

**The Papers
of
Elizabeth Cady Stanton
and
Susan B. Anthony**

Guide and Index to the Microfilm Edition

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Editors

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Epigraph

For collecting many of the facts contained in this chapter we are indebted to Julia and Rachel Foster, . . . What an inspiring vision it would have been to the earnest women sitting in that [National Woman's Rights] Convention in 1854, could they in imagination have stretched forward to the bright winter days of 1881, and seen these two young girls tastefully attired, enthusiastic in the cause of woman's suffrage, tripping through the streets of Philadelphia, paper and pencil in hand, intent on some important errand, now here, now there, climbing up long flights of stairs into the offices of the various journals, to find out from the records what Lucretia Mott, Frances Dana Gage, and Ernestine L. Rose had said over a quarter of a century before, about the rights and wrongs of women. . . .

. . . [C]ould all this have been pre-visioned by the actors in those scenes, they would have felt themselves fully compensated for the persecution and ridicule they had endured. And thus the great work of life goes on; the toils of one generation are the joys of the next. We have reaped what other hands have planted; let us then in turn sow bountifully for those who shall follow us, that our children may enter into a broader inheritance than any legal parchment can bequeath.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage,
History of Woman Suffrage, 1:391

About the Editors

A historian and editor, Ann D. Gordon attended graduate school at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, where she earned M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in American colonial history. In 1971 she coauthored "Women in American Society: An Historical Introduction," an article influential in the revival of interest in women's history. Her previous experience editing historical documents includes jobs with the *Jane Addams Papers* and the *Papers of Woodrow Wilson*. She directed the Historical Documents Study for the National Historical Publications and Records Commission and the American Council of Learned Societies and authored its report, *Using the Nation's Documentary Heritage* (1992). She is now affiliated with the history department of Rutgers University for the purpose of editing several volumes selected from the *Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony*.

Patricia G. Holland grew up in New York City and Berkeley, California, and did her undergraduate work at Bryn Mawr College. In 1969 she joined the women's movement in Amherst, Massachusetts, and became intrigued by Stanton's and Anthony's long partnership as activists. In 1975 she received a Ph.D. in English from the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. With Milton Meltzer, she co-edited a microfiche compilation of the correspondence of the abolitionist Lydia Maria Child, followed by a book, *Lydia Maria Child: Selected Letters, 1817–1880*, published by the University of Massachusetts Press in 1982.

Contents

Note to Researchers.....	vii
Introduction to the Microfilm Edition.....	1
<i>History of the papers, 3; Acknowledgments, 7</i>	
Editorial Method	11
<i>Series, 11; Finding and selecting documents, 12; Arranging the documents, 19; Editorial apparatus, 21; Missing documents, 33</i>	
Biography and Chronology	35
<i>Early years of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, 35; Personal lives of political women, 36; Chronology of political work, 39</i>	
Guide to Family Members.....	49
<i>Susan B. Anthony's immediate family, 49; Selected cousins of Anthony's in the edition, 51; Elizabeth Cady Stanton's immediate family, 52; Selected cousins and in-laws of Stanton's in the edition, 54</i>	
Errata on Film.....	57
Documents Found after Filming	59
Illustrations.....	61
Introduction to the Index	71
List of Reels	77
Index.....	79

Note to Researchers

This guide describes the microfilm edition of the *Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony* (45 reels of film) published by Scholarly Resources Inc. The edition consists of three series:

Series 1: The *Revolution* (1868–1872), reels 1–3

Series 2: National Woman Suffrage Association Collection (1880), Chicago Historical Society, reels 4–5

Series 3: Chronological Collection (1831–1906), reels 6–45

Researchers should understand that rights remain with the owners of the manuscripts, and anyone citing the texts should credit the owners and obtain permission as if working directly with the original materials. Permissions granted to the editors to include copies of manuscripts in the microfilm are limited to this single publication and do not cover any further uses of the documents by researchers. Each item on the film is tagged to indicate its owner, and abbreviations found on the tags are amplified in this guide. To contact a private owner for permission, researchers may address the editors in care of the publisher.

The editors retain copyright to transcripts made for the edition.

The editors recommend the following forms for citations to documents in the edition:

Susan B. Anthony to Wendell Phillips, 13 January 1866, Wendell Phillips Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, in *Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony*, ed. Patricia G. Holland and Ann D. Gordon (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1991, microfilm), series 3.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, “The Seneca Pic-nic,” *Lily* (Seneca Falls, NY), December 1852, in *Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony*, ed. Patricia G. Holland and Ann D. Gordon (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1991, microfilm), series 3.

Introduction to the Microfilm Edition

The microfilm edition of the papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony makes available a comprehensive record of their lives and work. In its three series readers will find correspondence, coverage of speeches and meetings, manuscripts of lectures, articles published in newspapers and magazines, diaries, and other documentation of their prominent careers as agitators for woman's rights and social reform.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815–1902) and Susan B. Anthony (1820–1906) belonged to a generation of remarkable women who engaged the nation in a dialogue about women, men, and their respective social roles in the nineteenth century. Stanton and Anthony spoke a particular, initially rare, language in that dialogue. They defined roles for women based on political fundamentals of American society, on concepts like natural equality, inalienable rights, and government by consent of the governed. Finding early supporters primarily in the anti-slavery movement, they demanded for women “the equal station to which they are entitled” and “immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.”¹ Across the northern states pursuit of woman's rights in the decade of the fifties entailed changing laws and customs that perpetuated women's dependence on family relations and hindered individualism.

After the Civil War, Stanton and Anthony built a national movement around the demand for woman suffrage. Though the focus on suffrage narrowed the vision set forth for woman's rights in 1848, it gave the cause new appeal and authority. Suffragists understood the franchise to be, in a phrase favored by Anthony, “the right protective of all other rights.” It promised empowerment. Moreover, the implications of denying the vote to United States citizens had been amplified in political struggles over Reconstruction, and women listened. Their focus on disfranchisement highlighted a powerful symbol of women's degradation and directed women toward a strategy for advancing many goals.

From the late 1860s until early in the twentieth century, Stanton and Anthony were in the forefront of a national conflict over granting political rights to women. Like other leaders in the woman suffrage movement, their territory stretched from coast to coast and touched audiences throughout the world; their debates echoed in constitutional conventions, state legislatures, and Congress; their appeals were heard by men gathered into national party conventions, labor assemblies, and professional associations; and their followers struggled to change law at every level of government. Within that struggle Stanton and Anthony committed themselves to winning suffrage through federal action; taking a cue from

Republican policy immediately after the war, they formed the *National Woman Suffrage Association* and argued for "National Protection for National Citizens."

The edition presents the papers of both women as a single, interfiled collection. Their good friend Theodore Tilton once described how difficult it could be to separate the individuals from the remarkable partnership between Stanton and Anthony.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, or, as she is sometimes called, Susan B. Anthony, is a celebrated lady with snow-white and auburn hair, plump and slender figure, Grecian and Roman nose, and lives simultaneously in two houses—one at Tenaflly, N.J., and the other at Rochester, N.Y. Indeed, Mrs. Stanton, or, to call her by her maiden name, Miss Anthony, is a ubiquitous personage, and not only attends all the woman's meetings wherever they are held, but also has been known on certain occasions to be writing the resolutions, and at the self-same moment to be delivering the speech, in their support. It has been sometimes suspected that Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony are two distinct persons, united by a cartilage like the Siamese twins, but in the absence of any medical or other scientific proof of this hypothesis, I remain of the opinion that, like Liberty and Union, they are "one and inseparable."²

Two distinct personalities emerge from this edition, but Tilton put his finger on a problem for the researcher or editor who tries to treat one woman independently of the other. Through half a century apiece of activism, they worked within the same realms of public life toward closely interconnected goals. To separate their stories is, in a sense, to distort how they themselves regarded the relationships between different reforms.

By combining their papers in a single edition, the papers of each woman are enriched by association, by being available within a broader context of related reform. In terms of editorial work, the search for documents for each woman independently would lead to endless redundancy. The richest lodes of documentation produced the papers of both women. When they worked in tandem, the problem is more practical. Whose papers are those that were written together over the dining-room table at the Stanton household? When Stanton accepted invitations to speak at events she had no intention of attending and Anthony faithfully delivered Stanton's address in her stead, whose papers should document the meeting?

Had either woman retained a large corpus of papers about her private life, the editorial decisions might have differed. That which distinguished the two women would have competed with that which they shared, rendering use of the edition somewhat awkward. Because most of the papers in this edition treat political activity and issues arising in public life, that outer world of agitation dominates the narrative. Two characters and all their co-workers move across a common stage, growing older, adapting their schedules and their domestic habits, but fighting to the last for acceptance of woman's self-sovereignty.

Although Stanton and Anthony between them left their mark on women's politics in almost every state over many decades of work, their papers are not a perfect prism for the variety and extent of women's activism. This edition claims comprehensiveness in documenting two people. Secondarily it uncovers national and local work by thousands of other people. But the editors make no claim to comprehensiveness in documenting the work of allies and related movements.

While cautioning about the limitations of a documentary edition focused on two individuals, it is appropriate to voice the hope that the fragmentary glimpses provided here of a grass-roots movement for woman's political rights will demonstrate that American historians

have only begun to describe the wave of protest surging beneath prominent leaders like Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone, Virginia Minor, Mary Livermore, Myra Bradwell, Elizabeth Harbert, Matilda Joslyn Gage, Lillie Devereux Blake, and Anthony and Stanton.

HISTORY OF THE PAPERS

I wrote to Mrs. Stanton the other day, that if she had only kept my letters since 1850 as religiously as I have kept all of hers, between us we should have a complete history of all the suffrage work for the last forty-five years.³

This edition is based on extensive research to construct the papers of Stanton and Anthony. No existing archival collection provides more than a fraction of either woman's papers. Indeed less than half of the documents included are held by archives.

The need to construct the record can be traced back to Stanton and Anthony themselves. Although they demonstrated an astute appreciation of history's importance to woman's emancipation, their notions of evidence, useful documentation, and relevant questions differed dramatically from those prevalent today. Without their three volumes of the *History of Woman Suffrage*, published in 1881, 1882, and 1886, historians simply could not know what they do about the woman suffrage movement at both state and national levels. The three volumes of *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*, by Ida Husted Harper, resulted from collaboration between Anthony and Harper to organize an archives and discuss the life. Later, Anthony personally arranged with the Librarian of Congress to deposit her scrapbooks, pamphlets, newspapers, and books. Stanton published her autobiography, *Eighty Years and More*, in 1898, consciously complementing the record of public work she had left in the *History of Woman Suffrage*. She was publishing the texts of her best-known speeches just before her death.

Nonetheless they failed to understand the need of later generations to get behind the finished products of their work, to learn how things happened and what motivated people. They compiled massive documentation for the *History of Woman Suffrage* and kept none of it. They regarded correspondence about the details of leading a movement as insignificant and thought correspondence within their families to have personal, but no historical, meaning.

Modern researchers have also been up against the lack of formal structure in the movement's organizations and the ephemeral nature of much that was written and said in the conduct of its work. Until the mid-1890s, neither woman had office, typewriter, secretary, or other accoutrements of bureaucratic leadership. At a time when the Knights of Labor kept copies of every outgoing letter, coded to the filing system for incoming mail, the nation's leading suffrage organizations transacted their business on the move, in pen, without filing systems. When engaged in the work of persuasion among women or men, the movement conducted itself orally and through timely advice and argument circulated in newspapers.

Human intervention destroyed and distorted the record further. With some irritation Anthony described what had happened to letters she had written to Stanton: "alas! she has burned up every one as fast as received—not only mine, but everybody's else, so that I am

left to infer what I wrote to her by what she answers me.”⁴ In Stanton’s defense it should be noted that she moved often and lived, at the end of her life, in an apartment shared with two adult children. The temptation to purge her possessions must have been strong.

The major category lost from the papers of Stanton and Anthony is incoming mail. (The edition contains three outgoing letters for every one incoming letter located.) That their correspondence can be recovered at all is a tribute to friends whose wits and circumstances allowed them to retain letters they received. Patron saints of this edition are Isabella Beecher Hooker, Clara Bewick Colby, Elizabeth Boynton Harbert, Martha Coffin Wright, Lillie Devereux Blake, Rachel Foster Avery, and, to lesser extents, Laura Clay, Wendell Phillips, Lucy Stone, and Matilda Joslyn Gage. They preserved significant series of Stanton’s and Anthony’s outgoing correspondence. Colby went further, saving many manuscripts she received from Stanton for articles submitted to her as editor of the *Woman’s Tribune*.

Anthony’s indignation at Stanton’s failings as archivist predated her own collaboration with destruction. She assembled a considerable archives in her lifetime. Her father, as early as the 1850s, proposed that newspaper clippings about her work be retained, and they were. She squirreled away periodicals to which she subscribed and hoarded pamphlets and circulars. When she reached an agreement with Harper, in 1897, to prepare the biography, the first order of business was to organize the attic and its contents. Young women arrived at 17 Madison Street in Rochester to paste clippings into scrapbooks, label photographs, and sort years’ worth of mail. To improve the documentation further Anthony advertised in woman suffrage newspapers for the return of her letters. Harper estimated she had read 25,000 letters while preparing the first two volumes, volumes that are richly documented and packed with quotations from her sources. But Harper intended that hers be a unique biography. She informed reporters that the records would be destroyed once the book had gone to press, and flyers advertising *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony* boasted, “this is the only authentic biography of her that ever can be written, as the letters and documents will not be accessible to other historians.” Letters loaned by other families were returned, Stanton’s letters to Anthony were sent to the Stanton children, and Anthony held out autographs of famous people, some family papers, and her diaries. Burning what remained took days of work in 1903.⁵

What Harper performed before Anthony’s eyes Stanton’s children carried out after their mother’s death. Like Harper, they simultaneously preserved and destroyed. Shortly after Stanton died, Harriot Stanton Blatch and her brother Theodore announced plans to edit her papers and began assembling the documents. No one knows how much material they compiled. Between the time they began work and the publication of their book in 1922, suffrage campaigning, the Nineteenth Amendment, a world war, and the relocation of both Harriot and Theodore from Europe back to the United States introduced considerable confusion into their procedures. Theodore’s portion makes up the Stanton papers at Douglass College, Rutgers University, while Harriot divided her share, giving a part to Vassar College as her fiftieth reunion gift in 1928 and the rest to the Library of Congress.⁶

There is no doubt that Harriot and Theodore found manuscripts that have since disappeared, and although both children donated portions of their mother’s papers to libraries and ensured the safety of the record as we know it, there are clues to their part in destroying some of what is missing. The three collections created by the children hold more than five hundred typed transcripts of letters that cannot now be found. While Theodore Stanton prepared a collection of books and manuscripts in his mother’s honor at Rutgers, Harriot scheduled a meet-

ing with him to decide “what should be preserved & what not.” A year later, after Theodore’s death, Harriot removed from the Rutgers College Library “a box of material which we used in publishing my mother’s Life & Letters.” Theodore’s donation contains less original material than he first claimed it did, and Harriot told Alma Lutz, her mother’s biographer, that a trunk full of manuscripts had disappeared in Paris. Dozens of Elizabeth Cady Stanton signatures now in the family’s possession were clipped from letters to Anthony that exist neither as manuscripts nor as transcripts.⁷

Though researchers have no choice but to consult transcripts prepared for the Stanton children, they must do so cautiously. Stanton and Blatch took considerable liberties with their sources. The collection at Vassar illustrates how manuscripts were prepared for the typist with strong strokes of the pen across portions that should be omitted. When transcripts from Rutgers, Vassar, and the Library of Congress are compared, further editing becomes evident. Some typescripts show handwritten revisions and a later, emended typing. As Rutgers librarian Amy Dykeman first made known, the texts underwent yet another revision if selected for inclusion in the 1922 book. The editorial liberties included significant deletion, new sentence structure, altered dates, and collation of distinct letters to form a new, single text.⁸

The Stantons’ efforts to document and preserve a record of their mother’s work coincided with rising interest among leading suffragists in documentation of their movement after passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. But archival efforts in the twenties and thirties reflected struggles within the suffrage movement about history and lines of descent. Anthony had emerged in the twentieth century as the more valuable lineage to claim. While two associations devoted to her memory combed the nation for documents, no comparable project protected Stanton’s papers.⁹ A portion of Anthony’s papers now at the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino originated with the Susan B. Anthony Memorial Library Committee of California, a group of western suffragists who assembled manuscripts, photographs, clippings, reminiscences, and books. The committee, while continuing to collect, gave its holdings to the Los Angeles Public Library in 1941, whence they were transferred to the Huntington. In Rochester, New York, memorials to Anthony took many forms. By 1945 the Susan B. Anthony Memorial, Inc., had purchased Anthony’s house at 17 Madison Street and accepted donations of manuscripts from co-workers and family members. These collections were loaned to the University of Rochester in 1975.

DIARIES

The story of Stanton’s and Anthony’s diaries involves most of the characters and historical forces acting on the fate of their papers. Stanton noted in her autobiography when and why she began to keep a diary. At a dinner for younger suffragists on October 18, 1880, Stanton’s stories of her life prompted her guests to ask if she had kept a diary. In response to their urgings that she begin, she promised to do so on her upcoming birthday. A page later the autobiographer reported: “On November 12, 1880, I was sixty-five years old, and, pursuant to my promise, I then began my diary.” The text of *Eighty Years and More*, from that point on, supports her claim with frequent references to precise dates and details of visitors, books, and weather, such as one would recover from a daily record.¹⁰

Stanton's children published what they called a diary in 1922. With entries for the years 1880 through 1902, it is a very suspect text for which neither manuscripts nor transcripts remain. Among unsorted and unidentified sheets of paper in the Stanton collection at the Library of Congress there are loose leaves in Stanton's hand, dated 23 April 1883 and 10 February 1885, that read like diary entries (reel 45:379, 383), but neither text appears in the 1922 edition. Adding to the confusion are entries in the published "diary" traceable to non-diary texts—letters transcribed for Blatch and Stanton and manuscript articles. When Harriot assumed responsibility for Theodore's library in 1925, she told the librarian of Rutgers College that she needed to remove a diary of her mother's from among Theodore's books, and the librarian set something aside for her to pick up in New Brunswick. If she in fact removed the one manuscript diary she described, it has vanished.¹¹

Anthony began to write a diary while still a teenager, when she went away to school in Philadelphia and later when she taught in New Rochelle. If she maintained the habit through her twenties, the records were gone before Ida Harper researched Anthony's biography. Extant diaries resume with her career as itinerant reformer and agitator for woman's rights in New York during parts of 1854 and 1855. Although Harper cites diaries written between 1856 and 1862, those volumes disappeared after 1897. Harper made no reference to diaries for 1863 and 1864. Of what might have been forty-two diaries, covering 1865 through 1906, seventeen are now missing. Harper had access to most of those volumes and cited passages, but her failure to refer to diaries for 1866, 1869, and 1880 may indicate the books disappeared during Anthony's lifetime.

Diaries escaped the bonfires of Anthony's papers and passed from Susan to her sister Mary and then to Lucy E. Anthony, their niece and the companion of Anna Howard Shaw. "I begged Lucy Anthony to let me destroy them," Ida Harper recalled in 1930, "but she would not consent. . . ." Lucy not only kept the diaries but allowed some researchers to consult them. Paxton Hibben used them while writing his biography of Henry Ward Beecher (1927) and, although some pages had been removed, he could nonetheless recover evidence that both Anthony and Stanton were implicated in triggering the scandal over Beecher's infidelities in 1874. Despite Hibben's embarrassing revelations on a topic Harper had ignored, Lucy Anthony retained them still, and in the 1930s allowed Alma Lutz to read them. Hibben had suspected Anthony of purging pages from the volumes, but Lucy confessed to Lutz that she had done the deed herself.¹²

Interest in the volumes rose among the women concerned with documenting the suffrage movement. Carrie Chapman Catt and others urged Lucy and her sister, Anna Anthony Bacon, to deposit the diaries in a library, and later the Library of Congress appealed to them directly in 1940. After Lucy's death in 1944, the books passed to Bacon who resisted deciding about their disposition until 1954, when she promised them to the Library of Congress. Diaries arrived there in 1956, but Lutz and library staff determined immediately that the gift did not include every volume that Lucy had held. Bacon died in 1959, and five years later the pre-war volumes went up for auction and were acquired by the Schlesinger Library.¹³

PUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

Nearly one half of the documents in this edition are not manuscripts but printed primary sources. The roughly forty volumes of scrapbooks assembled from Anthony's clipping files and circulars, including three that Anthony prepared about Stanton, significantly aided recovery of the published record. They were a source for documents that fell within the edition's definition of papers. The scrapbooks themselves, however, are not reproduced in this edition. (Researchers can read the scrapbooks readily through microfilms made by the Library of Congress.)¹⁴

Neither the Anthony scrapbooks nor a bibliography of Stanton publications prepared by her children provided definitive documentation of the printed record.¹⁵ It was necessary to search some 200 periodicals issue by issue to find tracts, essays, book reviews, announcements, letters to editors, and other communications targeted by Stanton and Anthony to specific reform movements, including that for woman suffrage. In addition accounts of specific meetings and speeches were sought, by date, in local newspapers.

The search that underlies this edition was comprehensive but indubitably incomplete. Individual letters, particularly ones written by Anthony, appear on the market regularly and will no doubt continue to surface. It is more disconcerting to discover whole collections of letters, something that happened twice in the final years of work on this edition. Alice Paul's estate included the remarkable letters written by Stanton to her cousin Ellen Dwight Eaton in the years before the Civil War. Nothing in the existing record hinted at such correspondence; no one knew to look for it. Later still, when microfilming was under way, a larger, more significant discovery was made. Renée Flood, biographer of Clara Colby, found dozens of letters from Stanton to Colby still in family hands, doubling the record found in manuscript collections. With special assistance from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, where the new letters were deposited, the editors were able to integrate the letters into the edition.

These are cautionary tales, reminders about how final and definitive a collection like this can be. It is telling that these late finds involved Stanton's papers. The efforts of suffragists and historians to find Anthony's papers in the 1930s and 1940s may mean that less remains hidden. Much more of Stanton's correspondence is missing, and the failure to act decisively and publicly to recover it in the decades after 1920 may have allowed it to be buried more deeply into personal collections.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Outstanding staff members have come and gone over a decade, leaving their mark on every stage of assembling, arranging, describing, and indexing this collection. The vital roles of Kathleen A. McDonough and Gail K. Malmgreen are recognized on the title page. The editors acknowledge the valuable work of assistant editors and editorial assistants: Kate Greenspan, Ruth Owen Jones, Miriam Levin, Francine Krasno Mandel, Allen Martel, Amy Mittelman, and Tiziana Rota. They also thank staff members and researchers who worked in Amherst and at various libraries: Kathleen Alaimo, Jon Barber, Lucy Barber, Ketty Belizaire, Ruth Benn, Nancy Blitzblau, Dunstan Brooks, Kathleen Downing, Allen Ferguson, Laurie Gans, Joe Garbowski, Ruthanna Hooke, Edna L. Jones, Jean Kemble, Edna McGlynn, Susan Manning, Katy Mathews, Ruth Oldenzeit, Margaret Reiff, Jessie Rodrigue, Janet Rumbarger, Harriet Sigerman, Christine Sullivan, and Lorraine Swan.

Staff at the University of Massachusetts Library took special interest in the project and its requirements. Our demands fell most heavily on Edla Holm and her colleagues in the inter-library loan office and on Melinda McIntosh, Virginia Garrand, and Steve Shraison of the microforms department. They never let us down. Without help from teachers in the University of Massachusetts Child Care System, half of the editorial staff might, in Stanton's words, "have become wholly absorbed in a narrow family selfishness."¹⁶

Archivists and librarians throughout the country contributed generously to the conduct of our work. From institutions with large collections of Stanton's and Anthony's papers, we received invaluable assistance of many kinds. Special thanks are owed to Eva S. Moseley of the Schlesinger Library of Radcliffe College; Susan Grigg of the Sophia Smith Collection of Smith College; Mary M. Huth of the University of Rochester; Martha Briggs and Harriet McLoone of the Henry E. Huntington Library; Mary Wolfskill of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress; Archie Motley of the Chicago Historical Society; Harold Miller of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; and Donald L. Singer of the research staff of the National Historical Publications and Records Commission. Special assistance in the search for newspapers came from James Lane, New York State Library, Albany; Mark Thomas, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia; Tana Mosier Porter, Toledo-Lucas County Public Library, Toledo, Ohio; Gene DeGruson, Pittsburg State University, Kansas; and Anne T. Keenan, Blair Public Library, Nebraska.

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The directors of many libraries have kindly given permission to include documents from their holdings in the microfilm edition. The full list of repositories appears elsewhere in this guide. Special permissions were also given by Charles Scribner, Jr., to include a Susan B. Anthony letter from the Charles Scribners Archives, Princeton University Library; the Governors of Dunford House for use of Anthony letters in the West Sussex Record Office, England; the National Council of Women of Canada for inclusion of an Anthony letter in the International Council of Women Papers at the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa; and the Susan B. Anthony Memorial, Inc., of Rochester, to include material from its collection housed at the University of Rochester.

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NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. Declaration of Sentiments, Woman's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls, New York, July 19–20, 1848, reel 6:705-7, q.v.
2. *Golden Age*, July 1, 1871; reprinted in *Revolution*, July 6, 1871, q.v.
3. SBA to Ellen Wright Garrison, March 5, 1897, Garrison Family Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, reel 36:930, q.v.
4. *Ibid.*

5. Ida Husted Harper to Eliza Wright Osborne, November 30, 1897, National American Woman Suffrage Association Papers, Library of Congress (hereafter DLC, NAWSA Papers); [Minnette Cheshire Hair,] Interview with SBA about preparing her biography, *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, November 15, 1897, reel 37:381, q.v.; undated flyer for *Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*, Ohio Historical Society, on deposit from the Ohioana Library; Ida Husted Harper, *Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony* (Indianapolis, 1908), 3:1296–97.

6. *Elizabeth Cady Stanton As Revealed in Her Letters, Diary and Reminiscences*, ed. Theodore Stanton and Harriot Stanton Blatch (New York, 1922), 2 vols. Volume 1 contains an edition of Stanton's *Eighty Years and More*, heavily revised by the editors. Volume 2 contains letters dating from 1839 to 1880, followed by diary entries dating from 1880 to 1902.

7. Theodore Stanton to George A. Osborn, May 3, [1924]; Harriot Stanton Blatch to George A. Osborn, March 8, 1925; both in George A. Osborn Papers, Rutgers University Archives. See also Amy Dykeman, "To Look a Gift Horse in the Mouth: The History of the Theodore Stanton Collection," *Journal of Library History* 17 (Fall 1982): 468–73; and Harriot Stanton Blatch to Alma Lutz, July 15, 1931, Alma Lutz Papers, Vassar College.

8. Amy Dykeman, " 'To Pour Forth from My Own Experience': Two Versions of Elizabeth Cady Stanton," *Journal of the Rutgers University Libraries* 44 (June 1982): 1–16.

9. See Ellen Carol DuBois, "Making Women's History: Activist Historians of Women's Rights, 1880–1940," *Radical History Review* 49 (Winter 1991): 61–84.

10. ECS, *Eighty Years and More: Reminiscences, 1815–1897* (1898; reprint, New York, 1971), 323–24, 325.

11. Harriot Stanton Blatch to George A. Osborn, May 22, 1925, George A. Osborn Papers, Rutgers University Archives.

12. Ida Husted Harper to Mary G. Peck, July 13, 1930, DLC, NAWSA Papers; Paxton Hibben, *Henry Ward Beecher: An American Portrait* (New York, 1927).

13. Edna Stantial to Mary G. Peck, December 19, 1951, DLC, NAWSA Papers; "U.S. Library Gets Anthony Diaries," *New York Times*, February 19, 1956; Donor File on Susan B. Anthony Collection, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

14. The scrapbooks are in three separate locations within the Library of Congress: Susan B. Anthony Papers, Rare Books Division; Susan B. Anthony Papers, Manuscripts Division; and Elizabeth Cady Stanton Papers, Manuscripts Division.

15. *Elizabeth Cady Stanton*, ed. Stanton and Blatch, 1:355–62.

16. Stanton's phrase appears in her description of Anthony's importance to her in the early days of their friendship; see ECS, *Eighty Years and More*, 165.

Editorial Method

This edition compiles sources from 202 libraries and government agencies and 671 different periodicals. Working with photocopies, the editors arranged the documents for greatest intellectual clarity. Each item is marked to indicate source; names, descriptions, and dates are supplied on the basis of editorial research; and editors selected the most reliable and complete record when several texts purported to document the same event or writing.

Because the collection is an editorial creation, knowledge of the search, selection, and arrangement underlying the order will allow researchers to understand its limits and search effectively through its contents.

SERIES

Although the bulk of the collection makes up a single chronological sequence in series 3, smaller sections are treated separately in series 1 and series 2.

Series 1: The Revolution, reels 1–3. Series 1 of the papers comprises all issues of the weekly newspaper the *Revolution*, dating from January 8, 1868, through May 28, 1870, when Anthony published and Stanton edited the paper, and continuing until February 1872, when the paper, under new leadership, collapsed. Because the previously available microfilm of this newspaper inexplicably omitted issues, the editors decided to refilm the paper in full, even though doing so overstepped the edition's strictest boundaries. By combining issues found in the Library of Congress, the University of Iowa, and Lisa Unger Baskin's private collection, a complete series could be assembled.

Series 2: National Woman Suffrage Association Collection (1880), reels 4–5. Series 2 contains 1,680 items from the National Woman Suffrage Association Collection of the Chicago Historical Society and seven additional texts that may once have been part of the collection but are available now only in the *National Citizen and Ballot Box*. The series consists of incoming mail dated within a few months during the spring of 1880 and addressed primarily to Stanton. Responding to a call for a demonstration of support for woman suffrage to the Republican National Convention, women from 35 states and the District of Columbia signed their names to letters and postcards expressing not only their desire to vote but also their

reasons for seeking this right. The items were filed, in 1880, by state and town in order to demonstrate the extent of support for woman suffrage by political units. The sequence by state and town has been preserved, with unidentified places appearing at the start of the series and Canada and England following Wisconsin's towns at the end.

Series 3: Chronological Collection (1831–1906), reels 6–45: Series 3 makes up the main body of the papers of Stanton and Anthony arranged chronologically. Beginning on reel 44 are documents lacking dates, and at the end of reel 45 there appears a chronological addendum of documents found too late to be filed in place. It is in this series that editorial methods have the greatest impact on what documents to include, how to arrange them, and how to describe them.

The editors defined “papers” as the following types of documents:

- diaries or journals
- correspondence
- coverage of lectures and meetings
- formal writing: articles, petitions, appeals, and calls to meetings
- testimony before legislatures and courts
- interviews
- personal legal papers
- financial papers
- casual writing: verse, notes, inscriptions, and autographs
- miscellaneous documents: registrations of copyright, membership applications, questionnaires

Thus defined, “papers” excludes books authored or edited by the principals, scrapbooks kept by them, and third-party documents about them, except descriptions that embody texts of lectures, meetings, or public conversation.

FINDING AND SELECTING DOCUMENTS

Rules governing how the editors located and selected the papers can be best described in terms of the largest categories of documents.

CORRESPONDENCE

Correspondence—incoming and outgoing letters and their enclosures, notes, postal cards, and telegrams—makes up two thirds of the documents. The category incorporates letters exchanged with individuals, with organizations, and with editors.

In pursuit of letters staff followed leads to all known items and solicited assistance to search the papers of several thousand people associated with Stanton and Anthony through work or family. Notification of the search went to repositories in every state and appeared in print for professional and lay readers. Queries about correspondence overseas were more precisely targeted and followed by staff visits to Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, France, and England. The search for letters in print paralleled the search for all types of documents in journals, newspapers, and proceedings.

Various measures indicate what a small portion of an original corpus of correspondence the edition contains. Emma Sweet's notebook of letters dictated by Anthony from 14 December 1895 to 13 January 1896 shows shorthand notations for 168 letters (reel 34:611-791). The editors located only twelve of the letters that Sweet subsequently typed and mailed. Similar proportions can be calculated from Anthony's diaries whenever she notes the number of letters written in a day.

To recover as much as possible of the original record, the editors admitted texts that vary greatly in their authenticity. Any letter not present in its original form as manuscript or typescript is suspect because its words and topics, not to mention its punctuation and spelling, are filtered through outside parties. Among suspect texts in this edition are parts of letters quoted in the correspondence of other people, copies made by third parties for circulation among friends, transcriptions made by biographers and family members, transcriptions made by curators, summaries from catalogues offering letters for sale, and letters published either in contemporary newspapers and pamphlets or in later editions of letters.

The signed copy of a letter as received was always selected for inclusion if it could be found, and if autograph letters by Anthony or Stanton were published by the recipient—in a newspaper or within coverage of a meeting, for example—the published text accompanies the manuscript.

When no original manuscript of a letter could be found, the editors selected the best available text. Best available meant the earliest and the one most likely to derive from the original manuscript. The search often turned up multiple copies derived from a single original because the text had circulated in newspapers or because transcripts had been made at different times. Selection, in practice, meant that Martha Coffin Wright's copies of Stanton and Anthony correspondence were used only in cases where no original manuscript could be found. It meant that a reprint from the *Woman's Journal* of a Stanton letter to the editor of the *New York Times* did not stay in the edition unless evidence suggested that Stanton, not the *New York Times*, supplied the text to the *Journal*.

Sometimes the likelihood of a transcriber's access to the original could not be determined. Among manuscripts in the papers of Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell, for instance, one finds transcripts prepared by Alice Stone Blackwell and others prepared later by Edna Stantial. One cannot know if Stantial worked from an earlier transcript by Blackwell or from an original (lost between her house and the Library of Congress). Faced with multiple transcripts with different origins, if the texts differed significantly, the editors allowed several variants, described in chronological order as first, second, and even third versions.

SPEECHES, HEARINGS, AND MEETINGS

One quarter of the documents treats a fleeting oral record of what Stanton and Anthony *said* in formal talks and the give-and-take of meetings. This category covers all known manuscripts of speeches and testimony written by Stanton and Anthony, all official accounts of meetings and hearings that could be located, and manuscripts related to Stanton's or Anthony's participation in a meeting. To these sources the editors added newspaper coverage of events.

To construct this segment of the edition, staff developed a chronology or daily schedule for each woman, compiled from every available clue to their whereabouts and activities. Sorted both chronologically and geographically, the schedule enabled staff to link newspaper coverage and manuscripts to a time and place and pinpoint events for which coverage was lacking. Manuscripts of Stanton's and Anthony's speeches have long been available to researchers, though without adequate identification and dating. For this edition most manuscripts could be dated.

Bibliographic searches were conducted to locate official accounts of meetings for 300 associations. Official reports were also sought for occasions when Stanton or Anthony addressed or petitioned state and federal legislatures. But newspaper coverage was of central importance to the reconstruction of all oral events, to eke out the record for local groups whose papers are not preserved, to supplement the official records of larger organizations, and to document lectures.

In assembling newspaper coverage, staff drew upon pertinent scrapbooks of clippings, particularly those of Carrie Chapman Catt and Theodore Tilton (New York Public Library) and Ida Porter Boyer, Matilda Joslyn Gage, and Ida H. Harper (Library of Congress), in addition to Anthony's own volumes. When staff turned directly to local newspapers, work began with large cities, adding smaller cities and towns as availability, assistance, and time allowed.

Some of the most difficult meetings to document were those of principal suffrage associations. The National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) issued proceedings of its Washington convention only in 1884. After merger with the American Woman Suffrage Association to form the National-American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) in 1890, the practice of publishing a pamphlet did not resume until 1893. While the American WSA could rely on the *Woman's Journal* to carry an official record of meetings, the NWSA forged temporary alliances with different newspapers. The *Revolution* provided the first official coverage of Washington conventions from 1868 through 1870, and *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly* carried a full report in 1872. The next year coverage appeared in a short-lived paper called the *Woman's Campaign*, begun with Republican party funds during the presidential election of 1872 and sustained by suffragists into the following winter. The *Ballot Box* and its successor, the *National Citizen and Ballot Box*, served as semi-official organ of the NWSA, and in 1877, 1879, and 1880 the paper provided thorough coverage of the convention. While suffragist editor Helen Gougar sought official sanction for *Our Herald*, she published good coverage in 1882 and 1883. By 1885 Clara Colby's *Woman's Tribune* became the voice of the NWSA.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to establish an authoritative text of oral events. Manuscripts are often the least reliable guide to what was said. As seasoned lecturers with standard titles in their repertoires each year, Stanton and Anthony improvised around familiar

constructions. Adjustments from one year to the next did not require a wholly new manuscript, new lectures underwent several modifications, and none of the manuscripts is dated so precisely as to be sure of its place in the revising process. (For an example of layers of revisions on a single manuscript, see ECS, "Our Young Girls" [reel 45:1-74].) In theory, published accounts of their words are more reliable because they are based on what was heard rather than what was intended, but journalism has its own perils. Few reporters could record speeches stenographically. An average account summarized the speech and quoted a line or two.

For major events, the editors selected the best reports to be found in local papers, coverage from relevant national reform or woman's papers, and significant variations that they located. It is in this order of priority that documents for the same event appear on the film. For lectures, newspaper coverage appears if the article defines the topic by more than title or purports to quote what was said.

The editors developed editorial practices for meetings that differ somewhat depending on the group's importance to Stanton and Anthony. Highest priority went to organizations they founded, those they served as officers, and those that held their attention over many years: the antebellum woman's rights groups, the Women's New York State Temperance Society, the Women's Loyal National League, the American Equal Rights Association, the NWSA and its successor, the NAWSA. For these groups the editors sought to establish the best available record of proceedings, even of days during a meeting when the principals said little but remained in the chair.

Of lowest priority were associations to which one or the other woman appealed occasionally in search of support for woman suffrage, such as the American Federation of Labor and the American Unitarian Association. The documents reflect the level of participation, with the focus on a letter read or a speech delivered.

In between these extremes fall hundreds of associations with which the two women remained steadfast allies but only occasional collaborators, such as groups of Progressive Friends, the Free Religious Association, various state suffrage associations, and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. The documents provide context for the specific contribution of Stanton or Anthony but not comprehensive coverage of an entire meeting.

ARTICLES AND OTHER WRITTEN WORK

The amount of formal writing for publication found in the course of the search for Stanton's and Anthony's papers exceeded all expectations. As in the case of lectures, manuscripts—particularly in Stanton's hand—had been available to researchers for years. Because no one had documented the extent and regularity of Stanton's journalism, archivists had tried to describe manuscripts in relationship to books, hypothesizing about later revisions and leaving lots of loose sheets unaccounted for.

Manuscripts of essays in this edition accompany the published text at the date of publication whenever the two could be matched. Essays not found in published form are dated as closely as possible from internal clues, but without resolving questions about whether they were indeed published someplace now unknown.

The search for written work followed a winding trail through hundreds of journals to which different groups of reformers subscribed. These publications addressed advocates of abolition, dress reform, eugenics, free thought, health reform, liberal religion, personal rights, socialism, social purity, spiritualism, temperance, woman's clubs, woman's rights, and woman suffrage. Stanton's first articles appeared in Amelia Bloomer's *Lily*, published in Seneca Falls in the 1850s, and covered most styles of journalism—book reviews, local commentary, parables, and political opinion. Anthony wrote regularly first for the *Lily* and the *Carson League*, reporting on her New York State tour for the Women's New York State Temperance Society in 1852 and 1853. Though Stanton would always write more and find the most varied outlets for her thoughts, Anthony's opinion counted more and more as her fame increased. By the end of their lives, metropolitan dailies and major news syndicates sought both their bylines. With the help of Ida Harper, Anthony published dozens of articles in rival San Francisco newspapers during the California amendment campaign of 1896. She prepared several very popular articles thereafter for McClure's syndicate and the Hearst papers. Stanton also wrote for the commercial press, but she sought out friendly editors of all kinds of periodicals to accept her articles and submitted her reminiscences, her commentary on the Bible, and her lectures as articles before preparing book-length manuscripts.

The category of Stanton's and Anthony's published writings also embraces political ephemera, texts that defined their movement, explained its strategies, and urged compliance with its tactics. Considerable care and thought went into calls issued in advance of annual meetings. Calls carried concise statements of the movement's needs and strategies, giving shape to the occasion and direction to participants' thought. Appeals and tracts met similar objectives without being related to a meeting. Appeals announced new tactics or reminded people to pursue a plan already agreed upon—to gather signatures to a petition, to flood Congress with missives, or to plan local events for the Fourth of July.

Ephemeral writing was often printed as a circular or broadside and then published in several papers at about the same time. The edition includes at least one text from a newspaper, usually the one with the earliest date, and a copy of a circular if one was found. In a very few cases manuscripts document the stages in which calls or appeals were drafted and previewed by leaders, and these preliminary versions appear as well.

INTERVIEWS

The edition contains nearly 500 interviews with members of the press that editors found in the course of the search for documents, but it indubitably omits many more. Clippings in Anthony's scrapbooks form the core of what appears, and staff added any interviews located while searching a local paper as well as ones referred to in other documents. They are filed at the date of the interview, when that could be determined, and otherwise with reference to the date of publication.

Though interviews with the nineteenth-century press are notoriously unreliable records of word and thought, they provide a significant indicator of newsworthiness. The numbers of interviews increased slowly, from the earliest ones here in 1869 to the 1890s when scores of interviews appeared each year. Gaining access to Stanton or Anthony could boost a reporter's career. Whitelaw Reid introduced Nellie Hutchinson, originally of the *Cincinnati Enquirer*,

to Stanton and Anthony specifically to help her fledgling career. Several decades later Minnette Cheshire Hair gained a byline by cultivating Anthony. Kate Field in Washington, Nellie Bly in New York, and Faith Fenton in Toronto conducted major interviews at the height of their fame. Women were not alone in their interest. Anonymous young men launched interviews in midwestern hotels, and established journalists like “Warrington” (William S. Robinson), “Carp” (Frank George Carpenter), and Charles A. Dana took their turns.

Interviews could become newsworthy in themselves. As rumors and investigations mounted about Henry Ward Beecher’s affair with Elizabeth Tilton, interviews with both Stanton and Anthony helped to precipitate events. Besieged by reporters after endorsing the Kansas People’s Party in 1894, Anthony became the subject of further interviews as she struggled to regain the offensive in the press. During the 1899 flap over the qualifications of Brigham Roberts to represent Utah in the House of Representatives, a startling interview with Anthony prompted an enterprising reporter to interview Stanton about Anthony’s interview. Not the only case when the two women addressed each other through interviews, Stanton, in this instance, pronounced Anthony’s position sound. During the NAWSA convention later in the same year, Stanton used an interview to challenge Anthony about the association’s inaction on railroad segregation.

FINANCIAL RECORDS

Records of Stanton’s finances have not survived. Some isolated numbers may be gleaned from the probate file on her father’s estate, but neither personal and household accounts nor accounts she would have maintained while lecturing exist. Anthony’s records are much richer, and in their detail about travel and lecturing reveal how much information about Stanton’s life is lost. A daybook, begun in 1855 and kept fitfully until 1860, tracks Anthony’s personal accounts distinct from accounts she maintained with the New York State Woman’s Rights Committee and the American Anti-Slavery Society as their agent. After the war, Anthony used pages in the back of her diary to record the costs of travel and the door receipts for each lecture. These accounts are more complete than the diary entries as a record of her work. Without similar information about Stanton, it is impossible to reconstruct her lecture schedule to the same standard reached for Anthony’s. Additional information about finances can be gleaned from the records of property transactions, described below at “legal papers.”

Other financial records in this edition amount to scattered curiosities: Daniel Cady’s accounts for his daughter at the Troy Female Seminary; Susan B. Anthony’s records of tuition collected from her students in Canajoharie; or accounts with Anthony kept by the office where the *Revolution* was printed, to name a few.

LEGAL PAPERS

Personal legal papers consist, in the main, of records relating to the ownership of property, the settlement of estates, and the incorporation of national associations. Most of the

documents come from the records of local governments, though a few items were retained by families.

Documenting ownership of land in a national market poses significant challenges because there is no way to know what counties to consider without independent clues about where to look. Anthony acquired property in Monroe County, New York, and at least two counties of Kansas, beginning before the Civil War. Subsequently, in addition to her personal investments, she received gifts of land to endow suffrage work. Gifts in Arkansas and Massachusetts are documented in the edition.

As a Cady, Stanton fell heir to an enormous landed estate reaching into many counties of New York and westward at least into Iowa. After Daniel Cady's death in 1859, it took his son-in-law eighteen years to settle the estate. As indicated by the deeds from Fulton County, New York, Cady's land was sold in the names of all his heirs, including Henry B. and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, from 1859 until 1877. These deeds from the Cady estate indicate a type of documentation that could be found elsewhere. (One example from Iowa surfaced while staff sought different information.) Other deeds concern Stanton's residences in Seneca Falls, New York, and Tenafly, New Jersey. No examples of her investment properties have been located.

Legal and political papers intersect in documentation of Susan B. Anthony's arrest and trial for illegal voting in the federal elections of 1872. Records from the Federal District Court for the Northern District of New York are supplemented with extensive newspaper coverage, the documentary pamphlet Anthony published about the case in 1874, and reports of subsequent action in the United States Congress.

INSCRIPTIONS

Inscriptions penned by Stanton and Anthony in books they authored came to staff's attention, though they were not sought comprehensively as a specific type of document. The inscriptions are formulaic and repetitive but personalized. Hence they give evidence about acquaintances, documenting friendships that are no longer documented otherwise.

The edition omits inscriptions in Susan B. Anthony's books within the Division of Rare Books and Special Collections at the Library of Congress. In the months before she deposited them in 1903, Anthony wrote recollections about each one on the flyleaves. The books' condition precluded copying for microfilm.

DIARIES

Anthony's diaries are reproduced in this edition, filmed as the first document of their year. In cases where Ida Husted Harper quoted pages now missing from a diary or entries from a diary that has not been located, her texts are filmed.

The diary published as Stanton's by her children in 1922 is *not* reproduced in this edition. That decision was made simply on the basis of the editorial policy against reproducing existing books, independent of issues about its authenticity.

ARRANGING THE DOCUMENTS

The earliest document in this edition is dated January 2, 1831, and the last is dated to the month of February 1906, a few weeks before Anthony's death. Within series 3 all types of documents comprising the papers of both Anthony and Stanton form a single chronology. Though the editors have tried to assign dates to every document, some items can be dated only to a decade, a year, a season, or a month. Documents without a known year and those without any date are filed at the end of the collection. (Note that a chronological addendum appears at the end of reel 45.)

A standard sequence governs the order of documents on any given day in the edition. The same order governs the sequence of undated documents at the end of the edition. Anthony precedes Stanton in each category:

- Letters written by the principals
 - alphabetical by correspondent
- Letters written to the principals
 - alphabetical by correspondent
- Speeches and meetings
- Published writings
- Legislative and judicial proceedings
- Interviews and statements
- Legal papers
- Financial records
- Other writings, such as notes, verse, inscriptions
- Miscellaneous, such as forms or questionnaires

SELECTING A DATE TO USE AS FILE DATE

Letters. A letter is filed at the date of its composition unless addressed to or received by a meeting. Letters to meetings—those incoming to meetings run by Stanton or Anthony and those they wrote to meetings elsewhere—are filed at the date of the meeting to which the letter was addressed.

Published writings. Published articles, calls to meetings, appeals to the public, and any other published writing (along with any surviving manuscript of the same text) are filed at the date of publication. If the source is dated only by month or year, the article falls among items at month's or year's end.

Speeches. Speeches are filed at date of delivery. The manuscript of any speech used just once or over a short period of time is filed at the first known date of its use. Addresses used extensively and revised over many years are filed with undated documents at the end of the series.

Speeches prepared for publication after the event did not thus become articles but are dated with reference to their delivery at a meeting, hearing, or lecture engagement, with one notable exception. In the last years of her life, Stanton submitted most of her major lectures to the *Boston Investigator*, whose editors treated them as "articles." The texts are filed at the date of publication, with cross-references added to and from the date when she originally delivered the text as an address.

Interviews. Interviews are filed on the date of the interview when that is available, at date of publication when necessary.

Deeds. Deeds are filed at the date they were registered with the county clerk.

DOCUMENTS DATED OVER SEVERAL DAYS

Documentation of meetings that span several days is filed at the earliest date. At that date, coverage is grouped by source and not broken down day by day; thus, an official account or a local newspaper is treated as a unit for the meeting's duration and followed by the next source.

Documents spanning many days or months are filed at their earliest date. Even if a dated abstract from a diary is all that survives, it appears like fuller diaries as the first document of the year. Anthony's daybook, covering several periods of time between 1855 and 1860, is filed at the date of its first entry, in November 1855. Similarly, the notebook of Anthony's dictation, taken down in shorthand over a month's time, appears at the date of its earliest entry.

DOCUMENTS DATED IMPRECISELY

Documents dated only by a year or a month appear at the end of the year or month. After December 31 of any year, documents dated merely December precede those dated by the year. Items at a month's end include texts of articles published in periodicals dated only by month; that is, an article in the November issue of the *North American Review* will be found at the end of November.

In rare instances documents were dated by a season, and those documents are filed as follows:

Winter	filed after March 31
Spring	filed after June 30
Summer	filed after September 30
Fall	filed after December 31

After documents of 1906, there are additional sequences: documents lacking a year and undated documents. Those lacking a year are arranged by the month and day that appear on

the item. The sequence of undated documents is governed by the rules for documents of the same date, listed above.

EDITORIAL APPARATUS

This section of the guide describes what readers of the microfilm will *see*, and includes symbols and abbreviations in use on headnotes to the documents.

ITINERARIES

At the start of documents for each year for 1841 and from 1848 onward, there appears on the microfilm a list of the schedules maintained by Stanton and Anthony during the year. The lists indicate which events are documented in the edition. Supplied from the editors' computerized research file, schedules provide both an overview of Stanton's and Anthony's work for the year and leads that researchers might follow to locate additional documents. (These are indexed at "itineraries for ECS and SBA.")

To be included in the list, the activity needed to be one with the potential to generate public documentation. Thus, a visit with her daughter in Basingstoke, England, would not produce an entry for Stanton *unless* the editors had discovered that she spoke or otherwise acted publicly.

Figure 1. Itinerary Sample

18690219	S	IL	SPRINGFIELD	LEC, OPERA HOUSE	.T.
18690221 SCH	SA	IL	MADISON	LEC	.F.
18690222	S	IL	BLOOMINGTON	LEC, YMA	.T.
18690223	S	IL	BLOOMINGTON	LEC, TO WOMEN	.F.
18690224 TO 2/25	SA	WI	MILWAUKEE	MTG, STATE WSA	.T.
18690226	SA	WI	MADISON	LEC	.T.
18690302 TO 3/3	SA	IL	GALENA	LEC	.T.
18690304	SA	OH	TOLEDO	LEC	.T.
18690305	SA	OH	TOLEDO	LEC	.T.
18690308 OR 3/9	SA	OH	TOLEDO	LEC, HIGH SCH.	.F.
18690309	SA	OH	TOLEDO	MTG, CITY WSA	.F.
18690317	A	NY	AMENIA	LEC, LYCEUM	.F.
18690320	SA	NY	NEW YORK	NY PRESS DINNER	.T.

The left-hand column of the itineraries (see figure 1) provides the date, albeit somewhat unconventionally: 18690219 should be read as 1869 February 19. If the date is conjectural or imprecise, the next column indicates the problems: SCH (scheduled but unconfirmed), DD?

(day in doubt), MM? (month in doubt). A date ending in zeros (18690000 or 18690200) signals that only the year or the month has been determined.

Moving farther toward the right, S, A, and SA indicate whose activity is shown—Stanton's, Anthony's, or both. Postal service abbreviations indicate the state, followed by the name of the town. The next column to the right abbreviates what occurred: LEC (lecture), MTG (meeting), LEG (legislative activity), TOUR (part of an extended series of events in a campaign), LTR TO MTG (letter to a meeting), and provides, in highly abbreviated form, further information about the event. The right-hand column indicates simply by T (true) or F (false) whether documents exist on the film. (Note that documents in the addendum on reel 45, if they provide the only coverage of an activity, would not be reflected on this list.)

TRANSCRIPTIONS

Readers of this edition are expected to meet the challenges of reading Stanton's and Anthony's handwriting. Though idiosyncratic in style, both women wrote with remarkable consistency. Readers might take some comfort from Anthony's plaint to a contributor to the *History of Woman Suffrage*, written while she and Stanton worked together in Johnstown: "It is awful hard on our three-score & nine & four eyes to battle with such quantities of obscure chirography!" (SBA to Harriet Hanson Robinson, 12 May 1884 [reel 23:745-49].)

The editors *have* transcribed texts they deemed illegible and included their transcripts on the film, alongside the original document. Documents were deemed illegible if the physical properties of the original document or the technology of photoreproduction precluded clear images. Otherwise, transcripts are provided for the letters of a few correspondents whose letters are especially obscure.

Readers of the microfilm will notice the existence of transcripts prepared by people other than the editors and filmed in lieu of original documents. In some cases the text of the transcript is all that can now be located of a lost manuscript while, in other instances, repositories supplied transcripts because the original manuscript could not be photographed. Headnotes identify the transcript and its origins.

Editorial transcripts were prepared line by line to parallel the original layout of the document and contain all contemporary text. Archival notations are ignored. The editors standardized the placement of headings, salutations, and closures and indented the opening line of new paragraphs, but elsewhere prepared literal transcriptions within the limits of the modern keyboard. Interlineations are inserted into the text, as indicated by the author. Superscripts are lowered. Spelling, capitalization, punctuation, abbreviations, and syntax are rendered as found, unless they prevent comprehension. Printed headings were not transcribed from letterhead stationery but were included for transcripts made from Anthony's diaries.

The transcripts use symbols to indicate difficulties with rendering the text:

- [] Square brackets enclose material supplied by the editors. Information within brackets includes page numbers, omitted or lost words, expansions of obscure abbreviations, indications that words are in another hand, or

- special notes about the location of the text on the original, such as [sideways in margin].
- [is?] A question mark after a word within square brackets indicates editorial uncertainty about the word supplied.
- [. . .] Ellipses within square brackets replace words that could not be determined.
- < > Angle brackets enclose text cancelled by the author.
- < . . . > Ellipses within angle brackets indicate that what was crossed out could not be recovered.

Bad workmanship in microfilming newspapers for preservation introduced a considerable amount of illegible copy into this edition. The illegible text usually runs vertically along a column's margin where improper placement for filming created shadows or unfocused images. Sometimes what could be read on the film itself turned black or blurred when printed to paper. The editors prepared partial transcripts as needed to recover only the obscured text. Ellipses either preceding or following the transcript indicate that the rest of the line is legible on the copy.

TRANSLATIONS

Readers will find a very few documents written in French and German. These appear in their original language only, without translation.

More texts are affected by the decision not to translate documents in shorthand. The shorthand has been identified by experts as the standard phonographic system developed by Andrew Jackson Graham, variously described as an improvement upon or a plagiarism of Isaac Pitman's stenographic system. Modern knowledge of Graham's shorthand is rare, but his various handbooks and guides to the system can be found in the Library of Congress.

HEADNOTES

Targets or headnotes are filmed with every document in series 2 and 3. In two columns of information, headnotes identify and describe the document (left-hand side) and its source (right-hand side). Sample headnotes appear in figure 2 on the following two pages.

Reading the document's source. The first two examples in figure 2 target documents from manuscript collections in libraries. The source note in the right-hand column first identifies the document's owner. Names of libraries are abbreviated by the system set forth in *Symbols of American Libraries*; the abbreviations are amplified in this guide. Beneath the institutional name the headnote indicates the division of the library and the title of the collection. A newspaper is the source of the third example, and the headnote identifies the source by title, place of publication, and date of issue. In the fifth case the clipping was obtained from a scrapbook; the usual citation for a newspaper is followed by the location of the scrapbook—institution,

collection name, and, in this case, scrapbook number because the volumes were not chronologically maintained.

Reading the document's date. Editorial information about the document itself appears in the left-hand corner. All headnotes begin with a date or the notation N.d., meaning no date is known. Square brackets [] around any part of the date indicate that the editors supplied the bracketed information. If the editors doubt their information, question marks follow the element in doubt. Two examples in the figure supply approximate dates, before or after a specific date—before a dated reply or before a projected event.

Reading the description of letters. Headnotes for letters (examples 1–4) identify correspondents beneath the date. The headnote for Anthony's letter "to Editor" relies on the source note for greater specificity—here, the editor of the *Woman's Journal*. The next line contains information, based on research, about where the letter was written. If the place is not known, the line reads N.p., or no place. The fourth example warrants further explanation. From her home at Rochester, Anthony has written a letter to a meeting in Des Moines, and the text lies within minutes of the meeting. The letter itself lacks a date (hence N.d. on the first line), but the meeting's date (1891 Dec 4) appears in the description of the letter's recipient.

Figure 2. Sample Headnotes

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1 1899 Jan 22
SBA to Clara Dorothy Bewick Colby
Rochester, NY
ALS
Enclosure(s):
 1. TLS, R. G. F. Avery to SBA,
 1899 Jan 19
 2. missing</p> | <p>CSmH
Clara (Bewick) Colby Collection</p> |
| <p>2 [1842 before Feb 25]
ECS to Lucretia Coffin Mott
N.p.
HwCL, in L. C. Mott to R. and H.
 Webb, 1842 Feb 25, p. 5
Transcript follows</p> | <p>MB
Department of Rare Books and
 Manuscripts
William Lloyd Garrison Papers</p> |
| <p>3 [1892 after Feb 21]
SBA to Editor
Rochester, NY
PCL</p> | <p>WOMAN'S JOURNAL (Boston), Mar 5,
 1892</p> |

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>4 N.d.
SBA to Iowa WSA, Annual Meeting, Des Moines, 1891 Dec 4
Rochester, NY
Ms minutes, incomplete
Transcript follows</p> | <p>Ia-HA
Woman's Suffrage Records</p> |
| <p>5 1882 Jan 18–20
SBA
Washington, DC
NWSA, 14th Washington Convention; Hearing, Senate Select Committee on Woman Suffrage, Jan 20
Printed</p> | <p>WASHINGTON POST (DC), Jan 21, 1882; from MCR-S, Robinson-Shattuck Papers, Scrapbook 52</p> |
| <p>6 1891 Feb 26–Mar 1
SBA, ECS
Washington, DC
“Degradation of Disfranchisement” (ECS), NAWSA, 23rd Annual Convention
Printed</p> | <p>EVENING STAR (Washington, DC), Feb 26, 1891</p> |
| <p>7 [1856?]
SBA
Lecture fragment, probably pages from a version of “Educating the Sexes Together” at 1856 Aug 5–7, fifth item, q.v.
AMs & printed, incomplete</p> | <p>MCR-S
Susan Brownell Anthony Papers</p> |
| <p>8 1892 Feb 20
ECS
“Reminiscences: Miss Anthony's Seventieth Birthday. Again in Europe”
Printed</p> | <p>WOMAN'S TRIBUNE (Beatrice, NE & Washington, DC), Feb 20, 1892</p> |

The last lines in the identification column describe properties of the document itself, first with a physical description and then, as needed, with notations about editorial transcripts and enclosures. The abbreviations used in physical descriptions are amplified below. As examples show, the line for physical description can bear special messages too. In the second case the description explains that Stanton's text was located within a letter from Lucretia Mott to Richard and Hannah Webb.

Names of correspondents. The names of correspondents on the headnotes reflect the best information available to the editors about the person's name at the time of writing or receiving the letter. The index contains cross-references to direct researchers from a maiden to a married name or vice versa and from a pen name to a legal name.

Reading the descriptions of non-correspondence. Headnotes for documents other than letters differ slightly. Beneath the date, the document is assigned to one or both of the principals on the basis of authorship, signature, or participation. With the exception of published articles, most documents indicate a place where a meeting occurred, a deed was filed, or a speech delivered.

Titles or descriptive phrases follow. Quotation marks surround titles of articles and lectures if they derive from the document itself. Titles without quotation marks were assigned by the editors.

When a document covers two events, the headnote so indicates. In the fifth example of figure 2, press coverage of a meeting of the NWSA includes a congressional hearing as well. In the sixth example, coverage of a NAWSA meeting includes substantial text for a major titled address by Stanton.

Names of organizations. The editors have tried to standardize the names of clubs and associations to the form in use at the date of the document. Headnote descriptions of meetings distinguish meetings by type, such as annual meeting or Washington convention.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN DESCRIBING DOCUMENTS

Place names. Postal service abbreviations for the United States and Canadian provinces are used when indicating where a letter was written or an event occurred.

People and organizations. In the left-hand descriptive column of headnotes, the names of Stanton and Anthony are always abbreviated. A limited list of organizational abbreviations was also employed:

AERA	American Equal Rights Association
ECS	Elizabeth Cady Stanton
NAWSA	National-American Woman Suffrage Association
NWSA	National Woman Suffrage Association
SBA	Susan B. Anthony
WLNL	Women's Loyal National League
WSA	Woman Suffrage Association

Physical descriptions of the document. The following list shows the basic symbols used to describe a document's physical properties. It may omit some combinations of the symbols made in special cases.

AL	Autograph Letter
ALS	Autograph Letter Signed

AMs	Autograph Manuscript
AMsS	Autograph Manuscript Signed
ANS	Autograph Note Signed
DS	Document Signed
ECS	Elizabeth Cady Stanton, used to indicate whose hand when authored or signed by several people
HwCL	Handwritten Copy of Letter, not in hand of author or signer
LS	Letter Signed
PCL	Printed Copy of Letter
SBA	Susan B. Anthony, used to indicate whose hand when authored or signed by several people
TCL	Typed Copy of Letter
TLS	Typed Letter Signed
TMs	Typed "Manuscript" or text
TMsS	Typed "Manuscript" Signed

Other terms used in document descriptions include:

AL, letterpress copy or letterbook copy
 ALS, draft
 ALS, on printed circular
 Carbon
 Clerk's copy
 Printed
 Transcript prepared by . . .

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN SOURCE NOTES

Short titles used in source notes. Books cited frequently as sources of documents in the edition are abbreviated, and the headnote shows the volume and page numbers where the document was found.

Harper, SBA	Ida Husted Harper, <i>Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony</i>
HWS	Stanton, Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage, <i>History of Woman Suffrage</i>
Stanton and Blatch	<i>Elizabeth Cady Stanton As Revealed in Her Letters, Diary and Reminiscences</i> , ed. Theodore Stanton and Harriot Stanton Blatch

Abbreviations and names of libraries used in source notes. The following institutions—listed with their Library of Congress abbreviations as used in this edition—have supplied documents to this edition.

Alabama

AAP Auburn University Libraries, Auburn

California

no abbrev.	Claremont Colleges, Ella Strong Denison Library, Claremont
C	California State Library, Sacramento
CCamarSJ	St. John's Seminary, Edward Laurence Doheny Memorial Library, Camarillo
CHi	California Historical Society, San Francisco
CLCM	Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History, Los Angeles
CLSU	University of Southern California Library, Los Angeles
CLU-S/C	University of California, Los Angeles, Department of Special Collections, Los Angeles
CLjC	Copley Newspapers Incorporated, James S. Copley Library, La Jolla
CSmH	Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino
CSt	Stanford University Libraries, Special Collections, and Stanford University Archives, Stanford
CU-BANC	University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library, Berkeley

Colorado

CoD	Denver Public Library, Denver
CoHI	Colorado Historical Society, Denver
CoU	University of Colorado, Boulder

Connecticut

Ct	Connecticut State Library, Hartford
CtHSD	Stowe-Day Memorial Library and Historical Foundation, Hartford
CtHi	Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford
CtNIC	Connecticut College Library, New London
CtW	Wesleyan University Library, Middletown
CtY	Yale University, Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, and Yale University Library, New Haven

District of Columbia

DCA	Corcoran Gallery of Art
DGU	Georgetown University Library
DGW	George Washington University, Gelman Library
DLC	Library of Congress
DNA	National Archives and Records Service
DNDAR	Daughters of the American Revolution
DSI	Smithsonian Institution, Archives of American Art
DSI	Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of American History

Idaho

IdHi	Idaho State Historical Society, Boise
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Illinois

IC	Chicago Public Library, Chicago
ICHi	Chicago Historical Society, Chicago
ICIU	University of Illinois at Chicago, Special Collections, Chicago
ICL	Loyola University of Chicago Archives, Chicago
ICMe	Meadville-Lombard Theological School, Chicago
ICN	Newberry Library, Chicago
ICU	University of Chicago Library, Chicago
ICarbS	Southern Illinois University, Morris Library, Carbondale

IEN	Northwestern University Library, Special Collections, Evanston
IEWT	National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evanston
IGK	Knox College Archives, Galesburg
IHi	Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield
IU-Ar	University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, University Archives, Urbana

Indiana

In	Indiana State Library, Indianapolis
InI	Indianapolis-Marion County Public Library, Indianapolis
InU	Indiana University Archives, Bloomington
InU-Li	Indiana University, Lilly Library, Bloomington

Iowa

Ia-HA	State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines
IaCb	Free Public Library, Council Bluffs
IaCfT	University of Northern Iowa Library, Cedar Falls
IaCrM	Iowa Masonic Library, Cedar Rapids
IaDaPM	Putnam Museum, Davenport
IaU	University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City

Kansas

KHi	Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka
KU-S	University of Kansas, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University Archives, Lawrence
KWiU	Wichita State University Library, Wichita

Kentucky

KyBB	Berea College, Berea
KyBgW-K	Western Kentucky University, Department of Library Special Collections, Bowling Green
KyLoF	Filson Club, Louisville
KyU	University of Kentucky Libraries, Lexington
KyWAT	Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore

Louisiana

no abbrev.	Historic New Orleans Collection, New Orleans
LN	New Orleans Public Library, New Orleans

Maine

MeB	Bowdoin College Library, Brunswick
MeWC	Colby College, Special Collections, Waterville

Maryland

MdBE	Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore
MdBJ	Johns Hopkins University, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, Baltimore
MdHi	Maryland Historical Society Library, Manuscripts Division, Baltimore

Massachusetts

no abbrev.	Arlington Historical Society, Arlington
no abbrev.	First Church of Christ, Scientist, Archives, Boston
MB	Boston Public Library, Trustees, Boston

MBr	Brookline Public Library, Brookline
MCR-S	Radcliffe College, Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Cambridge
MH-H	Harvard University, Houghton Library, Cambridge
MHi	Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
MNS	Smith College, Northampton
MNS-S	Smith College, Sophia Smith Collection, Northampton
MNanMM	Nantucket Maria Mitchell Association, Nantucket
MPB	Berkshire Athenaeum, Pittsfield
MSaE	Essex Institute, Salem
MShM	Mount Holyoke College Library/Archives, South Hadley
MWA	American Antiquarian Society, Worcester
MWelC	Wellesley College Library, Special Collections, Wellesley
Michigan	
MiK	Kalamazoo Public Library, Kalamazoo
MiKW	Western Michigan University, Regional History Collections, Kalamazoo
MiU-C	University of Michigan, William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor
MiU-H	University of Michigan, Bentley Historical Library, Ann Arbor
Minnesota	
MnHi	Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul
MnM	Minneapolis Public Library, Minneapolis
Missouri	
MoSHi	Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis
MoSM	St. Louis Mercantile Library, St. Louis
Nebraska	
NbHi	Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln
Nevada	
NvHi	Nevada Historical Society, Reno
New Hampshire	
Nh	New Hampshire State Library, Concord
NhD	Dartmouth College Library, Hanover
NhHi	New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord
New Jersey	
no abbrev.	National Archives, Northeast Region, Bayonne
NjGbS	Glassboro State College, Savitz Library, Glassboro
NjHi	New Jersey Historical Society, Newark
NjMD	Drew University Library, Madison
NjMoHP	Morristown National Historical Park, Morristown
NjP	Princeton University Library, Princeton
NjR	Rutgers University Libraries, New Brunswick
NjTen	Tenafly Public Library, Tenafly
New York	
no abbrev.	Canajoharie Library and Art Gallery, Canajoharie

no abbrev.	Castile Historical Society, Castile
no abbrev.	Chautauqua Institution, Chautauqua
no abbrev.	Emma Willard School, Troy
no abbrev.	National Women's Hall of Fame, Seneca Falls
no abbrev.	New York State Office of Parks, Recreation & Historic Preservation, John Brown Farm, Lake Placid
no abbrev.	Rockefeller Archive Center, North Tarrytown
no abbrev.	Seneca Falls Historical Society, Seneca Falls
N	New York State Library, Albany
N-Ar	New York State Archives, Albany
NAH	Albany Institute of History and Art, Albany
NAU	Alfred University, Alfred
NB	Brooklyn Public Library, Brooklyn
NBB-E	Brooklyn Museum, Wilbour Library of Egyptology, Brooklyn
NBHi	Brooklyn Historical Society, Brooklyn
NBu	Buffalo and Erie County Public Library, Buffalo
NBuHi	Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society, Buffalo
NCaS	St. Lawrence University, Owen D. Young Library, Canton
NEImC	Elmira College Archives, Elmira
NGenoU	State University of New York, College at Geneseo
NHi	New-York Historical Society, New York
NIC	Cornell University Library, Ithaca
NJost	Johnstown Public Library, Johnstown
NN	New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, New York
NNBa	Columbia University, Barnard College Library, New York
NNC	Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, New York
NNCoo	Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art, New York
NNFL	Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), New York Yearly Meeting, Haviland Records Room, New York
NNSII	Staten Island Institute of Arts and Sciences, Staten Island
NPV	Vassar College Library, Poughkeepsie
NR	Rochester Public Library, Rochester
NRHi	Rochester Historical Society, Rochester
NRM	Rochester Museum and Science Center, Rochester
NRMW	Margaret Woodbury Strong Museum, Rochester
NRRI	Rochester Institute of Technology, Rochester
NRU	University of Rochester, Rochester
NSbSU	State University of New York at Stony Brook Library, Stony Brook
NSchU	Union College, Schaffer Library, Schenectady
NSyU	Syracuse University, George Arents Research Library, Syracuse
NUtM	Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, Utica
NWattJHi	Jefferson County Historical Society, Watertown
NWefHi	Chautauqua County Historical Society, Westfield

North Carolina

NcD	Duke University, William R. Perkins Library, Durham
NcGU	University of North Carolina at Greensboro, Walter Clinton Jackson Library, Greensboro
NcU	University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Southern Historical Collection, Chapel Hill

Ohio

no abbrev.	Massillon Museum, Massillon
no abbrev.	Ohioana Library, Columbus
no abbrev.	Rowfant Club, Cleveland
OCHP	Cincinnati Historical Society, Cincinnati
OCIWHi	Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland
OFH	Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center, Fremont
OHi	Ohio Historical Society, Columbus
OMas	Massillon Public Library, Massillon
OO	Oberlin College Archives, Oberlin
OPaL	Lake Erie College Archives, Painesville
OT	Toledo-Lucas County Public Library, Toledo
OTU	University of Toledo Libraries, Ward M. Canaday Center, Toledo
OTiFH	Heidelberg College, Tiffin

Oklahoma

OkU	University of Oklahoma at Norman
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Oregon

Or	Oregon State Library, Salem
OrHi	Oregon Historical Society, Portland

Pennsylvania

PBm	Bryn Mawr College Library and Archives, Bryn Mawr
PCarID	Dickinson College, Carlisle
PHC	Haverford College Library, Haverford
PHi	Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
PPT	Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia
PPWM	Medical College of Pennsylvania, Archives and Special Collections on Women in Medicine, Philadelphia
PSC-Hi	Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, Swarthmore
PSC-P	Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore
PSt	Pennsylvania State University Libraries, University Park

Rhode Island

R-Ar	Rhode Island State Archives, Providence
RNR	Redwood Library and Athenaeum, Newport
RPB-JH	Brown University, John Hay Library, Providence

Texas

Tx	Texas State Library and Archives, Austin
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Utah

UPB	Brigham Young University, Provo
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Vermont

no abbrev.	Sheldon Museum, Middlebury
VtHi	Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier
VtMiM	Middlebury College, Middlebury
VtU	University of Vermont, Bailey-Howe Library, Burlington

Virginia

ViRC Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond

Washington

WaHi Washington State Historical Society, Tacoma

Wisconsin

WHi State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison

Canada

CaOOA Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario

CaOTUTF University of Toronto, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Toronto, Ontario

France

no abbrev. Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris, Paris

Germany

no abbrev. Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin

Netherlands

NeA Amsterdam: Internationaal Informatiecentrum en archief voor de Vrouwenbeweging

New Zealand

Nz New Zealand: Canterbury Museum, Canterbury

United Kingdom

no abbrev. West Sussex Record Office, Chichester, England

UkL London, England: British Library of Political and Social Science; City of London Polytechnic, Fawcett Library; Dr. Williams's Library; Museum of London

UkMa Manchester Public Libraries, Central Library, Manchester, England

UkWC Windsor Castle, Windsor, Berkshire, England

MISSING DOCUMENTS

The following are documents that editors learned about but for various reasons could not gain access to:

1866 Mar 31: ECS letter to Edwin Denison Morgan, indexed but not located within New York State Library, Manuscripts and Special Collections, Edwin D. Morgan Papers

1868 Sep 14: SBA letter to J. O. Johnson, catalogued but not located within New Hampshire Historical Society, William E. Chandler Papers, concerning bills for advertisements in the *Revolution*

1869: ECS articles, "Isolation in the Clouds," "Mrs. Winslow a Man," and "Maternity," in *Herald of Health* 47 (January–June 1869), indexed therein, but volume missing from *American Periodical Series* microfilm and from all libraries contacted

1888 Jan 21 or 27: SBA letter to Parker Pillsbury, sold by Goodspeed's Book Shop in October 1987

1893: SBA letter to Mr. Anderson, itemized in a 1950s listing of the Elizabeth Preston Anderson Papers, North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, North Dakota State University, but not located

1895 Jan 1: SBA letter to Charles Wells Moulton, listed for sale in catalogue of James Lowe, Summer 1987

1895 Jan 5: SBA letter to Thomas Lamb Eliot, permission denied to use transcript at Reed College Library, location of original not known, criticizing Abigail Scott Duniway's "still hunt"

1897 Dec 28: SBA letter to Louise Boyd, donated by Mary Louise Townsend to New-York Historical Society in 1958, withdrawn in 1959

1898 Dec 27: SBA letter to Clara D. B. Colby, described as in possession of the Mission Inn, Riverside, CA, in a letter from Alice Miller Hutchings to Una R. Winter, 1942 Oct 22, in Susan B. Anthony Memorial Library Collection Scrapbooks, Rare Books Department, Huntington Library

1900 Mar 20: SBA letter to Carrie Chapman Catt, typed copy, catalogued but not located in Rochester Public Library, Susan B. Anthony Collection

1900 May 15: SBA letter to Lydia Coonley Ward, catalogued but not located in Rochester Public Library, Susan B. Anthony Collection

1901 May 17: SBA letter to Thomas Lamb Eliot, permission denied to use transcript at Reed College Library, location of original not known

N.y. Apr 15: SBA postcard to Edward M. Bok, auctioned by Parke-Bernet Galleries, June 18, 1978, item 31

Date unknown: SBA letter to Julia Nelson, in Alice Marshall collection, Camp Hill, PA

Date unknown: ECS letter to a New Jersey judge, in Alice Marshall collection, Camp Hill, PA

Dates unknown: Four SBA letters to Emma Biddlecome Sweet, said to be in collection of Ginny Grace, Syracuse, NY

Biography and Chronology

EARLY YEARS OF ELIZABETH CADY STANTON AND SUSAN B. ANTHONY

Her reminiscences are the principal source on Elizabeth Cady Stanton's youth. Until well after her marriage in 1840, the record is spotty and uninformative. She was born to Daniel and Margaret Livingston Cady on November 12, 1815, at Johnstown, New York, during her father's single term in the U.S. House of Representatives. Although the eighth child born to her parents, death had struck children in 1809, 1810, and twice in 1814, and Elizabeth entered the family as the fourth living child. Two younger sisters were born before her fourth birthday. In a crisis that Stanton would feature as critical to her own maturation, her only brother died in 1826 after graduation from Union College, leaving Daniel Cady with no male heirs.

Later in life Stanton would describe it as a strict household, governed by dour Scottish Presbyterian morality and by parents with a military ideal of order. Its residents included several servants—African Americans and Scots—the children, at least one cousin, and a succession of young men who moved in and out to read law under Daniel Cady's instruction. Johnstown Academy provided schooling for the children. Stanton recalled the division of the sexes that occurred when boys left for Union College while girls stayed home. Her own father sent his daughters to the female seminary at Troy where Emma Willard provided some of the best education available to girls.

The Cady daughters selected husbands from the men who studied with their father. Tryphena, the oldest, married first, when Elizabeth was twelve. Her husband Edward Bayard had come to Johnstown from Delaware, where his family supplied several of the state's U.S. senators. He practiced law at Seneca Falls before taking up homeopathic medicine in New York City. Harriet, the next in line, married her cousin Daniel Cady Eaton. Son of the founder of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Daniel Eaton had been Daniel Cady's ward but chose to become a merchant in New York City. Margaret and Catherine married in quick succession in 1841 and 1842: Margaret to Duncan McMartin, a local law student who would become executor of Daniel Cady's large estate before settling in Iowa; Catherine to Samuel Wilkeson, a law student from Buffalo, better known as a journalist and officer of the Northern Pacific Railroad. It was Elizabeth who broke this mold, finding her husband not under her father's roof but at the home of a remarkable cousin.

Gerrit Smith was a nephew of Margaret Cady's. A wealthy eccentric who lived at Peterboro, New York, Smith hosted his relatives from New York's oldest families along with friends from the temperance and antislavery agitations. Elizabeth Cady recalled the occasional runaway slave preparing for the final sprint toward Canada among his guests. Through the rest of her life, Peterboro had a hold on Stanton. Smith's daughter Elizabeth remained her best friend. Gerrit Smith set a political standard against which Stanton would publicly and privately measure her ideas. In *Eighty Years and More*, she credited the Smiths with instilling a moral alternative in a young woman who instinctively rejected the values of her father's house. It was at Peterboro that Elizabeth Cady met Henry B. Stanton, an impoverished anti-slavery orator who had abandoned his education for the ministry. The two were married at Johnstown on May 1, 1840, and their honeymoon to London for the World Anti-Slavery Convention marked a definitive moment in the history of woman's rights.

Although there are significant gaps in the record of Susan B. Anthony's life before she became a public figure, she and her family preserved letters and diaries from her teens that give voice to her youth. She grew up in circumstances very different from Stanton's: with economic instability, Quaker values, and an ethic of work even for daughters. Born in Adams, Massachusetts, on February 15, 1820, she was the second child of Daniel and Lucy Read Anthony. Though not intended for the professions, Daniel had received an education at a Quaker boarding school before settling in the town where he was raised and marrying outside the meeting into a Baptist family. Daniel's wealth fluctuated widely with the uncertainties of credit and industrial development. Soon after Susan's birth, he built a small textile mill, said to be the first in Adams. His success prompted an invitation to Battenville, New York, for the purpose of operating a larger mill. With four young children, Guelma, Susan, Daniel Read, and Hannah, the family moved about 1826. They prospered. Three more children were born: Mary (1827), Eliza (1832–1834), and Jacob Merritt (1834). Guelma and Susan attended boarding school in Philadelphia (see SBA's diary and letters home). But with the national economic collapse of 1837, the family's fortunes tumbled. For eight more years they hung on in eastern New York supported in part by the teachers' wages of their daughters. More economic troubles in 1845 led Daniel Anthony to plan a fresh start, and the family settled on a farm near Rochester, New York.

Although Susan moved west with her family, a teaching job at Canajoharie took her away, and it was several years before she discovered the community in Rochester that would shape her future. Instead she plunged into the lives of her non-Quaker relatives, experimented with fashionable dress, cared for a pitifully dependent married cousin, taught school, and made her first public appearance in a proper ladies' temperance society (see SBA's letters home). Her father, meanwhile, had followed his cousins and neighbors into the intellectually exciting world of Rochester's Hicksite Quakers, firmly committed to the abolition of slavery.

PERSONAL LIVES OF POLITICAL WOMEN

Susan B. Anthony could sustain perpetual motion in the service of woman's rights because she remained single and free of household responsibilities. One can only speculate

about the personality and stamina that allowed her to live without a place to land and call her own. Her address was always Rochester, New York, but the house was her mother's until her death in 1880, then her younger sister's. Not until 1890 did she "take up housekeeping" there—arrange and decorate her own rooms, contribute to expenses, and entertain. Since Mary had charge of the house and Susan's contributions helped pay for domestic help, the new responsibilities barely slowed her travels.

She remained close to her immediate family. Guelma and Hannah Anthony married young men with whom all the sisters grew up in Battenville. Indeed Susan had enjoyed her own friendship with Aaron McLean before he married Guelma. At some stage the McLeans and Hannah Anthony Mosher's family settled in Rochester, and though there is little evidence about their ideas on Susan's cause, both Guelma and Hannah defied the law with Susan to cast their ballots in the presidential election of 1872. For her part Susan stopped work to help nurse her sisters through their final illnesses in 1873 and 1877. The Anthony sons went west to Kansas as part of the idealistic migration to people the territory with abolitionists, and they stayed. In 1865, Susan tried to settle down in Leavenworth with Daniel. Though politics lured her east again by fall, Leavenworth remained an important stopping place where she watched her nieces and nephew grow up and, not incidentally, became a figure in state politics herself. At Fort Scott, she often stayed with her brother Merritt. After their mother's death, Mary Anthony maintained the family's base in Rochester, where she was a respected teacher and principal. Locally and in the state Mary was a co-worker for woman suffrage.

Susan B. Anthony had many places in the country where she could pause during her migrations. The Stanton household at Seneca Falls welcomed her in the 1850s. Later she would move in with the Stantons in New York City, Tenafly, and for a summer at Johnstown. In Chicago, her Dickinson cousins provided several homes, convenient for someone who changed trains in the city several times a year. Jane Snow Spofford and her husband, who ran the Riggs House in Washington, DC, made rooms and a carriage available to Anthony for months at a time when Congress required attention or a major meeting was to be planned. In other cities across the country, certain families tended to become her regular hosts.

Finding able lieutenants proved more difficult than congenial surroundings. Mary Anthony's cooperation is suggested by reminders in newspapers to address Susan's mail to Rochester as it would be forwarded—always phrased in the passive voice. But no one person other than Mary became her constant companion or regular assistant. For a few years before the war Antoinette Brown and Lucy Stone met the need for collaboration. In the 1880s, Rachel Foster, later Avery, helped. She knew more than Anthony did about organizing files and tying up loose ends of a meeting, and, with a staff of servants, Avery managed to provide office support to Anthony even while she raised her children. Winning the loyalty of Anna Howard Shaw after 1888 meant finding someone who would live as Anthony did and share the burdens of lecture and travel.

Basically Anthony supported herself through her political work from sometime in the 1850s until the end. Information about a few investments in land and even stocks is incomplete; they may have provided her a small income. But chiefly her money came from her lectures. Gifts increased as she grew older and the movement attracted more women with surplus cash, but neither the line between gifts for personal use and political work nor that between personal and political expenses was sharply drawn.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton had neither the liberty to stay on the road nor the personality to find it satisfactory. Only in the period from 1869 through 1881 did Stanton sustain the grueling schedules of lecturing, aiding local campaigns, and attending local meetings that structured most of Anthony's work. She bore seven children between 1842 and 1859, and her husband had no qualms about traveling for his own work. Until she discovered the convenience of apartments late in life, she managed large and complex households. Her children were sent to boarding schools for at least a part of their education, and the family always had some domestic help, most importantly Amelia Willard, who arrived as housekeeper in Seneca Falls and moved with them to New York and Tenafly. Since writing was one of Stanton's great gifts for reform, she could engage the movement and influence its directions from home, though never to the satisfaction of Anthony, who admired her speaking skills as well.

