

# Here Come the Suffragists: The Role of the Mercer Girls in the Washington Woman Suffrage Movement

by Shanna Stevenson, WHC Coordinator

A brief notice in the October 27, 1871 issue of *The New Northwest* echoed the notice of a group of similar minded women some 23 years earlier in 1848 at Seneca Falls, N. Y. announcing the Seneca Falls Convention which was the beginning of the 19th century woman's suffrage movement. The 1871 Olympia declaration survives as a fragile piece of courage of women who were willing to put their names in the public sphere in favor of women's rights.

---

## WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONVENTION

A Woman's Suffrage Convention will be held at Olympic Hall, Olympia, W. T., Nov. 8, 1871, at 10:00 a.m. The friend of Woman's Suffrage from all parts of Washington and Oregon are cordially invited to be present and participate in the deliberations. The object of this convention is to arrange some plan by which to secure concert of action among the woman voters of the Territory.

Miss Susan B. Anthony and Mrs. A. J. Duniway will be present.

- Mrs. Mary O. Brown
- Mrs. A. E. Bigelow
- Mrs. Sarah E. Chapman
- Mrs. Mehitabel H. Elder
- Mrs. Jane Wylie
- Mrs. J. B. Allen
- Mrs. C. A. Sands
- Mrs. P.D. Moore
- Mrs. Mary A Barnes
- Mrs. M. J. Baldwin
- Mrs. Susan Dofflemyer
- Mrs. Olive B. Manning
- Mrs. Clara M. Littlejohn
- Mrs. Jane Pattison
- Mrs. M. M. Ruddel [Ruddle]
- Mrs. A. R. Elliot

---

Among the 16 women in the 1871 notice were three who had come west as part of a fabled group of women—the “Mercer Girls.” The organization and convening of the Washington Territory Woman Suffrage Association (WTWSA) Convention in the fall of 1871 concurrently with

the tour of the Puget Sound by Susan B. Anthony and Abigail Scott Duniway provided an opportunity for prominent suffragists from throughout Washington Territory to come together with their Oregon compatriots (most notably Duniway) to establish a formal woman's suffrage organization. The auspicious visit of such luminaries in the movement must have galvanized the gathering and called out those who wanted to take advantage of all of the political, economic and social synergy that was present by 1871. The account of that meeting provides important information about the role of the leading suffragists in the Territory. Woman's Suffrage legislation was pending in 1871 but did not pass and after the WTWSA meeting, the legislature abruptly instituted a law that precluded women from voting until Congress had enacted women's right to vote.<sup>2</sup>

A century ago Hutton wanted for Washington women what their counterparts in Idaho had already had for a decade, although she had no illusions about what that would mean. She said in one of her many speeches, "When I ask the voters of Washington to trust their women as Idaho has done ... I bring to you no record of marvelous results accomplished by Idaho women since their enfranchisement."

Throughout the 1870s changes took place for women's rights including the enactment outright of women's right to vote in school board elections in the 1870s and by the early 1880s, changes in married women's property rights.<sup>3</sup> Territorial legislators initiated efforts to pass women's suffrage and came close to authorizing the right in 1881. In November, 1883 the legislature did pass women's suffrage and accounts of that effort provide another focal point for assessing the role of the Mercer suffragists in the campaign for equal voting rights in Washington. In 1887, the Territorial Supreme invalidated the 1883 law along with a revision in 1886 citing an improper enacting clause. Reinstated in early 1888, women's suffrage was again invalidated by the Territorial Supreme Court in 1888. Despite efforts in 1889 to include women's right to vote in the constitution when the Washington State became state and to amend the constitution for women's suffrage in 1898 during early statehood, women's suffrage failed to garner approval from male voters. In 1910, Washington men voters finally approved an amendment to the constitution for woman suffrage and at least one Mercer Girl lived to register and vote after the permanent victory.

