killer. He knew Scotland Yard was considering Tumblety because of his hatred of women. He knew the story about the coroner's suggestion that an American medical student was seeking a collection of uterus specimens, which may have something to do with the killings. It was time to mix fact with fiction and create a beautiful story "with purpose," just as Cumming claims.

Could it also be that Dunham was employing his old "baiting" technique to lure Tumblety into making a mistake? Maybe. Tumblety certainly did allow himself to be interviewed by the same newspaper organization two months later; a tactic one's lawyer (which Dunham was) will recommend to his client never to do in a court of law in order to avoid incriminating oneself.

The following is the Dunham interview taken out of a larger article on Francis Tumblety, which was published in the *Rochester Democrat and Republican* on December 3, 1888. Read it with the above information in mind:

Colonel C. A. Dunham, a well-known lawyer who lives near Fairview, N.J., was intimately acquainted with Twomblety [sic] for many years, and, in his own mind, had long connected him with the Whitechapel horrors. "The man's real name," said the lawyer, "is

Tumblety, with Francis for a Christian name. I have here a book published by him a number of years ago, describing some of his strange adventures and wonderful cures, all lies, of course, in which the name Francis Tumblety, M.D., appears. When, to my knowledge of the man's history, his idiosyncrasies, his revolting practices, his antipathy to women, and especially to fallen women, his anatomical museum, containing many specimens like those carved from the Whitechapel victims — when, to my knowledge on these subjects, there is added the fact of his arrest on suspicion of being the murderer, there appears to me nothing improbable in the suggestion that Tumblety is the culprit.

"He is not a doctor. A more arrant charlatan and quack never fastened on the hopes and fears of afflicted humanity. I first made the fellow's acquaintance a few days after the battle of Bull Run. Although a very young man at the time, I held a colonel's commission in the army, and was at the capital on official business. The city was full of strangers, 90 per cent of them military men. All the first-class hotels resembled beehives. Among them were many fine-looking and many peculiar-looking men, but of the thousands there was not one that attracted half as much attention as Tumblety. A Titan in stature, with a very red face and long flowing mustache, he would have been a noticeable personage in any place and in any garb. But, decked in a richly embroidered coat or jacket, with a medal held by a gay ribbon on each breast, a semi-military cap with a high peak, cavalry trousers with the brightest of yellow stripes, riding boots and spurs fit

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<sup>12.</sup> Ibid., p. 260.

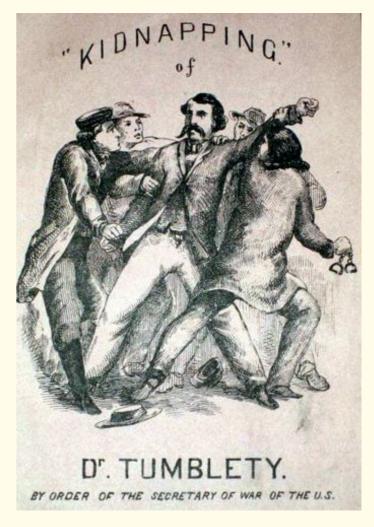
for a show window, a dignified and rather stagy gait and manner, he was as unique a figure as could be found anywhere in real life. When followed, as he generally was, by a valet and two great dogs, he was no doubt the envy of many hearts. The fellow was everywhere. I never saw anything so nearly approaching ubiquity. Go where you would, to any of the hotels, to the war department or the navy yard, you were sure to find the 'doctor.' He had no business in either place, but he went there to impress the officers whom he would meet. He professed to have an extensive experience in European hospitals and armies, and claimed to have diplomas from the foremost medical colleges of the Old World and New. He had, he declared, after much persuasion accepted the commission of brigade surgeon at a great sacrifice pecuniarily; but, with great complacency, he always added that, fortunately for his private patients, his official duties would not, for a considerable time, take him away from the city.

#### WHY HE HATED WOMEN.

"At length it was whispered about that he was an adventurer. One day my lieutenant-colonel and myself accepted the [sic] 'doctor's' invitation to a late dinner — symposium, he called it — at his rooms. He had very cosy and tastefully arranged quarters in, I believe, H. street. There were three rooms on a floor, the rear one being his office, with a bedroom or two a story higher. On reaching the place we found covers laid for eight — that being the 'doctor's' lucky number, he said — several of the guests, all in the military service, were persons with whom we were

persons with whom we were already acquainted. It was soon apparent that whatever Tumblety's deficiencies as a surgeon, as an amphitryon he could not easily be excelled. His menu, with colored waiters and the et ceteras, was furnished by one of the best caterers in the city. After dinner there were brought out two tables for play — for poker or whist. In the course of the evening some of the party, warmed by the wine, proposed to play for heavy stakes, but Tumblety frowned down the proposition at once and in such a way as to show he was no gambler. Someone asked why he had not invited some women to his dinner. His face instantly became as black as a thunder cloud. He had a pack of cards in his hand, but he laid them down and said, almost savagely: 'No, Colonel, I don't know any such cattle, and if I did I would, as your friend, sooner give you a dose of quick poison than take you into such danger . . .' He then broke into a homily on the sin and folly of dissipation, fiercely denounced all woman and especially fallen women.