The family lived first in Johnstown, where Henry Stanton studied law with his father-in-law, before heading to Boston for Henry to enter practice and organize for the state's Liberty party. The only explanation Stanton ever offered for the move to Seneca Falls in 1847 was their thought that Henry's health would improve in central New York, far from Boston's ocean breezes. Her father provided their house. In 1862, Henry's political ambitions and his wife's preference for a more stimulating environment took them to New York City. Over the next seven years they lived in Brooklyn and at two Manhattan addresses. Henry's Republican loyalty was rewarded with an appointment as deputy collector of the Customs House in New York City in 1861, but his service ended in scandal in 1863, a scandal probably attributable to his son, Daniel Cady, not to Henry himself. Out of politics, Henry worked as an editorial writer and returned to the practice of law in partnership with his sons. He kept rooms in the city for most of his remaining years. Elizabeth, meanwhile, took the family to Tenafly, New Jersey, a New York suburb to which Henry and the boys could commute on weekends. The Stantons owned their New Jersey house from 1869 until 1887, the year Henry died.

During the last stage of her life, Stanton lived with her children—in France, England, Iowa, on Long Island, in Nebraska, and New York City. She returned from her last visit to her European children and grandchildren in 1891, and, except for summer forays into New York State and New England, stayed put. Always plump, she grew plain fat, while arthritic joints made movement increasingly difficult. She began to lose her eyesight by the mid-nineties; her handwriting degenerated rapidly, and if she paused, she could not see the words already written. Readers were hired, and in the last years Edith Lyman White served as amanuensis.

Stanton's finances are a mystery. She had gifts of property from her father while he lived, she inherited some part of his considerable estate, and she could afford the series of houses, the salaries of help, and the good schools she chose. It is probable that she earned no money until she became a lecturer after the Civil War, and then Stanton spoke of her earnings in terms of need. The years she lectured were years of peak expenses for her family: tuition for the boys at Cornell and the girls at Vassar, younger children to be cared for while their mother traveled, and a house in Tenafly that may well have exceeded Henry's earning powers.

CHRONOLOGY OF POLITICAL WORK

1848–1861

Elizabeth Cady Stanton organized the first woman's rights convention in 1848, at Seneca Falls in July and Rochester in August, and introduced the demand for voting rights to the Declaration of Sentiments adopted at both meetings. She drew national attention and captured the imaginations of women similarly inclined who would call other local meetings and assemble the First National Woman's Rights Convention in 1850. Her ability to articulate demands with legal clarity and telling details from women's experience created an immediate demand for her contributions to the new movement.

At work in Canajoharie, Susan B. Anthony heard no personal calling in reports of Stanton's meetings, though her mother and sister attended the Rochester session. But she had stepped into reform, joining the Daughters of Temperance, discovering her own skills as an organizer, and in 1849 making her first public speech. Upon her return to Rochester that same year she selected the Daughters of Temperance again.

ECS and SBA met on the streets of Seneca Falls in 1851 through their mutual acquaintance Amelia Jenks Bloomer, postmistress of Seneca Falls and editor of the *Lily*, a woman's temperance paper. They had all just left an antislavery meeting. It was a magical moment. For ten years the two new friends worked together in New York State and made themselves a vital team within the network of women agitating for rights from Maine to Kansas. They founded the Women's New York State Temperance Society; they managed campaigns to rewrite state law affecting women, working through the New York State Woman's Rights Committee; they pressed for co-education and collaborated on antislavery campaigns. Never forgetting her earlier career, SBA badgered the annual New York State Teachers' Association meetings to endorse economic equality. Antoinette Brown, Paulina Wright Davis, William Lloyd Garrison, Lucretia Mott, Lydia Mott, Clarina Howard Nichols, Sarah Pellet, Elizabeth Oakes Smith, Gerrit Smith, and Lucy Stone were among their important correspondents in this decade.

The 1850s were the years of greatest domestic and maternal burden for ECS, while SBA needed to earn her living from whatever reform work she performed. Their styles developed differently, but as Stanton described them,

whenever I saw that stately Quaker girl coming across my lawn, I knew that some happy convocation of the sons of Adam was to be set by the ears, by one of our appeals or resolutions. . . . In thought and sympathy we were one, and in the division of labor we exactly complemented each other. (*Eighty Years and More*, 165–66)

What Stanton called Anthony's "courage and executive ability" (*ibid.*, 155), soon made her a valuable adjunct to any organizing in the state, and to her work for temperance and woman's rights she added agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society as well as work with special campaigns like passage of a personal liberty bill to override the Dred Scott decision. After Lincoln's election, she was an obvious person to join a controversial tour along the

Erie Canal pressing Republicans to support abolition. She would be burned in effigy for her efforts.

ECS rarely appeared in public in this first decade, but her reputation as an articulate addition to reform soared, and the audience for her writing reached across the northern states. From the *Lily* she advanced to the *Una*, the woman's rights paper published by Paulina Wright Davis, and then to the semi-weekly edition of Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune*. The most progressive groups of Quakers solicited her help with their position papers. Her thoughts appeared in the antislavery press. Dress reformers knew her opinions. Greater sophistication and finances in the woman's rights movement allowed the publication of pamphlets, and ECS could issue longer texts. By 1860 and 1861 she came forward to deliver major addresses on divorce law, slavery, the Republican party, and freedom of speech.

1861–1865

The first two years of the Civil War are not well documented for either woman. Nationally and in the state, their allies had agreed to abandon woman's rights conventions. SBA faced the death of her father in 1862, while ECS relocated her family to New York City. SBA put some effort into the gubernatorial campaign of James Wadsworth in 1862. But neither one found her wartime role until early 1863, when they began to build the Women's Loyal National League. From its founding in May 1863 until its end in the summer of 1864, the League agitated for federal action to end slavery and gathered 400,000 signatures to petitions for the Thirteenth Amendment.

Another break in the record and their collaboration followed. ECS stayed in New York and may have been tied down caring for ill members of her family. A few short articles appeared in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, and she corresponded with Wendell Phillips. SBA spent 1865 in Leavenworth, watching the progress of Reconstruction from the vantage point of her brother's newspaper in a town settled heavily by newly freed slaves. By early summer she had worked out arguments for universal suffrage. After delivering several speeches on the subject in Kansas, she lectured her way home, heading east because congressional debate over the right to vote boded ill for women. Assembling the pre-war team of SBA, ECS, Lucy Stone, Lucretia Mott, and her sister, Martha Coffin Wright, women were ready at the start of 1866 to petition Congress for universal rights.

1866–1869

The years from 1866 to 1869 compressed events that would shape the history of woman suffrage for half a century. Through early 1867 old alliances held. While petitioning Congress for universal rights, the new American Equal Rights Association (AERA) pressed for state action too. In New York, in advance of a constitutional convention, ECS and SBA led a major tour in the winter of 1867. Later in the year they followed Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell to Kansas where voters considered referenda on votes for women and votes for African Americans. But the antebellum coalition experienced dreadful strains—over the im-

portance of woman suffrage relative to voting rights for African Americans, over loyalty to the Republican party, over the importance of the coalition itself. No simple line distinguished the emerging factions from each other. Friendships tottered and then recovered. African Americans within the alliance divided. The break for Stanton and Anthony came in Kansas. At mid-campaign, Republicans abandoned the women's cause. Stanton and Anthony cut loose to build their own opportunistic alliances, notably with George Francis Train, capitalist speculator, popular lecturer, and appalling racist. Train joined them in Kansas, organized a grand lecture tour from Omaha to Boston, and promised to capitalize a newspaper based in New York. By the time the party arrived in New York City, Lucy Stone had publicly accused Anthony of financial improprieties, their friendships with abolitionists were at risk if not ended, their credentials as advocates of racial justice had eroded, and they were positioned for a national campaign.

The first issue of the *Revolution* appeared on January 8, 1868. Its controversial stand against the Fifteenth Amendment and its reflection of opinion about a superior claim for suffrage among white women worsened the political split among suffragists and completed the rupture with some prominent abolitionists. But the paper was not monolithic nor were its editors consistently racist. It covered conditions of black women in the south, women in the printing trades in San Francisco, pioneers in every kind of activity across the land, and women's legal struggles in England, France, and Switzerland. It attracted dozens of professional writers who contributed journalism, fiction, poetry, and commentary.

The *Revolution* also tracked the political activity of Stanton and Anthony. Locally the Working Woman's Association met regularly, with SBA and ECS in attendance if they were in the city. Evidence of reaching out for new alliances can also be found—approaches to the National Labor Union, the Democratic party, the typographical unions, and various ephemeral groups of labor radicals. Congressional politics and the responses of suffragists received attention, while the paper published "Editorial Correspondence" from ECS each time she set out on a tour.

1869–1875

In May 1869, ECS and SBA put together the first organization committed to achieving woman suffrage, the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), with the specific goal of gaining a sixteenth amendment to the federal Constitution. Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell countered with an American Woman Suffrage Association later that year, and the two groups, known as the New York and Boston wings of the movement, rivaled each other for suffragists' loyalties. In 1870, Theodore Tilton and Henry Ward Beecher tried to merge the rivals into a Union Woman Suffrage Association, but Stone never trusted the plan, and ECS resurrected the NWSA.

Differences over personality and strategy divided the two groups at the top. While the American WSA sometimes collaborated with the NWSA to petition Congress, its leaders basically accepted the right of states to define their electorate. Like the Republican party with which they allied themselves, the Boston group interpreted the amendments of Reconstruction as a wartime exception to the balance of power between federal and state

governments. No comparable emergency warranted federal intervention in the states over woman suffrage.

National suffragists met annually in Washington from 1869, and the NWSA numbered their meetings from that date. In reality the early meetings had different, though friendly, sponsorship, as follows:

- 1869 and 1870: Universal Franchise Association
- 1871: National Woman Suffrage and Educational Committee
- 1872: National Woman Suffrage Committee

From 1869 through 1874, while SBA and ECS spent most of each year lecturing across the country, they conducted the business of woman suffrage by letter. In the correspondence of Martha Coffin Wright, Isabella Beecher Hooker, and Mathilde Anneke, to name the richest lodes, the record details the planning, drafting, lobbying, and even the soothing of difficult personalities that kept the movement alive.

Even while they lectured through more than half of each year through the seventies, they found time for state suffrage campaigns—ECS in Michigan in 1874, SBA in Colorado in 1877. Local suffragists also benefitted from lecture schedules designed to open up new territory for the cause, as in SBA's trip south into Kentucky to lecture in 1879.

Political strategy fluctuated in the new movement's first few years. While ECS and SBA advocated the sixteenth amendment, a different route to national suffrage caught the attention of women in several parts of the country. They interpreted the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments as granting suffrage and took direct action at the polls. In a variation on this strategy, Victoria Woodhull asked Congress in 1871 for a declaratory act to legitimate the rights set forth in the amendments. Stanton and Anthony moved in the new direction. Among titles of lectures for their trip to California in the summer of 1871 appeared "The New Republic" (a.k.a. "The New Departure") and "The New Situation: or, Women Already Voters." The strategy collapsed in 1873 and 1875 with the Supreme Court's decisions in *Myra Bradwell v. Illinois* and *Minor v. Happersett*.

The Republican campaign of 1872 occasioned a rapprochement between the Boston and New York wings of woman suffragists. Brimming with his customary enthusiasm for Republican policy, Henry Blackwell went to the party's convention to urge that the national platform endorse woman suffrage. Though the actual plank, with its thanks for women's help with winning the war and good wishes for their further progress, fell short of Blackwell's intentions, he and SBA agreed to cooperate with each other and the Republican party in hopes of better things to come. In the short run the Republicans proved the less difficult partner. With party funds, Helen M. Barnard published the *Woman's Campaign* from Washington, SBA organized major campaign rallies to draw women into party work, and ECS spoke in northeastern states in support of national and local tickets. The Boston forces welcomed Stanton's help, even encouraged her to write for their *Woman's Journal*, but would not trust Anthony personally or as a strategist working dangerously close to Republicans.

SBA capped off her Republican service by reporting to the polls in Rochester on election day and casting a ballot for Ulysses S. Grant. Despite her efforts to ensure Republican victory, a federal warrant was issued for the arrest of Susan B. Anthony and the election officials who had permitted her to vote. Until the summer of 1873 the trial consumed much of SBA's time. Matilda Joslyn Gage assisted her in speaking about the case within every postal village

of two counties from which jurors might be drawn. Although convicted, Anthony never went to jail or paid a fine for the offense.

SBA's arrest coincided with Victoria Woodhull's revelations about Henry Ward Beecher's adulterous seduction of Elizabeth Tilton, a friend of both Anthony and Stanton. Woodhull credited ECS as her source for the story, and from late 1872 well into 1875, as Beecher battled for his reputation through public relations, church hearing, and civil trial, the names of Stanton and Anthony stayed with the story. SBA kept what distance she could from the unfolding drama, but ECS saw the entire scandal as an apt illustration of a double standard and the difficulties of justice for women, and she could not resist commentary.

Over the winter of 1873–74, cities across the country were rocked by the Woman's Crusade, the outburst of religious anger against liquor and its legal protection through licensing. As two of the nation's best-known women, SBA and ECS felt obliged to respond. Neither one endorsed the tactics or motivation of crusaders, but in lectures and interviews both of them were careful to build bridges between demands for political power and the frustrations of powerlessness evident among these newly active women. Within a few years Frances Willard of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and SBA would begin to work closely, if sometimes tensely, together to forge a single movement out of their separate causes.

Documentation drops off sharply in 1875. One reason is the absence of correspondence with precisely the people whose papers provide rich records of the early seventies. Martha Coffin Wright died at the start of 1875, and Isabella Beecher Hooker retreated to Europe to recover from the Beecher-Tilton troubles. But the lull may have been more profound. Stanton and Anthony seemed to recoil from the notoriety and hostility evoked by their roles in the Beecher case and to hesitate in the aftermath of the Supreme Court's decisions.

1876–1886

Agitation and action picked up in 1876 with the start of the NWSA's major push for the sixteenth amendment. Matilda Joslyn Gage, ECS, and SBA kicked off their new campaign at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, entertaining women at parlors near the fairgrounds and amassing signatures for their Declaration of the Rights of Women. At official ceremonies on the Fourth of July, SBA handed the Declaration to the vice president before reading it outside Independence Hall to an assembled group of sympathizers.

The federal campaign, lasting until 1886 when the Senate defeated the amendment, showed new levels of national organization and, with the help of Senator Aaron A. Sargent of California, it achieved some results. Distributing a series of tracts through every postal village and Gage's newspaper, the *National Citizen and Ballot Box*, the NWSA tried to mobilize individual women to petition Congress for the amendment. Their publicity analyzed congressional prospects, appealed to women in philanthropic groups and clubs to help out, and presented arguments for federal, rather than state, action. Petitions poured in. Sargent introduced the amendment in 1878, and in that same year Stanton delivered her stunning argument for federal voting rights, "National Protection for National Citizens," to Congress.

When the presidential campaign season rolled around in 1880, Anthony decided to test the NWSA's political strength. The midwest, where Democrats, Republicans, and the

Greenback-Labor party had scheduled their conventions, became the center of operations. The letters in series 2 of this edition are one product of the effort. Documentation of the summer's meetings and lectures is found in series 3.

Heightened attention to history paralleled intensification of the federal campaign. Plans for the *History of Woman Suffrage* were hatched during the centennial summer. But before serious work could begin the chance beckoned to add woman's rights biographies and history to a major reference work. SBA took primary responsibility for entries that appeared in the multi-volume *Johnson's New Universal Cyclopaedia* in 1878. Work on the *History* began in earnest that year at Tenaflly, with Matilda Joslyn Gage on hand some of the time. Though neither SBA nor ECS abandoned travel, lectures, and meetings, the history project continued with interruptions through May 1882, when the second volume went to press. For two years thereafter they set the project aside and resumed work in the summer of 1884 at Johnstown, a year later at Tenaflly, and worked off and on into the winter of 1886 on volume 3. Correspondence with Amelia Bloomer, Elizabeth Harbert, Harriet Robinson, and Rachel Foster details the editorial history and, incidentally, traces new friendships that would outlive the project.

ECS's years of European residence began in 1882. Her children Theodore and Harriot were spending more and more time abroad, and indeed married and started families in France and England. ECS lived abroad from May 1882 through November 1883, from November 1886 to March 1888, and again from February 1890 to August 1891. SBA set off on a European tour in 1883, tempted by Stanton's enthusiasm and by the offer of Rachel Foster's family to accompany her. Leaving from Philadelphia in February, she returned with ECS in November.

Throughout the 1880s there were signs of growing strength at the local level of the suffrage movement. The numbers of state societies increased, more societies could sustain lecture tours to mobilize members, and some states mounted campaigns for the vote. The NWSA held meetings away from New York and Washington, taking its spring annual meeting on the road and scheduling extra gatherings in cooperation with state associations. In Nebraska in the fall of 1882 the American WSA and the NWSA aided a state campaign. Ohio had help from SBA in 1885 and from ECS in 1888. SBA worked with suffrage societies in Kansas and Wisconsin in 1886 and in Indiana a year later.

At the end of the decade SBA's political skills were put to a different test when her brother ran for mayor of Leavenworth and sought his sister's help. Women voted in municipal elections in Kansas, and the women's temperance vote was arrayed against Daniel Anthony.

Clara Bewick Colby came to the attention of Stanton and Anthony in the mid-eighties and remained central to their story and political movement until the end of the 1890s. Her newspaper, the *Woman's Tribune*, became the principal organ of the NWSA and regularly carried political news from Anthony and articles by Stanton. It was Colby who provided Stanton the opportunity to write her reminiscences, beginning in 1889, and later she welcomed installments of Stanton's work on the "Woman's Bible."

1887–1900

The International Council of Women dates from an informal meeting held at Liverpool just before ECS and SBA sailed home in 1883, and its founding meeting was convened by the NWSA at Washington in 1888. Although the International and its National Councils of Women of various countries steered clear of woman suffrage in order to maximize their appeal to different women's groups, in the United States suffragists had taken the lead in cooperation. SBA stayed active in the National Council of Women, U.S., attending most of the group's yearly executive sessions and its triennial councils.

But the goals of internationalizing women's advancement and agitating for woman suffrage did not coexist in the new organization for long. American leaders of the International convened the Congress of Representative Women at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, and SBA would go to London in 1899 and Berlin in 1904 for later quinquennial meetings of the Council. Tiring of the Council's restraints on suffrage advocacy, suffragists met separately but simultaneously in London in 1899, and at Berlin, five years later, used the occasion of the Council's meeting to found a new International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

Negotiations about merging the National and American associations began in the fall of 1887 and culminated in the winter of 1890 when the two groups met together as the National-American Woman Suffrage Association. Throughout the preparations for merger, all the old tensions surfaced, tempered only by the determination of Lucy Stone and SBA to carry it through. In open defiance of the terms of merger, delegates to the first joint meeting elected ECS president, a position she held until 1892.

SBA worked behind the scenes for several years to ensure women's recognition at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, and she spent most of the summer in Chicago. ECS accepted invitations to speak at many of the fair's congresses but never left Long Island, relying on SBA to deliver her messages.

State suffrage work dominated the movement in the 1890s, and entrenched resistance in Congress made it difficult to keep women's attention on the federal amendment. State societies had grown in strength, and local leaders pushed for change. Ironically SBA took no part in the two successful campaigns of the decade: Colorado in 1893 and Idaho in 1896. But she was very active in 1890 in South Dakota, 1894 in Kansas and New York State, and 1896 in California. Her schedules were staggering. In New York she duplicated her 1850s achievement of speaking in every county. ECS wrote for each of these campaigns, and in New York took a more active role, occasionally speaking. Frustrated with the lack of response from delegates to the New York constitutional convention, late in the campaign Stanton brought forward what she thought of as a compromise: a proposal for suffrage for educated women. This tactical capitulation to nativism (and it was aimed more at northern fears of the immigrant vote than southern fears of the black vote) persisted for the rest of her life.

Increased activism among women in Rochester also attracted SBA during the 1890s. She worked closely, when in town, with the city's Political Equality Club, its Women's Educational and Industrial Union, local campaigns to place women on the school board, and a prolonged battle to make the University of Rochester co-educational.

Assuming the presidency of the NAWSA in 1892, SBA became implicated in its compromises with southern suffragists. Since her trip south in 1885, she had wanted to extend the

movement. Under Laura Clay's prodding, the NAWSA formed a Southern Committee and made headway with state societies. In advance of the association's first convention outside Washington, held in Atlanta in 1895, SBA toured the south with Carrie Chapman Catt and Anna Howard Shaw. Southern success posed problems—how to maintain the suffragists' reputation as a symbol of equality and greater freedom while placating advocates of racial inequality? Anthony increasingly placed white southern support ahead of social justice. She feared that Adella Hunt Logan of Tuskegee, Alabama, might offend southern ladies if she were allowed to speak to a convention. She ruled out of order an attempt to have the NAWSA condemn racial segregation in railroad cars (1899). While honorary president in 1903, she consented to the plan put before the executive committee by Alice Stone Blackwell to announce the association's recognition of states' rights and toleration of southern views of the race question.

Stanton's reputation among suffragists took several sharp turns during the last decade of her life. On her last trip to a convention in Washington, she delivered her elegant "Solitude of Self" to NAWSA members and the House Judiciary Committee. As her eightieth birthday approached in 1895, women associated with the National Council of Women arranged a celebration at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York City. Billed as the "Reunion of Pioneers and Friends of Woman's Progress," the gala featured a host of prominent women from all walks of life paying tribute to ECS. It seemed to symbolize acceptance of suffragism as the mother of all kinds of advancement and of Stanton as the mother of suffragism.

But only a few months separated the birthday party from Stanton's public humiliation by delegates to the NAWSA convention of 1896. They effectively read her out of the association because of her views on religion. She had never hidden those views, but not until the 1890s did they provoke suffragists to distance themselves. Through the fifties she had confronted religious teaching on slavery, marriage, education, philanthropy, and divorce. Lectures on women and the Bible entered her repertoire by 1867. In the seventies she had dealings with the National Liberal League, speaking out against the exemption of church lands from taxation. Through the 1880s she challenged NWSA conventions and several state suffrage associations to debate resolutions about women's degradation in Christian churches. She had even talked at the birthday celebration about the need for women to take their struggle into the churches. But publication of the *Woman's Bible, Part I*, at the end of 1895, offended a majority of delegates to the NAWSA. Some of SBA's closest collaborators led a fight to declare the organization independent of Stanton's project.

Convinced that she was defining the next, necessary phase of the woman's rights movement, ECS added Part II to the *Woman's Bible* in 1898 and wrote constantly until her death about the intrusion of religion into American life and law, the interest of churches in fostering women's dependency, and the role of clergy in maintaining unjust divorce laws.

1900–1906

SBA retired as president of the NAWSA in 1900. While protesting to the press that she could not handpick her successor, she apparently conducted extensive negotiations with Carrie Chapman Catt and Anna Howard Shaw as to which one of them would assume the post. Catt, who had headed the Organization Committee since 1895, won. Shaw continued to

be the leader closer to Anthony and her companion on her final tours of the nation. She succeeded Catt to the presidency, in her turn, in 1904.

Retirement had little effect on SBA's schedule. She attended each convention of the NAWSA, incorporated the Anthony Fund for the Enfranchisement of Women as the vehicle for fund raising, oversaw annual appeals by suffragists for resolutions of support from hundreds of non-suffrage organizations, joined the younger women at congressional hearings, and showed up for the annual meetings of large national bodies of women like the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Congress of Mothers, and the National Council of Women. Those obligations alone took her to New Orleans; Minneapolis; Portland, Oregon; and Washington, DC.

During 1901, ECS's best-known speeches began to appear in the *Boston Investigator*. It is likely that she anticipated a book-length manuscript to follow; her earlier books had appeared in similar fashion as articles first. Since she was blind, she could not revise the texts, though she altered a few titles and supplied some erroneous information about what occasioned the talks. She remained alert to the news and responded to Carrie Nation's uprising (as did SBA). Though she stayed away from meetings, she argued still for woman suffrage, submitting an address on "Educated Suffrage" to the NAWSA's meeting in February 1902 and appealing to President Theodore Roosevelt in the fall. Anthony stayed in touch but without realizing her friend's fragility until September, when Harriot Stanton Blatch, back from England to enroll her daughter at Cornell, wrote her a frightening description of her mother's health. Still ECS wrote; articles from her pen appeared right through to year's end. But for Anthony the death of Stanton on October 26, 1902, came as a terrible shock.

The documents hint at new attention to friendships late in SBA's life. A remarkable correspondence occurred in August 1901 between SBA and her former secretary, Anna Dann, who had gone to see New York City with Ida Harper, leaving her fiancé to pine around the Anthony household. The children of her old mentor William Lloyd Garrison became important to her. A new friendship with the pioneer labor organizer, Margaret Haley, revived her lifelong interest in the rights of women teachers. She delicately patched up relations and planned a reunion with Boston loyalist Caroline Dall. She drew closer to Stanton's cousin Elizabeth Smith Miller.

Celebrations of SBA's 85th birthday occurred in Rochester. Thereafter she spent most of 1905 on the road: Philadelphia in March, Washington in April for the National Council of Women, the long trip to Portland, Oregon, for the NAWSA convention, a tour of California through July, home in August, and back to Washington in November to interview Theodore Roosevelt, and home, ill, by year's end. Although ailing, Anthony made the trip from Rochester to Baltimore in February 1906 for the NAWSA convention and continued on to Washington to celebrate her birthday at the Corcoran Gallery. Back in Rochester her condition worsened. She died on March 13, 1906.

Guide to Family Members

This imperfect outline of family members whose names recur in the edition includes the immediate families of Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton and selected cousins. The selection of Stanton's cousins provides a more complete guide to names in the edition than Anthony's. Anthony's encounters with her cousins were considerable, and she used the term routinely for all the descendants of her great-grandparents.

Those people whose names appear in bold type are correspondents in the edition.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY'S IMMEDIATE FAMILY

Paternal grandparents

Humphrey and Hannah Lapham Anthony

Maternal grandparents

Daniel and Susannah Richardson Read

Parents

Daniel Anthony 26 Jan 1794–25 Nov 1862

Lucy Read 2 Dec 1793–3 Apr 1880

married 13 Jul 1817

Siblings

Guelma Penn Anthony 1 Jul 1818–9 Nov 1873

married 19 Sep 1839 to **Aaron M. McLean** 31 Dec 1812–18 Jan 1896

Susan Brownell Anthony 15 Feb 1820–13 Mar 1906

Hannah Lapham Anthony 18 Sep 1821–12 May 1877

married 4 Sep 1845 to **Eugene Mosher** 5 Jan 1819–2 Jan 1894

Daniel Read Anthony 22 Aug 1824–12 Nov 1904

married 21 Jan 1864 to **Anna E. Osborne** 1845–20 Oct 1930

Mary Stafford Anthony 2 Apr 1827–5 Feb 1907

Eliza Tefft Anthony 1832–1834

Jacob Merritt Anthony 19 Apr 1834–7 Jun 1900

married 2 Apr 1858 to **Mary Almina Luther** 4 Feb 1839–?

Nieces and nephews

Children of Guelma Anthony McLean

Ann Eliza McLean 16 Oct 1840–17 Sep 1864

Anthony McLean 19 Aug 1842–5 Sep 1843

Margaret McLean 10 Jun 1845–?

married 5 May 1868 to George L. Baker

Thomas King 17 Feb 1850–4 Dec 1870

Children of Hannah Anthony Mosher

Charles Read Mosher 25 Sep 1847–25 Dec 1850

Arthur A. Mosher 21 Dec 1851–19 May 1932

married 1 Jun 1875 to Martha Beatrice Brown

Frank Merritt Mosher 6 May 1857–?

married 8 Apr 1884 to **Sarah E. Dix**

Wendell Phillips Mosher 25 Nov 1858–?

married 17 Apr 1890 to Caroline Louise Mixer

Helen Louise Mosher 29 Apr 1862–?

married 21 Jun 1889 to Alvan T. James

Children of Daniel Read Anthony

Maude Anthony 29 May 1865–24 Jan 1950

married 21 May 1896 to Lewis M. Koehler

Madge Anthony 23 Jan 1867–Jun? 1867

Daniel Read Anthony, Jr. 22 Aug 1870–4 Aug 1931

married 21 Jun 1897 to **Elizabeth Havens**

Susan B. Anthony 21 Sep 1872–11 Feb 1889

Annette Anthony 14 Dec 1883–10 Aug 1888

Children of Jacob Merritt Anthony

Lucy Elmina Anthony 24 Oct 1860–4 Jul 1944

Daniel Luther Anthony 10 Feb 1865–?

married 1899

Anna Osborne Anthony 25 Jul 1874–1959

married 25 Jul 1900 to **Leon Brooks Bacon**

Luther Burt Anthony 9 May 1876–1955

married 1906

Great-nieces and nephews
(as born in SBA's lifetime)

Children of Margaret McLean Baker (Guelma's grandchildren)

Henry Anthony Baker 1870–

Thomas King Baker 1872–

Guelma Lawrence Baker 1875–

Lawrence McLean Baker 1880–

Children of Arthur A. Mosher (Hannah's grandchildren)

Arthur Byron Mosher 1876– (married 1898)

Howard H. Mosher 1879–

Edwin Royal Mosher 1888–
 Children of Frank Merritt Mosher (Hannah's grandchildren)
 Florence Eloise Mosher 1885–1979
 Marion Dix Mosher 1887–1972
 Merritt Dix Mosher 1892–
 Children of Wendell Phillips Mosher (Hannah's grandchildren)
 Albert Eugene Mosher 1891–
 Mary Louise Mosher 1895–1989
 Children of Daniel Read Anthony, Jr. (Daniel's grandchildren)
 Eleanor Havens Anthony 1898–1969
 Daniel Read Anthony 1900–
 Children of Anna Osborne Anthony Bacon (Merritt's grandchildren)
 Susan Bacon
 Harriet Bacon

SELECTED COUSINS OF ANTHONY'S IN THE EDITION

Daniel Anthony's siblings and their children

Hannah Anthony Hoxie

children included: **Susan A. Hoxie Richardson**, **Eliza Hoxie Shove** (later Cook), and
 Ellen Hoxie Squier

John Anthony married **Elizabeth Wadsworth**

children included: **Anna Wadsworth Anthony**, **Joseph Anthony** (father of **Jessie Anthony**), and Joshua Anthony

Ann Eliza Anthony married **Albert Dickinson**

children included: **Hannah Dickinson Boyles** (mother of **Katherine Boyles**), and
Melissa, **Albert Franklin**, **Frances**, and **Charles Dickinson**

Lucy Read Anthony's siblings and their children

Amy Read Howe

children included: Susannah Howe Biddlecome, **Nancy Howe Clark** (mother of **Emily Clark Griggs**), and Lucius Lothrop Howe

Joshua Read

children included: Eleanor Read Caldwell, Margaret Read Caldwell?, and **Daniel S. Read**

Families of the first cousins of Daniel Anthony

Through brothers of Humphrey Anthony

Elihu Anthony's son Benjamin Anthony's children

included: **Benjamin Anthony**, George Tobey Anthony, and Cynthia Anthony

David Anthony, Jr.'s son William Penn Anthony's children

included: daughter **Frank Anthony**

Through sister and brother of Hannah Lapham Anthony

Lydia Lapham Rogers's son Aaron Rogers's children included: **Seth Rogers**

Lydia Lapham Rogers's daughter Ruth Rogers Vail's children included: **Moses Edward Vail, Aaron Rogers Vail, and Semantha Lapham Vail Lapham**

Nathan Lapham's son **Anson Lapham**

Families of the first cousins of Lucy Read Anthony

Through brother of Susannah Richardson Read

Jonathan Richardson's son Ira Richardson's children included: **Esther L. Richardson**

Families of second cousins of Daniel Anthony

Through first cousin of Humphrey Anthony

Children of William Anthony's son Daniel Anthony (1776–1840) included: Asa Anthony (father-in-law of **Charlotte Bowles Anthony**), and Susan Anthony Burtis (mother or stepmother of **Millie Burtis Logan**)

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON'S IMMEDIATE FAMILY

Paternal grandparents

Eleazer and Tryphena Beebe Cady

Maternal grandparents

James and Elizabeth Simpson Livingston

Parents

Daniel Cady 29 Apr 1773–31 Oct 1859

Margaret Livingston 18 Feb 1785–15 Sep 1871

married 15 Jul 1801

Siblings

Harriet Cady 9 Nov 1802–3 Mar 1810

Tryphena Cady 11 Sep 1804–1 May 1891

married 21 May 1827 to Edward Bayard 3 Mar 1806–28 Sep 1889

Daniel Cady 1806–1814

Eleazer Livingston Cady 26 May 1806–16 Aug 1826

James Cady 14 Oct 1808–1809

Harriet Eliza Cady 5 Oct 1810–11 Mar 1894

married 3 Jan 1831 to **Daniel Cady Eaton** 17 Jun 1804–10 Jun 1855

Daniel Cady 24 Jun 1814–27 Oct 1814

Elizabeth Cady 12 Nov 1815–26 Oct 1902

married 1 May 1840 to **Henry Brewster Stanton** 27 Jun 1805–14 Jan 1887

Margaret Chinn Cady 9 Dec 1817–7 Oct 1912
 married 5 Sep 1842 to Duncan McMartin 24 Feb 1817–6 Jul 1894
Catherine Henry Cady 7 Jan 1820–
 married 14 Jun 1841 to Samuel Wilkeson 1817–2 Dec 1889
 Eleazer Livingston 20 Sep 1826–1828

Children

Daniel Cady Stanton 2 Mar 1842–18 Jan 1891
Henry Brewster Stanton, Jr. 15 Mar 1844–5 Dec 1903
 married 5 Nov 1892 to Mary O'Shea
Gerrit Smith Stanton 18 Sep 1845–24 Apr 1927
 married 25 Feb 1875 to Augusta Hazelton
Theodore Weld Stanton 10 Feb 1851–1 Mar 1925
 married 19 May 1881 to **Marguerite Marie Berry**
Margaret Livingston Stanton 20 Oct 1852–8 Nov 1930
 married 2 Oct 1878 to Frank Eugene Lawrence
Harriot Eaton Stanton 20 Jan 1856–20 Nov 1940
 married 15 Nov 1882 to **William Henry Blatch**
Robert Livingston Stanton 14 Mar 1859–23 Feb 1920

Grandchildren

Gerrit Stanton's daughter
 Augusta Emily Hazelton Stanton 1896?–3 Jul 1966
 Theodore Stanton's children
Elizabeth Cady Stanton 1882–1909
Robert Livingston Stanton 1885–1974
Hélène Stanton 1889–1925
 Harriot Stanton Blatch's children
Nora Stanton Blatch 1883–1971
 Helen Blatch 1892–1896

Nieces and nephews

Children of Harriet Cady Eaton
 Harriet Eaton 4 Aug 1835–?
 married 15 Oct 1857 to George Stewart Brown
 children: Alexander Brown
Daniel Cady Eaton 16 Jun 1837–11 May 1912
 married 17 Dec 1861 to Alice Young
 Children of Margaret Cady McMartin
Flora McMartin 17 Jun 1843–18 Jun 1898
 married 28 Oct 1869 to William Pelham Wright
 children: Annie McMartin Wright
 Edith Wright

Elizabeth Cady McMartin 1846–1941

married 1874 to **Charles Hume Baldwin**

children: Charles Hume Baldwin

Archibald I. McMartin 8 Aug 1848–9 Nov 1928

married 10 Nov 1869 to Harriet Amelia Smith

Daniel Cady McMartin 12 Feb 1853–Aug 1895

married 1882 to Mary E. Cole

Children of Catherine Cady Wilkeson

Margaret Livingston Wilkeson ?-?

married Ellwood Maulsby Corson

Bayard Wilkeson 17 May 1844–ca. 1 Jul 1863

Samuel Wilkeson ?-?

Frank Wilkeson 8 Mar 1848–22 Apr 1913

Mary Wilkeson ?-?

SELECTED COUSINS AND IN-LAWS OF STANTON'S IN THE EDITION

Gerrit Smith 6 Mar 1797–27 Dec 1874

son of Peter Gerrit Smith and Elizabeth Livingston,

sister of Margaret Livingston Cady

married **Ann Carroll Fitzhugh**

children: Elizabeth 1822–1911

Fitzhugh 1824–1836

Ann 1830–1835

Greene 1842–1886

Elizabeth Smith Miller 20 Sep 1822–1911

daughter of Gerrit Smith and Ann Carroll Fitzhugh

married **Charles Dudley Miller**

children: Gerrit Smith Miller 1845–1937

Charles Dudley Miller 1847–1894

William Fitzhugh Miller 1850–1876

Anne Fitzhugh Miller 1856–1912

John Cochrane 1813–1898

grandson of Peter Gerrit Smith and Elizabeth Livingston,

son of John Cochrane and Cornelia Wynchie Smith

Mary Livingston Olmstead

daughter of Richard Montgomery Livingston, brother of Margaret Livingston Cady

married John Wesley Olmstead

Daniel Cady Eaton 17 Jun 1804–10 Jun 1855

son of Amos Eaton and Sarah Cady, sister of Daniel Cady

married Harriet Eliza Cady, sister of ECS

Ellen Dwight Eaton 19 Mar 1832–?

granddaughter of Amos Eaton and Sarah Cady, daughter of Amos Beebe Eaton and

Elizabeth Selden Spencer

Daniel Cady Eaton 1834–1895

brother of Ellen Dwight Eaton

Robert Livingston Stanton 1810–1885

brother of Henry Brewster Stanton

Robert Brewster Stanton 5 Aug 1846–23 Feb 1922

son of Robert Livingston Stanton

Errata on Film

Reel 14, frame 1070: Letter of Francis Barry to ECS, [1870 before Nov 12], is misplaced and should follow letter of SBA to T. B. Pugh, 1870 Nov 9, at frame 1060.

Reel 14, frames 1179–83: Two letters—ECS to Theodore Tilton, [1870?] and Daniel R. Anthony to SBA, [1870]—are misplaced and should follow text of ECS, “The True Republic,” [1870 Dec & later], at reel 15, frames 1–83.

Reel 17, frame 983: Account of lecture of SBA in South Manchester, CT, 1874 Jan 24, is misplaced and should precede her lecture in Willimantic, CT, 1874 Jan 27 at frame 981.

Reel 28, frames 166–70: Letter of SBA to Francis J. Garrison, 1890 Mar 7, is misplaced and should follow the letter of ECS to Clara D. B. Colby, 1890 Mar 6, at frames 173–75.

Reel 33, frame 1016: Account of SBA remarks at breakfast, 1895 May 12, should precede account of her speech the afternoon of the same day at frame 1015.

Reel 35, frames 767–68: Headnote to letter of SBA to Lillie D. Blake, 1896 May 15, should read San Francisco, CA, not Rochester, NY.

Documents Found after Filming

1877 Feb 1: SBA autograph message, Wilmington, OH, AMsS, 1 p.; DLC, National Woman's Party Papers; "Young man, let your first vote be for equality of rights, civil & political, to your sister & all women; for disfranchisement is degradation . . ."

1883 Jan 30: SBA to Charles W. Snow and Jane H. Snow Spofford, Washington, DC, LS, 1 p.; DLC, National Woman's Party Papers; thanking them for hospitality during recent NWSA convention

1886 Jul 19: SBA to John L. Weinheimer, Rochester, NY, ALS, 3 pp.; listed for auction by R. M. Smythe & Co., 23 October 1991, lot 3; requesting overdue proof of index to *HWS*

1886 Aug 13: SBA to John L. Weinheimer, Rochester, NY, ALS, 6 pp.; listed for auction by R. M. Smythe & Co., 23 October 1991, lot 4; describing deletions made on proof of index to *HWS*

1888 May 7: SBA, ECS, Rachel Foster, Alice C. Scatcherd, May Wright Sewall, and Elizabeth L. Saxon to Charles W. Snow and Jane H. Snow Spofford, Washington, DC, ALS in ECS hand, 4 pp.; DLC, National Woman's Party Papers; thanking them for hospitality during International Council of Women meeting

1889 Dec 25: SBA to Jane H. Snow Spofford, Washington, DC, ALS, 2 pp.; DLC, National Woman's Party Papers; Christmas greetings and thanks for hospitality

1900 Nov 29: SBA to Emily B. Ketcham, Rochester, NY, ALS, 1 p.; DLC, National Woman's Party Papers; plans for attending woman suffrage bazaar in New York City

1904 Dec 3 and 22: SBA to Albert Jeremiah Beveridge, extracts from two letters cited, without source, in Claude G. Bowers, *Beveridge and the Progressive Era* (New York, 1932), 216; concerning bills before Congress and comments on her arrest in 1872

N.d.: SBA letter fragment to unknown, TLS, 1 p.; Paul Richards catalogue no. 256, October 1990, item 109; ". . . I do not know what we are coming to; they talk about disfranchising the negro as if it were no crime; but the pendulum will swing back I think after a while. I remember the lady who called at our home. She was very much interested in looking at the table. I wish you could write something on a good sized card or bit of paper that I could paste on so as to say it was done by a McClintock! . . ."

Illustrations



Crayon portrait of Elizabeth Cady, about twenty years old, ca. 1835, artist unknown. Stanton comments on this image in interview of November 10, 1895, at reel 34, frame 467.

Source: Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College



Susan B. Anthony, taken for her 36th birthday, February 15, 1856, photographer unknown.

Source: University of Rochester



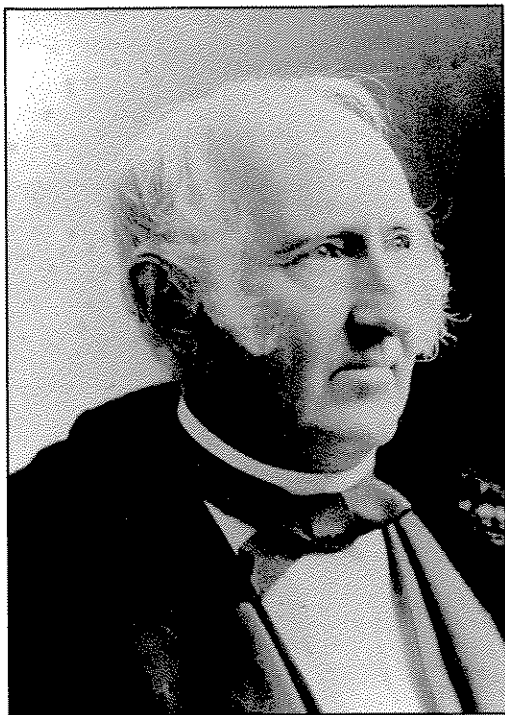
Source: Division of Prints and Photographs, Library of Congress

Victoria Woodhull before the Committee on the Judiciary of the U.S. House of Representatives, January 11, 1871, presenting her claim that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution permitted women to vote; wood engraving in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, February 4, 1871. Though the drawing shows Elizabeth Cady Stanton sitting behind her, it was Susan B. Anthony present at the hearing. Benjamin F. Butler, Republican from Massachusetts, sits next to Woodhull.

Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton by Napoleon Sarony, New York City, inscribed by Anthony on the back, "Taken by Sarony in 1871!! Just before Mrs. Stanton & I went to California—in June 1871." They probably sat for the picture between May 5th and 16th, when Anthony joined Stanton in New York to attend meetings of woman's rights organizations. According to Anthony's diary for May 14th, Harriot, Stanton's fifteen-year-old daughter and later a prominent suffragist, "actually cried half the day that her mother would go—too mean she said."



Source: Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College



Source: Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College

Wendell Phillips by Napoleon Sarony, date unknown, 1870s.



Source: Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College

Martha Coffin Pelham Wright, photographer unknown, date unknown. Martha Wright, a sister of Lucretia Mott, lived in Auburn, NY, and was a close associate of Stanton's and Anthony's until her death in 1875 at the age of 68.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, dated 1874 on verso, photographer unknown.

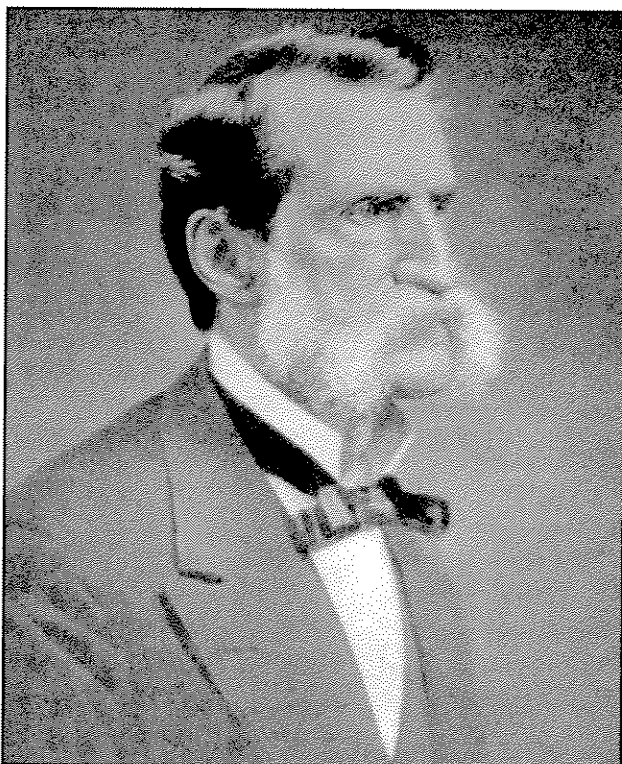
Source: University of Rochester



Susan B. Anthony, taken October 13, 1874, by Charles D. Mosher, Chicago.

Source: University of Rochester





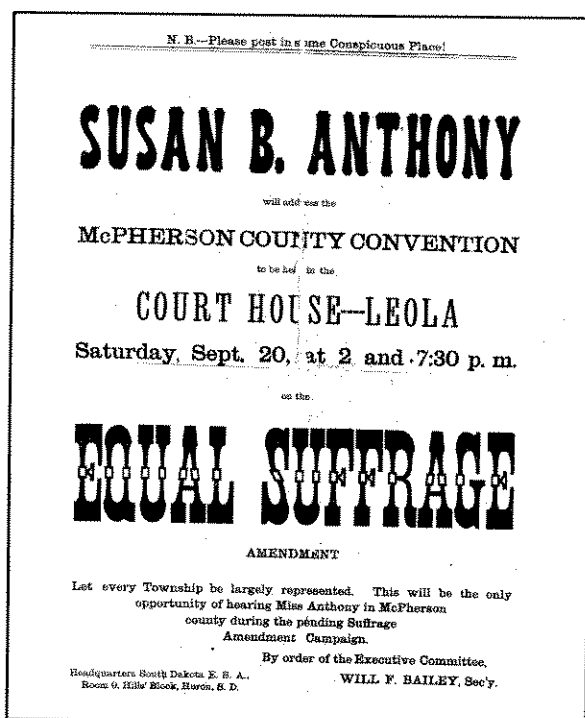
Henry Brewster Stanton, husband of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, photographer unknown, identified by Harriot as taken at the age of 80 or ca. 1885.

Source: Vassar College Library

Elizabeth Cady Stanton with her daughter Harriot Stanton Blatch and granddaughter Nora Stanton Blatch, ca. 1887, by W. Salmon, Reading, England. Nora was born September 30, 1883, in Basingstoke, England, to Harriot and her English husband, William Henry Blatch, who managed a prosperous brewery; she became a civil engineer and later an architect and developer.



Source: Vassar College Library



Poster announcing Anthony's speeches to the equal suffrage convention in McPherson County, South Dakota. Anthony toured the state from April 23 to November 10, 1890, in the campaign for an equal suffrage amendment to the state constitution.

Source: John and Alice Alt Pickler Papers, Lois Bull, Aberdeen, SD



Source: Anthony Scrapbook 17, Rare Books Division, Library of Congress

"Elizabeth C., Susan B. and the Rochester U.," engraving in a Utica newspaper, October 24, 1891, after a Rochester Political Equality Club meeting confronted trustee Edward Mott Moore about co-education at the university. Moore is shown across the gate from Stanton and Anthony; university president David Jayne Hill, recently the father of twins, appears in the circle above him. The caption reads: "SUSAN B.—'Me, Elizabeth and the rest of 'em want to come to school.' DOCTOR M.—'That is all right, Susan, that is all right, but there is not money enough to accommodate both sexes and you know the BREAD WINNERS must have the preference.' BREAD WINNERS IN THE DISTANCE.—'Get the ball, Tom; get the ball if you have to break a leg.'" Stanton describes this cartoon at reel 30, frame 96.



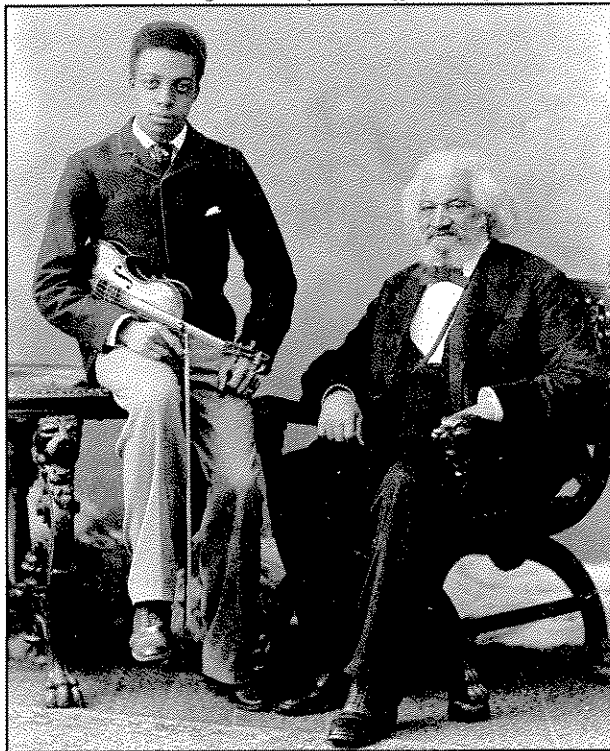
(Left) Anthony and Stanton by J. H. Kent, Rochester, NY, taken during Stanton's 1891 visit to Anthony from September 25 to October 16. Stanton was 75, Anthony 71. Like several other poses photographed by Kent, this one shows the two women at work, going over a manuscript, as here, or comparing a manuscript to a book text. The main purpose of Stanton's visit was to pose for sculptor Adelaide Johnson, but she also initiated the campaign to admit women to the University of Rochester.

(Bottom left) Frederick Douglass and his grandson Joseph Douglass, the inscription on the verso dated September 29, 1894, taken by Notman, Boston, MA. Joseph Douglass began playing at NAWSA conventions in 1896, when he gave a recital in memory of his grandfather, who had died February 20, 1895.

(Bottom right) Elizabeth Cady Stanton with her son Robert Livingston Stanton and daughter Margaret Livingston Stanton Lawrence, photographer unknown, taken in New York City for Stanton's eightieth birthday, November 12, 1895. From November 1891 until her death in 1902, Stanton lived with the two children, her son a bachelor and lawyer, her daughter a childless widow and director of physical education at the Teachers College in New York.

Source: Division of Prints and Photographs, Library of Congress

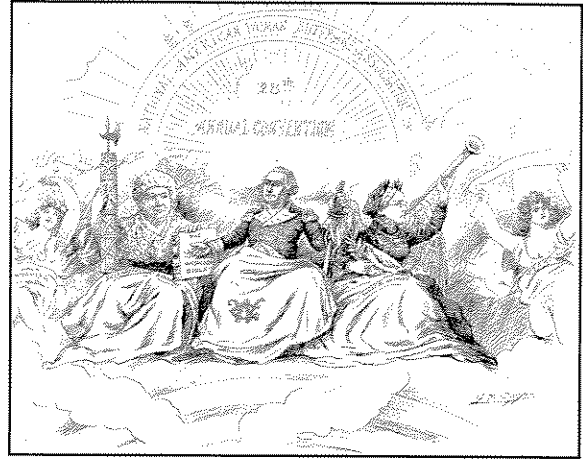
Source: Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College



Source: Vassar College Library



"The apotheosis of liberty," pen and ink drawing by G. Y. Coffin, published in various newspapers ca. February 1896 at the time of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association convention in Washington. The cartoon shows Stanton and Anthony flanking George Washington; figures at left and right represent Wyoming and Utah, two of the three states in which women enjoyed full suffrage rights. Stanton holds a copy of the *Woman's Bible* from which the convention dissociated itself.



Source: Division of Prints and Photographs, Library of Congress

Source: Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College



Susan B. Anthony with Bessie Potter and Clara B. Colby, photographer and date unknown. In 1896, Bessie Potter, a sculptor of figurines, made a statuette of Anthony and her Chicago friend, Emily Gross (at reel 39, frames 864-65). Clara B. Colby, owner and editor of the *Woman's Tribune*, was a close friend of Stanton's and Anthony's from the 1880s until their deaths.

Source: Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College

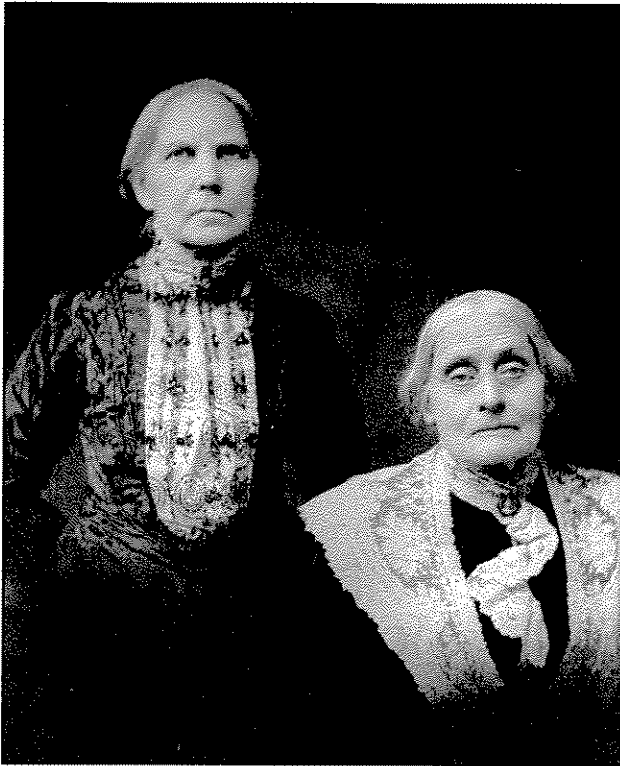


Elizabeth Smith Miller and her daughter, Anne Fitzhugh Miller, photographer unknown. An inscription on the back of the photograph notes it was taken June 6, 1898. Elizabeth Smith Miller was the daughter of Stanton's first cousin Gerrit Smith and the lifelong comrade of both Stanton and Anthony.



Source: Division of Prints and Photographs, Library of Congress

Susan B. Anthony at her desk in her home at 17 Madison St., Rochester, NY, by Frances Benjamin Johnston in October 1900. The group picture on the wall is of the 1888 International Council of Women meeting, reproduced here on page 65 with identifications. Also on the wall, left to right, starting from the top, are portraits of: Lucretia Mott, Mary Wollstonecraft, Ernestine Rose; next row down, Mary Wood Swift, Anna Howard Shaw, Anna Dickinson; below Shaw, Zerelda G. Wallace. On top of the desk from left to right: Rachel Foster Avery, unidentified, couple unidentified, Isabella Beecher Hooker (in front of the couple), unidentified, Ishbel Gordon (Countess of Aberdeen), May Wright Sewall, unidentified, Ida Husted Harper, unidentified, Mary S. Anthony. On the desk, left to right: Jane H. Spofford, Frances E. Willard, Elizabeth Cady Stanton.



Susan B. Anthony and her sister Mary by Grace Woodworth, taken February 8, 1905. Woodworth, a photographer from Seneca Falls, had a studio at 30 Main Street, East Rochester, NY. Arrangements for the sisters to sit for Woodworth are discussed in SBA to Grace Woodworth, at reel 44, frames 559-60 and 871-72.

Source: Haviland Records Room, New York Yearly Meeting of Friends

Charlotte P. Wills (age unknown), Caroline M. Severance (85), and Rebecca B. Spring (95), activists all, taken with Anthony (85) in Los Angeles on July 29, 1905. Anthony had attended the NAWSA convention in Portland, OR, and then continued down the Pacific coast, lecturing and attending meetings as she went.



Source: Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College

Introduction to the Index

The index provides access to all three sections of the microfilm by reference to the reel number (in bold) and inclusive frame numbers of documents. Because all but the two reels in series 2 are arranged in chronological order, researchers who want to determine the time period of a document from its index citation may consult the list of dates covered in each reel.

Although not as comprehensive as the index to a book, the index offers more than an item list of documents. Designed to supplement the chronological order of documents on the film, the index uses other points of reference, providing additional ways to identify records on Stanton and Anthony and some access to people, places, and organizations documented in the collection. To help researchers understand uses of the index, this introduction describes the guidelines by which entries were created.

ENTRIES FOR PEOPLE

The index contains names of all people whose correspondence with Stanton or Anthony appears in the edition. The names are arranged alphabetically, using the form that accords with the date of the document. If a woman appears in the index under two or more names, references to other names are provided within each entry. Rarely are pen names used, but for people well known by a pseudonym, references indicate the name selected for the index.

Correspondence with Stanton or Anthony is not indexed at their names but only at the names of senders or recipients. When senders or recipients would or could not be identified, entries appear at “anonymous,” “unidentified correspondents,” or “unidentified members of ECS [or SBA] family.”

Correspondence *between* Stanton and Anthony is entered at both their names, at the entries headed “Anthony, Susan B., and Elizabeth Cady Stanton” and “Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, and Susan B. Anthony.”

Letters to editors are indexed at “Editor,” followed by the paper’s name. If Stanton or Anthony also corresponded with the editor by name, references identify the names.

Entries for people other than Stanton and Anthony are *not inclusive* of their representation or appearance in the edition. If a document contains what a person *wrote*, authorship is noted at their main entry. However, in an effort to simplify a complex index, no entries were made when people spoke at a meeting or on the platform with Stanton or Anthony. Thus at the entry for Matilda Joslyn Gage, for example, no reference is made to her considerable

participation in meetings of the National Woman Suffrage Association. If a person was the principal subject of an article, speech, or interview by Stanton or Anthony, a subject entry appears at his or her name.

Despite efforts to confirm the identities of hundreds of correspondents and distinguish among people with similar names, errors no doubt remain. Newspapers proved to be grossly unreliable in their transcriptions of signatures to letters, the *Revolution* most of all. The editors welcome clarification and correction from researchers about the identities of people listed in this index.

For further detail about the construction of entries for individuals, see the guidelines for entries to series 1 and 2.

ENTRIES FOR INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS

Like the names of persons, names of organizations were standardized to the date of the document. Thus the National Woman Suffrage Association (or NWSA) is superseded by the National-American Woman Suffrage Association (or NAWSA) in January 1890. Organizations appear as correspondents, as sponsors of meetings or events in which Stanton or Anthony participated, and as the groups through or for which documents like appeals or petitions were issued. These distinctions are described in subentries.

National associations are alphabetized by name, but most state and local groups are entered with reference to their location. A few major women's organizations with strong local units, like the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, appear at entries for both the parent organization and the local unit, whether state, county, or town. Entries for colleges and universities appear by name only.

ENTRIES FOR PLACES

Entries refer to nations, states, counties, and towns or cities. At the largest units, cross-references direct readers to counties and towns. These geographical entries serve several purposes.

First, they systematize the hundreds of names of local organizations into a geographical order.

Second, they identify units of government with which Stanton or Anthony interacted, whether by filing deeds to their property or by testifying for woman's rights.

Third, *in series 2 only*, they indicate the point of origin for nearly 2,000 letters written in support of woman suffrage.

Finally, they identify occasions when Stanton and Anthony conducted lectures, interviews, and meetings in each town or city. Their public activities are indexed by town except as follows: meetings of neither state associations nor major national organizations are indexed at the city selected for an annual meeting; interviews given in Rochester, New York; Tenafly, New Jersey; Washington, DC; or New York City appear at the city name *only* if the interview treats local events.

ENTRIES FOR STANTON AND ANTHONY

Correspondence with Stanton or Anthony, as noted above, is not indexed at their names but only at the names of senders or recipients. Correspondence *between* Stanton and Anthony is entered at both of their names, within the first main entry.

At the names of Anthony and Stanton, a series of main entries differentiates types of documents. Most main entries are followed by subentries descriptive of specific documents, and subentries appear in alphabetical, not chronological, order. The outline of main entries follows, with additional notes about the basis for assigning documents to a category where the system is not self-evident.

Main entries at Anthony, Susan B., and Stanton, Elizabeth Cady

and [Stanton or Anthony]

includes correspondence between the two principals and articles each wrote about the other

arrest and trial [SBA only]

at meetings

a literal category, used only when Stanton or Anthony attended the meeting, not when they sent letters or otherwise communicated in absentia

biographies and obituaries by

birthday celebrations

book reviews [ECS only]

daybook [SBA only]

diaries

endorsements and advertisements

financial records [SBA only]

inscriptions and autographs

interviews

lectures

legal papers

legislative testimony

manuscript writings

manuscripts at this heading are effectively unidentified; manuscripts of datable speeches and of articles found in published form are indexed by those types

memorials, petitions, appeals

most documents at this heading were prepared for and issued through organizations, while a few expressed personal activism

miscellaneous forms and ephemera

each item, though entered only to reel and frame number, is described elsewhere in the index at a related main entry

notes

notices

published articles

receptions

remarks

oral presentations, too brief or informal to be categorized as lectures or participation in meetings

statements

related to the category of interviews, statements appeared in the press but lacked the structure of an interview

unidentified writings**verse and toasts****voting attempt, 1880 [ECS only]**

ENTRIES FOR SERIES 1

Series 1 contains issues of the weekly *Revolution* dating from January 8, 1868, through May 28, 1870, when Anthony published and Stanton edited the paper, and thereafter until its collapse in February 1872.

Papers of Stanton and Anthony as they appear in the *Revolution* through all of series 1 are indexed as they are in series 3. While Stanton edited the paper, she wrote items without signing them, and thus each issue contains products of her pen that are not indexed. When Parker Pillsbury retired as an editor in 1869, Stanton no longer needed to distinguish her editorials from his, and the amount of unsigned material increased.

Additional entries indicate all *identified* authors and correspondents whose work appeared in the paper, *but only for the time* when Stanton and Anthony ran it. (Items signed by unidentified initials or pseudonyms were not indexed.) Some authors continued to contribute to the *Revolution* after Stanton and Anthony severed their connections with it, and readers who want to trace an author after May 1870 should turn to the issues directly.

ENTRIES FOR SERIES 2

Series 2 consists of incoming mail, all dated within a few months during the spring of 1880. The letters and postcards were filed, in 1880, by state and town in order to demonstrate to politicians the extent of support for woman suffrage in their districts. Only a small number of the people who signed these documents are indexed, the usual principle being to enter their names if they otherwise appeared in series 1 or 3. Most of the items in series 2 are indexed only with reference to place names, indicating the points of origin for this documentation of public opinion.

CONVENTIONS OF THE INDEX

Subentries to a main entry are sequenced alphabetically, not chronologically. There is one exception, or complication. When a main entry has simple subentries *and* subentries with

further distinctions in sub-subentries, *two* alphabetical sequences are created. This programming quirk is most evident in very large entries, at Stanton, Anthony, or their primary organizations. But the researcher should keep the problem in mind at all times and glance to the end of each entry.

Some subentries need clarification:

“letter<s> from, NWSA series” refers to the documents in series 2 from the National Woman Suffrage Association Collection at the Chicago Historical Society

“co-author” or “co-signer” refers to collaboration *with Stanton or Anthony*

“other letters” lists letters between people other than Stanton or Anthony, included in the edition because they were enclosures or written on a document in the edition

“letter<s> to NWSA meetings” or to any other designated meeting indicates either that the editors cannot know how the letter was addressed in its original form or that the letter, addressed to a gathering, passed through Stanton’s or Anthony’s hands as officers of the meeting; letters sent to meetings but addressed clearly to one or the other principal are indexed as personal letters

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE INDEX

Postal service abbreviations for the states and for provinces of Canada are employed when the name follows the name of town or city.

AERA	American Equal Rights Association
ECS and SBA	for Stanton and Anthony in subentries only
Harper, <i>SBA</i>	Ida Husted Harper, <i>Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony</i>
<i>HWS</i>	<i>History of Woman Suffrage</i>
NAWSA	National-American Woman Suffrage Association
NWSA	National Woman Suffrage Association
WLNL	Women’s Loyal National League
WCTU	Woman’s Christian Temperance Union
WSA	woman suffrage association

List of Reels

1–3: Series 1: *The Revolution*

Weekly issues in chronological order

- 1 1868 Jan 8 through 1869 Jul 1
- 2 1869 Jul 8 through 1870 Dec 29
- 3 1871 Jan 5 through 1872 Feb 17

4–5: Series 2: National Woman Suffrage Association Collection

Alphabetical order by states and towns, with unidentified locations at start of sequence and Canada and England at its end

- 4 No place to New York: Brooklyn
- 5 New York: Brooklyn (cont'd) to England: London

6–45: Series 3: Chronological Collection

Diaries appear as the first documents of their year, while documents dated only by month or year appear at month's or year's end. Undated documents begin after 1906 February, and an addendum in chronological order appears on reel 45.

Reel No.	Starting Date	Ending Date
6	1831 Jan 2.....	1850 Oct 9
7	1850 Oct 23	1854 Aug 4
8	1854 Aug 4 (cont'd).....	1858 Jun 6
9	1858 Jun 8	1861 May 1
10	1861 May 8.....	1865: diary through Aug 31
11	1865: diary (cont'd).....	1867 Feb 19
12	1867 Feb 19 (cont'd).....	1868 Sep 17
13	1868 Sep 21	1869 Oct 19
14	1869 Oct 20	1870: dated by year only
15	1870: dated by Dec only.....	1872 Jan 29
16	1872: dated by Jan only.....	1873 Feb 25
17	1873 Feb 26.....	1874 May 6
18	1874 May 7.....	1876: dated by year only
19	1876: dated by year only	1878 Jan 11

Reel No.	Starting Date	Ending Date
20	1878 Jan 11 (cont'd).....	1879 Dec 15
21	1879: dated by Dec only.....	1881 Jun 29
22	1881 Jun 29 (cont'd)	1883: diary, entire
23	1883 Jan 1.....	1885 Jan 18
24	1885 Jan 20.....	1886 Sep 28
25	1886 Sep 29.....	1888 Feb 3
26	1888 Feb 5.....	1889 Jan 21
27	1889 Jan 21 (cont'd).....	1890 Feb 7
28	1890 Feb 8.....	1891 Feb 24
29	1891 Feb 24 (cont'd)	1892 Feb 20
30	1892 Feb 20 (cont'd)	1892: dated by year only
31	1893: diary.....	1894: diary through Aug 31
32	1894: diary (cont'd).....	1894 Nov 18
33	1894 Nov 18 (cont'd)	1895 May 13
34	1895 May 13 (cont'd).....	1896: diary through May 15
35	1896: diary (cont'd).....	1896: dated by Sep only
36	1896: dated by Sep only (cont'd)	1897 May 22
37	1897 May 24.....	1898 Jan 19
38	1898 Jan 20.....	1898: dated by Dec only
39	1898: dated by Dec only (cont'd).....	1899 Jun 29
40	1899 Jun 30	1900 Feb 13
41	1900 Feb 14.....	1901 May 7
42	1901 May 7 (cont'd).....	1902: dated by year only
43	1903: diary.....	1904: diary, entire
44	1904 Jan 4.....	1906: dated by Feb only
	Documents with no year; documents with no date, all letters and SBA's lectures	
45	Documents with no date continued at ECS's lectures; addendum, in chronological order	

Index

• A

- Abbot, Francis Ellingwood
letter(s) from ECS, **18**: 1080;
19: 564
letter(s) to ECS, **19**: 437;
24: 430
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
2: 352
letter(s) to SBA, **2**: 313
See also Editor, *Index*
- Abbott, Mr. C. E.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 600
- Abbott, Lyman
about, SBA interview, **43**: 696
- Abell, Sabra Philinda
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 867-68
- Aberdeen, Countess of *See* Gordon,
Ishbel Maria Marjoribanks,
Countess of Aberdeen
- Aberdeen, SD
interview(s) in, SBA, **28**: 356
SBA lectures, **28**: 589-90
state amendment campaign
SBA lectures, **27**: 556;
28: 320
- Abilene, KS
NWSA and Kansas Equal Suffrage
Association meeting
SBA attends, **25**: 18
- Ackerman, Jessie Armenia
circular, "The Curse of Opium,"
37: 1036
letter(s) from SBA, **42**: 181
letter(s) to SBA, **37**: 1035-36
- Adair, Bethenia Angelina Owens
See Owens-Adair, Bethenia
Angelina
- Adair, James
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 536-37; **2**: 14
- Adams, Charles Kendall
letter(s) from SBA, **30**:
417-19
- Adams, Franklin George
letter(s) from ECS, **24**:
138-41
letter(s) from SBA, **21**:
624-29, 905-6, 927-28, 977-79,
1124; **22**: 3, 180-81, 595-97;
23: 867-70; **24**: 78-81,
400-405, 460-62, 531-32,
633-35, 710-11, 991-92, 1004,
1019-21, 1081-85; **28**: 635;
32: 619-22, 666-74; **35**:
555, 700; **37**: 1001-2; **38**:
12-13, 447; **42**: 384
letter(s) to ECS, **24**: 71-72
letter(s) to SBA, **21**: 619,
885, 965; **22**: 9, 179, 258-59,
594, 602-3, 624-26; **23**: 866,
877-78; **24**: 71-72, 385,
455-56, 480-82, 660, 715-19,
1005-8, 1087; **25**: 144,
221-22; **27**: 115, 172-73;
30: 330; **32**: 589, 852;
35: 709-10, 719, 775, 789;
37: 1024; **38**: 49; **39**:
554, 648-49
receipt from SBA, **39**: 559
other letters
from Nichols, Helen C.,
24: 402-5
to Case, Lucia O. B.,
35: 710
- Adams, Mr. H. T.
letter to WLNL meeting, **10**:
461
- Adams, Irene G.
letter(s) from SBA, **27**: 1029
- Adams, Mrs. M.
letter to WLNL meeting, **10**:
461
- Adams, Margaret T.
letter(s) to SBA, **44**: 363
other letters
to Anthony, Mary S., **44**:
363
- Adams, Zu
letter(s) from SBA, **43**:
778-79
letter(s) to SBA, **22**: 206;
43: 771-72, 786; **44**: 30
- Addams, Jane
letter(s) from SBA, **34**: 808
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 645
- Addison, Kate Rowen
letter(s) from SBA, **37**:
230-32
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 636-37, 713-15
- Adler, Felix
letter(s) to ECS, **31**: 711;
35: 585
letter(s) to SBA, **22**: 684-87
- Adrian, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 868-69
SBA lectures, **18**: 124-25
- Afro-American League
meetings of
SBA attends, **38**: 777-79
- Aiken, SC
SBA lectures, **33**: 672
- Akron, OH
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 67-72
woman's rights convention
letter from ECS, **7**:
79-83A
- Alabama *See* Birmingham, Huntsville
- Alameda County, CA *See also* Woman's
Congress of the Pacific Coast
- Alameda County People's Party
state amendment campaign meeting
SBA attends, **35**: 949-50
- Alameda County Political Equality
Society
rally, SBA attends, **35**: 661-63
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **38**:
149
- Albany, NY
ECS lectures, **24**: 73-75
interview(s) in, SBA, **32**: 850,
1010
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1273-86
statement(s) in, SBA, **32**: 851
county woman's rights convention
SBA attends, **8**: 133
mass temperance meeting
SBA attends, **7**: 507-15
Phebe H. Jones funeral services
SBA speaks, **22**: 38
state constitutional campaign
meeting
SBA attends, **32**: 583-84
temperance meeting of women

- letter from ECS, 7:
146-51
SBA attends, 7: 145-51
tour for American Anti-Slavery Society
SBA attends, 8: 1092-98
tour with George F. Train
ECS and SBA lecture, 12:
626-33
Albion, NY
anti-slavery tour
ECS attends, 9: 1028-55
state constitutional campaign
meeting
SBA attends, 32: 235
Alcott, Amos Bronson
letter(s) from ECS, 13:
462-63
letter(s) to ECS, 1: 564
Alcott, Louisa May
letter(s) to SBA, 25: 333-35
Alden, Cynthia May Westover
letter(s) to SBA, 40: 268
Alder, Lydia Dunford
articles by
"Open Letter to the Women
of America," 27: 104-6
Aldrich, Charles
letter(s) from SBA, 42: 805
Aldrich, Nelson Wilmarth
letter(s) from SBA, 24: 60-62;
40: 680; 41: 307
letter(s) to SBA, 40: 741
Aldridge, George Washington
letter(s) from SBA, 38: 77-78,
394-96
letter(s) to SBA, 38: 68-69,
85-86, 408-9
Aledo, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 113
Alexandria, NE
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1168
Alexandria, SD
state amendment campaign
convention
SBA attends, 28: 439
Algona, IA
women of
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights,"
1876, 18: 870
Allegan, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 870-72
Allen, Abigail A. Maxson
inscription(s) from SBA, 26:
833-34
Allen, Amos Lawrence
letter(s) to SBA, 40: 698
Allen, Darius M.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
2: 141
Allen, Elizabeth Anne Chase Taylor
Akers
letter(s) from SBA, 41:
491-92
Allen, George R.
letter(s) to ECS, 16: 120-23
letter(s) to SBA, 16: 120-23
other letters
from Hooker, Isabella B.,
16: 141-42
to Hooker, Isabella B.,
16: 120-23
Allen, James Madison
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 398
Allen, Lucy Phillips
letter(s) from SBA, 41: 229
Allen, Nancy R. Hall Brace Lyon
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 868
letter(s) from SBA, 19: 567
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 317, 789
Alliance, OH
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 73-76
Allison, C. C.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 294
Allison, Frances Ekin
letter(s) from SBA, 22:
751-52
Allison, William Boyd
letter(s) to SBA, 41: 71;
42: 745-46
Alma City, MN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1053
Alton, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 114-15
Amberley, Kate
letter to woman's rights
anniversary meeting, 14:
1019-20
Ambler, Julia M. B.
letter(s) to SBA, 35: 246-55
Ambrose, Lodilla
letter(s) from SBA, 44:
881-82, 887, 890
Amenia, NY
SBA lectures, 1: 516
American, Sadie
letter(s) to SBA, 43: 352
American Anti-Slavery Society
tour for, SBA, 8: 865-73,
885-900, 1006, 1010-11, 1025,
1041, 1049-75, 1091-98
executive committee of
letter(s) to SBA, 8: 617
financial records
accounts with, SBA, 8:
621-42, 644-63
meetings of
ECS and SBA attend, 9:
567-611; 11: 466-74
ECS attends, 12: 893-95
SBA attends, 8: 1123;
10: 578-81; 11: 306-8;
23: 353-84
American Equal Rights Association
(AERA)
"Appeal for Universal Suffrage,"
11: 734, 797
appeal to people of the United
States, ECS and SBA, 12:
225
memorial to Congress, 11:
692-93, 873-74
texts of petitions to U.S.
Congress, 12: 897
executive committee of
SBA attends meeting of,
12: 932-35
SBA open letter to, 12:
659
meetings of
announcement of, 11: 533,
538
call to, 12: 95, 98, 107,
120, 131, 137; 13: 431,
448, 455, 457, 461, 467,
469, 476, 480, 491
ECS and SBA attend, 1:
562-64, 570-72, 578-79,
588-89, 607, 620; 2: 367;
11: 475-523, 680-728; 12:
154-203, 896-908; 13:
500-524; 14: 766-68
revised call to, 12: 133
SBA attends, 11: 539-42
New York State tour for equal
rights
announcement of, 11: 731
call to, 11: 677-78
ECS and SBA attend, 11:
739-94, 800; 12: 122-23
ECS lecture for, 11:
694-728, 739-88
SBA attends, 11: 1059-61
New York State Woman's Rights
Convention
call to, 11: 619, 622,
634, 637, 640
ECS and SBA attend, 11:
648-60
text of petition to New
York State Constitutional
Convention 1867, 11:
655, 659, 905
petition to New York State
Senate
ECS and SBA signed, 11:
871-72, 882
American Federation of Labor
letter(s) from SBA, 40: 942
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
40: 906, 917
meetings of
SBA attends, 40: 304-10
American Labor Reform League
meetings of
letter from SBA, 15:

- 582-86
American Medical Association
meetings of
SBA attends, **42**: 133-34
American Party
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
35: 360
American Protective League
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
42: 56
meetings of
letter from SBA, **41**: 355
American Purity Alliance
"Appeal to Queen Victoria,"
signed by SBA, **37**: 256
American Red Cross, National
Society of
Watch Service to Welcome
Twentieth Century
letter from SBA, **41**:
631-32
American Secular Union
meetings of
letter(s) from ECS, **26**:
913-15
American Secular Union and
Freethought Federation
meetings of
letter(s) from ECS, **41**:
584-87
American Unitarian Association
meetings of
letter from SBA, **41**:
300-302
American WSA
local arrangements committee,
Cincinnati
meeting of, SBA attends,
20: 896
meetings of
letter from Clarina I. H.
Nichols, **21**: 543-44
SBA attends, **2**: 171, 592;
14: 93-112, 1078-97;
22: 607-15
NWSA-AWSA merger
committee correspondence on,
26: 633, 660-61, 747-51,
758-60
NWSA and AWSA committees on
union, **26**: 1042-43
preliminary conference,
25: 1029-32; **26**:
746-51, 756-61
report on, **26**: 746-51,
756-61
Ames, Adelbert
letter(s) from ECS, **15**:
1016-17
Ames, Eleanor Maria Easterbrook
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 90, 163, 179, 190-91, 239,
247, 267-68, 339-40, 356,
371-72, 396-97, 419, 435, 467,
485, 499, 507, 515, 523, 531,
539, 547, 555, 565, 572, 581,
583, 587, 594-95, 603, 610-11,
619; **2**: 1, 9, 17, 26, 65
letter(s) from SBA, **14**: 895;
17: 426
letter(s) to SBA, **2**: 81
letter to Working Woman's
Association, **13**: 858-59
A.M.E. Zion Church
San Francisco
SBA lecture, **34**: 204-5;
35: 726
Western New York Conference
meetings of, SBA attends,
38: 600
Amherst, WI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 513
Anderson, CA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 12-13
Andersson, Hanna
letter(s) to SBA, **41**: 3
Andrews, Anna Anthony
inscription(s) from SBA, **44**:
704
Andrews, Ezra Randall
letter(s) from SBA, **29**:
619-20
Andrews, Stephen Pearl
article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 130
Angola, IN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 449-53
Angola, NY
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1287
Angwin, Maria L.
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 659
Ann Arbor, MI
ECS lectures, **14**: 1062
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 873-86
statement(s) in, SBA, **32**:
210-11
Ann Arbor Women's League
SBA lectures, **30**: 201
Annawan, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 116
Anneke, Mathilde Franziska Geisler
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 866
letter(s) from ECS, **14**:
676-79; **18**: 843-44
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 561
letter(s) from SBA, **14**: 70-73;
16: 834-35; **18**: 453-58,
994-97; **19**: 572-73; **22**:
598-99; **23**: 464-65
letter(s) to ECS, **16**: 607-8
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 792; **23**: 639
letter(s) to SBA, **16**: 476-77
SBA entry on, *Johnson's New
Universal Cyclopaedia*,
20: 626
SBA entry on, *Johnson's
Universal Cyclopaedia*,
34: 857
anonymous
letter(s) to ECS, **2**: 5, 43;
15: 444
letter(s) to SBA, **2**: 33;
21: 1110
Anthony, Anna E. Osborne
letter(s) from SBA, **44**:
371-72, 402-6
Anthony, Anna Osborne
letter(s) from SBA, **29**:
494-96, 973-76; **30**: 318-25,
349-55; **31**: 680-86; **32**:
840-43, 969-71; **39**: 616-17;
40: 136; **41**: 1, 347-48,
358-60, 367-68, 397-402,
422-23
See also Bacon, Anna Osborne
Anthony
other letters
from Anthony, Mary S.,
40: 136
Anthony, Anna Wadsworth
letter(s) to SBA, **6**: 1046-48
other letters
to Anthony, Mary S., **6**:
1046-48
Anthony, Benjamin
letter(s) from SBA, **12**: 111
Anthony, Charlotte Bowles
arrest for illegal voting with
SBA, **16**: 602; **17**: 76-77
Anthony, Daniel
letter(s) from SBA, **6**: 110-13,
118-22, 127-30, 241-43, 269-75,
574-77, 581-84, 641-44, 654-57,
670-72, 674-79, 759-63, 857-65,
876-79, 898-901, 906-7; **7**:
304; **9**: 820-23
letter(s) to SBA, **6**: 89-94,
107-9, 114-17, 123-26, 167-79,
184-96, 293-95, 360-65, 680-83,
694-97, 872-75, 924-27; **7**:
685; **8**: 207, 243; **9**: 1082;
10: 220-23
other letters
from Anthony, Guelma P.,
6: 99-106
to Anthony, Guelma P.,
6: 95-98, 107-9, 114-17,
123-26, 167-79, 184-96
to Anthony, Lucy R., **6**:
816-19
Anthony, Daniel Luther
letter(s) from SBA, **19**:
568-69, 701-4
Anthony, Daniel Read
letter(s) from SBA, **6**: 684-87,
849-50, 916-19; **9**: 354;
10: 904; **17**: 1046; **18**:

- 81; 23: 141, 150-51; 27: 241; 37: 14-15, 63-64; 43: 723-24
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, 32: 484
 letter(s) to SBA, 2: 273; 8: 939-41, 985-91, 1028-31; 9: 21-24, 28-31, 33-34, 75-78, 143-46, 203-5, 232-34, 275-77, 313, 317-18, 323, 409, 416-17; 10: 98-101, 139, 155-56, 178-79, 211-17, 287-89, 291-94, 302; 14: 1183; 20: 379; 23: 110, 409; 30: 316; 31: 613, 665; 37: 219; 43: 352; 44: 296
 mayoral race
 SBA lectures, 27: 133-34, 139-40, 148, 150, 158
 SBA remarks on, 27: 149
 other letters
 to Anthony family, 10: 287-89
 to Anthony, Lucy R., 9: 275-77
 to Anthony, Mary S., 44: 296
 Anthony, Daniel Read, Jr.
 letter(s) from SBA, 37: 73; 44: 360-68, 394-98, 498, 713
 Anthony, Elizabeth Havens
 letter(s) from SBA, 37: 73
 Anthony, Elizabeth S. Cole
 letter(s) from SBA, 31: 375; 43: 764
 letter(s) to SBA, 44: 398
 Anthony, Elizabeth Wadsworth
 letter(s) from SBA, 21: 141-44; 22: 77-82
 Anthony, Frank
 letter(s) from SBA, 15: 1010-13; 19: 519-21
 Anthony, Guelma Penn
 letter(s) from SBA, 6: 95-98, 260-67
 letter(s) to SBA, 6: 89-91, 99-106, 250-59, 313-18, 323-28, 341-46, 360-65
See also McLean, Guelma Penn
 Anthony
 other letters
 from Anthony, Daniel, 6: 95-98, 107-9, 114-17, 123-26, 167-79, 184-96
 from Anthony, Hannah L., 6: 167-72
 from Anthony, Lucy R., 6: 114-17, 167-72
 to Anthony, Daniel, 6: 99-106
 to Anthony, Lucy R., 6: 99-106
 Anthony, Hannah Lapham
 letter(s) to SBA, 6: 167-72
See also Mosher, Hannah
 Lapham Anthony
 other letters
 from Vail, Moses E., 6: 475-78
 to Anthony, Guelma P., 6: 167-72
 Anthony, Henry Bowen
 letter(s) to SBA, 22: 546; 23: 636; 25: 135
 Anthony, Jacob Merritt
 letter(s) from SBA, 8: 586; 17: 290-93; 29: 279-83
 letter(s) to SBA, 8: 415-17
 other letters
 to Anthony family, 8: 415-17
 Anthony, Jessie
 letter(s) from SBA, 22: 51-53; 26: 1014-17; 32: 675-80; 33: 799-802; 34: 251-52, 261-63; 35: 668, 682-85, 818-23, 839-48, 863-74, 878-87, 927-28, 1001-2; 36: 26-27, 928-29, 952-56, 960-62, 1011-13; 37: 96-99, 579; 38: 448, 670-71, 711; 39: 623-25; 41: 155, 207-8, 219-20, 432, 516-17, 978-79, 983; 42: 610-15, 681-82; 43: 332-34, 520; 44: 303-4, 341-43, 387-88, 551, 699-700, 705-8, 712-15, 717-19, 725-26, 796-98
 Anthony, John
 letter(s) from SBA, 21: 141-44
 Anthony, Joseph
 letter(s) from SBA, 16: 272-73
 Anthony, KS
 NWSA and Kansas Equal Suffrage Association meeting
 SBA attends, 25: 52
 Anthony, Lucy Elmina
 letter(s) for SBA, 44: 778-80
 letter(s) from SBA, 23: 276-88; 25: 356-63; 28: 548-53; 34: 307-13; 35: 900-903; 36: 1047-48; 37: 16-17, 483-84, 527; 38: 654-57, 967-71, 997, 1018-19; 39: 700; 40: 355-56, 736-37; 41: 361-64, 369-73, 615-16; 42: 208-9, 435-38, 655-56; 44: 191-92
 letter(s) to SBA, 42: 868; 44: 365, 461
 Anthony, Lucy Read
 letter(s) from SBA, 6: 110-13, 127-30, 241-43, 269-75, 515-18, 574-80, 585-93, 602-11, 619-34, 636-40, 645-47, 653, 670-72, 674-79, 759-63, 766-71, 816-19, 830-39, 841-43, 845-48, 851-54, 857-65, 869-71, 876-79, 889-93, 898-901, 904-7; 10: 378-79, 404, 541, 549, 574; 11: 142; 12: 265, 571; 14: 608; 15: 683, 704, 714, 811, 818, 823, 825; 17: 415; 18: 132, 1093
 letter(s) to SBA, 6: 114-17, 167-72, 872-75, 924-27; 10: 726
 other letters
 from Anthony, Daniel, 6: 816-19
 from Anthony, Daniel R., 9: 275-77
 from Anthony, Guelma P., 6: 99-106
 from Anthony, Mary S., 6: 669-72
 from McLean, Aaron M., 6: 537-44, 1089-92
 from McLean, Guelma P. A., 6: 537-44, 1089-92
 to Anthony, Guelma P., 6: 114-17, 167-72
 Anthony, Luther Burt
 letter(s) from SBA, 41: 367-68, 899-901
 Anthony, Mary Almina Luther
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, 34: 776-77
 Anthony, Mary Stafford
 about, SBA interviews, 36: 993-94; 41: 903
 arrest for illegal voting with SBA, 16: 602; 17: 76
 inscriptions and autographs, 42: 653
 inscription(s) from SBA, 39: 681-82
 letter(s) for SBA, 13: 738-39; 25: 61, 91-92; 28: 635; 41: 978-79; 44: 440-41
 letter(s) from ECS, 14: 1072; 23: 133
 letter(s) from SBA, 6: 285-89, 578-80, 585-601, 631-35, 766-71, 845-48; 10: 725; 18: 132; 23: 126, 134-36, 138, 142, 147, 149, 174, 176, 234, 237, 257, 261, 273, 275, 289, 293-94, 305, 310, 312, 322, 333; 25: 66; 27: 93; 30: 483-84; 33: 520-23; 34: 112-13; 35: 669, 717, 765, 1000, 1104, 1106-7; 36: 72; 42: 287-89, 295, 297, 444, 589, 596-97, 601, 604, 648, 830; 44: 293; 45: 378
 letter(s) to ECS, 35: 1093-94
 letter(s) to SBA, 2: 295-96; 6: 491-94, 669-72, 688-92, 914-15, 924-27; 8: 1042; 9: 554; 14: 168; 15: 705; 17: 432; 34: 151; 37: 393-94; 42: 831
 birthday celebration of

- SBA attends, **36**: 1001-2
 financial records
 accounts with Clara D. B. Colby, **35**: 258-59
 other letters
 from Adams, Margaret T., **44**: 363
 from Anthony, Anna W., **6**: 1046-48
 from Anthony, Daniel R., **44**: 296
 from Bloss, Joseph B., **44**: 364-65
 from Davis, Paulina K. W., **15**: 804-7
 from Duniway, Abigail J. S., **44**: 351-52
 from Fish, George T., **44**: 363
 from Harper, Ida A. H., **42**: 662-65
 from McLean, Aaron M., **6**: 1089-92
 from McLean, Guelma P. A. McLean, **6**: 1089-92
 from Shaw, Anna H., **44**: 365-66
 from Yerkes, Mr. J. H., **44**: 364
 to Anthony, Anna O., **40**: 136
 to Anthony, Lucy R., **6**: 669-72
 to Avery, Cyrus M., **33**: 56
 to Avery, Rachel G. F., **33**: 56
 to Bigelow, Fannie R., **42**: 398
 to Crossett, Ella H., **30**: 639-41
 to Davis, Paulina K. W., **15**: 808
 to Dickinson, Albert, **44**: 709-11
 to Gannett, Mary T. L., **28**: 855-56
 to Gannett, William C., **28**: 855-56; **30**: 154-61
 to Hamilton, John B., Jr., **41**: 901
 to Hawley, Eliza H., **30**: 639-41
 to Hawley, Genevieve L., **30**: 639-41
 to Mason, Anna E. D., **43**: 514-17
 to Shatz, Miss, **42**: 398
 Anthony, Maude
 letter(s) from SBA, **35**: 779-81
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 759-60, 777-78
See also Koehler, Maude Anthony
 Anthony, Susan B., and Elizabeth Cady Stanton
 ECS, "Friendship of Half a Century," **42**: 942
 ECS, on SBA's visit to London, **23**: 132
 ECS, "Sketch of Miss Anthony's Life," **35**: 1113
 ECS, "Susan B. Anthony," **23**: 1096-1117
 letter(s) from ECS, **7**: 189, 218-20, 568-71, 735-36, 874-75, 943-46, 998; **8**: 108, 113-14, 135, 239, 256, 281, 340, 366-69, 373, 453-56, 785-87, 950-52, 997-1000, 1032; **9**: 19-20, 32, 149-52, 243-44, 266-69, 321-22, 332-33, 342-45, 420-22, 424, 532-33, 562, 684, 724-25, 728, 731, 779, 1133; **10**: 45-47, 104, 367, 387-89, 427, 430, 883, 889, 917-18, 923; **11**: 159, 208, 214; **14**: 152-53, 685, 820-21, 858-59, 863-64, 923; **15**: 369, 388-89, 405, 408, 562, 612-14, 748; **16**: 80, 256-57, 260, 396, 468, 531-32, 561-62, 1011, 1030; **17**: 232-33, 235-36; **18**: 28-29, 68, 133, 238-39, 242, 317-18; **19**: 464-65, 517, 551, 716; **20**: 234-38, 304, 427, 442-43, 719, 744-45, 754; **21**: 197-204, 246, 371, 577; **22**: 559, 574; **23**: 41-42, 128, 258, 268, 274, 318-19, 323, 462, 556, 570, 572, 701, 711, 1082, 1084; **24**: 40, 858-59, 900, 1009-10; **25**: 192, 207, 209, 287-96, 580, 862; **27**: 459; **28**: 396-403, 499-504, 1000; **29**: 259, 502; **30**: 183, 694-95; **32**: 323-25, 488-89, 610-11, 780-81, 873, 1036-37; **34**: 275-76, 323, 567; **35**: 280-81; **36**: 66, 153, 879, 881-82, 1000, 1076-77; **37**: 989-92; **38**: 462-73, 543-45, 1049; **40**: 270, 824-25; **42**: 537-38, 714-16; **44**: 983-84
 letter(s) to ECS, **7**: 828-30; **8**: 434-36, 439-48, 1015-21; **9**: 552, 687, 811-15, 854, 929-30, 965-67, 976-77, 1065-70, 1113-16, 1119, 1132; **10**: 39-40, 66, 88, 171-73, 364-66, 565-67, 822-24, 830, 837-38; **11**: 150-54, 169-73; **14**: 648-51, 660-62; **15**: 311-12, 531-33, 718, 724, 731-34, 804-9; **16**: 63, 144-47, 240-44, 487, 527-30; **19**: 523-24, 559-61; **23**: 321, 485-96, 985-88, 1060-61; **25**: 56; **28**: 939; **29**: 329; **30**: 223, 571-74, 596; **31**: 374; **32**: 965-68, 1018-21; **34**: 264-68, 350-51, 851; **35**: 558, 723, 1032-37, 1079-82; **36**: 65, 152, 673-74; **37**: 181, 207-9, 446-48; **38**: 958-61, 963-64; **40**: 222-23; **41**: 375, 565-66; **42**: 82
 verse from ECS, **28**: 38; **40**: 945-48; **41**: 10-12
 Anthony, Susan B., arrest and trial conviction, **17**: 99, 148, 213-14
 court costs, **17**: 220-29
 execution of judgment, **17**: 239-40
 hearing on writ of habeas corpus, **16**: 836-65, 974-89
 indictment, **16**: 999-1004
 introduction of U.S. House bill for relief of SBA, **18**: 23-25
 introduction of U.S. Senate bill enabling SBA to pay her fine, **17**: 982
 in U.S. Commissioner's Court, **16**: 542-44, 555-59, 585-86, 602-3, 606, 848-65
 in U.S. District Court, **16**: 604-5; **17**: 76-82, 86-91
 petition for writ of habeas corpus, **16**: 827-29
 report of U.S. House on petition for remission of fine, **18**: 33-41
 report on U.S. Senate bill enabling SBA to pay her fine, **18**: 42-54
 trial, **17**: 98-148
 warrant for arrest, **16**: 542-44
 petition to U.S. House of Representatives for remission of fine, **17**: 950-68
 petition to U.S. Senate for remission of fine, **17**: 976-80
 Anthony, Susan B., at meetings
 AERA, **1**: 570-72, 578-79, 588-89; **2**: 367; **11**: 475-523, 539-42, 680-728; **12**: 154-203, 896-908, 932-35; **13**: 500-524; **14**: 766-68
 AERA, New York State Woman's Rights Convention, **11**: 648-60
 Afro-American League, **38**: 777-79
 Alameda County People's Party, **35**: 949-50
 Alameda County Political Equality Society, **35**: 661-63
 American Anti-Slavery Society,

Anthony, Susan B. (cont'd.)