The story of the "Mercer Girls" is a well-known one in the Northwest and nationally— seemingly a matchmaker saga as portrayed in "Here Come the Brides" on television. Of course there was much more to the lives of the women and men as well as several families who came on voyages to the West Coast with Asa Mercer in 1864 and 1866. Set against the backdrop of changing roles of women during and after the Civil War, post Civil War constitutional voting amendments and the rising tide of women's rights, the migration had several dimensions related to women's suffrage.

Finding the names of the "Mercer Girls" among those who organized the first Territory-wide suffrage association in 1871, worked for eventual Territorial suffrage in 1883, advocated for reinstatement in 1888, and continued the campaign to the eventual victory in Washington State in 1910— it is evident that far from being just "brides" for the lonely men of Washington, several Mercer Girls were Suffragists as well.

## **The 1860s and 1870s Landscape:**

The period in which the Mercer Girls arrived in Washington gave them a strong position to join in the campaign for equal voting rights for women. The 1860s were a period of turmoil for suffragists in the wake of the post-Civil War U.S. Constitutional Amendments which created a schism in the suffrage movement.<sup>4</sup> The period also fostered the so called “New Departure” movement which exhorted women to go to the polls based on a liberal interpretation of the amendments.<sup>5</sup> This strategy had been used effectively by Thurston County women, headed by Mary Olney Brown and her sister Emily Olney French, in 1870 in Grand Mound and Littlerock when 15 women went to the polls and had their votes counted.<sup>6</sup>

Washington Territory women were also aware of the enfranchisement of women in Wyoming Territory in 1869— among other reasons, likely related to attracting more women to the area, a cause in common with the aims of the Mercer expeditions<sup>7</sup>- and in Utah Territory in 1870.

Washington women were also empowered a new stake in property ownership under Community Property which had been established in Washington Territory in 1869.<sup>8</sup> Earlier, women in the Oregon Country (including what was to become Washington Territory) had been able to claim land in their own names under the Oregon Donation Act of 1850, empowering them as property owners in the areas newly settled by Euro-Americans. Bagley stated that the act meant “the nursery was robbed for wives during the period the “Donation Act” was in force,” and later bemoaned that, “On Puget Sound the scarcity of women was a serious matter. It affected the social, industrial and moral condition of the several communities.”<sup>9</sup> Bagley later stated plainly that much of the perceived problem was that, “That white folks in Oregon, having no white women to choose from, are marrying Indian squaws.”<sup>10</sup> Thus an influx of marriageable white women was seen to be a “civilizing” influence on settlement, an argument used by suffragists as well when advocating for women’s vote.<sup>11</sup> Women’s scarcity may also have put both the woman residents and new comers of the Mercer Expedition in a stronger position to advocate for voting rights.

Another source of strength for suffrage advocates was the comparatively easy political process in small territories for enacting women’s right to vote versus the layers of laws and customs in eastern states where suffrage required a two-step process of legislative action and ratification of constitutional changes. Eastern campaigners who chafed under that system may have seen an opening in the west; although as historian Rebecca Mead noted, when discussing state constitutions, “most delegates preferred to restrict rather than to extend the franchise, and to sacrifice woman suffrage to statehood,”<sup>12</sup> which is what occurred ultimately in Washington in 1889.

Many of the Mercer party women had their own businesses or worked outside the home as teachers and other professionals also making them more likely to advocate for the right to vote. As historian Mead noted, professional women “understood very well the connection between political rights and economic opportunities for women.”<sup>13</sup>

Some Mercerites came from families noted for reform ideas. One of these was Mehitable Haskell Elder whose aunt, Hitty Haskell, was a renowned Massachusetts suffragist, speaker and

abolitionist. She was a friend of Lucy Stone, Wendell Phillips, Lydia Maria Child and William Lloyd Garrison.<sup>14</sup> These women, immersed in equal rights in the east, would have strong views about women's rights and found fertile ground for their ideas in the west.