"Then he invited us into his office where he illustrated his lecture, so to speak. One side of this room was entirely occupied with cases, outwardly resembling wardrobes. When the doors were opened quite a museum was revealed — tiers of shelves with glass jars and cases, some round and others square, filled with all sorts of antomical [sic] specimens. The 'doctor' placed on a table a dozen or more jars containing, as he said, the matrices of every class of women. Nearly a half of one of these cases was occupied exclusively with these specimens.



In fact or fiction, Tumblety was ever the colorful character.

#### THE STORY OF HIS LIFE.

"Not long after this the 'doctor' was in my room when my lieutenant-colonel came in and commenced expatiating on the charms of a certain woman. In a moment, almost, the doctor was lecturing him and denouncing women. When he was asked why he hated women, he said that when quite a young man he fell desperately in love with a pretty girl, rather his senior, who promised to reciprocate his affection. After a brief courtship he married her. The honeymoon was not over when he noticed a disposition on the part of his wife to flirt with other men. He remonstrated, she kissed him, called him a deer, jealous fool — and he believed her. Happening one day to pass in a cab through the worst part of the town he saw his wife and a man enter a gloomylooking house. Then he learned that before her marriage his wife had been an inmate of that and many similar houses. Then he gave up all womankind."

Shortly after telling this story the "doctor's" real character became known and he slipped away to St. Louis, where he was arrested for wearing the uniform of an army surgeon.

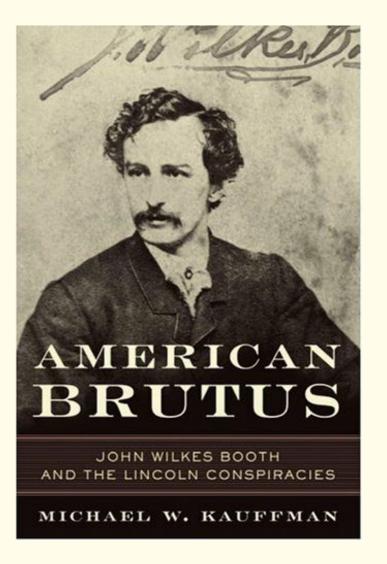
Colonel Dunham was asked whether there was any truth in the statement of a city paper that Harrold [sic], who was hanged as one of Booth's confederates in the assassination of Lincoln, was at one time the "doctor's valet. The reply was that it was not true. The gentleman added that he could

speak positively on the subject, as he knew the valet well.

Colonel Dunham also said that Tumblety had not been arrested on suspicion of having guilty knowledge of the assassination conspiracy. "He was arrested in St. Louis," said the Colonel, "on suspicion of being Luke P. Blackburn, lately governor of Kentucky, who had been falsely charged with trying to introduce yellow fever into the northern cities by means of infected rags. It is perfectly clear that Tumblety purposely brought about his own arrest by sending anonymous letters to the federal authorities to the effect that Blackburn and himself were identical. His object, of course, was notoriety. He knew he was too well known in Washington, whither he felt certain he would be sent, to be kept long in custody.

#### UNMASKED ON THE STAGE.

"Tumblety would do almost anything under heaven for notoriety, and although his notoriety in Washington was of a kind to turn people from him, it brought some to him. Let me tell you of one of his schemes. At that time there was a free — or it may have been 10-cent — concert saloon known as the Cantebury Music Hall. The performance embraced music, dances, farces, etc.. One day Tumblety told me, apparently in great distress, that the management of the Cantebury Hall had been burlesquing him on the stage. An actor, he said, was made up in minute imitation of himself, and strutted