- 8:** 1123; **9:** 567-611;
10: 578-81; **11:** 306-8,
 466-74; **23:** 353-84
 American Federation of Labor,
40: 304-10
 American Medical Association,
42: 133-34
 American WSA, **2:** 171, 592;
14: 93-112, 1078-97; **22:**
 607-15
 American WSA, local
 arrangements committee,
20: 896
 A.M.E. Zion Church, Western New
 York Conference, **38:** 600
 Anthony Family Reunion, **37:**
 127-31, 140-43
 anti-slavery meeting, Boston,
8: 901-3
 anti-slavery meeting, Easton, NY,
9: 211
 anti-slavery tour, **9:** 978-82,
 1057-59, 1064, 1077-79
 Army and Navy Republican League,
35: 977
 Berkeley (CA) Republican Clubs
 rally, **35:** 893-94
 Berkshire County (MA)
 Historical and Scientific
 Society, **37:** 127-38
 Bourbon County, KS, Equal
 Suffrage Association, **28:**
 765
 Bricklayers' and Masons'
 International Union of America,
40: 718-23
 Brooklyn Equal Rights
 Association, **14:** 145-46
 Buffalo WSA, **13:** 591
 California amendment campaign,
35: 633, 654-55, 666-67, 670,
 833-34, 911, 920, 931, 942-43,
 949-50, 952, 966, 972, 978,
 1005, 1050-54, 1057-59,
 1063-65, 1095-96; **36:** 39, 46,
 51-54, 59, 74, 76, 78
 California Democratic Party,
35: 807-10
 California People's Party,
35: 758-62
 California Prohibition Party,
35: 763-64
 California Republican Party,
35: 747-48
 California Republican Party
 campaign, **36:** 8
 California Socialist Labor Party,
35: 895-96
 California State Woman Suffrage
 Educational Association,
34: 212-15
 California Suffrage
 Constitutional Amendment
 Campaign Association, **34:**
 103-6; **35:** 651-53, 698-99,
 784
 California WSA, **15:** 835;
35: 698-99, 778; **36:** 73-78
 Central Committee of National
 Society for Women's Suffrage,
23: 178-233
 Century Club, San Francisco,
35: 666
 Channing Auxiliary of Unitarian
 Conference, San Francisco,
35: 686-87
 Chautauqua Assembly, Pacific
 Grove, CA, **35:** 890-92
 Chicago Civic Federation,
 Central Council, **32:** 1091
 Chicago Council of Jewish Women,
44: 313
 Chicago Woman's Club, **33:**
 971-74; **35:** 619-20; **36:**
 712-14
 Churchville, NY, WCTU, **37:**
 218
 Citizens' Suffrage Association,
18: 929-31; **21:** 101-2
 Clark County, OR, WCTU, **35:**
 795
 Committee to Secure
 Co-Education at University of
 Rochester, **38:** 622-23,
 652-53, 817-18, 821; **41:** 541
 Congregational Club, San
 Francisco, **34:** 107-8,
 209-11; **35:** 952
 Connecticut WSA, **2:** 149-50;
14: 33-54; **16:** 478-86;
17: 433-41; **39:** 568-81
 Cook County WSA, **14:** 851;
15: 445-51; **24:** 233-36;
25: 152-55; **26:** 812-14,
 923-24
 Cuban Hospital Relief
 Association of Monroe County,
36: 887-88
 Daughters of Temperance,
 Genesee Union, **7:** 48-52, 54,
 58
 Daughters of the American
 Revolution, Continental
 Congress, **38:** 295-97;
39: 548-51; **41:** 16-22;
42: 570-71
 Daughters of the American
 Revolution, Irondequoit
 Chapter, **38:** 598-99
 Daughters of the American
 Revolution, Manor House
 Chapter, **41:** 14
 dedication of school building,
40: 126
 Democratic Party, National
 Conventions, **12:** 952-60;
21: 307-11; **30:** 288
 Detroit Woman's Club, **40:** 301
 Detroit WSA, **15:** 549
 District Franchise Association,
13: 295
 District of Columbia WSA,
26: 755; **27:** 1025; **28:**
 198; **31:** 198
 Ebell Society, Oakland, CA,
35: 671-72
 Edinburgh Women's Suffrage
 Society, **23:** 269-70
 Emma Willard Association reunion,
31: 735-36
 equal suffrage convention,
 Emporia, KS, **25:** 750-54
 Era Club, New Orleans, **43:**
 512-13
 Ethical Club, Rochester, **38:**
 1002-3
 Farmers' Alliance and Knights
 of Labor of South Dakota,
28: 391
 Farmers' Alliance of South
 Dakota, **27:** 556; **28:** 434
 for gospel suffrage, Cleveland,
32: 1148; **33:** 1-2
 for South Dakota amendment
 campaign, **27:** 556
 for suffrage, San Francisco,
34: 215-16
 for temperance and woman
 suffrage, Cleveland, **33:** 6
 Forum Club, San Francisco,
35: 688-89
 for woman suffrage, Atlanta,
33: 664-67
 for woman suffrage, Minneapolis,
27: 519
 for woman suffrage, Washington,
40: 937
 Frederick Douglass funeral
 services, **33:** 755-58
 Frederick Douglass memorials,
 Rochester, **36:** 879-82;
38: 770-76
 Free Religious Association,
29: 225
 Friday Morning Club, Los Angeles,
35: 632; **36:** 50
 Friends of Human Progress,
 North Collins, **10:** 550
 Friends of Human Progress,
 Waterloo, **8:** 907-21; **9:**
 690-712; **10:** 12-33
 Fulton County WSA, **23:** 832
 funeral services for Paulina K.
 W. Davis, **18:** 1005
 funeral services for Phebe H.
 Jones, **22:** 38
 General Federation of Women's
 Clubs, **30:** 184-92
 Grand Army of the Republic,
 Department of California and
 Nevada Encampment, **35:**
 715-16
 Greenback-Labor Party, National
 Conventions, **21:** 285-93
 Illinois Equal Suffrage
 Association, **25:** 67; **38:**
 927

- Anthony, Susan B.** (cont'd.)
 Illinois WSA, **1**: 474-76;
13: 325-52; **14**: 1101-2;
16: 30-38, 1041-43; **18**:
 118-20, 766-67; **44**: 311
 Indiana WSA, **14**: 854-57
 Indiana WSA joint meeting with
 NWSA of Indiana, **27**: 479-82
 informal suffragists' meeting,
 Chicago, **30**: 198-200
 International Congress of Women,
39: 1055-65
 International Council of Women,
26: 154-563; **39**: 927-1055;
44: 232, 234-67
 International Woman Suffrage
 Alliance, **44**: 229-32
 Iowa Equal Suffrage Association,
38: 839-58
 Iowa WSA, **26**: 925-28; **28**:
 772-79; **30**: 420-52
 Iroquois Club, San Francisco,
35: 1053
 Janesville WSA, **25**: 722-23
 Judean Club, Rochester, **43**:
 759-60
 Kansas amendment campaign,
31: 609-10; **32**: 790-94,
 811-14, 825-32
 Kansas Equal Suffrage
 Association, **25**: 755-63;
26: 949-55; **27**: 450-66;
28: 746-48; **38**: 859-60
 Kansas People's Party convention,
32: 898-904
 Kansas Republican Party
 convention, **30**: 295-302;
32: 881-82
 Kansas Republican Women's
 Association, **32**: 879
 Kansas State Temperance Society,
12: 459
 Kansas WCTU, **30**: 471-72
 Kings County Political Equality
 League, **32**: 504-11
 Ladies' Patriotic Meeting
 Against Foreign Luxury Imports,
10: 811-16
 Ladies' Spinner Memorial
 Association, **28**: 898, 992
 Liberal Congress of Religion,
37: 315; **38**: 862-64
 Liberal Party, National
 Conference, meeting of women
 delegates, **23**: 320
 Los Angeles County Suffrage
 League, **44**: 693-94
 Loyal Temperance Legion,
 Rochester, **39**: 884-86
 Maine WSA, **38**: 800-806
 Manchester National Society for
 Women's Suffrage, **23**:
 339-41
 Maryland WSA, **32**: 320-21
 Massachusetts Anti-Slavery
 Society, **8**: 1079-83; **10**:
 224-84
 Massachusetts NWSA, **26**:
 791-94
 Massachusetts WSA, **14**: 576-79
 mass temperance meeting at
 Albany, NY, **7**: 507-15
 mass temperance meeting at
 Syracuse, NY, **7**: 269-72
 McKinley and Hobart Club, San
 Rafael, CA, **35**: 1074
 Michigan Equal Suffrage
 Association, **30**: 163-65;
32: 212-17
 Michigan WSA, **15**: 431-33
 Minnesota WSA, **27**: 505-6;
37: 389-91
 Mississippi Valley Congress of
 Women, **33**: 978-80
 Missouri Equal Suffrage
 Association, **38**: 834
 Missouri WSA, **36**: 82-84
 Monroe County Prohibition Party,
18: 78
 Moral Education Association of
 Washington, DC, **23**: 23
 Multnomah County WSA, **15**: 815
 National Association of
 Stationary Engineers, Ladies'
 Auxiliary, **42**: 245-47
 National Conference of
 Unitarian and Other Christian
 Churches, **32**: 1077
 National Congress of Mothers,
42: 583
 National Council of Jewish Women,
38: 865
 National Council of Women, U.S.,
28: 1003-53; **30**: 174-79;
33: 685-738; **36**: 118-45;
37: 319-48; **38**: 866-905;
39: 531-41; **42**: 255-70,
 568-69; **43**: 497-511; **44**:
 502-18
 National Grange, **43**: 757-58
 National Greenback Ratification,
20: 364-67
 National Labor Union, **1**: 311;
13: 4-63, 655-68
 National Municipal League,
42: 3-16
 National Union of Women's
 Suffrage Societies, **39**:
 1069-91
 National WCTU, **22**: 115-16;
31: 698; **32**: 1141-46
 National WCTU Lake Bluff
 Training School and
 Convocation, **24**: 1062-63
 National Woman's Rights
 Convention 1852, **7**: 322-427
 National Woman's Rights
 Convention 1854, **8**: 68-84
 National Woman's Rights
 Convention 1856, **8**: 803-11
 National Woman's Rights
 Convention 1858, **8**: 1124-47
 National Woman's Rights
 Convention 1859, **9**: 278-301
 National Woman's Rights
 Convention 1860, **9**: 612-75
 National Woman's Rights
 Convention 1866, **11**:
 475-523
 National Woman Suffrage and
 Educational Committee
 convention, **3**: 24, 29;
15: 326-42, 345-50
 National Woman Suffrage
 Committee convention, **15**:
 1021-44
 Native Sons of Vermont
 Association of California,
35: 1054
 NAWSA business committee,
37: 123-26; **38**: 114-16;
39: 443; **40**: 288, 294;
41: 529-30
 NAWSA conference, Baltimore,
41: 13
 NAWSA conference, Buffalo,
42: 249-54
 NAWSA conference, Chicago,
37: 407-13
 NAWSA conference, Grand Rapids,
37: 425-30
 NAWSA conference, Indianapolis,
40: 281-88
 NAWSA conference, Madison,
37: 398-400
 NAWSA conference, Minneapolis,
37: 389-91
 NAWSA conference, Philadelphia,
35: 529-30
 NAWSA conference, Rochester,
38: 453-73
 NAWSA conference, Salt Lake City,
33: 1016, 1023-32; **34**: 1-14
 NAWSA conference, Toledo,
37: 440-40B
 NAWSA convention 1890, **28**:
 50-142
 NAWSA convention 1891, **29**:
 3-55
 NAWSA convention 1892, **29**:
 993-1015, 1025
 NAWSA convention 1893, **31**:
 200-305
 NAWSA convention 1894, **32**:
 326-486
 NAWSA convention 1895, **33**:
 643-44
 NAWSA convention 1896, **35**:
 304-445
 NAWSA convention 1897, **36**:
 744-844
 NAWSA convention 1898, **38**:
 109-232
 NAWSA convention 1899, **39**:
 722-839
 NAWSA convention 1900, **40**:
 829-935
 NAWSA convention 1901, **42**:

Anthony, Susan B. (cont'd.)

- 32-125
 NAWSA convention 1902, **42**: 446-538
 NAWSA convention 1903, **43**: 403-86
 NAWSA convention 1904, **44**: 45-136
 NAWSA convention 1905, **44**: 569-675
 NAWSA convention 1906, **44**: 894-905
 NAWSA executive committee, **33**: 4
 Nebraska constitutional amendment campaign, **22**: 715-16
 Nebraska WSA, **25**: 146; **26**: 967-75; **28**: 729-30; **32**: 1114; **38**: 907-9
 New England Woman's Club, **41**: 311-13
 New England Woman Suffrage Festival, **26**: 795-96; **29**: 215-24; **41**: 319-23
 New England WSA, **29**: 208-14; **41**: 315-18
 New York City & County WSA, **2**: 264, 361, 474; **14**: 515-16, 708-10
 New York City Equal Suffrage League, **43**: 745-47
 New York Monthly Meeting, Society of Friends, **11**: 395-96
 New York's 7th Congressional District, woman suffrage, **13**: 583
 New York State Anti-Slavery Society, **9**: 210, 519-20, 1085-95; **10**: 157-62, 385-89
 New York State Colored Men's Convention, **11**: 602-8
 New York State constitutional campaign, **31**: 822; **32**: 181-85, 187-88, 235, 245-46, 265-69, 305-13, 514-21, 528, 537-41, 547, 555-57, 564, 583-88, 590, 618, 629-31, 634-35, 640-41, 650, 685-87, 696-700, 703-6, 716-23, 730-36, 740-44, 748-50, 759, 764
 New York State county woman's rights conventions, **8**: 116-17, 123, 125-26, 128-29, 133, 150, 154, 199, 205, 235-38, 240; **9**: 370-73
 New York State Federation of Women's Clubs, **40**: 208-19
 New York State Grange, **38**: 81-82
 New York State Teachers' Association, **7**: 792-803, 1063-74; **8**: 260-75, 491-561, 972-84; **9**: 35-49, 356-69, 766-77; **10**: 52-63; **12**: 987-89
 New York State Temperance Society, **7**: 263-68
 New York State tour for equal rights, **11**: 739-40, 789-94, 800, 1059-61; **12**: 122-23
 New York State WCTU, **34**: 346-47
 New York State Woman's Rights Conventions, **7**: 844-54, 965-92; **8**: 277-80; **9**: 521-23
 New York State WSA, **2**: 19, 456; **13**: 598-608; **14**: 890-92; **18**: 768-76; **22**: 352-56; **24**: 951-55; **28**: 799-817; **29**: 497-506; **30**: 530-49; **31**: 740-71; **32**: 1117-38; **34**: 458-65; **36**: 92-96; **37**: 359-69; **40**: 190-96; **42**: 309-20; **43**: 728-41; **44**: 323-31, 737-54
 New York State WSA, executive committee, **31**: 429-33
 North Dakota WCTU, **28**: 600-609
 Northwestern WSA, **2**: 600, 610; **14**: 809-18, 1105-20
 NWSA anniversary meetings, **3**: 159, 173; **15**: 593-604; **16**: 101-11; **17**: 59-69; **18**: 10-15, 403-45, 768-76
 NWSA annual meetings, **20**: 313-56, 755-93; **21**: 189-215, 993-1011
 NWSA at Centennial, **18**: 859-65
 NWSA caucus in DC, **19**: 458
 NWSA convention 1873, **16**: 869-961
 NWSA convention 1874, **17**: 919-32
 NWSA convention 1875, **18**: 271-82
 NWSA convention 1877, **19**: 427-40
 NWSA convention 1879, **20**: 642-75
 NWSA convention 1880, **21**: 53-67
 NWSA convention 1881, **21**: 777-98
 NWSA convention 1882, **22**: 261-90
 NWSA convention 1883, **23**: 33-60
 NWSA convention 1884, **23**: 573-660
 NWSA convention 1885, **24**: 3-35
 NWSA convention 1886, **24**: 897-918
 NWSA convention 1887, **25**: 192-213
 NWSA convention 1888, **26**: 633-739
 NWSA convention 1889, **26**: 1044-85; **27**: 1-59
 NWSA final executive sessions, **28**: 43-45, 78
 NWSA founding, **13**: 534-36
 NWSA in Newport, RI, **2**: 66-67, 73-74; **13**: 669-737
 NWSA local, New York City, **1**: 596-97, 608, 614; **2**: 29, 45-46, 74-75, 83, 93, 109, 125, 197; **13**: 538, 550-51, 556-58, 572-77, 582, 586-87, 610-11, 623-24, 633-34, 744-47, 762-63, 818, 826-28, 856-57; **14**: 84-85, 130-32
 NWSA mass meeting for suffrage, **21**: 248-66
 NWSA meetings with state wsa, **21**: 270-78, 281, 296-99; **23**: 702-8; **25**: 18-21, 38, 43-48, 52, 56-60, 65
 NWSA of Indiana, **25**: 432-35
 NWSA of Indiana joint meeting with Indiana WSA, **27**: 479-82
 NWSA of Massachusetts, **24**: 116-20
 of employing printers, **1**: 454; **13**: 316-17
 of seamstresses at Rochester, NY, **7**: 190-93C
 Ohio WSA, **13**: 794-814; **16**: 1023-29; **24**: 274-75; **25**: 462-81; **27**: 205-7; **30**: 202-8; **32**: 785-87; **33**: 5; **34**: 401; **42**: 761
 on New York State school elections, **21**: 431
 Oregon Equal Suffrage Association, **35**: 796; **44**: 678
 Oregon Equal Suffrage Association, Woman's Congress, **35**: 791-94
 Pacific Coast Women's Press Association, **35**: 720-21, 910
 Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, **8**: 86; **11**: 227-32, 661-66
 Pennsylvania Equal Rights Association, **11**: 667, 883-84
 Pennsylvania WSA, **31**: 782-85
 Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, **11**: 546-55; **22**: 523-36; **24**: 312-53
 People's College Association, **7**: 433
 Peoria County, IL WSA, **2**: 304; **14**: 637-43
 Per Gradus Club, **40**: 303
 Political Equality Club of Chautauqua County, NY, **32**: 700

- Anthony, Susan B.** (cont'd.)
 Political Equality Club of Geneva, NY, **39**: 627; **44**: 543
 Political Equality Club of Monroe County, **38**: 824
 Political Equality Club of Rochester, **25**: 1024-25; **27**: 194-95, 256; **30**: 138, 218-19; **31**: 801; **33**: 502-7, 885-93; **34**: 546-50, 578-80, 813-14; **35**: 220-23, 278-79; **36**: 97-99, 162, 667-68, 927, 1030; **38**: 6, 941-43, 995-96; **40**: 129-30, 150, 228; **41**: 266; **42**: 385; **43**: 677-78, 753-54; **44**: 720-21, 794-95
 Political Equality Club of Syracuse, **38**: 352-53
 Political Equality Club of Warsaw, NY, **29**: 430
 Political Equality Club of Wyoming County, NY, **29**: 430
 Political Equality Clubs of Oakland, CA, **35**: 677; **36**: 13
 Political Study Club of the Oranges, **42**: 646-47
 Radical Club of Philadelphia, **16**: 162-63, 1015; **18**: 788-89
 Republican Party, National Conventions, **21**: 267-68; **26**: 807-9
 Rhode Island WSA, **14**: 1-20; **21**: 545-57; **23**: 1012-24; **36**: 154-56; **42**: 300-306
 Rochester Chamber of Commerce, **30**: 588, 633-37
 Rochester Council of Women, **38**: 1040-44; **39**: 493, 514-15; **40**: 123, 128, 148-49, 177-79, 706; **42**: 22, 423-24; **44**: 376, 427, 442, 723-24, 883
 Rochester Unitarian Church, **35**: 568
 Rochester WCTU, Eighth Ward, **29**: 276-78
 Salvation Army camp meeting, Oakland, CA, **35**: 898
 San Francisco Equal Suffrage League, **44**: 687-89
 San Francisco Republican Party rally, **35**: 966
 San Francisco Socialist Labor Party, **35**: 942-43
 Sewing Machine Operators Union, **1**: 338-39
 Sewing Women's Protective Union, Chicago, **11**: 215
 Six O'Clock Club, **26**: 1039-40
 Society for Ethical Culture of Philadelphia, Women's Section, **44**: 493
 Sorosis, **29**: 68-85
 South Dakota amendment campaign conventions, **28**: 365, 370-71, 430-31, 439, 441, 661-62
 South Dakota Equal Suffrage Association, **28**: 529-34
 South Dakota Press Association, **28**: 467
 St. Louis Women's National Suffrage Association, **20**: 807-9
 Stockton, CA, Republican Party rally, **35**: 1083-84
 Teachers' Institute, Monroe County, **30**: 642
 temperance meeting of women at Albany, NY, **7**: 145-51
 Terre Haute WSA, **21**: 300-303
 Toledo WSA, **32**: 224-27
 to mark execution of John Brown, **9**: 415
 Topeka Equal Suffrage Association, **34**: 233
 to protest outcome of Daniel McFarland's trial, **2**: 373; **14**: 774-801
 tour for American Anti-Slavery Society, **8**: 865-73, 885-900, 1006, 1010-11, 1025, 1041, 1049-75, 1091-98
 tour for personal liberty bill, **9**: 513-14, 517-18, 531
 Union League of America (Colored), Number 23, **1**: 202; **12**: 942
 Union WSA, **2**: 363-65, 368-69; **14**: 716-23
 Unitarian Club, San Francisco, **34**: 109-11
 Universal Franchise Association conventions, **2**: 236-38; **13**: 280-88; **14**: 540-55
 Universalist Association of New Hampshire, **38**: 814
 Universal Peace Union, **13**: 290-94; **18**: 387-400, 888-919
 Washington Territory WSA, **15**: 812-13
 West End Improvement Association, Rochester, **35**: 271-72
 Western WSA, **13**: 776-89
 Whole World's Temperance Convention, planning meeting, **7**: 703-9
 Winnesheik County WSA, **18**: 503
 Wisconsin WSA, **1**: 492; **13**: 404-7; **24**: 1133-56; **25**: 724-38; **27**: 483-92; **37**: 398-400
 Wisconsin WSA congressional district tour, **25**: 83-87, 101-2
 with Frederick O. Prince and Bird Club, **21**: 1046-48
 with John D. Long, **21**: 1046-48
 WLNL, **10**: 434-91, 503-9, 512, 522, 539-40, 546-47, 572, 800-805, 808-9
 Woman's Club of New Orleans, **24**: 169-70
 Woman's Congress of the Pacific Coast, **34**: 46-88; **35**: 728-43
 Woman's Congress of the Pacific Coast, Alameda County Branch, **34**: 119-20
 Woman's Day at Western New York State Fair, **29**: 439-40
 Woman's Peace Festival, Philadelphia, **18**: 793-801
 Woman's Relief Corps, No. 31, **39**: 850
 woman's rights convention at Boston, **8**: 282-84
 woman's rights convention at New York, NY, **7**: 818-22
 woman's rights movement anniversary, **2**: 553; **14**: 1002-51
 Woman's Suffrage and Protective Labor Association of Mount Vernon, NY, **1**: 299; **12**: 1009-10
 woman suffrage convention, Galena, IL, **13**: 413-16
 woman suffrage conventions, St. Louis, **1**: 491; **13**: 397-98, 844-52
 woman suffrage convention, Terre Haute, IN, **25**: 794-99
 woman suffrage meeting, Minneapolis, **30**: 225
 woman suffrage meetings, Omaha, **30**: 304-6
 Woman's Washington's Birthday celebration, Washington, DC, **41**: 28
 Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Rochester, **31**: 417-18; **44**: 722
 Women's New York State Temperance Society, **7**: 195-212, 434-42, 714-33
 Women's Temperance Union, Rochester, **17**: 1045, 1050
 Women's Typographical Union No. 1, **13**: 95
 Women Taxpayers' Association of Monroe County, **17**: 73-75, 235-38, 248-49, 258-59, 272-75, 393
 Worcester County North Anti-Slavery Society, **10**: 568
 Working Woman's Association, **1**: 299-300, 350, 431, 535, 551, 591, 597; **2**: 21, 77, 109, 125-26; **12**: 1011-14; **13**: 116-18, 129-30, 139-41,

- Anthony, Susan B.** (cont'd.)
 265-67, 308-9, 451-53, 493-94,
 539-40, 552-53, 562, 578-79,
 609, 756-60, 829-30, 858-59;
 14: 87, 517
 Working Woman's Association,
 Hester Vaughan meeting,
 13: 131-34
 Working Woman's Association No.
 1, 1: 307, 324; 13: 1-3,
 67-68, 75-76
 Working Woman's Association No.
 2, 1: 307-8, 316; 13:
 64-66, 69, 78-80
 Working Woman's Association
 Nos. 1 & 2, 13: 96-97
 Working Women's Protective Union,
 10: 573
 World's Temperance Convention,
 planning meeting, 7: 703-4
 World's WCTU, 31: 691-97
 Young People's Christian Union
 of Rochester, 42: 185-87
 Young Women's Christian
 Association, Rochester,
 38: 603-5
 Centennial Exhibition, 1876
 Fourth of July Celebration,
 18: 859-60
 International Council of Women
 preliminary to founding,
 23: 342-43
 Kansas Republican Party
 convention
 indignation meeting, 32:
 892
 mass meeting for equal rights
 at Lake Waccabuc, NY,
 12: 289-90
 Nebraska constitutional
 amendment campaign
 NWSA meeting for, 22:
 656-59
 New York City Woman's Suffrage
 Society
 Boston Tea Party Centennial,
 17: 449-52
 New York City Woman Suffrage
 League
 Pilgrim Mothers' Dinner,
 31: 826-35; 33: 49-55
 New York State WSA
 executive committee, 30:
 213-19; 32: 1140
 NWSA-AWSA merger
 committees on union, 26:
 1042-43
 preliminary conference,
 25: 1029-32; 26:
 746-51, 756-61
 NWSA local
 Concord, NH, 21: 1072-74
 Dover, NH, 21: 1069
 Hartford, CT, 21:
 1089-1101
 New Haven, CT, 21: 1103-8
 Philadelphia, 22: 304-15;
 25: 219-20
 Portland, ME, 21: 1064-68
 Providence, RI, 21:
 1049-62
 World's Columbian Exposition
 Board of Lady Managers,
 31: 712
 Congress of Education,
 31: 564-77
 Congress of Representative
 Women, 31: 449-72
 Congress on Government,
 31: 593-97
 Congress on Social Purity,
 31: 496
 Parliament of Religions,
 31: 615-53
 Public Press Congress,
 31: 478-84
 Religious Press Congress,
 31: 479-84
 Temperance Congress, 31:
 505-7
Anthony, Susan B., biographies and
 obituaries by
 "Anneke (Mathilde Franceska
 Giesler)," 20: 626
 "Anneke, Mathilde Franceska
 Giesler," 34: 857
 "Blake (Lillie Devereux),"
 20: 627
 "Bloomer (Amelia)," 20: 627
 "Bloomer, Amelia," 34: 858
 "Brown (Olympia)," 20: 628
 entries for *Johnson's New
 Universal Cyclopaedia*,
 20: 617-19, 624-35
 entries for *Johnson's
 Universal Cyclopaedia*,
 34: 857-58, 860, 862-64, 866
 "Grimké (Angelina Emily)," 20:
 629
 "Grimké (Sarah Moore)," 20:
 629
 "Hutchinson (Abby)," 20: 630
 "Lockwood (Belva Ann Bennett),"
 20: 631
 "Lockwood, Belva Ann Bennett,"
 34: 860
 "Longshore (Hannah Myers),"
 20: 631
 "Lozier (Clemence Hamed),"
 20: 631
 "Minor (Virginia L.)," 20:
 632
 "Mott (Lydia)," 20: 633
 "Rose (Ernestine Louise Lasmond
 Potowsky)," 20: 634
 "Rose, Ernestine Louise Susmond
 Potosk," 34: 862
 "Spencer (Sarah Andrews),"
 20: 635
 "Spencer, Sara (Andrews),"
 34: 863
 "Stanton (Elizabeth Cady),"
 20: 617
 "Stanton, Elizabeth (Cady),"
 34: 864
 "Thomas (Mary F. Myers),"
 20: 618
 "Thomas, Mary F. (Myers),"
 34: 866
 "Wells (Charlotte Fowler),"
 20: 619
 "Wright (Martha Coffin),"
 20: 624
 "Zakrzewska (Marie Elizabeth),"
 20: 625
Anthony, Susan B., birthday
 celebrations
 at New York, NY, 2: 268-70;
 14: 612-13
 at Rochester, 35: 578-79;
 41: 158-62; 43: 362;
 44: 456-61
 at Washington, DC, 28: 37-41;
 44: 907-12
 testimonial from friends in
 Great Britain, 41: 4-7
Anthony, Susan B., daybook
 1856 Nov-1860 Dec, 8: 620-784
Anthony, Susan B., diaries
 1838, 6: 133-66
 1839, 6: 198-240
 1854 ff. (with copybook), 7:
 879-936
 1855 (with copybook), 7:
 911-17
 1856 (extracts), 8: 347
 1857 (extracts), 8: 826
 1859 (extracts), 9: 202
 1860 (extracts), 9: 512
 1861-62 (extracts), 9: 975
 1865, 10: 928-1126; 11:
 1-129
 1867 (extract), 11: 870
 1868 (extracts), 12: 786
 1870, 14: 173-508
 1871, 15: 91-305
 1872, 15: 888-1009
 1873, 16: 617-813
 1874, 17: 491-894
 1875 (extracts), 18: 247
 1876, 18: 516-706
 1877, 19: 12-407
 1878, 19: 791-1012
 1879 (extract), 20: 638
 1881 (extracts), 21: 735
 1882 (extract), 22: 229
 1883, 22: 814-1221
 1884 (extract), 23: 450
 1885 (extracts), 23: 1120
 1886 (extracts), 24: 832-33
 1887 (extracts), 25: 143
 1888, 25: 869-1022
 1889 (extracts), 26: 1001
 1890, 27: 679-987
 1891 (extracts), 28: 895
 1892, 29: 655-964
 1893, 31: 3-195
 1894, 31: 879-1142; 32:

- 1-159
 1895, **33**: 80-497
 1896, **34**: 877-1005; **35**: 1-219
 1897, **36**: 247-651
 1898, **37**: 604-987
 1899, **39**: 13-442
 1900, **40**: 363-666
 1901, **41**: 649-897
 1902 (extracts), **42**: 405-7
 1903, **43**: 2-324
 1904, **43**: 816-1066
 1905 (extracts), **44**: 413-14
 1906, **44**: 812-61
- Anthony, Susan B.**, endorsements and advertisements
 advertisement for *HWS* 1-3, **24**: 624
 advertisement for *Revolution*, **12**: 799
 endorsement of New York State WSA, *Constitutional Amendment Campaign Year . . .*, **33**: 798
 endorsement of *San Francisco Call*, **35**: 756
 endorsement of *Woman Suffrage Defended . . .*, **24**: 354
- Anthony, Susan B.**, financial records
 accounts with Joseph White, **6**: 993-94
 note due Paulina K. W. Davis, **13**: 625
 receipt for Harper, *SBA*, **39**: 559
 receipt from Joseph White, **6**: 930
 receipt, Hovey Committee, **9**: 1140-41
 accounts with American Anti-Slavery Society
 1856 May-1857 May, **8**: 621-42
 1857 Sep-1858 Mar, **8**: 644-61
 1859 Jan-Mar, **8**: 662-63
 accounts with New York State Woman's Rights Committee
 1858 Jan-1860 Dec, **8**: 674-83
- NAWSA**
 accounts with, **36**: 869
 personal accounts
 1856 Dec-1859 Mar, **8**: 733-84
 1859 Jan-1860 Dec, **8**: 687-727
 1906 Feb 3-11, **44**: 892
 dates unknown, **8**: 730-31
- Revolution*
 accounts with Robert J. Johnston, **13**: 236-50
 South Dakota amendment campaign accounts for, **28**: 886-93
- Anthony, Susan B.**, inscriptions and autographs, **6**: 84; **13**: 137-38;
17: 38, 1011-14; **18**: 80, 205, 780; **19**: 463, 473; **20**: 693-94; **22**: 119; **25**: 458-59, 559; **29**: 253; **31**: 402; **34**: 383-85; **35**: 680-81; **36**: 857; **37**: 150-51, 995; **38**: 928; **39**: 864-65; **41**: 158, 160, 421, 966; **42**: 653, 720-21; **44**: 469
 in Harper, *SBA* 1, **39**: 524; **40**: 15; **43**: 744
 in Harper, *SBA* 1-2, **38**: 1032-34; **39**: 604-5, 681-82, 877-78; **44**: 547-48, 759-60
 in *HWS*, **29**: 230; **38**: 1035
 in *HWS* 1, **21**: 1063; **33**: 498; **34**: 552; **43**: 744, 762-63; **44**: 701
 in *HWS* 1-3, **32**: 262-64; **34**: 378-80, 836-38; **43**: 581-83; **44**: 470; **45**: 400-402
 in *HWS* 1-4, **43**: 667-70; **44**: 704, 761-64, 771-74
 in *HWS* 2 and 3, **26**: 833-34
 in *HWS* 3, **27**: 576
 in *HWS* 4, **43**: 353-60, 531, 559-60, 579-80, 604, 609-10, 634, 666, 814; **44**: 775; **45**: 415
- Anthony, Susan B.**, interviews,
16: 159; **18**: 114-15; **19**: 605-6; **20**: 914-16; **24**: 241, 857; **25**: 153, 473-75; **26**: 752; **27**: 568; **28**: 26-27, 31, 356; **29**: 228, 347, 439, 1080; **30**: 162, 180, 364, 568; **32**: 799-802, 838; **33**: 515, 535-38, 981-82, 999-1000; **34**: 15, 35, 37-38, 41, 155, 162, 190, 237-38; **35**: 450-51, 452, 531-33, 534, 861; **36**: 86-87, 176, 663, 709-11; **37**: 60-61, 72, 392, 410, 419, 425; **38**: 304, 749-50, 839, 926-27; **39**: 501, 720-21, 852, 1066; **40**: 54-55, 180-85, 279, 726; **41**: 13, 15, 391, 601, 898; **42**: 31, 126, 539, 621, 708; **43**: 348, 399-401, 487-88; **44**: 160, 488-89, 510, 565, 567-68, 676, 680-81, 684-86, 690, 695
 about Anna E. Dickinson, **33**: 914
 about Brigham H. Roberts, **39**: 470, 485; **40**: 243
 about Ida B. Wells, **33**: 943
 about Mary S. Anthony, **36**: 993-94; **41**: 903
 about Phoebe W. Couzins, **35**: 782; **36**: 1007
 about Queen Victoria, **40**: 9-11, 344
 conversation with Horace Greeley, **2**: 78; **13**: 761
 in Columbus, OH, **26**: 917-20
 in New Orleans, **24**: 204-5
 in Toledo, **23**: 1001
- on American WSA, **22**: 605
 on anti-suffragists, **33**: 976; **38**: 972; **39**: 597
 on article by Grover Cleveland, **44**: 522
 on Beecher-Tilton affair, **18**: 62, 70-71, 87
 on birthday, **35**: 572-73; **36**: 883; **41**: 955; **44**: 472, 474
 on birth rate, **34**: 187, 203
 on California amendment campaign, **35**: 612, 630, 634, 650, 757, 835, 877, 941; **36**: 40-42, 60, 68, 708
 on California amendment campaign defeat, **36**: 69, 80, 90-91
 on California Democrats, **35**: 801, 805
 on California Republicans, **35**: 747, 753
 on California trip, **33**: 943
 on Charles W. Eliot, **35**: 277
 on Christmas gifts, **40**: 340
 on citizenship of women, **44**: 294
 on co-education, **29**: 448; **42**: 692
 on co-education at University of Rochester, **38**: 619-20
 on Colorado insanity rate, **40**: 247
 on color line at General Federation of Women's Clubs meeting, **41**: 392
 on Congress, **28**: 42; **35**: 551; **40**: 820; **45**: 380
 on congressional suffrage committees, **23**: 507
 on Congress of Representative Women, **31**: 446
 on cross-country trip, **34**: 36
 on current work (1899), **40**: 280
 on defeats in Kansas and New York, **32**: 1147
 on Democratic Party, **21**: 312-13
 on departure for Europe, **23**: 113, 118-20
 on departure from California, **34**: 219
 on donation to Library of Congress, **43**: 347, 390, 394
 on dress reform, **33**: 983-84
 on early courtships, **35**: 836
 on early life, **31**: 549; **32**: 487
 on ECS birthday, **34**: 444
 on election for school commissioners, **31**: 720
 on election results, **23**: 1003
 on Empress Auguste Viktoria, **44**: 271-72, 285
 on English suffragists, **40**:

Anthony, Susan B. (cont'd.)

- 14
- on European trip, **23**: 410
- on German people, **44**: 268
- on good health, **33**: 543
- on her biography, **34**: 302;
37: 381-82
- on her illness, **34**: 278-79
- on *History of Woman Suffrage*,
42: 759; **43**: 642; **44**:
159
- on ideal newspaper, **31**:
485-86
- on immigration, **40**: 278
- on International Council of
Women, **26**: 40, 574; **42**:
220
- on Kansas amendment campaign,
32: 823-24, 878
- on Kansas co-workers, **32**: 833
- on Kansas election, **25**: 410,
496
- on Kansas politics, **32**: 1111,
1113; **34**: 236, 254-55
- on Kansas populists, **32**:
916-18
- on Kansas Republicans, **32**:
891
- on Kansas Republican Women's
Association, **32**: 880
- on Kansas suffrage strategy,
34: 231
- on Kansas temperance, **34**:
228-30
- on lecturing, **20**: 434
- on Liberal Republican party,
16: 94-94A
- on Lyman Abbott, **43**: 696
- on management of war, **38**: 767,
769
- on marriage, **31**: 874; **38**:
386; **42**: 622
- on meeting for territorial
expansion, **39**: 849
- on midwestern tour, **37**: 478;
40: 311-12
- on municipal suffrage, **27**:
171
- on National Council of Women,
33: 764-65, 797; **44**: 501
- on national politics, **20**: 410
- on National WCTU, **22**: 116
- on NAWSA conferences, **37**: 420
- on NAWSA meetings, **35**: 282,
287-88, 534, 554; **36**: 860;
38: 100-101; **39**: 719
- on Nebraska campaign, **22**: 606,
739
- on new departure, **15**: 684
- on New Orleans trip, **33**: 544;
43: 521
- on new woman, **33**: 977
- on New York Republicans, **32**:
1072
- on New York State campaign,
33: 943
- on New York State
constitutional campaign,
32: 189, 228, 272, 304, 322,
633, 701-2, 709, 777
- on New York State
Constitutional Convention 1894,
32: 850, 871, 962, 997,
1010-11, 1017
- on New York State elections,
37: 380
- on New York State suffrage,
24: 940; **30**: 133; **39**:
461
- on New York State teachers'
convention, **38**: 649
- on New York State WSA, **28**:
798; **31**: 739; **42**: 321
- on NWSA meetings, **16**: 868;
21: 772; **23**: 565
- on organizing women, **39**: 848
- on plans for coming year,
27: 648-50; **34**: 147
- on political parties, **26**: 811
- on presidential campaign,
21: 356
- on presidential candidates,
16: 164
- on President Roosevelt, **44**:
493-94
- on Prohibition party, **41**: 403
- on Republican campaign, **16**:
370
- on Republicans, **21**: 237;
30: 272, 303, 482
- on retirement from NAWSA
presidency, **40**: 154, 805
- on return from Europe, **23**:
352
- on Rochester Council of Women,
39: 484; **42**: 334
- on Rochester newspaper, **35**:
594
- on Rochester school board,
39: 511; **43**: 699
- on *San Francisco Chronicle*,
36: 71
- on school suffrage, **21**: 105
- on Senator Reed Smoot, **43**:
340; **44**: 455
- on South Dakota amendment
campaign, **27**: 558; **28**:
677-78
- on Southern tour, **33**: 510,
549-51
- on striking laundry workers,
44: 692
- on suffrage amendment, **19**:
466
- on suffrage campaigns, **32**:
499-500
- on suffrage in South Dakota,
38: 925
- on suffrage in Utah, **33**: 1022
- on suffrage movement, **25**: 147;
37: 375; **38**: 435
- on Tammany Hall, **32**: 1093
- on teachers' salaries, **43**:
748
- on teaching patriotism, **38**:
667
- on travel, **34**: 186, 232,
239-40; **39**: 592
- on trip to England, **40**: 53,
61
- on trip to Europe, **39**: 851
- on trip west, **38**: 929
- on U.S. Senate vote on suffrage,
25: 214
- on voting, **42**: 869
- on war, **39**: 863
- on *Woman's Bible*, **34**: 870
- on Woman's National Liberal
League, **28**: 9
- on woman suffrage, **13**: 817;
14: 161, 1074; **15**: 715,
819; **21**: 52, 989; **22**: 604;
23: 427, 715, 739-40; **25**:
207-8; **31**: 383; **33**: 975;
34: 39-40; **35**: 785, 790;
36: 198, 845; **37**: 431
- on women's progress, **29**:
461-64
- on work in Syracuse, **38**: 83
- on World's Columbian Exposition,
27: 1044; **31**: 325

Anthony, Susan B., lectures
answering objections to woman
suffrage, **15**: 735-37,
799-800, 820
at A.M.E. Zion Church, San
Francisco, **34**: 204-5;
35: 726
at Atlanta University, **33**:
662-63
at Bryn Mawr College, **42**: 645
at Cassadaga Lake Free
Association, **29**: 340-41;
32: 1023-24; **45**: 388-90
at centennial of Samuel J.
May's birth, **37**: 302-9
at Cornell University, **13**:
434
at Dr. Strong's Sanitarium,
Saratoga Springs, **32**:
1073-74
at farewell meeting for Laura
O. D. Chant, **26**: 801-6
at Fisk University, **37**:
317-18
at gospel temperance meeting,
Leavenworth, **27**: 141
at Kansas State Normal School,
Emporia, **26**: 956
at Lafayette College, **23**: 385
at memorial service for Abraham
Lincoln, **11**: 178-79
at Mormon Tabernacle, Salt Lake
City, **33**: 1015, 1017-20
at Rochester Business University,
35: 569-71
at Sanitarium, Battle Creek,
30: 166

- Anthony, Susan B. (cont'd.)**
 at Stanford University, **34**: 90
 at State Normal School, San Jose, CA, **34**: 149
 at Tuskegee Institute, **43**: 518-19
 at University of Michigan, **32**: 210-11
 at University of Minnesota, **37**: 396-97
 at unveiling of statue of Sacajawea, **44**: 677
 at WCTU, Lakeside Chautauqua Assembly, OH, **34**: 273-74
 "Benefits of Organization," **31**: 489
 "Bread and the Ballot," **20**: 644-51
 "Business Women: Their Rights and Duties," **35**: 569-71
 "Capital and Labor," **25**: 84-85
 "Church and the Liquor Traffic," **7**: 645-83
 Colorado suffrage campaign, **19**: 540, 547, 566
 "Constitutional Argument," **17**: 428; **18**: 69
 debates in California amendment campaign, **35**: 703-4
 debates with Edward Rosewater in Nebraska campaign, **22**: 672-81
 debates with Edwin C. Hewett on woman suffrage, **2**: 312; **14**: 646-47, 680-81
 "Degradation of Disfranchisement," **25**: 794-95, 797-99
 "Educating the Sexes Together," written with ECS, **8**: 445-48, 498, 500-561, 819-22, 860-61, 874, 1078
 "Expediency," **7**: 738-68
 "False Theory," **2**: 615; **14**: 1061-62, 1069, 1141, 1144-46, 1159
 for California amendment campaign, **36**: 39, 46, 51-54, 59
 for Grant campaign, New York, NY, **16**: 497-500
 for gubernatorial campaign of James S. Wadsworth, **10**: 304-50
 for Judean Club, Rochester, **41**: 265
 for Kansas amendment campaign, **32**: 1095, 1102-5, 1112
 for Labor Lyceum, Rochester, **38**: 436-37
 for mayoral race of Daniel R. Anthony, **27**: 133-34, 139-40, 148, 150, 158
 for National Society for Women's Suffrage meeting, **23**: 181-86
 for Political Equality Club, Rochester, **27**: 569-70; **29**: 1081-82
 for Press Association, New Orleans Exposition, **24**: 189-91
 for Rochester Unitarian Church, read by M. S. Anthony, **30**: 154-61
 for South Dakota amendment campaign, **27**: 534, 538, 544, 547-48, 552; **28**: 320, 338, 413, 686, 716
 for Woman's Century Club, Seattle, **35**: 788
 for Woman's Columbian Exposition Association, Cincinnati, **31**: 437-38
 for Woman's Day, Chautauqua Assembly, **41**: 410-12
 for Women's New York State Temperance Society, **7**: 221-33, 238-48, 273-97, 313, 525-59, 565-67, 573-75, 581-84, 586-88, 596-640, 644-84, 686
 "Homes of Single Women," **19**: 607-89, 1013; **20**: 264
 in Adrian, MI, **18**: 124-25
 in Aiken, SC, **33**: 672
 in Amenia, NY, **1**: 516
 in Atchison, KS, **11**: 206
 in Athens, OH, **20**: 408
 in Battle Creek, MI, **31**: 397
 in Bay City, MI, **31**: 386-87
 in Birmingham, AL, **33**: 545-46
 in Boulder, CO, **33**: 1001
 in Byron Center, NY, **26**: 843
 in Carbondale, IL, **18**: 375
 in Clinton, IA, **15**: 534
 in Columbia, SC, **33**: 673-74
 in Columbus, OH, **15**: 425-26
 in Concord, NH, **21**: 1077-78
 in Council Bluffs, IA, **15**: 390; **16**: 90
 in Crete, NE, **19**: 592-93
 in Dayton, OH, **14**: 120
 in Denver, CO, **33**: 1002-4
 in Des Moines, IA, **15**: 406; **18**: 743
 in Detroit, MI, **31**: 382
 in East Saginaw, MI, **18**: 131
 in Evanston, IL, **14**: 843
 in Evansville, IN, **25**: 438-39
 "Influence of the Press on Woman's Progress," **25**: 119
 in Fond du Lac, WI, **18**: 383
 in Grand Rapids, MI, **15**: 354-55; **31**: 395
 in Holyoke, MA, **29**: 229
 in Huntsville, AL, **33**: 547
 in Indianapolis, **20**: 433
 in Jackson, MI, **18**: 127-28
 in Jefferson, MO, **27**: 118
 in Jonesville, MI, **18**: 121
 in Kansas City, MO, **32**: 835-36
 in Lafayette, IN, **15**: 541; **25**: 455
 in Lansing, MI, **18**: 129-30; **31**: 396
 in Lawrence, KS, **15**: 359
 in Lincoln, VA, **33**: 777-79
 in Los Angeles, **34**: 152-54, 179
 in Manchester, England, **44**: 290
 in Marion, OH, **20**: 700
 in Memphis, TN, **33**: 533-34
 in Mercer, PA, **17**: 58
 in Milwaukee, WI, **25**: 721
 in Minneapolis, **20**: 256
 in New York, NY, **1**: 414-15
 in Niles, MI, **18**: 126
 in Oakland, CA, **34**: 188-89
 in Omaha, NE, **15**: 661-62; **45**: 372
 in Ottumwa, IA, **15**: 495
 in Owensboro, KY, **20**: 889; **33**: 531
 in Pasadena, CA, **34**: 159-61
 in Philadelphia, **33**: 792
 in Plymouth, NH, **20**: 697
 in Pomona, CA, **34**: 163-64
 in Portland, ME, **38**: 794-98
 in Portland, OR, **15**: 816-17; **44**: 677
 in Prairie City, IL, **2**: 296
 in Reno, NV, **34**: 30
 in Riverside, CA, **34**: 156-58
 in Salem, OH, **15**: 423
 in Salem, OR, **15**: 738
 in Salt Lake City, UT, **33**: 1021
 in San Diego, CA, **34**: 176
 in San Francisco, **34**: 191-92
 in San Jose, CA, **15**: 706; **34**: 148
 in Seattle, WA, **15**: 810
 in Sioux City, IA, **15**: 653
 in South Manchester, CT, **17**: 983
 in Star Course, Philadelphia, **14**: 1144-46
 in Star Course, St. Louis, **18**: 368-74
 in Sunday Lecture Society Course, Chicago, **18**: 757
 in theater, Salt Lake City, **33**: 1015, 1021
 in Toronto, Canada, **27**: 565-67
 in Uhrichsville, OH, **20**: 407
 in Victoria, Canada, **15**: 801-3
 in Walla Walla, WA, **15**: 754
 in West Side, CA, **34**: 149
 in Willimantic, CT, **17**: 981
 in Woman's Hospital Association Series, Saginaw, MI, **31**: 385
 in Young Men's Association

Anthony, Susan B. (cont'd.)

- Course, Council Bluffs, 18: 744
- "Is It a Crime for a U.S. Citizen to Vote?" 16: 869-79, 1016, 1029, 1041-43, 1046-47; 17: 39-42, 83, 92-94, 96-97, 181-95
- "Judge Taney," 9: 163-83
- "Maine Law," 7: 596-640
- "Make the Slaves Case Our Own," 8: 1049-69
- "Moral Influence vs. Political Power," 25: 102, 152-54; 31: 488-89; 35: 696-97; 39: 884-86
- "Moral Leadership of the Religious Press," 31: 480-81
- Nebraska constitutional amendment campaign, 22: 682, 688
- "New Situation; or, Women Already Voters," 15: 506, 725-28, 830-34
- "No Government," 8: 886-900
- on arrest, 16: 577
- on co-education at University of Rochester, 29: 347
- on Kansas Republicans, 32: 890
- on Northern treatment of Negro, 9: 163-83
- on reconstruction, 11: 189, 207
- on rights and wrongs of woman, 7: 1075-1113; 8: 1-59
- on sixteenth amendment, 14: 602
- on slave-holding constitution, 9: 184-99
- on temperance, 7: 525-59; 9: 723; 19: 470; 20: 426
- on universal suffrage, 11: 211-12
- on woman's rights, 8: 64, 343
- on woman suffrage, 2: 187; 14: 127-29
- "Power of the Ballot," 15: 364, 404, 502, 542, 545, 667-68, 671, 690-95, 707, 723, 785-86, 797-98; 16: 68; 17: 13; 18: 207-11
- "Reconstruction," 11: 190-98
- "Relations of Woman to the Temperance Cause," 18: 209-10
- "Sixteenth Amendment," 18: 1094-96; 19: 470, 472, 482; 23: 997-1000
- "Social Evil," 3: 474; 15: 729, 836-37
- "Social Evil and Woman's Rights," 18: 365
- "Social Purity," 18: 344-54, 368-74, 487, 512, 707-8
- South Dakota State Fair, Woman's Day, 28: 589-90
- "Statement of Society," temperance, 7: 532-59
- "Suffrage for Women," 33: 516
- "Temperance and Moral Purity," 20: 259
- "Temperance and Social Purity," 18: 361-63, 1060-61
- to Ann Arbor Women's League, 30: 201
- to Art League, Leavenworth, 32: 811-12
- to Century Club, San Francisco, 34: 117-18
- to Chautauqua Assembly, 29: 321-23
- to club women, Los Angeles, 44: 691
- to colored citizens, Macon, MO, 12: 372
- to cooking class, Rochester, 41: 264
- to Daughters of Temperance, Canajoharie Union, 6: 880-88
- to Farmers' Festival, Venice, NY, 38: 749-50
- to Free Religious Association, Providence, 21: 576
- to Girls' Central High School, New Orleans, 24: 158-59
- to Girls Helping and Sharing Club, Rochester, 38: 1036
- to Girls' High School, San Francisco, 34: 117-18
- to Girls' Outlook Club, Chautauqua, NY, 30: 363
- to Graduates' Association, Buffalo, 30: 567
- to Grand Rapids Trades Assembly, 18: 102-3
- to Lincoln Club, Rochester, 22: 787-89
- to Merchants' Exchange, St. Louis, 20: 794-95
- to Penn Yan Teachers' Association, 9: 723
- to Philadelphia Normal School for Girls, 31: 784-85
- to Political Equality Club of Syracuse, 32: 186
- to Portia Club, New Orleans, 33: 539-42
- to Reform Club, Concord, NH, 21: 1088
- to Rochester Central Presbyterian Church, 40: 66
- to Rochester Second Presbyterian Church, 40: 245-46
- to Seidl Society, Brooklyn, 27: 417-18
- to teachers, New Orleans, 24: 206-7
- to teachers, San Francisco, 34: 116-18
- to Twentieth Ward Political Equality Club, Rochester, 32: 942-44
- to Union Agricultural Society fair, 9: 857-916
- to Universal Franchise Association of DC, 2: 615; 14: 1141
- tour for emancipation, 10: 290
- tour for impartial suffrage, Kansas, 12: 374-441, 570
- tour for Kansas Republican Party, 30: 477-79, 496
- tour for woman suffrage, 1869, 13: 408, 419
- tour with George F. Train, 1: 1-2; 12: 590-600, 605-10, 615-33, 637-41, 645-50
- to Virginia WSA, Richmond, 14: 1142-43
- to Western Reserve Club, Cleveland, 23: 994-95
- to working women, Chicago, 14: 822
- "True Woman," 9: 423, 435-500, 723
- unidentified, 18: 244
- unidentified, ca. 1880s, 44: 1028
- unidentified event in Rochester, 40: 360
- unidentified extracts, 32: 874, 1082
- Unitarian service, San Francisco, 35: 696-97
- "What Is American Slavery?" 8: 1070-74
- "Why Temperance Women Should Vote," 29: 276-78
- "Woman and Social Purity," 18: 786-87; 19: 691-92
- "Woman Movement," 29: 519-20
- "Woman's Legal Right to Vote," 16: 1017
- "Woman's Suffrage, Work and Wages," 1: 535; 13: 437-44
- "Woman Wants Bread, Not the Ballot," 18: 361-63, 366-67, 475, 488, 737-38, 749-50, 757, 760, 1102; 19: 562-63, 580, 594, 1014; 20: 250, 254, 258-60, 426, 435-36, 447-48, 684, 711-13, 716, 728, 746, 897-98; 21: 50-51, 127, 132, 379, 432, 576, 578, 732, 1090; 23: 994-95; 24: 208-10, 225, 239; 27: 92, 528, 557; 44: 1020-27
- "Women and Temperance," 28: 679
- "Work and Wages," 18: 102-3
- "Workingman and His Strikes," 19: 538-39

- "Work, Wages, and the Ballot," 2: 317-18; 14: 626-29, 645, 674, 688, 690-92; 21: 1
- Anthony, Susan B.**, legal papers
estate of Humphrey Anthony, 8: 1039-40
grant of rights to features and name, 29: 427-29
partnership agreement, *HWS*, 18: 1081-84
real estate, 8: 1122; 9: 241, 1148; 11: 217, 394; 19: 542-44; 24: 247-50; 45: 391-93, 396, 403-4, 406-8, 410-12, 414, 416
will, 44: 4-8
incorporations
 Anthony Fund for the Enfranchisement of Women, 41: 35-39, 44-46
 National Council of Women, U.S., 29: 1-2
 NAWSA, 28: 272-80
- Anthony, Susan B.**, legislative testimony
Connecticut General Assembly, Joint Committee on Woman Suffrage, 39: 588-90
Delaware General Assembly, Joint Session, 21: 800-801
Indiana General Assembly, 36: 854-56
Iowa State Senate, 36: 837-40
New York State Assembly, Committee on Constitutional Convention, 25: 223
New York State Assembly, Judiciary Committee, 17: 972-75; 30: 69-71
New York State Assembly, Select Committee, 7: 1014-24
New York State Constitutional Commission, Suffrage Committee, 16: 990
New York State Constitutional Convention 1867, Suffrage Committee, 12: 260-64
New York State Constitutional Convention 1894, Suffrage Committee, 32: 853-57
New York State Senate, Judiciary Committee, 36: 983-84
U.S. House and Senate Committees on the District of Columbia, 2: 239-41; 14: 556-62
U.S. House Committee on the Judiciary, 3: 24; 15: 332-34, 341-50; 17: 929, 947-49; 21: 69, 84-95; 23: 685-88; 24: 921-24; 28: 17-25; 29: 1016-27; 32: 490-98; 35: 438, 465-522; 38: 204, 224, 243-44, 269-70; 44: 137
- U.S. House Select Committee on Columbian Exposition, 31: 199
U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 15: 1027-28, 1033, 1039-42, 1048-58; 21: 69-83
U.S. Senate Select Committee on Woman Suffrage, 22: 287-88, 292-95; 23: 667-80; 26: 577-94; 27: 60-80; 28: 3-8; 29: 1028-52; 40: 950-54, 956-1000, 1036-42; 42: 545-66; 44: 137-58
Washington Territorial Legislature, 15: 793-94
- Anthony, Susan B.**, manuscript writings
 "Auxiliary Societies of the A. W. S.," 22: 520-21
- Anthony, Susan B.**, memorials, petitions, appeals
 appeal to New York State Senate, Select Committee, 7: 1015-24
 appeal to petition for woman suffrage in Territory of Hawaii, 39: 468-69
 petition for domestic science exhibit to U.S. Senate, 33: 733-34, 768-69
 petitions transmitted to New York State Constitutional Convention 1867, 12: 266-81
 petition to Benjamin Harrison, 28: 322-23
 petition to U.S. Senate for inebriate asylum in DC, 28: 220-24
 for AERA
 appeal, "... to the People of the United States," 12: 225
 memorial to Congress, 11: 692-93, 873-74
 petition to New York State Senate, 11: 871-72, 882
 for American Purity Alliance
 "Appeal to Queen Victoria," signed, 37: 256
 for National Council of Women, U.S.
 "Address to the Organizations of Women in the United States," 26: 965-66
 memorial to William McKinley, 38: 496
 for National Woman's Rights Committee
 appeal to sign petitions to Congress, 11: 243
 petitions to Congress, 11: 296
 petitions to U.S. House, 11: 326-29
 petitions to U.S. Senate, 11: 309, 885-87
 for National Woman Suffrage and Educational Committee
 "Appeal to the Women of the United States," 15: 556-59
 "Declaration and Pledge of the Women of the United States," 15: 371-73
 for NAWSA
 address to Democratic Party, National Convention, 30: 289-90
 address to presidential nominating conventions, 44: 282-84
 address to Republican Party, National Convention, 30: 223-24
 appeal, "To All Who Believe in 'The Citizen's Right to Vote,'" 36: 1019-20, 1030
 appeal to celebrate the Fourth of July, 28: 411
 "Lucy Stone Birthday Memorial Fund," 32: 737
 "Lucy Stone Kansas Fund," 32: 632
 memorial to Congress on behalf of women of Hawaii, 39: 508, 728-29
 reply to anti-suffragists, 40: 949
 solicitation for funds, South Dakota amendment campaign, 28: 218
 for New York State Personal Liberty Committee
 appeal, "Send in the Petitions," 9: 216
 for New York State Woman's Rights Committee
 "Appeal to the Women of New York," 9: 941-44
 "Woman's Rights. Circulate the Petition," 7: 1049, 1052
 for New York State Woman's Rights Convention
 appeal, 8: 294
 for New York State WSA
 Appeal to Women Voters, 21: 381
 "Ho! For the Million Petition," 32: 319
 protest against re-election of Governor Lucius Robinson, 20: 853-54
 for NWSA
 addresses to Democratic Party, National Conventions, 21: 308-11
 addresses to Greenback-Labor Party,

Anthony, Susan B. (cont'd.)

National Conventions, **21**: 292-93
 addresses to Republican Party, National Conventions, **21**: 251, 257-58, 267-69; **26**: 810
 "Address . . . to the National Democratic Convention," **18**: 830-40
 "Address . . . to the National Republican Convention," **18**: 814-21
 appeal, "Address . . . to the Friends of Equal Suffrage for Woman," **20**: 382
 "Appeal for a Sixteenth Amendment," **18**: 1070-72
 appeal, "Stand By the Republican Party," **23**: 816-18
 appeal to suffragists for data on members of Congress, **22**: 117-18
 appeal to women to celebrate the Fourth of July, **21**: 433, 726
 "Grant and Wilson. Appeal to the Women of America," **16**: 269-71
 memorial to Benjamin Harrison, **26**: 817-26
 memorial to Rutherford B. Hayes, **20**: 678-81
 memorial to U.S. House and Senate for declaratory act on woman's right to vote, **16**: 962-64, 991
 memorial to U.S. House and Senate for sixteenth amendment, **20**: 687-90
 memorial U.S. House and Senate to secure right to vote in District of Columbia, **18**: 721-27, 758-59
 "New Appeal . . . to Roll Up Mammoth Petitions to the New Congress," **19**: 490-93
 petitions to U.S. Congress, **19**: 698-99
 petitions to U.S. House, **21**: 224-27
 petitions to U.S. House and Senate for declaratory act on woman's right to vote, **15**: 841-44, 1077
 petitions to U.S. House and Senate for protection of women, **17**: 911-17
 petitions to U.S. Senate, **21**: 128-30; **22**: 291
 "Protest Against the Unjust Interpretation of the

Constitution," **25**: 715-19
 signer to petition to U.S. Congress, **17**: 943
 for WNL
 appeal for funds, **10**: 820
 appeal for petitions, **10**: 711, 724, 738-39
 appeal, "Mammoth Petition," **10**: 737
 appeal, "One Million Petitioners!" **10**: 741
 appeal, "Prayer of One Hundred Thousand," **10**: 746-49
 for Woman's Suffrage Association of America
 "Address," **1**: 361; **13**: 119
Anthony, Susan B., miscellaneous forms and ephemera, **6**: 479; **7**: 217, 483; **16**: 613; **18**: 777-79; **26**: 1033; **38**: 835-38; **44**: 375
Anthony, Susan B., notes
 itinerary to San Francisco, **15**: 625
 on Southern tour, **33**: 658
Anthony, Susan B., notices
 "Anthony Fund," **41**: 271
 for NWSA, **14**: 147
 NAWSA, solicitation for funds, **32**: 751
 NWSA, means to make bequest, **25**: 90
 of death of Phebe H. Jones, **22**: 33
 of informal meeting in Chicago, **30**: 197
 of thanks for birthday party, **2**: 270
 on gift from Elizabeth R. Thompson toward *HWS*, **21**: 473
 program suggestions for ECS birthday celebration, **43**: 695
 request for return of her letters, **36**: 1034-35
 South Dakota amendment campaign
 acknowledgement of donations, **27**: 1084; **28**: 219, 254, 300, 355, 684
Anthony, Susan B., published articles
 "About Me and Mine," **2**: 375
 "Achievement of Woman," **43**: 330
 "Another of H. G.'s Crotchets," **16**: 526
 "Answer to Cardinal Gibbons's Sermon," **40**: 823
 "Answer to Women Suffrage Questions," **35**: 853
 "Appeal to Young Women," **32**: 196-209

"Ballot Versus Hatchet," **41**: 967
 "Best Books of the Year," symposium, **41**: 626-27
 Cable message to American press from Berlin, **44**: 233
 cake recipe, **43**: 812
 "Campaign of the Women," **35**: 707
 contribution to a symposium, **42**: 392
 "Democracy and a Suffrage Plank," **35**: 799
 "Democrats and Woman Suffrage," **35**: 783
 "Des Moines School Elections," **3**: 198
 "Disruption of the Home Not Threatened," **44**: 186
 "Does Know Its Mother!" **2**: 232
 "Don't Give Up the Ship," **19**: 601
 "Don't Know Its Mother!" **2**: 225
 "Do Women Deserve Equal Suffrage?" **35**: 744-45
 "Educating Husbands," **42**: 182-83
 "Enfranchisement Will Enoble the Home," **36**: 38
 entry for *Johnson's New Universal Cyclopaedia*, **20**: 620-23
 entry for *Johnson's Universal Cyclopaedia*, **34**: 867-69
 "Equality of Rights," **39**: 5
 "Equal Suffrage Easily Carries the Day," **35**: 754
 "... Exasperated by President's Pronunciamento," **43**: 388-89
 "Fifty Years of Woman's Progress," **41**: 215
 "Fifty Years of Work for Woman," **41**: 8-9; **43**: 671-72
 "Forced on Men, Denied to Women," **35**: 970-71
 "Growth of Woman Suffrage Sentiment," **35**: 876
 "History," **19**: 469
 "History of Woman Suffrage from 1848 to 1877," **20**: 384, 415, 430, 445-46, 699, 725, 740, 752, 820, 825, 837-39, 871, 894, 908; **21**: 2-3, 103, 112, 162-63, 247, 383, 428, 515, 622-23, 727-28, 864-67
 "Hopeful for Suffrage," **35**: 749-50
 "How to Keep Young," **34**: 220-27
 "Humility of Disfranchisement" **35**: 967
 "Ideal Husband," **42**: 161-62
 "If Hysteria Bars, Then Who Will Vote?" **35**: 897

Anthony, Susan B. (cont'd.)