Notably, when they came to Washington, many Mercerites associated with those who had begun the cause for women's suffrage in the Territory as they were welcomed into Puget Sound homes by so-called "reception committees." Among known suffragists on the committees were Edward and Teresa Eldridge from Whatcom County. A multi-term legislator, Eldridge was one of the most vocal advocates for the cause of woman's suffrage. At Port Madison G. A. Meigs and his wife, Mary, were on the reception committee. They hosted Susan B. Anthony on her visit in 1871. Several suffrage advocates in Olympia were on the city hosting committee including Elwood and Elzira Evans (Evans was a pro-suffrage legislator and was on the committee to draft the constitution for the WTWSA in 1871); D. R. and Ann Elizabeth Bigelow (Daniel Bigelow was a pro-suffragist legislator and Ann Elizabeth was active in the territorial suffrage organization. Susan B. Anthony came to their home in 1871); George A. and Mary Ann Kandle Barnes, (Mary Ann Barnes was an organizer and official at the 1871 convention). In Seattle, Sarah Yesler was president of the reception committee. (Sarah Yesler hosted Susan B. Anthony in 1871 and participated in the 1871 Convention).<sup>15</sup> A question arises about how much the Mercerites influenced local suffragists and vice-versa after their arrival in the 1860s. Arriving in Washington, the Mercer party members then came into an interesting milieu of politics, social mores, and reform ideas that, by 1871, resulted in a call to activism for several members.

### **Mercer Party Members:**

Asa Mercer, seeking to bring marriageable women to Washington, recruited the first of the "Mercer Girls" from Lowell, Massachusetts in 1864 picturing "in glowing terms the wonderful financial advantage that would without doubt accrue to any and all young ladies who would leave their New England homes and migrate to Washington Territory." Ten women along with the father of one of the women came with Mercer. The group arrived in Seattle in May of that year, and according to Flora Engle "all obtained schools."<sup>17</sup>

Notable among this first group of Mercer Girls was Lizzie Ordway. In her mid or late 30s she was one of the older women in the group. She was a well-educated teacher who had graduated from the Ipswich Academy, earning a certification in a languages course. She later taught in Lowell, Massachusetts.<sup>18</sup> Upon her arrival, she stayed with Henry and Sarah Yesler in Seattle.<sup>19</sup> She then taught at Whidbey Island, Port Gamble and Port Madison.<sup>20</sup> Lizzie Ordway was part of a group that heard Susan B. Anthony lecture in Seattle. One address was at the Brown Church at Second Avenue and Madison and afterwards, a suffrage group, "Female Suffrage Society" was established. Lizzie Ordway was chosen as one of the delegates to the territorial suffrage convention.<sup>21</sup> When Susan B. Anthony toured Puget Sound in fall, 1871, she recorded in her diary on November 5 that while she was in Port Madison, "Miss Ordway & others took me

through new ship built here by Mill Co, "Wild Wood" splendid . . ."22

When the Washington Territory Woman Suffrage Association (WTWSA) convention convened in Olympia on November 8, 1871, delegate Lizzie Ordway was named Secretary of the convention. Ordway was also part of a committee to invite Mrs. J. B. Frost, an anti-suffragist, to the convention— but Frost declined. Ordway was named the permanent corresponding secretary of the WTWSA.<sup>23</sup>

Ordway went on to teach in several areas including Kitsap County, where she was elected Superintendent of Schools in 1881 and served for eight years. She was one the first elected women in the Territory. She died in 1897 in Seattle.<sup>24</sup>

Asa Mercer determined to organize another expedition and in early 1866, and traveled to the states of New England and into Eastern New York and New Jersey recruiting women in the area to accompany him as part of another migration to Washington Territory. After a dustup in securing a ship— he had wanted the bill to be footed by the government, a party of 100 passengers set off from New York on January 6, 1866. After navigating Cape Horn, the group arrived in San Francisco in April, 1866 and then took separate ships to the Puget Sound. This second migration also included a group of suffragists.<sup>25</sup>