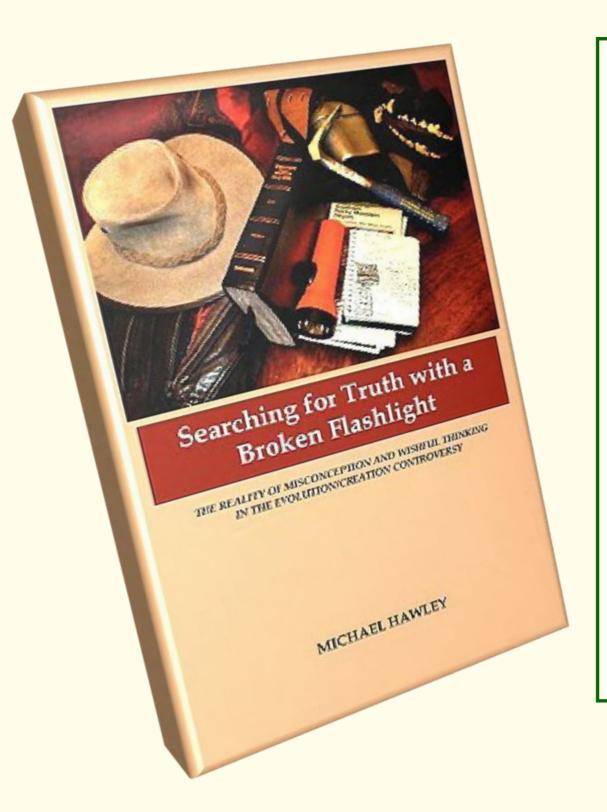
about the stage with two dogs something like his own, while another performer sang a topical song introducing his name in a rediculous [sic] way. That night, or the next, I went with some friends to this concert hall, and, sure enough about 10 o'clock out came a performer the very image of Tumblety. In a minute a dog, that did not resemble the 'doctor's,' sprang from the auditorium upon the stage and followed the strutting figure. The longer I examined the figure the greater became my surprise at the perfection of the make-up. Before I reached my hotel I began, in common with my companions, to suspect that the figure was no other than Tumblety himself. The next day the lieutenant-colonel told the 'doctor' our suspicions. The fellow appeared greatly hurt. He at once instituted an action against the proprietor of the hall for libel. The action was another sham, and three or four nights afterwards the 'doctor' was completely unmasked. When the song was under way a powerful man suddenly sprang from the auditorium to the stage, exclaiming at the figure: 'See here, you infernal scoundrel, Dr. Tumblety is my friend, and I won't see him insulted by such an effigu as you are. Come, off with that false mustache and duds,' and quick as a flash he seized the doctor's hirsute appendage and pulled it for all it would stand, threw his cap among the audience and otherwise showed the fellow up. The 'doctor,' though a powerful man, made no struggle except to get behind the scenes as soon as possible. "Tumblety's book contains, as subscribers to testimonials to his righ

[sic] social standing and medical skill in Canada, the names of some of the best-known people in the Dominion and elsewhere. Evidently the testimonials are bogus. The book was doubtless intended for distribution among persons who would never suspect or discover the fraud, and there was little or no danger of its reaching any of the parties whose names accompanied the lying commendations. Tumblety, I am sure, would rather have lost \$1,000 than that a copy have fallen into my hands. I obtained it in this way: Meeting him one day in Brooklyn, near his office, he urged me to go in for a chat. As I was standing by his desk, about to leave, I voluntarily picked up the book and, while I was yet talking, mechanically turned over the leaves. The name of a friend having suddenly caught my eye and aroused my curiosity, I asked the 'doctor' to let me take the book. This he good-naturedly objected to, making various excuses for refusing. I, however, insisted, and when he found me in dead earnest he reluctantly yielded."13

The Ripperology community, as a whole, has appropriately taken a cautious stand when evaluating the veracity of Charles A. Dunham's claims about his wartime experiences with Francis Tumblety, however, the overwhelming belief that Dunham was an incessant and pathological liar does not conform to the opinion of the foremost expert and to patterns of behavior throughout his life. This belief has caused most, if not all, Ripperologists to reject every claim

Dunham stated about Tumblety. It is my contention that Cummings is correct and Charles Dunham lied with purpose, thus, mixed fictional stories with fact. If it is true that Dunham was using the *Devil's tools against the Devil*, the fictional stories that created the most impact against Francis Tumblety where his anatomical museum and his failed marriage stories, because they point directly at a killer's motive — just as a lawyer such as Dunham would know. Much of the rest of his article might be true, especially since this was the experience that caused Dunham to believe Tumblety had it in him to be the Whitechapel murderer.

13. Rochester Democrat and Republican, December 3, 1888.



### Searching for Truth with a Broken Flashlight by Michael Hawley

**Available in:** Paperback ISBN 978-1-59330-685-4

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