- "If Women Came to Congress, What Would Be the Result?" 34: 472-73, 475
- "Increase of Membership," 43: 633
- "International Council," 26: 110
- "Is Woman Inferior to Man?" symposium, 40: 235-36
- "Kind of Women Against Suffrage," 35: 932
- "Last Plea for the Sixth Amendment," 36: 67
- "Let Us Carry the War Into Africa," 3: 205
- "Liberal Party at Salt Lake," 3: 230
- "Liberty to Another," 35: 999
- "Man Will Some Day Recognize Woman as His Peer," 44: 286
- "Men and Women; Their Province in the Household," 42: 649-50
- "Men, Women, and Events: The Outlook for Woman Suffrage," 41: 259
- "Miss Anthony in Oregon," 3: 309
- "Miss Anthony Is Confident," 35: 751-52
- "Mormons and the Revolution," 1: 509
- "My Battle in Court for Having Voted," 35: 1101-2
- "National Woman Suffrage Association," 20: 266
- "Natural Right," 35: 917
- "Necessity of Woman Suffrage," 35: 774
- "New Association," 2: 181
- "New Century's Manly Woman," 41: 47
- "New Lecturer," 1: 330
- "Not Yet," 2: 109
- "Ohio Woman Suffrage Association," 2: 100-101
- on Brigham H. Roberts, 40: 242
- on close of century, 40: 808-9
- "One Campaign Ended, Now for the Next," 35: 837
- "... on 'The Call's' Attitude Toward Woman Suffrage," 35: 727
- Open letter to readers of *Woman's Tribune*, 40: 325
- Open letter to Thomas B. Reed, 39: 464
- "Opinions on School Suffrage," a symposium, 38: 387-88
- "Part of the Women in the Campaign," 35: 909
- "Pertinent Answers to Puzzling Questions," 35: 1006-7
- "Philosophy of Woman Suffrage," 35: 951
- "Plea for Equality," 34: 565
- "Political Women," 41: 544
- "Predicts a Victory for Woman Suffrage," 35: 789
- "Printers Strike," 1: 463
- "Progress of Equal Suffrage, 1838-1901," 42: 544
- report to NAWSA on work with national conventions, 41: 381-89
- "Responsibility of the Individual," 35: 1022
- "Results of Forty Years, A Retrospect," 40: 174
- "Right and Expediency of Woman Suffrage," 36: 9
- "Shout from S. B. A.," 2: 522
- "Status of Woman, Past, Present, and Future," 37: 39-46; 38: 556-63
- Story of Her Life as Told to M. A. Hamm, 33: 517-19, 524-26
- "Suffrage Campaigns Now and Many Years Age," 35: 1056
- "Summing Up of the Divorce Problem Symposium," 42: 910-11
- "Susan B. Anthony Argues for a Vote," 35: 718
- "Susan B. Anthony's Joyful New Year's," 36: 654-55
- symposium on true womanhood, 35: 1055
- Thanksgiving sentiments, 25: 89
- "Union of Sorosis and the Press," 1: 511
- "Universal Hearing Must Carry Conviction," 35: 755
- Views on woman and the bicycle, 39: 6
- "Violation of Law," 35: 944
- "Voice of Woman for Enfranchisement," 36: 55-56
- "Wendell Phillips and a Friend Indeed," 1: 26
- "What Is the Chief Danger . . . That Confronts the New Century?" symposium, 41: 628
- "What I Would Have Done With a Bad Husband," 42: 168-70
- "What Next," 19: 602
- "What the Ballot Can Do for Women," 35: 1089
- "Where the Shoe Pinches," 1: 262
- "Who Killed Cock Robin?" 1: 594
- "Why Should Not a Woman Be President of the United States?" symposium, 30: 375
- "Why Some Marriages Are Failures," 42: 188-89
- "Why We Are Hard Up . . .," 34: 551
- "Will Leave Them No Chance to Escape," 35: 811
- "Woman," 40: 357
- "Woman Awakening," 3: 240
- "Woman's Half-Century of Evolution," 42: 930-40
- "Woman's Rights," 20: 620-23
- "Woman Suffrage and the Constitution," 36: 10
- "Woman Suffrage an Inherent Right," 36: 49
- "Woman Suffrage Campaign Opens," 35: 827
- "Woman Suffrage Must Be Non-Partisan," 35: 929
- "Woman Surgeon's Victory," 20: 429
- "Woman's Work for Suffrage," 35: 854-55
- "Woman to Have the Ballot," 41: 625
- "Women and Chinese Voters," 41: 550
- "Women and the Century," 41: 48-49
- "Women of Hawaii: Woman Suffrage in Our New Possessions," 39: 500
- "Women Out in the World Because of No Vote," 40: 756
- "Women Should Wake Up," 39: 467
- "Women's Rights," 34: 867-69
- "Women's Sympathies Have Been Alienated," 35: 814
- "Working Woman," 2: 287-88
- "Wrongs of Man," 42: 192-93
- Anthony, Susan B.**, receptions at National Woman Suffrage Parlors, 18: 822, 829
- at Parker House, Boston, 24: 137
- at testimonial in Rochester, 16: 2
- at White House, 26: 567
- for Annie E. K. Bidwell, 44: 682-83
- for delegates to NWSA meeting, 18: 20
- for Lucretia C. Mott, 18: 932
- for Mary S. Anthony, 36: 1001-2
- in Berlin, Germany, 44: 273-77
- in Chicago, 3: 197
- in Council Bluffs, IA, 44: 567
- in Omaha, NE, 44: 567
- in San Diego, 34: 177
- in San Francisco, 3: 502; 15: 838-39
- in St. Louis, 22: 746
- in Washington, DC, 29: 1057
- of Chicago Political Equality

- League, **42**: 30
 of Chicago Woman's Club, **26**: 815-16; **44**: 566
 of Citizens' Suffrage Association, **23**: 113-17
 of Cook County WSA, **15**: 634-35
 of District of Columbia WSA, **29**: 997, 1053-55
 of Ebell Society, Oakland, CA, **34**: 119
 of Fort Scott Equal Suffrage Association, **25**: 772-73
 of Frances H. Müller, London, **23**: 175
 of Friday Morning Club, Los Angeles, **36**: 50
 of New York City Woman Suffrage League, **31**: 774
 of New York City Woman Suffrage Society, **18**: 1026
 of Nineteenth Century Club, Memphis, **33**: 534
 of Omaha Council of Jewish Women, **38**: 906
 of Political Equality Club of Rochester, **29**: 240, 444-48; **31**: 326; **39**: 680
 of Rochester WCTU, **29**: 542
 of Society for Political Study, **39**: 453-54
 of suffragists in Peoria, IL, **14**: 630-31
 of Toledo WSA, **23**: 1002
 of Wimodaughsis, **29**: 116
 of Women's Educational and Industrial Union, San Francisco, **35**: 698-99
Anthony, Susan B., remarks, **33**: 1016
 at birthday celebration of Lewis H. Smith, **44**: 561
 at dinner for New York press, **13**: 425-28
 at Frederick Douglass memorial exercises, **42**: 540
 at lecture by Anna E. Dickinson, **1**: 357; **13**: 114-15
 at lecture by Anna H. Shaw, **35**: 638-39
 at lecture by Charlotte A. P. Stetson, **36**: 695
 at lecture by Clara D. B. Colby, **39**: 862
 at lecture by Harriot E. S. Blatch, **40**: 790
 at lecture by Helen M. J. Gougar, **25**: 793
 at lecture by Henry Edgar, **13**: 554
 at lecture by Ida B. Wells, **33**: 905-6
 at lecture by Margaret A. Haley, **43**: 331
 at lecture by Parker Pillsbury, **9**: 1131
 at meeting to protest Negro disfranchisement, Rochester, **43**: 536
 at memorial service of Maude M. S. Humphrey, **36**: 918
 at New Century Club, Philadelphia, **43**: 749-52
 at New York State Federation of Women's Clubs luncheon, **36**: 693
 at St. Louis WCTU banquet, **33**: 985
 at Thirtieth Street Methodist Church, New York, **1**: 614; **13**: 580
 at wedding of Adelaide Johnson, **35**: 523
 at woman suffrage festival, Rochester, **32**: 1016
 in Cheyenne, WY, **15**: 666
 in mayoral race of Daniel R. Anthony, **27**: 149
 in Philadelphia, **44**: 781-82
 in Salt Lake City, **3**: 240
 on financial independence, **41**: 558
 on interview with President Roosevelt, **44**: 777
 on labor support for woman suffrage, **40**: 796
 to *Union Signal* editor and staff, **24**: 1132
 NAWSA business committee meeting conversations with co-workers, **37**: 144
Anthony, Susan B., statements about prudence and thrift, **29**: 187
 "Do Women Still Favor War?" **38**: 698
 for Rochester newspaper, **35**: 665
 of thanks for birthday greetings, **28**: 157
 of Thanksgiving, **40**: 265
 on American Federation of Labor, **40**: 302
 on Anthony Fund, **40**: 763-64
 on appointment to State Industrial School Board, **30**: 638
 on Brigham H. Roberts, **40**: 244
 on California amendment campaign, **35**: 640, 838, 1103
 on California amendment campaign defeat, **36**: 70
 on California Democrats, **35**: 802
 on California political conventions, **35**: 810
 on California prison mutiny, **37**: 47
 on California Republicans, **35**: 983
 on Carrie S. B. Kilgore, **23**: 443
 on Charles W. Eliot, **35**: 293
 on clergy and divorce, **44**: 524
 on co-education, **39**: 626
 on co-education at University of Rochester, **38**: 615
 on Congress of Representative Women, **31**: 448
 on death of ECS, **42**: 825-26, 845
 on death of Frances E. C. Willard, **38**: 286
 on death of Matilda J. Gage, **38**: 359-60
 on death of Parker Pillsbury, **38**: 648
 on death of Sarah B. I. Cooper, **36**: 161
 on death of Wendell Phillips, **23**: 571
 on donation to Library of Congress, **43**: 402
 on ECS retirement from NAWSA, **30**: 182
 on Hawaiian government bill, **41**: 258
 on Helen K. Johnson, *Women and the Republic*, **37**: 116-17
 on her biography, **38**: 784
 on Idaho political conventions, **35**: 985
 on International Council of Women, **39**: 875; **40**: 5-6
 on Kansas and New York suffrage campaigns, **32**: 210-11
 on Kansas Republicans, **32**: 883
 on Kansas voters, **35**: 457
 on management of war, **38**: 788
 on marriage proposals, **33**: 675
 on marriage rate, **42**: 425
 on New Hampshire suffrage campaign, **43**: 350
 on new NAWSA strategy, **38**: 272
 on New Orleans Exposition, **24**: 181
 on New York State Constitutional Convention 1894, **32**: 851
 on New York State suffrage bill, **40**: 765; **41**: 1046
 on presidential campaign, **21**: 382
 on Prohibition party, **26**: 836
 on public schools, **33**: 24
 on reports of her retirement, **34**: 403
 on retirement from NAWSA presidency, **40**: 189, 746, 801, 828
 on Rochester Council of Women, **38**: 1039
 on suffrage, **35**: 631; **44**:

- 136
on suffrage and temperance, 22: 812
on suffrage in Wyoming, 40: 826
on territorial constitutions, 39: 883
on the new woman, 41: 404
on trial of Agnes Brown and Edith Duval, 33: 805
on trial of Marie Barberi, 34: 277
on Woman's Congress of the Pacific Coast, 34: 102
on woman suffrage in England, 40: 59
on women as school board members, 40: 85-87
on women's moral power, 34: 871
on Wyoming's women politicians, 30: 181
- Anthony, Susan B.**, unidentified writings
about centennial celebration, 1876, 18: 842
about Julia S. Parker and Lucretia Mott, 21: 104
about Kansas People's Party, 32: 992
about WCTU, 22: 120
on ECS birthday address, 34: 457
on Ellen B. Dietrick, 34: 553
on Grover Cleveland, 44: 755
on raspberry experiment, 9: 273
on voting, 16: 533
- Anthony, Susan B.**, verse and toasts
toast at wedding of Anna E. Dann, 42: 770
- Anthony family**
letter(s) from SBA, 6: 118-22, 131-32, 581-84, 606-11, 619-30, 635-44, 654-57, 876-79; 8: 65, 286-87, 295-96, 348-49; 9: 820-23; 10: 378-79, 541; 43: 723-24
other letters
from Anthony, Daniel R., 10: 287-89
from Anthony, Jacob M., 8: 415-17
from McLean, Aaron M., 6: 537-44
from McLean, Guelma P. A., 6: 537-44
- Anthony Family Reunion**
SBA attends, 37: 127-31, 140-43
- Anthony Fund for the Enfranchisement of Women**
about, SBA statement, 40: 763-64
incorporation of, SBA, 41: 35-39, 44-46
- Antioch, IL**
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 117
- anti-slavery meetings**
at Boston
SBA attends, 8: 901-3
at Easton, NY
SBA attends, 9: 211
New York State tour
call to, 9: 1056
ECS and SBA attend, 9: 978-1024, 1057-59
ECS attends, 9: 1028-55
SBA attends, 9: 1064, 1077-79
- Appleton, WI**
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 5: 514-20
- Arcola, IL**
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 118
- Argersinger, Catherine Wells**
inscription(s) from ECS, 42: 642-43
- Arizona**, *See* Brigham City
- Arkansas**, *See* St. Francis County
- Arlington, IL**
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 119-20
- Armstrong, Mr.**
letter(s) from ECS, 44: 985
- Armstrong, J. W.**
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, 21: 65
- Armstrong, William W.**
letter(s) to SBA, 40: 92
- Armstrong & Co.**
letter(s) from SBA, 21: 706
- Army and Navy Republican League**
meetings of
SBA attends, 35: 977
- Arrowsmith, IL**
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 121
- Arthur, Chester Alan**
appeal from NWSA, SBA, 22: 748
- Arthur, IL**
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 122
- Ash, Samuel Shinn**
letter(s) from SBA, 41: 147
- Ashley, IL**
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 123-26
- Ashtabula, OH**
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 5: 77
statement(s) in, SBA, 34: 403
- Assing, Ottilia**
letter(s) from SBA, 11: 379-80
- Association for the Advancement of Women**
Woman's Congress
ECS attends, 17: 314-92
ECS signs call to, 17: 294-99
- Association internationale des femmes**
"Adresse aux nations belligerantes," ECS as signer, 14: 899-901
receipt for dues, ECS, 13: 854
receipt for dues, SBA, 13: 853
- Association pour le droit des femmes**
membership in
for SBA, 16: 613
- Atchison, KS**
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 706
SBA lectures, 11: 206
- Atchison County, KS**
real estate transactions, SBA, 8: 1122; 9: 241
- Athens, OH**
SBA lectures, 20: 408
- Athey, Eunice Pond**
letter(s) to SBA, 36: 715-27, 877
report on Idaho work, 36: 717-27
- Athol, MA**
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 829-32
- Atkinson, J. H.**
article(s) in *Revolution*, 1: 340
letter(s) to *Revolution*, 1: 331, 451, 599-600
- Atkinson, Thomas**
letter(s) to ECS, 21: 1007
- Atlanta, GA**
interview(s) in, SBA, 33: 549-51
Boys' High School
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, 33: 610
meeting for woman suffrage
SBA attends, 33: 664-67
NAWSA convention 1895
SBA attends, 33: 643-44
- Atlanta University**
SBA lecture, 33: 662-63
- Atlantic, IA**
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 535
- Atwell, Elizabeth M.**
article(s) in *Revolution*, 1: 139, 359
letter(s) to *Revolution*, 1: 243
letter(s) to SBA, 1: 162
- Auburn, IN**
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 454
- Auburn, NY**
interview(s) in, ECS, 37: 60-61
interview(s) in, SBA, 37:

- 60-61
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1288-90
 anti-slavery tour
 SBA attends, **9:** 1078-79
 county woman's rights convention
 ECS and SBA attend, **8:**
 199
 state constitutional campaign
 meeting
 SBA attends, **32:** 740-42
 Auclert, Marie Anne Hubertine
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
23: 631; **45:** 381-82
 letter(s) to SBA, **26:** 174,
 542-43, 545; **43:** 800; **45:**
 381-82
 Audubon, IA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 536
 Augspurg, Anita Johanna Theodora
 Sophie
 letter(s) to SBA, **40:** 7;
43: 801
 Augusta, KS
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 707-9
 Augusta, MI
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 887
 Augusta, WI
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 521
 Auguste Viktoria, Luise Feodora
 Jenny, Deutsche Kaiserin, Königin
 von Preussen
 about, SBA interview, **44:**
 271-72, 285
 SBA remarks at reception given
 by, **44:** 273-77
See also Posadowsky-Wehner,
 Graf Arthur Adolf von
 Aurora, IL
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 127
 Aurora, NE
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1169
 state constitutional amendment
 campaign
 SBA lectures, **22:** 688
 Aurora, OR
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 227
 Austin, MN
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1054
 Avery, Alida Cornelia
 letter in support of NWSA,
 "Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 868
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 319
 letter(s) to SBA, **19:** 513,
 545-46; **23:** 116
 Avery, Cyrus Miller
 letter(s) from SBA, **33:** 56
 other letters
 from Anthony, Mary S.,
 33: 56
 Avery, Delia
 letter in support of NWSA,
 "Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 871
 Avery, Julia Foster
 letter(s) from SBA, **41:** 289
 Avery, Miriam Alice Foster
 inscription(s) from SBA, **41:**
 966
See also Foster, Miriam Alice
 Avery, Rachel G. Foster
See also Foster, Rachel G.
 incorporation of National
 Council of Women, U.S.,
29: 1-2
 letter(s) for SBA, **34:** 235
 letter(s) from SBA, **26:**
 957-60; **27:** 235-40, 553-55,
 572-75, 577-83, 620-21, 635-43,
 988-89; **28:** 737-41, 757-61,
 838-41, 960-66; **29:** 142-46,
 574; **31:** 337; **33:** 16, 56,
 793-96, 868-77, 884, 894-96,
 903-4; **34:** 526-33, 854;
36: 167-69, 669, 685-86, 692,
 696, 852-53, 861-63, 867-70,
 872-73, 889-92, 899-904,
 907-11, 923-25, 935-39, 944,
 948-51, 973-80, 990-92, 995,
 1021, 1060-62, 1071-74,
 1085-87, 1091-94; **37:** 23-28,
 65-70, 74-75, 100-105, 109-12,
 165-66, 177-78, 184-85, 189,
 191, 201-2, 210-13, 233-35,
 237, 255, 257-59, 266-69,
 270-72, 280-85, 293-95, 356-57,
 370-73, 376-79, 401-3, 406,
 414-15, 435-38, 441-44, 453,
 470-71, 474-75, 479-82, 489-98,
 507-12, 523-24, 541-46, 566-70,
 996-99, 1003-8, 1027-29,
 1033-34, 1037-48, 1055-59,
 1076-79, 1083-86; **38:** 7-11,
 33-34, 38-40, 58-61, 79-80, 99,
 318-19, 323, 334-38, 341-44,
 361-62, 370-71, 383-84, 389-91,
 397-402, 412-17, 432-33,
 450-51, 527-34, 579-89, 608-11,
 616-17, 632-35, 646-47, 712-13,
 754-55, 758-61, 766, 785-86,
 789-90, 807, 819-20, 822-23,
 944-48, 1005-6, 1020-22;
39: 497-99, 631-34, 701-2,
 708, 854-56, 893; **40:** 260-63,
 738-39, 743-44, 766-68, 783-87;
41: 244-47, 249-50, 336-37,
 433-34, 447, 482-84, 518-19,
 562-63; **43:** 351; **44:** 374,
 933
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 640-41, 679-82, 687-88,
 731-33, 750-52, 776, 780;
40: 80
 letter(s) to SBA, **32:** 839;
37: 296-98, 384-86, 395, 424,
 432-34, 449-51, 472-73, 485-88,
 499-501, 540, 558-60, 575-78,
 1000, 1016-17, 1025-26,
 1081-82; **38:** 50-53, 70-71,
 87, 313, 339-40, 347-49,
 354-55, 365-67, 382, 392, 407,
 411, 449, 549, 606-7, 613,
 815-16, 829-30, 933, 1037-38;
39: 489-90; **42:** 831,
 839-40, 864-65
 co-author
 NAWSA, addresses to
 Democratic Party,
 National Convention,
 30: 289-90
 NAWSA, addresses to
 Republican Party,
 National Convention,
 30: 223-24
 other letters
 from Anthony, Mary S.,
 33: 56
 from Harper, Ida A. H.,
 37: 266-69
 to Willard, Frances E. C.,
 30: 362
 Avery, Rosa Miller
 letter(s) to SBA, **28:** 40
 Avery, Susan Howes Look
 letter(s) to SBA, **43:** 681-82
 Avilla, IN
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 455
 Axtell, Margaret
 letter(s) from SBA, **28:**
 989-91

• B

- Babcock, Elnora E. Monroe
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
40: 73-74
 Babcock, Joseph Weeks
 letter(s) to SBA, **41:** 72
 Babcock, Marion
 letter(s) to *Revolution*,
2: 376-77
 Bacon, Anna Osborne Anthony
 letter(s) from SBA, **42:**
 722-23
See also Anthony, Anna Osborne
 Bacon, Augustus Octavius
 letter(s) to SBA, **40:** 699
 Bacon, Leon Brooks
 letter(s) from SBA, **42:**
 722-23
 Bagby, Fannie M.
 letter(s) to SBA, **23:** 590-91
 Bailey, Hannah Clark Johnston
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,

- 36: 775
- Bailey, Will F.
letter(s) from SBA, 28:
563-72, 591-98, 619-25, 660,
670-75
- Baines, Edward, Jr.
letter(s) from ECS, 13:
456-57
- Baird, Absalom
other letters
to Baird, Mrs. Absalom,
11: 136-41
- Bajer, Matilde
letter(s) to ECS, 26: 549-50
- Baker, Delphine Paris
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 287
- Baker, Ellen K.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
2: 194
- Baker, Ellen T.
arrest for illegal voting with
SBA, 16: 602; 17: 76
- Baker, Henry Anthony
letter(s) from SBA, 42: 330
letter(s) to SBA, 44: 734
- Baker, Lucien
letter(s) to SBA, 42: 780-81
- Baker, William
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
31: 258
- Balderston, William
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
33: 560, 625, 632
- Baldwin, Charles Hume
letter(s) to ECS, 31: 335-36
- Baldwin, Elizabeth Cady McMartin
letter(s) from ECS, 23: 166
- Baldwin, Em. L.
article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 304, 312
- Balgarnie, Florence
letter(s) to SBA, 29: 59
- Ball, Alexander Rawson
letter(s) from SBA, 41:
234-36
- Ballard, Adelaide
letter(s) from SBA, 44: 454
- Ballard, Harlan Hoge
letter(s) from SBA, 44: 302
- Ballot Box
letter(s) to editor from ECS,
18: 999; 19: 459, 552
letter(s) to editor from SBA,
18: 870, 1045; 19: 548-49,
597
- Baltimore, MD
interview(s) in, SBA, 41: 13
SBA lectures, 16: 1016
NAWSA convention 1906
SBA attends, 44: 894-905
NAWSA suffrage conference
SBA attends, 41: 13
Woman's Suffrage Club of
letter to SBA, 44: 459
- Bangor, ME
SBA lectures, 8: 874
- Bangor, WI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 522
- Banks, Mrs. A.
letter(s) to SBA, 12: 276-77
- Baraboo, WI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 523
- Barber, Amos Walker
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
31: 246
- Barber, Julia Louisa Langdon
incorporation of Anthony Fund
for Enfranchisement of Women,
41: 35-39, 44-46
- Barberi, Marie
about, ECS statement on trial of,
34: 241
about, SBA statement on trial of,
34: 277
- Barcalow, Theresa
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 754-5
- Barden, M. Le
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 90
- Barker, Helen Morton
letter(s) to SBA, 27: 1027;
28: 182
- Barker, Moses
letter(s) from SBA, 28: 261
letter(s) to SBA, 28: 270
- Barker, Rachel
letter(s) to SBA, 2: 51
- Barnard, Helen M. *See* Editor,
Woman's Campaign
- Barnard, L. E.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
2: 253
- Barnes, Anna M. C.
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 733, 780-81
- Barnes, Sarah R.
letter(s) to SBA, 10: 461
- Barnes, Thurlow Weed
letter(s) from ECS, 20:
826-28
- Barnett, Ida Bell Wells *See* Wells,
Ida Bell
- Barr, Caroline H.
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 319
- Barrau de Muratel, Caroline
Françoise Coulomb de
letter(s) to ECS, 25: 80-81
- Barre, MA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 833
- Barrows Brothers & Co.
letter(s) from SBA, 44: 422
- Barry, Cora
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 516
- Barry, Francis
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 124, 139, 286
letter(s) to ECS, 14: 1070
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 34, 193; 2: 10-11
letter(s) to SBA, 1: 523
- Barry, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 128-29
- Barry, Leonora Marie Kearney
letter(s) to SBA, 28: 40
- Bartlett, Caroline Julia
letter(s) from SBA, 31:
838-40; 33: 57
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 782
See also Crane, Caroline
Julia Bartlett
- Bartlett, Charles LaFayette
letter(s) to SBA, 40: 729
- Bartol, Emma Jemima Welchman
letter(s) from SBA, 42:
176-77
- Barton, Clara
See also Hines, M. A.
incorporation of National
Council of Women, U.S.,
29: 1-2
letter(s) from ECS, 13:
475-77
letter(s) from SBA, 13:
482-83; 18: 989-93, 1033-41;
20: 307-9; 21: 841-47,
1116-18; 22: 83-86, 90-91,
105-6, 132-33, 616-20; 23:
18-22; 25: 297-99, 1033-41,
1081-84; 26: 753-54; 27:
600-611; 28: 470-76; 38:
949-50, 977-78; 41: 944-45,
1052-53; 42: 248, 592-94,
894; 43: 336-37, 619-20, 643,
662
letter(s) to ECS, 1: 572;
13: 486-87; 25: 739-42
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
18: 273, 276
letter(s) to SBA, 1: 572;
11: 513; 13: 486-87;
18: 1022-25, 1043-44; 20:
317; 24: 6, 33, 35; 25:
268-69, 300; 28: 508-10;
31: 315-16; 39: 630;
41: 948-49; 42: 584, 608,
909; 43: 652-54, 679-80
letter(s) to Universal Franchise
Association conventions,
14: 541
*Johnson's New Universal
Cyclopaedia*
draft entry for, 18:
1024-25
other letters
from Upton, Harriet T.,
43: 791
- Bascom, Emma Curtiss
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
23: 59; 24: 8, 22, 908

- Bascom, Jane
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 535
- Bascom, John
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 550-52
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **21**: 248
- Bass, Mrs. George
letter(s) from SBA, **44**: 15-16
- Batavia, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 130
- Batavia, NY
SBA lectures, **7**: 221-33
county woman's rights convention
SBA attends, **8**: 128
- Bates, Mrs. Lou J.
letter(s) from SBA, **23**: 557-61, 963-65
- Bates, Redelia
interview(s) with ECS, **2**: 533
- Bath, NY
county woman's rights convention
SBA attends, **8**: 116-17
state constitutional campaign
meeting
SBA attends, **32**: 685-87
- Battersea, Lady Constance de Rothschild Flower
letter(s) to SBA, **43**: 802
- Battle Creek, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 888-92
- Battle Creek Sanitarium
SBA lectures, **30**: 166
- Battle Creek Woman's Club
SBA lectures, **31**: 397
- Bayard, Tryphena Cady
letter(s) from ECS, **20**: 750
- Bay City (MI) Equal Suffrage Association
SBA lectures, **31**: 386-87
- Beach, Robert K.
letter(s) to SBA, **38**: 614
- Beach City, OH
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 78
- Beacon, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 893-94
- Beatty, Mary
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 672-73
- Beaver, TX
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 473
- Beaver, UT
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 476-87
- Beaver Dam, WI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 524-25
- Bebe, F. T.
article(s) in *Revolution*, **1**: 211
letter(s) to *Revolution*, **4**: 538
- Beloit, KS
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 711-12
- Belvidere, NJ
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 1239-42
- Bemis, J. H.
article(s) in *Revolution*, **1**: 66-67
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 33
- Benedict, Lewis, Jr.
letter(s) to ECS, **9**: 1112
- Bennett, Alice
letter(s) to SBA, **24**: 502
- Bennett, Sarah Lewis Clay
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 795
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 769
letter(s) to ECS, **21**: 239
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **25**: 204
letter(s) to SBA, **21**: 167-70, 185-86; **23**: 581
- Bennett, W. L.
letter(s) from ECS, **2**: 280
letter(s) to ECS, **2**: 280
- Bentley, Emerson
article(s) in *Revolution*, **2**: 272
- Bentley, Sarah M. Williams
letter(s) from SBA, **41**: 582-83
- Benton, Joel
letter(s) from SBA, **13**: 323-24
- Benton, Mary
letter(s) to *Revolution*, **1**: 33
- Benton Harbor, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 899-901
- Berea, OH
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 79-80
- Bergen County, NJ
real estate transactions, ECS, **12**: 876-83; **17**: 2-4; **25**: 482-87
- Berkeley (CA) Republican Clubs rally
SBA attends, **35**: 893-94
- Berkshire County (MA) Historical and Scientific Society
meetings of
letter from SBA, **34**: 271-72
SBA attends, **37**: 127-38
- Berlin, Germany
interview(s) in, SBA, **44**: 268, 271-72, 285
International Council of Women
meeting of, SBA attends, **44**: 232, 234-67
International Woman Suffrage
- 1**: 268, 319, 334, 340, 354, 404, 515
- Becker, Lydia Ernestine
letter(s) to ECS, **22**: 711; **23**: 324
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **20**: 782; **21**: 250, 263
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 580; **2**: 29; **13**: 81-90, 120-25; **15**: 634-35; **17**: 85; **18**: 870; **19**: 438, 541; **20**: 320; **21**: 171-78; **22**: 272, 654; **23**: 54, 623; **25**: 206
articles by
"Appeal of an Englishwoman to Men of Colorado," **19**: 541
- Bedford, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 537
- Bedford Station, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 895-97
- Bedminster, PA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 332
- Beecher, Catharine Esther
letter(s) to ECS, **14**: 771-73
- Beecher, Henry Ward
letter(s) from ECS, **14**: 686
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 554; **11**: 888-91
letter(s) to National Woman Suffrage Committee convention, **15**: 1025, 1038
letter(s) to SBA, **11**: 575
other letters
from Tilton, Theodore, **2**: 369; **14**: 722
to Tilton, Theodore, **2**: 369; **14**: 722
- Beecher, Thomas Kinnicut
letter(s) to SBA, **9**: 434
- Beecher-Tilton affair
interviews about, ECS, **16**: 609; **18**: 67, 72-73
interviews about, SBA, **18**: 62, 70-71, 87, 447
- Beedy, Helen Coffin
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **36**: 775
- Behrens, Helen L.
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 625-26
- Bell, John Calhoun
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **32**: 389, 473
letter(s) to SBA, **41**: 88
- Bellevue, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 898
- Bellevue, NE
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 1170-71
- Belmond, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,

- Alliance
meeting of, SBA attends,
44: 229-32
reception with Empress Auguste
Viktoria
SBA attends, **44**: 273-77
Woman's Industrial Congress of
letter from ECS, SBA, et
al., **2**: 109; **13**:
826-28
- Berlin, WI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 526
SBA lectures, **19**: 692
- Berlin Heights, OH
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 81
- Berrien Springs, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 902-3
- Berry, Marguerite Marie
announcement of marriage to
Theodore W. Stanton, **21**:
976
letter(s) from ECS, **21**:
930-32
See also Stanton, Marguerite
Marie Berry
- Besant, Annie Wood
letter(s) to ECS, **22**: 749;
28: 930-31; **29**: 301-2, 544
letter(s) to SBA, **23**: 334
- Beschwitz, Anna Maria Olga von
letter(s) to SBA, **43**: 743,
798
- Bethany, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 131
- Bettelheim, Bernard Jean
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 444
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 428
- Beveridge, Albert Jeremiah
letter(s) to SBA, **41**: 137;
44: 373
- Beverly, MA
SBA lectures, **8**: 1078
- Bewick, May
letter(s) from SBA, **38**:
665-66
- Bickerdyke, Mary Ann Ball
letter(s) from SBA, **37**: 93-95
- Bidwell, Annie Ellicott Kennedy
letter(s) from SBA, **41**:
916-18
meeting in honor of
SBA remarks, **44**: 682-83
- Bigelow, Fannie Rosenberg
letter(s) from SBA, **39**:
480-81; **41**: 579-80, 987;
42: 184, 398; **44**: 482
other letters
from Anthony, Mary S.,
42: 398
- Bigelow, I.
other letters
to Stanton, Henry B., **6**:
974-77
- Bigelow, John
letter(s) from ECS, **32**: 972;
34: 336-38
- Bigge, Arthur
letter(s) to SBA, **40**: 16
See also Victoria, Queen
- Biggs, Caroline Ashurst
letter(s) to ECS, **22**: 718
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 319; **25**: 206
letter(s) to SBA, **22**: 264,
271-72, 286, 436-39, 496, 655;
23: 38-39, 47-48, 518-20,
622-23; **25**: 820
- Biggs, Emily Jane Cornell
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 733
- Big Rapids, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 904-14
- Bingham, Anson
letter(s) from SBA, **8**: 250-53
- Bingham's Mills, NY
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1291
- Binghamton, NY
interview(s) in, SBA, **32**: 633
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1292
SBA lectures, **1**: 535; **13**:
438-44; **14**: 1061; **18**: 211
county woman's rights convention
SBA attends, **8**: 205
state constitutional campaign
meeting
SBA attends, **32**: 629-31
tour for American Anti-Slavery
Society
SBA attends, **8**: 1006
- Bird Club (Boston)
ECS remarks to, **14**: 580
meeting with ECS and SBA,
21: 1046-48
- Birmingham, AL
SBA lectures, **33**: 545-46
- Birmingham, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 132-33
- Birney, Alice Josephine McLellan
letter(s) from ECS, **38**: 84;
41: 292-93
letter(s) from SBA, **41**:
292-93
- Birney, Elizabeth Fitzhugh
letter(s) from ECS, **6**: 928-29
- Bishop Creek, CA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 14
- Bisland, Margaret
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
38: 998-99
- Bissell, Sarah A. Secor
inscription(s) from SBA, **43**:
579
- Bixler, Henry C.
letter(s) from SBA, **42**: 354
- Black, James
letter(s) to ECS, **21**: 284
letter(s) to SBA, **21**: 284
letter to NWSA members, **21**:
284
- Blackall, Gertrude C.
letter(s) from SBA, **33**:
929-31; **37**: 192-96, 547-49;
41: 125-26
- Blackberry, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 134-35
- Blackinton, MA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 834
- Blackmar, Frank Wilson
letter(s) to SBA, **34**: 150-51
- Black River Falls, WI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 527-32
- Blackwell, Alice Stone
inscription(s) from SBA, **43**:
353
letter(s) from ECS, **27**: 185;
28: 732; **29**: 454; **32**:
512-13; **37**: 50-52; **42**: 335
letter(s) from SBA, **25**: 1089;
26: 72-74; **27**: 559, 571,
584, 612-13, 658, 1024, 1026;
28: 247, 262, 321, 377-78,
442, 632-33, 857-59; **29**: 367,
452, 455, 465-66; **30**: 377;
31: 439, 864; **32**: 236,
542-43, 893-94, 939, 1000;
33: 3, 58, 881-82, 911;
34: 235, 358-59, 404; **35**:
580, 766; **36**: 1022; **37**: 62,
564-65; **38**: 664, 1045-46;
39: 528, 555; **40**: 133, 359;
41: 990, 1050-51; **42**: 178;
44: 954-57
letter(s) to ECS, **29**: 458-59
letter(s) to SBA, **25**: 1095-97;
27: 596-99; **38**: 302-3
See also Editor, *Woman's*
Journal; Editor, *Woman's*
Column
- Blackwell, Antoinette Louisa Brown
letter(s) from ECS, **9**:
1121-23; **10**: 83-85; **13**:
464-65; **17**: 95; **18**: 231-34;
24: 767-69, 996-1003; **37**:
224-25; **38**: 636-39
letter(s) from SBA, **8**:
599-604, 1045-46, 1112-15,
1120-21; **9**: 50-55, 68-71,
73-74, 103, 147-48, 249-63,
401, 851-53; **25**: 1099;
36: 1014-15, 1025-29,
1040-41; **38**: 725-26; **41**:
284; **44**: 958
letter(s) to ECS, **11**: 431-32;
18: 235-39, 1009-10; **21**:
587-89; **24**: 656-57, 1076-80;

- 25: 55; 40: 222-23
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, 20: 318
 letter(s) to SBA, 8: 374-77, 393-95, 1012-14, 1116-17; 9: 104-11, 402-8, 1154-57; 17: 429-32; 18: 985-87, 1027-28; 36: 89, 106-7, 1023-24, 1036-37; 37: 38; 38: 574-75; 41: 297-98
 statement on women and the Bible, 37: 277
See also Brown, Antoinette Louisa
- Blackwell, Elizabeth
 letter(s) to ECS, 23: 244-45; 25: 88
 letter(s) to ECS birthday celebration, 34: 490
 letter(s) to SBA, 37: 350-51; 38: 150
 statement on women and the Bible, 37: 374
- Blackwell, Henry Browne
 letter(s) from ECS, 16: 154-55, 177-80, 245-47, 258, 348, 354-56, 397-400, 406, 523, 1018; 18: 947-48; 38: 419-20
 letter(s) from SBA, 9: 324-25; 16: 181-88, 267-68, 278-81, 284-303, 357-62; 32: 956, 1048
 letter(s) to ECS, 12: 112, 132; 16: 166-70, 309-11, 324-27, 469-71; 31: 669
 letter(s) to SBA, 9: 314-16; 12: 132; 16: 172-73, 176, 393-94; 29: 350-53, 381-85; 30: 104-9; 32: 660, 959-61, 1029-30; 39: 566-67
 real estate transaction, SBA, 24: 247-50
 birthday celebration of
 letter(s) from ECS, 33: 986-90
 co-signer
 AERA, petition to New York State Senate, 11: 871-72, 882
 other letters
 from Wright, Martha C. P., 14: 587-89
 to Hovey Committee, 11: 631
- Blair, Francis Preston, Jr.
 letter(s) from ECS, 13: 70
- Blair, Henry William
 letter(s) from SBA, 25: 91-92, 710-14
 letter(s) to SBA, 23: 636-37; 24: 850; 25: 190, 720; 29: 56
- Blake, Katherine Devereux Umsted
 letter(s) from SBA, 33: 511-12
- Blake, Lillie Devereux
 article(s) in *Revolution*, 2: 25-26, 33, 98, 170, 194, 264, 271, 280, 284, 312-13, 337
 ECS endorsement of, 40: 815-16, 896
 letter(s) from ECS, 16: 69-73, 91-93; 20: 639-40; 22: 217; 24: 610-12, 774-79, 839-42; 27: 411-12; 32: 924-28; 35: 627-29; 39: 906-11; 41: 142-45, 164-67, 956-65
 letter(s) from SBA, 14: 932-35; 16: 47-51, 96-99, 132-34; 17: 935-37; 21: 729, 749-52, 761-64, 767-68, 860-62; 22: 10-13, 29-32, 219-20, 319-22, 363-64, 446-49, 549-50, 568-71, 771-78; 23: 25-27, 85-88, 553-55, 811-14, 823-26, 845-48, 859-64, 871-75; 24: 102-5, 372-76, 406-9, 446-49, 457-59, 597-600, 683-86, 702-9, 843-46, 873-74, 883-85, 893-95, 920, 929-32, 942-45, 962-65, 980-83; 25: 322-26, 634-39, 680-85, 706-7, 743-45, 846-50, 1046-47, 1090-93; 26: 41-44, 52-55, 76-79, 85-90, 98-101, 105-6; 27: 121-24, 514-18, 594-95, 653-54, 659, 1008-13, 1078-80, 1094-99; 28: 158-59, 842-43; 29: 147-48, 180-83, 431-34, 969-70, 1064-72; 30: 42-44, 113-18, 134-37, 378-90, 404-10, 555-57, 598-601; 31: 329-34, 713-16, 729-30, 732-33, 802-4, 845-48; 32: 164-66, 290-93, 681-82, 710, 752-55, 757-58, 1067-71, 1083-85; 33: 7-8, 513-14, 806-10, 826-30, 847-51, 877, 878, 907-9; 35: 552-53, 574, 690-91, 767-68; 36: 170-71; 37: 421-22, 1030-32; 40: 101-2; 44: 959-60
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, 36: 775, 835
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, 20: 320
 letter(s) to SBA, 25: 678-79; 33: 861, 877; 35: 592-93, 678-79; 37: 404-6
 SBA entry on, *Johnson's New Universal Cyclopaedia*, 20: 627
 articles by
 "Woman's Bible," 33: 923; 34: 135
 other letters
 from Spofford, Jane H. S., 24: 920
- Blanchard, Henry
 letter(s) to SBA, 1: 383
- Blankenburg, Lucretia Longshore
 inscription(s) from SBA, 43: 354
 letter(s) from SBA, 29: 65-67, 132-35
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, 34: 663-64
- Blatch, Alice
 letter(s) from ECS, 23: 689
- Blatch, Harriot Eaton Stanton
See also Stanton, Harriot Eaton
 letter(s) from ECS, 23: 336, 346-48, 350, 386, 463, 564, 827, 854, 880, 996; 24: 240; 27: 448-49; 29: 373, 380, 423-25; 30: 67-68, 337; 32: 1001-2; 33: 501, 508, 759, 766; 35: 914; 37: 344; 38: 233; 40: 12; 41: 1024-28
 letter(s) from SBA, 35: 849-51; 38: 951-53; 40: 757-58; 42: 882-84; 43: 686-87
 letter(s) to ECS, 24: 661; 30: 21; 33: 11; 34: 841; 35: 828-32; 37: 276
 letter(s) to ECS birthday celebration, 34: 490
 letter(s) to SBA, 25: 200; 35: 800; 42: 727-29, 823-24, 862-63; 43: 635-36
 co-author
 program suggestions for ECS birthday celebration, 43: 695
 lectures by
 SBA remarks at, 40: 790
- Blatch, Nora Stanton
 inscription(s) from SBA, 43: 762-63
 letter(s) from ECS, 25: 395-99
 letter(s) from SBA, 42: 888-93
 verse from ECS, 40: 106-9, 337-39; 42: 393-97
 other letters
 to Stanton, Elizabeth C., Jr., 29: 260
- Blatch, William Henry
 letter(s) from ECS, 23: 335
 letter(s) to ECS, 34: 331
- Bliss, Marian Carr
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 875-76
 letter(s) from SBA, 21: 182-84
- Bloomer, Amelia Jenks
 letter in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, 18: 868
 letter(s) from ECS, 6: 991; 11: 424; 21: 336-42, 653-55, 666-67, 806-8; 22:

- 34-36, 150, 207-10, 214-16,
256-57, 371-73, 390-91; **24**:
431-33, 437-38, 648-55, 713,
748-50
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 553
letter(s) from SBA, **7**: 234,
298, 317-18; **10**: 414; **16**:
239; **21**: 458-63, 504-11,
525-28, 609-13, 650-52, 662-65,
683-84, 701-3, 712-15, 753-60,
802-5, 821-27, 1125-34; **22**:
45-48, 211-13, 231, 241-42,
485-86, 551-52, 567; **24**:
360-62, 386-90, 396-99, 410-17,
434-36, 609, 643-47, 712,
836-38, 847-48, 851-54; **26**:
80-81; **28**: 263
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 538;
7: 67
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 318
letter(s) to SBA, **10**: 470-71,
486-88; **26**: 334
SBA entry on, *Johnson's New
Universal Cyclopaedia*,
20: 627
SBA entry on, *Johnson's
Universal Cyclopaedia*,
34: 858
See also Editor, *Lily*
- Bloomer, Dexter Chamberlain
letter(s) from SBA, **28**: 263
- Bloomfield, MO
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1117-19
- Bloomington, IL
SBA debates in, **14**: 646-47
tour for woman suffrage, 1869
ECS lectures, **13**: 402-3
- Bloss, Joseph B.
letter(s) to SBA, **44**: 364-65
other letters
to Anthony, Mary S., **44**:
364-65
- Blount, Lucia A. Eames
incorporation of NAWSA, **28**:
272-80
- Blue, Richard Whiting
letter(s) from NWSA meeting,
25: 216
letter(s) from SBA, **25**: 216
- Blue Hills, MA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 835-36
- Blue Island, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 136
- Bly, Nellie
interview(s) with SBA, **35**:
531-33
- Boecklin, Homer
letter(s) to ECS, **2**: 51
- Bogardus, Joseph Arnold
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 697
- Bogelot, Isabelle Amélie Cottiaux
letter(s) to ECS, **34**: 490
- Bohman, Kerstin
letter(s) to SBA, **42**: 827-28
- Boice, James Young
letter(s) from SBA, **41**: 294
- Boise, ID
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 112
- Bok, Edward William
letter(s) from SBA, **30**: 721
- Bok, William John
letter(s) from ECS, **26**: 938;
28: 742-45
- Bolton, Sarah Knowles
article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 91, 97, 333-34
letter(s) from SBA, **24**: 513
- Bond, Eber W.
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 452
- Bond, Mary
inscription(s) from ECS, **40**:
361
- Bond, Thomas Leonidas
letter(s) to SBA, **38**: 97-99
- Bones, Marietta M. Wilkins
letter(s) to SBA, **24**: 973-75
articles by
protest against NWSA-AWSA
merger, **27**: 661-68
- Bonner, Rachel
letter(s) from SBA, **44**: 163
- Bonney, Charles Carroll
letter(s) to SBA, **33**: 756
- Boone, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 539
- Boone's Ferry, OR
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 228
- Booth, Mary Louise
letter(s) from ECS, **24**:
764-66; **25**: 596-98
letter(s) from SBA, **18**: 6-7,
1020-21; **24**: 636-39; **25**:
1042-43, 1067-68
letter(s) to SBA, **8**: 490, 618;
16: 1005; **18**: 16-19;
20: 319; **21**: 888-91, 992;
25: 136
- Boston
See also Bird Club
ECS lectures, **14**: 595; **16**:
524
interview(s) in, SBA, **21**: 989
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 837-44, 863
SBA lectures, **18**: 786-87,
1094-96, 1102
anti-slavery meeting
SBA attends, **8**: 901-3
Fraternity Lecture Course
circular for, **9**: 66
National Council of Women, U.S.
SBA attends, **36**: 118-45
NWSA annual meeting
ECS and SBA attend, **21**:
993-1011
reception at Parker House
SBA attends, **24**: 137
tour with George F. Train
ECS and SBA lecture, **12**:
638
woman's rights convention
SBA attends, **8**: 282-84
- Botta, Anne Charlotte Lynch
letter(s) from ECS, **21**: 327
- Bottsford, Harriette A.
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 558
- Boulder, CO
SBA lectures, **33**: 1001
state suffrage campaign
SBA lectures, **19**: 566
- Bourbon, IN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 456
- Bourbon County, KS
real estate transactions, SBA,
45: 391-93, 396, 403-4,
406-8, 410-12, 414, 416
- Bourbon County, KS, Equal Suffrage
Association
letter(s) to SBA, **28**: 40
meetings of
SBA attends, **28**: 765
- Boutell, Henry Sherman
letter(s) to SBA, **41**: 89
- Bouton, Emily St. John
letter(s) from SBA, **31**: 598
- Bovee, Marvin Henry
letter(s) from ECS, **12**:
990-98
- Bowditch, William Ingersoll
letter(s) from SBA, **41**:
1054-55
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
21: 249, 255, 263
letter(s) to SBA, **22**: 273;
23: 635-36
- Bowen, John W.
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 178
- Bowers, Henry Francis
letter(s) from SBA, **41**: 374
- Bowles, Ada Chastina Burpee
letter(s) from SBA, **23**:
828-31
letter(s) to SBA, **24**: 13
- Bowling Green, MO
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1120
- Bowling Green, OH
SBA lectures, **20**: 426
- Bowman, Mr.
letter(s) from SBA, **32**:
1060-65
- Bowman, Mary M.
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 734-35
- Boyd, Allen R.
letter(s) to SBA, **43**: 658
See also Putnam, Herbert

- Boyd, Mary R.
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 738
- Boyles, Charles Carroll
letter(s) from SBA, 18:
812-13
- Boyles, Hannah Dickinson
letter(s) from SBA, 18:
856-58; 35: 229; 37: 571,
1018-23; 44: 321, 423-25,
557-58
- Boyles, Katherine
letter(s) from SBA, 44: 321
- Boynton, Elizabeth Morrison
article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 49, 81, 161
letter(s) from SBA, 14:
635-36, 852-53
letter(s) to SBA, 2: 110
See also Harbert, Elizabeth
Morrison Boynton
- Brace, Rev. C. J. B.
letter(s) to SBA, 24: 908
- Bradbury, L. Y.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 331
- Bradford, Mary Carroll Craig
letter(s) from SBA, 42:
677-78
letter(s) to SBA, 32: 941
- Bradford, PA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 333
- Bradlaugh, Charles
letter(s) to ECS, 22: 747
- Bradley, Joseph P.
letter(s) from SBA, 16: 1012
- Bradt, Susan Stewart
letter(s) from SBA, 38: 452
- Bradwell, James Bolesworth
letter(s) to SBA, 21: 233
other letters
to Harbert, Elizabeth M. B.,
21: 233
to Loomis, Elizabeth J.,
21: 233
to Waite, Catherine V.,
21: 233
- Bradwell, Myra Colby
letter(s) from SBA, 23:
566-69
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
23: 60
letter(s) to SBA, 22: 802-5
other letters
from Hoyne, F. M., 21:
280
- Braidwood, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 137
- Bramble, Bessie *See* Wade,
Elizabeth Angus Wilkinson
- Brant, S. W.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 27
- Breckenridge, MO
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1121
- Breckinridge, Sophonisba Preston
letter(s) from SBA, 26:
996-97; 37: 18
- Breidenthal, John Willard
letter(s) from SBA, 32: 998
letter(s) to SBA, 32: 999,
1094
- Bremner, Christina Sinclair
letter(s) from SBA, 41:
435-36
- Brewer, John Hart
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
22: 288
- Bricklayers' and Masons'
International Union of America
meetings of
SBA attends, 40: 718-23
- Bridgeport, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 138
- Bridport, VT
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 493
- Briggs, Cordelia A.
letter(s) from SBA, 24: 521
- Briggs, Kate N.
letter(s) to SBA, 44: 459
- Brigham, Johnson
letter(s) from SBA, 17: 14-19,
29-30; 43: 568, 780
- Brigham City, AZ
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 9-11
- Bright, Jacob
letter(s) to ECS, 34: 491
letter to woman's rights
anniversary meeting, 14:
1019
- Bright, Ursula Mellor
letter(s) to ECS, 23: 241;
24: 1131; 28: 762-63
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
29: 25
letter(s) to SBA, 23: 177,
344; 43: 803
statement on women and the Bible,
37: 291
- Bright family
letter(s) to ECS, 34: 491
- Brighton, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 915
- Brighton, NY
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1293
- Brinkerhoff, Martha H.
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 162-63, 170, 355-56, 372;
2: 69
letter(s) to ECS, 1: 42;
2: 86
letter(s) to SBA, 1: 82, 270
- Brisbin, Martha Taylor
letter(s) from SBA, 44:
369-70
- Bristol, England
Women's Liberal Association of
letter(s) to International
Council of Women, 26:
175, 409
meetings of, ECS attends,
23: 156; 28: 636-37
- Bristol, PA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 334-39
- Bristol, WI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 533
- British Columbia, Canada *See*
Victoria, BC
- Brockport, NY
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1294
- Broderick, Case
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
32: 390, 473
- Brook, IN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 457
- Brookfield, MO
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1122
- Brooklyn, CT
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 51
- Brooklyn, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 139-40
- Brooklyn, NY
ECS lectures, 2: 383; 11:
1062-65; 12: 1-78; 14: 819
interview(s) in, SBA, 31: 739
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1295-1305; 5: 1
SBA lectures, 7: 565-66
- Brooklyn Equal Rights
Association
meetings of, ECS attends,
1: 579; 13: 525-33;
14: 764-65
meetings of, SBA attends,
14: 145-46
- Seidl Society
ECS lecture, 27: 330
SBA lecture, 27: 417-18
- Brooklyn, OH
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 82-83
- Brooks, Bryant Butler
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
44: 580
- Brooks, Harriet Sophia Brewer
article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 185-86, 309, 336, 340,
355-56
letter(s) from ECS, 21: 958
letter(s) from SBA, 22: 501
letter(s) to National Woman
Suffrage and Educational
Committee convention, 15:

- 337
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
21: 1008
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
2: 376
- Brooks, James
letter(s) from SBA, 11:
295-96; 12: 270-71
- Brown, Mr.
letter(s) from ECS, 15:
654-55; 18: 401-2
- Brown, Agnes
about, SBA statement on trial of,
33: 805
- Brown, Antoinette Louisa
letter(s) to ECS, 8: 101-4
letter(s) to SBA, 7: 479-82,
576-77, 591-94, 790-91, 832-33,
1005-12; 8: 87-89, 119-22,
245, 363-65
See also Blackwell,
Antoinette Louisa Brown
other letters
to Stone, Lucy, 7: 516-20
- Brown, Mrs. H. F. M.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 264
- Brown, Mr. H. H.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 423
- Brown, Dr. H. S.
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 870
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 178
- Brown, Mrs. J. M.
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1023
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
21: 65
- Brown, John
See also John Brown Farm
meeting to mark execution
SBA attends, 9: 415
- Brown, Mr. L. H.
letter(s) to SBA, 35: 984
- Brown, Martha McClellan
letter(s) to ECS, 24: 33-34
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
23: 35, 46, 59
letter(s) to SBA, 24: 33-34
- Brown, Mary A.
letter(s) to SBA, 25: 235
- Brown, Mary Olney
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 868-69
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
24: 909
letter(s) to SBA, 17: 305-8
- Brown, Olympia
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 869
letter(s) from ECS, 12:
793-96, 853-57; 22: 323-26;
27: 186-89, 492; 30: 145,
149, 485-89, 526-29; 34:
280-81
letter(s) from SBA, 10:
553-54; 12: 574-76, 787-92,
846-49, 866-67, 977-86; 15:
609-10, 1076; 16: 502-10;
17: 300-304, 896-900,
1063-66; 18: 66, 74-77,
476-79, 882-83; 21: 853-56;
25: 126-31, 579; 27:
125-32; 28: 443-48, 480-88,
542-47; 40: 326-32, 727-28;
41: 1056-57; 42: 922
letter(s) to ECS, 24: 1109-12;
25: 140
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
24: 908
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 453
letter(s) to SBA, 1: 33-34;
21: 386; 22: 427-29;
27: 1028
SBA entry on, *Johnson's New
Universal Cyclopaedia*,
20: 628
articles by
protest against NWSA-AWSA
merger, 27: 661-68
other letters
from Foster, Rachel G.,
25: 1027-32
from Hooker, Isabella B.,
30: 146-49
- Brown, Susan F.
letter(s) from SBA, 6: 180-83
- Brown, Rev. T. B.
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
23: 634
- Browne, Elizabeth C.
letter(s) from SBA, 14: 607
letter(s) to SBA, 1: 33
See also Chatfield, Elizabeth
C. Browne
- Browne, H.
letter(s) from ECS, 21:
563-65
letter(s) to ECS, 21: 560-61
- Browne, Martha Griffith
letter(s) to ECS, 13: 71-74
- Browne, Thomas McLelland
letter(s) from SBA, 23:
733-36
- Bruhn, Rosa
letter to woman's rights
anniversary meeting, 14:
1021
See also Butler, Josephine
Elizabeth Grey
- Bryan, John
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 710-11
- Bryan, OH
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 84
- Bryan, William Jennings
open letter(s) from ECS, 36:
45
- Bryce, Lloyd Stephens
letter(s) from ECS, 31: 805-6,
814-16, 836-37
- Bryn Mawr College
SBA lecture, 42: 645
- Buck, Jirah Dewey
letter(s) from SBA, 22:
588-89
- Buckley, James Monroe
letter(s) from SBA, 38: 733
- Bucklin, Carrie Hawley
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
40: 79-80
- Buda, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 141
- Buell, Caroline Brown
letter(s) from SBA, 24:
789-90
- Buffalo, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 540
- Buffalo, MN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1055-56
- Buffalo, NY
See also Women's Educational
and Industrial Union
interview(s) in, ECS, 27: 510
interview(s) in, SBA, 30: 568;
32: 189, 701-2
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 2-3
SBA lectures, 7: 586-87;
18: 1060-61
anti-slavery tour
ECS and SBA attend, 9:
978-1024
National Council of Women, U.S.
meetings of, SBA attends,
42: 255-70
National Social and Political
Reform Conference
letter(s) from SBA, 39:
1068
NAWSA conference
SBA attends, 42: 249-54
state constitutional campaign
meeting
SBA attends, 32: 187-88,
703-6
state tour for equal rights
ECS and SBA attend, 12:
122-23
tour for personal liberty bill
SBA attends, 9: 513-14
tour with George F. Train
ECS and SBA lecture, 12:
615-22
Buffalo Ladies Academy, Graduates'
Association
SBA lecture, 30: 567
Buffalo WSA

- meeting of
SBA attends, **13**: 591
- Bugbee, W. W.
letter(s) to SBA, **41**: 623
- Buler, Ruth Ann
letter(s) to SBA, **33**: 12-16
- Bullard, Laura J. Curtis
article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 34-35, 50-51, 59, 75, 99,
115, 139, 147
letter(s) from ECS, **2**: 564-65,
591; **23**: 1078-80
letter(s) to ECS, **22**: 745
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
2: 45-46, 99; **13**: 623-24,
826
letter(s) to SBA, **2**: 273
co-signer
appeal, NWSA, "To Our
Friends," **13**: 748-50
- Bundysburgh, OH
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 85-88
- Burdette, Clara Bradley Wheeler
Baker
letter(s) from SBA, **40**:
678-79; **43**: 326-29, 611;
44: 17-18
- Burdette, Robert Jones
letter(s) from SBA, **43**: 530
letter(s) to SBA, **43**: 396-98
- Burke, Andrew H.
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
31: 247
- Burke, Jane M.
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 868
- Burleigh, Celia C. Burr
article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 16-17
letter(s) to SBA birthday
celebration, **2**: 272
- Burleigh, Charles Calistus
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 546
- Burleigh, Florence
article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 349
- Burleigh, William Henry
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 546
- Burlingame, KS
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 713
- Burlington, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 541
SBA lectures, **15**: 502
- Burlington, KS
tour for impartial suffrage
ECS lectures, **12**: 568-69
- Burns, Eliza V.
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 468
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 162
- Burr, Frances Ellen
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 67, 123, 206, 483; **2**:
261-62
inscription(s) from SBA, **43**:
604
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 866
letter(s) from ECS, **24**: 698
letter(s) to ECS, **27**: 94
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 194
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 621;
2: 273; **11**: 510-12; **24**:
483-87
other letters
to Butler, Benjamin F.,
17: 941-42
- Burr Oak, KS
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 714
- Burrows, Julius Caesar
letter(s) from SBA, **22**: 377
letter(s) to SBA, **40**: 709
- Burton, KS
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 715
- Burton, Mr. F. J.
letter(s) from ECS, **22**: 376
- Bush, Abigail
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 319
letter(s) to SBA, **38**: 148,
458-61, 542
- Bush, Belle
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1239-42
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 523
- Bushnell, Horace
ECS review of book by, **1**:
598-99
- Bushnell's Basin, NY
SBA lectures, **21**: 379
- Butler, Benjamin Franklin
letter(s) from ECS, **13**:
490-92; **15**: 415-16; **18**:
219-20; **23**: 833-37, 974-78
letter(s) from SBA, **16**: 58-61,
571-73; **17**: 50-54, 910,
941-42, 996-99, 1007-8,
1015-19, 1021-23, 1047-49,
1059-60; **18**: 30-32; **19**:
408-13, 694-700; **20**: 701-4;
22: 441-43, 760-66; **23**:
61-62, 497-501, 545-48, 741-44,
833-37, 840-44, 1138-42;
24: 214-16; **26**: 1018-22
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 572;
10: 576
letter(s) to SBA, **10**: 576;
16: 578; **17**: 924, 927-28,
1006, 1019; **23**: 36, 46, 48,
52, 759; **26**: 1041
letter(s) to WLNL, **10**: 576
other letters
from Burr, Frances E.,
17: 941-42
- from Couzins, Phoebe W.,
17: 941-42
from Spencer, Sara J. A.,
17: 941-42
- Butler, Josephine Elizabeth Grey
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
15: 598; **20**: 775, 785-86
See also Bruhn, Rosa
- Butler, Nicholas Murray
letter(s) from SBA, **42**: 775
letter(s) to SBA, **42**: 784-85
- Butt, Hala Hammond
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
39: 765
- Butterick, Ebenezer
letter(s) from SBA, **34**:
386-89
- Buttre, John Chester
letter(s) from SBA, **21**:
765-66; **22**: 572-73; **23**:
723-24; **24**: 760-63, 974-75;
27: 316-17; **28**: 993-94;
31: 411-12
letter(s) to SBA, **24**: 974-75
- Buttre, Mary F.
letter(s) from SBA, **31**:
812-13
- Bybee, Mary Isabella
letter(s) to SBA, **43**: 616
- Byrnes, Jacob F.
letter(s) from SBA, **24**:
613-17
- Byron Center, NY
ECS and SBA lecture, **26**: 843
- C
- Cabot, F. S.
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 74, 108, 108, 124, 134,
163, 205, 222, 234, 320, 359,
500, 585; **2**: 43, 86, 102,
110-11, 134-35, 354
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 57, 139, 324, 351
- Cadillac, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 916
- Cady, Catharine Henry *See*
Wilkeson, Catharine Henry Cady
- Cady, Daniel
letter(s) from ECS, **7**:
486-502
letter(s) to ECS, **8**: 409
- Cady, Elizabeth
accounts for, at Troy Female
Seminary, **6**: 83
commonplace book, **6**: 6-82
registrations at Troy Female
Seminary, **6**: 1-5
See also Stanton, Elizabeth
Cady

- legal papers
witness to bond, **6**: 378
- letters
from Stanton, Henry B.,
6: 368-73
to Smith, Ann C. F., **6**:
374-77
to Smith, Elizabeth, **6**:
244-49, 305-8, 366-67
to Smith, Peter, **6**: 85-88
- Cady, Harriet Eliza *See* Eaton,
Harriet Eliza Cady
- Cady, Margaret Chinn *See*
McMartin, Margaret Chinn Cady
- Cady, Margaret Chinn Livingston
letter(s) from ECS, **6**: 533-34
- Cady, Tryphena *See* Bayard,
Tryphena Cady
- Caffrey, Anna M.
letter(s) to ECS, **2**: 11
- Cahoon, Haryot Holt
interview(s) with ECS, **38**:
644
- Caine, Margaret N.
letter(s) from SBA, **41**: 459
- Caird, Alice Mona Alison Henryson
letter(s) to ECS, **26**: 881-82
- Caird, Mona *See* Caird, Alice Mona
Alison Henryson
- Cairns, Anna Sneed
letter(s) to SBA, **36**: 62-64
- Caldwell, George
letter(s) to SBA, **6**: 568-70
- Caldwell, Dr. J. E.
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
23: 60
- California
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 12-43
See also Alameda County,
Anderson, Berkeley, Bishop
Creek, Chico, Cupertino,
Eureka, Fresno, Goleta, Grass
Valley, Long Beach, Los
Angeles, Mt. Tamalpais,
Oakland, Pacific Grove,
Pasadena, Pomo, Pomona, Port
Costa, Rio Dell, Riverside,
Sacramento, San Bernadino,
San Diego, San Francisco, San
Jose, San Luis Obispo, San
Rafael, Santa Barbara, Santa
Clara County, Santa Cruz,
Stockton, Visalia, West
Oakland, West Side; Grand Army
of the Republic, Pacific Coast
Women's Press Association,
Woman's Congress Association
- Native Sons of Vermont
Association of
meetings of, SBA attends,
35: 1054
- California amendment campaign
meetings of
SBA attends, **35**: 633,
666-67, 670, 698-99,
910-11, 920, 931, 942-43,
952, 966, 972, 978, 1005,
1050-54, 1057-59, 1063-65,
1095-96; **36**: 39, 46,
51-54, 59, 74, 76, 78
SBA debates, **35**: 703-4
- rallies
SBA attends, **35**: 833-34
- California Democratic Party
convention
SBA attends, **35**: 807-10
- California People's Party
convention
SBA attends, **35**: 758-62
- California Prohibition Party
convention
SBA attends, **35**: 763-64
- California Republican Party
campaign meeting
SBA attends, **36**: 8
- convention
SBA attends, **35**: 747-48
- California Socialist Labor Party
convention
SBA attends, **35**: 895-96
- California State Central Woman
Suffrage Committee
statement of support for
People's party, **16**: 87
- California State Woman Suffrage
Educational Association
meetings of
SBA attends, **34**: 212-15
- California Suffrage Constitutional
Amendment Campaign Association
district presidents' meeting
SBA attends, **35**: 784
- joint meeting with state WSA
SBA attends, **35**: 698-99
- meetings of
SBA attends, **34**: 103-6
- rally
SBA attends, **35**: 651-53
- California WSA
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
22: 642
letter(s) to SBA, **17**: 59
letter to woman's rights
anniversary meeting, **14**:
1022
joint meeting for state
amendment campaign
SBA attends, **35**: 698-99
- meetings of
letter from ECS, **38**: 813
letters from SBA, **14**: 531;
18: 93; **38**: 812
SBA attends, **15**: 835;
35: 778; **36**: 73-78
- Calkins, Adelaide Rogers
letter(s) from SBA, **44**:
799-800
- Call, Wilkinson
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
35: 316, 434
- Callanan, Martha Coonley
letter(s) from SBA, **37**:
286-87
- Callawell, C.
letter(s) to ECS, **2**: 286
- Callo, Henry J.
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 576-77
- Camargo, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 142-43
- Cambridge, NY
state constitutional campaign
meeting
SBA attends, **32**: 308-13
- Campbell, C. B.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
2: 256
- Campbell, E. A.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 91
- Campbell, Mary Grafton
letter(s) to SBA, **34**: 42
- Canada *See* Dartmouth, NS;
Toronto, ON; Victoria, BC
- Canajoharie, NY *See* Daughters of
Temperance
- Canandaigua, NY
SBA lectures, **17**: 97
state constitutional campaign
meeting
ECS address for, read by
Anne F. Miller, **32**:
730-34
SBA attends, **32**: 730-34
- Candia, NH
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1227-28
- Canfield, Lepha J.
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 167
letter(s) from SBA, **44**: 26-29
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 549
- Canfield, Zeptha J.
letter(s) from SBA, **15**:
306-10
- Canton, OH
ECS lectures, **18**: 305
- Capdeville, Paul
letter(s) from SBA, **42**: 801
- Cape Girardeau, MO
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1123-24
- Capron, Adin Ballou
letter(s) to SBA, **40**: 700
- Carbondale, IL
SBA lectures, **18**: 375
- Carey, Cornelia H.
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 711-12
- Carey, Joseph Maull
letter(s) to SBA, **31**: 229;
44: 1006
- Carey, Louisa David
letter(s) to SBA, **36**: 61;
40: 807
- Carhart, Lyman Beecher

- letter(s) to ECS, **40**: 220
- Carleton, NE
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 1172
- Carlisle, Countess of *See* Howard, Rosalind Frances Stanley
- Carpenter, Mrs. Aurelius Ormando
letter(s) from SBA, **43**: 621-27
- Carpenter, Frank George
interview(s) with SBA, **23**: 410; **24**: 857
letter(s) to SBA, **28**: 41
statement(s) to, SBA, **23**: 571
- Carpenter, Julia
article(s) in *Revolution*, **2**: 113
- Carpenter, Julia Gage
inscription(s) from SBA, **43**: 666
- Carpenter, Magdalena Towers
inscription(s) from SBA, **44**: 547-48
letter(s) from SBA, **44**: 552
- Carpenter, Matthew Hale
letter(s) from ECS, **14**: 538-39
letter(s) to ECS, **2**: 238; **14**: 544, 549
- Carr, Jeanne C. Smith
letter(s) from ECS, **20**: 269-71
letter to WLNL meeting, **10**: 469-70
- Carr, John
letter(s) from SBA, **24**: 391-92
- Carroll, Miss
letter(s) from SBA, **27**: 615-18
- Carter, Charles Simeon
letter(s) from ECS, **18**: 122-23, 1054
letter(s) to ECS, **14**: 1054-57
- Carter, Miss S. F.
letter(s) to SBA, **44**: 931-34
- Carter, Thomas Henry *See* Hamburger, Isaac
- Cartersville, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 144
- Carthage, MO
SBA lectures, **18**: 707
- Carthage, NY
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 4
- Carter, Mrs. M. M.
letter(s) to SBA, **15**: 331, 340
- Cary, Alice
article(s) in *Revolution*, **2**: 210-12, 219-20, 227-28, 235-36, 243-44, 251-52, 259-60, 267-68, 275-76, 283-84, 291, 299-300, 307-8, 315-16, 323-24, 331-32, 339-40
poems in *Revolution*, **1**: 610; **2**: 16, 315
- Cary, Mary Ann Shadd
letter in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, **18**: 870
- Cary, Phoebe
poems in *Revolution*, **2**: 8, 267
verse for SBA, **2**: 268-70; **41**: 162
- Cary, Samuel Fenton
letter(s) to SBA, **7**: 816
- Case, J. M. S.
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **33**: 632, 640
- Case, Lucia O. Benton
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 782-84
other letters
from Adams, Franklin G., **35**: 710
- Casement, Frances Marion Jennings
letter(s) from SBA, **23**: 1052-58; **24**: 253-56, 276-78, 508-9, 976-79; **25**: 327-32, 499-502; **26**: 762-65, 855-58; **42**: 386; **43**: 576; **44**: 10, 32-36, 174
- Casement, John Stephen
letter(s) from SBA, **24**: 276-78, 976-79
- Casper, Bertha
letter(s) to SBA, **43**: 352
- Cassadaga Lake Free Association (NY)
SBA lectures, **29**: 340-41; **32**: 1023-24; **45**: 388-90
- Cassopolis, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 917
- Castile, NY
interview(s) in, SBA, **36**: 663
- Catlin, James
letter(s) to *Revolution*, **1**: 108
- Catskill, NY
state constitutional campaign meeting
SBA attends, **32**: 585-86
- Catt, Carrie Clinton Lane Chapman
inscription(s) from SBA, **38**: 1032
letter(s) from SBA, **41**: 450-51, 456-57, 617-21; **44**: 389
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 615-17, 637-39, 682-87, 697-98, 745-47, 772, 779-80, 786-87
letter(s) to ECS, **41**: 547
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **35**: 420
letter(s) to SBA, **28**: 449; **32**: 661, 839, 991, 1090; **37**: 452-53; **42**: 135-36; **43**: 379-81; **44**: 461, 913
- Catt, George William
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **35**: 420
- Cauer, Wilhelmine Theodore Marie Schelle Latzel
letter(s) to SBA, **43**: 804
- Cedar Creek, OR
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 229-31
- Cedar Point, OH
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 89
- Cedar Rapids, IA
ECS lectures, **14**: 689
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 542-43
SBA lectures, **15**: 404
- Cederschiold, Maria
letter(s) to SBA, **42**: 827-28
- Centennial Exhibition, 1876
Fourth of July Celebration, **18**: 859-60
NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," **18**: 859-60, 862-65
NWSA, meeting, **18**: 859-65
press ticket for, SBA, **18**: 777-79
- National Woman Suffrage Parlors
advertisement for, **18**: 828
announcement of, **18**: 790-92
receptions, ECS and SBA attend, **18**: 822, 829
- NWSA, "Declaration of Rights,"
letters in support of, **18**: 866-71
- Centerville, SD
state amendment campaign
SBA lectures, **28**: 413
- Central College
circular for, Gerrit Smith, **7**: 470
- Central Frémont Club
letter(s) from ECS, **10**: 806-7
Call to the Radical Men of the Nation
ECS signs, **10**: 806-7
- Centralia, KS
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 716
- Chace, Elizabeth Buffum
letter(s) from ECS, **13**: 458; **20**: 901; **24**: 780; **29**: 558; **36**: 81; **40**: 290
letter(s) from SBA, **23**: 855, 1004, 1134; **24**: 77; **25**: 1111; **36**: 194
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 564
letter(s) to SBA, **24**: 467
- Chadwick, John White
letter(s) to ECS, **39**: 688-90
- Chagrin Falls, OH
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 90
- Chamberlain, Ella C.

- letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 648-49
- Chamberlain, SD
state amendment campaign convention
SBA attends, **28**: 370-71
- Champaign, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 145
- Champseix, Léonie Béra
article(s) in *Revolution*, **2**: 98, 105-6, 129-30, 162
letter(s) to ECS, **2**: 618;
14: 1021, 1048-49
- Chana, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 146
- Chandler, Mrs. A. D.
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 667
- Chandler, Frank
letter(s) from ECS, **39**: 552-53
- Chandler, John H.
letter in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, **18**: 868
- Chandler, Lucinda Banister
letter(s) from ECS, **33**: 1013
letter(s) in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, **18**: 868-69
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **20**: 317, 791-92; **24**: 908; **25**: 204
letter(s) to, NWSA Series, **4**: 918
letter(s) to SBA, **18**: 866
articles by
"Woman's Bible," **36**: 1005, 1065-66, 1095-96; **37**: 182-83, 203-4, 221-23, 228-29
- Chandler, Lucy Lambert Hale
letter(s) from SBA, **41**: 460
- Chandler, William Eaton
letter(s) from SBA, **16**: 363-64, 381-83, 404-5, 511
- Channing, Mary Jane Tarr
letter(s) to ECS, **24**: 1128-30
- Channing, William Francis
article(s) in *Revolution*, **1**: 267; **2**: 40
letter(s) to ECS, **23**: 345-46, 810, 972-73; **24**: 1064; **28**: 155, 357-61, 462; **39**: 583-87
- Channing, William Henry
letter(s) to ECS, **7**: 866-69, 956-59; **22**: 146-49, 689, 697-99
letter(s) to SBA, **22**: 296-99, 506-13; **44**: 1007-8
- Chant, Laura Ormiston Dibben
letter(s) to ECS, **23**: 139, 262
- farewell meeting for
SBA lectures, **26**: 801-6
- Chapin, Augusta Jane
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 592
- Chapin, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 544
- Chapman, Mariana W. Wright
letter(s) from SBA, **32**: 164-66; **41**: 1030-31
- Chapman, Maria Weston
letter(s) to ECS, **9**: 1120; **10**: 533-38
- Chapman, Nancy M.
arrest for illegal voting with SBA, **16**: 602; **17**: 76-77
- Chappelle, Mattie
article(s) in *Revolution*, **2**: 341
- Chardon, OH
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 91
- Chariton, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 545
- Charles City, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 546-49
SBA lectures, **19**: 1013
- Charles Mann and Co.
other letters
from Irvine, Leigh, **25**: 341-42
- Charles Scribner's Sons
letter(s) from SBA, **24**: 896; **36**: 981
- Charlotte, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 918
- Chase, Arthur Horace
letter(s) from SBA, **37**: 1060-61
letter(s) to SBA, **44**: 210
- Chase, Samuel Portland
letter(s) to SBA, **12**: 976
- Chatfield, Elizabeth C. Browne
letter(s) from SBA, **36**: 1038-39; **38**: 495, 782-83; **43**: 587, 594, 773-74, 794-95
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 707-8
See also Browne, Elizabeth C.
- Chatfield, Hannah
arrest for illegal voting with SBA, **16**: 602; **17**: 76
- Chatham, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 147-48
- Chattanooga, TN
Woman's Club of
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **33**: 632, 640
- Chautauqua, NY
interview(s) in, SBA, **30**: 364
Chautauqua Assembly
Girls' Outlook Club, SBA
lecture, **30**: 363
library, inscription(s)
from SBA, **43**: 667-70
SBA lectures, **29**: 321-23; **41**: 410-12
- Chautauqua County, NY
Political Equality Club of
meetings of, SBA attends, **32**: 700
- Cheever, George Barrell
letter(s) to SBA, **9**: 418
- Cheney, Annie C.
letter(s) to *Revolution*, **1**: 444
- Cheney, Ednah Dow Littlehale
letter(s) from ECS, **37**: 241; **38**: 566-67
letter(s) from SBA, **26**: 3-4, 37-39, 135-36; **30**: 326-29; **33**: 780
statement on women and the Bible, **37**: 291
- Cheney, Mary
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 773
- Cheney Brothers
letter(s) to SBA, **23**: 43
- Chenoweth, Caroline Van Deusen
letter(s) to ECS, **30**: 97-98
- Chester, PA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 340
- Chestnut, William, Sr.
letter(s) to *Revolution*, **1**: 27
- Cheyenne, WY
ECS lectures, **15**: 666
SBA lectures, **15**: 671
SBA remarks, **15**: 666
- Chicago
See also Cook County
ECS lectures, **14**: 687; **15**: 362-63; **18**: 314-16, 763; **20**: 685-86, 691-92
interview(s) in, SBA, **18**: 114-15; **20**: 914-16; **21**: 237; **25**: 153; **26**: 811; **30**: 180; **31**: 446, 485-86; **33**: 975-77; **34**: 236-38; **35**: 612; **36**: 708-11; **37**: 410, 419-20; **38**: 925-26; **39**: 848-49, 851-52; **41**: 391-92; **44**: 565
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 138, 149-78
reception for ECS, **26**: 884-85
SBA lectures, **11**: 211-12; **14**: 822; **18**: 344-54, 757; **31**: 488-89
statement(s) in, SBA, **30**: 181-82; **31**: 448
Anthony Club
letter(s) to SBA, **28**: 40
farewell meeting for Laura O. D. Chant
SBA speaks, **26**: 801-6

- meeting of suffragists
SBA attends, **30**: 198-200
- National Anti-Trust Conference
letter(s) from SBA, **40**:
941-42
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
40: 906, 917
- NAWSA conference
SBA attends, **37**: 407-13
- Northwestern WSA
meeting of, SBA attends,
14: 809-18
- NWSA business meetings
SBA attends, **21**: 192
- NWSA mass meeting for suffrage
SBA attends, **21**: 248-66
- receptions
ECS and SBA attend, **3**:
197
- Sewing Women's Protective Union
SBA attends, **11**: 215
- tour for woman suffrage, 1869
ECS and SBA at meetings,
1: 474-76; **13**: 325-52
- tour with George F. Train
ECS and SBA lecture, **12**:
590-91
- Western WSA
meeting of, SBA attends, **13**:
776-89
- Chicago Civic Federation
Central Council meeting
SBA attends, **32**: 1091
- Chicago Council of Jewish Women
meetings of
SBA attends, **44**: 313
- Chicago Political Equality League
letter(s) to SBA, **44**: 460
reception
SBA attends, **42**: 30
- Chicago Woman's Club
meetings of
SBA attends, **33**: 971-74;
35: 619-20; **36**: 712-14
receptions
SBA attends, **26**: 815-16;
44: 566
- Chico, CA
interview(s) in, SBA, **44**:
680-81
reception for Annie E. K.
Bidwell
SBA remarks at, **44**:
682-83
- Child, Erastus
letter(s) to SBA, **36**: 760
- Child, Lydia Maria Francis
ECS obituary of, **21**: 535
letter(s) from ECS, **6**: 501;
10: 377
letter(s) to ECS, **10**: 493-97,
562-63; **11**: 510, 522-23, 668
letter(s) to SBA, **19**: 460-62
- Child, Rachel Lockwood
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 320
- Childs, George William
letter(s) from SBA, **22**:
584-85
letter(s) to SBA, **24**: 909
- Chilton, Mary A.
article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 57
- Christian League
letter(s) to ECS, **34**: 492
- Church, Mrs. G. W.
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 318
- Churchville, NY
Woman's Christian Temperance
Union
meetings of, SBA attends,
37: 218
- Cincinnati, OH
ECS lectures, **14**: 162-63
interview(s) in, SBA, **13**: 817;
16: 94-94A; **21**: 312-13
letter(s) from, NWSA Series
5: 92-93
SBA lectures, **20**: 897-98;
27: 92
- Susan B. Anthony Club
letter(s) to SBA, **43**: 352
tour with George F. Train
ECS and SBA lecture, **12**:
605-8
- Twentieth Century Club
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
32: 373, 485
- Woman's Columbian Exposition
Association of
SBA lectures, **31**: 437-38
- Cisco, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 179-80
- Citizens' Suffrage Association
(Philadelphia)
reception for SBA, **23**: 113-17
meetings of
ECS attends, **16**: 1044-45
letter from SBA, **16**: 1013
letters from ECS, **18**:
929-31
SBA attends, **16**: 472;
18: 929-31; **21**: 101-2
- Clapp, A. M.
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
23: 579
- Clapp, Hannah Keziah
letter(s) from SBA, **33**: 916;
43: 797
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
24: 21
- Claremont, NH
SBA lectures, **9**: 423
- Clarence, MO
SBA lectures, **18**: 760
- Clark, Benjamin Franklin
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 356; **2**: 41
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 130
- other letters
from Train, George F.,
1: 452
to Train, George F., **1**:
452
- Clark, Helen Priestman Bright
letter(s) to SBA, **44**: 295
- Clark, Lizzie
letter(s) to SBA, **27**: 1021-23
- Clark, Nancy Howe
letter(s) to SBA, **36**: 205
- Clark, Robert M.
letter to Working Woman's
Association No. 1, **13**:
75-76
- Clark, William Andrews
letter(s) to SBA, **41**: 73
- Clark, W. W.
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
36: 722, 740, 771
- Clark County, WA
Woman's Christian Temperance
Union
meetings of, SBA attends,
35: 795
- Clarke, Grace Giddings Julian
letter(s) from SBA, **40**:
313-15, 690-95, 747-50
- Clarke, James Freeman
letter(s) from SBA, **9**: 412-13,
524-28; **11**: 638-41; **22**:
20-23
letter to AERA, New York State
Woman's Rights Convention,
11: 649
- Clarke, Mary R.
letter(s) to SBA, **28**: 40
- Clarke, Sarah Freeman
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
33: 577
- Clarke, Sidney
letter(s) from SBA, **11**:
236-37, 298-300, 364-66,
377-78; **42**: 387
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 212
- Clay, Laura
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 878
letter(s) from SBA, **31**:
308-13, 343-47, 799-800;
32: 566-67, 573-78, 1050-51,
1058-59; **33**: 499-500; **36**:
946; **37**: 1-2, 290; **38**:
428-29, 535-37, 590, 714-15,
934; **41**: 209-14, 251-52,
426-28, 448-54, 487-88, 537-40,
589-90, 926-28, 980; **42**: 296;
43: 707-8; **44**: 480-81
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 654-55
letter(s) to SBA, **36**: 1078-87
- Clay, Mary Barr
letter(s) from SBA, **20**:
849-52, 885-88; **21**: 474-88;
22: 403-5; **23**: 411-16,

- 549-52, 697-700, 718-22,
725-32, 979-83; **24**: 142-45,
192-95, 1022-23; **25**: 120-23,
171-72, 224-28; **41**: 237-38;
42: 388, 408-9
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
23: 60; **25**: 205
letter(s) to SBA, **22**: 278
Clay, Mary Jane Warfield
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 768
Clear Creek, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 181-82
Clemmer, Mary E.
letter(s) from ECS, **21**: 304-5
letter(s) to SBA, **23**: 41,
58-59
Cleveland, Mrs.
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 35
Cleveland, Charlotte A.
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 869
Cleveland, Frances Folsom
letter(s) from SBA, **26**:
564-65; **35**: 360
See also Lamont, Daniel
Scott; O'Brien, Robert
Cleveland, Grover *See* Cleveland,
Stephen Grover
Cleveland, NY
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 5
Cleveland, OH
interview(s) in, ECS, **26**: 850,
875
interview(s) in, SBA, **14**:
1074; **25**: 473-75; **32**: 1147;
42: 759
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 94-137
meeting for gospel suffrage
SBA attends, **32**: 1148;
33: 1-2
meeting for temperance and
woman suffrage
SBA attends, **33**: 6
tour with George F. Train
ECS and SBA lecture, **12**:
609-10
Western Reserve Club
SBA lecture, **23**: 994-95
Cleveland, Rose Elizabeth
letter(s) from ECS, **24**: 946
letter(s) from SBA, **24**: 882
letter(s) to ECS, **24**: 946
Cleveland, Stephen Grover
letter(s) from SBA, **24**:
696-97; **26**: 564-65
SBA article on, **44**: 755
See also Lamont, Daniel Scott
Clifton, Garafulia
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 390, 421
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 354
Clinton, IA
SBA lectures, **15**: 534
Clough, Mary L.
article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 57, 193, 325
Clute, S. Mary
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 868
Clyde, OH
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 138-39
Coates, Sarah Walter Chandler
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 696-97
Cobb, Myra L.
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 766-67
Cobbe, Frances Power
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 68;
22: 730-33, 783-86; **23**:
9-11, 72, 97-104; **24**: 661
letter(s) to SBA, **23**: 621
letter to woman's rights
anniversary meeting, **14**:
1019
Cobden, Emma Jane Catherine
letter(s) to ECS, **23**: 295-96
letter(s) to SBA, **23**: 622;
26: 377
See also Unwin, Emma Jane
Catherine Cobden
Coburn, Catherine Amanda Scott
letter(s) to SBA, **20**: 318
Cochrane, John
ECS toast for, **10**: 373
letter(s) from ECS, **12**: 93
letter(s) to ECS, **16**: 199
Coddington, Maria P.
letter(s) to SBA, **10**: 470
Coffee, Hannah J.
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
21: 66
Coggeshall, Mary Jane
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 584
letter(s) from SBA, **26**: 837
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
25: 205
letter(s) to SBA, **18**: 872
Cogswell, Jane M.
arrest for illegal voting with
SBA, **16**: 602; **17**: 76-77
Coit, Stanton
letter(s) to SBA, **44**: 459
Colburn, Mary J.
article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 106-7
Colby, Clara Dorothy Bewick
See also Editor, *Woman's*
Tribune
inscription(s) from SBA, **39**:
864-65; **43**: 355
letter(s) from ECS, **23**:
1025-30; **24**: 699, 781-87,
966-67; **25**: 14, 267, 279-86,
581, 830-45; **26**: 838-39,
939-46, 963-64, 977-78, 980-81;
27: 135-36, 311-13, 349-50,
370-72, 415-16, 419-21, 434-35,
444-47, 560-64, 1067; **28**:
147-51, 154-55, 173-81, 212-15,
264-68, 372-76, 396-403,
422-29, 505-7, 513-16, 518-20,
714, 767, 834-37, 844-45,
909-11, 995-1000; **29**: 57-58,
86-92, 110-15, 194-95, 235-38,
412-20, 572-73, 575-76,
1058-60, 1083-87; **30**: 10-11,
40-41, 49, 473-76, 504-7,
606-19, 643-44, 696-705,
722-23, 725; **31**: 338-42,
368-71, 376-81, 399-400, 501-4,
666-68, 820-21, 852-54, 859-61;
32: 522-27, 535-36, 544-45,
550-51, 558-63, 579-82, 601-2,
608-9, 636-39, 739, 746-47,
795-96, 844-45, 1007-8,
1012-15, 1078; **33**: 676-84,
745-48, 760-63, 770-74, 845-46,
912-13, 935-36, 946-50; **34**:
16-21, 92-93, 121-24, 206-7,
217-18, 268-70, 282-85, 291-94,
353, 555-61, 588-95, 852;
35: 227-28, 273-75, 289-90,
446-49, 453-56, 458-64, 524-28,
537-50, 559-62, 608-9, 622,
641-42, 656-60, 724-25, 812-13,
815-17, 856-59, 921-24, 973-76,
993-98, 1060-62, 1086-87,
1099-1100, 1114-15; **36**:
43-44, 147-49, 157-60, 677-78,
698-702, 850-51, 884-85,
967-69, 996-98; **37**: 242-54,
993, 1067-74; **38**: 16-29,
43-48, 62-67, 234-37, 298-301,
314-15, 356-57, 474-78, 492-93,
497-503, 682-97, 791-93, 962,
979-84; **39**: 677-78, 887-88,
894-99; **40**: 51-52, 65,
938-40, 943-48; **41**: 23-25,
50-52, 86-87, 567-69, 603-6,
612-14, 939-43; **42**: 441-42,
573-74, 618, 724-25; **44**:
951-53, 986-87
letter(s) from SBA, **23**: 716,
888; **24**: 676, 947; **25**: 384,
746, 821, 861, 1094; **26**: 46,
61-62, 826, 947; **27**: 551;
28: 404, 432, 468, 536, 599,
795; **29**: 242, 284, 327, 342,
349, 368, 1088; **30**: 110-12,
124-27, 726-27; **31**: 327, 401,
423, 434, 447, 811, 849-51,
856-57; **32**: 172-74, 190-93,
218-21, 241-44, 247-57,
294-301, 314-18, 325, 533-34,
548-49, 568, 591, 603-7,
612-17, 623-28, 642-49, 651-53,
657-58, 683-84, 688-95, 711-15,
756, 772-73, 858-69, 907-10,