### **A. A. and Olive Manning; Anne Stevens**

After first arriving in Seattle in June, 1866, the Mannings who were from South Boston later located to Olympia. Members of their party included the Manning's daughter Nina, and Olive Manning's children Anne and Edward Stevens. According to Flora Engle, Olive Manning operated her own business, a private boarding house in Olympia.<sup>26</sup> Evidently finding company with suffrage supporters, Susan B. Anthony noted in her diary on November 8, 1871 that she went to Mrs. Manning's for a cup of coffee before going to the Territorial Suffrage Convention in Olympia. It is likely she stayed the night.<sup>27</sup> A. A. Manning was agent for *The New Northwest*, Abigail Scott Duniway's women's rights paper.<sup>28</sup> Both Olive and A. A. Manning were active in the 1871 suffrage convention where Olive Manning served on the finance committee.<sup>29</sup> Nina Manning Treen's husband, Lewis, a fellow Mercerite served the in 1869-71 Territorial Legislature from Thurston County.<sup>30</sup> Evidently, Olive Manning stayed active in the campaign. In November, 1883 when woman's suffrage finally passed the legislature, Abigail Scott Duniway gave special recognition to Olive Manning as being "Among the many ladies of Olympia whose genial greetings will ever remain to us as a gracious memory. . ."31 A committee member who made arrangements for the 1883 suffrage celebration was a "Miss Annie Stevenson" who likely was Annie Stevens, Olive Manning's daughter, since no Stevenson shows up in census records for Olympia at that period and Anne Stevens was a local teacher.<sup>32</sup> She later married J. F. Gowey who was prominent in Olympia and was later the United States consul-general at Yokohama, Japan. She later re-married and settled in California.<sup>33</sup> The Mannings and Treens both later moved to Seattle.<sup>34</sup> Nina Manning Treen registered to vote in 1884 when women had the vote during the Territorial period.<sup>35</sup>

## **Anna and Libbie Peebles**

Two Mercerites who were loyal to the cause of suffrage over many years were sisters Libbie and Anna Peebles. They joined the Mercer party through a cousin, Mr. Webster, and Anna Peebles stated they were seeking the \$75.00 per month that Mercer represented as teacher's pay in Washington Territory. The sisters paid their passage in full and generally did not get on well with Mercer, whom they said, "wanted to arrange plans for us."<sup>36</sup>

Anna and Libbie Peebles first arrived in Seattle and then traveled on to Olympia where they were welcomed by Mary Ann and George Barnes. Mary Ann Kandle Barnes was an active suffragist. Anna Peebles Brown's reminiscence notes one of the difficult issues faced by the Mercer party women coming to the Washington, namely the lowered reputation of women coming to look for husbands and the at least rumored payment of Washington men for wives from the group. One Olympia woman, Mary? (Mrs. Selucius) Garfield, according to Peebles, "occupied herself in making slighting remarks about the Mercer party before me, assuming me to be one of them."<sup>37</sup> George Barnes assisted Anna in securing the position of deputy collector of internal revenue for the Territory for pay at \$75.00 per month. Anna Peebles traveled horseback around the Puget Sound for two years in the job. She also taught in the Seattle area according to historian Angie Burt Bowden.<sup>38</sup> She married entrepreneur Amos Brown of Seattle in 1868.<sup>39</sup> When Susan B. Anthony came to Seattle in 1871, she dined at the Browns' home on November 2, 1871.<sup>40</sup> Anna Peebles Brown is likely the "A. Brown" listed in the call for the WTWSA convention in 1871.<sup>41</sup> Anna Brown is listed as the corresponding secretary for the Equal Rights Association of King County in 1884.<sup>42</sup> Both Anna Brown and her sister Elizabeth Mackintosh are listed on the voter rolls for Seattle in 1884 during the Territorial period when women had the right to vote.<sup>43</sup> When Susan B. Anthony returned to Seattle in 1896, Anna Brown, then president of the Woman's Century Club, introduced Anthony for her lecture at the Seattle Theater.<sup>44</sup>