- 931-38, 945-55, 978-81, 994-95, 1025-26, 1040-41, 1049, 1052-56; **33**: 59-60, 527-30, 739-44, 839-42, 852-57, 951-52, 961; **34**: 256-60, 303-6, 361, 390-92, 398-400, 569-72, 581-84, 603-7, 798-807, 820-29, 843-44; **35**: 251-55, 263-66, 283, 291-92, 556-57, 575, 586-89, 692-95, 722, 769, 905-8, 954-65, 1024-27; **36**: 28-35, 57-58, 874-76, 912-16, 1058-59; **37**: 9-11, 76-80, 106, 113-14, 152-55, 476-77, 517-21, 572-74, 1009-11, 1049-54, 1062-66; **38**: 1-2, 403-6, 430-31, 516-26, 676-77, 716-22, 935-37, 988-91, 1007-8; **39**: 472-76, 487-90, 504-5, 525, 608, 683-84, 696-97, 704, 870-71, 879-80, 889-90; **40**: 31-33, 84, 93-98, 155-58, 186-88, 204-5, 224-25, 237-41, 248-49, 333-34, 345-52, 672-73, 681-85, 779-80, 803; **41**: 40-43, 148-51, 919-20, 1019-20, 1022-23, 1038-39; **42**: 331, 349-50, 380, 867, 895-97; **43**: 688, 697-98, 784-85; **45**: 397-99
- letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 658-59, 760-61, 788; **40**: 67-68
- letter(s) to ECS, **21**: 240-43
- letter(s) to SBA, **19**: 578; **25**: 545-51; **32**: 654-56, 771-73; **38**: 618; **42**: 846
- articles by
- "History of Woman Suffrage," **25**: 165-66
- "Woman's Bible," **33**: 924, 959, 997, 1011; **36**: 110-11
- financial records
- accounts with Mary S. Anthony, **35**: 258-59
- lectures by
- SBA introduction to, **39**: 862
- other letters
- from Harper, Ida A. H., **37**: 1049-54
- from Miller, Anne F., **32**: 739
- from Smith, Alice M. W., **35**: 445
- Colby, Josephine E.
- letter(s) from SBA, **44**: 466-67
- Colby, R. A.
- letter(s) to *Revolution*, **2**: 345
- Colby, WI
- letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 534
- Colcord, Roswell Keyes
- letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **31**: 247-48
- Cole, Ashley Trimble
- letter(s) from ECS, **32**: 1080-81
- letter(s) to ECS, **32**: 1079-81
- Colfax, Schuyler
- letter(s) from SBA, **1**: 5
- letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 5
- Collier, Laura Brownell
- letter(s) from ECS, **24**: 860-63
- Collins, Emily Peltier Parmely
- letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 52
- letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 444; **40**: 221
- letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **21**: 65
- letter(s) to SBA, **20**: 741; **23**: 56-57
- Collins, Jennie
- article(s) in *Revolution*, **2**: 220-21
- letter(s) to SBA, **2**: 297
- Collins Centre, NY
- tour for American Anti-Slavery Society
- SBA attends, **8**: 1025
- Collinwood, OH
- letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 140
- Collyer, KS
- letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 717
- Collyer, Robert
- letter(s) from ECS, **44**: 988
- letter(s) to ECS, **41**: 276-77
- Colman, Lucy Newhall Danforth
- letter(s) to SBA, **26**: 333
- Colona, IL
- letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 183
- Colorado
- letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 44-50
- See also Boulder, Denver, Fort Collins, Idaho Springs, Lake City, Las Animas, Leadville, Loveland, Niwot
- Colorado Republican Party
- chairman of committee,
- letter(s) from SBA, **44**: 206
- Colorado Victory Jubilee
- letter(s) from SBA, **31**: 779
- state suffrage campaign
- SBA lectures, **19**: 540, 547, 566
- Colorado, KS
- letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 718
- Columbia, MO
- SBA lectures, **20**: 259
- Columbia, SC
- SBA lectures, **33**: 673-74
- Columbus, OH
- interview(s) in, SBA, **26**: 917-20
- letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 141-42
- SBA lectures, **15**: 425-26
- Columbus Junction, IA
- letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 550-51
- Colvin, Andrew James
- letter(s) to SBA, **9**: 553, 616; **11**: 512; **21**: 893-96, 915
- Comstock, Hannah M.
- letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 62
- letter(s) to SBA, **18**: 63-66
- Concord, IA
- letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 552
- Concord, NH
- SBA lectures, **21**: 1077-78
- NWSA local meeting
- SBA attends, **21**: 1072-74
- Reform Club
- SBA lecture, **21**: 1088
- Condon, Randall Judson
- letter(s) from SBA, **44**: 359
- Cone, Louisa
- letter(s) to *Revolution*, **2**: 5-6
- Conger, Stella B.
- incorporation of National Council of Women, U.S., **29**: 1-2
- Congrès français et international du droit des femmes
- circular for, **27**: 144-47
- letter from ECS and SBA, **27**: 282-84
- Conine, Martha A. Bushnell
- letter(s) from SBA, **39**: 628-29; **41**: 168-69, 1058-59; **42**: 677-78
- Conkling, Roscoe
- letter(s) from ECS, **21**: 1102
- Conneautville, PA
- letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 341-42
- Connecticut
- letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 51-62
- See also Brooklyn, Derby, Hartford, Madison, Manchester, Meriden, New Haven, South Manchester, Willimantic
- Connecticut General Assembly
- Joint Committee on Woman Suffrage
- hearing before, SBA, **39**: 588-90
- Connecticut WSA
- joint meeting with NWSA
- SBA attends, **23**: 702-8
- meetings of
- ECS and SBA attend, **2**:

- 149-50; **14**: 33-54
 letter from SBA, **34**:
 418-31
 SBA attends, **16**: 478-86;
17: 433-41; **39**: 568-81
 Convention of the Free States,
 Cleveland, OH
 SBA signs call to, **8**: 1026-27
 Conway, Ellen Davis Dana
 letter(s) from ECS, **23**:
 314-17; **24**: 729-35
 letter(s) from SBA, **23**:
 325-28, 458-60
 letter(s) to ECS, **24**: 661
 letter(s) to SBA, **23**: 632
 Conway, Moncure Daniel
 letter(s) from ECS, **20**: 893;
38: 601-2
 letter(s) from SBA, **23**:
 172-73
 letter(s) to ECS, **22**: 696,
 722-24; **24**: 661, 1088
 letter(s) to SBA, **22**: 537-38
 Cook, Eliza H. Hoxie Shove
 letter(s) to SBA, **37**: 454-66
 Cook, Helen A.
 letter(s) to SBA, **38**: 276
 Cook, Jean Beman
 letter(s) from SBA, **39**:
 857-58
 Cook County WSA
 letter(s) to National Woman
 Suffrage and Educational
 Committee convention, **15**:
 329, 337
 letter(s) to SBA, **32**: 344,
 457
 reception for ECS and SBA,
15: 634-35
 SBA lectures for, **15**: 542
 meetings of
 ECS and SBA attend, **15**:
 445-51
 letter from ECS, **16**: 89
 letter from SBA, **24**:
 82-86
 SBA attends, **14**: 851;
24: 233-36; **25**: 152-55;
26: 812-14, 923-24
 Cooley, Winnifred Harper
 letter(s) to ECS, **41**: 1007-8
 Coolidge, Mrs.
 letter(s) from SBA, **38**:
 938-39
 Coonley, Lydia Arms Avery
 letter(s) from SBA, **29**: 507;
30: 411-16, 490, 508-13,
 550-53, 589-95; **31**: 515-18,
 541-42, 655-60; **36**: 1067-68;
37: 169-72, 186-87
See also Ward, Lydia Arms
 Avery Coonley
 Cooper, Harriet
 letter(s) from SBA, **34**:
 809-10
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 649-52, 747-50
 letter(s) to SBA, **31**: 494-95
 Cooper, Peter
 letter(s) from SBA, **14**:
 865-66
 Cooper, Sarah Brown Ingersoll
 about, SBA statement on death of,
36: 161
 letter(s) from SBA, **25**:
 1103-5; **26**: 766, 891-94;
31: 497-500; **33**: 669-71,
 831-37, 843-44, 858-60, 927;
34: 23-29, 349, 356-57;
35: 224-25, 295-97, 623-26,
 776, 824-25
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 673-75, 738-39
 letter(s) to SBA, **25**: 137;
31: 494-95; **33**: 910,
 962-63; **34**: 324; **35**: 734
 Cooper, Susan Thurston
 letter(s) from SBA, **43**: 366;
44: 166
 Cooper Union
See also Cooper, Peter
 trustees of
 letter from SBA, **14**:
 711-13
 Coover, Bertha
 letter(s) from SBA, **38**: 675
 Cope, Elena H.
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
36: 760
 Copenhagen, NY
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 6
 Corbin, Caroline Elizabeth Fairfield
 letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 33
 Corbin, Henry Clark
 letter(s) to SBA, **41**: 548
 other letters
 to officers of NAWSA,
41: 548
 Corley, Manuel Simeon
 article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 353
 Cornell, Ezra
 letter(s) from ECS, **16**: 27-30
 Cornell, Kate I. F.
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
21: 65
 Cornell, S. H.
 letter in support of NWSA,
 "Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 868
 Cornell University
 ECS bequest of brain to, **40**:
 821
 SBA lectures, **13**: 434
 Corning, NY
 tour for American Anti-Slavery
 Society
 SBA attends, **8**: 1010
 Correll, Erasmus Michael
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1179
 letter(s) from SBA, **22**: 173
 letter(s) to ECS, **22**: 276-77
See also Editor, *Western
 Woman's Journal*
 Corsicana, TX
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 474
 Corson, Hiram (1804-96)
 letter(s) to SBA, **24**: 510-11
 Cortelyou, George Bruce
 letter(s) to ECS, **38**: 494
 letter(s) to SBA, **41**: 263
See also McKinley, Ida
 Saxton; McKinley, William
 Cortissoz, Ellen Mackay Hutchinson
 letter(s) from SBA, **44**: 21,
 301
See also Hutchinson, Ellen
 Mackay
 Coudersport, PA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 343-44
 Council Bluffs, IA
 ECS lectures, **15**: 649
 interview(s) in, SBA, **38**: 839;
44: 568
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 553
 reception for SBA, **44**: 567
 SBA lectures, **15**: 390; **16**:
 90; **18**: 744; **20**: 264
 Couzins, Phoebe Wilson
 about, SBA interview, **35**: 782;
36: 1007
 article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 377
 letter(s) from ECS, **15**: 592
 letter(s) from SBA, **23**: 105-8
 letter(s) to ECS, **18**: 248-51;
40: 223
 letter(s) to *Revolution*,
2: 253
 letter(s) to SBA, **15**: 507;
19: 1025; **29**: 10
 other letters
 to Butler, Benjamin F.,
17: 941-42
 Cove, OR
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 232-43
 Covington, IN
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 458-59
 Cowan, John
 ECS endorsement of book by,
15: 883-85
 Cowgill, Mary V. S.
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 683
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
21: 65; **24**: 21, 908;
25: 205
 letter(s) to SBA, **18**: 871
 Cowle, Mrs.
 letter(s) from ECS, **24**: 53-55
 Coyle, Celia

- interview(s) with SBA, **44**: 692
- Craft, Mabel
interview(s) with SBA, **35**: 836
- Cramer, H. N.
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 205
- Crane, Mr.
letter(s) from SBA, **12**: 109-10
- Crane, Caroline Julia Bartlett
letter(s) from SBA, **36**: 659-60; **38**: 41-42; **41**: 988; **43**: 363, 588
See also Bartlett, Caroline Julia
- Crane, John H.
letter(s) to ECS, **26**: 633, 721-24
- Cranmer, Emma A.
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **36**: 775
- Crawfordsville, IN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 460-62
- Crete, NE
SBA lectures, **19**: 592-93
- Croly, Jane Cunningham
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 580
- Crossett, Ella Hawley
letter(s) from SBA, **30**: 639-41; **33**: 811-12; **43**: 709-10; **44**: 804
other letters
from Anthony, Mary S., **30**: 639-41
- Crossett, Juliet Sarah
letter(s) from SBA, **38**: 672-73
- Crouch, Julia
article(s) in *Revolution*, **1**: 342-43, 356, 380, 459
- Crowley, Richard
trial of SBA, **17**: 76-78, 98-148
- Crowninshield, Arent Schuyler
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 395
- Crowninshield, Caroline L. S.
inscription(s) from ECS, **35**: 852
- Crowninshield, E.
letter(s) to *Revolution*, **2**: 140
- Crown Point, IN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 463-64
- Crozier, Hiram P.
letter(s) from ECS, **14**: 1053
- Cullom, Shelby Moore
letter(s) from SBA, **40**: 751
letter(s) to SBA, **40**: 775; **41**: 68
- Cunningham, Juliet
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 688-89, 728-31
- Cupertino, CA
Political Equality Club of
letter to SBA, **43**: 352
- Currie, Emma Augusta Harvey
letter(s) from SBA, **24**: 522-25
- Curtis, Atherton
letter(s) from SBA, **41**: 180-81
- Curtis, Caelia
letter(s) to *Revolution*, **2**: 248
- Curtis, Charles
letter(s) to SBA, **41**: 134
- Curtis, George William
letter(s) from ECS, **9**: 93-94; **12**: 317-18
letter(s) from SBA, **9**: 242
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 538
letter(s) to SBA, **9**: 56; **12**: 327; **23**: 635
letter(s) to SBA birthday celebration, **28**: 39
letter to AERA, New York State Woman's Rights Convention, **11**: 649
- Cutler, Hannah Maria Conant Tracy
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **20**: 320
letter(s) to SBA, **11**: 512-13; **20**: 792
letter to woman's rights anniversary meeting, **14**: 1020-21
- Cutler, James Goold
letter(s) to SBA birthday celebration, **44**: 457
- Cutler, John Christopher
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **44**: 580-81
- D
- Dahlgren, Sarah Madeline Vinton
other letters
from Gage, Matilda J., **15**: 1022, 1029
to Gage, Matilda J., **15**: 1022-23, 1029
- Dakin, L. S.
letter in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, **18**: 870
- Dakota, territory of *See* North Dakota and South Dakota
- Dale, Will B.
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 33
- Daley, Charlotte F.
articles by
protest against NWSA-AWSA merger, **27**: 661-68
- Daley, Emma C.
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **22**: 278
- Dall, Caroline Wells Healey
ECS review of book by, **12**: 812-21
letter in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, **18**: 870
letter(s) from ECS, **9**: 1124-25; **10**: 755-57, 795-96; **11**: 335-38, 457-60; **12**: 839-40; **18**: 845-47
letter(s) from SBA, **7**: 948; **9**: 245-48, 264-65, 270-71, 741-45; **10**: 743-45; **11**: 238-41, 330-38, 453-56, 534, 587-88, 596-97; **12**: 96-98; **18**: 884-87, 961-65, 1088-91; **20**: 300-303; **23**: 478-79, 533, 1144-45; **25**: 132-34, 1062-66, 1069-71; **27**: 1085-86; **41**: 196-97; **42**: 675-76, 693, 701-5, 898; **43**: 549-50, 775; **44**: 161-62, 377-79, 523
letter(s) to ECS, **10**: 775-77
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **20**: 318
letter(s) to SBA, **11**: 461; **38**: 282-85
letter to WNLN, **10**: 755-57
- Dana, Charles Anderson
interview(s) with SBA, **32**: 799-802
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 546
- Dana, Paul
letter(s) from SBA, **39**: 491-92
- Danforth, Grace
other letters
from McComas, Alice M., **33**: 873-74
- Dangerfield, J. R.
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 737-38, 744, 772-73
- Daniel, John Warwick
letter(s) to SBA, **41**: 27, 120
- Daniels, Cora L. V.
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 564-65
- Daniels, Elizabeth La Pierre
article(s) in *Revolution*, **1**: 363, 460, 573
letter(s) to *Revolution*, **1**: 162, 398
- Dann, Anna Elizabeth
letter(s) from SBA, **38**: 102-4, 1029-30; **41**: 429; **42**: 137-38, 142-49, 151-53, 156-59, 211-19, 223-29, 232-35, 240-44, 298-99, 598, 661-66
See also Mason, Anna Elizabeth
wedding of
SBA toast at, **42**: 770
- Dansville Sanitarium
ECS lecture, **27**: 655-57
library
inscription(s) from ECS and

- SBA, **27**: 576
- Danville, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 184-87
- Dare, Helen
interview(s) with SBA, **35**: 877
- Darien, WI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 535
- Darling, Mrs. M. A.
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **21**: 64
- Darlington, Edith S.
letter(s) from SBA, **26**: 908-9
- Darlington, Hannah Monaghan
letter(s) from ECS, **44**: 945-48
letter(s) from SBA, **21**: 828-31
letter(s) to ECS, **21**: 816
letter to WLNL meeting, **10**: 464
- Dartford, WI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 536
- Dartmouth, NS, Canada
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 659
- Darwin, Mary Abigail Platt
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 541
- Daughters of America
National Council
letter from SBA, **38**: 730
- Daughters of Temperance,
Canajoharie Union
SBA lecture, **6**: 880-88
- Daughters of Temperance, Genesee Union
festival
announcement of, SBA, **7**: 34-35
SBA attends, **7**: 48-52
meetings of
SBA attends, **7**: 54, 58
- Daughters of the American Revolution
Continental Congress
SBA attends, **38**: 295-97; **39**: 548-51; **41**: 16-22; **42**: 570-71
- Irondequoit Chapter
hospital corps meetings,
SBA attends, **38**: 598-99
- Manor House Chapter
meetings of, SBA attends, **41**: 14
- National Society of
application for membership,
SBA, **38**: 835-38
- Davenport, IA
ECS lectures, **3**: 76
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 554
SBA lectures, **15**: 506
- Davis, Cushman Kellogg
letter(s) to SBA, **40**: 730
- Davis, Edward Morris
letter(s) from ECS, **17**: 25, 1051-52; **18**: 292; **21**: 636-41, 723-25; **23**: 794
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 374-75
letter(s) from SBA, **16**: 582-84; **23**: 789-95
letter(s) to ECS, **16**: 339-40; **21**: 799, 1006; **24**: 661
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **18**: 769; **20**: 758, 767
letter(s) to SBA, **21**: 257, 1006
See also Edward M. Davis & Co.
other letters
to Mott, Lucretia C., **6**: 941-42
- Davis, Ira B.
article(s) in *Revolution*, **2**: 130
- Davis, Isabella Charles
letter(s) to SBA, **32**: 1046
- Davis, Maria Mott
abstract of discussion within
E. M. Davis & Co. re women as clerks, **6**: 945-47
letter(s) from SBA, **21**: 590-93
- Davis, Martha Powell
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **35**: 436
- Davis, Mary Fenn *See* Davis, Mary Robinson
- Davis, Mary Robinson
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **1**: 608
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 327-28; **12**: 191; **13**: 572
- Davis, Olive
letter(s) to SBA, **36**: 849
- Davis, Paulina Kellogg Wright
See also Wright, Paulina Kellogg
article(s) in *Revolution*, **2**: 0-1, 8-9, 25, 81-82, 89, 113, 170-71, 189, 215, 225, 231, 263, 279, 287, 329, 344
ECS article on, **42**: 172-75
ECS notes on correspondence of, **19**: 1-8
ECS obituary of, **18**: 1052
letter in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, **18**: 869
letter(s) from ECS, **6**: 1073; **7**: 1-9, 123-24, 465-66; **13**: 639-54; **14**: 55-57, 869-74; **15**: 509-16, 758; **18**: 116-17
letter(s) from SBA, **13**: 635-38
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 453, 605; **6**: 1069-72; **7**: 127, 133-34, 154-56, 309, 320-21; **16**: 248-55, 318-23
letter(s) to National Woman Suffrage Committee convention, **15**: 1022, 1029
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **16**: 886
letter(s) to *Revolution*, **2**: 195, 287
co-author
notice of resumption of NWSA meetings, **3**: 148
co-signer
letter to Woman's Industrial Congress at Berlin, **2**: 109; **13**: 826-28
financial records
promissory note from SBA, **13**: 625
funeral services for
ECS and SBA attend, **18**: 1005
other letters
from Anthony, Mary S., **15**: 808
from Faithfull, Emily, **2**: 578
to Anthony, Mary S., **15**: 804-7
to Greeley, Horace, **2**: 160-61
- Davis, Varina Anne Howell
letter(s) from SBA, **26**: 5-6
- Davis, William Henry
letter(s) to SBA, **34**: 126
- Dawes, Henry Laurens
letter(s) from ECS, **15**: 1018
letter(s) from SBA, **28**: 228-30; **44**: 961
letter(s) to National Woman Suffrage Committee convention, **15**: 1025, 1036-37
- Dawn, Nellie
letter(s) to SBA, **2**: 89
- Dawson, Richard A.
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **28**: 89
- Day, Horace H.
article(s) in *Revolution*, **2**: 54
- Dayton, OH
SBA lectures, **14**: 120
- Deadwood, SD
state amendment campaign
SBA lectures, **28**: 716
- Dean, Mary
letter to WLNL meeting, **10**: 462
- Dean, Phebe B.
letter to WLNL meeting, **10**: 462
- Deboise, Jacob
about, ECS interview, **36**: 6-7
- Debs, Eugene Victor
letter(s) to SBA, **43**: 362
- Decatur, IL

- letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 188-205
SBA lectures, 2: 317-18;
14: 674
- Decatur, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 919-49
- Decatur, NE
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1173
- Decorah, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 555-83
- Deems, Gertie
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 871
- DeFrates, Frances Blossom
letter(s) from SBA, 37:
525-26
- DeGarmo, Rhoda
arrest for illegal voting with
SBA, 16: 602; 17: 76-77
- Delano, MN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1057
- Delaware *See also* Greenwood
Delaware General Assembly
Joint Session
hearing before, ECS and SBA,
21: 800-801
- Delaware WSA
petition to U.S. House of
Representatives, 41: 57-58
- Delhi, NY
state constitutional campaign
meeting
SBA attends, 32: 618
- Delphi, IN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 465-66
- Democratic Party, National
Conventions
1868
letter from Woman's
Suffrage Association of
America, 1: 209; 12:
952-60
letter(s) from SBA, 1:
209; 12: 952-60
SBA attends, 12: 952-60
- 1876
address from NWSA, 18:
830-40
- 1880
address from NWSA, 21:
308-11
SBA attends, 21: 307-11
- 1892
address from NAWSA, 30:
289-90
SBA attends, 30: 288
- 1900
delegates to, letter from
NAWSA, 41: 379-80
- Denison, Ruth Carr
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 867
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 77
- Dennett, Lydia Neal
letter(s) from SBA, 15:
391-94
- Dennis, John, Jr.
interview(s) with SBA, 29:
461-64
- Dent, Louisa Holden
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
2: 124, 321
- Denver, CO
ECS lectures, 15: 672-673A
interview(s) in, SBA, 33:
999-1000
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 44-46
SBA lectures, 15: 667-68;
19: 562-63; 33: 1002-4
public library
librarian, letter from SBA,
44: 306
- De Pau, Henry
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
2: 43
- Depew, Chauncey Mitchell
letter(s) from ECS, 31:
414-16
letter(s) to ECS, 31: 424
- Deraismes, Maria
article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 332-33
letter(s) from ECS, 27:
282-84
letter(s) from SBA, 27:
282-84
letter(s) to ECS, 27: 143-47
- Derby, CT
women of
letter to ECS and SBA,
1: 515
- Des Moines, IA
interview(s) in, SBA, 36: 845
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 584-88
SBA lectures, 15: 406; 18:
743
NAWSA convention 1897
SBA attends, 36: 744-844
Political Equality Club of
letter from SBA, 43: 361
- De Soto, KS
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 719-20
- Detroit, MI
ECS lectures, 17: 1042-44
interview(s) in, SBA, 27: 558;
31: 383
SBA lectures, 2: 187; 14:
127-29; 27: 557; 31: 382
statement(s) in, SBA, 40: 302
National Social and Political
Reform Conference
letter(s) from SBA, 42:
26-28
Northwestern WSA
meetings of, SBA attends,
2: 600, 610; 14: 1105-20
Per Gradus Club
meetings of, SBA attends,
40: 303
- Detroit Woman's Club
meetings of
SBA attends, 40: 301
- Detroit WSA
meetings of
SBA attends, 15: 549
- Devanney, Charles, Jr.
letter(s) from SBA, 34: 408
- Devoe, Mr. A.
letter(s) to SBA, 41: 393-96
- DeVoe, Emma Smith
letter(s) from SBA, 32:
1027-28, 1042-43
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 723-25
letter(s) to SBA, 27: 1027
other letters
from Sutherland, A., 28:
571-72
- DeVoe, John Henry
letter(s) to SBA, 27: 511
- Dewey, Mrs. A. P.
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 870
- De Witt, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 206
- De Witt, Jennie Langridge Dowling
letter(s) from ECS, 37: 467
- De Witt, NE
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1174
- De Wolf, Mrs. E. A. H.
letter(s) from ECS, 15:
560-61, 607
letter(s) to SBA, 3: 197
- Dexter, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 950-51
- Dibble, Mrs. F. J.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 396
- Dickinson, Albert
letter(s) from SBA, 37: 30-31;
39: 606-7; 44: 709-11
other letters
from Anthony, Mary S.,
44: 709-11
- Dickinson, Albert Franklin
letter(s) from SBA, 8: 589-92
letter(s) to SBA, 6: 296-99,
491-94
- Dickinson, Anna Elizabeth
about, SBA interview, 33: 914
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 586-87
ECS article on, 1: 314-16, 323,

- 330, 346-47, 411, 590; **13**: 159-92
 letter(s) from ECS, **11**: 562-65; **12**: 210-13, 245-48, 332-35, 915-18, 943-45; **17**: 271
 letter(s) from SBA, **10**: 402-3, 750-52, 841-46; **11**: 464-65, 524-27, 535-37, 544-45, 556-57, 562-65, 576-83, 589-90, 613-18, 632-34, 669-72, 732-36, 875-78, 1054-58; **12**: 99-105, 207-9, 214-24, 229-34, 239-44, 249-52, 282-88, 295-300, 309-10, 321-24, 328-31, 359-64, 369-70, 455-58, 601-4, 829-31, 850-52, 860-63, 884-88, 909-10, 919-20, 923-31, 936-39, 947-51, 961-68, 971-74; **13**: 91-94, 98-109, 275-77, 319-21, 555; **14**: 86, 596-99, 614-21, 624-25, 663-71, 914-20; **34**: 448-49
 letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 538; **2**: 21, 69, 295; **10**: 372, 858-61; **11**: 513, 543; **12**: 320; **13**: 590
 letter to AERA meeting, **12**: 192
 lecture by
 SBA remarks at, **1**: 357; **13**: 114-15
 Dickinson, Ann Eliza Anthony
 inscription in album, SBA, **6**: 84
 letter(s) from SBA, **8**: 589-92; **20**: 397-98
 letter(s) to SBA, **6**: 491-94
 Dickinson, Charles
 letter(s) to SBA, **29**: 241
 Dickinson, Edwin
 letter(s) from SBA, **12**: 822-26
 letter(s) to SBA, **12**: 826
 Dickinson, Ellen
 letter in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, **18**: 868
 Dickinson, Frances
 letter(s) from SBA, **44**: 490-91
 letter(s) to SBA, **23**: 633
 Dickinson, Mary Lowe
 letter(s) from SBA, **36**: 977-80
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **35**: 360
 letter(s) to SBA, **34**: 845; **36**: 681; **38**: 149
 Dickinson, Melissa
 letter(s) from SBA, **41**: 520-21; **44**: 187-88, 884-85
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 622-23, 756-57
 Dickinson, Susan Evelyn
 letter(s) from SBA, **11**: 632-34
 Dickinson family
 letter(s) from SBA, **44**: 709-11
 other letters
 from Anthony, Mary S., **44**: 709-11
 Dicky, Mr. E. V.
 letter(s) from SBA, **11**: 679
 Dietrick, Ellen Battelle
 letter(s) to SBA, **32**: 839
 SBA writing about, **34**: 553
 articles by
 "Woman's Bible," **34**: 250
 co-author
 NAWSA, solicitation for funds, **32**: 751
 Diggs, Annie LePorte
 letter(s) to SBA, **25**: 235; **32**: 1009, 1115-16
 Dilke, Mrs. Ashton Wentworth *See* Dilke, Margaret Mary Smith
 Dilke, Margaret Mary Smith
 about, ECS interview, **26**: 566
 Dillard, Amelia C.
 letter(s) to SBA, **38**: 228-32
 Dinsmoor, Orpha Elizabeth Clement
 funeral services for
 ECS speaks, **26**: 986-87
 Disbrow, Elizabeth
 letter(s) from SBA, **10**: 1-5
 Disbrow, Mary E.
 letter(s) to ECS, **10**: 463
 District of Columbia
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 65-106
 See also Georgetown, Washington
 District Franchise Association
 meeting of, SBA attends, **13**: 295
 District of Columbia Equal Suffrage Association
 meetings of
 letter to SBA, **44**: 468
 District of Columbia Federation of Labor Unions
 letter(s) to International Council of Women, **26**: 235-36, 491
 District of Columbia WSA
 petition to U.S. House of Representatives, **41**: 60-62
 meetings of
 ECS and SBA attend, **26**: 755
 SBA attends, **27**: 1025; **28**: 198; **31**: 198
 receptions
 ECS and SBA attend, **29**: 997, 1053-55
 Dixon, Jennie
 letter in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, **18**: 868
 Doane, William Crosswell
 about, ECS interview, **34**: 140
 Dodge, Miss
 letter(s) from ECS, **22**: 346
 Dodge, Leroy
 letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 599
 Dodge, Mary Abigail
 ECS review of book by, **1**: 52-53
 letter(s) to ECS, **13**: 495-98
 Doggett, Kate Newell Horton
 article(s) in *Revolution*, **2**: 179
 letter(s) to ECS, **2**: 372
 letter(s) to *Revolution*, **2**: 101, 105, 213, 278
 letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 612-13; **14**: 682
 Dolley, Sarah Read Adamson
 letter(s) from SBA, **41**: 461
 testimonial to SBA, **16**: 3
 Dolliver, Jonathan Prentiss
 letter(s) to SBA, **41**: 74
 Dolph, Joseph Norton
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **31**: 258
 letter(s) to SBA, **29**: 649
 Dominion Suffrage Association
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **38**: 150
 Donnelly, Mary E.
 letter(s) to SBA, **38**: 479-91
 Dorman, Mrs. S. M.
 letter to WLNL meeting, **10**: 462
 Dorsett, Olive B.
 letter(s) to SBA, **44**: 809
 Dougall, Maria Y.
 articles by
 "Open Letter to the Women of America," **27**: 104-6
 Douglas, John
 letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 268
 Douglass, Frederick
 article(s) in *Revolution*, **2**: 270
 autograph of ECS, **24**: 37
 ECS tribute to, **33**: 964
 letter(s) from ECS, **11**: 879-81; **22**: 327-29, 361-62; **23**: 760-71; **24**: 564, 573-80
 letter(s) from SBA, **11**: 795-97; **16**: 866-67; **26**: 7-16; **31**: 525-28
 letter(s) to ECS, **9**: 816; **11**: 367; **22**: 351, 366-69; **23**: 778-79
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **21**: 1006
 letter(s) to SBA, **7**: 14; **10**: 34-35; **22**: 654; **26**: 18
 letter to National Woman's Rights Convention 1866, **11**: 513
 funeral services for
 ECS tribute, read by SBA,

- 33: 755-58
SBA attends, 33: 755-58
memorials for
ECS letter, read by SBA, 36: 879-82
SBA attends, 36: 879-82;
38: 770-76
SBA remarks at, 42: 540
- Douglass, Helen Pitts
letter(s) from SBA, 33: 813-16; 43: 600
letter(s) to ECS, 34: 476; 41: 95-98
- Douglass, Joseph
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, 35: 345
- Dover, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 207
- Dover, NH
SBA lectures, 18: 475
NWSA local meeting
SBA attends, 21: 1069
- Dow, Harriet Elmira Brown
letter(s) from SBA, 42: 782-83
- Dow, James T.
article(s) in *Revolution*, 1: 82
- Dow, Neal
letter(s) to SBA, 7: 641-42
letter to Women's New York State Temperance Society meeting, 7: 719, 728, 733
- Downing, George Thomas
letter(s) to *Revolution*, 1: 502
- Drake, Mrs.
letter(s) from SBA, 10: 555-56
- Drake, Priscilla Holmes Buell
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, 20: 319
- Draper, S. E.
other letters
to Smith, Gerrit, 10: 569
to unidentified correspondents, 10: 513-15
- Dryden, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 952-53
- Dublin, Ireland
Lord Mayor of
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, 40: 926
women of
letter(s) to International Council of Women, 26: 175, 409
- Dubuque, IA
ECS lectures, 14: 122-24
- Dugdale, Joseph Annesley
letter(s) from SBA, 14: 802-3
- Duluth, MN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 1058-62
SBA lectures, 27: 528
- Dunbar, Olivia Howard
interview(s) with SBA, 40: 180-85
- Duncannon, Lillian D.
letter(s) to SBA, 44: 460
- Dundee, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 208
- Dundee, NY
SBA lectures, 9: 857-916
- Dundore, Lavinia C.
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 79
letter(s) to SBA, 21: 238
- Dunham, Julia B.
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 616-19
letter(s) to SBA, 22: 188-94
- Duniway, Abigail Jane Scott
letter(s) from ECS, 24: 700-701
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 5: 278-81
letter(s) from SBA, 15: 840; 16: 237; 22: 199; 27: 309; 28: 967; 34: 397; 35: 777
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, 34: 614-15, 663
letter(s) to ECS, 15: 755
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, 38: 124; 42: 62
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, 20: 317
letter(s) to SBA, 18: 841; 26: 375; 35: 786; 44: 351-52
See also Editor, *New Northwest*
other letters
to Anthony, Mary S., 44: 351-52
- Dunkirk, NY
state constitutional campaign meeting
SBA attends, 32: 700
- Dunning, Mrs. G. L.
letter(s) from SBA, 41: 993
- Dunning, Henry
letter(s) from SBA, 8: 968
- Dunning, Jane Wadsworth
letter(s) from SBA, 8: 968
- Durand, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 209
- Durham, NH
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 1229
- Durham Park, KS
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 721
- Dutton, Alice
letter(s) to SBA, 16: 332
- Duval, Edith
about, SBA statement on trial of, 33: 805
- Duval, Elizabeth H.
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, 20: 318
- Dwight, Charles Chauncey
letter(s) from SBA, 12: 272-73
- Dwight, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 210

• E

- Eagle, Mary Kavanaugh Oldham
letter(s) to SBA, 31: 866
- Earlville, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 211-12
- East Greenwich, RI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 5: 456-57
- East Livermore, ME
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 819
- Eastman, Mary F.
incorporation of National Council of Women, U.S., 29: 1-2
- Easton, NY
anti-slavery meeting
SBA attends, 9: 211
tour for American Anti-Slavery Society
SBA attends, 8: 1091
- East Otto, NY
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 5: 7-9
- East Saginaw, MI
SBA lectures, 18: 131
- Eaton, Cora Smith
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, 34: 656-57, 786
- Eaton, Daniel Cady (1804-1855)
letter(s) from ECS, 6: 390-91
letter(s) to ECS, 6: 1030; 7: 125
- Eaton, Daniel Cady (1834-1895)
letter(s) from ECS, 30: 260-71, 278-82, 284-85
- Eaton, Daniel Cady (1837-1912)
autograph of ECS, 38: 363
- Eaton, Elizabeth Selden Spencer
letter(s) from ECS, 12: 651-54
- Eaton, Ellen Dwight
letter(s) from ECS, 9: 783-84, 824-25; 10: 41-44, 48-51, 64-65, 67-72, 174-76, 180-81, 368-71; 11: 425-27; 12: 655-58, 807; 13: 142-44; 30: 291-94; 44: 919-20, 989

- letter(s) from SBA, **9**: 917-18
- Eaton, Harriet Eliza Cady
inscription(s) from ECS and SBA, **21**: 1063
- letter(s) from ECS, **20**: 444, 750; **23**: 252-56
- Eau Claire, WI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 537-38
SBA lectures, **20**: 746
state congressional district tour
SBA attends, **25**: 83-86
- Eddy, Mary Baker Glover Patterson
inscription(s) from SBA, **43**: 609
letter(s) from SBA, **43**: 612-14
- Eddy, Sarah James
letter(s) from SBA, **26**: 988-91; **38**: 780-81
- Eddyville, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 589
- Edgar, Henry
lecture by
SBA remarks at, **13**: 554
- Edinburgh Women's Suffrage Society
meetings of
SBA attends, **23**: 269-70
- Editor, *Agitator*
letter(s) from ECS, **13**: 435-36
See also Livermore, Mary Ashton Rice
- Editor, *Alpha* (Luther, MI)
letter(s) from SBA, **23**: 1081
- Editor, *Baldwin's Monthly*
letter(s) from ECS, **18**: 446
- Editor, *Ballot Box*
letter(s) from ECS, **18**: 999; **19**: 459, 552
letter(s) from SBA, **18**: 870, 1045; **19**: 548-49, 597
See also Williams, Sarah R. Langdon
- Editor, *Baltimore Clipper*
letter(s) from SBA, **7**: 1036
- Editor, *Boston Investigator*
letter(s) from ECS, **24**: 1028-29; **38**: 828
See also Mendum, Ernest; Mendum, Josiah P.; Washburn, Lemuel K.
- Editor, *Boston Post*
letter(s) from SBA, **39**: 479; **41**: 607-8
- Editor, *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*
letter(s) from SBA, **12**: 108
- Editor, *Bulletin*
letter(s) from SBA, **40**: 271
- Editor, *Carson League*
letter(s) from SBA, **7**: 310, 314
See also Thomas, John
- Editor, "Cause of Woman," *Sun* (New York)
letter(s) from ECS, **39**: 557
See also Harper, Ida A. Husted
- Editor, *Century*
letter(s) from SBA, **37**: 29
letter(s) to SBA, **37**: 29
- Editor, *Chicago Daily Tribune*
letter(s) from ECS, **17**: 416
- Editor, *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*
letter(s) from SBA, **23**: 451
- Editor, *Critic*
letter(s) from ECS, **35**: 595
- Editor, *Democrat and Chronicle* (Rochester)
letter(s) from SBA, **15**: 608; **31**: 731; **36**: 963-64
- Editor, *Evening Express* (Rochester)
letter(s) from SBA, **16**: 560
- Editor, *Evening Post* (New York)
letter(s) from ECS, **12**: 307; **41**: 588; **42**: 418, 771
- Editor, *Evening Star* (Washington, DC)
letter(s) from ECS, **24**: 956
letter(s) from NAWSA officers, **41**: 26
letter(s) from SBA, **24**: 856; **40**: 936
- Editor, *Free Thought Magazine*
letter(s) from ECS, **32**: 532; **33**: 652-56; **42**: 171
See also Green, Horace L.
- Editor, *Golden Age*
letter(s) from ECS, **15**: 544, 656, 702-3, 756-57, 795, 821, 846-47; **16**: 88; **17**: 394, 905, 945-46, 984-85; **18**: 212
See also Tilton, Theodore
- Editor, *Hartford Times* (CT)
letter(s) from ECS, **24**: 941, 971
- Editor, *Hustler* (Fruitvale, CA)
letter(s) from SBA, **35**: 1105
- Editor, *Independent*
letter(s) from ECS, **11**: 310
- Editor, *Index*
letter(s) from ECS, **18**: 1046, 1055-56, 1068, 1092; **19**: 422, 437; **20**: 357, 422; **23**: 532; **24**: 430
See also Abbot, Francis Ellingwood; Underwood, Benjamin Franklin
- Editor, *Indianapolis Journal* (IN)
letter(s) from ECS, **20**: 683
- Editor, *Inter-Ocean* (Chicago)
letter(s) from ECS, **21**: 707
letter(s) from SBA, **16**: 994; **21**: 707
- Editor, *Kansas State Journal* (Topeka)
letter(s) from SBA, **45**: 365
- Editor, *Lily*
letter(s) from ECS, **6**: 992; **7**: 26, 77, 84, 128
See also Bloomer, Amelia Jenks
- Editor, *National Anti-Slavery Standard*
letter(s) from ECS, **9**: 1025, 1126; **11**: 203, 226, 242, 259, 368
letter(s) from SBA, **9**: 138-39, 355, 557-58; **11**: 149; **12**: 94, 373, 440
- Editor, *National Citizen and Ballot Box*
letter(s) from ECS, **20**: 306; **21**: 809
letter(s) from SBA, **20**: 274, 862
See also Gage, Matilda Joslyn
- Editor, "National Column," *Woman's Journal*
letter(s) from SBA, **44**: 37, 349, 452, 735
- Editor, *National Reformer*
letter(s) from ECS, **6**: 773
other letters
from McClintock, Elizabeth W., **6**: 773
- Editor, *New Era*
letter(s) from ECS, **24**: 674
letter(s) from SBA, **24**: 70
See also Harbert, Elizabeth Morrison Boynton
- Editor, *New Northwest*
letter(s) from SBA, **15**: 822, 1059-61; **16**: 534; **18**: 283, 781; **19**: 522, 693; **23**: 858
letter(s) to editor from SBA, **17**: 938
See also Duniway, Abigail Jane Scott
- Editor, *New Voice*
letter(s) from ECS, **39**: 563
- Editor, *New York Daily News*
letter(s) from SBA, **33**: 18
- Editor, *New York Daily Tribune*
letter(s) from ECS, **9**: 530, 660-61, 685
- Editor, *New York Journal*
letter(s) from ECS, **35**: 1088
- Editor, *New York Recorder*
letter(s) from ECS, **32**: 769
- Editor, *New York Semi-Weekly Tribune*
letter(s) from ECS, **8**: 93-94
- Editor, *New York Suffrage Newsletter*
letter(s) from SBA, **43**: 335
- Editor, *New York Times*
letter(s) from ECS, **16**: 365, 992, 1020, 1031-32; **17**: 5, 28; **32**: 767-68
letter(s) from SBA, **13**: 563
- Editor, *New York Tribune*
letter(s) from ECS, **8**: 341; **12**: 228, 308; **28**: 227; **32**: 766; **39**: 913; **41**:

- 531
letter(s) from SBA, 22: 27;
37: 36
Editor, *Outlook*
letter(s) from ECS, 41: 954
letter(s) from SBA, 35: 926
Editor, *Penny Magazine*
letter(s) from SBA, 40: 50
Editor, *Philanthropist*
letter(s) from SBA, 30: 341
Editor, *Pioneer-Magnet* (Big Rapids, MI)
letter(s) from ECS, 21: 153
Editor, *Revolution*
letter(s) from ECS, 2: 445,
452-53, 456; 3: 45, 378
letter(s) from SBA, 2: 30, 88,
296, 303, 328-29, 359, 374,
393, 408, 598; 3: 134, 181,
197, 349, 445, 462; 15: 717
Editor, *Rochester Daily Democrat*
letter(s) from ECS, 7: 213
Editor, *Rochester Union and Advertiser*
letter(s) from SBA, 16: 993;
30: 139
Editor, *San Francisco Call*
letter(s) from SBA, 35: 808
Editor, *San Francisco Chronicle*
letter(s) from ECS, 15: 709
Editor, *San Francisco Examiner*
letter(s) from SBA, 35: 806;
36: 25, 79
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
38: 124
letter(s) to SBA, 35: 746
Editor, *Seneca County Courier* (NY)
letter(s) from ECS, 6: 779-81
other letters
from McClintock, Elizabeth
W., 6: 779-81
Editor, *St. Louis Republic*
letter(s) from SBA, 36: 1055
Editor, *Sun* (New York)
letter(s) from ECS, 14: 860;
18: 448; 22: 172; 32:
783, 837, 988, 1022; 38: 910;
39: 542; 40: 676; 41:
591, 1029; 42: 337, 588
Editor, *Taxpayer*
letter to Working Woman's
Association No. 1, 13:
67-68
Editor, *Torch of Reason*
letter(s) from ECS, 41: 578,
1017
Editor, *Troy Morning Telegram and Whig* (NY)
letter(s) from ECS, 45: 384
Editor, unidentified newspapers
letter(s) from ECS, 40: 226
letter(s) from SBA, 7: 804
Editor, *Union Signal*
letter(s) from SBA, 27: 369;
38: 1050
Editor, *Voice*
letter(s) from ECS, 29:
514-15, 543
Editor, *Washington Chronicle* (DC)
letter(s) from SBA, 23: 43
Editor, *Western Woman's Journal*
letter(s) from SBA, 22: 174
See also Correll, Erasmus
Michael
Editor, *Woman's Campaign*
letter(s) from SBA, 16: 501
Editor, *Woman's Chronicle*
letter(s) from SBA, 30: 222
Editor, *Woman's Column*
letter(s) from SBA, 34: 394
See also Blackwell, Alice
Stone
Editor, *Woman's Exponent*
letter(s) from SBA, 22: 60
See also Wells, Emmeline
Blanche Woodward
Editor, *Woman's Journal*
letter(s) from ECS, 16: 1019;
17: 27; 23: 1068; 24:
289, 714, 751, 933, 1093;
31: 321, 372, 384, 592, 602,
612, 670; 32: 996, 1047;
33: 17, 46, 933; 34: 585,
819; 37: 115, 260, 313, 383;
38: 305, 861; 39: 641-47,
844; 40: 60, 708; 41: 532,
570, 577, 904, 924, 989;
42: 294, 336, 419-20, 712
letter(s) from SBA, 26: 75;
29: 348; 30: 3; 31: 322,
611, 798; 32: 738; 38: 650,
680
See also Blackwell, Alice
Stone; Blackwell, Henry
Browne; Stone, Lucy
Editor, "Woman's Kingdom,"
Inter-Ocean (Chicago)
letter(s) from SBA, 19: 503
See also Harbert, Elizabeth
Morrison Boynton
Editor, "Woman's Realm,"
Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette
letter(s) from ECS, 23: 1083
See also Wade, Elizabeth
Angus Wilkinson
Editor, *Woman's Standard*
letter(s) from ECS, 42: 804
Editor, *Woman's Tribune*
letter(s) from ECS, 23: 1011;
26: 976; 28: 238, 715;
31: 428; 34: 377
letter(s) from SBA, 27: 529,
634; 38: 679; 40: 707
See also Colby, Clara Dorothy
Bewick
Editor, *Women's Penny Paper*
letter(s) from ECS, 28: 271,
573
Editor, *Women's Suffrage Journal*
letter(s) from SBA, 17: 264
Editor, *Word*
letter(s) from SBA, 16: 331
See also Heywood, Ezra Hervey
Editor, *World* (New York)
letter(s) from ECS, 12: 204-5,
660; 13: 310; 32: 765, 784
letter(s) from SBA, 13: 113;
16: 171; 39: 622
Edmunds, George Franklin
letter(s) from SBA, 24: 63-66
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 784
Edmunds, Mrs. M. A.
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 282-85
Edward M. Davis & Co., New York
other letters
to Edward M. Davis & Co.,
Philadelphia, 6: 943-44
Edward M. Davis & Co., Philadelphia
other letters
from Edward M. Davis & Co.,
New York, 6: 943-44
Effingham, IL
SBA lectures, 19: 472
Egeria
prospectus for, 7: 156
Egypt, NY
SBA lectures, 7: 596-640
Einstein, Mrs.
letter(s) from SBA, 33: 781
Ela, Jacob Hart
letter(s) to Universal
Franchise Association
conventions, 14: 551, 555
Elcourt, Emma
letter(s) to ECS, 22: 276
Elder, Adam
letter(s) to ECS, 2: 372
Eldora, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 590
Eldorado, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 213
Eldridge, Edward
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
28: 67; 29: 1014
Elgin, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 214-15
Eliot, Charles William
about, SBA interview, 35: 277
about, SBA statement, 35: 293
Eliot, Samuel Atkins
letter(s) from SBA, 41:
299-302
Eliot, Thomas Lamb
letter(s) from SBA, 33: 509
Eliot, William Greenleaf
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 775
Elizabethtown, NY
county woman's rights convention
SBA attends, 8: 150
Elk Creek, NE
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1175

- Elkhart, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 216
- Elkhart, IN
ECS lectures, 17: 425
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 467-68
SBA lectures, 18: 488
- Elkhorn, WI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 5: 539
- Elkins, Stephen Benton
letter(s) to SBA, 40: 701
- Elk River, MN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 1063-64
- Elkview, PA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 5: 345
- Ellenville, NY
SBA lectures, 10: 290
- Ellis, C. D.
letter(s) to *Revolution*, 2: 264
- Ellis, Clara Spalding Brown
letter(s) from SBA, 44: 19-20
- Ellsworth, Mrs.
letter(s) from ECS, 38: 364
- Ellsworth, Bertha P.
letter(s) to SBA, 28: 40
- Ellsworth, KS
SBA lectures, 19: 594
- Elmes, Lucy R.
letter(s) to ECS, 1: 515
letter(s) to SBA, 1: 515
- Elmira, NY
ECS lectures, 14: 1158
SBA lectures, 7: 313; 14: 1062
state constitutional campaign meeting
SBA attends, 32: 650
- Embreeville, PA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 5: 346
- Emery, Samuel Hopkins
letter(s) to ECS, 34: 450-51
- Emma Willard Association
alumnae questionnaire, ECS, 39: 7-10
See also Troy Female Seminary reunions
ECS address for, read by SBA, 31: 565-77
ECS and SBA lecture, 31: 735-36
ECS lectures, 30: 226-53
SBA attends, 31: 565-77
- Emmetsburgh, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 591-92
- Emporia, KS
interview(s) in, SBA, 30: 482
equal suffrage convention
SBA attends, 25: 750-54
- Emporium, PA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 5: 347-48
- England, Mrs.
letter(s) from SBA, 24: 867-70
- England, Mrs. Isaac W.
letter(s) from ECS, 16: 46; 23: 521-24
- equal rights meetings
mass meeting at Lake Waccabuc, NY, 12: 289-90
- Equal Rights Party
meeting of, 16: 104-9
- Erie, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 217
- Erie County WSA
letter(s) to SBA birthday celebration, 2: 273
- Essex, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 593
- Essex County (NJ) WSA
meetings of
letter(s) from ECS, 37: 467
- Estell, Anna C.
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, 21: 1006
- Estlin, Mary Anne
letter(s) to SBA, 23: 628-29
- Euclid, MN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 1065
- Eugene, IN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 469
- Eureka, CA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 15-20
- Eureka, KS
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 722
- Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod of North America
meetings of
letter from SBA, 41: 350-52
- Evans, Mr.
letter(s) from SBA, 44: 961A
- Evans, J. Sumner
article(s) in *Revolution*, 1: 83, 108
- Evans, J. S. W.
letter(s) to ECS, 2: 51
- Evans, Mrs. J. S. W.
letter(s) to ECS, 1: 501
- Evans, Mary
letter(s) from SBA, 24: 285-87
- Evans, NY
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 5: 10
- Evans, Richard
article(s) in *Revolution*, 1: 118
- Evanston, IL
SBA lectures, 14: 843
- Evansville, IN
SBA lectures, 25: 438-39
- Everett, Florence Baton
letter(s) to ECS, 42: 792-93
- Everhard, Caroline McCullough
letter(s) from SBA, 26: 910; 32: 1106; 34: 435-36, 815
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, 34: 662
- Ewin, James Lithgow
letter(s) from SBA, 40: 341-43
- Ewing, Emma Pike
letter(s) to SBA, 36: 1089-90
- Ewing, T. M.
letter(s) to *Revolution*, 1: 252, 276
- Eyster, Rebecca R.
letter(s) from ECS, 6: 662-64

• F

- Fair, James Graham
letter(s) to SBA, 22: 495
- Fair, Laura D.
about, ECS interview, 15: 697
- Fairbanks, Charles Warren
letter(s) from SBA, 41: 53-55, 267
letter(s) to SBA, 41: 69
- Fairbury, NE
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 1176-77
- Fairchild, James Harris
letter(s) from SBA, 22: 57-59, 590-91; 25: 61
- Fairfield, IL
SBA lectures, 19: 470
- Faithfull, Emily
letter(s) from SBA, 17: 43-45
letter(s) to ECS, 2: 578; 14: 1020, 1050-51; 16: 521; 25: 215; 28: 494
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, 13: 623-24
letter(s) to SBA, 16: 520
other letters
to Davis, Paulina K. W., 2: 578
- Falls City, NE
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 1178
- Fantallier, J.
letter(s) to ECS, 1: 162
- Faribault, MN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 1066-75
- Farley, Ida Midler
letter(s) from SBA, 43: 761
- Farmers' Alliance *See* South Dakota
- Farmington, NY

- ECS lectures, **6**: 782-815
- Farnham, George L.
letter(s) to SBA, **27**: 83
- Farrand, Emma
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 227
- Fassett, Jennie Crocker
letter(s) from SBA, **33**: 61
- Favre, Jules Gabriel Claude
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 579-80;
13: 510, 514
- Fawcett, Millicent Garrett
letter(s) from SBA, **41**:
281-82; **43**: 561-62
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
29: 1014
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
23: 585
letter(s) to SBA, **23**: 585
other letters
from Garrett, Agnes, **43**:
562
- Faxon, Henry Hardwick
letter(s) to International
Council of Women, **26**: 538
- Fenton, Faith *See* Freeman, Alice
- Fenton, Reuben Eaton
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 580;
17: 918
- Fenwick-Miller, Florence
letter(s) to ECS, **34**: 493
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
44: 130
- Ferguson, Charles Eugene
letter(s) from SBA, **21**:
148-49
- Ferguson, Eliza C.
letter(s) to SBA, **26**: 383
- Ferguson, Ellen B.
letter(s) to SBA, **25**: 205,
217
- Fern, Fanny *See* Parton, Sara
- Payson Willis
- Ferris, Sarah R.
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 33
- Ferry, Thomas White
letter(s) from ECS, **15**: 1019
letter(s) from SBA, **21**: 773
- Field, Eva
article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 49
- Field, Kate
interview(s) with SBA, **32**:
499-500; **33**: 764-65
letter(s) from ECS, **12**: 864;
19: 536-37
letter(s) from SBA, **12**:
889-91; **13**: 484-85
letter(s) to ECS, **28**: 46-49
letter(s) to SBA, **28**: 13-16
- Filley, Mary Ann Powers
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1232
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 319; **21**: 64; **24**: 909;
25: 205
- Fish, George T.
letter(s) to SBA, **44**: 363
other letters
to Anthony, Mary S., **44**:
363
- Fish, Harry C.
letter(s) from SBA, **27**: 90-91
- Fish, Mariam H.
letter(s) to SBA, **10**: 469
- Fish, Mrs. S. W.
letter to WNLN meeting, **10**:
469
- Fisk, Richmond, Jr.
article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 57
- Fisk University
SBA lecture, **37**: 317-18
- Fitch, Charles Elliot
letter(s) from SBA, **18**: 452
- Fitzhugh, Olivia Fort
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
25: 205
- Flake's Bulletin* (Galveston, TX)
proprietors of
letter to SBA, **13**: 95
- Fleming, Francis Philip
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
31: 248
- Fletcher, Alice Cunningham
incorporation of National
Council of Women, U.S.,
29: 1-2
- Fletcher, Horace
ECS review of book by, **39**:
509-10
- Flint, Samuel
article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 174
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 283
- Florida
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 107-10
See also Orange City, Tampa
- Flournoy, John Jacobus
letter(s) to ECS, **14**: 1121
other letters
to Woodhull, Victoria C.,
14: 1121
- Flower, Benjamin Orange
letter(s) to ECS, **28**: 764
- Flower, Constance de Rothschild,
Lady Battersea *See* Battersea,
Lady Constance de Rothschild
- Flower
- Flushing, NY
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 11-13
- Folger, Charles James
letter(s) to SBA, **21**: 916;
23: 35, 48
- Folsom, Marianna Thompson
letter(s) from SBA, **43**: 592
- Foltz, Clara Shortridge
circular for New York offices,
36: 236
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 26
letter(s) to SBA, **21**: 146-47
- Fond du Lac, WI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 540-41
SBA lectures, **18**: 383
- Footte, Edward Bliss
inscription(s) from ECS, **45**:
339
letter(s) from ECS, **39**: 546
letter(s) from SBA, **17**: 230
- Footville, WI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 542
- Foraker, Joseph Benson
letter(s) to SBA, **42**: 762-63
- Forbes, Arethusa L.
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 34
- Ford, Nellie A.
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 866
- Ford, Sarah C.
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
33: 632, 640
- Fordham, Mary Foster
letter(s) from ECS, **31**:
717-19
- Forest City, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 594
- Forestville, NY
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 14-15
- Forney, John Wien
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 546;
21: 1076, 1109
- Forsyth, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 218
- Fort Collins, CO
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 47
- Fort Collins Agricultural College
librarian
letter from SBA, **42**:
794-95
- Fort Dodge, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 595
- Fort Scott, KS
interview(s) in, SBA, **22**: 739
SBA lectures, **18**: 365
NWSA and Kansas Equal Suffrage
Association meeting
SBA attends, **25**: 57-60
state amendment campaign
SBA lectures, **32**: 1095
- Fort Scott Equal Suffrage
Association
receptions
SBA attends, **25**: 772-73
- Fort Wayne, IN
SBA lectures, **16**: 1046-47;
20: 435-36

- Fossum, Lydia
letter(s) to ECS, **26**: 549-50
- Foster, Abigail Kelley
letter(s) from ECS, **7**: 30-31
letter(s) from SBA, **8**: 877-84
letter(s) to ECS, **7**: 28-29
letter(s) to SBA, **9**: 432;
10: 363, 426, 462
- Foster, Addison Gardner
letter(s) to SBA, **40**: 710
- Foster, Judith Ellen Horton
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
23: 60
letter(s) to SBA, **21**: 1006;
24: 252
- Foster, Julia Manuel
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
23: 605; **24**: 13
- Foster, Julia T.
letter(s) from SBA, **21**: 852,
980-81, 1111-12, 1114-15;
22: 200-205; **25**: 356-63
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
23: 605; **24**: 13
- Foster, Mary F.
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 870-71
letter(s) to SBA, **18**: 1087
- Foster, Miriam Alice
letter(s) from SBA, **25**:
554-56
See also Avery, Miriam Alice
Foster
- Foster, Rachel G.
See also Avery, Rachel G.
Foster
letter(s) from ECS, **21**:
642-44, 817-20; **25**: 148-51,
622-24
letter(s) from SBA, **21**: 245,
390-95, 409-11, 429, 464-69,
489-92, 530-34, 586, 607-8,
648-49, 668-70, 704-5, 769-71,
840, 852, 868-69, 873-75,
942-43, 966-69, 1111-12,
1114-15; **22**: 109, 134-42,
175-78, 200-205, 221-22, 365,
420-24, 467-68, 660-63; **23**:
311, 159, 260; **25**: 158-61,
173-79, 185-89, 229-34, 237-66,
271-78, 311-17, 340-52, 356-63,
385-88, 400-406, 425-30,
436-37, 442-46, 449-54, 456-57,
460-61, 488-93, 509-22, 548-51,
552-57, 560-66, 616-17, 640-45,
652-57, 664-67, 669-73, 686-92,
708-9, 782-91, 851-60, 1031-32;
26: 25-31, 67-68, 748, 758,
840-41
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
23: 605; **24**: 3, 13, 29
letter(s) to SBA, **25**: 234
other letters
to Brown, Olympia, **25**:
1027-32
- Foster, Stephen Symonds
letter(s) from ECS, **13**: 112
letter(s) from SBA, **8**: 877-84
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 524;
9: 790-98
letter(s) to SBA, **8**: 338
- Fosters, OH
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 143
- Foulke, William Dudley
letter(s) from SBA, **26**:
1023-26; **31**: 817-18; **33**:
782
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
32: 357
- Fowler, Amelia
letter(s) from SBA, **42**: 20-21
- Fowler, Fannie Holden
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 999-1000
letter(s) from SBA, **24**: 520
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
21: 65; **22**: 277
- Fowler, Jessie Allen
interview with ECS, **42**:
426-28
- Fowler, Lorenzo Niles
phrenological study of ECS, **7**:
488-502
- Fowler, Lydia Folger
letter(s) to ECS, **6**: 1080-82
letter to Women's New York
State Temperance Society
meeting, **7**: 440-41
- Fox River, WI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 543-44
- France *See* Association pour le
droit des femmes, Congrès
français et international du
droit des femmes, Société
pour l'amélioration du sort
de la femme
- Frankfort, IN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 470-74
- Frankfort, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 954-55
- Franklin, Julia C.
article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 17
- Fray, Ellen Sully
letter(s) to SBA, **20**: 318
- Frazer, O. H.
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 459-60
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 500
- Freedom, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 219-20
- Freeman, Alice
interview(s) with SBA, **27**:
568
- Freeport, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 221-23
- Freer, Romeo Hoyt
letter(s) to SBA, **40**: 793
- Free Religious Association
See also Providence, RI
meetings of
ECS attends, **21**: 1012-45
SBA attends, **29**: 225
- Frémont, Jessie Ann Benton
letter(s) from ECS, **10**:
774-74A
letter(s) to ECS, **10**: 431-32
letter(s) to SBA, **11**: 510
- Frémont, John Charles *See* Central
Frémont Club
- French, Lt. W. E. P.
article on woman suffrage by,
36: 963-64
- Fresno, CA
state amendment campaign
SBA attends meetings,
36: 53-54
- Frey, Emily
letter(s) to SBA, **10**: 462
- Friends of Human Progress
North Collins, NY
meetings of, letter from SBA,
9: 67
meetings of, SBA attends,
10: 550
- Waterloo, NY, Yearly Meeting
ECS and SBA attend, **9**:
690-712
ECS attends, **8**: 1156-61
ECS report read by SBA,
8: 916-18
SBA attends, **8**: 907-21;
10: 12-33
SBA signs calls to, **8**:
1148
- Frothingham, Octavius Brooks
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 538;
18: 378-80; **44**: 942
- Fry, S. T.
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
29: 26
- Frye, William Pierce
letter(s) to SBA, **42**: 764-65
- Fuller, Andrew Samuel
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 398
- Fuller, Isaac
letter(s) from ECS, **9**: 539-43
- Fuller, Margaret
memorial for
letter(s) from ECS, **42**:
191
- Fuller, Martha Prather
letter(s) from SBA, **41**: 202
- Fulton, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 224-26
- Fulton County, NY
real estate transactions, ECS,
9: 919-21, 963-64, 968-73;

- 10: 153-54, 700-701; 13: 399-400
 Fulton County WSA
 meetings of
 ECS and SBA attend, 23: 832
 Funck, Emma J. Maddox
 letter(s) from SBA, 43: 584, 599
 Furlong, Edward P.
 account of ECS attempt to vote in Tenafly, 21: 523-24
 Furniss, Louise E.
 article(s) in *Revolution*, 2: 325-26
- G
- Gaden, Minna Victoria
 letter(s) to SBA, 33: 661
 Gage, Frances Dana Barker
 letter(s) to ECS, 7: 585, 817, 826-27
 letter(s) to SBA, 8: 389-92; 23: 59, 638-39; 44: 1009
 letter(s) to Universal Franchise Association conventions, 2: 238; 14: 550
 letter to Women's New York State Temperance Society meeting, 7: 199-200
 Gage, Helen Leslie Gage
 letter(s) from SBA, 27: 530-33; 43: 606-7, 663-65; 44: 537-39
 Gage, Leslie
 letter(s) from SBA, 44: 553
 Gage, Matilda Jewell
 letter(s) from SBA, 44: 532-34, 554
 Gage, Matilda Joslyn
 See also Editor, *National Citizen and Ballot Box*
 about, ECS obituary of, 38: 641-43
 about, SBA statement on death of, 38: 359-60
 article(s) in *Revolution*, 1: 107-8, 129-30, 155, 275, 291-92, 426-27; 2: 24, 121-22, 221, 256, 263, 271
 inscription(s) in *HWS* 3, 27: 576
 letter(s) for ECS, 27: 279-80
 letter(s) from ECS, 17: 232-36; 19: 506; 20: 275-76, 378, 743, 810; 21: 385; 27: 493
 letter(s) from SBA, 7: 863-65, 1050-53; 8: 95-99, 107, 410-11; 9: 928; 10: 168-70, 190-91; 18: 468-70, 480-83, 710-17; 20: 695, 737, 753, 872, 884, 895; 21: 145, 159, 384, 430, 517, 522, 929; 22: 61; 24: 993-95
 letter(s) to ECS, 14: 848-50; 18: 381-82; 26: 838-39; 27: 242-47; 34: 114-15
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, 22: 261, 653-54; 26: 1067-68; 27: 2
 letter(s) to, NWSA Series, 4: 79, 553, 899-901, 1053, 1059-64, 1079-80, 1103, 1136-37, 1161, 1281; 5: 19-22, 81, 84
 letter(s) to *Revolution*, 1: 515; 2: 182, 212, 280
 letter(s) to SBA, 1: 428; 2: 273; 25: 353-55
 partnership agreement, *HWS*, 18: 1081-84
 statement on women and the Bible, 37: 469
 articles by
 "History of Woman Suffrage from 1848 to 1877," 20: 384, 415, 430, 445-46, 699, 725, 740, 752, 820, 825, 837-39, 871, 894, 908; 21: 2-3, 103, 112, 162-63, 247, 383, 428, 515, 622-23, 727-28, 864-67
 protest against NWSA-AWSA merger, 27: 661-68
 "Woman's Bible," 36: 1003-4, 1032-33; 37: 264-65
 co-author
 "Appeal for a Sixteenth Amendment," 18: 1070-72
 "Grant and Wilson. Appeal to the Women of America," 16: 269-71
 NWSA, "Address . . . to the National Democratic Convention," 18: 830-40
 NWSA, "Address . . . to the National Republican Convention," 18: 814-21
 NWSA memorial for sixteenth amendment, 20: 687-89, 690
 NWSA memorial to Rutherford B. Hayes, 20: 678-81
 co-signer
 NWSA memorial to secure right to vote in District of Columbia, 18: 721-27, 758-59
 NWSA memorial to U.S. House of Representatives, 16: 962-64
 NWSA memorial to U.S. Senate, 16: 991
 lectures by
 "United States on Trial; Not Susan B. Anthony," 17: 195-208
 other letters
 from Dahlgren, Sarah M. V., 15: 1022-23, 1029
 to Dahlgren, Sarah M. V., 15: 1022, 1029
 to Spencer, Sara J. A., 21: 388
 Gage, Thomas Clarkson
 letter(s) from SBA, 24: 290-93; 37: 273; 41: 286-87; 43: 524, 683-85
 Gahanna, OH
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 5: 144-49
 Gale, WI
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 5: 545
 Galena, IL
 tour for woman suffrage, 1869
 ECS and SBA at meetings, 13: 413-16
 Galesburg, IL
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 227
 Galesville, WI
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 5: 546
 Galin, Edward T.
 letter(s) from SBA, 10: 583-84
 Gallop, Miss C.
 letter(s) from SBA, 44: 526
 Galva, IL
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 228-33
 Gamble, Robert Jackson
 letter(s) to SBA, 40: 711
 Gannett, Mary Thorn Lewis
 letter(s) from SBA, 27: 314-15, 651-52, 1053-54; 28: 855-56; 32: 179-80; 35: 260-61; 38: 727-28; 39: 881-82; 40: 686-87; 41: 288; 42: 899-900; 43: 673-75; 44: 278-81
 letter(s) to SBA, 28: 41; 43: 676
 other letters
 from Anthony, Mary S., 28: 855-56
 Gannett, William Channing
 letter(s) from SBA, 27: 314-15, 651-52, 1053-54; 28: 855-56; 29: 299-300, 492-93; 30: 152-53; 32: 179-80; 35: 260-61, 565-66, 643-45, 711-14; 38: 538-46; 39: 598-600; 40: 686-87; 41: 275, 288, 921; 42: 338; 43: 543, 776-77; 44: 550
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, 20: 790
 letter(s) to SBA, 28: 41; 43: 676

- other letters
from Anthony, Mary S.,
28: 855-56; **30:** 154-61
- Gardener, Helen Hamilton
ECS preface to book by, **30:**
729-32
ECS review of book by, **28:**
956-57
letter(s) from ECS, **25:** 867;
40: 806
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 618-19, 720-21
letter(s) to ECS, **25:** 408-9,
594-95; **42:** 2
verse for ECS, **34:** 494;
40: 358
- Gardner, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 234
- Gardner, Nannette Brown Ellingwood
article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 244
- Gardspoint, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 235-36
- Garfield, James Abram
letter(s) from ECS, **15:** 1020
letter(s) from SBA, **21:**
357-69, 396-406
letter(s) to ECS, **15:** 1025,
1033, 1038, 1043-44
letter(s) to SBA, **21:** 373-78
- Garrett, Agnes
other letters
to Fawcett, Millicent G.,
43: 562
- Garrett, IN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 475-79
- Garrett, Mary Elizabeth
letter(s) from SBA, **42:** 694
letter(s) to SBA, **44:** 783
- Garrett, Thomas
letter(s) to ECS, **1:** 50
other letters
to Pillsbury, Parker, **1:**
50
- Garrigues, Cyrus
trial of SBA, **16:** 556-58,
864-65
- Garrison, Ellen Wright
letter(s) from SBA, **18:**
293-98; **21:** 656-61, 918-21;
26: 784-86; **28:** 984-87;
29: 456-57; **36:** 101-2,
108-9, 930; **38:** 554; **39:**
506-7; **40:** 817-18; **41:**
332-33, 913-15; **42:** 273-75,
878; **44:** 399-400, 731
letter(s) to SBA, **13:** 146;
14: 609; **20:** 823; **22:**
664-67
See also Wright, Ellen
- Garrison, Francis Jackson
inscription(s) from SBA, **38:**
1033-34
- letter(s) from ECS, **10:**
498-501
letter(s) from SBA, **24:**
533-35, 550-53; **26:** 767-70;
27: 520-23; **28:** 166-70,
183-84, 255-60, 958-59; **36:**
931-33; **39:** 522-23; **44:**
527-28
letter(s) to SBA, **28:** 242-43
- Garrison, Gertrude
letter(s) from ECS, **24:** 618
letter(s) from SBA, **24:**
640-42
- Garrison, Helen Frances
letter(s) from ECS, **10:**
498-501
See also Villard, Helen
Frances Garrison
- Garrison, Theresa Holmes
inscription(s) from SBA, **38:**
1033-34
- Garrison, Wendell Phillips
letter(s) from SBA, **25:**
592-93
letter(s) to SBA, **22:** 586-87
- Garrison, William Lloyd
letter(s) from ECS, **9:** 676-79;
10: 582, 761-65; **11:** 233,
419-20; **12:** 844-45
letter(s) from SBA, **7:** 856-57,
1035; **8:** 814-17, 1084-87,
1110; **9:** 95-102, 123-31,
223-31, 676-79, 955-62,
1071-72, 1080; **10:** 548, 564;
11: 381-84; **18:** 739-42,
966-69; **19:** 414-17
letter(s) to ECS, **9:** 549;
11: 433-34
letter(s) to SBA, **1:** 24;
8: 385-88, 932-34, 1088-89,
1106-9; **9:** 214-15, 1083;
19: 423-24; **20:** 326,
330-31, 353-56
letter to AERA meeting, **1:**
580-81
letter to National Woman's
Rights Convention 1866,
11: 513
other letters
to Stone, Lucy, **1:** 580-81
- Garrison, William Lloyd, Jr.
letter(s) from ECS, **34:**
596-98, 842; **35:** 237-44;
38: 238-39; **40:** 17-20,
276-77; **45:** 394-95
letter(s) from SBA, **21:**
739-48; **23:** 512-14, 534-39;
33: 783; **34:** 575-76, 608;
36: 101-2, 864-65; **37:**
162-63; **38:** 658-63; **42:**
273-77
letter(s) to ECS, **40:** 34-35
letter(s) to SBA, **22:** 668-69;
23: 636; **28:** 39; **32:** 940;
43: 601-3
verse for ECS, **34:** 521
- Garrison family
letter(s) from SBA, **20:** 812;
27: 520-23
- Gaston, Edward P.
interview(s) with SBA, **39:**
1066
- Gates, Mrs.
letter(s) from SBA, **18:**
810-11
- Gates, Merrill Edwards
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 785
- Gates, Susa Amelia Young Dunford
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
35: 310
- Gay, Elizabeth Johns Neall
letter(s) from SBA, **32:** 501-3
See also Neall, Elizabeth
Johns
- Gay, Sydney Howard
letter(s) from ECS, **10:**
420-21
letter(s) from SBA, **8:** 1111;
10: 413
- Gaylord, KS
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 723-24
- Geary, John White
case of Hester Vaughan
ECS interview about, **13:**
136
letter to Working Woman's
Association, **13:** 578
memorial from Working
Woman's Association,
13: 131
- General Federation of Women's Clubs
meetings of
letter from SBA, **41:**
304-5
SBA attends, **30:** 184-92
- Geneseo, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 237-47
- Geneva, NY
ECS lectures, **19:** 690
interview(s) in, SBA, **37:** 375;
40: 61
SBA lectures, **17:** 93-94
- Hygienic Institute
ECS lectures, **37:** 199-200
- Political Equality Club of
meetings of, letter(s) from
ECS, **37:** 590
meetings of, SBA attends,
39: 627; **44:** 543
- Geneva, WI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 547
- Georgetown, DC
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 65
- Georgia *See also* Atlanta, Morganville
- Georgia WSA
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
29: 27

- meetings of
letter from SBA, **40**:
250-59
- Gerard, Henry
letter(s) from ECS, **44**:
929-30
- Germantown, PA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 349-51
- Germany
See also Berlin
Allgemeiner Deutscher
Frauenverein
letter(s) to International
Council of Women, **26**: 263
Federation of Progressive Women's
Societies
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
42: 459, 511
Frauenwohl
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
38: 151
- Gestefeld, Ursula Newell
statement on women and the Bible,
37: 291
- Gibbons, Abigail Hopper
letter(s) to SBA, **2**: 273
co-signer
WSA of America, "Address,"
13: 119
- Gibbs, Helen
letter(s) to SBA, **10**: 564
- Giddings, Amelia
other letters
to Hooker, Isabella B.,
16: 207-9
- Gifford, Eliza Cornelia Robertson
letter(s) from SBA, **41**:
295-96
letter(s) to ECS, **28**: 89
letter(s) to SBA, **28**: 89
- Gilbert, Miss
letter(s) from SBA, **26**: 902-3
- Gilliams, Mr. E. Leslie
letter(s) from SBA, **42**: 791
- Gillick, L. S.
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
35: 360
- Gilman, Charlotte Anna Perkins
Stetson *See* Stetson, Charlotte
Anna Perkins
- Gilman, James A.
trial of SBA, **16**: 555-57,
857-60
- Gilmour, Neil
letter(s) to SBA, **22**: 89
- Girard, KS
state amendment campaign
SBA lectures, **32**: 1102-5
- Girard, OH
Political Equality Club of
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
32: 344
- Gladwin, Edwin T.
letter(s) from ECS, **24**:
1065-68
- Glasgow, Scotland
woman suffrage meeting
ECS attends, **22**: 700-708
- Godard, George Seymour
letter(s) from SBA, **44**: 353
- Godbe, Annie
letter(s) to ECS, **18**: 866
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 319
- Godkin, Edwin Lawrence
letter(s) from ECS, **38**: 548
- Goegg, Marie Pouchoulin Mercier
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 532
lecture by, **1**: 398-99
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 259, 459
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 459
letter to AERA meeting, **1**:
580; **13**: 519
other letters
to Miller, Elizabeth Smith,
2: 34
- Goff, Catharine S.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 59
- Goff, E. F.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
2: 333
- Goff, Sallie A.
letter(s) to SBA, **28**: 40
- Goldstein, Vida
inscription(s) in album, ECS,
42: 585
inscription(s) in album, SBA
and Mary S. Anthony, **42**:
653
letter(s) to SBA, **42**: 925-26
- Goleta, CA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 21-22
- Gompers, Samuel
letter(s) from SBA, **40**: 172;
44: 788-89
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
39: 820-21; **44**: 596, 662,
670
letter(s) to SBA, **40**: 175-76;
41: 121; **44**: 729, 756-57,
784
See also Guard, Rose Lee
- Goodbridge, Allen
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
19: 434-35
- Goodell, Rhoda Lavinia
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 319
- Gooding, Frank Robert
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
44: 581
- Gooding, Mary
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 424-25, 436; **2**: 6, 284
- Goodland, IN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 480
- Gordon, Anna Adams
letter(s) from SBA, **25**:
497-98, 825-29; **30**: 516-19;
36: 172-75, 670, 1042-43;
38: 278; **41**: 152-53
letter(s) to SBA, **25**: 1098;
32: 1003-5; **38**: 197
- Gordon, Ishbel Maria Marjoribanks,
Countess of Aberdeen
letter(s) from SBA, **44**:
287-88, 407-8
letter(s) to ECS, **29**: 94
letter(s) to ECS birthday
celebration, **34**: 490
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
29: 26; **38**: 198
- Gordon, John Campbell Hamilton,
Earl of Aberdeen
letter(s) to ECS birthday
celebration, **34**: 490
- Gordon, Kate M.
letter(s) to ECS, **42**: 567
- Gordon, Laura de Force
lecture by, **1**: 134
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 27
letter(s) from SBA, **14**: 74-77,
1063-68; **15**: 395-401; **18**:
782-85, 975-78; **19**: 474-78,
514-16
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
19: 439; **20**: 319
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 66;
3: 100; **22**: 275-76; **23**:
54-56, 591
co-signer
letter to Liberal
Republican Party,
National Convention,
16: 95
memorial to U.S. House of
Representatives, **16**:
24-26
- Gordon, Mr. R. J.
letter(s) from SBA, **17**: 11-12
- Gougar, Helen Mar Jackson
letter(s) to International
Council of Women, **26**: 546
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
35: 311; **36**: 775
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
24: 15
lecture by
SBA remarks at, **25**: 793
other letters
to NAWSA executive committee,
28: 53
- Gould, Mrs.
letter(s) from SBA, **41**: 203-4
- Gowanda, NY
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 16
- Graham, Harriet
letter(s) to SBA, **10**: 462
- Grand Army of the Republic
Department of California and
Nevada Encampment

- SBA attends, **35**: 715-16
 Department of South Dakota
 Encampment
 letter(s) to SBA, **28**: 217
- Grand Detour, IL
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 248
- Grand Island, NY
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 17
- Grand Ledge, MI
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 956-57
- Grand Rapids, MI
 ECS lectures, **14**: 522-23;
18: 26-27
 interview(s) in, SBA, **30**: 162;
37: 425, 431; **39**: 719-21
 SBA lectures, **15**: 354-55;
20: 728; **31**: 395
 NAWSA conference
 SBA attends, **37**: 425-30
 NAWSA convention 1899
 SBA attends, **39**: 722-839
 Susan B. Anthony Club
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
38: 222
- Grand Rapids Trades Assembly
 SBA lectures to, **18**: 102-3
- Grans, Lucie E.
 letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 424
- Grant, Frederick Dent
 letter(s) to SBA, **44**: 1010-12
- Grant, Hugh John
 letter(s) from SBA, **27**: 423
- Grant, Ulysses Simpson
 letter(s) from ECS, **17**: 10
 campaign of 1872
 ECS lectures for, **16**:
 407-67, 488-89, 496, 525
 mass meeting for, letter
 from ECS, **16**: 497
 mass meeting for, SBA
 attends, **16**: 497-500
- Grant Township, KS
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 725
- Granville, IL
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 249-50
- Grass Valley, CA
 state amendment campaign
 SBA attends meetings,
35: 1057-59
- Graves, Ezra
 letter(s) from SBA, **45**:
 358-59, 362-64
- Gray, Almeda B.
 letter(s) from SBA, **25**: 579
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
21: 66; **24**: 908
- Gray, Mary Tenney
 letter(s) from SBA, **21**:
 614-18
 letter(s) to International
 Council of Women, **26**:
 335-36
- Gray, S. A.
 letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 140
- Grayville, IL
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 251-52
- Greeley, Horace
 conversation with ECS and SBA,
2: 78; **13**: 761
 letter(s) from ECS, **8**: 90-92;
10: 702-3; **13**: 584, 755
 letter(s) from SBA, **12**:
 969-70
 letter(s) to SBA, **7**: 831, 876;
8: 115, 131-32, 792-93;
10: 301; **11**: 654
 letter to Women's New York
 State Temperance Society
 meeting, **7**: 212
 other letters
 from Davis, Paulina K. W.,
2: 160-61
- Greeley, Mary Youngs Cheney
 co-signer
 WSA of America, "Address,"
13: 119
- Greely, Ann Frances Jarvis
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 319
- Green, Beriah
 letter(s) from SBA, **10**: 7
 letter(s) to SBA, **10**: 6
- Green, Horace L.
 letter(s) from ECS, **42**: 799
 letter(s) from SBA, **39**:
 675-76; **42**: 885
See also Editor, *Free Thought*
Magazine
- Green, Ivy
 autograph of ECS, **45**: 376
- Green, Lizzie
 autograph of ECS, **45**: 377
- Greenback-Labor Party
 National Conventions
 addresses from NWSA, **21**:
 292-93
 SBA attends, **21**: 285-93
- Green Bay, WI
 ECS lectures, **16**: 610
- Greene, Cordelia Agnes
 letter(s) from SBA, **26**:
 742-43; **41**: 575-76
- Greenfield, IA
 ECS lectures, **21**: 96
- Greenleaf, Halbert Stevens
 inscription(s) from SBA, **34**:
 383-85
- Greenleaf, Jean Frances Brooks
 letter(s) from ECS, **30**: 706;
32: 1130-38
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 661
 letter(s) to SBA, **30**: 714
- Greenwood, DE
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 64
- Greenwood, Grace *See* Lippincott,
 Sara Jane Clarke
- Gregg, Laura Adelia
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 699-700
- Grew, Mary
 letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 564;
32: 1057
 letter(s) to SBA, **10**: 575;
31: 823-24
- Grey, Maria Georgina Shirreff
 inscription(s) from ECS, **22**:
 719
- Grier, Eliza Anna
 letter(s) to SBA, **41**: 985-86
- Griffin, Lottie
 letter in support of NWSA,
 "Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 868
- Griffing, Josephine Sophia White
 article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 181-82, 318-19, 447-48,
 468; **2**: 41
 letter(s) from ECS, **14**: 1099,
 1122-24
 letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 294,
 420-21; **14**: 1161-62; **15**:
 370
 letter(s) to SBA, **10**: 465-66
- Griffith, Mattie M.
 letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 395-96,
 444
- Griggs, Emily Clark
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 721-22
- Grimké, Angelina Emily *See* Weld,
 Angelina Emily Grimké
- Grimké, Sarah Moore
 letter(s) from ECS, **6**: 379-84
 letter(s) to ECS, **6**: 454, 470;
7: 1034
 SBA entry on, *Johnson's New*
Universal Cyclopaedia,
20: 629
- Gripenberg, Alexandra
 letter(s) from ECS, **26**: 19,
 60; **30**: 481; **33**: 998;
34: 314; **37**: 226, 994
 letter(s) to ECS, **34**: 490,
 495
 letter(s) to SBA, **29**: 596;
39: 924-26; **43**: 805
- Gross, Emily Maude Brown
 letter(s) from SBA, **39**: 591
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 718-20; **40**: 70-72
- Gross, Samuel Eberly
 letter(s) from SBA, **41**: 156
 letter(s) to SBA, **41**: 228
- Grover, Alonzo J.
 article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 467-68
 letter in support of NWSA,
 "Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 868

- letter(s) from ECS, **18**: 82-86
 letter(s) from SBA, **15**: 402-3
 letter(s) to ECS, **22**: 156
 letter(s) to *Revolution*,
 1: 380
 Guard, Rose Lee
 letter(s) to SBA, **44**: 803
 See also Gompers, Samuel
 Guenther, Richard William
 letter(s) from SBA, **25**: 68-70
 Guilderland, NY
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 5: 18
 Guillaume-Schack, Gertrud
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
 29: 25
 Gullen, Ann Augusta Stowe *See*
 Stowe-Gullen, Ann Augusta
 Gunther, Charles Godfrey
 letter(s) from ECS, **11**: 216

• H

- Hadley, Mrs. Walter C.
 letter(s) from SBA, **40**:
 164-66
 Hager, Albert David
 letter(s) to ECS, **21**: 179-80
 Haggart, Mary E. Rothwell
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
 24: 908
 Hair, Minnette Cheshire
 interview(s) with SBA, **40**:
 726
 letter(s) from SBA, **44**: 204-6
 statement(s) to, SBA, **40**: 765
 Haldane, IL
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 253
 Halderman, John A.
 letter(s) from SBA, **38**: 418
 Hale, Mrs. A. D.
 letter(s) to ECS, **28**: 89
 letter(s) to SBA, **28**: 89
 Haley, Margaret Angela
 letter(s) from SBA, **43**:
 628-30, 640-41
 letter(s) to SBA, **44**: 806
 lecture by
 SBA remarks at, **43**: 331
 Hall, Benjamin Homer
 letter(s) to ECS, **30**: 277-85
 Hall, Florence Marion Howe
 letter(s) from SBA, **42**: 923
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
 34: 660-61
 Hall, George C.
 letter(s) from SBA, **27**:
 285-86
 Hall, Israel
 letter(s) from SBA, **19**:
 557-58; **21**: 182-84
 letter(s) to SBA, **21**: 228-29
 Hall, Josephine F.
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
 34: 660-61
 Hall, Mary B.
 letter(s) from ECS, **13**:
 420-24
 letter(s) from SBA, **13**:
 445-46
 Hall, Mary Keney
 letter(s) from SBA, **44**: 336
 Hall, Nathan Kelsey
 trial of SBA, **17**: 76-78
 Hall, Olivia Bigelow
 letter(s) from ECS, **16**:
 965-67; **34**: 562-64; **38**:
 330-31; **39**: 502-3
 letter(s) from SBA, **13**:
 409-11, 445-46; **14**: 58-59,
 694-97; **19**: 557-58; **20**:
 282-84; **21**: 119-22; **22**:
 54-56, 737-38; **26**: 772-75,
 886-90, 1008-13; **27**: 196-201,
 230-32, 430-33, 507-9, 535-37,
 545-46, 588-93, 644-47; **28**:
 495-98; **29**: 188-91, 247-50;
 30: 119-20, 193-94, 254-59,
 273-76, 342-48, 391-400,
 569-70, 645-46; **31**: 403-6,
 435-36, 490-93, 533-36, 721-24,
 786-87, 789-90, 810, 841-44,
 865; **32**: 162-63, 167-71,
 229-34, 286-89, 974-77; **34**:
 360, 381-82, 445, 839-40;
 35: 256-57, 581-82, 590-91;
 36: 1049-52; **37**: 3-4;
 38: 550-53, 1016-17, 1023-25,
 1027-28; **39**: 698; **41**:
 128-29, 994-95, 1060-61;
 43: 557-58, 563-65, 788;
 44: 1-2, 9, 337-39
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
 34: 694-96, 762-63
 letter(s) to ECS, **18**: 4-5
 Hall, Sarah C. Larkin
 letter(s) to SBA, **26**: 65-68;
 28: 40
 Hall, William B.
 arrest and trial for letting
 SBA vote, **17**: 76, 99,
 152-81
 inscription(s) in visitors'
 register, SBA, **17**: 1011-14
 Hallock, Sarah Hull
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
 20: 318
 letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 439;
 2: 241; **23**: 640
 Hollowell, Mary H. Post
 letter(s) from ECS, **22**:
 561-66; **39**: 495-96
 letter(s) from SBA, **9**: 433;
 12: 118-21; **29**: 200-204,
 646-48; **44**: 963
 Halls Corners, NY
 SBA lectures, **17**: 96
 Hamburger, Isaac
 letter(s) to SBA, **41**: 29, 81
 Hamilton, Elizabeth
 letter(s) to SBA, **10**: 577
 Hamilton, Gail *See* Dodge, Mary
 Abigail
 Hamilton, John B., Jr.
 other letters
 from Anthony, Mary S.,
 41: 901
 Hamilton, Mary Morris
 letter(s) from ECS, **9**: 59
 Hamilton, MI
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 958
 Hamm, Margherita Arline
 statement(s) to, ECS, **33**: 24
 statement(s) to, SBA, **33**: 24
 articles by
 SBA's life story, **33**:
 517-19, 524-26
 Hammer, Alfred Emil
 letter(s) from ECS, **22**: 1
 Hammond, Charles Addison
 article(s) in *Revolution*,
 1: 59, 82, 260
 letter(s) to *Revolution*,
 1: 186
 Hammondsville, OH
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 5: 150
 Hampden, OH
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 5: 151
 Hanaford, Phebe Ann Coffin
 article(s) in *Revolution*,
 1: 588; **2**: 221
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 1246
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
 24: 21
 letter(s) to *Revolution*,
 2: 101
 letter(s) to SBA, **2**: 140
 poems in *Revolution*, **2**: 34
 statement on women and the Bible,
 37: 277
 verse for ECS, **40**: 222-23
 articles by
 "Woman's Bible," **34**: 466;
 37: 292
 Hanna, Marcus Alonzo
 letter(s) to SBA, **40**: 731
 Hansbrough, Henry Clay
 letter(s) to SBA, **41**: 135
 Hanson, Rebecca
 letter(s) to SBA, **10**: 577
 Harbert, Elizabeth Morrison Boynton
 See also Boynton, Elizabeth
 Morrison; Editor, "Woman's
 Kingdom," *Inter-Ocean*;
 Editor, *New Era*
 autograph of ECS, **45**: 337-38
 interview(s) with ECS, **21**:
 433
 letter(s) from ECS, **18**:
 942-45; **20**: 293-95, 917;

- 21: 422-25, 444-45, 500-503, 558-65; 22: 62-63, 548;
 23: 395-404, 690-96, 755-58, 1069-72; 24: 554-57, 601-8, 619-23, 629-32, 1118-26;
 41: 357; 42: 200-207, 342-47
 letter(s) from SBA, 18:
 326-27, 355-56, 823-25, 1073-78, 1103-8; 19: 574-77;
 20: 285-88, 431-32, 717-18, 856-61, 874-83, 902; 21:
 123-26, 133-36, 150, 160, 317-24, 347-53, 389, 730, 857-58, 876-79, 963-64; 22:
 39-42, 357-60, 413-19, 430-33, 439, 460-64, 471-72, 483-84, 487, 489-94, 502-5, 553-58, 635, 683; 23: 29-30, 64-66, 152-55, 160-63, 271, 387-94, 428-41, 666, 796-804, 882-83, 966-71, 1062-67, 1076, 1119, 1127-30, 1146-47; 24: 41-42, 44-52, 82-86, 93, 106-9, 111-15, 160-65, 182-85, 196-203, 217-22, 257-68, 363-65, 439-42, 468-75, 478-79, 488-91, 495-99, 536-39, 543-48, 585-96, 625-28, 677, 687-90, 722-26, 736-41, 746-47, 752-55, 865-66, 925-28, 1050-55; 25: 39-42, 93-97, 107-10, 364-77, 693-95, 1077-80, 1100-1101, 1112-16; 26: 1027-28; 28: 194-97, 687-90; 31: 562-63; 35: 235-36; 38: 919-20; 42: 221-22; 43: 591, 705-6
 letters in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, 18: 867, 869
 letter(s) to ECS, 20: 320; 24: 452-53
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, 28: 90-91
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, 19: 435; 21: 1007
 letter(s) to, NWSA Series, 4: 620-23, 708-9, 905-14; 5: 550-52, 590
 letter(s) to SBA, 20: 320, 358; 21: 230; 22: 2; 24: 452-53; 30: 453-56
 other letters
 from Bradwell, James B., 21: 233
 from Hoyne, F. M., 21: 280
 Harbert, William S.
 letter(s) to SBA, 21: 216
 Harberton, Florence Wallace Legge Pomeroy, Viscountess
 letter(s) to ECS, 23: 13, 63, 137; 25: 124
 Hard, Emma C.
 letter to WLNL meeting, 10: 465
 Harkness, Maria
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, 20: 791
 Harlan, James
 letter(s) from SBA, 13: 296-306
 Harman, Ellen Beard
 letter to WLNL meeting, 10: 469
 Harmer, Alfred Crout *See* Harmer, James B.
 Harmer, James B.
 letter(s) to SBA, 41: 99
 Harmony, ME
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 820
 Harper, George W.
 letter(s) from SBA, 20: 714-15, 720-23; 42: 683-84
 Harper, Ida A. Husted
See also Editor, "Cause of Woman," *Sun* (New York)
 inscription(s) from SBA, 38: 1035; 43: 356
 interview(s) with SBA, 35: 805; 40: 344; 44: 268, 271-72, 285
 letter(s) for SBA, 42: 802
 letter(s) from ECS, 38: 72-76; 39: 471; 41: 1014-15; 42: 100, 421, 431-34, 586-87, 730-43, 756-57
 letter(s) from SBA, 38: 674, 762, 973-76; 39: 455-57, 465-66, 477-78, 512, 519-20, 694; 40: 672-73; 41: 154, 257; 42: 194-95, 210, 542, 836-37; 43: 338-39; 44: 499, 519-21, 540-41, 727, 863, 916, 964
 letter(s) to ECS, 41: 340-42, 376, 1032-34
 letter(s) to SBA, 42: 100
 statement(s) to, SBA, 40: 5-6
Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony
 SBA revision to manuscript of, 38: 748
 other letters
 from Leveson-Gower, Millicent F. S., 40: 13
 to Anthony, Mary S., 42: 662-65
 to Avery, Rachel G. F., 37: 266-69
 to Colby, Clara D. B., 37: 1049-54
 to Holt, Hamilton B., 43: 372
 to Keith, Mary M., 37: 300-301
 to Roosevelt, Theodore, 44: 776
 Harris, Hamilton
 letter(s) from SBA, 9: 1081
 Harris, Ira
 letter(s) from SBA, 9: 1081
 Harris, Maude
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, 35: 316, 434
 Harrison, Benjamin
 memorial from SBA and May E. W. T. Sewall, for NWSA, 26: 817-26
 petition from SBA, 28: 322-23
 Harrison, Ella
 letter(s) from SBA, 35: 945-46, 1108-12; 36: 16-24, 177-84; 37: 197-98, 513-16
 Harrison, IL
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 254
 Harrison County, IA
 real estate transactions, ECS, 12: 79-84, 975; 14: 921-22
 Hartford, CT
 ECS lectures, 16: 525
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 52-53
 Hartford Equal Rights Club
 meetings of, letter(s) from ECS, 24: 226-28, 242-44, 948-50, 969-71; 27: 95-102
 meetings of, letter(s) from SBA, 24: 985-90
 NWSA local meeting
 SBA attends, 21: 1089-1101
 tour with George F. Train
 ECS and SBA lecture, 12: 639-41
 Hartford, MI
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 959
 Hartley, Caroline
 letter(s) to SBA, 38: 93-96
 Hartwellville, MI
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 960
 Hasbrouck, Solomon
 letter(s) to SBA, 36: 728-43
 Haskell, Mrs. A. A.
 letter(s) to *Revolution*, 2: 86
 Haskell, George
 letter(s) to *Revolution*, 1: 260
 Haskell, Thomas
 other letters
 to Pillsbury, Parker, 2: 212
 Hastings, IA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 596
 Hastings, MN
 ECS lectures, 14: 675
 Hastings, NE
 ECS lectures, 20: 747
 Hatch, Lavinia Allen
 letter(s) to SBA, 42: 841-42
 Hatcher, Cornelia Templeton

- interview(s) with SBA, **39**: 852
- Hatfield, Elizabeth B.
letter(s) to ECS, **35**: 1085
- Hathaway, Phoebe
letter(s) to ECS, **6**: 844
- Haughton, James
letter(s) to *Revolution*, **2**: 59
- Hauser, Elizabeth J.
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **40**: 73-74
- Haven, Erastus Otis
article(s) in *Revolution*, **2**: 232
- Haverton, Cecil
letter(s) to *Revolution*, **1**: 541
- Hawkins, Harry C.
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 154
- Hawks, Esther H.
article(s) in *Revolution*, **2**: 257
- Hawley, Eliza H.
letter(s) from SBA, **30**: 639-41; **41**: 1047-48
other letters
from Anthony, Mary S., **30**: 639-41
- Hawley, Genevieve Lel
letter(s) for SBA, **38**: 785-86, 807; **41**: 642-44
letter(s) from SBA, **30**: 639-41; **36**: 893-98; **38**: 931-32, 954-57; **39**: 610-11, 685-87, 840, 860-61, 866-67, 891-92; **40**: 62-64, 88-90, 103-5, 231-33; **41**: 542-43, 1005-6; **42**: 624-26, 667-69, 689-91, 927; **44**: 965-66
other letters
from Anthony, Mary S., **30**: 639-41
- Hawley, Joseph Roswell
letter(s) from ECS, **18**: 848-49
letter(s) from SBA, **40**: 769
letter(s) to ECS, **18**: 854-55
letter(s) to SBA, **40**: 275; **42**: 776-77
- Hay, Mary Garrett
letter(s) from SBA, **36**: 925
letter(s) to SBA, **34**: 853-54; **37**: 1075
- Hay, William
letter(s) to *Revolution*, **1**: 83
letter(s) to SBA, **7**: 855; **8**: 109, 397
letter(s) to Universal Franchise Association conventions, **2**: 245; **14**: 543
- Hayes, Lucy Ware Webb
letter(s) from SBA, **20**: 705-7; **21**: 594-95, 774-76; **25**: 1048-53
letter(s) to SBA, **25**: 1106-10
- Hayes, Rebecca Henry
letter(s) from SBA, **33**: 749
- Hayes, Rutherford Birchard
letter(s) from SBA, **21**: 600-606
memorial from ECS, SBA and Matilda J. Gage, for NWSA, **20**: 678-81
- Hayford, James Henry
letter(s) to SBA, **20**: 380
- Haynes, Lorenza
article(s) in *Revolution*, **2**: 11, 154
- Haynes, Mary R. H.
letter to WNLN meeting, **10**: 464
- Hayward, Emily A.
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 294
- Hazard, Rebecca N.
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 439
- Hazard, Thomas Robinson
article(s) in *Revolution*, **1**: 276
- Hazeltine, Leonard
letter(s) to SBA, **8**: 483
- Hazen, Jennie T.
article(s) in *Revolution*, **1**: 491
- Healy, Joseph
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 523
- Healy, Mary N.
interview(s) with ECS, **35**: 607
- Healy, Maud
letter(s) to SBA, **42**: 879-80
See also McKinley, Ida Saxton
- Hearst, Phoebe Apperson
letter(s) from ECS, **38**: 504-9
- Hearst, William Randolph
letter(s) from SBA, **36**: 5
- Heaton, Elizabeth P.
letter(s) to SBA birthday celebration, **2**: 273
- Heaton, Jacob
letter(s) to SBA birthday celebration, **2**: 273
- Hebard, Mary L.
arrest for illegal voting with SBA, **16**: 602; **17**: 76-77
- Hebron, NE
ECS lectures, **20**: 749
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 1179-89
- Hedenberg, Isabella
letter(s) from SBA, **26**: 998
- Hegeman, Joseph
letter to Working Woman's Association, **13**: 539
- Heinzen, Karl Peter
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 479
- Heitfeld, Henry
letter(s) to SBA, **41**: 34, 82
- Hemiup, Maria Remington
article(s) in *Revolution*, **1**: 460, 488
- Henderson, Christina
letter(s) to SBA, **42**: 921
- Henderson, John Brooks
letter(s) from ECS, **11**: 373-74
- Henderson, Mary Newton Foote
incorporation of Anthony Fund for Enfranchisement of Women, **41**: 35-39, 44-46
letter(s) from SBA, **38**: 510-11
- Henderson, Minnie
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **35**: 432
- Hendrickson, Hannah R.
letter to SBA, **41**: 178
- Henley, Rev. J. W.
letter(s) to *Revolution*, **2**: 345
- Henri, P.
article(s) in *Revolution*, **2**: 285
- Henrotin, Ellen Martin
letter(s) to SBA, **36**: 652
- Henry, Josephine Kirby Williamson
letter(s) from ECS, **42**: 671-74
letter(s) to ECS, **38**: 380
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **36**: 751
letter(s) to SBA, **32**: 839
statement on women and the Bible, **37**: 387-88
- Herbert S. Stone & Co.
letter(s) from SBA, **39**: 859
- Héricourt, Jenny Pauline d'
article(s) in *Revolution*, **2**: 85
letter(s) to *Revolution*, **2**: 133
- Heroy, P. W.
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 740-41, 761
- Herrick, Mary Barr Clay *See* Clay, Mary Barr
- Herrman, Esther
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 769-70
- Hertz, Fanny
inscription(s) from ECS, **22**: 720-21; **25**: 162
letter(s) to ECS, **23**: 122-25; **24**: 849
- Hewett, Edwin C.
debates SBA, **2**: 312; **14**: 646-47, 680-81
- Hewitt, Sarah Cooper
letter(s) from SBA, **26**: 113-14
- Heydt, Charles O.
letter(s) to ECS, **41**: 1016
letter(s) to SBA, **40**: 794
- Heywood, Ezra Hervey
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 182
See also Editor, *Word*

- Hickson, Malusa
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 868
- Hicksville, OH
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 152
- Hierta-Retzius, Anna Wilhelmina
letter(s) to ECS, 31: 663-64
letter(s) to SBA, 41: 3;
42: 827-28
- Higgins, Frank Wayland
letter(s) from SBA, 44: 449
- Higginson, Thomas Wentworth
letter(s) from ECS, 9: 274;
12: 801-4, 921-22; 13:
110-11; 20: 918-21; 21:
151; 30: 457-59
letter(s) from SBA, 8: 1047;
12: 911-14
letter(s) to ECS, 11: 462-63,
798-99
letter(s) to SBA, 1: 555;
8: 257; 11: 513; 26: 337,
551-52
- Hill, David Jayne
letter(s) to SBA, 29: 445-48
- Hill, Ebenezer J.
letter(s) to SBA, 40: 795
- Hillsdale, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 961-62
- Hincklen, Rachel L.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 515
- Hinckley, Elizabeth S. Carter
letter(s) to ECS, 24: 658-59
- Hinckley, Frederic Allen
letter(s) from ECS, 20:
890-92; 21: 880-83; 22:
347-49
letter(s) from SBA, 21:
328-35, 947-49; 22: 24-26,
92-95, 469-70
letter(s) to ECS, 24: 477,
658-59
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
25: 205
letter(s) to SBA, 24: 477
- Hindman, Matilda
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 319; 23: 59-60
letter(s) to SBA, 23: 1073-76
- Hine, L. A.
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 320, 383-84
- Hines, Mr. M. A.
letter(s) from SBA, 43:
367-68
letter(s) to SBA, 43: 365
See also Barton, Clara
- Hinton, Louis J.
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 66, 83, 91, 124-25, 195
- Hinton, Richard Josiah
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 107, 169
letter(s) to ECS, 1: 331
- History of Woman Suffrage*
copyright of, 22: 547; 25:
22; 42: 913-15, 919
page proof for volume 2: 182-84,
22: 456-57
partnership agreement of editors,
18: 1081-84
sales records, 35: 258-59
- Hitt, Robert Roberts
letter(s) from SBA, 39:
446-48
letter(s) to SBA, 40: 776;
42: 747-48
- Hoar, George Frisbie
letter(s) from ECS, 15: 1015,
1045-46; 22: 260
letter(s) from SBA, 20:
708-10; 22: 232-34, 260,
392-95; 24: 423-25; 29:
536-41, 563-69; 39: 516;
40: 688, 752; 41: 66-67,
1062-63
letter(s) to SBA, 41: 83-84
letter(s) to SBA birthday
celebration, 28: 39
- Hoar, Ruth Ann Miller
letter(s) from SBA, 41:
1062-63
- Hobbie, Phebe E.
letter(s) from SBA, 42:
685-88
- Hobbie, Phebe Walsh
inscription(s) from SBA, 37:
150-51
- Hobbie, William Roscoe
inscription(s) from SBA, 37:
150-51
- Hoerber, Emil W.
letter(s) to SBA, 1: 622
- Hoeing, Charles
letter(s) from SBA, 44: 178,
189
- Hoffecker, John Henry
letter(s) from SBA, 41: 56-58
- Hoffman, Otilie Franziska
letter(s) to SBA, 44: 219
- Holbrook, Martin Luther
letter(s) from ECS, 24:
1056-58; 35: 598-99
- Holbrow, Isabel
letter(s) to SBA, 40: 1-4
- Hollenbeck, Mrs. C. H.
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 627-29, 630-31
- Hollenbeck Press
letter(s) from SBA, 38:
746-48
- Holley, Marietta
letter(s) from ECS, 38:
512-15
letter(s) from SBA, 20:
296-99; 23: 772-77; 24:
875-78
letter(s) to ECS, 38: 825
- Holley, Sallie
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 867
letter(s) from ECS, 12:
291-94
letter(s) to ECS, 7: 235-37
letter(s) to SBA, 8: 1002-5
- Holloway, Laura Carter
letter(s) from ECS, 27:
413-14
letter(s) from SBA, 22:
162-65; 25: 303-6, 567-70;
26: 1-2, 34-36, 50-51,
744-45; 27: 318-19, 321-29,
400-403
letter(s) to SBA, 2: 279;
27: 320
- Holly, Alanson
letter(s) from SBA, 7: 949
letter(s) to Women's New York
State Temperance Society
meetings, 7: 200, 442,
723-24
- Holly, Carrie Clyde
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
35: 316
- Holly, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 963-67
- Holmes, Helen R.
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 319
- Holmes, Julia Archibald
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 89-90, 115, 130-31,
154-55, 168, 205
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 350; 2: 265
- Holmes, Kate Turner
letter(s) from SBA, 45: 409
- Holmes, Ludvig
letter(s) from SBA, 41:
349-52
- Holmes, Mary Emma Smith
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 232
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 653-54, 712-13
- Holmes, Oliver Wendell
letter(s) from ECS, 27:
365-67, 410
letter(s) to ECS, 27: 368,
410
- Holt, Hamilton Bowen
letter(s) from SBA, 43: 372
other letters
from Harper, Ida A. H.,
43: 372
- Holton, Addie T.
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 869
- Holton, Mary B.
letter(s) to SBA, 44: 459
- Holy Family Convent, Mother

- Superior of
letter(s) from SBA, **37**:
550-53
- Holyoake, George Jacob
letter(s) to ECS, **23**: 95-96,
246
- Holyoke, MA
interview(s) in, SBA, **29**: 228
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 845
SBA lectures, **29**: 229
- Honey Creek, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 255-58
- Hooker, Isabella Beecher
article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 188, 215
letter(s) from ECS, **13**:
478-81, 541-49, 751-54, 764-74,
819-25; **14**: 21-28, 672-73,
701-6, 823-41, 849-50, 861-62,
875-79, 1125-32, 1163-66;
15: 313-17, 374-86, 499-501,
517-21, 546-48, 550-55, 580-81,
636-41, 675-78, 759-61, 765-84,
826-27, 848-51; **16**: 4-17,
121-23, 156-58, 189-96, 230-36,
349-53, 377-80, 547-51, 968-73,
1033-40; **17**: 404-12, 899-900,
901-4; **18**: 490-96, 498-501,
850-52, 873-79, 970-74; **19**:
524-28, 599-600; **21**: 689-95;
24: 273; **30**: 577-81,
707-13; **41**: 970; **44**:
943-44
letter(s) from SBA, **13**:
564-69, 616-20, 626-32, 815-16,
860-62; **14**: 29-32, 62-65,
78-83, 134-43, 148-51, 157-60,
518-21, 525-30, 564-65, 581-94,
603-4, 652-59, 699-700,
1133-40; **15**: 319-22, 356-58,
365-68, 435-39, 475-85, 563-70,
574-79, 590-91, 621-26, 629-33,
642-64, 1078-80; **16**: 18-21,
63, 128-31, 202-10, 218-25,
274-77, 282-83, 315-17, 328-30,
371-75, 384-89, 512-17, 541;
17: 46-49, 70-72, 241-43,
250-54, 260-63, 280-89,
300-304, 309-13, 402-3, 413-14,
442-43, 447-48, 896-900,
939-40, 987-95, 1002-5; **18**:
284-89A, 459-67, 471-74,
951-54, 1011-19, 1097-1101;
19: 448-55, 529-35, 581-91;
20: 277-81, 387-96, 399-400,
403-6, 423-25, 437-41; **21**:
645-47; **27**: 1068-77; **28**:
10-12; **35**: 1028; **41**:
138-39
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 647-48
letter(s) to ECS, **14**: 1098-99,
1149-51, 1167-68; **15**: 360-61,
407, 508, 788-92; **16**: 112-19;
17: 1024-37; **18**: 328-41A;
24: 512; **30**: 142-49
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 320, 790; **21**: 778, 784
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
2: 238-39
letter(s) to SBA, **13**: 831-35;
14: 119, 125-26, 133, 144,
524; **15**: 318, 452-73,
1063-76; **16**: 139-42, 261-66;
17: 59, 61-62, 66-67; **18**:
319-25; **28**: 988
co-author
NWSA, address to Republican
Party, National Convention,
26: 810
co-signer
memorial to U.S. House of
Representatives, **16**:
24-26
petition for declaratory
act on woman's right to
vote, **15**: 841-44
National Woman Suffrage and
Educational Committee
draft invitation to meeting,
14: 1151
other letters
from Allen, George R.,
16: 120-23
from Giddings, Amelia,
16: 207-9
from Sands, John I., **16**:
120-23
to Allen, George R., **16**:
141-42
to Brown, Olympia, **30**:
146-49
to Sands, John I., **16**:
141-42
Hooker, John
article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 201-2, 262, 308-9
letter(s) from ECS, **2**: 270;
41: 242-43
letter(s) from SBA, **16**: 22-23;
17: 260-63, 1000-1001;
18: 240; **20**: 423-25
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
40: 80-82
letter(s) to ECS, **24**: 512
letter(s) to SBA, **28**: 450
verse for SBA, **2**: 272
articles by
"Judge Hunt and the Right
of Trial by Jury," **17**:
209-12
Hoover, Harry
letter(s) to ECS, **18**: 988
Hopkins, Albert C.
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 630
Hopkins, Harriet C. L.
letter(s) to ECS, **2**: 69
Hopkinsville, KY
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 761-64
Horne, M. Isabella
letter(s) to SBA, **25**: 205,
217
Horton, Albert Howell
letter(s) to SBA, **25**: 236
Hosmer, Harriet Goodhue
letter(s) from SBA, **27**:
248-51; **36**: 103-4; **38**:
14-15
letter(s) to SBA, **27**: 252
Hough, Susan M.
arrest for illegal voting with
SBA, **16**: 602; **17**: 76-77
House, William
letter(s) to SBA, **9**: 778
Houston, Elizabeth Hart Good
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 666, 741
Houston, Samuel Dexter
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 42
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 42
Houston, William H.
letter(s) from SBA, **12**:
278-79
Hovenden, Martha
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 740
Hovey Committee
financial records
accounts with SBA, **9**:
1140-41
other letters
from Blackwell, Henry B.,
11: 631
Howard, Claudia Hope
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
29: 27
Howard, Emma Shafter
inscription(s) from SBA, **43**:
634
Howard, Harrison
letter(s) from SBA, **7**: 428-31
Howard, Rosalind Frances Stanley,
Countess of Carlisle
letter(s) to ECS, **29**: 207,
234, 239
Howe, Julia Ward
letter(s) from ECS, **25**: 36
letter(s) to ECS, **22**: 396;
24: 1107-8; **25**: 53-54
letter(s) to SBA, **23**: 77-79
poems in *Revolution*, **2**: 128,
144
birthday celebration of
SBA attends, **41**: 311-13
Howe, Lucius Lothrop
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 722-23
Howe, Marie Hoffendahl Jenney
letter(s) to SBA, **44**: 810
Howell, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 968-69
Howell, Phebe Anne Isadore
letter(s) to SBA, **32**: 237-40

- Howland, Emily
 inscription(s) from SBA, **34**: 378-80
 letter(s) from ECS, **12**: 305-6; **38**: 279-81, 1026
 letter(s) from SBA, **31**: 578-84; **41**: 922-23; **42**: 379, 381-83, 602-3
 letter(s) to ECS, **9**: 537
- Howland, Isabel
 letter(s) from SBA, **30**: 558-63; **32**: 888-89, 895-97, 1034-35; **33**: 62; **36**: 191-92; **37**: 271-72, 274-75; **38**: 731-32, 739-40, 743-44, 1000-1001; **39**: 517-18, 699; **40**: 152-53; **43**: 522, 528, 691-93
 letter(s) to SBA, **37**: 238-40, 278-79
- Howland, Joseph Avery
 letter(s) from SBA, **10**: 523-25
- Howland, Marie Stevens
 letter(s) to ECS, **18**: 866
- Hoyne, F. M.
 letter(s) to SBA, **21**: 280
 other letters
 to Bradwell, Myra C., **21**: 280
 to Harbert, Elizabeth M. B., **21**: 280
 to Loomis, Elizabeth J., **21**: 280
- Hoyt, Henry M.
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **22**: 304, 309, 313
- Hoyt, John Wesley
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **21**: 1006
- Hubbard, Sarah D.
 letter(s) to SBA, **10**: 540
- Hubbell, Walter Sage
 letter(s) from SBA, **23**: 1135-37
- Huberwald, Florence
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 655
- Hudson, Grace Carpenter
 letter(s) from SBA, **38**: 555-65
- Huling, Anna Rebecca Spooner
 letter(s) from SBA, **26**: 899-901
- Huling, Caroline Augusta
 letter(s) from ECS, **26**: 931-34
 letter(s) from SBA, **25**: 766-71; **26**: 827-28
- Hull, IA
 Woman's Suffrage Club of
 meetings of, letter from SBA, **44**: 454
- Hulls, OH
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 153
- Hultin, Ida C.
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 642
- Humboldt, IA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 597
- Hume, George C.
 letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 34
- Hume, R. W.
 letter(s) to *Revolution*, **1**: 449
- Humphrey, Lyman Underwood
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **31**: 247
 letter(s) to SBA, **27**: 1092-93
- Humphrey, Mary Anne Vance
 letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 621; **13**: 572, 574
- Humphrey, Maude Milton Skinner
 memorial for
 SBA remarks at, **36**: 918
- Humphrey, William H.
 letter(s) to *Revolution*, **1**: 600
- Hunnicut, Rebecca S. Oren
 letter(s) to SBA, **25**: 235
- Hunt, Elizabeth S. Bisbee
 letter(s) from SBA, **41**: 261-62, 280; **43**: 344-45
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **20**: 319
- Hunt, Harriot Kezia
 letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 565; **7**: 302-3
- Hunt, Henry M.
 letter in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, **18**: 869
- Hunt, Sarah
 letter to WLNL meeting, **10**: 462
- Hunt, Ward
 trial of SBA, **17**: 98-148
- Hunter, Mrs. M. F.
 letter(s) to ECS, **26**: 883
- Huntington, Collis Potter
 letter(s) from SBA, **26**: 137-52
- Huntington, Sarah M. T.
 letter(s) from SBA, **16**: 535-39, 597-600
- Huntsville, AL
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 6-8
 SBA lectures, **33**: 547
- Huntsville, IL
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 259
- Hurd, Ethel Edgerton
 letter(s) from SBA, **40**: 229-30; **41**: 106
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **40**: 854
- Huron, SD
 state amendment campaign
 SBA lectures, **27**: 534
- Husted, James William
 letter to New York State WSA meeting, **18**: 774
- Huston, Joseph Waldo
 letter(s) from SBA, **36**: 847
- Hutchings, T.
 article(s) in *Revolution*, **2**: 226, 265-66, 346
- Hutchins, Sarita Brady
 letter(s) from SBA, **23**: 453-56
- Hutchinson, Abigail Jemima *See* Patton, Abigail Jemima Hutchinson
- Hutchinson, Asa Burnham
 letter(s) to SBA, **8**: 619
- Hutchinson, Ellen Mackay
 article(s) in *Revolution*, **1**: 443
 interview with SBA, **14**: 1074
 poems in *Revolution*, **2**: 245
See also Cortissoz, Ellen Mackay Hutchinson
- Hutchinson, Jessie
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **22**: 639
- Hutchinson, John Wallace
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **20**: 319-20
 letter(s) to SBA, **8**: 276, 619; **24**: 909; **36**: 653
- Hutchinson, KS
 NWSA and Kansas Equal Suffrage Association meeting
 SBA attends, **25**: 38
- Hutchinson family
 letter(s) to *Revolution*, **1**: 13
- Hutchison, Mrs. L.
 article(s) in *Revolution*, **2**: 145-46
- Huxley, Thomas
 ECS review of *Life and Letters of*, **41**: 925
- Idaho
See also Boise
 Idaho Equal Suffrage Association
 letter(s) from SBA, **35**: 826; **36**: 776
 meetings of, letter from SBA, **34**: 534-45
 Supreme Court
 Opinion in *Kate Green v. State Board of Canvassers*, **36**: 728-43
- Idaho Springs, CO
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 48
- "Ignota"
 interview(s) with SBA, **44**: 294

Illinois

letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 113-447

See also Aledo, Alton,
Annawan, Antioch, Arcola,
Arlington, Arrowsmith,
Arthur, Ashley, Aurora,
Barry, Batavia, Bethany,
Birmingham, Blackberry,
Bloomington, Blue Island,
Braidwood, Bridgeport,
Brooklyn, Buda, Camargo,
Carbondale, Carterville,
Champaign, Chana, Chatham,
Chicago, Cisco, Clear Creek,
Colona, Cook County,
Danville, Decatur, De Witt,
Dover, Dundee, Durand,
Dwight, Earlville, Effingham,
Eldorado, Elgin, Elkhart,
Erie, Evanston, Fairfield,
Forsyth, Freedom, Freeport,
Fulton, Galena, Galesburg,
Galva, Gardner, Gardspoint,
Geneseo, Grand Detour,
Granville, Grayville,
Haldane, Harrison, Honey
Creek, Huntsville, Illinois
City, Industry, Jacksonville,
Jerseyville, Kewanee,
Kinmundy, Kirkwood, La
Moille, Lee Center,
Lexington, Little Rock,
Lostant, McLeansboro, Macomb,
Mansfield, Marengo, Mendota,
Middletown, Moline, Monmouth,
Monticello, Morris, Morrison,
Morrisonville, Mount Carroll,
Mount Morris, Mount Vernon,
Nekoma, Odell, Ohio, Oneida,
Oquawka, Oregon, Osborn,
Paris, Pawnee, Peoria, Peoria
County, Plainfield, Plano,
Plymouth, Polo, Prairie City,
Pratt, Princeton,
Prophetstown, Quincy,
Rantoul, Richland Grove,
Ridgefield, Rockford, Roscoe,
Rush, Sandwich, Savanna,
Shelbyville, Southampton,
Springfield, Stewartson,
Streator, Sublette, Sunbeam,
Sycamore, Tiskilwa, Toulon,
Tuscola, Union, Union Hill,
Vermillionville, Vermont,
Viola, Wataga, Watseka,
Webster, West York, Wheaton,
Winchester, Woodstock,
Wyanet, Wyoming

Illinois Equal Suffrage
Association

letter to NAWSA executive
committee, 28: 861-66
meetings of, letter(s) from
SBA, 42: 355
meetings of, letter(s) from

ECS, 42: 355-72

meetings of, SBA attends,
25: 67; 38: 927

Illinois Sixth Congressional
District WSA

letter(s) to SBA, 21:
214-15

Illinois WSA

joint meeting with NWSA,
announcement of, 21:
165

joint meeting with NWSA,
SBA attends, 21: 281

meetings of, ECS and SBA
attend, 1: 474-76;

13: 325-52

meetings of, letter(s) from
SBA, 22: 502-5; 23:
884-87

meetings of, SBA attends,
14: 1101-2; 16: 30-38,
1041-43; 18: 118-20,
766-67; 44: 311

Illinois City, IL

letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 260

Independence, IA

letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 598-600

Independence, KS

NWSA and Kansas Equal Suffrage
Association meeting
SBA attends, 25: 57-58

Indiana

letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 448-532

See also Angola, Auburn,
Avilla, Bourbon, Brook,
Covington, Crawfordsville,
Crown Point, Delphi, Elkhart,
Eugene, Evansville, Fort
Wayne, Frankfort, Garrett,
Goodland, Indianapolis,
Kokomo, Lafayette, Larwill,
Liberty Mills, Lincolnville,
Middlebury, Monticello,
Muncie, Pendleton, Pennville,
Peru, Pittsboro, Plainfield,
Plymouth, Poplar Grove,
Porter, Richmond, Salt Creek,
South Bend, Spearsville,
Steam Corners, Terre Haute,
Tipton, Vincennes, Wabash,
Warsaw, Waterloo, Webster,
Wheeler

Indiana General Assembly

Joint Session, hearing
before, SBA, 36: 854-56

Indiana WSA

joint meeting with NWSA of
Indiana, letter(s) from
ECS, 27: 482

joint meeting with NWSA of
Indiana, SBA attends,
27: 479-82

joint meeting with NWSA,

SBA attends, 21: 297-99

meetings of, letter to SBA
and ECS, 22: 497-500
meetings of, SBA attends,
14: 854-57

petition to U.S. Senate,
41: 54-55

National Woman Suffrage
Association of

joint meeting with Indiana
WSA, letter from ECS, 27:
482

joint meeting with Indiana
WSA, SBA attends, 27:
479-82

meetings of, SBA attends,
25: 432-35

Indianapolis, IN

ECS lectures, 20: 682

interview(s) in, SBA, 19: 466;
20: 434; 23: 1003; 27:

171; 40: 278-80

letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 481-85

SBA lectures, 20: 433

Girls' Classical School of
letter(s) from SBA, 41:
462

NAWSA conference

SBA attends, 40: 281-88

NWSA annual meeting

SBA attends, 21: 189-215

NWSA business meetings

SBA attends, 21: 192

Indianapolis Equal Suffrage Society
meetings of

letter to SBA, 22: 378-79

Industry, IL

letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 261-62

Ingalls, I. K.

article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 407

Ingalls, John James

letter(s) to SBA, 23: 111-12;
25: 191, 218

Ingalls, KS

letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 726

Ingersoll, Eva Amelia Parker

letter(s) from ECS, 41: 1008

Ingersoll, Robert Green

ECS obituary of, 40: 43,
110-11

letter(s) from ECS, 44:

935-36, 941

letter(s) from SBA, 19:

418-21

letter(s) to ECS, 29: 597-98;

32: 552-54; 38: 573,

826-27

Ingersoll Monument Association

letter(s) from ECS, 40: 112

Ingham, Caroline A. Rice

letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,

- 18: 869
 letter(s) from SBA, 18: 802-5
 International Congress of Women
 Political Section
 meetings of, SBA attends, 39: 1055-62
 Social Section
 meetings of, SBA attends, 39: 1063-65
 International Council of Women
 meeting 1888
 appeal for funds, 25: 1039-40, 1102; 26: 151-52
 call to, 25: 494-95, 1035-38, 1050-53; 26: 12, 147-50
 draft call to, ECS, 25: 407
 draft invitation to, SBA, 25: 404-5
 ECS and SBA attend, 26: 154-563
 list of speakers for, 25: 1105; 26: 13-16
 program, 26: 139-46, 569-73
 railroad rates for, 26: 61-62
 meeting 1899
 SBA attends, 39: 927-1055
 meeting 1905
 SBA attends, 44: 232, 234-67
 meeting preliminary to founding, Liverpool
 ECS and SBA attend, 23: 342-43
 International League of Press Clubs
 meetings of
 letter from SBA, 41: 408-9
 International Missionary Union
 meetings of
 letter from SBA, 41: 324, 327-29
 International Woman Suffrage Alliance
 poll of members, SBA, 44: 375
 declaration of principles
 SBA as signer, 42: 744
 meetings of
 SBA attends, 44: 229-32
 International Woman Suffrage Conference *See*
 National-American Woman Suffrage Association, annual convention 1902
 Iola, KS
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 727
 Ionia, IA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 601
 Ionia, MI
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 970-71
 Iowa
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 533-705
 See also Algona, Atlantic, Audubon, Bedford, Belmond, Boone, Buffalo, Burlington, Cedar Rapids, Chapin, Chariton, Charles City, Clinton, Columbus Junction, Concord, Council Bluffs, Davenport, Decorah, Des Moines, Dubuque, Eddyville, Eldora, Emmetsburgh, Essex, Forest City, Fort Dodge, Greenfield, Harrison County, Hastings, Hull, Humboldt, Independence, Ionia, Iowa City, Iowa Falls, Jefferson, Keokuk, Keosauqua, Ladora, Le Claire, Letts, McGregor, Manchester, Maquoketa, Marion, Marne, Milford, Mitchell, Modale, Monticello, Mount Ayr, Mount Vernon, Muscatine, Nashua, Nevada, New Albin, Northwood, Odebolt, Olin, Onawa, Orient, Osage, Ottumwa, Rose Grove, Salem, Saratoga, Shellsburg, Shenandoah, Sioux City, Smyrna, Springdale, Springville, State Center, Storm Lake, Swedesburg, Vincennes, Vinton, Washington, Waukon, Webster City, Weller, West Branch, West Liberty, West Union, Wilton Junction, Winnesheik County
 Iowa Equal Suffrage Association
 meetings of, letter(s) from SBA, 40: 144-45; 42: 844; 43: 720-22; 44: 464
 meetings of, SBA attends, 38: 839-58
 Iowa State Senate
 hearing before, SBA, 36: 837-40
 Iowa WSA
 executive committee, letter from SBA, 28: 517
 letter(s) to SBA, 20: 320
 meetings of, letter(s) from SBA, 19: 567; 29: 547; 34: 504; 37: 286-89
 meetings of, letter(s) to ECS, 34: 505-15
 meetings of, SBA attends, 26: 925-28; 28: 772-79; 30: 420-52
 Iowa City, IA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 601A-B
 Iowa Falls, IA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 602
 Ireland *See* Dublin
 Irish National League, Ironsides Branch
 women of
 letter(s) to International Council of Women, 26: 544
 Irvine, Anne K. Johnson
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 1143
 letter(s) to SBA, 18: 866; 20: 317
 Irvine, Leigh
 other letters
 to Charles Mann and Co., 25: 341-42
 Irving, Alice
 interview(s) with SBA, 35: 534
 Island City, OR
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 5: 244
 Italian Times (Rome)
 proprietors of
 letter(s) to SBA, 23: 140
 Ithaca, NY
 state constitutional campaign meeting
 SBA attends, 32: 634-35
 itineraries for ECS and SBA
 1841, 6: 409
 1848, 6: 673
 1849, 6: 856
 1850, 6: 1029
 1851, 7: 27
 1852, 7: 142-43
 1853, 7: 473
 1854, 7: 878
 1855, 8: 110-11
 1856, 8: 342
 1857, 8: 823-24
 1858, 8: 1076
 1859, 9: 200
 1860, 9: 509-10
 1861, 9: 974
 1862, 10: 130
 1863, 10: 374
 1864, 10: 698
 1865, 10: 927
 1866, 11: 252
 1867, 11: 867-69
 1868, 12: 785
 1869, 13: 251-53
 1870, 14: 169-72
 1871, 15: 86-90
 1872, 15: 886-87
 1873, 16: 614-16
 1874, 17: 488-90
 1875, 18: 246
 1876, 18: 513-15
 1877, 19: 9-11
 1878, 19: 787-90
 1879, 20: 636-37
 1880, 21: 43-44

- 1881, 21: 734
 1882, 22: 227-28
 1883, 22: 813
 1884, 23: 449
 1885, 23: 1118
 1886, 24: 831
 1887, 25: 141-42
 1888, 25: 868
 1889, 26: 999-1000
 1890, 27: 676-78
 1891, 28: 894
 1892, 29: 653-54
 1893, 31: 1-2
 1894, 31: 875-78
 1895, 33: 77-79
 1896, 34: 873-76
 1897, 36: 245-46
 1898, 37: 602-3
 1899, 39: 11-12
 1900, 40: 362
 1901, 41: 648
 1902, 42: 404
 1903, 43: 1
 1904, 43: 815
 1905, 44: 412
 1906, 44: 811
- Ives, Miss
 letter(s) from ECS, 32: 819-22
- J
- Jackson, Francis
 letter(s) to SBA, 8: 85, 1033
- Jackson, George M.
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, 20: 771, 782
- Jackson, James Caleb
 letter(s) to International Council of Women, 26: 336, 541
 letter(s) to SBA, 23: 60
- Jackson, Katharine Johnson
 article(s) in *Revolution*, 2: 308
 letter(s) to SBA, 14: 600
 letter(s) to SBA birthday celebration, 2: 272
- Jackson, Mercy Ruggles Bisbe
 article(s) in *Revolution*, 1: 622
 letter to AERA meeting, 12: 190
- Jackson, MI
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 972
 SBA lectures, 18: 127-28
- Jacksonville, IL
 SBA lectures, 14: 645
- Jacobi, Mary Corinna Putnam
 letter(s) to ECS, 32: 1087
 co-author
 endorsement of Lillie D. Blake for NAWSA president, 40: 815-16, 896
- Jacobs, Aletta Henriette
 letter(s) from ECS, 40: 124-25
 letter(s) from SBA, 44: 390-91, 409-10, 697-98
- Jamaica, NY
 state constitutional campaign meeting
 SBA attends, 32: 537-38
- James, Mr. C. L.
 article(s) in *Revolution*, 1: 227-28, 476, 593; 2: 1-2, 233
 letter(s) to *Revolution*, 1: 600; 2: 89, 140, 174, 194, 212
- James, Helen Louise Mosher
 inscription(s) from SBA, 43: 560
 letter(s) from SBA, 41: 365-66
See also Mosher, Helen Louise
- James, Laura Briggs
 letter(s) from SBA, 25: 180; 26: 45, 82-83
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, 24: 909
- Jamestown, NY
 Political Equality Club of
 letter(s) to SBA, 28: 40
- Janesville, WI
 ECS lectures, 14: 1073
- Janesville WSA
 meetings of
 SBA attends, 25: 722-23
- Janney, Rebecca Anne Smith
 letter(s) from SBA, 7: 699-702; 15: 421-22; 20: 417-20
- Jefferson, IA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 603
- Jefferson, MO
 SBA lectures, 27: 118
- Jefferson, OH
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 5: 154-59
- Jefferson, WI
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 5: 548
- Jenkins, Dean M.
 letter(s) to SBA, 39: 3
- Jenkins, Helen Philleo
 article(s) in *Revolution*, 1: 492; 2: 18, 312
 letter(s) from SBA, 41: 642-44
 letter(s) to *Revolution*, 2: 18
 letter(s) to SBA, 1: 444
- Jenkins, J. O.
 other letters
 to Thomson, Mary A., 23: 1094-95
- Jenkins, Samuel
 letter(s) to *Revolution*, 2: 356
- Jennings, Janet
 letter(s) to SBA, 44: 917
- Jenny, S. A.
 letter(s) to ECS, 1: 599
- Jersey City, NJ
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 1243-49
- Jerseyville, IL
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 263
- John Brown Farm
 inscription in visitor's book, SBA, 29: 253
- Johns, Mrs. A. J.
 letter in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, 18: 869
- Johns, Laura Lucretia Mitchell
 letter(s) from ECS, 27: 465
 letter(s) from SBA, 32: 529, 531, 778
 letter(s) to SBA, 29: 173, 518, 521, 1056, 1063; 31: 440; 32: 530, 546, 1033
- Johns Hopkins University
 librarian
 letter from SBA, 44: 13
- Johnson, Addie M.
 letter(s) from SBA, 35: 230-33, 770-73
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, 34: 742-43, 758-59, 789-90
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, 35: 318
- Johnson, Adelaide
 letter(s) from ECS, 29: 254-56, 426
 letter(s) from SBA, 29: 453, 467-68, 1089-90; 30: 4-7, 369-70, 403, 500-501, 554, 576, 632; 31: 539-40; 33: 753-54, 817-25; 34: 334; 41: 182, 982; 42: 29, 239, 272; 44: 11-12, 169-72, 177
 letter(s) to SBA, 38: 105-8; 39: 593-96; 44: 38-43, 173
 wedding of
 SBA remarks at, 35: 523
- Johnson, Andrew
 letter(s) from ECS, 12: 834
- Johnson, George Granville
 letter(s) from SBA, 6: 571-73
 letter(s) to SBA, 6: 569
- Johnson, Helen Kendrick
 about, SBA statement, 37: 116-17
- Johnson, Margaret E.
 letter in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, 18: 869
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 79
- Johnson, Mary Ann White

- letter(s) from ECS, **6**: 1040-42
- Johnson, Mary Calkins
interview(s) with SBA, **36**: 80
- Johnson, NE
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 1190-91
- Johnson, Oliver
letter(s) to ECS, **8**: 403-8, 422-23; **10**: 502
letter(s) to SBA, **25**: 307-10; **26**: 337, 535, 553-57
- Johnson, Philena Everett
letter(s) from SBA, **28**: 624-25, 708-13
letter(s) to SBA, **27**: 512
- Johnson, Samuel
letter to AERA meeting, **1**: 580
other letters
to Stone, Lucy, **1**: 580
- Johnson, William L.
letter(s) to *Revolution*, **1**: 439
- Johnson's New Universal Cyclopaedia*
SBA entries for, **20**: 617-35
- Johnson's Universal Cyclopaedia*
ECS entry for, **34**: 867-69
SBA entries for, **34**: 857-58, 860, 862-64, 866-69
- Johnston, Lucy Browne
letter(s) from SBA, **42**: 717-18; **44**: 308-9, 475-78
- Johnston, Maria Isabella Barnett
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **24**: 13
- Johnston, Robert J.
financial records
Revolution accounts with SBA, **13**: 236-50
- Johnston, Sarah
letter(s) to SBA birthday celebration, **2**: 273
- Johnstown, NY
See also Fulton County, NY
public library
inscription(s) from SBA, **44**: 759-64
state constitutional campaign meeting
SBA attends, **32**: 305-6
- Joly, Nicolas
ECS article on, **23**: 444-48
letter(s) to ECS, **22**: 810-11; **23**: 67-71
- Jones, Beverly W.
arrest and trial for letting SBA vote, **16**: 542-43; **17**: 76, 99, 152-81
trial of SBA, **16**: 555-58, 852-62; **17**: 98-148
- Jones, Ella H.
letter(s) from SBA, **36**: 703-5; **43**: 613-14, 617-18
- Jones, Jane Elizabeth⁷ Hitchcock
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 186, 599
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 59
other letters
to Pillsbury, Parker, **1**: 106, 121
- Jones, Jane Grahame
letter in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, **18**: 869
letter(s) to National Woman Suffrage and Educational Committee convention, **15**: 329, 337
- Jones, Jenkin Lloyd
letter(s) from SBA, **30**: 195-96; **32**: 724-29, 919-23; **34**: 554; **35**: 939-40
letter(s) to SBA, **32**: 707-8, 875-77, 930, 1076; **33**: 775-76; **34**: 136; **38**: 277; **43**: 586, 590; **44**: 888
other letters
from Thomas, Hiram W., **32**: 708
- Jones, John Percival
letter(s) to SBA, **41**: 256
- Jones, Phebe Hoag
SBA notice of death of, **22**: 33
funeral services for
SBA speaks, **22**: 38
- Jones, Wesley Livsey
letter(s) to SBA, **40**: 712
- Jonesville, MI
SBA lecture and meeting, **18**: 121
- Jonson, George Washington
letter(s) from SBA, **7**: 834-36
- Joplin, MO
ECS lectures, **20**: 735
- Jordan, David Starr
letter(s) from SBA, **34**: 43; **41**: 205
- Jordan, Elizabeth Garver
letter(s) from SBA, **40**: 753
- Judson, Emily C.
poems in *Revolution*, **2**: 96
- Julian, George Washington
letter(s) from ECS, **13**: 447-49; **21**: 696-99
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 100, 538
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **19**: 434
letter(s) to SBA, **23**: 637; **26**: 335, 535
- June, Jenny *See* Croly, Jane
Cunningham
- 4: 973-74
- Kanab, UT
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 488-89
- Kansas
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 706-60
See also Abilene, Anthony, Atchison, Atchison County, Augusta, Beloit, Bourbon County, Burlingame, Burlington, Burr Oak, Burrton, Centralia, Collyer, Colorado, De Soto, Durham Park, Ellsworth, Emporia, Eureka, Fort Scott, Gaylord, Girard, Grant Township, Hutchinson, Independence, Ingalls, Iola, Kansas City, La Cygne, Lawrence, Leavenworth, Lincoln, Manhattan, Melvern, Minneapolis, Monroe, Morehead, Mound City, Neutral Station, Newton, Odell, Ottumwa, Pittsburg, Pleasonton, Rose Hill, Salina, Seneca, Silver Lake, Topeka, Westmoreland, White Cloud, Wichita, Williamsburg, Winfield, Wyandotte
- Kansas Equal Suffrage Association
joint meetings with NWSA, letter(s) to ECS, **25**: 56
joint meetings with NWSA, SBA attends, **25**: 18-21, 38, 43-48, 52, 56-60, 65
letter(s) from SBA, **37**: 580
meetings of, letter from ECS, **27**: 465
meetings of, SBA attends, **25**: 755-63; **26**: 949-55; **27**: 450-66; **28**: 746-48; **38**: 859-60
- Kansas People's Party
convention, SBA attends, **32**: 898-904
- Kansas Prohibition Party
convention, letters from and to Anna H. Shaw, **32**: 905-6
convention, letters from and to SBA, **32**: 905-6
- Kansas Republican Party
Central Committee, letter(s) from ECS, **12**: 206
Central Committee, letter(s) from SBA, **12**: 206
conventions, SBA attends, **30**: 295-302; **32**: 881-82
tour for, 1892, SBA lectures,

•K

- 30: 477-79, 496
 Kansas Republican Women's Association
 meetings of, SBA attends, 32: 879
 Kansas State Historical Society
 membership in, for ECS, 24: 36
 Kansas State Normal School
 SBA lecture, 26: 956
 Kansas State Temperance Society
 meetings of, ECS and SBA attend, 12: 459-83
 Kansas Woman's Christian Temperance Union
 meetings of, SBA attends, 30: 471-72
 Kansas Woman Suffrage Amendment
 Campaign Committee
 letter(s) from SBA, 32: 565, 669-74
 Kansas amendment campaign
 SBA lectures, 32: 1095, 1102-5, 1112
 meetings
 SBA attends, 31: 609-10; 32: 790-94, 811-14, 825-32
 Kansas campaign, 1867
 ECS and SBA at meeting, 12: 459-83
 ECS and SBA lecture, 12: 374-441, 568-69
 ECS lecture for, 12: 484-541
 ECS remarks at polls, 12: 573
 Kansas City, KS
 interview(s) in, SBA, 22: 606; 32: 1093
 state amendment campaign
 meetings
 SBA attends, 31: 609-10; 32: 790-94
 Kansas City, MO
 interview(s) in, SBA, 24: 241; 36: 86-87
 SBA lectures, 32: 835-36
 Kasson, MN
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 1076-78
 Kauffmann, Samuel Hay
 letter(s) from SBA, 42: 339
 Kearney, Belle
 letter(s) from SBA, 38: 699
 letter(s) to SBA, 39: 764
 Kearney, NE
 state constitutional amendment
 campaign
 SBA lectures, 22: 682
 Keating, John McLeod
 letter(s) from SBA, 26: 108-9
 Keating, PA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 5: 352
 Keeler, MI
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 975
 Keene, NH
 SBA lectures, 20: 684
 Keeter, Amos
 poems in *Revolution*, 2: 253
 Keifer, Joseph Warren
 letter(s) from SBA, 22: 166-68
 Keill, Mr. G.
 letter(s) from SBA, 40: 264
 Keith, Mary McHenry
 letter(s) from SBA, 35: 646-49, 1016; 36: 36-37, 185-88; 37: 300-301; 41: 430-31; 42: 697-98, 901-2; 43: 552-55, 585, 690; 44: 444-46, 702-3
 letter(s) to SBA, 44: 873-79
 other letters
 from Harper, Ida A. H., 37: 300-301
 Keith, William
 letter(s) from SBA, 36: 185-88; 43: 585
 Kelley, Florence
 letter(s) to ECS, 38: 576-78
 letter(s) to SBA, 23: 474-77, 632; 44: 546
 Kelley, William Darrah
 letter(s) from SBA, 23: 452
 letter(s) to ECS, 18: 221-22
 letter(s) to SBA, 22: 458-59
 Kelleys Island, OH
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 5: 160
 Kellogg, Day Otis
 letter(s) to SBA, 23: 1059-61
 Kellogg, Mrs. H. N.
 letter to WNLN meeting, 10: 469
 Kellogg, Mary E.
 letter in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, 18: 867
 Kelsey, D. M.
 letter(s) to *Revolution*, 1: 75
 Kem, Omer Madison
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, 31: 258
 Kennedy, Crammond
 letter(s) to ECS, 1: 565
 Kenney, Richard Rolland
 letter(s) to SBA, 40: 791; 41: 75; 42: 766-67
 Kent, Margaret H.
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, 34: 726-27, 770-71
 Kentucky
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 761-818
See also Hopkinsville, Lexington, Louisville, Newport, Owensboro, Richmond
 Kenyon, Hannah
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, 24: 909
 Kenyon, Rhoby J.
 letter(s) to SBA, 24: 909
 Keokuk, IA
 ECS lectures, 14: 164-65
 Keosauqua, IA
 SBA lectures, 24: 239
 Kerr, S. A.
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, 32: 344
 Ketcham, Emily B.
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, 35: 420; 38: 222
 other letters
 to Rich, John T., 31: 487
 Kewanee, IL
 SBA lectures, 24: 208-10
 Keyser, Harriette A.
 letter(s) from SBA, 32: 164-66
 Kilgore, Carrie Sylvester Burnham
 about, SBA statement, 23: 443
 Kimball, Flora Marilla Morrill
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, 34: 700-702
 Kimball, Mary Porter Rogers
 letter(s) from SBA, 23: 306-9
 letter(s) to SBA, 25: 145
 Kimball, Sarah Melissa Granger
 letter(s) from SBA, 29: 1073
 letter(s) to SBA, 25: 205, 217
 King, Angeline J.
 article(s) in *Revolution*, 1: 355
 letter(s) to ECS, 1: 523, 557
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, 20: 317
 King, John Hereford
 letter(s) from SBA, 22: 753
 King, Mary
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, 20: 317
 King, Thomas Starr
 letter(s) to SBA, 9: 92
 Kingman, H. M.
 letter(s) to ECS, 2: 225
 Kingsbury, Elizabeth Anne
 article(s) in *Revolution*, 1: 362-63
 letter(s) from SBA, 45: 370-71
 letter(s) to ECS, 28: 897
 Kings County Political Equality League
 Anthony dinner
 letter from SBA, 44: 462-63
 meetings of
 SBA attends, 32: 504-II
 Kingsley, Henry *See* Kingsley, S. K.
 Kingsley, S. K.
 letter to woman's rights anniversary meeting, 14: 1019
 Kingston, NY

- county woman's rights conventions
SBA attends, **8**: 236-38
state constitutional campaign meeting
SBA attends, **32**: 590
- Kinkel, Gottfried, Jr.
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 572
- Kinmundy, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 264
- Kinnear, Adelaide M.
letter(s) to SBA, **28**: 599
- Kinsman, OH
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 161
- Kirby, Charlotte Ives
articles by
"Open Letter to the Women of America," **27**: 104-6
- Kirk, Eleanor *See* Ames, Eleanor
Maria Easterbrook
- Kirkwood, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 265-66
- Kiss, Ignace
letter(s) to SBA, **15**: 440-43
- Kitchel, Theresa M.
article(s) in *Revolution*, **2**: 301, 324-25
letter(s) to *Revolution*, **2**: 337
- Knaggs, Mariette Stocking
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 619-20, 715-18
- Knapp, John
letter(s) from SBA, **16**: 995-96
- Knapp, Lyman Enos
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **31**: 248
- Knickerbocker Publishing Company
letter(s) from SBA, **43**: 343
- Knights of Labor *See* South Dakota
- Knobe, Bertha Damaris
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 781
- Knortz, Karl
letter(s) from ECS, **20**: 909-10
- Knowles, Catherine Cornell
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 456
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **20**: 319, 792
- Knox-Goodrich, Sarah L.
letter in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, **18**: 866
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 36-39
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **21**: 1007; **23**: 641-42
- Knoxville, TN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 459
- Koehler, Maude Anthony
letter(s) from SBA, **37**: 5-7, 32-34; **44**: 347-48, 354-56, 382-84, 402-6, 679
See also Anthony, Maude
- Kokomo, IN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 486-91
Equal Suffrage Club
letter(s) to SBA, **28**: 40
- Kollock, Florence Ellen
letter(s) from SBA, **25**: 1072-75
- Koltsova-Masalskaia, Elena Mikhailovna Ghika
letter(s) to ECS, **22**: 195-98
- Krog, Jorgine Anna Sverdrup
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **42**: 459, 511
- Kropotkin, Peter Alexeivitch
letter(s) to International Council of Women, **26**: 373-74
- L
- La Crosse, WI
state congressional district tour
SBA attends, **25**: 87
- La Cygne, KS
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 728
- Ladd, Adoniram Judson
letter(s) to SBA, **31**: 807-10
- Ladies' National Association, York, England, Branch
letter(s) to ECS, **26**: 298, 544
- Ladies' Patriotic Meeting Against Foreign Luxury Imports
ECS attends, **10**: 778
SBA attends, **10**: 811-16
- Ladora, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 604-5
- Lafayette, IN
SBA lectures, **15**: 541; **25**: 455
- Lafayette, OR
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 252-53
- Lafayette College
SBA lectures, **23**: 385
- La Fetra, Sarah Custis Doan
incorporation of National Council of Women, U.S., **29**: 1-2
- La Force, Eda Agnes
letter(s) from SBA, **40**: 669-70
letter(s) to SBA, **40**: 667-69
- La Grande, OR
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 245-51
- Laingsburg, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 976-78
- Lake City, CO
state suffrage campaign
SBA lectures, **19**: 547
- Lake City, MN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 1079-80
- Lake Side, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 979-81
- Lakeside, OH
Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Chautauqua Assembly
SBA lecture, **34**: 273-74
- Lake Waccabuc, NY
mass meeting for equal rights
ECS and SBA attend, **12**: 289-90
- Lakewood, NJ
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 1250
- La Moille, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 267-68
- Lamont, Daniel Scott
letter(s) to SBA, **26**: 266, 503
See also Cleveland, Frances
Folsom; Cleveland, Stephen
Grover
- Landsberg, Max
letter(s) from SBA, **42**: 340
- Landsberg, Miriam Isengarten
letter(s) from SBA, **39**: 530
- Lane, Eben S.
letter(s) from ECS, **20**: 401-2
- Lane, Mary E. Baldrige
other letters
to Train, George F., **12**: 554
- Lang, Gertrude J.
letter(s) to SBA, **15**: 713
- Lange, Helene
letter(s) from SBA, **44**: 380-81
letter(s) to SBA, **43**: 806-7
- Langhorne, Orra Henderson Moore
Gray
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **21**: 65; **25**: 204
- Langley, Mr. E. T.
letter(s) to SBA, **28**: 217
- Langley, Miles Ledford
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 42, 90
- Lansing, MI
ECS lectures, **15**: 434
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 982-83
SBA lectures, **14**: 690-92; **18**: 129-30; **31**: 396
- Lapham, Anson
letter(s) from SBA, **14**: 166

- Lapham, Elbridge Gerry
letter(s) to SBA, 17: 928,
930; 22: 37
- Lapham, Mary Josephine
letter(s) from SBA, 12:
940-41
- Lapham, Samantha Lapham Vail
letter(s) from SBA, 35: 596
See also Vail, Samantha Lapham
- Larned, Ursula
letter to WLNL meeting, 10:
470
- Larwill, IN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 492-93
- Las Animas, CO
state suffrage campaign
SBA lectures, 19: 540
- Lattimore, Samuel Allan
letter(s) from SBA, 37:
179-80
- Latty, Emmet J.
letter(s) to ECS, 1: 154, 535
- Lawrence, Arthur
letter(s) to SBA, 42: 832
- Lawrence, George Pelton
letter(s) to SBA, 40: 781
- Lawrence, KS
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 729-30
SBA lectures, 15: 359
- Lawrence Equal Suffrage
Association
letter(s) to SBA, 25: 235
- NWSA and Kansas Equal Suffrage
Association meeting
SBA attends, 25: 65
- tour for impartial suffrage
ECS and SBA lecture, 12:
439-40
- Lawrence, MA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 846-47
- Lawrence, Margaret Livingston
Stanton
letter(s) for ECS, 20: 909-10
letter(s) from ECS, 22:
798-801; 24: 691-94; 28:
239, 663-68, 695-707, 726-28,
768-69, 912-16; 32: 964,
1001-2; 35: 1008-12
letter(s) from SBA, 21:
97-100; 43: 742
verse for ECS, 40: 222-23
verse from ECS,
30: 497-99; 37: 310-12
See also Stanton, Margaret
Livingston
lecture by
ECS remarks at, 34: 91
- Lawrence, Priscilla B.
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 319
- Lawrence, TX
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 475
- Lawrence, William
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 227
- Lawrence, William, Jr.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 27
- Leadville, CO
postmaster of
letter from SBA, 23:
819-22
- Lear, Elmira C. Boynton
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 621
- Lease, Mary Elizabeth Clyens
letter(s) from SBA, 30: 724
- Leaton, L. M.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 33
- Leavens, Julia Pauline
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 678-79
- Leavenworth, Elizabeth
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 244, 263, 295, 356
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 139
- Leavenworth, KS
interview(s) in, SBA, 32: 838;
34: 232
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 731-32
SBA lectures, 15: 364; 27:
141
- Art League
SBA lectures, 32: 811-12
- mayoral race
SBA lectures, 27: 133,
140
SBA lectures, Colored
Methodist Church, 27:
134
SBA lectures, meeting of
women, 27: 148
SBA lectures, Republican
rally, 27: 139, 150,
158
SBA remarks at Democratic
women's meeting, 27:
149
- memorial service for Abraham
Lincoln
SBA lecture, 11: 178-79
- NWSA and Kansas Equal Suffrage
Association meeting
SBA attends, 25: 18-21
- state amendment campaign meeting
SBA attends, 32: 811-14
- tour for impartial suffrage
ECS remarks at polls,
12: 573
SBA lectures, 12: 570
- Leavitt, Mrs. C. C.
article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 312
- Leavitt, Nettie Ramsdell
letter(s) from SBA, 39:
635-36
- Lebanon, PA
ECS lectures, 20: 428
- Le Claire, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 606
- Lee, Edward M.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
2: 280
- Lee, John Stebbins
letter(s) to SBA, 11: 509
- Lee, Kate Beckwith
letter(s) to SBA, 30: 728
- Lee Center, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 269
- Lees, Frederic Richard
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 580
- Lees Summit, MO
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1125
- Leets, E.
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 468
- Leggett, Ida Francis
article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 356
- Lemaître, Jules
letter(s) to ECS, 44: 1017
- Léo, André *See* Champseix, Léonie
Béra
- Leonard, Cynthia Howland Van Name
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 869
- Leonard, Emily J.
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 58
- Leroy?, MN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1081
- Leslie, Mrs. Frank *See* Leslie,
Miriam Florence Folline
- Leslie, Jane Lesley Voorhees
letter(s) to ECS, 11: 510
- Leslie, Miriam Florence Folline
letter(s) from SBA, 26: 32-33
letter(s) to SBA, 26: 24, 375,
541
- Letts, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 607-10
- Levanway, Charlotte L.
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 892
- Levenson, Dr. M. R.
other letters
to Sheldon, Ellen H.,
25: 639
- Leveson-Gower, Millicent Fanny St.
Clair-Erskine, Duchess of
Sutherland
letter(s) to SBA, 40: 13
other letters
to Harper, Ida A. H.,

- 40: 13
 Lewis, Augusta
 letter(s) to SBA, 1: 439
 Lewis, Helen Morris
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
 34: 661
 Lewis, Henry J.
 inscription(s) from SBA, 43:
 580
 Lewis, Sylvester
 trial of SBA, 16: 555-58,
 860-64
 Lewis, Theresa Juan
 letter(s) from SBA, 21: 158
 Lewistown, PA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 5: 353-54
 Lexington, IL
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 270
 Lexington, KY
 interview(s) in, SBA, 33: 515
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 765-88
 Leyden, Margaret L. Garrigues
 arrest for illegal voting with
 SBA, 16: 602; 17: 76-77
 trial of SBA, 16: 556-58, 864
 Liberal Congress of Religion
 meetings of
 SBA attends, 37: 315;
 38: 862-64
 Liberal Party, National Conference
 meeting of women delegates
 memorial to William E.
 Gladstone for woman
 suffrage, SBA signed,
 23: 320
 SBA attends, 23: 320
 Liberal Religious meeting, New York
 ECS signs call to, 29: 971-72
 Liberal Republican Party
 National Convention, Committee
 on Resolutions
 letter from SBA and Laura
 de F. Gordon, 16: 95
 Liberty Mills, IN
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 494
 librarian, Denver Public library
 letter(s) from SBA, 44: 306
 librarian, Fort Collins (CO)
 Agricultural College, 42:
 794-95
 librarian, Historical Society of
 Pennsylvania
 letter(s) from SBA, 44: 14
 librarian, Johns Hopkins University
 letter(s) from SBA, 44: 13
 librarian, Newberry Library
 letter(s) from SBA, 43: 529
 librarian, New York Public Library
 letter(s) from SBA, 43:
 525-27; 44: 181
 librarian, Rochester Unitarian
 Church Sunday School
 letter(s) from SBA, 44: 182
 librarian, Smith College
 letter(s) from SBA, 43: 719
 librarian, Vassar College
 letter(s) from SBA, 44: 183
 librarians, unidentified
 letter(s) from SBA, 39: 2
 Lichen, Luke
 article(s) in *Revolution*,
 2: 18
 Ligue de la paix et la liberté
 Central Committee
 letter(s) to *Revolution*,
 2: 49-50
 Lily
 letter(s) to editor from ECS,
 6: 992; 7: 26, 77, 84, 128
 See also Bloomer, Amelia Jenks
 Lincoln, Abraham
 about, ECS interview, 35: 567
 letter from WLNL meeting,
 10: 452-53, 479, 484-85
 Lincoln, George Burt
 letter(s) from ECS, 27: 404-6
 Lincoln, KS
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 733-41
 Lincoln, NE
 interview(s) in, SBA, 25: 147
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 1192-94
 state constitutional amendment
 campaign
 SBA attends meeting, 22:
 656-59
 Lincoln, VA
 SBA lectures, 33: 777-79
 Lincolnville, IN
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 495
 Lind, WI
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 5: 549
 Lineff, A.
 letter(s) to ECS, 26: 107
 Linton, M. B.
 letter in support of NWSA,
 "Declaration of Rights," 1876,
 18: 870
 Lippincott, Sara Jane Clarke
 article(s) in *Revolution*,
 2: 252
 letter(s) from ECS, 17: 84
 letter(s) from SBA, 40:
 696-97; 41: 463
 letter(s) to ECS, 1: 565;
 24: 720-21
 letter(s) to SBA, 13: 572,
 574
 letter to AERA meeting, 13:
 507
 verse for ECS, 40: 222-23
 verse for SBA, 41: 2
 Little Rock, IL
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 271
 Livermore, Daniel Parker
 letter(s) from SBA, 14:
 593-94
 letter(s) to SBA, 14: 593-94
 other letters
 to Pillsbury, Parker,
 14: 593-94
 Livermore, Mary Ashton Rice
 article(s) in *Revolution*,
 1: 474-76
 letter(s) from ECS, 30:
 307-12; 32: 807-10
 letter(s) from SBA, 16:
 473-75
 letter(s) to ECS, 24: 1101-5
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
 42: 108
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
 20: 789-90
 letter(s) to SBA, 12: 190-91;
 13: 450, 537, 589, 595-97;
 40: 353
 statement on women and the Bible,
 37: 388
 See also Editor, *Agitator*
 Lockett, Mollie F.
 autograph of SBA, 19: 473
 Lockport, NY
 state constitutional campaign
 meeting
 SBA attends, 32: 716-17
 Lockwood, Belta Ann Bennett McNall
 letter(s) in support of NWSA,
 "Declaration of Rights," 1876,
 18: 869, 871
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
 39: 764
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
 18: 404; 24: 15, 909;
 25: 205
 letter(s) to SBA, 21: 187
 SBA entry on, *Johnson's New
 Universal Cyclopaedia*,
 20: 631
 SBA entry on, *Johnson's
 Universal Cyclopaedia*,
 34: 860
*Johnson's New Universal
 Cyclopaedia*
 draft entry for, 18:
 938-41
 Loder, Helen M.
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 5: 54
 Lodge, Henry Cabot
 letter(s) to SBA, 40: 702,
 771; 42: 772-73
 Logan, Adella Hunt
 inscription(s) from SBA, 43:
 357, 581-83
 letter(s) to SBA, 38: 30-33
 Logan, John Alexander
 letter(s) from SBA, 24: 67-68
 Logan, Mary Simmerman Cunningham
 letter(s) from SBA, 28:
 231-33

- letter(s) to SBA, **28**: 41
- Logan, M. Frances
letter(s) from SBA, **44**: 483
- Logan, Millie Burtis
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 766
rights to features and name of SBA, **29**: 427-29
- Logan, Olive
article(s) in *Revolution*, **1**: 322, 586
letter(s) from ECS, **15**: 351-53
- Loines, Mary Hillard
letter(s) from SBA, **42**: 351-52
- London, England
interview(s) in, ECS, **28**: 883-85
interview(s) in, SBA, **39**: 1066; **40**: 9-11, 14
International Congress of Women
SBA attends, **39**: 1055-65
International Council of Women
SBA attends, **39**: 927-1055
meeting for parliamentary franchise
ECS attends, **23**: 242
South Place Chapel
ECS lecture, **23**: 263-67
- London, OH
Woman's Elective Franchise Association
meetings of, letter from SBA, **38**: 675
- Long, John Davis
letter(s) from SBA, **23**: 417-18; **24**: 886-88, 1089-91; **26**: 1036-37
letter(s) to SBA, **26**: 1038
meeting with ECS and SBA, **21**: 1046-48
- Long Beach, CA
Friday Morning Club, Los Angeles, reception
SBA attends, **36**: 50
- Longley, Margaret V.
letter in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, **18**: 869
- Longshore, Hannah E. Myers
SBA entry on, *Johnson's New Universal Cyclopaedia*, **20**: 631
- Loomis, Elizabeth J.
other letters
from Bradwell, James B., **21**: 233
from Hoyne, F. M., **21**: 280
- Loomis, Submit Chesebrough
letter in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, **18**: 867
- Loper, John D.
letter(s) from SBA, **40**: 316-18
- Lord, Elizabeth C. Kirlton
letter(s) to ECS, **28**: 89
letter(s) to SBA, **28**: 89
- Lord, George W.
letter(s) from SBA, **10**: 779-82
- Lord, Henrietta Frances
letter(s) to ECS, **23**: 338, 625-26; **34**: 290
letter(s) to SBA, **23**: 625-26
- Lord, Martha Mott
letter(s) from ECS, **38**: 287-88
- Lore, Emma Maria Theresa
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 670
- Lorimer, George Claude
letter(s) from SBA, **44**: 967-70
- Lorimer, William
letter(s) to SBA, **41**: 64
- Los Angeles
interview(s) in, SBA, **34**: 155; **44**: 690, 692, 695
SBA lectures, **34**: 152-54, 179; **44**: 691
- Friday Morning Club
meetings of, SBA attends, **35**: 632
receptions, SBA attends, **36**: 50
state amendment campaign
SBA attends meetings, **35**: 633
- Los Angeles County Suffrage League
meetings of
SBA attends, **44**: 693-94
- Lostant, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 272
- Loughary, Harriette A.
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **20**: 318
- Louis, Henrietta L.
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 182; **2**: 101
letter(s) to *Revolution*, **1**: 153
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 139, 388
- Louisiana
See also New Orleans
Louisiana Woman's Christian Temperance Union
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **39**: 763, 832
- Louisiana, MO
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 1126
SBA lectures, **20**: 260
- Louisville, KY
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 789-90
SBA lectures, **33**: 516
tour with George F. Train
ECS and SBA lecture, **12**: 595-600
- Love, Mrs.
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **13**: 623
- Love, Alfred Henry
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **38**: 150
letter(s) to *Revolution*, **1**: 27, 75
- Loveland, CO
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 49
- Loveland, OH
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 162
- Lowell, James Russell
letter(s) to ECS, **22**: 725-27
- Lowell, Josephine Shaw
letter(s) from ECS, **32**: 1086
letter(s) to ECS, **32**: 1088-89
- Lowville, NY
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 19-23
- Lozier, Abraham Witton
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 36
- Lozier, Clemence Sophia Harned
article(s) in *Revolution*, **1**: 169-70, 283, 295
letter in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, **18**: 866
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 37-38
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 42
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **20**: 788; **23**: 35
letter(s) to *Revolution*, **1**: 331
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 82; **2**: 296; **18**: 869
SBA entry on, *Johnson's New Universal Cyclopaedia*, **20**: 631
memorial for
ECS attends, **26**: 797-800
- Lozier, E. A. Stetson
letter in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, **18**: 868
- Lozier, Jennie de la Montagnie
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 39
- Lucas, Ada W.
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **20**: 317
- Lucas, Margaret Bright
letter(s) to ECS, **23**: 628, 838-39
- Lundin, Hulda
letter(s) to SBA, **41**: 3; **42**: 827-28
- Luther, Clara Elizabeth
inscription(s) from SBA, **45**: 400-402
- Luverne, MN

letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1082-91
Lyman, R. W.
letter(s) from SBA, 10:
585-86
Lynde, Sarah M.
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 318
Lynn, MA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 848-49
Lyon, Nannie J. Wright
letter(s) from SBA, 34: 287
Lyon, Philo A.
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 870
Lyons, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 984

• M

- McAnulty, Alice M.
letter(s) to SBA, 33: 786-91
McBride, George Wycliffe
letter(s) to SBA, 40: 703
McCann, Lucy Underwood
letter(s) to SBA, 35: 787
McClintock, Elizabeth Wilson
letter(s) from ECS, 6: 948-53
See also Phillips, Elizabeth
Wilson McClintock
other letters
from Mott, Lucretia C.,
6: 979-89
from Plumly, Rush C., 6:
986-89
to Editors, *National
Reformer*, 6: 773
to Editors, *Seneca County
Courier* (NY), 6:
779-81
to Mott, Lucretia C., 6:
958-73
McClintock, Mary Ann Wilson
other letters
from Stebbins, Catharine A.
F., 18: 931
McClung, Mr.
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
25: 205
McClung, Buell Drake
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 8
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 318; 25: 205
McClure, James D.
letter(s) to SBA, 1: 428
McComas, Alice Moore
other letters
to Danforth, Grace, 33:
873-74
McComas, Louis Emory
letter(s) to SBA, 40: 745;
41: 85
McConnell, E. Amanda
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 188
MacConnell, John G.
letter(s) to ECS, 24: 1029
McCook, Edward Moody
letter(s) from SBA, 22:
592-93
McCook, Mary Thompson
letter(s) to SBA, 2: 326;
14: 698
McCoys Station, OH
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 164
McCulloch, Catharine Gouger Waugh
letter(s) from SBA, 34:
343-45, 371, 816-17; 37: 536;
38: 707-10, 911-12, 921-23;
40: 319-23; 41: 77-80,
253-54, 272-74, 390, 424-25,
443-44, 455-57, 485-86, 489-90,
504-5, 524-25, 553, 633;
42: 179-80; 44: 322
letter(s) to SBA, 39: 734,
824
McCulloch, Hugh
letter(s) from SBA, 29:
168-71
letter(s) to SBA, 29: 172
McCulloch, Susan Maria Mann
letter(s) from SBA, 29:
168-71
McCullough, Mrs. L. C.
letter(s) to SBA, 21: 188
McCullough, Maria
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 731
McCumber, Porter James
letter(s) to SBA, 42: 749-50
McDiarmid, Clara A.
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 643
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
39: 734, 763
McDonald, Jesse Fuller
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
44: 580
Macdonald, Mary H.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 319
McDonnell, Mary
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
26: 1065
McDowell, Anne Elizabeth
interview with SBA, 16: 165
letter(s) from SBA, 14: 605-6;
16: 226-29
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
23: 60
Mace, Amy J.
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 768-69
McFarland, Abby Sage *See*
Richardson, Abby Sage McFarland
McFarland, Daniel
meeting to protest outcome of
his trial
ECS and SBA attend, 2:
373; 14: 774-801
McGinnis, Mrs.
letter(s) to SBA, 33: 634
McGregor, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 611-12
McGregor, Louise
letter to WLNL meeting, 10:
464
McHenry, Ellen Josephine
letter(s) from SBA, 43: 373
McKelsey, C. S.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 535
Mackelvie, W.
letter(s) to SBA, 2: 190
McKillip, William M.
letter(s) to SBA, 43: 352
McKim, James Miller
letter(s) from SBA, 9: 843-44
McKinley, Ida Saxton
letter(s) from SBA, 42: 871
See also Cortelyou, George
Bruce; Healy, Maud
McKinley, William
letter(s) from ECS, 35: 1038
memorial from SBA and May E. W.
T. Sewall, for National
Council of Women, 38: 496
See also Cortelyou, George
Bruce
McLane, George W.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
2: 261
McLaren, Charles Benjamin Bright
letter(s) to ECS, 34: 491
McLaren, Eva Müller
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
29: 26
McLaren, Priscilla Bright
letter(s) from SBA, 41:
183-84, 281-82, 437-38
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
41: 439-42
letter(s) to ECS, 22: 693-95,
734-36; 23: 259, 337; 25:
74, 792; 28: 416-17; 29:
93; 34: 490, 496-98
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
38: 148; 42: 512
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
24: 33
letter(s) to SBA, 23: 272,
627-28; 26: 173-74, 410;
43: 808
McLaren, Walter Stowe Bright
letter(s) to ECS birthday
celebration, 34: 490
McLean, Aaron M.
letter(s) from SBA, 6: 276-80,
290-92, 300-304, 309-12,

- 319-22, 329-32, 337-40, 348-55,
902-3, 922-23
letter(s) to SBA, **6**: 250-59,
268, 281-84, 313-18, 323-28,
333-36, 341-47, 356-59, 360-65,
537-44, 550-52, 652-53,
1089-92; **8**: 1043
other letters
to Anthony family, **6**:
537-44
to Anthony, Lucy R., **6**:
537-44, 1089-92
to Anthony, Mary S., **6**:
1089-92
McLean, Guelma Penn Anthony
arrest for illegal voting with
SBA, **16**: 602
letter(s) from SBA, **6**: 866-68,
902-3, 922-23
letter(s) to SBA, **6**: 537-44,
652-53, 1089-92
See also Anthony, Guelma Penn
other letters
to Anthony family, **6**:
537-44
to Anthony, Lucy R., **6**:
537-44, 1089-92
to Anthony, Mary S., **6**:
1089-92
McLean, John Knox
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 735-36
McLean, Mary Ann
letter(s) to SBA, **6**: 1049-52;
7: 33-33A
McLeansboro, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 273
McLeod, Mrs.
letter(s) from SBA, **36**:
687-89
McMartin, Margaret Chinn Cady
letter(s) from SBA, **9**:
1113-15
McMillan, James
letter(s) to SBA, **40**: 713
Macmillan Company
letter(s) from SBA, **36**: 982
letter(s) to SBA, **36**: 985
McMinnville, OR
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 254-57
McNeill, W. A.
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 871
Macomb, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 274-79
Maconber, Albert Everett
letter(s) from SBA, **12**:
340-43
Macon, MO
ECS and SBA lecture, **12**: 372
Macon, TN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 460
Madison, CT
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 54
Madison, SD
state amendment campaign
SBA lectures, **27**: 544
state amendment campaign
convention
SBA attends, **28**: 441
Madison, WI
ECS lectures, **14**: 1103-4
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 550-52
NAWSA conference
SBA attends, **37**: 398-400
state congressional district
tour
SBA attends, **25**: 101-2
tour for woman suffrage, 1869
ECS and SBA lecture, **13**:
408
Mahon, Mr. O. S.
letter(s) from SBA, **34**:
414-15, 441-43, 446-47
Maine
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 819-28
See also Bangor, East
Livermore, Harmony, Portland,
Rockland
Maine WSA
meetings of
SBA attends, **38**: 800-806
Malden, MA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 850-52
Mallet Creek, OH
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 163
Mallory, Stephen Russell *See*
Richardson, James M.
Malone, NY
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 24
state constitutional campaign
meeting
SBA attends, **32**: 764
Manassas, VA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 503
Manchester, CT
women of
letter to WLNL meeting,
10: 462
Manchester, England
SBA lectures, **44**: 290
Manchester National Society for
Women's Suffrage
meetings of, ECS attends,
22: 712-14
meetings of, SBA attends,
23: 339-41
Manchester, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 613-15
Manhattan, KS
tour for impartial suffrage
ECS and SBA lecture, **12**:
441
Manistee, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 985-1020
Manley, Jessie C.
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 669-70
Mann, Horace
other letters
to May, Samuel J., **8**:
437-38
Mann, Newton Maurice
letter(s) to SBA, **28**: 731;
44: 529
Manning, Albert A.
letter(s) to SBA, **25**: 184
Manning, Eliza Anne Sowerby
letter(s) to ECS, **30**: 49-56
Mansfield, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 280-86
Maquoketa, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 616-19
Marble, Mamie S.
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
31: 293
Marengo, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 287
Marengo, NY
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 25
Marinette, WI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 553-56
Marion, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 620-27
Marion, OH
SBA lectures, **20**: 700
Marlborough, MA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 853-54
Marne, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 628-29
Marsh, Edwin T.
arrest and trial for letting
SBA vote, **16**: 542-43;
17: 76, 99, 152-81
inscription in visitors'
register, SBA, **17**: 1011-14
letter(s) from SBA, **34**:
416-17
trial of SBA, **16**: 555-57,
848-52
Marsh, Helen
article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 177
Marsh, Jane E. Stewart
letter(s) to ECS, **12**: 192
See also Stewart, Jane E.