In the 1909-10 campaign, Anna Brown was called "one of Seattle's staunchest pioneers in the suffrage cause," and with her daughter, Mrs. Ora Brown Richardson, was a significant monetary contributor. Another article noted that Anna, with her sister "Mrs. Elizabeth Mackintosh had "seen Washington through its triumphs and reverses in suffrage."<sup>45</sup> Anna Brown served on the Washington Equal Suffrage Association advisory committee from West Seattle during the 1909-1910 campaign.<sup>46</sup> She continued her monetary support for other suffrage campaigns as well. The New York Times listed a \$50.00 contribution from "Mrs. Amos Brown of Seattle" for the New York campaign in 1914.<sup>47</sup>

The other Peebles' sister, Libbie, who came with Mercer, likewise entered into an interesting position on Puget Sound upon her arrival in Olympia. She was assisted by Lewis Treen, a fellow Mercer traveler in becoming the enrolling and engrossing clerk in the House of Representatives for the Legislature, likely the first woman to do so beginning in 1868 and received the accolades of the Speaker for her work. She later taught at the Claquato Academy in Lewis County, Chehalis and White Plains as well as in Seattle and Olympia before her marriage to Angus Mackintosh in

1871.<sup>48</sup> She was listed as a convener for the 1871 WTWSA convention along with Mary Ann Kandle Barnes, her host in the Olympia.<sup>49</sup> A sister of Libbie and Annie Peebles apparently joined them in Seattle by 1871 since Emma Peebles is listed as a WTWSA convention convener and is noted as part of the Amos Brown household along with Libbie and Anna Brown in the 1871 King County census.<sup>50</sup> Like her sister, Libbie was active in Seattle women's clubs including the Woman's Home Society in the 1880s.<sup>51</sup> After women lost the vote through a court decision in 1887 and the legislature re-enacted women's suffrage in 1888, Lizzie Mackintosh sent a message to then Governor Eugene Semple urging him to sign the bill.<sup>52</sup> Like her sister, her husband was wealthy and she financially supported the 1909-10 campaign.<sup>53</sup> She died in 1926.

## **Mehitable Elder**

Perhaps some of the most interesting members of the 1866 Mercer party were Mehitable Haskell Lord and her extended family. Mehitable Lord came with her daughter Clara and son James with Mercer from Massachusetts where, as noted previously, she had a famous abolitionist and women's rights aunt, Hitty Haskell for whom she was named. Pioneer historian Thomas Prosch stated that Mehitable Lord was a dressmaker when she came to Olympia and married a widower, A. R. Elder in 1868.<sup>54</sup> Elder was a minister and Indian agent who had come to Olympia in the early 1860s.<sup>55</sup> The Elders lived near Daniel and Ann Elizabeth Bigelow, fellow suffragists, on the eastside of Olympia. Mehitable Elder was one of the primary organizers of the 1871 WTWSA convention, serving with A. E. Bigelow on the Executive Committee for both the convention and the WTWSA. Mehitable Elder also took on the fundraising duties after the convention to raise funds to raise funds for a delegate to the National Woman Suffrage Association Convention representing Washington Territory— a sum of \$100 to support the chosen delegate, Susan B. Anthony. Clara Lord Littlejohn, Elder's daughter was also an active participant in the 1871 convention and one of the signers of the notice to convene the meeting.<sup>56</sup> Likewise Priscilla Elder, Mrs. Elder's step-daughter-in-law was listed as one of the conveners of the 1871 meeting as P.E. Elder.<sup>57</sup> Mehitable Elder was later one of the founding members of the Woman's Club of Olympia in 1883, one of the oldest women's clubs on the West Coast. Other founding members of the club were strong advocates for women's right to vote including Abbie Howard Hunt Stuart, Ella Stork, Pamela Case Hale, Clara Pottle Sylvester, Phoebe Moore and other Olympia suffragists. The club, according to Abigail Scott Duniway was established to advance the cause of suffrage, "The Woman's Club Movement in Olympia as a necessary step in the progress of the cause."<sup>58</sup>

Mehitable Elder was one of the women whom Abigail Scott Duniway called out for special mention as part of the 1883 Washington suffrage victory, saying, "Among the residents of Olympia who have been Woman Suffragists for many years and deserve special mention are . . . Mrs. Haskell Elder, niece of the renowned Eastern worker, Aunt Hitty Haskell, who has long rested from her labors, though "her works do follow her."<sup>59</sup> Elder lived a long life to the age of 96 and became known as a prominent poet. One of her poems featured in 1909 on the occasion of

the 20 year statehood commemoration pointedly stated, "To make her sons and daughters one, in liberties and rights."<sup>60</sup> She moved to Tacoma with her daughter and registered to vote there in 1911 after permanent woman suffrage in the state.<sup>61</sup> She died the following year, known as an accomplished poet and pioneer.

Two other Mercerites possibly were involved in the suffrage movement as well:

### **Annie Conner Hartsuck**

Annie Conner was a graduate of Exeter College in New Hampshire who sailed with the 1866 Mercerites. She described her decision to go with the party as arising out of the idea she would go to California at aged 39 but later decided to go on to Puget Sound.<sup>62</sup> After first teaching in Lewis County, she later taught in Tumwater. In 1869, she married Mark Hartsuck, a local carpenter.<sup>63</sup> Annie Hartsuck was a member of the Woman's Club of Olympia, which had been established by Olympia suffragists in 1883. She could have been part of the organizing committee for the 1883 celebration.<sup>64</sup> She died after women permanently achieved the right to vote in 1918.

### **M. J. Atkins**

Mary Osborne came from Lowell Massachusetts with her son Eben with the 1866 Mercer party. She taught at Tumwater on Chambers Prairie near Olympia and later married Frank (H. A.?) Atkins of Seattle. The Atkins' are listed in the in 1870 census and she is listed as M. J. Atkins. An M. J. Atkins was enumerated as one of the organizers of the 1871 WTWSA convention.<sup>65</sup>

### **Role of the Mercerites in the Woman Suffrage Movement in Washington Territory:**

These several women and men who came in 1864 and 1866 to the new Territory of Washington joined several other activists who had likewise had come to Washington with reform ideas. Many of these activists, particularly in Olympia, lived near each other and likely gained strength from their associations. The first convention in 1871 of the WTWSA was an auspicious moment for women's rights in the Territory and was bolstered by many of the 1864 and 1866 Mercerites. Several them continued to campaign for the victory in 1883 and stayed loyal to the cause for the 1910 victory and beyond to the national campaign. Their participation and support of women's rights in their new home vividly conveys the opportunities presented by the seeds of reform brought by immigrants to Washington which eventually bore fruit in this fertile new environment, unfettered by traditional roles and taking advantage of new opportunities. Noteworthy for women's historians is the ongoing ability to re-study and re-interpret Washington history to answer the question, "Where were the women" because we can always find them, often playing major roles yet undiscovered.

Notes:

1. "Woman Suffrage Convention," *The New Northwest* October 27, 1871, pg. 2. Seneca

Falls Convention was called with: In the *Seneca County Courier* newspaper on July 11 and 14, 1848 "A convention to discuss the social, civil, and religious rights of women will be held in the Wesleyan Chapel at Seneca Falls, New York, on Wednesday and Thursday, the 19th and 20th of July, current; commencing at 10 o'clock a.m. During the first day, the meeting will be exclusively for women, who are earnestly invited to attend. The public generally are invited to be present on the second day, when Lucretia Mott, of Philadelphia, and other ladies and gentlemen will address the convention."