- Marsh, Luther Rawson
letter(s) to ECS, **12**: 191-92
- Martin, George Washington
letter(s) from SBA, **42**: 806, 903; **43**: 374, 534-35, 544-46, 755-56; **44**: 22, 433, 447-48
letter(s) to SBA, **42**: 389, 866; **43**: 523, 542, 551, 769-70; **44**: 200, 416-18, 426, 450-51, 453, 461
- Martin, Helen
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **20**: 318
- Martin, Mrs. Jacob
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **21**: 65
- Martin, Mrs. M. J.
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **32**: 373, 485
- Martin, Victoria Claflin Woodhull
about, testimonial to, **30**: 211-12
letter(s) from ECS, **25**: 71-73, 863-66, 1023; **38**: 808-11
See also Woodhull, Victoria Claflin
- Martinsburgh, NY
county woman's rights convention
SBA attends, **8**: 154
- Martyn, Carlos
interview(s) with ECS, **39**: 444-45
- Marvin, Cornelia
inscription(s) from SBA, **44**: 771-74
- Marvin, Frederic Rowland
letter(s) from SBA, **43**: 694
letter(s) to *Revolution*, **1**: 592
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 162, 187
- Marvin, Le Grand
letter(s) to *Revolution*, **2**: 51
- Marvin, William
letter(s) to SBA, **8**: 1001
- Maryland *See also* Baltimore
- Maryland WSA
meetings of
SBA attends, **32**: 320-21
- Mason, Anna Elizabeth Dann
letter(s) from SBA, **43**: 382-87, 391-93, 489-96, 514-17, 787; **44**: 24-25, 213-18, 220-27, 320, 434-35, 562-64, 768-70, 868-70
See also Dann, Anna Elizabeth
other letters
from Anthony, Mary S., **43**: 514-17
- Mason, Caroline A.
letter(s) from SBA, **45**: 361
- Mason, Eveleen Laura
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **21**: 1007-8; **23**: 640-41
- Mason, Gilbert T.
wedding of
SBA toast at, **42**: 770
- Mason, Virginia
letter(s) to ECS, **13**: 254-59
letter(s) to *Revolution*, **1**: 503
- Mason, William Ernest
letter(s) to SBA, **40**: 788; **41**: 122
- Massachusetts
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 829-66
See also Athol, Barre, Berkshire County, Beverly, Blackinton, Blue Hills, Boston, Holyoke, Lawrence, Lynn, Malden, Marlborough, Nantucket, Plymouth, Roxbury, Saugus, Shelburne Falls, Somerville, Springfield, Suffolk County, Wilbraham, Worcester County; Moral Education Association of National Woman Suffrage Association of
meetings of, letter(s) from ECS, **23**: 543-44
meetings of, letter(s) to ECS, **22**: 515; **35**: 372
meetings of, letter(s) to SBA, **23**: 109
meetings of, SBA attends, **24**: 116-20; **26**: 791-94
- Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society
meetings of
SBA attends, **8**: 1079-83; **10**: 224-84
- Massachusetts WSA
meetings of
letter from ECS, **28**: 944-47
SBA attends, **14**: 576-79
- Massey, Gerald
letter(s) to ECS, **23**: 405-8
- Mathews, Elizabeth Gibson Mathews
letter(s) from SBA, **36**: 690
- Mathews, William Henry
letter(s) from SBA, **17**: 1041
- May, H. H.
letter(s) to *Revolution*, **2**: 314
- May, Samuel, Jr.
letter(s) from SBA, **8**: 258-59, 616, 1152-55; **9**: 763-65; **10**: 526-28, 557-60
letter(s) to ECS, **34**: 432-34
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **20**: 318
letter(s) to SBA, **8**: 339, 606, 859, 1103; **34**: 325
- May, Samuel Joseph
letter(s) from ECS, **8**: 469
letter(s) from SBA, **8**: 332-33, 928
letter(s) to ECS, **8**: 437-38; **11**: 375-76
letter(s) to SBA, **7**: 262, 316; **8**: 249, 862-64; **9**: 10-13, 64
letter to AERA meeting, **1**: 579
letter to mass meeting on temperance at Albany, NY, **7**: 509, 515
letter to New York State WSA meeting, **13**: 606
letter to Women's New York State Temperance Society meeting, **7**: 722-23
centennial of birth
SBA lecture at, **37**: 302-9
other letters
from Mann, Horace, **8**: 437-38
- Mayersville, MS
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 1116
- Mayo, Amory Dwight
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 572; **9**: 544-45
- Mays Landing, NJ
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 1251
- Mayville, NY
public library
inscription(s) from SBA, **43**: 744
- Mead, H. Louise
letter(s) to *Revolution*, **2**: 345
- Medford, NJ
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 1252-53
- Media, PA
SBA lectures, **21**: 578
- Medina, NY
SBA lectures, **7**: 238-48
- Mellen, Mrs. William Proctor
letter(s) from ECS, **28**: 28-30
letter(s) from SBA, **23**: 329-32; **27**: 1055-58
- Mellette, Arthur Calvin
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **31**: 246
- Melvern, KS
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 742-43
- Memphis, TN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 461-72
SBA lectures, **33**: 533-34
Nineteenth Century Club
reception, SBA attends, **33**: 534
- Mendota, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 288-92
- Mendum, Ernest
letter(s) to ECS, **36**: 905, 926, 942, 1006, 1018, 1044, 1053, 1063, 1069-70, 1088; **37**: 48, 188
See also Editor, Boston

- Investigator*
Mendum, Josiah P.
letter(s) to SBA, 1: 372
See also Editor, *Boston Investigator*
- Mercer, PA
SBA lectures, 17: 58
- Meredith, Ellis
letter(s) from SBA, 31:
550-61, 600-601, 675-78,
687-90, 700-709, 725-28,
775-78
letter(s) to SBA, 31: 508-10
- Meredith, Emily Robinson Sorin
letter(s) from SBA, 42:
677-78
- Meredith, Isabella Grant
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 420; 2: 169, 177
letter(s) from SBA, 13:
621-22
- Meriden, CT
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 55-61
- Meriman, Emilie Jane Butterfield
letter to woman's rights
anniversary meeting, 14:
1022, 1046
- Meriwether, Elizabeth Avery
letter(s) in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 867, 869
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 318; 21: 65
- Meriwether, Lide Smith
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 665
- Merkley, Mr. D. T.
letter(s) from SBA, 38: 745,
753
- Merriam, A. C.
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 707
- Merrick, Caroline Elizabeth Thomas
letter(s) from SBA, 24:
279-84, 463-66, 788; 25: 431;
44: 971
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
24: 21
letter(s) to SBA, 24: 984
- Merrill, George Fisk
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
2: 122
- Merritt, John J.
letter(s) from ECS, 14: 1053
- Merritt, Salome
letter(s) from SBA, 29:
435-38
- Meserole, Darwin J.
letter(s) from SBA, 42: 25-28
- Metcalf, Loretta Sutton
letter(s) from ECS, 23:
1044-47; 24: 939
letter(s) from SBA, 25: 15-17
- Methodist Episcopal Publishing House
letter(s) from SBA, 38: 734
- Methven, Jessie
letter(s) to SBA, 44: 292
- Metuchen, NJ
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1254
- Meyer, Johanne
letter(s) to ECS, 26: 549-50
- Meyer, Sigfried
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 239, 372
- Michaels, Rena A.
letter(s) to SBA, 28: 940-43
- Michelson, Miriam
interview(s) with SBA, 34: 41
- Michigan
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 867-1052
See also Adrian, Allegan, Ann
Arbor, Augusta, Battle Creek,
Bay City, Beacon, Bedford
Station, Bellevue, Benton
Harbor, Berrien Springs, Big
Rapids, Brighton, Cadillac,
Cassopolis, Charlotte,
Decatur, Detroit, Dexter,
Dryden, East Saginaw,
Frankfort, Grand Ledge, Grand
Rapids, Hamilton, Hartford,
Hartwellville, Hillsdale,
Holly, Howell, Ionia,
Jackson, Jonesville,
Kalamazoo, Keeler,
Laingsburg, Lake Side,
Lansing, Lyons, Manistee,
Millbrook, Muskegon, Niles,
Paw Paw, Penn, Plainwell,
Pleasanton, Pokagon,
Portland, Quincy, Rockford,
Romeo, Rothbury, Saginaw,
St. Joseph, Saranac, Saugatuck,
Sparta Center, Sturgis,
Vandalia, Vicksburg, Wales,
Wayne, Williamston
- Michigan, University of
SBA lectures, 32: 210-11
- Michigan Equal Suffrage Association
meetings of
SBA attends, 30: 163-65;
32: 212-17
- Michigan State Federation of
Colored Women
meetings of
letter from SBA, 41:
510-11
- Michigan WSA
joint meeting with NWSA
announcement of, 21: 166
SBA attends, 21: 296
meetings of
ECS attends, 17: 1067-98
letter from SBA, 24:
520-21
SBA attends, 15: 431-33
- Middlebrook, Anna M.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 549
- letter(s) to SBA, 1: 82
- Middlebury, IN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 496-99
- Middletown, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 293
- Miers, Robert Walter
letter(s) to SBA, 41: 136
- Miles, Ellen
letter(s) to ECS, 40: 223
- Milford, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 630
- Mill, John Stuart
letter(s) from ECS, 13: 499
letter(s) to AERA meetings,
1: 564; 12: 896, 899;
13: 507
letter(s) to Universal
Franchise Association
conventions, 2: 236; 14:
540, 552
- Millar, Helen M.
letter(s) to SBA, 32: 1092
- Millar, Margaret J. E.
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 869
- Millard, WI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 557
- Millbrook, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1021
- Miller, Anne Fitzhugh
letter(s) from ECS, 22: 781;
23: 1, 14; 25: 585, 780
letter(s) from SBA, 36:
661-62, 919-22; 41: 581,
1073-74; 44: 484
letter(s) to ECS, 32: 1139
verse for ECS, 40: 223
other letters
to Colby, Clara D. B.,
32: 739
- Miller, Charles Dudley, Jr.
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 125
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 147
- Miller, Charles Dudley
letter(s) from ECS, 6: 521-23,
658-61
verse from ECS, 45: 334
- Miller, Elizabeth Smith
See also Smith, Elizabeth
article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 49, 105
certificate of life membership
in NAWSA, 41: 515
interview with John W. Geary,
13: 136
letter(s) from ECS, 6: 521-23,
648-51, 658-61, 741, 908-13;
7: 36-38, 69-73, 85-88,

- 90-93, 126, 443-47, 457-62, 698, 737, 769-70, 825, 1048; **8:** 284A-85, 370-72, 432-33, 794, 1048; **9:** 153, 381-84; **10:** 89, 295, 395, 433, 551; **11:** 209, 612, 1047; **12:** 661-62; **13:** 264; **14:** 868, 924-25; **15:** 647-48, 669-70, 749, 762; **16:** 197-98, 563, 601; **18:** 224, 252-60, 302, 357-60; **19:** 518; **20:** 305, 311, 383, 736; **21:** 314, 354, 898, 917, 1070; **22:** 19, 223, 750; **23:** 89-90, 313, 351, 461, 881, 984; **24:** 43, 366, 507; **25:** 62, 82, 139, 270, 599-601, 780; **26:** 790, 895, 907, 948, 961; **27:** 119, 1007; **28:** 216, 269, 896; **29:** 328, 477; **33:** 932, 944; **34:** 253; **35:** 860, 1039; **36:** 100; **37:** 263; **41:** 277; **44:** 990
 letter(s) from SBA, **14:** 88-91; **18:** 241, 342-43; **22:** 767-70; **25:** 618-21, 1085-88; **26:** 63-64; **29:** 1074-79; **30:** 80-83, 338-39, 356-57; **32:** 194-95, 982-85, 989-90; **33:** 784; **34:** 374, 586-87, 609; **36:** 661-62, 919-22, 945; **37:** 173-76, 205-6, 261-62; **38:** 594-95, 704-6; **39:** 637-40; **40:** 56-57; **41:** 32-33, 130-31, 290-91, 377, 493, 512-15, 581, 971, 991, 1009-10, 1064-65; **42:** 198-99, 410-11, 928-29; **43:** 341-42, 532-33, 537-39, 577-78, 686-87, 766-68, 781-83; **44:** 164-65, 167-68, 175-76, 193-94, 199, 201-3, 207-8, 212, 333-35, 392-93, 484, 544-45, 732-33, 765-66, 786-87, 801-2
 letter(s) to ECS, **24:** 1098, 1106; **33:** 548
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **20:** 317
 letter(s) to *Revolution*, **1:** 622; **2:** 239
 letter(s) to SBA, **25:** 606-9
 verse for ECS, **40:** 223
 co-author
 program suggestions for ECS birthday celebration, **43:** 695
 co-signer
 Woman's Suffrage Association of America, "Address," **13:** 119
 other letters
 from Goegg, Marie P. M., **2:** 34
 from Purvis, Robert, **1:** 554
 from Smith, Gerrit, **17:** 907
 from Stanton, Henry B., **6:** 908-13
 to Smith, Gerrit, **14:** 91
 Miller, Elsie J.
 letter in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, **18:** 868
 Miller, Florence Fenwick *See* Fenwick-Miller, Florence
 Miller, Francis
 letter(s) to SBA, **17:** 67
 Miller, Henrietta L.
 letter in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, **18:** 868
 Miller, Maud
 letter(s) to *Revolution*, **1:** 476
 Miller, Rutger Bleecker
 letter(s) to ECS, **1:** 427
 Miller, Sarah L.
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **20:** 318
 Millington, Helen
 letter in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, **18:** 869
 Mills, Charles de Berard
 ECS obituary of, **41:** 458
 letter(s) to SBA, **10:** 38
 letter(s) to Universal Franchise Association conventions, **2:** 238
 letter to National Woman's Rights Convention 1866, **11:** 512
 Mills, Harriet May
 letter(s) from SBA, **30:** 558-63; **32:** 302-3, 888-89, 911-14; **33:** 47-48; **40:** 146-47
 Mills, R. F.
 letter to AERA meeting, **12:** 192
 Millspaugh, Mrs. A.
 letter(s) to *Revolution*, **1:** 612
 Milton Junction, WI
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5:** 558-59
 Milwaukee, WI
 ECS lectures, **14:** 1100; **18:** 489; **19:** 487-88; **20:** 263, 272
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5:** 560-88
 SBA lectures, **18:** 749-50; **19:** 482, 691; **25:** 721
 tour for woman suffrage, 1869
 ECS and SBA at meetings, **1:** 492; **13:** 404-7
 Miner, J. J.
 letter(s) to SBA, **1:** 153
 Mineral Point, WI
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5:** 589
 Minneapolis, KS
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4:** 744
 Minneapolis, MN
 interview(s) in, SBA, **30:** 272; **37:** 392; **42:** 31, 126
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4:** 1092-95
 SBA lectures, **20:** 254, 256
 meetings for woman suffrage
 SBA attends, **27:** 519; **30:** 225
 NAWSA conference
 SBA attends, **37:** 389-91
 NAWSA convention 1901
 SBA attends, **42:** 32-125
 Political Equality Club of
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **38:** 150
 Minnesota
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4:** 1053-1115
 See also Alma City, Austin, Buffalo, Delano, Duluth, Elk River, Euclid, Faribault, Hastings, Kasson, Lake City, Leroy, Luverne, Minneapolis, Point Douglas, Red Wing, St. Paul, Spring Valley, Wadena, Waseca, Winnebago City
 Minnesota, University of
 SBA lectures, **37:** 396-97
 Minnesota WSA
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **40:** 854
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **20:** 790; **22:** 640
 meetings of
 SBA attends, **27:** 505-6; **37:** 389-91
 Minnigerode, Cuthbert Powell
 letter(s) to SBA, **42:** 341
 Minor, Francis
 article(s) in *Revolution*, **2:** 230
 letter in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, **18:** 868
 letter(s) to *Revolution*, **1:** 19; **2:** 125
 letter(s) to SBA, **18:** 1-3
 Minor, Virginia Louisa Minor
 letter(s) to ECS, **1:** 144
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **16:** 886, 889; **17:** 919, 924, 927; **19:** 430, 433
 letter(s) to, NWSA Series, **4:** 1157, 1162
 letter(s) to SBA, **1:** 467; **18:** 1-3; **19:** 1026; **20:** 317; **27:** 117
 SBA entry on, *Johnson's New Universal Cyclopaedia*, **20:** 632
 Mississippi *See* Mayersville

- Mississippi Valley Congress of Women
SBA attends, **33**: 978-80
- Missouri
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1117-67
See also Bloomfield, Bowling
Green, Breckenridge,
Brookfield, Cape Girardeau,
Carthage, Clarence, Columbia,
Jefferson, Joplin, Kansas
City, Lees Summit, Louisiana,
Macon, Moberly, Mound City,
Neosho, Oregon, Palmyra,
Princeton, St. Joseph, St.
Louis, Sedalia, Shelbyville,
Springfield, Sulphur Springs,
Trenton
- Missouri Equal Suffrage Association
meetings of
SBA attends, **38**: 834
- Missouri WSA
meetings of
SBA attends, **36**: 82-84
- Mitchell, Alice Stuart R.
letter(s) to SBA, **38**: 3-5
- Mitchell, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 631
- Mitchell, Maria
letter(s) from SBA, **18**: 8-9
letter(s) to SBA, **26**: 153
- Mitchell, Seward
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 123
- Mixon, Winfield Henri
letter(s) from SBA, **41**: 405-7
- Moberly, MO
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1127-31
- Modale, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 632
- Moline, IL
ECS lectures, **19**: 494
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 294-300
- Molloy, Emma Barrett Pradt
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 443, 536; **2**: 72-73, 96,
177-78
interview(s) with ECS, **16**:
553
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 868
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 319, 792
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
2: 57
- Molloy, Mrs. Pat *See* Molloy, Emma
Barrett Pradt
- Mondell, Franklin Wheeler
letter(s) to SBA, **40**: 772;
41: 123-24
- Monitor, OR
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 258
- Monmouth, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 301-3
- Monroe, Mr. D. P.
letter(s) from ECS, **38**: 1031
letter(s) to ECS, **38**: 1004
- Monroe, Mrs. H. A.
article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 293
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 427
- Monroe, KS
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 745
- Monroe, WI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 590
- Monroe County, NY
real estate transactions, SBA,
9: 1148; **11**: 217, 394
See also Women Taxpayers'
Association
Cuban Hospital Relief
Association of
meetings of, SBA attends,
36: 887-88
Political Equality Club of
meetings of, SBA attends,
38: 824
Woman's Christian Temperance
Union
letter(s) to SBA, **28**: 40
- Monroe County Prohibition Party
meetings of
SBA attends, **18**: 78
- Monroe County Teachers' Institute
SBA attends, **30**: 642
- Montez, Editha Gilbert
lecture by
ECS remarks at, **14**: 842
- Montgomery, Helen Barrett
campaign for Rochester school
board
SBA attends meetings of,
40: 177-79
- Monticello, IA
SBA lectures, **18**: 361-63
- Monticello, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 304-5
- Monticello, IN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 500-502
- Monticello, WI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 591-92
- Montpelier, OH
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 165-66
- Montpelier, VT
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 494-95
- Moody, Loring
letter(s) from ECS, **21**:
455-57; **22**: 728-29
- Moody, William Henry
letter(s) to SBA, **41**: 90
- Moon, J. K.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 439
- Moore, Caroline C. C.
letter(s) from SBA, **41**: 221
- Moore, Mary Emily MacLeod
interview with SBA, **42**: 220
- Moore, Rebecca Fisher
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 402-3, 419, 429, 437, 445,
453, 469, 476-77, 484-85, 493,
508, 517, 525, 533, 540-41,
547-48, 565, 588, 595-96,
611-12, 619-20; **2**: 2-3, 9-10,
27, 42, 50, 58-59, 67, 80,
98-99, 107, 123, 131, 138-39,
146-47, 155, 163, 178-79, 187,
195, 203, 213, 221-22, 245-46,
254, 277-78, 285-86, 293-94,
301-2, 309-10, 318, 326, 334,
342, 350, 365-66, 374
letter(s) to ECS, **23**: 24
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
23: 629
letter(s) to SBA, **22**: 654
- Moorhead, William G.
letter to Working Woman's
Association, **13**: 552-53
- Moral Education Association of
Massachusetts
meetings of
ECS attends, **21**: 990-91
- Moral Education Association of
Washington, DC
meetings of
SBA attends, **23**: 23
- Morehead, KS
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 746
- Morgan, Edwin Denison
letter(s) from SBA, **10**:
516-21
- Morgan, John T.
letter(s) from SBA, **36**: 847
- Morganville, GA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 111
- Morrill, Eliza Ann Cate
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
24: 908
- Morrill, Justin Smith
letter(s) from SBA, **19**: 715
- Morris, Esther Hobart McQuigg Slack
letter(s) to National Woman
Suffrage and Educational
Committee convention, **3**: 57;
15: 329, 336
- Morris, Harriet Persis Grannis
letter to WLNL meeting, **10**:
469-70
- Morris, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 306-7
- Morris, Robert C.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,

- 2: 221
 Morrisania, NY
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 5: 26-28
 Morrison, Frank
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
 40: 906, 917
 Morrison, IL
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 308-9
 Morrison, Mrs. M.
 letter(s) from SBA, 44: 479
 Morrisonville, IL
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 310
 Morrow, Mrs.
 letter(s) from SBA, 41:
 1066-67
 Mosher, Arthur A.
 letter(s) from SBA, 29:
 530-31
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
 34: 632
 Mosher, Charles D.
 letter(s) from ECS, 44:
 991-95
 letter(s) from SBA, 33: 934
 Mosher, Eugene
 letter(s) from SBA, 19:
 553-56
 Mosher, Frank Merritt
 letter(s) from SBA, 44: 485
 Mosher, Hannah Lapham Anthony
 arrest for illegal voting with
 SBA, 16: 602; 17: 76-77
 letter(s) from SBA, 6: 612-17,
 920-21; 10: 905
See also Anthony, Hannah
 Lapham
 Mosher, Helen Louise
 letter(s) from SBA, 19:
 509-12, 568-69, 701-4; 23:
 297-304, 419-22
See also James, Helen Louise
 Mosher
 Mosher, Sarah E. Dix
 letter(s) from SBA, 44: 485
 Mosher, Wendell Phillips
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
 34: 627
 letter(s) to SBA, 42: 140-41
 Moss, Charles E.
 article(s) in *Revolution*,
 1: 431
 letter(s) to *Revolution*,
 1: 404; 2: 19
 Mott, Anna Caroline
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
 34: 623-24
 Mott, L. P.
 letter(s) to ECS, 6: 855
 other letters
 to Wright, Martha C. P.,
 6: 855
 Mott, Lucretia Coffin
 ECS eulogy of, 21: 777, 780,
 786-98
 letter(s) from ECS, 6: 451,
 777-78, 894-97, 931-34, 954-73;
 7: 448-51; 13: 289; 15:
 522-30; 16: 64-67, 259
 letter(s) from SBA, 13:
 429-33, 571
 letter(s) to ECS, 6: 419-22,
 698-701, 820-23, 936-47,
 979-89; 7: 106-9, 463; 8:
 200-204; 11: 452; 16:
 76-79
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
 20: 758, 767
 letter(s) to SBA, 8: 67, 248;
 11: 248, 348-51; 13: 570;
 18: 933-35; 20: 758, 767,
 778
 letter to AERA meeting, 12:
 905
 SBA article on, 21: 104
 other letters
 from Davis, Edward M.,
 6: 941-42
 from McClintock, Elizabeth
 W., 6: 958-73
 from Stebbins, Catharine A.
 F., 18: 931
 from Wildman, John K.,
 14: 590-92
 to her children, 10:
 779-82
 to McClintock, Elizabeth W.,
 6: 979-89
 to Wright, Martha C. P.,
 9: 739-40; 13: 429-33
 reception for
 SBA attends, 18: 932
 Mott, Lydia
 letter(s) from SBA, 9: 159,
 161; 10: 195, 218, 300;
 12: 365
 letter(s) to ECS, 9: 726,
 932-35, 1110
 letter(s) to SBA, 8: 396;
 9: 160
 SBA entry on, *Johnson's New
 Universal Cyclopaedia*,
 20: 633
 other letters
 from Pillsbury, Parker,
 9: 391
 Mottershead, Thomas
 article(s) in *Revolution*,
 1: 178-79
 Moulton, Charles Wells
 letter(s) from SBA, 29:
 442-43
 Moulton, Ellen Louise Chandler
 letter(s) from ECS, 18: 450;
 25: 747-49
 Moulton, Francis De P.
 letter(s) from ECS, 18: 92
 Mound City, KS
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 747
 Mound City, MO
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 1132
 Mount Ayr, IA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 633
 Mount Carmel, UT
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 5: 490-91
 Mount Carroll, IL
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 311-12
 Mount Gilead, OH
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 5: 167
 Mount Holyoke College
 library
 inscription(s) from SBA,
 29: 230
 Mount Morris, IL
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 313
 Mount Morris, NY
 ECS lectures, 15: 419-20
 Mount Tamalpais, CA
 state amendment campaign
 SBA attends meetings,
 35: 1063-65
 Mount Union, OH
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 5: 168-71
 Mount Vernon, IA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 634
 Mount Vernon, IL
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 314
 Mount Vernon, NY
 Woman's Suffrage and Protective
 Labor Association of
 meetings of, SBA attends,
 1: 299; 12: 1009-10
 women of
 letter(s) to ECS and SBA,
 1: 273
 Muir, Mr.
 letter(s) from ECS, 35: 584
 Mukwonago, WI
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 5: 593
 Mullany, Kate
 letter(s) to *Revolution*,
 2: 344
 Müller, Frances Henrietta
 hosts reception for SBA, 23:
 175
 letter(s) to ECS, 24: 371
 letter(s) to International
 Council of Women, 26: 496,
 544
 letter(s) to SBA, 23: 625
 Müller, Gustav
 article(s) in *Revolution*,
 1: 19, 27
 letter(s) to *Revolution*,
 1: 20

letter(s) to SBA, 1: 428
 Multnomah County WSA
 meetings of
 SBA attends, 15: 815
 Mumford, Charles
 letter(s) from ECS, 14:
 881-84, 889, 893-94; 15:
 571-73
 letter(s) from SBA, 14:
 927-28
 Mumford, Mary Eno Bassett
 letter(s) from SBA, 41: 998
 Muncie, IN
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 503
 Munson, James Eugene
 letter(s) to SBA, 1: 431
 Munson, Mr. J. H.
 letter(s) from SBA, 15: 787
 Murray, Margaret Cady Livingston
 inscription(s) from SBA, 43:
 610
 letter(s) from SBA, 41:
 932-33
 Murray, Orson S.
 article(s) in *Revolution*,
 1: 409-10, 476; 2: 113-14
 Muscatine, IA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 635-37
 Muskegon, MI
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 1022
 Myers, Annice F. Jeffreys
 letter(s) to SBA, 44: 460
 Myers, Mr. W. G.
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
 21: 66
 Mynderse, Lillias Muir
 letter(s) to ECS, 7: 39

•N

Nantucket, MA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 855
 Nasby, Nancy J. or Mrs. Petroleum
 V. See Molloy, Emma Barrett
 Pradt
 Nash, Nellie I.
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
 34: 725
 Nashua, IA
 SBA lectures, 19: 1014
 Nashua, NH
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 1230
 Nashville, TN
 National Council of Women, U.S.
 SBA attends, 37: 319-48
 National-American Woman Suffrage
 Association (NAWSA)
 constitution, 1892, 30: 402

incorporation of, SBA, 28:
 272-80
 addresses
 "Memorial. To the National
 Presidential Convention
 of 1900," 41: 269-70
 to Democratic Party,
 National Conventions,
 30: 289-90
 to presidential nominating
 conventions, 44: 282-84
 to Republican Party,
 National Conventions,
 30: 223-24; 35: 803-4
 annual convention 1890, 22d
 call to, 27: 549-50,
 605-11
 ECS and SBA attend, 28:
 50-142
 annual convention 1891, 23d
 call to, 28: 796-97
 ECS address, read by SBA,
 29: 3, 7, 13-15, 28-54; 41:
 1040-45
 SBA attends, 29: 3-55
 annual convention 1892, 24th
 call to, 29: 491, 538-41,
 566-69
 ECS and SBA attend, 29:
 993-1015, 1025; 41:
 906-9
 annual convention 1893, 25th
 call to, 30: 620-21
 memorial tributes, ECS,
 31: 212-15, 287-89, 301
 SBA attends, 31: 200-305
 annual convention 1894, 26th
 call to, 31: 792; 32:
 178
 memorial tributes, ECS,
 32: 361-65, 447-48,
 458-59, 486
 SBA attends, 32: 326-486
 telegram to ECS, 32: 450
 annual convention 1895, 27th
 call to, 33: 25-26
 ECS address, read by SBA,
 33: 643-44, 646-51
 SBA attends, 33: 552-651
 annual convention 1896, 28th
 call to, 34: 793-97
 SBA attends, 35: 304-445
 annual convention 1897, 29th
 call to, 36: 656-57
 SBA attends, 36: 744-844
 annual convention 1898, 30th
 call to, 37: 416-18
 ECS address, read by Clara
 D. B. Colby, 38: 200,
 213-18
 SBA attends, 38: 109-232
 annual convention 1899, 31st
 call to, 39: 451-52
 letter from ECS, 39:
 732-33, 828, 830-31
 SBA attends, 39: 722-839

annual convention 1900, 32d
 announcement of, 40: 675
 call to, 40: 291-93
 ECS address, not read,
 40: 925
 SBA attends, 40: 829-935
 annual convention 1901, 33d
 call to, 41: 1049
 letter from ECS, 41: 1072;
 42: 99, 105, 113, 125
 SBA attends, 42: 32-125
 annual convention 1902, 34th
 call to, 42: 391
 ECS address, read by Clara
 D. B. Colby, 42: 520-21,
 530
 SBA attends, 42: 446-538
 annual convention 1903, 35th
 call to, 43: 370-71
 SBA attends, 43: 403-86
 annual convention 1904, 36th
 call to, 44: 23
 SBA attends, 44: 45-136
 annual convention 1905, 37th
 call to, 44: 500
 SBA attends, 44: 569-675
 annual convention 1906, 38th
 call to, 44: 862
 SBA attends, 44: 894-905
 appeals
 reply to anti-suffragists,
 SBA, 40: 949
 "To All Who Believe in 'The
 Citizen's Right to
 Vote,' " SBA, 36:
 1019-20, 1030
 to celebrate the Fourth of
 July, SBA, 28: 411
 to delegates, national
 nominating conventions,
 41: 268-70, 314, 338,
 379-80
 business committee
 letter(s) to members from
 SBA, 38: 527-32, 535-37,
 585-90; 41: 447-48,
 455-57
 letter to Frances E. C.
 Willard, 38: 116
 meetings of, SBA attends,
 37: 123-26; 38: 114-16;
 39: 443; 40: 288, 294;
 41: 529-30
 memorial to President
 McKinley on vice in
 Manila, SBA, 41: 529-30
 public letter on states'
 rights, 43: 395
 conferences
 Baltimore, SBA attends,
 41: 13
 Buffalo, SBA attends,
 42: 249-54
 Chicago, SBA attends,
 37: 407-13
 Grand Rapids, MI, SBA

- attends, **37**: 425-30
- Indianapolis, SBA attends, **40**: 281-88
- Madison, WI, SBA attends, **37**: 398-400
- Minneapolis, SBA attends, **37**: 389-91
- Philadelphia, SBA attends, **35**: 529-30
- Rochester, letter from ECS, **38**: 462-73, 543-45
- Rochester, SBA attends, **38**: 453-73
- Salt Lake City, SBA attends, **33**: 1016, 1023-32; **34**: 1-14
- Toledo, SBA attends, **37**: 440-40B
- Congress, World's Columbian Exposition
 - SBA attends, **31**: 593-97
- executive committee
 - letter from Helen M. J. Gougar, **28**: 53
 - letter from Illinois Equal Suffrage Association, **28**: 861-66
 - SBA attends, **33**: 4
- financial records
 - accounts with, SBA, **36**: 869
- members of
 - letter(s) from SBA, **29**: 1091
- memorials to U.S. Congress on behalf of women of Hawaii, SBA, **39**: 508, 728-29
- memorials to U.S. House of Representatives on Brigham H. Roberts, **39**: 443
- National Bulletin*
 - letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 752-53
- national headquarters
 - letter from SBA, **36**: 707
- officers
 - letter from Henry C. Corbin, **41**: 548
- organization committee
 - letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 728
- Press Bureau
 - circular for, **37**: 403
- reports
 - on work with national conventions, SBA, **41**: 381-89
- National Anti-Slavery Standard*
 - letter(s) to editor from ECS, **9**: 1025, 1126; **11**: 203, 226, 242, 259, 368
 - letter(s) to editor from SBA, **9**: 138-39, 355, 557-58; **11**: 149; **12**: 94, 373, 440
- National Anti-Trust Conference, Chicago
 - letter(s) from SBA, **40**: 941-42
 - letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **40**: 906, 917
- National Association of Stationary Engineers, Ladies' Auxiliary
 - meetings of
 - SBA attends, **42**: 245-47
- National Association of Women Stenographers
 - letter(s) to SBA, **38**: 150
- National Association of Wool Manufacturers
 - meetings of
 - letter from SBA, **40**: 689
- National Citizen and Ballot Box*
 - letter(s) to editor from ECS, **20**: 306; **21**: 809
 - letter(s) to editor from SBA, **20**: 274, 862
- National Conference of Unitarian and Other Christian Churches
 - meetings of
 - SBA attends, **32**: 1077
- National Congress of Mothers
 - meetings of
 - letters from ECS and SBA, **41**: 292-93
 - SBA attends, **42**: 583
- National Council of Jewish Women
 - letter(s) from SBA, **37**: 358; **41**: 469
 - meetings of
 - SBA attends, **38**: 865
- National Council of Women, Sweden
 - letter(s) to SBA, **42**: 827-28
- National Council of Women, U.S.
 - letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **35**: 360
 - addresses
 - "Address to the Organizations of Women in the United States," SBA, **26**: 965-66
- Dress Committee
 - pledge to help improve women's dress, SBA as signer, **30**: 460-66
- executive committee meeting
 - SBA attends, **33**: 710-38
- executive meetings
 - letter from SBA, **41**: 571-74
 - SBA attends, **30**: 174-79; **36**: 118-45; **37**: 319-48; **38**: 866-905; **42**: 255-70; **43**: 497-511
- incorporation of
 - SBA signed, **29**: 1-2
- meetings of
 - program, **34**: 364-68
- memorial to William McKinley, SBA and May E. W. T. Sewall, **38**: 496
- triennial meetings
 - ECS addresses, read by SBA, **28**: 1013-17, 1036, 1041-42, 1048-50; **33**: 688-89, 700-704
 - ECS and SBA sign call to, **28**: 770-71
 - SBA attends, **28**: 1003-53; **33**: 685-738; **39**: 531-41; **42**: 568-69; **44**: 502-18
- National Dress Reform Association
 - meetings of
 - letter from ECS, **8**: 829-41
- National Education Association
 - meetings of
 - letter from SBA, **41**: 356
- National Federation of Teachers
 - meetings of
 - letter from SBA, **43**: 640-41
- National Grange
 - meetings of
 - SBA attends, **43**: 757-58
- National Labor Union
 - "Letter to the Workingmen," **1**: 169; **13**: 13, 19, 29, 51
 - meetings of
 - SBA attends, **1**: 311; **13**: 4-63, 655-68
- National Legislative League
 - meetings of
 - ECS address to, **42**: 575-82
 - ECS signs call to, **41**: 946; **42**: 541
 - letter(s) from ECS, **41**: 163-67, 956-65
- National Municipal League
 - meetings of
 - SBA attends, **42**: 3-16
- National Negro Race Conference
 - letter(s) from SBA, **41**: 406-7
- National Social and Political Reform Conference, Buffalo
 - letter(s) from SBA, **39**: 1068
- National Social and Political Reform Conference, Detroit
 - letter(s) from SBA, **42**: 26-28
- National Society for Women's Suffrage
 - Central Committee of
 - meetings of, ECS and SBA attend, **23**: 178-233
 - meetings of, ECS attends, **23**: 247-51
 - meetings of, letter to SBA, **22**: 496
 - Executive Committee
 - letter to ECS, **23**: 94
- National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies
 - meetings of
 - SBA attends, **39**: 1069-91
- National Vigilance Association

- letter(s) to International Council of Women, **26**: 298-99
- National Woman's Rights Committee
 appeal to sign petitions to Congress, **11**: 243
 petitions to Congress, **11**: 296, 309, 326-29, 885-87
 petition to state legislatures, **9**: 390-91
 texts of petitions to Congress, **11**: 233, 310
- National Woman's Rights Convention
 1850, First
 ECS signs call to, **6**: 1083
 letter from ECS, **7**: 1-9
 1851, Second
 letter from ECS, **7**: 117-24
 1852, Third
 call to, ECS, **7**: 311-12
 letter from ECS, **7**: 10-13, 350-54, 397, 426-26A
 SBA attends, **7**: 322-427
 1854, Fifth
 SBA attends, **8**: 68-84
 1856, Seventh
 letter from ECS, **8**: 807-8
 SBA attends, **8**: 803-11
 1858, Eighth
 call to, **8**: 1111
 ECS lecture, read by SBA, **8**: 1134-35, 1138-47
 SBA attends, **8**: 1124-47
 1859, Ninth
 announcement of, **9**: 272
 SBA attends, **9**: 278-301
 1860, Tenth
 announcement of, **9**: 559
 ECS and SBA attend, **9**: 612-75
 1861, Eleventh
 call to, **9**: 1142; **10**: 103
 cancellation of call, **9**: 1158
 1866, Eleventh
 "Appeal to the Congress," **11**: 491-93, 531-32
 call to, **11**: 408, 418, 420, 423, 427, 430
 ECS and SBA attend, **11**: 475-523
- National Woman Suffrage and Educational Committee
 "Appeal to the Women of the United States," SBA, **15**: 556-59
 "Declaration and Pledge of the Women of the United States," ECS and SBA, **15**: 371-73
- national convention
 draft of invitation to, **14**: 1151
 SBA attends, **3**: 24, 29; **15**: 326-42, 345-50
- National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA)
See also Indiana, Massachusetts
 constitution, 1869, **1**: 583; **13**: 748-50
 constitution and officers, 1872, **16**: 314, 335, 374, 383, 391, 537, 546, 573, 576, 584, 822
 constitution and officers, 1873, **17**: 456, 459
 constitution and officers, 1874, **18**: 7, 9
 constitution and officers, 1876, **18**: 804, 858, 960, 964, 969, 978, 982, 1059
 constitution and officers, 1877, **19**: 516
 constitution and officers, 1877 & 1878, **20**: 280, 287, 298, 302
 constitution and officers, 1881-82, **22**: 53, 59, 70, 86, 95, 103, 128, 137, 165, 168, 234, 255, 597
 "Declaration of Rights," 1876, **18**: 859-60, 862-65
 delegate for Republican Convention, **21**: 68
 forms of petitions to U.S. Congress, **20**: 279, 284, 288, 291, 299, 303
 notice of resumption of meetings, ECS, **3**: 148
 petitions to U.S. House of Representatives, **17**: 915-17; **19**: 442-47; **20**: 239-49; **21**: 48-49
 petitions to U.S. House of Representatives and Senate, **19**: 441
 petitions to U.S. Senate, **17**: 911-14, 934, 969-71; **19**: 456-57; **21**: 45-47
 plan of organization, 1869, **13**: 748-50
 signers to petition to U.S. Congress, **17**: 943
 texts of petitions to state legislatures, **20**: 385
 texts of petitions to U.S. Congress, **13**: 556, 558; **17**: 924; **20**: 385; **23**: 559, 578-79
 texts of petitions to U.S. House of Representatives, **17**: 944
- addresses
 "Protest . . . To the Men of the United States in Celebration of the Nation's Centennial Birthday . . .," **18**: 764-65
 to Democratic Party, National Conventions, **18**: 830-40; **21**: 308-11
 to Greenback-Labor Party, National Conventions, **21**: 292-93
 to Republican Party, National Conventions, **18**: 814-21; **21**: 251, 257-58, 267-69; **26**: 810
 to U.S. House of Representatives for sixteenth amendment, ECS, **20**: 690
 to U.S. Senate Committee on District of Columbia, ECS, **1**: 462; **13**: 300-307
 to U.S. Senate for sixteenth amendment, ECS, **20**: 687-89
- anniversary meetings
 announcements of, **17**: 1062
 calls to, **15**: 581; **16**: 86; **17**: 49, 54, 1049, 1055, 1061; **18**: 364, 761-62
 ECS and SBA attend, **3**: 159, 173; **15**: 593-604; **16**: 101-11; **17**: 59-69; **18**: 403-45
 ECS draft of resolution for, **18**: 15
 letter from ECS, **19**: 504-8
 program for, **16**: 100
 SBA attends, **18**: 10-15, 768-76
- announcements
 means to make bequest, **25**: 90
- annual meetings
 announcements of, **20**: 268
 calls to, **20**: 310, 727, 742; **21**: 117, 131, 872, 892; **22**: 619, 623, 635
 ECS and SBA attend, **20**: 313-56, 755-93; **21**: 993-1011
 letters from ECS, **21**: 189, 191, 197-204; **22**: 637, 644-45
 SBA attends, **21**: 189-215; **22**: 636-55
- appeals
 "Address . . . to the Friends of Equal Suffrage for Woman," SBA, **20**: 382
 "Appeal for a Sixteenth Amendment," ECS and SBA, **18**: 1070-72
 for data on members of

- Congress, **22**: 117-18
 "Grant and Wilson. . . . to the Women of America," SBA, **16**: 269-71
 "New Appeal . . . to Roll Up Mammoth Petitions to the New Congress," ECS and SBA, **19**: 490-93
 "Protest Against the Unjust Interpretation of the Constitution," SBA, **25**: 715-19
 "Stand By the Republican Party," ECS and SBA, **23**: 816-18
 to Chester A. Arthur, SBA, **22**: 748
 "To Our Friends," ECS, **13**: 748-50
 to women to celebrate Fourth of July, ECS and SBA, **21**: 433, 726
 business meetings
 SBA attends, **21**: 192, 196
 caucus meeting in DC
 SBA attends, **19**: 458
 Centennial Exhibition, 1876
 National Woman Suffrage Parlor, announcement, **18**: 790-92
 receptions, **18**: 822, 829
 "Declaration of Rights," 1876
 letters in support of, **18**: 866-71
 executive committee
 report of, **2**: 371-72
 executive sessions, final
 announcement of, **27**: 1083
 ECS and SBA attend, **28**: 43-45, 78
 founding meeting
 ECS and SBA attend, **13**: 534-36
 joint meetings with state wsa
 announcements of, **21**: 164-66
 Connecticut, SBA attends, **23**: 702-8
 Illinois, SBA attends, **21**: 281
 Indiana, SBA attends, **21**: 297-99
 Kansas, SBA attends, **25**: 18-21, 38, 43-48, 52, 56-60, 65
 Michigan, SBA attends, **21**: 296
 Wisconsin, SBA attends, **21**: 270-78
 life membership in
 for ECS, **27**: 81-82
 local meetings, New England
 calls to, **21**: 892
 Concord, NH, SBA attends, **21**: 1072-74
 Dover, NH, SBA attends, **21**: 1069
 Hartford, SBA attends, **21**: 1089-1101
 New Haven, SBA attends, **21**: 1103-8
 Portland, SBA attends, **21**: 1064-68
 Providence, ECS and SBA attend, **21**: 1049-62
 local meetings, New York City
 ECS and SBA attend, **1**: 596-97, 608; **2**: 74-75, 83, 93, 125; **13**: 556-58, 572-74, 586-87, 633-34, 744-47, 762-63, 818, 856-57; **14**: 84-85
 ECS attends, **2**: 48, 101, 117, 157; **13**: 592-94, 792-93, 840-43
 SBA attends, **1**: 614; **2**: 29, 45-46, 109, 197; **13**: 538, 550-51, 575-77, 582, 610-11, 623-24, 826-28; **14**: 130-32
 local meetings, Philadelphia
 ECS and SBA attend, **22**: 304-15
 executive sessions, **22**: 316-18
 invitation to, **22**: 230
 SBA attends, **25**: 219-20
 mass meeting for suffrage (1880)
 announcement of, **21**: 140, 232
 SBA attends, **21**: 248-66
 meeting at Centennial Exhibition
 ECS and SBA attend, **18**: 859-65
 meeting in Newport, RI
 ECS and SBA attend, **2**: 66-67, 73-74; **13**: 669-737
 memorials
 to Benjamin Harrison, SBA and May E. W. T. Sewall, **26**: 817-26
 to Rutherford B. Hayes, ECS, SBA, et al., **20**: 678-81
 memorials to Congress
 "Memorial to the Congress of the United States," ECS, **18**: 278
 memorials to U.S. House of Representatives
 for declaratory act on woman's right to vote, ECS and SBA, **16**: 962-64
 "Memorial to the Congress of the United States," ECS, **18**: 313
 on suffrage in the territories, **22**: 377
 to secure right to vote in District of Columbia, ECS and SBA, **18**: 758-59
 memorials to U.S. Senate
 for declaratory act on woman's right to vote, ECS and SBA, **16**: 991
 "Memorial to the Congress of the United States," ECS, **18**: 306-12
 on suffrage in the territories, **22**: 382
 to secure right to vote in District of Columbia, ECS and SBA, **18**: 721-27
 Nebraska constitutional amendment campaign
 meeting for, SBA attends, **22**: 656-59
 NWSA-AWSA merger
 committee correspondence on, **26**: 633, 660-61, 747-51, 758-60
 NWSA and AWSA committees on union, SBA attends, **26**: 1042-43
 preliminary conference, SBA attends, **25**: 1029-32; **26**: 746-51, 756-61
 protest by NWSA members, **27**: 661-68
 report on, **26**: 746-51, 756-61
 petitions to U.S. Congress
 SBA signed, **19**: 698-99
 petitions to U.S. House of Representatives
 SBA signed, **21**: 224-27
 petitions to U.S. Senate
 ECS and SBA signed, **22**: 291
 SBA signed, **21**: 128-30
 to protect rights of women of Utah, **18**: 745
 receptions for delegates
 SBA attends, **18**: 20
 special meeting, New York City
 invitation to, **2**: 351
 tracts
 "Appeal to Women Citizens of the United States, Tract No. 1," **20**: 864-65
 "Appeal to Women Citizens of the United States," Tract No. 1, **20**: 866-68; **21**: 106-8
 "Friends of Woman Suffrage," No. 1, **20**: 814-17
 "Plan of Woman Suffrage Organizations for Nation, State, County, Town and Ward," No. 2, **20**: 869-70
 "Plan of Woman Suffrage Work During the 46th Congress," No. 2, **20**:

- 818-19
 "Women Citizens of the Nation!" No. 3, **21**: 113-4
 "Women, Read! Tract No. 4," **21**: 115-16
 Washington convention 1873, 5th ECS and SBA attend, **16**: 869-961
 Washington convention 1874, 6th call to, **17**: 422, 426
 ECS and SBA attend, **17**: 919-32
 Washington convention 1875, 7th announcement of, **18**: 213
 ECS and SBA attend, **18**: 271-82
 Washington convention 1876, 8th call to, **18**: 709
 letters from ECS and SBA, **18**: 728-34
 Washington convention 1877, 9th call to, **18**: 1069, 1080;
19: 412
 ECS and SBA attend, **19**: 427-40
 Washington convention 1878, 10th call to, **19**: 603-4
 ECS attends, **19**: 1016-24, 1029-41, 1045-63; **20**: 38-114
 letter from SBA, **19**: 1021
 preliminary meeting, ECS attends, **19**: 1015
 Washington convention 1879, 11th call to, **20**: 416
 ECS and SBA attend, **20**: 642-75
 Washington convention 1880, 12th call to, **20**: 911-12
 executive session, **21**: 67
 SBA attends, **21**: 53-66
 Washington convention 1881, 13th ECS and SBA attend, **21**: 777-98
 Washington convention 1882, 14th ECS and SBA attend, **22**: 262-90
 executive session, **22**: 261
 Washington convention 1883, 15th call to, **23**: 12, 20-21
 letter from ECS, **23**: 41-42
 SBA attends, **23**: 33-60
 Washington convention 1884, 16th call to, **23**: 506, 542, 560-61
 letter from ECS, **23**: 577-78, 649, 659
 SBA attends, **23**: 573-660
 Washington convention 1885, 17th call to, **23**: 1043, 1058, 1077
 ECS and SBA attend, **24**: 3-35
 Washington convention 1886, 18th call to, **24**: 834
 letter from ECS, **24**: 906, 961
 SBA attends, **24**: 897-918
 Washington convention 1887, 19th call to, **25**: 125, 131
 executive session, SBA attends, **25**: 199
 letter from ECS, **25**: 192, 207, 209
 program, **25**: 167-70
 SBA attends, **25**: 192-213
 Washington convention 1888, 20th ECS and SBA attend, **26**: 633-739
 executive sessions, ECS and SBA attend, **26**: 638-739
 meeting of advisory and conference committees, SBA attends, **26**: 736-39
 Washington convention 1889, 21st call to, **26**: 979
 corrected call to, **26**: 982-83
 ECS address, read by SBA, **26**: 1050-52, 1077, 1083-84
 executive committee meetings, **26**: 1075; **27**: 24-59
 letter from ECS, **27**: 3-23
 SBA attends, **26**: 1044-85; **27**: 1-59
 National Woman Suffrage Committee
 national convention
 announcement of, **15**: 824
 call to, **15**: 845, 1014, 1047
 draft of call to, **15**: 769-73, 775
 ECS and SBA attend, **15**: 1021-44
 Neal, John
 article(s) in *Revolution*, **2**: 33, 113, 137-38, 148, 153, 161, 169-70, 182, 193-94, 205-6, 229-30, 349-50, 356-57
 letter(s) from SBA, **7**: 734
 letter(s) to *Revolution*, **2**: 170, 174, 285
 Neall, Elizabeth Johns
 letter(s) from ECS, **6**: 392-93, 410-14, 429-40, 471-74
See also Gay, Elizabeth Johns
 Neall
 Nebraska
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 1168-1226
See also Alexandria, Aurora, Bellevue, Carleton, Crete, Decatur, De Witt, Elk Creek, Fairbury, Falls City, Hastings, Hebron, Johnson, Kearney, Lincoln, Nelson, North Bend, Omaha, Orford, Pawnee City, Peru, Richland, Scribner, Table Rock, York
 Nebraska constitutional amendment campaign
 SBA debate, **22**: 672-81
 SBA lectures, **22**: 682, 688
 meetings of
 SBA attends, **22**: 656-59, 715-16
 Nebraska WSA
 meetings of
 ECS and SBA attend, **26**: 967-75
 letter from ECS, **37**: 242-54
 letter from SBA, **44**: 728
 letter to ECS, **28**: 729
 SBA attends, **25**: 146; **28**: 729-30; **32**: 1114; **38**: 907-9
 Needy, OR
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 259-62
 Nekoma, IL
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 315
 Nelson, Julia Bullard
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 1098
 letter(s) from SBA, **26**: 48-49; **28**: 385-89
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 656, 709-10
 Nelson, NE
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 1195-1204
 Nelson, N. P.
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **44**: 580-81
 Neosho, MO
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 1133-34
 Neutral Station, KS
 women of
 letter in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, **18**: 870
 Nevada
See also Reno; Grand Army of the Republic
 Nevada Equal Suffrage Association
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **38**: 149
 meetings of, letter from SBA, **34**: 410-13
 petitions to U.S. House of Representatives, **41**: 223-24, 231-32
 Nevada, IA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 638-42
 New Albin, IA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 643
 Newberry Library
 librarian

- letter(s) from SBA, **43**: 529
- Newburgh, NY
county woman's rights conventions
SBA attends, **8**: 235
state constitutional campaign meeting
SBA attends, **32**: 587-88
- New England Woman's Club
Julia Ward Howe birthday celebration
SBA attends, **41**: 311-13
- New England Woman Suffrage Festival
SBA attends, **26**: 795-96;
29: 215-24; **41**: 319-23
- New England WSA
meetings of
SBA attends, **29**: 208-14;
41: 315-18
- New Hampshire
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 1227-38
See also Candia, Claremont, Concord, Dover, Durham, Keene, Nashua, North Haverhill, Plymouth, Sugar Hill
Universalist Association of meetings of, SBA lecture, **38**: 814
- New Hampshire House of Representatives
speaker of
letter(s) from SBA, **21**: 1075
- New Haven, CT
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 62
NWSA local meeting
SBA attends, **21**: 1103-8
- New Jersey
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 1239-72
See also Belvidere, Bergen County, Essex County, Jersey City, Lakewood, Mays Landing, Medford, Metuchen, Orange, Rahway, Toms River, Vineland, Woodstown
- Newlands, Francis Griffith
letter(s) from SBA, **41**: 222-24, 230-32
- Newman, George A.
letter(s) to SBA, **36**: 763
- Newman, Mary A.
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 27
- New Orleans, LA
interview(s) in, SBA, **24**: 204-5; **33**: 535-38, 543-44;
43: 399-401, 487-88
SBA lectures, **24**: 206-7
statement(s) in, SBA, **24**: 181;
43: 402
- Era Club
meetings of, SBA attends, **43**: 512-13
- Girls' Central High School
SBA lecture, **24**: 158-59
- National Council of Women, U.S.
SBA attends, **43**: 497-511
- NAWSA convention 1903
SBA attends, **43**: 403-86
- Portia Club
SBA lecture, **33**: 539-42
- Woman's Club of
meetings of, SBA attends, **24**: 169-70
- New Orleans Exposition
Press Association
SBA lecture, **24**: 189-91
- New Philadelphia, OH
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 172-82
- Newport, KY
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 791
- Newport, RI
NWSA meeting in
ECS and SBA attend, **2**: 66-67, 73-74; **13**: 669-737
- Newton, KS
tour for state Republicans
SBA lectures, **30**: 478-79
- Newton, Richard Heber
letter(s) to ECS, **41**: 905, 1035
- New York, NY
ECS lectures, **10**: 669-97;
15: 862-81; **17**: 398-99
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 29-50
SBA lectures, **1**: 414-15;
7: 573-75
See also Society for Ethical Culture, Sorosis
Board of Health
ECS appeal to, **38**: 368-69
dinner for city press
letter from ECS, **13**: 436
SBA remarks at, **13**: 425-28
- German WSA of
letter to SBA, **17**: 231
- grand temperance demonstration
SBA lectures, **7**: 525-59
- Horace Mann School
ECS lectures, **32**: 770
- Interurban Political Equality League of
letter from SBA and reply, **44**: 915
- Liberal Religious meeting
ECS signs call to, **29**: 971-72
- Manhattan Liberal Club
ECS lecture, **30**: 122-23
- mass meeting of colored voters
letter from SBA, **43**: 364
- meeting on state school elections
SBA attends, **21**: 431
- Nineteenth Century Club
ECS lecture, **23**: 737-38
- state constitutional campaign meetings
ECS attends, **32**: 760-62, 774, 815-18
letter(s) from ECS, **32**: 514, 517-18, 520-21, 592-600
SBA attends, **32**: 514-21
- Thirtieth Street Methodist Church
SBA remarks at, **1**: 614;
13: 580
- tour with George F. Train
ECS and SBA lecture, **12**: 645-50
- Woman's Mutual Aid Society
joint meeting with Working Woman's Association, SBA, **14**: 517
- woman's rights convention
SBA attends, **7**: 818-22
- woman's rights movement anniversary meeting
ECS and SBA attend, **2**: 553; **14**: 1002-51
- woman suffrage meetings
SBA attends, **13**: 583
- New York City & County WSA
meetings of
SBA attends, **2**: 264, 361, 474; **14**: 515-16, 708-10
- New York City Equal Suffrage League
meetings of
SBA attends, **43**: 745-47
- New York City Woman's Suffrage Society
Boston Tea Party Centennial call to, **17**: 446
letter from ECS, **17**: 451
SBA attends, **17**: 449-52
- reception
SBA attends, **18**: 1026
- New York City Woman Suffrage League
meetings of
ECS attends, **26**: 797-800;
30: 99, 167-73
- Pilgrim Mothers' Dinner
ECS and SBA attend, **31**: 826-35; **33**: 49-55
ECS attends, **30**: 651-91
letter from ECS, **34**: 831
- receptions
SBA attends, **31**: 774
- New York Medical College for Women
ECS commencement lecture, **15**: 496-98
- trustees of
appeal, ECS signs, **12**: 226
- New York Monthly Meeting, Society of Friends
conference

- SBA attends, 11: 395-96
 library
 inscription(s) from SBA, 39: 604-5
 New York Public Library
 librarian
 letter(s) from SBA, 43: 525-27; 44: 181
 New York State
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 1273-1305; 5: 1-66
See also Albany, Albion, Amenia, Angola, Auburn, Batavia, Bath, Bingham's Mills, Binghamton, Brighton, Brockport, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Bushnell's Basin, Byron Center, Cambridge, Canajoharie, Canandaigua, Carthage, Cassadaga Lake, Castile, Catskill, Chautauqua, Chautauqua County, Churchville, Cleveland, Collins Centre, Copenhagen, Corning, Dansville, Delhi, Dundee, Dunkirk, East Otto, Easton, Egypt, Elizabethtown, Ellenville, Elmira, Erie County, Evans, Farmington, Flushing, Forestville, Fulton County, Geneva, Gowanda, Grand Island, Guilderland, Halls Corners, Ithaca, Jamaica, Jamestown, Johnstown, Kings County, Kingston, Lake Waccabuc, Lockport, Lowville, Malone, Marengo, Martinsburgh, Mayville, Medina, Monroe County, Morrisania, Mount Morris, Mount Vernon, Newburgh, New York (city), North Collins, Norwich, Olean, Oneida, Oneonta, Ossining, Oswego, Owego, Patchogue, Penn Yan, Peterboro, Pittsford, Portageville, Port Byron, Port Richmond, Potsdam, Poughkeepsie, Riverhead, Rochester, Sanford, Saratoga Springs, Schenectady, Seneca County, Seneca Falls, Sherburne, Shortsville, South Otselic, South Stockton, Syracuse, Tremont, Troy, Unadilla, Utica, Venice, Victor, Walworth, Warsaw, Washington County, Washington Hollow, Waterloo, Watertown, Wellsville, West Farmington, West Vienna, Wyoming County, Yonkers
 New York State Anti-Slavery Society
 text of petition to New York State Legislature, 9: 937
 meetings of
- ECS and SBA attend, 9: 1085-95
 ECS lecture, read by SBA, 10: 157-62
 letter from ECS, 10: 387-89
 SBA attends, 9: 210, 519-20; 10: 157-62, 385-89
 New York State Assembly
 letter(s) from SBA, 7: 997, 1013
 petition from New York State Woman's Rights Convention, 8: 379-83
 Committee on Constitutional Convention
 hearing before, SBA, 25: 223
 Committee on Grievances
 hearing before, ECS, 24: 121-36
 Judiciary Committee
 hearings before, ECS, 9: 546-48, 612-62; 11: 892-1046
 hearings before, SBA, 17: 972-75; 30: 69-71
 Select Committee
 hearing before, SBA, 7: 1014-24
 hearing before, SBA in attendance, 8: 136-49
 New York State Colored Men's Convention
 letter(s) from SBA, 1: 329-30; 13: 77
 SBA attends, 11: 602-8
 New York State Constitutional Commission
 Suffrage Committee
 hearing before, SBA, 16: 990
 New York State Constitutional Convention 1867
 petition from ECS, 12: 319
 petitions to, 12: 266-81
 text of petition from AERA, New York State Woman's Rights Convention, 11: 655, 659, 905
 Suffrage Committee
 hearing before, ECS and SBA, 12: 260-64
 New York State Constitutional Convention 1894
 petition from ECS, 32: 872
 appeal to delegates
 ECS signs, 32: 788-89
 delegates to
 letter(s) from ECS, 32: 915, 1006
 Suffrage Committee
 hearing before, SBA, 32: 853-57
 New York State Fair, Western
- Woman's Day
 SBA attends, 29: 439-40
 New York State Federation of Women's Clubs
 executive board
 SBA remarks at luncheon, 36: 693
 meetings of
 SBA attends, 40: 208-19
 New York State Freethinkers' Association
 meetings of
 letter from ECS, 24: 476
 New York State Grange
 letter(s) to ECS, 28: 89
 letter(s) to SBA, 28: 89
 memorial to NAWSA convention 1898, 38: 81
 meetings of
 SBA attends, 38: 81-82
 New York State Legislature
 address from New York State Woman's Rights Convention, ECS, 7: 971-92
 ECS appeal to, "Women's Appeal for the Maine Law," 7: 513-14
 text of petition from New York State Anti-Slavery Society, 9: 937
 text of petition from New York State Woman's Rights Committee, 7: 853-54, 999; 9: 662, 944
 text of petition from New York State Woman's Rights Convention, 8: 252-53, 278, 294
 text of petition from Women's New York State Temperance Society, 7: 503
 text of petition from Women Taxpayers' Association, 17: 933
 New York State Personal Liberty Committee
 appeal, "Send in the Petitions," SBA, 9: 216
 tour for, SBA, 9: 513-14, 517-18, 531
 New York State Senate
 letter(s) from SBA, 7: 504-6
 petition from ECS, 7: 41-42
 Judiciary Committee
 hearings before, ECS, 9: 546-48, 612-62, 1101-9; 11: 892-1046
 hearings before, SBA, 36: 983-84
 petitions from AERA
 ECS and SBA signed, 11: 871-72, 882
 Select Committee
 appeal to, ECS and SBA, 7: 1015-24
 New York State Teachers' Association

- meetings of
 ECS report, read by SBA,
 9: 356-69
 SBA attends, 7: 792-803,
 1063-74; 8: 260-75,
 491-561, 972-84; 9:
 35-49, 356-69, 766-77;
 10: 52-63; 12: 987-89
- New York State Temperance Society
See also Women's New York
 State Temperance Society
 meetings of
 ECS resolutions for, 7:
 251-52
 SBA attends, 7: 263-68
- New York State Woman's Christian
 Temperance Union
 meetings of
 SBA attends, 34: 346-47
- New York State Woman's Rights
 Committee
 "Appeal to the Women of New
 York," ECS and SBA, 9:
 941-44
 appeal, "To the Women of the
 Empire State," ECS, 9:
 340-41, 661-62
 appeal, "Woman's Rights.
 Circulate the Petition,"
 7: 865, 1049, 1052
 texts of petitions to New York
 State Legislature, 7:
 853-54, 999; 9: 662, 944
 county conventions
 announcement of, 8: 118,
 124, 127, 130, 134, 151
 ECS and SBA attend, 8:
 199
 SBA attends, 8: 116-17,
 123, 125-26, 128-29, 133,
 150, 154, 205, 235-38, 240;
 9: 370-73
 financial records
 accounts with, SBA, 8:
 674-83
- New York State Woman's Rights
 Conventions, 9: 1100
 appeal, 8: 294
 appeal, "To the Women of the
 State of New-York," ECS,
 8: 100
 call to, 8: 251
 draft of call to, 8: 245, 247
 ECS and SBA attend, 7: 965-92
 ECS and SBA sign call to, 7:
 840-41, 947, 949
 petition to New York State
 Assembly, 8: 379-83
 SBA attends, 7: 844-54; 8:
 277-80; 9: 521-23
 texts of petitions to New York
 State Legislature, 8:
 252-53, 278, 294
- New York State WSA
 meetings of, 19: 504-5
 protest against re-election of
 Governor Lucius Robinson, SBA
 signed, 20: 853-54
 appeals
 to women voters, SBA,
 21: 381
*Constitutional-Amendment
 Campaign Year . . .*
 SBA endorsement of, 33:
 798
 executive committee
 meetings of, SBA attends,
 30: 213-19; 31: 429-33;
 32: 1140
 meetings of
 announcements of, 20: 267
 calls to, 18: 761-62
 ECS attends, 24: 94-101
 letter(s) from ECS, 28:
 801, 813-17; 29: 502;
 32: 1130-38; 37: 365,
 369
 letter(s) from ECS and SBA,
 38: 916-18
 letter(s) from SBA, 20:
 273; 42: 847-60
 SBA attends, 2: 19, 456;
 13: 598-608; 14:
 890-92; 18: 768-76;
 22: 352-56; 24: 951-55;
 28: 799-817; 29:
 497-506; 30: 530-49;
 31: 740-71; 32:
 1117-38; 34: 458-65;
 36: 92-96; 37: 359-69;
 40: 190-96; 42: 309-20;
 43: 728-41; 44: 323-31,
 737-54
 state constitutional campaign
 call to mass meeting,
 31: 855
 meetings of, ECS address,
 read by Anne F. Miller,
 32: 730-34
 meetings of, ECS attends,
 32: 760-62, 774, 815-18
 meetings of, letter from ECS,
 32: 514, 517-18, 520-21,
 592-600
 meetings of, SBA attends,
 31: 822; 32: 181-85,
 187-88, 235, 245-46,
 265-69, 305-13, 514-21,
 528, 537-41, 547, 555-57,
 564, 583-88, 590, 618,
 629-31, 634-35, 640-41,
 650, 685-87, 696-700,
 703-6, 716-23, 730-36,
 740-44, 748-50, 759, 764
- Neymann, Clara B.
 articles by
 "Woman's Bible," 35: 1098;
 36: 47-48, 110-11, 163,
 189-90, 694, 846, 859
- Nichol, Elizabeth Pease
 letter(s) from ECS, 22:
 740-43; 23: 15-17
 letter(s) to International
 Council of Women, 26: 332
See also Pease, Elizabeth
 Nichols, Clarina Irene Howard
 article(s) in *Revolution*,
 2: 69
 letter in support of NWSA,
 "Declaration of Rights," 1876,
 18: 867
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 23
 letter(s) from SBA, 8: 595-96;
 21: 710, 731, 887; 22: 601
 letter(s) to ECS, 21: 63
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
 20: 318, 789; 21: 256;
 23: 637-38
 letter(s) to *Revolution*,
 1: 130
 letter(s) to SBA, 1: 591;
 2: 245, 277; 7: 179-86,
 484-85, 807-10; 9: 328-31,
 346-53; 10: 471-72; 16:
 880; 19: 507; 21: 434-43,
 537-44, 685-88, 708-9, 1006-7;
 22: 71-76, 224-25, 273-74,
 450-55, 645, 806-8; 23: 57,
 806, 1085-91; 24: 34
 letter to Women's New York State
 Temperance Society
 meeting, 7: 200-201, 210
 other letters
 from Stone, Lucy, 24:
 310-11
 to American WSA meeting, 21:
 543-44
 to Editor, *Woman's Journal*,
 24: 307-9
- Nichols, George Bainbridge
 letter(s) from SBA, 25:
 336-39; 26: 56-59
 letter(s) to SBA, 24: 305-11
 daughters of
 letter(s) from SBA, 26:
 56-59
- Nichols, Helen C.
 other letters
 to Adams, Franklin G.,
 24: 402-5
- Nichols, Mary Sargeant Neal Gove
 letter(s) from ECS, 7: 319
 letter(s) to ECS, 7: 103,
 161-63
 letter to woman's rights
 anniversary meeting, 14:
 1020
 other letters
 to Smith, Gerrit, 7:
 161-63
- Nicholson, Donald
 letter(s) to ECS, 21: 412
- Niles, MI
 SBA lectures, 18: 126
- Niwot, CO
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 50

- Nordhoff, Charles
 letter(s) from ECS, **11**: 451
 letter(s) from SBA, **11**:
 1048-49; **12**: 644
 letter(s) to SBA, **28**: 41
- Norfolk, OR
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 263
- North Bend, NE
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1205-14
- North Collins, NY
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 51
See also Friends of Human
 Progress
- North Dakota Woman's Christian
 Temperance Union
 meetings of
 SBA attends, **28**: 600-609
- North Dakota WSA
 meetings of
 letter from SBA, **34**: 522
- North Haverhill, NH
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1231-36
- Northrup, Mrs. M. M.
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
28: 89
- Northwestern WSA
 meetings of
 SBA attends, **2**: 600, 610;
14: 809-18, 1105-20
- Northwood, IA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 644-45
- North Yamhill, OR
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 264
- Norton, James Albert
 letter(s) from SBA, **41**: 59-62
See also Smith, George E.
- Norton, Janet
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 320
- Norton, J. C.
 letter(s) to ECS, **42**: 236
- Norton, Sarah F.
 article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 75, 90, 115, 155, 170,
 194, 219, 403, 460-61, 484,
 516, 532-33; **2**: 11
- Norway
 National Women's Suffrage
 Association
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
38: 197; **42**: 459
 Women's Suffrage Society
 letter(s) to International
 Council of Women, **26**: 175
- Norwich, NY
 SBA lectures, **18**: 208-10
 county woman's rights convention
 SBA attends, **8**: 129
- Nova Scotia, Canada *See* Dartmouth
- Nuttall, Edith N.
 letter(s) to SBA, **44**: 289
- Nutting, Mary Olivia
 letter(s) from SBA, **43**: 569
- ○
- Oakland, CA
 interview(s) in, SBA, **34**: 35
 SBA lectures, **34**: 188-89
 Ebell Society
 reception for SBA, **34**:
 119
 SBA attends luncheon,
35: 671-72
 Political Equality Club of
 SBA attends, **36**: 13
 Political Equality Clubs of
 Second Ward and Vernon Heights
 meetings of, SBA attends,
35: 677
 Salvation Army camp meeting
 SBA attends, **35**: 898
 state amendment campaign
 SBA attends meetings,
35: 931, 1005
- Oberlin, OH
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 183-86
- O'Brien, Robert
 letter(s) to SBA, **32**: 396,
 450
See also Cleveland, Frances
 Folsom
- O'Conner, Mary A.
 letter(s) to *Revolution*,
2: 76
- O'Connor, Ellen M. Tarr
 incorporation of National
 Council of Women, U.S.,
29: 1-2
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 90
- O'Connor, Evangeline Maria Johnson
 letter(s) from SBA, **39**:
 482-83, 526-27, 529, 618-19;
40: 99-100, 137-39, 167-71
- Odebolt, IA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 646-47
- Odell, IL
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 316-18
- Odell, KS
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 748
- Oglesby, Mrs.
 letter(s) from SBA, **24**:
 186-88
- Ohio
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 67-226
See also Akron, Alliance,
 Ashtabula, Athens, Beach
 City, Berea, Berlin Heights,
 Bowling Green, Brooklyn,
 Bryan, Bundysburgh, Canton,
 Cedar Point, Chagrin Falls,
 Chardon, Cincinnati,
 Cleveland, Clyde, Collinwood,
 Columbus, Dayton, Fosters,
 Gahanna, Girard,
 Hammondsville, Hampden,
 Hicksville, Hulls, Jefferson,
 Kelleys Island, Kinsman,
 Lakeside, London, Loveland,
 McCoys Station, Mallet Creek,
 Marion, Montpelier, Mount
 Gilead, Mount Union, New
 Philadelphia, Oberlin,
 Ottokee, Oxford, Painesville,
 Pioneer, Randolph, Rutland,
 Salem, Shanesville, Sharon
 Center, Shelby, South
 Newbury, Steubenville,
 Toledo, Tontogany,
 Uhrichsville, Vermilion,
 Warren, Waynesville,
 Welshfield, Wilmington,
 Zanesville
 Ohio 19th Congressional
 District WSA
 meetings of, letter from ECS,
30: 491-93
 Ohio General Assembly
 letter from SBA, **15**: 424
 Ohio Woman's Rights Association
 letter to Women's New York
 State Temperance Society
 meeting, **7**: 722
 Ohio WSA
 letter(s) from SBA, **40**:
 113-22
 meetings of, letter from ECS,
27: 205-6
 meetings of, letter(s) from
 SBA, **26**: 762-65
 meetings of, SBA attends,
13: 794-814; **16**:
 1023-29; **24**: 274-75;
25: 462-81; **27**: 205-7;
30: 202-8; **32**: 785-87;
33: 5; **34**: 401; **42**:
 761
 Ohio, IL
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 319
 Oklahoma WSA
 meetings of
 letter from SBA, **44**: 386
 Old National Bank
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 745
 Olds, Clarissa G.
 letter(s) to SBA, **10**: 460-61
 Olean, NY
 state constitutional campaign
 meeting
 SBA attends, **32**: 697-99
 Olin, IA

- letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 648-50
- Oliver, Anna
letter(s) to SBA, 23: 635
- Oliver, Lewis
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 333
- Oliverona, Rosalie
letter(s) to ECS birthday
celebration, 34: 490
- Olympia, WA
SBA lectures, 15: 785-86
- Omaha, NE
ECS lectures, 45: 373
interview(s) in, ECS, 26: 916
interview(s) in, SBA, 44: 567
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1215-18
receptions for SBA, 44: 567
SBA lectures, 15: 661-62;
45: 372
statements in, ECS, 27: 103
funeral services for Orpha E.
C. Dinsmoor
ECS speaks, 26: 986-87
National Council of Jewish Women
SBA attends, 38: 865
National Council of Women, U.S.
executive meeting, SBA
attends, 38: 866-905
NWSA annual meeting
SBA attends, 22: 636-55
state constitutional amendment
campaign
SBA attends meeting, 22:
715-16
SBA debate, 22: 672-81
woman suffrage meetings during
People's Party convention
SBA attends, 30: 304-6
Omaha Council of Jewish Women
reception
SBA attends, 38: 906
Omaha Woman's Club
Department of Ethics and
Philosophy
letter(s) from SBA, 39:
494
- Omro, WI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 594-95
- Onawa, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 651
- Oneida, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 320
- Oneida, NY
state constitutional campaign
meeting
SBA attends, 32: 743-44
- Oneonta, NY
SBA lectures, 18: 69
- Ontario, Canada *See* Toronto
- Opie, Amelia Alderson
letter(s) from ECS, 6: 535;
7: 110-11
letter(s) to ECS, 6: 399-406
other letters
to Stanton, Henry B., 6:
402-4
- Oquawka, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 321
- Orange, NJ
Political Study Club of
meetings of, SBA attends,
42: 646-47
tour for American Anti-Slavery
Society
SBA attends, 8: 1041
- Orange City, FL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 107-9
- Ordway, Edward Warren
letter(s) from SBA, 40: 770
- Oregon
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 227-331
Woman's Congress, SBA attends,
35: 791-94
See also Aurora, Boone's
Ferry, Cedar Creek, Cove,
Island City, Lafayette, La
Grande, McMinnville, Monitor,
Multnomah County, Needy,
Norfolk, North Yamhill,
Oregon City, Pendleton,
Phoenix, Portland,
Prineville, Salem, Sublimity,
Union
Oregon Equal Suffrage
Association
meetings of, SBA attends,
35: 796; 44: 678
Oregon Library Commission
inscription(s) from SBA,
44: 771-74
Oregon WSA
meetings of, letter from SBA,
28: 967
- Oregon, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 322-23
- Oregon, MO
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1135-47
- Oregon City, OR
SBA lectures, 15: 820
- Orford, NE
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1219
- Organ, Margaret Stephenson
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 492-93
- Organ, Thomas W.
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 107, 468, 583
letter(s) to ECS, 1: 82-83
- Orient, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 652
- Orme, Eliza
letter(s) to SBA, 23: 626
- Ormond, John James
letter(s) from SBA, 9: 392
letter(s) to SBA, 9: 400,
522-23
- Ormsby, Mary Louise Frost
letter(s) to SBA, 30: 209-12
- Osage, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 653
- Osborn, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 324
- Osborne, Eliza Wright
letter(s) from ECS, 13:
836-39; 29: 469-77; 30:
26-29; 38: 421-27
letter(s) from SBA, 18:
484-86; 23: 528-31; 26:
1029-30; 27: 1087-91; 28:
160-65; 30: 24-25, 30-33;
36: 940; 38: 681; 41:
132-33, 216-17, 394-96, 929-31,
1011-13; 43: 570-74, 644-45,
657; 44: 790
letter(s) to ECS, 29: 478
- O'Shea, Eugene
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 75
- Oshkosh, WI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 596-97
- Ossining, NY
SBA lectures, 7: 567
- Oswego, NY
interview(s) in, SBA, 42: 321
SBA lectures, 7: 1075
state constitutional campaign
meeting
SBA attends, 32: 266-69
- Ottokee, OH
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 187
- Otto-Peters, Louise
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 247
- Ottumwa, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 654
SBA lectures, 15: 495
- Ottumwa, KS
SBA lectures, 11: 190-98
- Owego, NY
SBA lectures, 13: 437
state constitutional campaign
meeting
SBA attends, 32: 640-41
- Owen, Robert Dale
letter(s) from ECS, 11: 445
letter(s) to ECS, 18: 88-91
letter(s) to SBA, 18: 1042
- Owen, Rosamond Dale
letter(s) from ECS, 21: 737
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
21: 1008

- letter(s) to SBA, 23: 632-33
 Owen, Sarah C.
 letter in support of NWSA,
 "Declaration of Rights," 1876,
 18: 868
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
 20: 318
 Owens-Adair, Bethenia Angelina
 letter(s) to SBA, 44: 495-97
 Owensboro, KY
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 792
 SBA lectures, 20: 889; 33:
 531
 Oxford, OH
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 5: 188
 Oxford, PA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 5: 355-58
- P
- Pacific Coast Women's Press
 Association
 California amendment campaign
 meeting
 SBA attends, 35: 910
 meetings of
 SBA attends, 35: 720-21
 Pacific Grove, CA
 Chautauqua Assembly
 Woman's Day, SBA attends,
 35: 890-92
 Pacific Slope Woman Suffrage
 Convention
 letter(s) from ECS, 15: 605,
 607
 letter(s) from SBA, 15: 606
 Packard, Silas Sadler
 letter(s) to SBA, 2: 33
 Page, Carroll Smalley
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
 31: 247
 Page, Mary Hutcheson
 letter(s) from SBA, 39: 601-3;
 44: 716
 Paine, Harriet Eliza
 letter(s) from SBA, 43:
 789-90
 Painesville, OH
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 5: 189
 Palmer, Bertha Honoré
 letter(s) from SBA, 30:
 286-87, 365-66; 31: 419-22,
 425-27; 41: 170
 letter(s) to ECS, 30: 45
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
 31: 268
 letter(s) to SBA, 29: 186;
 34: 395-96; 40: 266-67
 Palmer, C. J. S.
 article(s) in *Revolution*,
 2: 186
 Palmer, Courtlandt
 letter(s) to ECS, 24: 443-45
 Palmer, John McAuley
 letter(s) from ECS, 35: 1040
 Palmer, Thomas Witherell
 letter(s) from SBA, 23:
 1007-10, 1048-51
 letter(s) to SBA, 23: 1092;
 27: 167; 28: 41, 143-46
 Palmyra, MO
 SBA lectures, 20: 258
 Palmyra, WI
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 5: 598
 Pancoast, Laura May Lippincott
 letter(s) to International
 Council of Women, 26: 548
 Paris, IL
 SBA lectures, 20: 716
 Parker, C. M.
 letter to woman's rights
 anniversary meeting, 14:
 1022
 Parker, Jane Marsh
 letter(s) from SBA, 21:
 899-902; 29: 243-44; 30:
 34-35
 Parker, Julia Evelina Smith
 SBA article on, 21: 104
See also Smith, Julia Evelina
 Parker, Margaret Eleanor Walker
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
 25: 206
 letter(s) to SBA, 23: 629-30;
 26: 503
 Parker, Mary E.
 letter(s) to ECS, 21: 387
 Parker, Theodore
 letter(s) to SBA, 8: 255
 Parkhurst, Charles Henry
 letter(s) from ECS, 32: 1096
 Parkinson, Mrs. R.
 letter to WLNL meeting, 10:
 461
 Parks, Mary M. R.
 letter(s) to SBA, 1: 33
 Parmelee, Mr. J. W.
 letter(s) from SBA, 38:
 1009-10
 Parsons, Edith Payne
 letter(s) from SBA, 44: 464
 letter(s) to SBA, 44: 439
 Parsons, Frank
 letter(s) from SBA, 41:
 1068-69; 42: 1
 Parton, James
 letter(s) to *Revolution*,
 1: 424
 Parton, Sara Payson Willis
 article(s) in *Revolution*,
 2: 67, 162
 Pasadena, CA
 interview(s) in, SBA, 34: 162
 SBA lectures, 34: 159-61
 Patchin, Hannah E.
 letter(s) from SBA, 32: 1066;
 35: 226, 262
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
 34: 776
 Patchogue, NY
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 5: 52
 Patterson, Louise R.
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
 34: 624-25
 Patterson, Thomas MacDonald
 letter to SBA birthday
 celebration, 44: 907
 Patton, Abigail Jemima Hutchinson
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
 20: 318
 letter(s) to SBA, 8: 1119;
 18: 949-50; 23: 639
 SBA entry on, *Johnson's New
 Universal Cyclopaedia*,
 20: 630
 Patton, Ludlow
 letter(s) from ECS, 11: 574
 letter(s) from SBA, 11: 574
 other letters
 from Studwell, Edwin A.,
 11: 574
 Patton, William Weston
 about, ECS interview, 24:
 38-39
 Pawnee, IL
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 325
 Pawnee City, NE
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 1220
 Paw Paw, MI
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 1023-26
 Payne, Elizabeth S.
 letter to Women's New York
 State Temperance Society
 meeting, 7: 434-35
 Payne, Henrietta
 article(s) in *Revolution*,
 2: 228-29
 Payne, Sereno Elisha
 letter(s) to SBA, 42: 768-69
 Peach Bottom, PA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 5: 359
 Pearce, M. Josephine
 letter in support of NWSA,
 "Declaration of Rights," 1876,
 18: 866
 Pease, Elizabeth
 letter(s) from ECS, 6: 394-98,
 441-50
See also Nichol, Elizabeth
 Pease
 Peck, James
 letter(s) to ECS, 1: 268
 Peck, Jeremiah
 letter(s) to *Revolution*,
 1: 18