<http://www.co.seneca.ny.us/history/Birth%20of%20the%20Women's%20Rights%20Movement%20in%20Seneca%20County.pdf>

2. G. Thomas Edwards, *Sowing Good Seeds: The Northwest Suffrage Campaigns of Susan B. Anthony*, (Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1990) pg. 109.
3. Shanna Stevenson, *Women's Votes, Women's Voices: The Campaign for Equal Rights in Washington*, (Tacoma: Washington State Historical Society, 2009), pg. 12.
4. Ellen Carol Dubois, "Taking the Law into Our Own Hands," in *One Woman, One Vote: Rediscovering the Woman Suffrage Movement*, ed. Marjorie Spruill Wheeler (Trousdale, Ore: New Sage Press, 1996), pg. 84.
5. Ellen Carol Dubois, *Woman Suffrage & Women's Rights*, New York: New York University Press, 1998, pg.117.
6. "Mrs. Brown's Argument," in Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joslyn Gage, and Ida Husted Harper, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 6 vols. (Rochester: J. J. Little & Co., 1881-1922), 3-784.
7. T. A. Larson, "Woman Suffrage in Wyoming," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, Vol. No. April 1965, pg. 57.
8. Thomas R. Andrews and others, ed., *Washington Community Property Deskbook*, (Washington State Bar Association, 2003) I-I.
9. Clarence B. Bagley, "The Mercer Immigration: Two Cargoes of Maidens for the Sound Country," *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, Vol. V, No. 1, March, 1904, pg.4.
10. Bagley, pg. 5
11. Rebecca Mead, *How the Vote Was Won: Woman Suffrage in the Western United States, 1868-1914*, New York: New York University Press, 2004, pg. 6.
12. Mead, pg. 16.
13. Mead, pg.18.
14. Maria H. Bray, *Aunt Hitty*, Salem, MA: Salem Press, 1908, pg.12.
15. "Proceedings," *Washington Standard*, September 30, 1865, pg. 3; Bagley, pg.11.
16. Flora A. P. Engle, "The Mercer Expeditions," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VI., No. 4, October, 1915, pg.225.
17. Engle, pg. 227.
18. L. E. Bragg, *More Than Petticoats: Remarkable Washington Women*, Helena, MT: Falcon Publishing, 1998, pg. 69.
19. [http://www.seattlepi.com/local/42955\\_ordway16.shtml](http://www.seattlepi.com/local/42955_ordway16.shtml)
20. <http://perim.tripod.com/Brides/Ordway.html>; Engle, Flora A. P., "The Mercer Expedition," *The Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VI. No. 4, October, 1915, pg.227.

21. Bagley, C. B. *History of Seattle*. Chicago: The S. J. Clark Publishing Company, 1916, Vol. 2, pg 487.
22. Susan B. Anthony Diary, Susan B. Anthony Papers. Library of Congress, November 5, 1871.
23. "Woman Suffrage Convention," *Washington Standard*, November 11, 1871, pg. 2, col.3-5.
24. Bragg, pg. 73-74.
25. [http://www.historylink.org/index.cfm?DisplayPage=output.cfm&File\\_Id=1125](http://www.historylink.org/index.cfm?DisplayPage=output.cfm&File_Id=1125)
26. Engle, pg.235.
27. Susan B. Anthony Diary, November 8, 1871, Library of Congress.
28. "Our Agents," *The New Northwest*, November 21, 1873, pg. 2.
29. "Woman Suffrage Convention," *Washington Standard*, November 11, 1871.
30. Lenna A. Deutsch, ed. *Mercer's Belles: The Journal of a Reporter, by Roger Conant*. Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1993, pg. 115.  
[http://www.leg.wa.gov/History/Territorial/Documents/territorial\\_assembly\\_members.pdf](http://www.leg.wa.gov/History/Territorial/Documents/territorial_assembly_members.pdf)
31. Abigail Scott Duniway, "Celebrating the Victory—the Banquet to Washington's Legislators," *The New Northwest*, November 29, 1883, pg. 1
32. Abigail Scott Duniway, "Washington's Women: Equal Before the Law with Their Husbands and Fathers," *The New Northwest*, November 22, 1883, pg. 1. Search included: <http://www.digitalarchives.wa.gov/>
33. Deutsch, pg. 119.
34. Deutsch, pg. 115.
35. "Voter Lists-City of Seattle-June, 1884," *Seattle Genealogical Society Bulletin*, Winter 1984, Vol. 33, No. 2, pg.124.
36. "Interview with Mrs. Amos Brown," Typed interview, ca. 1914, in Sophie Frye Bass Library, Seattle Historical Society, Museum of History & Industry, pg. 2.
37. "Interview," pg. 3.
38. Angie Burt Bowden, *Early Schools of Washington Territory*, Seattle: Lowman and Hanford Co., 1935, pg. 192.
39. "Interview," pg. 3. Amos Brown was a wealthy entrepreneur in Seattle and Anna Brown used her wealth to support the movement, locally and nationally. HistoryLink accessed at: [http://www.historylink.org/index.cfm?DisplayPage=output.cfm&file\\_id=3755](http://www.historylink.org/index.cfm?DisplayPage=output.cfm&file_id=3755)
40. Susan B. Anthony Diary, November 2, 1871, Library of Congress.
41. "Woman Suffrage Convention," *The New Northwest*, November 3, 1871, pg. 2.
42. Clarence Bagley, *History of Seattle*, Chicago: The S. J. Clark Publishing Company, 1916, Vol. II, pg.488.
43. *Seattle Genealogical Society Bulletin*, pg. 123.
44. Edwards, pg. 184.
45. *Votes for Women*, Vol. 1, No. 2, pg. 6, Vol. 1, No. 6, pg. 9
46. *History of Woman Suffrage*, Vol. 6, pg. 674.
47. "Suffragists Raise \$105,619 at Rally," *The New York Times*, November 7, 1914, accessed at:  
<http://query.nytimes.com/gst/abstract.html?res=9B0DEFDE1738E633A25754C0A9679D>

[946596D6CF](#)

48. Bowden, pgs. 116, 146, 188, 189, 192. Deutsch, pg. 118.
49. "Woman Suffrage Convention."
50. "Woman Suffrage Convention;" 1871 Census for King County, accessed at:  
<http://www.digitalarchives.wa.gov/>
51. Bagley, pg. 490.
52. <http://content.lib.washington.edu/cdm-ayp/document.php?CISOROOT=/pioneerlife&CISOPTR=2276&REC=5>.
53. *Votes for Women*, Vol. 1, No. 7, pg. 9.
54. Thomas Prosch, "The Death of Mrs. Elder Recalls Remarkable Story of Pioneer Days," *Tacoma Ledger*, March 21, 1912, pg. 6.
55. "Alfred Ridgley Elder, 1806-1882" unpublished manuscript
56. "Woman Suffrage Convention."
57. "Woman Suffrage Convention."
58. Abigail Scott Duniway, *Path Breaking*, (Portland: James, Kerns & Abbot Co.) 1904, pg. 206.
59. "Celebrating Victory."
60. "Mrs. M. Haskell Elder, Aged 94 Years," *The Daily Ledger*, July 25, 1909, p. 15.
61. "Woman 95 Years Old Registers and Will Vote," *Tacoma Daily Tribune*, February 26, 1911, pg. 5.
62. Annie S. Hartsuck, "Around the Horn. Read before the Woman's Club of Olympia, Wash'n By Annie S. Hartsuck, December 1, 1896," Papers of the Woman's Club of Olympia.
63. "Pioneer Women [sic] Dies at Home: Here 52 Years." *Morning Olympian*, May 1, 1918.
64. "Washington's Women," The name noted is "A. Hartsock" but "Hartsuck" and "Hartsock" were used interchangeably in several censuses. However, a founder of the Woman's Club of Olympia was Mary Bricker Hartsuck whose husband was an "A. Hartsuck." Which of the two women was the "A. Hartsock" noted in the article is unknown at this time.
65. Deutsch, pg. 116. 1870 King County Census accessed at accessed at:  
<http://www.digitalarchives.wa.gov/>