- Peck, Maria Purdy
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
40: 77-79
- Peck, William Farley
letter(s) from SBA, 37: 8,
554
- Peckham, Elizabeth
letter(s) to SBA, 2: 268-70
letter(s) to Universal
Franchise Association
conventions, 2: 237; 14:
548
- Peet, Beaumelle Rockwell Sturdevant
letter(s) from SBA, 35: 535
- Pellet, Sarah
letter(s) from SBA, 7: 870;
8: 60-63; 45: 344-46
- Pembroke College
library
inscription(s) from SBA,
44: 470
- Pence, Lafayette
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
32: 390, 473
- Pendleton, IN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 504-5
- Pendleton, OR
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 265-73
- Penn, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1027-28
- Pennock, Deborah Ann S. Yerkes
letter(s) to SBA, 25: 625-26,
668-70
- Pennsylvania
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 332-455
See also Bedminster,
Bradford, Bristol, Chester,
Conneautville, Coudersport,
Elkview, Embreeville,
Emporium, Germantown,
Keating, Lebanon, Lewistown,
Media, Mercer, Oxford, Peach
Bottom, Philadelphia,
Pittsburgh, Reading,
Scranton, Stevensville, Sugar
Grove, Titusville, Towanda,
Waterford, Waynesburg, Welsh
Run, West Auburn, West Newton,
Williamsport
Historical Society of
librarian, letter from SBA,
44: 14
Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society
meetings of
SBA attends, 8: 86;
11: 227-32, 661-66
Pennsylvania Equal Rights
Association
meetings of
ECS and SBA attend, 11:
883-84
SBA attends, 11: 667
- Pennsylvania WSA
meetings of
SBA attends, 31: 782-85
Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of
Progressive Friends
call to, 8: 403
ECS resolutions for, 8:
427-29
letter from ECS, 11: 553-54
letter(s) from SBA, 8:
1149-51; 9: 307-9
SBA attends, 11: 546-55;
22: 523-36; 24: 312-53
- Pennville, IN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 506
- Penn Yan, NY
SBA lectures, 9: 723
county woman's rights convention
SBA attends, 8: 123
Political Equality Club of
reception, letter from SBA,
44: 465
state tour for equal rights
ECS and SBA attend, 11:
800
tour for American Anti-Slavery
Society
SBA attends, 8: 1011
Penn Yan Teachers' Association
SBA lectures, 9: 723
- Penrose, Boies
letter(s) to SBA, 40: 740
- People's College Association
meetings of
SBA attends, 7: 433
- People's Party
See also Alameda County,
California, and Kansas
delegates to national convention
letters from NAWSA, 41:
268-70
- Peoria, IL
reception for suffragists, SBA,
14: 630-31
SBA debates in, 2: 312;
14: 680-81
SBA lectures, 14: 628-29
- Peoria County, IL WSA
meetings of
SBA attends, 2: 304;
14: 637-43
- Perkins, George Clement
letter(s) to SBA, 41: 30, 100
- Perkins, Mrs. J. D.
letter(s) from SBA, 40:
159-62
- Perkins, Sarah Maria Clinton
ECS review of book by, 39:
560
letter(s) from ECS, 42: 237
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
25: 205
- Perry, Arthur Latham
letter(s) to SBA, 37: 12
- Personal Rights Association
meetings of
ECS attends, 28: 440
- Peru, IN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 507
- Peru, NE
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1221
- Peterboro, NY
ECS lectures, 6: 1000-1028
- Peters, Clara Lyon
letter(s) from SBA, 23:
884-87
letter(s) to SBA, 20: 317
- Peters, Louise Otto *See*
Otto-Peters, Louise
- Peters, Thomas Minott
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 620-21
- Peterson, Agnes B.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 283
- Pettengill, Abby Louise
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 125
- Pettengill, Emma F.
letter(s) to SBA, 26: 541
- Pettigrew, Richard Franklin
letter(s) to SBA, 40: 732
- Phelps, Aurora C.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 157; 2: 6
- Phelps, Elizabeth B.
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 869
letter to reception for SBA,
23: 115
co-signer
letter to Woman's
Industrial Congress at
Berlin, 2: 109; 13:
826-28
- Phelps, Mary Whitney
letter(s) to ECS, 1: 276
- Phelps, Minnie H.
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
22: 272-73
- Phelps, William Walter
letter(s) to ECS, 18: 223
- Philadelphia
ECS lectures, 3: 116; 15:
503-5
interview(s) in, SBA, 16: 159,
164, 165; 21: 52; 23: 113,
118-20; 35: 531-34; 42:
621-22; 43: 748; 44:
493-94
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 360-437
SBA lectures, 14: 1144-46;
16: 1017; 21: 50-51;
33: 792
SBA remarks in, 44: 781-82
See also Centennial
Exhibition, 1876; Citizens'

- Suffrage Association; Irish National League; Society for Ethical Culture
 Central Hartranft Club of
 ECS lecture to, **16**: 488-89
 NAWSA conference
 SBA attends, **35**: 529-30
 New Century Club
 banquet, SBA remarks at, **43**: 749-52
 Normal School for Girls
 SBA lecture, **31**: 784-85
 NWSA local meetings
 ECS and SBA attend, **22**: 304-15
 SBA attends, **25**: 219-20
 Woman's Peace Festival
 SBA attends, **18**: 793-801
 Philadelphia, Radical Club of
 meetings of
 ECS attends, **17**: 1, 1009-10
 letter from ECS, **18**: 292
 SBA attends, **16**: 162-63, 1015; **18**: 788-89
 Philadelphia WSA
 party
 letter from SBA, **43**: 349
 Philbrick, Inez Celia
 letter(s) from ECS, **42**: 616-17
 letter(s) from SBA, **32**: 572; **43**: 575, 589; **44**: 525
 Philleo, Prudence Crandall
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **25**: 205
 Phillips, Mr.
 letter(s) from SBA, **42**: 719
 Phillips, Ann Terry Greene
 letter(s) from ECS, **11**: 199-202, 218-21, 265-70, 360-63, 398-401, 428-30, 591-93; **12**: 139-46
 letter(s) from SBA, **12**: 134-38
 Phillips, Elizabeth Wilson
 McClintock
 ECS obituary of, **36**: 85
 See also McClintock, Elizabeth Wilson
 Phillips, Mahlon Dickerson
 letter(s) from ECS, **24**: 1069-70, 1099-1100; **34**: 602; **35**: 918-19
 letter(s) to ECS, **34**: 601-2
 Phillips, Mary Bigelow
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 763-64
 Phillips, Wendell
 about, SBA statement on death of, **23**: 571
 letter(s) from ECS, **9**: 536, 780-82, 1096-99; **10**: 595-96, 770-73, 783-87, 831-34, 847-52, 876-79, 890-91, 896-901, 908-10, 919-22; **11**: 130-41, 155-56, 186, 222-25, 276-79, 287-94, 305, 311-19, 343-47, 385-88, 434, 435-40, 447-50, 598-601; **13**: 581
 letter(s) from SBA, **7**: 1000-1003, 1061-62; **8**: 461, 967; **9**: 262-63, 1080, 1134-39, 1149-53; **11**: 165-68, 271-72, 315-19, 339-42, 584-86, 620-25, 627-31, 642-44; **22**: 251
 letter(s) to ECS, **9**: 799-806, 1127-30; **10**: 405-12, 592-94, 766-69, 869-73, 884-88, 892-95, 911-13; **11**: 143-46, 174-77, 185, 205, 249-51, 273-75, 283-86, 301-4, 320-21, 369-72, 441-43, 446; **44**: 1018
 letter(s) to SBA, **7**: 1056-60; **8**: 85, 246, 336-37; **9**: 136-37, 158, 310, 719-22, 1084; **10**: 177, 303, 708-10; **11**: 181; **19**: 434; **20**: 325, 328; **22**: 157-58, 243-50, 440, 627-31
 other letters
 to Stone, Lucy, **9**: 136-37
 Phillips, W. L.
 article(s) in *Revolution*, **1**: 622
 Phoenix, I. A.
 letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 524
 Phoenix, J. V.
 letter(s) to *Revolution*, **2**: 108
 letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 622
 Phoenix, OR
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 274
 Pickler, Alice Mary Alt
 inscription(s) from SBA, **43**: 358
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 635
 letter(s) from SBA, **25**: 163-70; **28**: 383-84, 418-21, 451-54; **41**: 968-69; **43**: 711-18
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **25**: 205
 Pickler, John Alfred
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **36**: 775
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **24**: 916
 Pierce, Henry D.
 letter(s) from ECS, **21**: 514
 letter(s) to ECS, **20**: 683; **21**: 514
 Pierce, Lucy S.
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **40**: 72-73
 Pierpont, John
 letter(s) from ECS, **6**: 668, 935
 Pierre, SD
 state amendment campaign
 SBA lectures, **27**: 547-48, 552
 state amendment campaign convention
 SBA attends, **28**: 661-62
 Pietsch, Matilda
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 576
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **24**: 21
 Pillsbury, Ann Frances Ray
 letter(s) to ECS, **2**: 372
 Pillsbury, Parker
 about, SBA statement on death of, **38**: 648
 article(s) in *Revolution*, **2**: 112-13, 136-37, 148, 150, 156-57, 164-65, 172-73, 180-81, 188, 196-97, 204, 214-15, 223, 231, 247, 254-56, 262, 279, 286-87, 319, 327-28, 335-36, 343, 351-52, 351, 359, 367-68, 375-76
 ECS obituary of, **38**: 678
 letter(s) from ECS, **38**: 291-94
 letter(s) from SBA, **1**: 254; **11**: 213; **14**: 662; **36**: 195-96, 199-204, 671-72, 706; **37**: 299
 letter(s) to ECS, **9**: 688
 letter(s) to *Revolution*, **2**: 68, 271
 letter(s) to SBA, **9**: 414; **10**: 351; **11**: 160, 184, 188; **12**: 892; **14**: 867; **17**: 235; **28**: 950; **33**: 19; **34**: 339-42, 369-70
 lecture by
 SBA remarks at, **9**: 1131
 other letters
 from Garrett, Thomas, **1**: 50
 from Haskell, Thomas, **2**: 212
 from Jones, Jane E. H., **1**: 106, 121
 from Livermore, Daniel P., **14**: 593-94
 to Mott, Lydia, **9**: 391
 Pillsbury, Sarah H. Sargent
 letter(s) to SBA, **21**: 1079
 Pinkham, Mrs. E. M.
 article(s) in *Revolution*, **2**: 276
 Pioneer, OH
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 190-94
 Pitta, Mrs.
 letter(s) to SBA, **13**: 829
 Pitts, Emily A.
 letter(s) to *Revolution*, **2**: 110
 Pittsboro, IN

- letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 508
- Pittsburg, KS
tour for state Republicans
SBA lectures, **30**: 477
- Pittsburgh, PA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 438-43
SBA lectures, **14**: 626-27;
21: 132
- Pittsburgh Woman's Christian
Temperance Union
letter(s) to International
Council of Women, **26**: 487
- Pittsford, NY
SBA lectures, **17**: 13
- Plainfield, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 326
- Plainfield, IN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 509-11
- Plainwell, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 1029
- Plano, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 327-30
- Platt, Orville Hitchcock
letter(s) to SBA, **42**: 788-89
- Platt, Thomas Collier
letter(s) from SBA, **40**: 127,
754
letter(s) to SBA, **40**: 725,
777; **41**: 65; **44**: 415
- Pleasanton, KS
tour for state Republicans
SBA lectures, **30**: 496
- Pleasanton, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 1030-31
- Plumly, Rush C.
other letters
to McClintock, Elizabeth W.,
6: 986-89
- Plunkett, William Brown
letter(s) to SBA, **39**: 543
- Plymouth, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 331
- Plymouth, IN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 512
- Plymouth, MA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 856-57
- Plymouth, NH
SBA lectures, **20**: 697
- Point Douglas, MN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 1096
- Pokagon, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 1032
- Poland, Luke Potter
letter(s) to SBA, **23**: 472-73
- Polo, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 332
- Pomeroy, Florence, Viscountess
Harberton *See* Harberton,
Florence Wallace Legge Pomeroy,
Viscountess
- Pomeroy, Marcus Mills
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 395
- Pomeroy, Martha Whitin
letter(s) to SBA, **2**: 273
- Pomeroy, Samuel Clarke
letter(s) to SBA birthday
celebration, **2**: 272
- Pomo, CA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 23
- Pomona, CA
SBA lectures, **34**: 163-64
Woman's Christian Temperance
Union
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
35: 360
- Pond, James Burton
letter(s) from ECS, **35**:
933-38
letter(s) from SBA, **36**: 691,
697, 871, 965-66; **41**: 419-20,
445-46; **45**: 405
- Pond, Martha Marion Glass
letter(s) from SBA, **41**:
419-20
- Poplar Grove, IN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 513
- Portageville, NY
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 53
- Port Byron, NY
tour for personal liberty bill
SBA attends, **9**: 531
- Port Costa, CA
state amendment campaign
SBA attends meetings,
36: 59
- Porter, Horace
letter(s) from ECS, **36**: 1017
letter(s) to ECS, **36**: 1031
- Porter, IN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 514-15
- Porter, John Addison
letter(s) to SBA, **40**: 773
- Porter, Mollie
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 411-12
- Porter, Robert Percival
letter(s) to International
Council of Women, **26**: 175,
496
- Portland, ME
interview(s) in, SBA, **38**: 799
SBA lectures, **38**: 794-98
NWSA local meeting
SBA attends, **21**: 1064-68
- Portland, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 1033-36
- Portland, OR
interview(s) in, SBA, **15**: 715,
819; **35**: 790; **44**: 676
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 275-89
SBA lectures, **15**: 723, 725-29,
735-37, 816-17
See also Multnomah County
NAWSA convention 1905
SBA attends, **44**: 569-675
- Port Richmond, NY
state constitutional campaign
meeting
SBA attends, **32**: 528
- Posadowsky-Wehner, Graf Arthur
Adolf von
letter(s) to SBA, **44**: 269-70
See also Auguste Viktoria,
deutsche Kaiserin
- Post, Amy Kirby
letter(s) from ECS, **6**: 774-76,
997-98; **7**: 19; **9**: 689
letter(s) from SBA, **7**: 871-72;
8: 290-93, 818, 904-6,
969-71; **9**: 206-9, 686;
10: 416-19; **11**: 416-18,
673-78, 737-38, 1050-53
letter(s) to ECS, **10**: 39-40
letter(s) to National Woman
Suffrage Committee convention,
15: 1038
letter(s) to SBA, **18**: 869;
23: 639
other letters
from Stebbins, Catharine A.
F., **18**: 931
- Post, Harlow
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 40
- Potsdam, NY
SBA lectures, **14**: 1159
- Potter, Helen
letter(s) from ECS, **19**:
570-71; **35**: 635-37
letter(s) to SBA, **19**: 481
- Poughkeepsie, NY
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 54-55
SBA lectures, **7**: 567
county woman's rights convention
SBA attends, **9**: 370-71
state constitutional campaign
meeting
SBA attends, **32**: 547
- Pound, John E.
trial of SBA, **16**: 542-43,
555-57, 585-86, 603; **17**:
98-148
- Pound, Mary C.
letter(s) to SBA, **10**: 471
- Powderly, Hannah T. Dever
letter(s) to SBA, **28**: 40
- Powderly, Terence Vincent
letter(s) to SBA, **28**: 40

- Powell, Aaron Macy
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 319-20
- Powell, Edward Payson
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 868
- Powell, Mr. E. P.
letter(s) from ECS, 44: 949
- Powell, Thomas C.
letter(s) from SBA, 18:
1057-59
- Powers, Walter Webster
letter(s) from SBA, 37: 1080
- Prairie City, IL
SBA lectures, 2: 296
- Prather, Martha Fuller
letter(s) from SBA, 41: 107,
218
- Pratt, Ambrose A.
letter(s) to SBA, 41: 101
- Pratt, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 333
- Pratt, Romania B.
letter(s) to SBA, 25: 205,
217
- Preetorius, Emil
letter(s) to ECS, 10: 802
- Presbyterian General Assembly
letter(s) from SBA, 41: 285
- Preston, Ann
letter(s) to ECS, 1: 580
- Price, Mrs. M. E. M.
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 488
letter(s) to SBA, 21: 217-21
- Pries, Ellen
letter(s) to SBA, 41: 3
- Priestman, Anna Maria
letter(s) to ECS, 22: 782;
23: 148
letter(s) to SBA, 23: 629
- Priestman, Mary
letter(s) to ECS, 28: 479;
34: 490, 523-24
letter(s) to SBA, 23: 629
- Prince, Frederick Octavius
letter(s) to SBA, 21: 1006
meeting with ECS and SBA,
21: 1046-48
- Prince, Lucy A.
inscription(s) from SBA, 44:
701
- Princeton, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 334-38
- Princeton, MO
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1148
- Prineville, OR
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 290-92
- printers, meeting of employing
printers
letter(s) from SBA, 13:
316-17
SBA attends, 1: 454; 13:
316-17
- Proctor, Adelaide Ann
poems in *Revolution*, 2: 88
- Proebstel, Lucinda F.
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 249-51
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 318
- Prohibition Party
See also California, Kansas,
Monroe County
delegates to national convention
letter from NAWSA, 41:
338
- Prophetstown, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 339-77
- Providence, RI
Free Religious Association
ECS lecture, 21: 986-88,
1012-45
SBA lecture, 21: 576
funeral services for Paulina K.
W. Davis
ECS and SBA attend, 18:
1005
NWSA local meeting
ECS and SBA attend, 21:
1049-62
- Puffer, Alfred F.
letter(s) from SBA, 1: 602;
13: 576-77
letter(s) to SBA, 1: 602;
13: 576
- Pugh, Sarah
letter(s) from ECS, 14:
897-98; 15: 1062
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 349
letter(s) from SBA, 14: 509,
563; 16: 1
letter(s) to ECS, 6: 423-27;
21: 1113
- Pugh, Mr. T. B.
letter(s) from SBA, 14:
1058-60
- Pulitzer, Joseph
letter(s) from ECS, 24:
770-73
- Pulsipher, C. A.
letter(s) to ECS, 1: 452
- Pulver, Mary
arrest for illegal voting with
SBA, 16: 602; 17: 76-77
- Purdy, Mrs. George
letter(s) from SBA, 40: 295
- Purvis, Alice H.
letter(s) from SBA, 44: 209
- Purvis, Harriet
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
21: 1006; 23: 59
- Purvis, Robert
letter(s) from SBA, 23:
515-17; 28: 493; 31: 328
letter(s) to ECS, 19: 440
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 318; 23: 637
letter(s) to SBA, 2: 236;
11: 542, 803; 14: 541, 552;
19: 440
letter to AERA meeting, 1:
554
other letters
to Miller, Elizabeth S.,
1: 554
- Putnam, Caroline F.
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 319
- Putnam, Herbert
letter(s) from SBA, 39: 691;
43: 646-51, 792-93; 44:
305, 419
letter(s) to SBA, 39: 695;
41: 199; 43: 567; 44: 3,
307, 314-19, 431-32
See also Boyd, Allen R.
- Putnam, Mary Kellogg
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 357



- Quinby, Annie Laurie
article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 356
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 868
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 791
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 318, 791; 21: 63;
24: 917
letter(s) to SBA, 21: 210-13
- Quinby, Joseph B.
article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 141
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 868
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 318
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
2: 133, 221
- Quincy, Edmund
letter(s) from SBA, 24:
889-92
- Quincy, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 378
- Quincy, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1037

•R

- Rahway, NJ
tour with George F. Train
SBA lectures, 1: 1-2
- Raley, Ann L.
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 665
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 33
- Raley, P. W.
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 170
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 108
letter(s) to SBA, 1: 75
- Ramsdell, Laura Willcox
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 57
letter(s) to SBA, 36: 164-65
- Ramsey, Samuel Albert
letter(s) from SBA, 28: 225
letter(s) to SBA, 28: 171
- Randolph, OH
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 195
- Randolph, VT
ladies of
letter to WLNL meeting,
10: 461
- Ransom, Matt Whitaker
letter(s) from SBA, 29: 1061
- Rantoul, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 379
- Rapid City, SD
state amendment campaign
SBA lectures, 28: 686
- Rathbun, George Oscar
letter(s) from SBA, 12:
274-75
- Rawlins, Joseph Lafayette
letter(s) to SBA, 41: 91
- Rawson, Frances
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 892
- Ray, George Washington
letter(s) to SBA, 40: 714
- Rayne, Mrs. M. L.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
2: 303
- Read, Daniel S.
inscription(s) from SBA, 39:
877-78
letter(s) from SBA, 37: 49
- Read, Joshua
letter(s) from SBA, 6: 571-73
letter(s) to SBA, 6: 569
- Read, Sarah Burbeck
inscription(s) from SBA, 39:
877-78
- Reading, PA
SBA lectures, 21: 432
- Redpath, James
letter(s) from ECS, 14:
622-23; 24: 1072-75
letter(s) from SBA, 14:
510-11, 1152-57
- Red Wing, MN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1097-98
- Reed, Cyrus Adams
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 869
- Reed, Horace C.
letter(s) to SBA, 41: 146;
42: 774
See also Spooner, John Coit
- Reed, Katherine
letter(s) to SBA, 36: 843
- Reed, Laura Coates
letter(s) from SBA, 37: 190
- Reed, Thomas Brackett
letter(s) from SBA, 25:
816-19; 30: 335-36, 565-66;
31: 529-32
letter(s) to SBA, 22: 410-11;
29: 577; 30: 586-87;
31: 537-38; 32: 870
letter(s) to SBA birthday
celebration, 28: 39
open letter from ECS and SBA,
39: 464
- Reede, Mrs. B. C.
article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 260-61
- Reedsburg, WI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 599-600
- Rees, Margaret
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 668-69
- Reich, Helen
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 500
- Reichwald, E. C.
letter(s) from ECS, 41:
584-87
- Reid, M. A.
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
29: 26
- Reid, Whitelaw
letter(s) from SBA, 16:
494-95; 17: 421-22; 18:
261-64, 384-85; 21: 470-72
letter(s) to ECS, 13: 559-61
letter(s) to SBA, 2: 273;
14: 601, 610-11; 17:
423-24
- Remington, P. H. C.
letter(s) to SBA, 6: 562-66
- Remond, Charles Lenox
letter(s) to SBA, 8: 1036-38
- Renner, T.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 153
- Reno, NV
SBA lectures, 34: 30
- Republican Party, National
Conventions
1872, Committee on Platform and
Resolutions
letter from SBA, 16:
160-62
1876
address from NWSA, 18:
814-21
1880
address from NWSA, 21:
251, 257-58, 267-70
SBA attends, 21: 267-69
1888
address from NWSA, SBA,
26: 810
SBA attends, 26: 807-9
1892
address from NAWSA, SBA,
30: 223-24
1896
address from NAWSA, 35:
803-4
1900
delegates to, letter from
NAWSA, 41: 314
- Requa, Josephus
letter(s) from SBA, 41: 413,
609; 42: 190
- Resse, Elizabeth Woodbridge Phelps
Pearsall
letter(s) from ECS, 44:
996-98
letter(s) from SBA, 30: 401
- Retzius, Anna Wilhelmina Hierta
See Hierta-Retzius, Anna
Wilhelmina
- Reunion of Pioneers and Friends of
Woman's Progress
ECS 85th birthday celebration,
34: 387-88, 478-90, 599-600
- Revolution*
advertisements for, 12: 799;
13: 489
announcement of, ECS and SBA,
12: 642
circulars for, 12: 788, 823,
831, 840, 842, 845, 854, 857,
891; 13: 128, 138, 270, 274
financial records
accounts with Robert J.
Johnston, SBA, 13:
236-50
- Rew, Mr. E. B.
letter(s) from SBA, 41:
353-54
- Reynolds, Mrs. A. Harter
letter(s) from SBA, 34:
437-38
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 709
- Reynolds, Mrs. C. A.
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 764-65
- Reynolds, Milton W.
other letters

- from Train, George F.,
12: 555
to Train, George F., 12:
554
- Reynolds, Robert J.
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
31: 246-47
- Rhees, Rush
letter(s) from SBA, 41: 554,
593-94, 600; 44: 440-41, 791,
864-65
letter(s) to SBA, 44: 443,
792-93, 866-67
- Rhode Island
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 456-58
See also East Greenwich,
Newport, Providence, Wakefield
- Rhode Island WSA
meetings of
ECS and SBA attend, 14:
1-20
ECS attends, 13: 585;
14: 61; 20: 899-900
letters from ECS, 23:
1016, 1021
letters from SBA, 34:
372-73
SBA attends, 21: 545-57;
23: 1012-24; 36:
154-56; 42: 300-306
- Rhodes, Anne
letter(s) from SBA, 41: 464
letter(s) to ECS, 40: 222-23
- Rice, H. V.
letter(s) to ECS, 1: 33
- Rice, Victor Moreau
letter(s) from SBA, 13:
126-28
- Rich, John Treadway
letter(s) from SBA, 31: 487
other letters
from Ketcham, Emily B.,
31: 487
- Rich, Mary S.
letter to Women's New York
State Temperance Society
meeting, 7: 722-23
- Richards, Emily Sophia Tanner
letter(s) to SBA, 25: 205,
217; 35: 234
- Richards, Jane S.
letter(s) to SBA, 25: 205,
217
- Richards, Janet Elizabeth Hosmer
inscription(s) from SBA, 44:
775
- Richards, J. H.
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
33: 632, 640
- Richardson, Abby Sage McFarland
letter(s) to ECS, 34: 517-19;
38: 831-33
- Richardson, Esther L.
letter(s) to SBA, 6: 824-29
- Richardson, Mrs. F. H.
inscription(s) from ECS, 35:
930
- Richardson, James M.
letter(s) to SBA, 41: 92
- Richardson, Lulu Buffington
letter(s) to SBA, 31: 780-81
- Richardson, Susan A. Hoxie
letter(s) from SBA, 13:
612-15
- Richer, Léon
letter(s) from SBA, 26: 47
letter(s) to SBA, 23: 631,
658
- Richey, Clara M.
letter(s) from SBA, 42: 924;
43: 720-22
- Richey, D.
letter(s) to SBA, 2: 89
- Richland, NE
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1222
- Richland Grove, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 380
- Richmond, Cora L. V. *See* Daniels,
Cora L. V.
- Richmond, IN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 516
- Richmond, J.
article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 348-49
- Richmond, KY
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 793-818
- Richmond, VA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 504-6
SBA lectures, 14: 1142-43
- Ricker, Marilla Marks Young
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 869
letter(s) from ECS, 35: 708
- Ridding, Lady Laura Elizabeth Palmer
letter(s) to SBA, 40: 8
- Riddle, Albert Gallatin
letter(s) from SBA, 29:
343-46, 532-35; 41: 500-501
letter(s) to SBA, 17: 895
- Ridgefield, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 381
- Riggs, Samuel Agnew
letter(s) from SBA, 44: 310
- Rio Dell, CA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 24
- Ripon, WI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 601-4
SBA lectures, 15: 545
- Riverhead, NY
state constitutional campaign
meetings
SBA attends, 31: 822;
32: 539-41
- Riverside, CA
SBA lectures, 34: 156-58
state amendment campaign
SBA attends meetings,
36: 52
- Robbins, Alice
article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 206
- Roberts, Mrs. A. B. F.
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1227-28
- Roberts, Adeline
letter(s) from SBA, 8: 1118;
9: 87-88, 393-94
- Roberts, Brigham Henry
about, ECS interview, 39: 562
about, ECS statements, 40:
244, 797-800
about, SBA interviews, 39:
470, 485; 40: 243
about, SBA statement, 40: 244
SBA article on, 40: 242
- Roberts, Caroline D. Smith
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 599
- Roberts, Margaret Stephenson
letter(s) to SBA, 40: 802
- Roberts, Paulina J.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 27, 404
- Roberts, Rev. W. H.
letter(s) from SBA, 41: 285
- Robie, Clarissa W.
membership in Women's New York
State Temperance Society,
7: 483
- Robinson, Carrie M.
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 866-67
- Robinson, Charles
letter(s) to ECS, 1: 33, 34;
12: 586-89, 634-36
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 239
other letters
to Train, George F., 12:
554
- Robinson, Eliza Jane
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1266
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 300
- Robinson, Harriet Jane Hanson
letter(s) from ECS, 22:
110-14, 121-24, 330-34, 412;
24: 426-29, 503-6, 514-17,
1092; 25: 6-13; 33: 668
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 851
letter(s) from SBA, 20:
840-48; 21: 446-52, 493-99,
579-84, 596-99, 671-74, 717-21,
832-39, 870-71, 907-14, 950-57,
959-62, 970-75, 982-83,

- 1080-87; **22**: 15-18, 125-28, 143-44, 151-55, 159-61, 182-87, 335-46, 374-75, 380-81, 396-402, 406-9, 425-26, 444-45, 465-66, 513, 516-22, 543-45, 575-79, 754-59; **23**: 2-3, 73-76, 105-8, 466-69, 504-5, 508-11, 745-49, 805, 807-8, 856-57; **24**: 146-53, 176-80, 237-38, 245-46, 367-70, 383-84, 418-22, 500-501, 514-19, 526-30, 540-42, 567-72, 675, 756-59; **25**: 111-18, 318-21, 389-90, 602-3; **26**: 778-81; **38**: 376-77
 letter(s) to ECS, **25**: 1-4
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **27**: 2
 letter(s) to SBA, **21**: 944-46
 articles by
 protest against NWSA-AWSA merger, **27**: 661-68
 Robinson, John Buchanan
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **31**: 258
 Robinson, Leona I.
 letter(s) from SBA, **43**: 361
 Robinson, Marius Racine
 letter(s) from SBA, **8**: 1034-35
 letter(s) to *Revolution*, **1**: 27
 Robinson, William Stevens
 interview with ECS, **16**: 609
 Rochester, Faith
 article(s) in *Revolution*, **2**: 186, 194-95, 273, 284, 293, 312, 333, 349, 374
 Rochester, NY
 See also Monroe County, NY;
 Daughters of Temperance,
 Women's Educational and
 Industrial Union
 ECS lectures, **16**: 407-67
 interview(s) in, ECS, **26**: 842
 interview(s) in, SBA, **21**: 105;
 29: 347, 448; **31**: 720;
 38: 619-20; **39**: 484, 511;
 42: 334; **43**: 699
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 5: 56-58
 meeting to mark execution of
 John Brown, **9**: 415
 SBA birthday celebration,
 41: 158-62
 SBA lectures, **7**: 581-84;
 8: 860-61; **17**: 39-42;
 18: 487; **40**: 360; **41**:
 264
 statement(s) in, SBA, **38**: 615,
 1039; **40**: 85-87
 anti-slavery tour
 call to, SBA, **9**: 1056
 ECS and SBA attend, **9**:
 1057-59
 Central Presbyterian Church,
 Alling Class
 SBA lecture, **40**: 66
 county woman's rights convention
 SBA attends, **8**: 125-26
 dedication of school building
 SBA attends, **40**: 126
 Democratic Central Committee of
 letter from SBA, **42**: 802
 Ethical Club
 meetings of, SBA attends,
 38: 1002-3
 president of, letter from
 SBA, **44**: 736
 Fortnightly Ignorance Club
 meetings of, letter from SBA,
 21: 899-902
 Frederick Douglass birthday
 memorial
 ECS letter, read by SBA,
 36: 879-82
 Frederick Douglass memorial
 exercises
 SBA attends, **38**: 770-76
 Girls Helping and Sharing Club
 SBA lecture, **38**: 1036
 Greenback Party of, meeting
 SBA attends, **20**: 364-67
 Judean Club
 meetings of, SBA attends,
 43: 759-60
 SBA lecture, **41**: 265
 Labor Lyceum
 SBA lecture, **38**: 436-37
 Lincoln Club
 SBA lecture, **22**: 787-89
 Loyal Temperance Legion
 meetings of, SBA attends,
 39: 884-86
 meeting of seamstresses
 SBA attends, **7**: 190-93C
 meeting to commute Marion Ira
 Stout's death sentence
 announcement of, SBA, **9**:
 113
 SBA attends, **9**: 115-18
 meeting to protest Negro
 disfranchisement
 SBA remarks at, **43**: 536
 NAWSA conference
 SBA attends, **38**: 453-73
 NWSA annual meeting
 ECS and SBA attend, **20**:
 313-56
 residents of
 testimonials to SBA, **16**:
 2; **23**: 116-17
 Second Presbyterian Church,
 Wednesday Club
 SBA lecture, **40**: 245-46
 state constitutional campaign
 meeting
 SBA attends, **32**: 181-85,
 718-23
 state tour for equal rights
 ECS and SBA attend, **11**:
 789-92
 tour for American Anti-Slavery
 Society
 SBA attends, **8**: 865-73
 tour with George F. Train
 ECS and SBA lecture, **12**:
 623-25
 Twentieth Ward Political
 Equality Club
 SBA lectures, **32**: 942-44
 West End Improvement Association
 banquet, SBA attends,
 35: 271-72
 woman's rights convention
 ECS attends, **6**: 723-40,
 742-57
 woman suffrage festival
 remarks at, SBA, **32**: 1016
 Women's Republican meeting
 ECS lecture, **16**: 407-67
 Women's Temperance Union
 meetings of, SBA attends,
 17: 1045, 1050
 Working Women's Association of
 letter(s) from SBA, **12**:
 1008
 Young People's Christian Union
 of
 convention, SBA attends,
 42: 185-87
 Young Women's Christian
 Association
 building dedication, SBA
 attends, **38**: 603-5
 Rochester, Political Equality Club
 of
 leaflet, "A Few Leading
 Questions," **43**: 620, 624-26,
 716-17
 letter(s) from SBA, **44**: 486
 letter(s) to SBA, **35**: 732
 SBA lectures, **27**: 569-70;
 29: 1081-82
 banquet
 SBA attends, **36**: 97-99
 Lucretia Mott memorial meeting
 SBA attends, **35**: 278-79
 meetings of
 letter(s) from SBA, **25**:
 66; **39**: 544
 SBA attends, **25**: 1024-25;
 27: 194-95, 256; **30**:
 138, 218-19; **31**: 801;
 33: 502-7, 885-93;
 34: 546-50, 578-80,
 813-14; **35**: 220-23;
 36: 162, 667-68, 927,
 1030; **38**: 6, 941-43,
 995-96; **40**: 129-30, 150,
 228; **41**: 266; **42**: 385;
 43: 677-78, 753-54;
 44: 720-21, 794-95
 receptions
 ECS and SBA attend, **29**:
 444-48
 SBA attends, **29**: 240;
 31: 326; **39**: 680

- SBA birthday celebration
SBA attends, **35**: 578-79
Woman's Day at Western New York State Fair
SBA attends, **29**: 439-40
Rochester, University of
SBA lectures, **29**: 347
Committee to Secure Co-Education at meetings of, SBA attends, **38**: 622-23, 652-53, 817-18, 821; **41**: 541
Registrar
letter(s) from SBA, **41**: 551
women students of
letter(s) to SBA, **41**: 549
Rochester Business University
SBA lecture, **35**: 569-71
Rochester Chamber of Commerce
meetings of
SBA attends, **30**: 588, 633-37
Rochester Council of Women
conference on peace and arbitration
SBA attends, **42**: 22
meetings of
SBA attends, **38**: 1040-44; **39**: 493, 514-15; **40**: 123, 128, 148-49, 177-79, 706; **42**: 423-24; **44**: 376, 427, 442, 723-24, 883
Rochester Railway & Light Co.
letter(s) from SBA, **44**: 696
Rochester Unitarian Church
Bond of Union, SBA, **31**: 196-97
SBA lecture, **29**: 519-20
SBA lecture, read by Mary S. Anthony, **30**: 154-61
meeting of women
SBA attends, **35**: 568
Sunday School, librarian
letter from SBA, **44**: 182
Rochester Woman's Christian Temperance Union
Eighth Ward
meetings of, SBA attends, **29**: 276-78
receptions
SBA attends, **29**: 542
Rockefeller, John Davison *See* Heydt, Charles O.
Rockefeller, John Davison, Jr.
letter(s) to SBA, **42**: 390
Rockefeller, Laura Celestia Spelman
See Heydt, Charles O.
Rockford, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 382-90
Rockford, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 1038
Rockland, ME
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 821-28
Rock Prairie, WI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 605
Rockville, UT
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 492
Rockwood, George Gardner
letter(s) from ECS, **37**: 139, 423
Rodenbeck, Adolph Julius
letter(s) to SBA, **43**: 346
Rogers, Mary Porter Farrand
letter(s) from SBA, **22**: 169-71
Rogers, Sadie M.
letter(s) to SBA, **15**: 588-91
Rogers, Seth
letter(s) to SBA, **44**: 1013
Roland, Isaac
letter(s) from SBA, **31**: 603
Rollins, C. W.
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 439
Romeo, MI
ECS lectures, **3**: 28
Rooke, Jessie S.
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **42**: 459
Roor, Eveline Merrick
letter in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, **18**: 870
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 310-12
Roosevelt, Edith Kermit Carow
inscription(s) from SBA, **39**: 524
letter(s) from ECS, **42**: 808-20
letter(s) to ECS, **38**: 915; **39**: 547
letter(s) to SBA, **44**: 44
Roosevelt, Theodore
about, SBA interview, **44**: 493-94
inscription(s) from SBA, **39**: 524
letter(s) from ECS, **42**: 800
letter(s) from SBA, **42**: 904-8; **44**: 492, 776
letter(s) to SBA, **38**: 987; **44**: 44
letter to SBA birthday celebration, **44**: 907-8, 912
other letters
from Harper, Ida A. H., **44**: 776
from Upton, Harriet T., **44**: 776
Root, Miss
letter(s) from ECS, **37**: 439
Root, Joseph Pomeroy
article(s) in *Revolution*, **1**: 65-66
letter(s) to *Revolution*, **1**: 620
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 599
letter(s) to SBA birthday celebration, **2**: 272-73
Roscoe, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 391
Rose, Ernestine Louise Siismondi Potowski
article(s) in *Revolution*, **1**: 439-40, 532
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 660-63
letter(s) to International Council of Women, **26**: 332-33
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **17**: 919; **21**: 1007
letter(s) to SBA, **18**: 866; **19**: 426; **20**: 317; **23**: 631
SBA entry on, *Johnson's New Universal Cyclopaedia*, **20**: 634
SBA entry on, *Johnson's Universal Cyclopaedia*, **34**: 862
Rosecrans, William Starke
letter(s) to SBA, **10**: 597; **23**: 31-32
Rose Grove, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 655
Rose Hill, KS
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 749-50
Rosewater, Edward
letter(s) from SBA, **41**: 465
Nebraska constitutional amendment campaign
debates SBA, **22**: 672-81
Ross, Edmund Gilson
letter(s) to SBA, **2**: 238; **14**: 544, 549
Rossa, Mary J. O'Donovan
letter(s) to Universal Franchise Association conventions, **2**: 236-37; **14**: 542
Rothbury, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 1039
Routt, Eliza Franklin Pickrell
letter(s) from SBA, **34**: 811-12
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 646-47
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **32**: 342
Routt, John Long
letter(s) from SBA, **35**: 701-2
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **31**: 246; **32**: 342
Roxbury, MA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 858-59
Royal Templars of Temperance

- Supreme Council
letter from SBA, **41**: 354
- Ruggles, Elvira Wheelock
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
2: 27, 288
See also Wheelock, Elvira
- Rush, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 392-93
- Russel, Edward C.
letter(s) to SBA, **40**: 671
- Russel, William Channing
letter(s) from ECS, **21**:
938-41
- Russell, Charles Addison
letter(s) to SBA, **40**: 782
- Russell, Frances Eldridge
letter(s) to SBA, **14**: 568-71
- Russell, Howard Hyde
letter(s) to SBA, **40**: 674
- Russell, Virginia Howard
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
2: 265
- Russell, William Eustis
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
31: 247
- Rutherford, Annie O.
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
39: 765
- Rutland, OH
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 196
- Rutland, VT
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 496-97
- Ryman, Addison
letter(s) to SBA, **38**: 34
- S**
- Sacket, Gary Van
letter(s) to ECS, **10**: 797-99
- Sacramento, CA
interview(s) in, SBA, **35**: 747,
757, 801, 805
statement(s) in, SBA, **35**: 802,
810
- Safford, Mary J.
letter(s) to ECS, **2**: 118
- Sage, Margaret Olivia Slocum
letter(s) from ECS, **38**:
992-94; **39**: 709-15
letter(s) to SBA, **44**: 471
presentation copy of "Parable
of the Ten Virgins," ECS,
37: 591-601
co-author
endorsement of Lillie D.
Blake for NAWSA president,
40: 815-16, 896
- Saginaw, MI
Woman's Hospital Association
SBA lecture, **31**: 885
- St. Albans, VT
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 498
- St. Francis County, AR
real estate transactions, SBA,
19: 542-44
- St. John, John Pierce
letter(s) from SBA, **22**: 66-70
letter(s) to SBA, **22**: 87-88,
560
- St. Joseph, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1040
- St. Joseph, MO
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1149
SBA lectures, **11**: 207; **16**:
68
- St. Lawrence University
library
inscription(s) from SBA,
33: 498
- St. Louis, MO
ECS lectures, **12**: 583-85;
14: 154-56; **20**: 794-803
interview(s) in, SBA, **22**:
604-5; **33**: 981-84
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1150-64
reception for SBA, **22**: 746
SBA lectures, **18**: 368-74;
20: 794-95
Mississippi Valley Congress of
Women
SBA attends, **33**: 978-80
NWSA annual meeting
ECS and SBA attend, **20**:
755-93
tour for woman suffrage, 1869
ECS and SBA at meetings,
1: 479, 491; **13**:
397-98
ECS remarks to Chamber of
Commerce, **13**: 398
tour with George F. Train
ECS and SBA lecture, **12**:
592-94
Woman Christian Temperance Union
SBA remarks at banquet,
33: 985
woman suffrage conventions at
SBA attends, **13**: 844-52
- St. Louis Women's National Suffrage
Association
meetings of
SBA attends, **20**: 807-9
- St. Paul, MN
ECS lectures, **2**: 189; **14**:
113
- Salem, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 656-57
- Salem, OH
ECS lectures, **15**: 611
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 197-200
- SBA lectures, **15**: 423
woman's rights convention
letter from ECS, **6**:
1040-42
- Salem, OR
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 293-321
SBA lectures, **15**: 738
- Salem, SD
state amendment campaign
convention
SBA attends, **28**: 431
- Salina, KS
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 751-53
- Salt Creek, IN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 517
- Salt Lake City, UT
ECS lectures, **3**: 240; **15**:
674, 679
interview(s) in, SBA, **33**:
1022; **34**: 15
remarks in, SBA, **3**: 240;
33: 1016
SBA lectures, **33**: 1015,
1017-21
NAWSA conference
SBA attends, **33**: 1016,
1023-32; **34**: 1-14
- Salvador, A.
letter(s) to SBA, **23**: 167
- Samson, W.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 178
- Samson, William Holland
letter(s) from SBA, **44**: 195
- San Bernadino, CA
state amendment campaign
SBA attends meetings,
36: 51
- Sanborn, Emma M. E.
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 790
- Sanborn, Franklin Benjamin
letter(s) from ECS, **14**: 880
letter(s) from SBA, **21**:
1135-36; **23**: 4-5
letter(s) to ECS, **38**: 591-92
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 133
- Sanborn, Katherine Abbott
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 424
letter(s) from ECS, **42**: 543
- Sanders, Eleanor Butler
letter(s) from ECS, **32**: 803-6
- Sanders, Harriet Peck Fenn
letter(s) from SBA, **34**: 830
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 620-21, 671-72
- Sandford, Kate
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 363
- San Diego, CA
interview(s) in, SBA, **35**: 630

- reception for SBA, **34**: 177
 SBA lectures, **34**: 176
 statement(s) in, SBA, **35**: 631
- Sands, John I.
 letter(s) to ECS, **16**: 120-23
 letter(s) to SBA, **16**: 120-23
 other letters
 from Hooker, Isabella B.,
 16: 141-42
 to Hooker, Isabella B.,
 16: 120-23
- Sandwich, IL
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 394-95
- Sanford, Madeline
 inscription(s) from SBA, **34**:
 836-38; **43**: 559
- Sanford, Mary Thayer
 inscription(s) from SBA, **34**:
 836-38; **43**: 559
- Sanford, NY
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 59
- San Francisco
See also Women's Educational
 and Industrial Union
 ECS lectures, **3**: 283, 285;
15: 685-89, 696, 698-700,
 708, 710-11
 interview(s) in, ECS, **15**: 684,
 697
 interview(s) in, SBA, **15**: 684;
34: 36-41, 186-87, 190, 203,
 219; **35**: 634, 650, 753, 782,
 785, 835-36, 861, 877, 941;
36: 60, 68-71, 80; **44**:
 684-86
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 25-34
 reception in, SBA, **3**: 502;
15: 838-39
 SBA lectures, **3**: 474; **15**:
 690-95, 830-34, 836-37; **34**:
 191-92
 SBA lectures to teachers,
34: 116-18
 statement(s) in, SBA, **34**: 102;
35: 640, 838, 983, 985, 1103
 A.M.E. Zion Church
 SBA lecture, **34**: 204-5;
 35: 726
- Century Club
 meetings of, SBA attends,
35: 666
 SBA lecture, **34**: 117-18
- Channing Auxiliary of Unitarian
 Conference
 meetings of, SBA attends,
35: 686-87
- Congregational Club
 meetings of, SBA attends,
34: 107-8, 209-11;
35: 952
- Forum Club
 SBA attends luncheon,
35: 688-89
- Girls' High School
 SBA lecture, **34**: 117-18
- Iroquois Club
 meetings of, SBA attends,
35: 1053
 mass meeting for woman suffrage
 SBA attends, **34**: 215-16
- Pacific Slope Woman Suffrage
 Convention
 letter(s) from ECS, **15**:
 605, 607
 letter(s) from SBA, **15**:
 606
- Republican campaign meeting
 SBA attends, **36**: 8
- Second Unitarian Church
 SBA lecture, **35**: 696-97
- state amendment campaign
 SBA attends meetings,
35: 651-55, 666-67, 670,
 698-99, 833-34, 910-11,
 972, 978, 1050-54; **36**:
 74, 76, 78
 SBA debates, **35**: 703-4
- Unitarian Club
 meetings of, SBA attends,
34: 109-11
- women of
 letter(s) to International
 Council of Women, **26**:
 175, 496
- San Francisco Equal Suffrage League
 mass meeting of
 SBA attends, **44**: 687-89
- San Francisco Republican Party
 state amendment campaign
 SBA attends meetings,
 35: 966
- San Francisco Socialist Labor Party
 state amendment campaign
 SBA attends meetings,
 35: 942-43
- San Jose, CA
 interview(s) in, SBA, **34**: 147
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 35-42
 SBA lectures, **15**: 706; **34**:
 148
- State Normal School
 SBA lecture, **34**: 149
- San Luis Obispo, CA
 state amendment campaign
 SBA attends meetings,
 36: 39
- San Rafael, CA
 McKinley and Hobart Club
 meetings of, SBA attends,
35: 1074
- Santa Barbara, CA
 interview(s) in, SBA, **36**:
 40-42
 state amendment campaign
 SBA attends meetings,
 36: 46
- Santa Clara County Equal Suffrage
 convention
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
38: 150
- Santa Cruz, CA
 ECS lectures, **15**: 712
 SBA lectures, **15**: 707
 state amendment campaign
 SBA attends meetings,
 35: 920
- Saranac, MI
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1041-42
- Saratoga, IA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 658
- Saratoga Springs, NY
 SBA lectures, **8**: 64
 county woman's rights convention
 SBA attends, **9**: 372-73
- Dr. Strong's Sanitarium
 SBA lectures, **32**: 1073-74
- state constitutional campaign
 meeting
 SBA attends, **32**: 307
- Sargent, Aaron Augustus
 letter(s) to ECS, **18**: 22
 letter(s) to SBA, **17**: 1020;
20: 328; **22**: 653
- Sargent, Elizabeth
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 704-6
 letter(s) to SBA, **23**: 632
- Sargent, Ella
 letter(s) from SBA, **21**:
 630-35
- Sargent, Ellen Clark
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 30
 letter(s) from SBA, **35**:
 295-97; **41**: 466; **44**:
 555-56
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 633-36, 644-45
 letter(s) to ECS, **19**: 595-96
 letter(s) to SBA, **18**: 1087;
20: 233; **22**: 43; **23**: 127,
 631-32; **43**: 809
- co-author
 letter to Woman's Congress
 of the Pacific Coast,
35: 730, 734
- Sargent, Epes
 poems in *Revolution*, **2**: 120
- Sargent, George Clark
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 706, 765-66
- Sargent, John Turner
 letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 554;
10: 705-7; **11**: 322-25, 510
- Saugatuck, MI
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1043
- Saugus, MA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 860-61
- Saunders, Alvin
 letter(s) to SBA, **21**: 814-15

- Savage, Bessie Isaacs
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 667-68
- Savanna, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 396-97
- Savery, Annie C. Nowlin
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 867
- Sawtelle, Mary P.
article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 73, 82
letter(s) to SBA, 2: 337
- Sawyer, Mildred E. Conway
letter(s) from ECS, 37:
529-30
- Sawyer, Philetus
letter(s) from SBA, 24: 69
- Saxon, Elizabeth Lyle
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 319, 761, 787
- Saxton, Matilda Gordon Thompson
letter(s) from SBA, 41: 467
- Saxton, Rufus
letter(s) from SBA, 41: 467
letter(s) to ECS, 12: 191
letter(s) to SBA, 25: 201
- Sayles, Lita Barney
article(s) in *Revolution*,
2: 260
letter(s) to WSA of America,
1: 444
- Sayre, Sarah E.
letter(s) to SBA, 1: 310
- Schenck, Elizabeth T.
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 869
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 31
letter(s) from SBA, 14: 531,
683-84
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 318
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 248
letter(s) to SBA, 1: 558;
2: 271; 22: 274-75
- Schenectady, NY
state constitutional campaign
meeting
SBA attends, 32: 564
- Schlingheyde, Clara M.
letter(s) to SBA, 39: 764
- Schmidt, Clementine A.
letter(s) to SBA, 1: 439
- Schofield, Laura G.
letter(s) to SBA, 28: 40
- Schofield, Martha
letter(s) from SBA, 20:
289-92; 38: 1013
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 621-22
- Schofield, WI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 606-29
- Schoolcraft, Mary Howard
letter(s) to ECS, 18: 718-20
- Schoonmaker, Marius
letter(s) from SBA, 12:
280-81
- Schurman, Jacob Gould
letter(s) from ECS, 33: 20-23
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 785
letter(s) to SBA, 35: 276
- Schurz, Carl
letter(s) from SBA, 11:
244-47
- Schwartz, Ursula E.
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 703-4
- Scott, Mr.
letter(s) from SBA, 31:
793-94
- Scott, Mary R.
letter(s) to SBA birthday
celebration, 2: 273
- Scott, Nathan Bay
letter(s) to SBA, 40: 704
- Scovel, James Matlack
letter(s) to ECS, 1: 564;
2: 51
letter to AERA meeting, 11:
686, 689-90
- Scranton, PA
ECS lectures, 16: 496
- Scribner, NE
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1223-24
- seamstresses, meeting of, at
Rochester, NY
SBA attends, 7: 190-93C
- Searle, E.
letter(s) to ECS, 2: 34
- Searle, Mary
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 324
- Seattle, WA
SBA lectures, 15: 810
Woman's Century Club
SBA lecture, 35: 788
- Sedalia, MO
interview(s) in, SBA, 19:
605-6
- Seely, Lucy A.
letter to WLNL meeting, 10:
463-64
- Seerley, Homer Horatio
letter(s) from SBA, 42: 838,
875, 920
- Segur, Rosa L. Klinge
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 319
letter(s) to SBA, 32: 222-23
- Seiver, Julia A. B.
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 110
letter(s) to SBA, 24: 91-93
- Selden, Henry Rogers
letter(s) from SBA, 17:
444-46
letter(s) to SBA, 16: 554;
17: 218
trial of SBA, 16: 555-58,
585-86, 603, 974-88; 17:
76-78, 98-148
- Seneca, KS
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 754
- Seneca County, NY
claim against New York State,
ECS, 10: 902-3
real estate transactions, ECS,
6: 665-67; 8: 424-46,
430-31; 10: 203-10, 760;
11: 182-83, 260-62, 408A-15;
18: 502
- Seneca Falls, NY
ECS lectures, 8: 155-98A
Wide-Awake Club of
ECS lectures, 9: 826-42
ECS remarks to, 9: 855
woman's rights convention
ECS attends, 6: 702-22,
731-40
- Seneca Falls Conversational
ECS lectures, 7: 562-63
- Sessums, Davis
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
29: 1014
- Severance, Caroline Maria Seymour
letter(s) from ECS, 34: 355,
568; 37: 587
letter(s) from SBA, 35:
1003-4; 40: 140-42; 41:
179, 984
letter(s) to ECS, 9: 132;
11: 510
letter(s) to International
Council of Women, 26: 337
letter to Women's New York
State Temperance Society
meeting, 7: 722
- Severance, Theodoric Cordenio
letter(s) to SBA, 12: 453
- Sewall, Harriet Winslow List
letter(s) to SBA, 26: 575
- Sewall, May Eliza Wright Thompson
See also Thompson, May Eliza
Wright
incorporation of National
Council of Women, U.S.,
29: 1-2
inscription(s) from SBA, 31:
402
inscription(s) in visitor's
book, SBA, 25: 458-59;
36: 857; 38: 928
letter(s) from ECS, 23:
690-96; 25: 28-36
letter(s) from SBA, 23: 712;
27: 989, 1014-19, 1045-52;
31: 867; 33: 870; 34:
835; 37: 502-6; 38: 735-37
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 767-8

- letter(s) to ECS, **24**: 454
 letter(s) to SBA, **22**: 378-79, 809; **25**: 301-2, 411-24, 535-44; **31**: 306-7; **32**: 395, 450; **37**: 57; **38**: 930; **39**: 4, 513; **42**: 833; **43**: 702-3; **44**: 397
 co-author
 for National Council of Women, memorial to William McKinley, **38**: 496
 for NWSA, appeal to Chester A. Arthur, **22**: 748
 for NWSA, memorial to Benjamin Harrison, **26**: 817-26
 Sewall, Samuel Edmund
 letter(s) to SBA, **26**: 333, 541, 558-60
 letter to AERA, New York State Woman's Rights Convention, **11**: 649
 Sewall, Theodore Lovett
 inscription(s) from SBA, **31**: 402
 inscription(s) in visitor's book, SBA, **25**: 458-59; **36**: 857; **38**: 928
 Seward, Frances Adeline Miller
 letter(s) from ECS, **9**: 924-26; **10**: 79-82, 722-23
 letter(s) to ECS, **10**: 356-58, 384
 Seward, Janet McNeil Watson
 letter(s) to ECS, **38**: 381
 Seward, William Henry
 letter(s) from ECS, **10**: 76-78; **12**: 827-28
 letter(s) to ECS, **44**: 1019
 Sewell, William Joyce
 letter(s) to SBA, **40**: 733
 Sewing Machine Operators Union
 meetings of
 SBA attends, **1**: 338-39
 Shafroth, John Franklin
 letter(s) from SBA, **40**: 819
 letter(s) to SBA, **40**: 822; **41**: 102
 Shanesville, OH
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 201-2
 Sharon Center, OH
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 203
 Shattuck, Harriette Lucy Robinson
 letter(s) from ECS, **22**: 350
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 852
 letter(s) from SBA, **21**: 950-53; **22**: 6-8, 14; **23**: 105-8, 508-11, 856-57; **24**: 245-46, 450-51; **26**: 776-81
 letter(s) to ECS, **24**: 1113-17
 letter(s) to SBA, **29**: 408-11
 articles by
 protest against NWSA-AWSA merger, **27**: 661-68
 Shatz, Miss
 letter(s) from SBA, **42**: 398
 other letters
 from Anthony, Mary S., **42**: 398
 Shaver, U. B.
 letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 162
 Shaw, Anna Howard
 inscription(s) from SBA, **43**: 814
 letter(s) from ECS, **32**: 957-58
 letter(s) from SBA, **25**: 764-65; **26**: 1002-5; **36**: 683-84; **37**: 19-22, 214-17; **38**: 324-27, 654-57, 700-703, 1047-48; **40**: 355-56, 759-60; **42**: 439-40, 655-56, 670, 874, 886-87; **44**: 191-92, 312, 386, 428-30
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 761-62, 787-88; **40**: 68-70
 letter(s) to SBA, **26**: 576; **28**: 521; **30**: 141; **32**: 839; **43**: 352; **44**: 365-66, 459, 893, 906, 914, 1014
 co-author
 letter to Woman's Congress of the Pacific Coast, **35**: 730, 734
 lecture by
 SBA remarks at, **35**: 638-39
 other letters
 from Kansas Prohibition Party convention, **32**: 906
 to Anthony, Mary S., **44**: 365-66
 to Kansas Prohibition Party convention, **32**: 905
 to Willard, Frances E. C., **30**: 362
 Shaw, David Nairn
 inscription(s) from ECS, **42**: 752-55
 Shaw, Francis George
 letter(s) from SBA, **14**: 167
 Shaw, Nicolas M.
 letter(s) from SBA, **37**: 293-95
 Shaw, Pauline Agassiz
 letter(s) from SBA, **41**: 629-30
 Shaw, Sarah Blake Sturgis
 letter(s) to SBA, **12**: 454
 Sheboygan Falls, WI
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 630-33
 Shedd, Prof. and Mrs.
 letter(s) to SBA birthday celebration, **44**: 461
 Shelbina, MO
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 1165
 Shelburne Falls, MA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 862
 Shelby, Margaret Bryan
 letter(s) from ECS, **37**: 83
 letter(s) from SBA, **37**: 81
 Shelby, OH
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 204
 Shelbyville, IL
 SBA lectures, **24**: 225
 Sheldon, Cornelia
 letter(s) to SBA, **23**: 60
 Sheldon, Ellen H.
 letter(s) from SBA, **25**: 63
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **20**: 791
 letter(s) to SBA, **25**: 610-17, 627-31
 other letters
 from Levenson, Dr. M. R., **25**: 639
 Sheldon, Henry Luther
 letter(s) from SBA, **42**: 881
 Sheldon, Joseph
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **23**: 59
 letter(s) to SBA, **38**: 966
 Shellsburg, IA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 659-62
 Shenandoah, IA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 663
 Shepard, Hannah McLaren
 article(s) in *Revolution*, **1**: 58, 122-23, 323-24, 365, 369-70; **2**: 133-34
 letter(s) to *Revolution*, **1**: 211-12
 Sheppard, Julia Dodson
 letter(s) to SBA, **44**: 465
 Sheppard, Katherine Wilson Malcolm
 letter(s) from SBA, **31**: 734
 Sherburne, NY
 SBA lectures, **18**: 207
 Sherman, Caroline A.
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 96
 letter(s) from SBA, **41**: 185
 Sherman, John
 letter(s) from SBA, **13**: 468-69; **24**: 742-45; **29**: 1062
 letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 554
 letter(s) to SBA, **13**: 470-71
 letter to SBA birthday celebration, **28**: 39
 Shields, Mary F.
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **20**: 319
 Shippen, Rush Rhees
 letter to SBA birthday celebration, **28**: 39

- Shirreff, Emily Anne
inscription(s) from ECS, **22**: 719
- Shortsville, NY
SBA lectures, **17**: 92
- Shoup, George Laird
letter(s) to SBA, **41**: 103
- Sibley, Mrs. Hiram W., Jr.
letter(s) from SBA, **31**: 413; **33**: 785
- Sievler, Sara M.
letter(s) to SBA, **43**: 352
- Sievwright, Margaret Home Richardson
letter(s) to SBA, **42**: 921
- Silone-Yates, Josephine
letter(s) to SBA, **43**: 810
- Silver Lake, KS
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 755
- Simmons, Anna Rebecca Johnson
letter(s) from SBA, **41**: 1070-71
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 664-65
- Simon, Joseph
letter(s) to SBA, **42**: 790
- Simonin, Louis Laurent
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 146
- Simonsville, VT
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 499
- Simpson, Ida
letter(s) from SBA, **38**: 723-24
- Simpson, Matthew
letter(s) to SBA, **23**: 634, 717
letter(s) to Universal Franchise Association conventions, **2**: 245; **14**: 543, 546, 550
- Simpson, Sarah Elizabeth
letter(s) from SBA, **38**: 723-24, 741-42, 756-57, 764-65
- Sioux City, IA
interview(s) in, SBA, **28**: 677-78
SBA lectures, **15**: 653; **19**: 580; **28**: 679
- Sioux Falls, SD
state amendment campaign
SBA lectures, **27**: 538
state amendment campaign convention
SBA attends, **28**: 430
- Skilton, Harriet Euphrasia Ingersoll
letter(s) from SBA, **37**: 555-56, 1012-14; **44**: 767
- Skinner, Charles Rufus
letter(s) to SBA, **40**: 143; **42**: 373-74
- Slack, Charles Wesley
letter(s) from ECS, **9**: 72, 133-35
letter(s) to ECS, **9**: 65-66, 140
- Slagle, Mr. E. H.
letter(s) from ECS, **24**: 728
- Slaughter, WA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 507-8
- Slayton, Henry L.
letter(s) from SBA, **21**: 4
- Slayton Lecture Bureau
letter(s) from SBA, **34**: 354
- Sly, Grace Pierson Taintor
letter(s) to SBA, **38**: 621
- Smalley, George Washburn
letter(s) to ECS, **10**: 924-26; **11**: 352-55; **22**: 690-92
- Smallwood, John Jasper
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 786
letter(s) to ECS, **31**: 737-38
- Smart, Alice Chenoweth *See* Gardener, Helen Hamilton
- Smith, Mrs.
letter(s) from ECS, **14**: 844-47
- Smith, Abby Hadassah
letter in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, **18**: 866
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **18**: 273, 276
- Smith, Alice Matilda White
other letters
to Colby, Clara D. B., **35**: 445
- Smith, Ann Carroll Fitzhugh
letter(s) from ECS, **9**: 89-91; **10**: 543-45
letter(s) from Elizabeth Cady, **6**: 374-77
letter(s) from SBA, **17**: 908-9
letter(s) to ECS, **11**: 609-11
verse from ECS, **9**: 515-16; **45**: 328-33
- Smith, Elizabeth
letter(s) from ECS, **6**: 415-18, 455-58, 500
letter(s) from Elizabeth Cady, **6**: 244-49, 305-8, 366-67
See also Miller, Elizabeth Smith
- Smith, Elizabeth Oakes Prince
article(s) in *Revolution*, **1**: 547
letter(s) from SBA, **8**: 66
letter(s) to ECS, **7**: 157-60, 167-78, 253-61
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **20**: 793; **25**: 205-6
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 282
letter to Women's New York State Temperance Society meeting, **7**: 206
- Smith, Eliza Roxey Snow *See* Snow, Eliza Roxey
- Smith, E. V.
letter(s) to SBA, **18**: 870
- Smith, Eva Munson
letter(s) from SBA, **35**: 268
- Smith, Firman
letter(s) from SBA, **44**: 973-75
- Smith, Florence S.
letter(s) from SBA, **43**: 375, 593, 605
- Smith, George Albert
letter(s) to ECS, **28**: 750-56
- Smith, George B.
article(s) in *Revolution*, **2**: 199, 207, 217, 289, 306, 322, 330, 338, 370, 377
- Smith, George E.
letter(s) to SBA, **41**: 70
See also Norton, James Albert
- Smith, Gerrit
circular for Central College, **7**: 470
ECS article on, **40**: 810-14
letter(s) from ECS, **6**: 386-89, 908-13; **7**: 249-52; **8**: 330-31, 799-802, 829-41; **9**: 729-30, 786-89, 807-10, 817-19; **10**: 90-96, 132-35, 140-48, 192-94, 198-99, 396-99, 422-25, 788-94, 825-29, 853-57, 880, 914-15; **11**: 161-64, 253-58, 402-6, 559-61, 635-37; **12**: 301-4, 336-39, 350-58, 835-38, 868-71, 1005-6; **13**: 311-15; **14**: 572-75, 807-8; **15**: 750-53; **16**: 587-92, 830-33; **18**: 225-30, 243
letter(s) from SBA, **8**: 334-35, 574-77; **9**: 326-27, 374-76, 385-86, 945-54, 1117-18; **10**: 529-32; **11**: 729-30; **12**: 85-92; **13**: 738-39; **16**: 593-96, 820-22; **17**: 255-57, 267-70, 457-59, 906-9
letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 76, 564; **7**: 20-23; **8**: 323-26, 328-29, 344-46; **9**: 319-22, 646, 671-75; **10**: 400-401, 569-71, 835-36, 881-82, 907, 916; **11**: 147-48; **12**: 858-59
letter(s) to *Revolution*, **1**: 294
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 430; **7**: 468-70; **8**: 578; **16**: 1014; **17**: 265-66, 273-74, 919, 927-28
letter to AERA, New York State Woman's Rights Convention, **11**: 649
letter to Women's New York State Temperance Society meeting, **7**: 718-19, 727
verse for ECS, **9**: 550-51
verse from ECS, **9**: 555-56; **45**: 328-30
other letters
from Draper, S. E., **10**: 569

- from Miller, Elizabeth S.,
14: 91
- from Nichols, Mary S. N. G.,
7: 161-63
- from Stanton, Daniel C.,
16: 830-33
- from Stanton, Henry B.,
6: 386-89, 908-13
- to Miller, Elizabeth S.,
17: 907
- to Stanton, Henry B., 7:
20-23
- Smith, Goldwin
letter(s) to ECS, 1: 564
- Smith, Hannah Whitall
letter(s) from ECS, 28:
334-37, 366-69, 393-95
- letter(s) from SBA, 25:
1044-45, 1056-57
- letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
23: 60
- Smith, J. Frank
letter(s) from ECS, 34:
599-600
- letter(s) from SBA, 34: 792
- Smith, Mrs. J. P.
letter(s) from SBA, 41:
171-76
- Smith, Julia Evelina
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 866
- letter(s) to SBA, 20: 318,
368-69
- See also* Parker, Julia
Evelina Smith
- Smith, Lewia C.
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 58
- Smith, Lewisa Hannibal
birthday celebration of
SBA remarks at, 44: 561
- Smith, Lydia C.
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 869
- letter(s) from SBA, 17:
244-47, 276-79
- Smith, Peter
letter(s) from Elizabeth Cady,
6: 85-88
- Smith, Sarah E. B.
letter(s) to SBA, 44: 461
- Smith, Sara Winthrop
letter(s) to SBA, 28: 33-36
- co-signer
petition to Benjamin
Harrison, 28: 322-23
- Smith, Sophia Lyman
letter(s) to SBA, 10: 463
- Smith, Warren
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 263
- Smith, William Alden
letter(s) to SBA, 40: 778
- Smith College
- librarian
letter(s) from SBA, 43:
719
- Smoot, Reed
about, SBA interview, 43: 340;
44: 455
- Smyrna, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 664
- Snodgrass, Joseph Evans
letter(s) to SBA, 1: 444
- letter to Women's New York
State Temperance Society
meeting, 7: 722
- Snook, Mrs.
letter(s) from SBA, 36:
687-89
- Snow, Eliza Roxey
letter(s) to SBA, 25: 205,
217
- Snow, Mr. F. L.
letter(s) from SBA, 38: 54
- Snow, Lavinia M.
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 866
- letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 825-26
- Snow, Lucy A. Snow
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 866
- letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 319
- Snow, Sophronia C.
incorporation of National
Council of Women, U.S.,
29: 1-2
- Socialist Labor Party *See*
California
- Société pour l'amélioration du sort
de la femme
letter(s) to International
Council of Women, 26: 376,
548
- Society for Ethical Culture
New York City, Women's Branch
letter(s) from SBA, 41:
468
- Philadelphia, Women's Section
meetings of, SBA attends,
44: 493
- Society for Political Study
reception
SBA attends, 39: 453-54
- Society for Psychical Research
circular for, 28: 753-56
- Solberg, Thorvald
letter(s) from SBA, 42:
912-18
- Solis, Elvira N.
letter(s) to ECS, 33: 915,
926
- Solomon, Hannah Greenbaum
letter(s) from SBA, 41: 469
- Somerby, Charles P.
letter(s) from ECS, 18:
1062-66; 35: 968; 37: 53
- Somerset, Lady Henry *See*
Somerset, Lady Isabella Caroline
Somers-Cocks
- Somerset, Lady Isabella Caroline
Somers-Cocks
letter(s) from ECS, 34: 89
- letter(s) from SBA, 30: 531,
540
- letter(s) to ECS, 34: 138-39
- letter(s) to ECS birthday
celebration, 34: 490
- letter(s) to SBA, 30: 531,
540; 32: 1003-5
- Somerville, MA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 863
- Somerville, Mary Fairfax
letter to woman's rights
anniversary meeting, 14:
1020
- Sorosis
meetings of
ECS attends, 17: 31-37;
30: 57-66
- SBA attends, 29: 68-85
- Soule, Annah May
letter(s) from SBA, 41: 233,
910-11
- Southampton, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 398-400
- South Bend, IN
ECS lectures, 16: 552
- interview(s) in, ECS, 16: 553
- South Carolina *See* Aiken, Columbia
- South Dakota
See also Aberdeen,
Alexandria, Centerville,
Chamberlain, Deadwood, Huron,
Madison, Pierre, Rapid City,
Salem, Sioux Falls,
Vermillion, Webster,
Woonsocket; Grand Army of the
Republic
- Farmers' Alliance of
meetings of, SBA attends,
27: 556; 28: 391
- picnic, SBA attends, 28:
434
- Knights of Labor of
meetings of, SBA attends,
28: 391
- State Fair, Woman's Day
SBA lecture, 28: 589-90
- South Dakota amendment campaign
report of campaign committee,
28: 871-82
- SBA attends meetings, 27: 556
- SBA lectures, 27: 534, 538,
544, 547-48, 552; 28: 320,
338, 413, 686, 716
- SBA tour schedule, 28: 623
- campaign fund
accounts for, 28: 886-93

- SBA acknowledgement of donations, **27**: 1084;
28: 219, 254, 300, 355, 684
solicitation, SBA, **28**: 218
county conventions
SBA attends, **28**: 365, 370-71, 430-31, 439, 441, 661-62
South Dakota Equal Suffrage Association
circulars for, **28**: 474-76
executive committee
letter to SBA, **28**: 281
meetings of
SBA attends, **28**: 529-34
South Dakota Press Association
meetings of
SBA attends, **28**: 467
South Dakota Republican Party convention
letter from ECS, **28**: 535
South Manchester, CT
SBA lectures, **17**: 983
South Newbury, OH
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 205-16
South Otselic, NY
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 60-61
South Stockton, NY
Political Equality Club of
meetings of, letter to SBA, **28**: 32
Southwick, Abigail
letter(s) from ECS, **6**: 392-93
letter(s) to ECS, **6**: 1074
Southworth, Louisa Stark
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 133
articles by
"Woman's Bible," **34**: 202;
36: 88, 190, 682; **37**: 71, 167-68
Spalding, Burleigh Folsom
letter(s) to SBA, **41**: 93
Spargo, John
letter(s) from SBA, **43**: 540-41, 556
Sparta Center, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 1044
Spear, Caroline Hinckley
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 422
letter(s) to ECS, **16**: 87
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **20**: 318
letter to woman's rights anniversary meeting, **14**: 1022
Spear, Lucretia A.
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **25**: 206
Spearman, Frances W.
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **38**: 222
Spearsville, IN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 518
Spelman, James J.
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 443
Spencer, Anna Carpenter Garlin
letter(s) from SBA, **42**: 307-8
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **24**: 21
Spencer, Herbert
open letter from ECS, **45**: 387
Spencer, Lilly Martin
letter(s) from ECS, **42**: 131-32
Spencer, Sara Jane Andrews
letter in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, **18**: 869
letter(s) from ECS, **21**: 154-57, 388
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 875-76
letter(s) from SBA, **20**: 873; **21**: 138, 161, 388
letter(s) to ECS, **21**: 370
letter(s) to SBA, **18**: 1087
SBA entry on, *Johnson's New Universal Cyclopaedia*, **20**: 635
SBA entry on, *Johnson's Universal Cyclopaedia*, **34**: 863
other letters
from Gage, Matilda J., **21**: 388
to Butler, Benjamin F., **17**: 941-42
Spencer, WI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 634
Spinner, Francis Elias
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **25**: 205
Spofford, Ainsworth Rand
letter(s) from ECS, **27**: 279-80
letter(s) from SBA, **21**: 884; **43**: 661, 796
letter(s) to SBA, **39**: 853; **43**: 659-60
Spofford, Jane H. Snow
incorporation of National Council of Women, U.S., **29**: 1-2
incorporation of NAWSA, **28**: 272-80
letter(s) from ECS, **21**: 621
letter(s) from SBA, **21**: 620; **23**: 121, 157-58, 709; **25**: 103; **26**: 906, 912; **28**: 301, 405-10; **41**: 622; **44**: 976
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 757-58
letter(s) to SBA, **22**: 28;
42: 843
other letters
to Blake, Lillie D., **24**: 920
Spoonner, John Coit
letter(s) from SBA, **41**: 140-41; **42**: 760
See also Reed, Horace C.
Sprague, Charles Franklin *See* Pratt, Ambrose A.
Sprague, Homer Baxter
letter(s) to Universal Franchise Association conventions, **2**: 238
Spraker, Livingston
letter(s) from SBA, **6**: 571-73
letter(s) to SBA, **6**: 569
Springdale, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 665
Springfield, IL
interview(s) in, SBA, **38**: 927
tour for woman suffrage, 1869
ECS at meetings, **13**: 401
Springfield, MA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 864
tour with George F. Train
ECS and SBA lecture, **12**: 637
Springfield, MO
SBA lectures, **18**: 366-67, 708
Springfield, WI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 635-40
Spring Valley, MN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 1099-1101
Springville, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 666
Sprott, Mrs. M. C.
letter(s) to SBA, **32**: 884-89
Stadden, Corry M.
interview(s) with SBA, **35**: 450-51
Stanford, Jane Eliza Lathrop
letter(s) from SBA, **25**: 1054-55; **32**: 258-61; **34**: 44-45, 362-68, 468-69; **35**: 583, 979-80, 986-87, 989-92, 1017-21, 1029-31, 1045-48, 1075-78, 1090-92; **38**: 345-46, 438-46; **39**: 915; **41**: 470
letter(s) to SBA, **25**: 1058-61; **26**: 97; **34**: 454-56; **35**: 1041-44
Stanford University
SBA lectures, **34**: 90
library
inscription(s) from SBA, **32**: 262-64
Stansbury, Ellis Meredith *See* Meredith, Ellis
Stanton, Caroline
letter to Women's New York

- State Temperance Society meeting, 7: 722
- Stanton, Daniel Cady
letter(s) from ECS, 7: 78,
112-13, 116, 129-32, 135-39,
144, 216; 20: 913
other letters
from Stanton, Henry B.,
7: 112-13
to Smith, Gerrit, 16:
830-33
- Stanton, Elizabeth Cady** *See also*
Cady, Elizabeth
- Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, and Susan B. Anthony**
letter(s) from SBA, 7: 828-30;
8: 434-36, 439-48, 1015-21;
9: 552, 687, 811-15, 854,
929-30, 965-67, 976-77,
1065-70, 1113-16, 1119, 1132;
10: 39-40, 66, 88, 171-73,
364-66, 565-67, 822-24, 830,
837-38; 11: 150-54, 169-73;
14: 648-51, 660-62; 15:
311-12, 531-33, 718, 724,
731-34, 804-9; 16: 63,
144-47, 240-44, 487, 527-30;
19: 523-24, 559-61; 23:
321, 485-96, 985-88, 1060-61;
25: 56; 28: 939; 29: 329;
30: 223, 571-74, 596; 31:
374; 32: 965-68, 1018-21;
34: 264-68, 350-51, 851;
35: 558, 723, 1032-37,
1079-82; 36: 65, 152, 673-74;
37: 181, 207-9, 446-48;
38: 958-61, 963-64; 40:
222-23; 41: 375, 565-66;
42: 821
letter(s) to SBA, 7: 189,
218-20, 568-71, 735-36, 874-75,
943-46, 998; 8: 108, 113-14,
135, 239, 256, 281, 340,
366-69, 373, 453-56, 785-87,
950-52, 997-1000, 1032; 9:
19-20, 32, 149-52, 243-44,
266-69, 321-22, 332-33, 342-45,
420-22, 424, 532-33, 562, 684,
724-25, 728, 731, 779, 1133;
10: 45-47, 104, 367, 387-89,
427, 430, 883, 889, 917-18,
923; 11: 159, 208, 214;
14: 152-53, 685, 820-21,
858-59, 863-64, 923; 15: 369,
388-89, 405, 408, 562, 612-14,
748; 16: 80, 256-57, 260,
396, 468, 531-32, 561-62, 1011,
1030; 17: 232-33, 235-36;
18: 28-29, 68, 133, 238-39,
242, 317-18; 19: 464-65, 517,
551, 716; 20: 234-38, 304,
427, 442-43, 719, 744-45, 754;
21: 197-204, 246, 371, 577;
22: 559, 574; 23: 41-42,
128, 258, 268, 274, 318-19,
323, 462, 556, 570, 572, 701,
711, 1082, 1084; 24: 40,
858-59, 900, 1009-10; 25:
192, 207, 209, 287-96, 580,
862; 27: 459; 28: 396-403,
499-504, 1000; 29: 259, 502;
30: 183, 694-95; 32:
323-25, 488-89, 610-11, 780-81,
873, 1036-37; 34: 275-76,
323, 567; 35: 280-81; 36:
66, 153, 879, 881-82, 1000,
1076-77; 37: 989-92; 38:
462-73, 543-45, 1049; 40:
270, 824-25; 42: 537-38,
714-16; 44: 983-84
SBA, "Stanton, Elizabeth (Cady),"
34: 864
SBA, "Stanton (Elizabeth Cady),"
20: 617
SBA statements on death of ECS,
42: 825-26, 845
verse for SBA, 28: 38; 40:
945-48; 41: 10-12
- Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, at meetings**
AERA, 1: 562-64, 570-72,
578-79, 588-89; 2: 367;
11: 475-523, 680-728; 12:
154-203, 896-908; 13:
500-524; 14: 766-68
AERA, New York State Woman's
Rights Convention, 11:
648-60
American Anti-Slavery Society,
9: 567-611; 11: 466-74;
12: 893-95
anti-slavery tour, 9:
978-1024, 1028-55, 1057-59
Association for the Advancement
of Women, Woman's Congress,
17: 314-92
Bristol Women's Liberal
Association, 23: 156;
28: 636-37
Brooklyn Equal Rights
Association, 1: 579; 13:
525-33; 14: 764-65
Central Committee of National
Society for Women's Suffrage,
23: 178-233, 247-51
Citizens' Suffrage Association,
16: 1044-45
Connecticut WSA, 2: 149-50;
14: 33-54
Cook County WSA, 15: 445-51
District of Columbia WSA,
26: 755
Emma Willard Association reunion,
30: 226-53; 31: 735-36
for parliamentary franchise,
London, 23: 242
for parliamentary franchise,
York, England, 23: 143-46
Free Religious Association,
21: 1012-45
Friends of Human Progress,
Waterloo, 8: 1156-61; 9:
690-712
Fulton County WSA, 23: 832
funeral services for Orpha E.
C. Dinsmoor, 26: 986-87
funeral services for Paulina K.
W. Davis, 18: 1005
Illinois WSA, 1: 474-76;
13: 325-52
International Council of Women,
26: 154-563
Kansas State Temperance Society,
12: 459-83
Ladies' Patriotic Meeting
Against Foreign Luxury Imports,
10: 778
Manchester National Society for
Women's Suffrage, 22:
712-14
Michigan WSA, 17: 1067-98
Moral Education Association of
Massachusetts, 21: 990-91
National Woman's Rights
Convention 1860, 9: 612-75
National Woman's Rights
Convention 1866, 11:
475-523
National Woman Suffrage
Committee convention, 15:
1021-44
NAWSA convention 1890, 28:
50-142
NAWSA convention 1892, 29:
993-1015, 1025; 41: 906-9
Nebraska WSA, 26: 967-75
New York City Woman Suffrage
League, 26: 797-800; 30:
99, 167-73
New York State Anti-Slavery
Society, 9: 1085-95
New York State constitutional
campaign, 32: 760-62, 774,
815-18
New York State county woman's
rights conventions, 8: 199
New York State tour for equal
rights, 11: 739-94, 800;
12: 122-23
New York State Woman's Rights
Conventions, 7: 965-92
New York State WSA, 24:
94-101
NWSA anniversary meetings,
3: 159, 173; 15: 593-604;
16: 101-11; 17: 59-69;
18: 403-45
NWSA annual meetings, 20:
313-56, 755-93; 21: 993-1011
NWSA at Centennial, 18:
859-65
NWSA convention 1873, 16:
869-961
NWSA convention 1874, 17:
919-32
NWSA convention 1875, 18:
271-82
NWSA convention 1877, 19:

- 427-40
 NWSA convention 1878, **19**:
 1015-24, 1029-41, 1045-63;
20: 38-114
 NWSA convention 1879, **20**:
 642-75
 NWSA convention 1881, **21**:
 777-98
 NWSA convention 1882, **22**:
 261-90
 NWSA convention 1885, **24**:
 3-35
 NWSA convention 1888, **26**:
 633-739
 NWSA final executive sessions,
28: 43-45, 78
 NWSA founding, **13**: 534-36
 NWSA in Newport, RI, **2**: 66-67,
 73-74; **13**: 669-737
 NWSA local, New York City,
1: 596-97, 608; **2**: 48,
 74-75, 83, 93, 101, 117, 125,
 157; **13**: 556-58, 572-74,
 586-87, 592-94, 633-34, 744-47,
 762-63, 792-93, 818, 840-43,
 856-57; **14**: 84-85
 NWSA local, Philadelphia,
22: 304-15
 NWSA local, Providence, RI,
21: 1049-62
 Pennsylvania Equal Rights
 Association, **11**: 883-84
 Personal Rights Association,
28: 440
 Radical Club of Philadelphia,
17: 1, 1009-10
 Rhode Island WSA, **13**: 585;
14: 1-20, 61; **20**: 899-900
 SBA birthday celebration,
28: 37-41
 Sorosis, **17**: 31-37; **30**:
 57-66
 to protest outcome of Daniel
 McFarland's trial, **2**: 373;
14: 774-801
 Union WSA, **2**: 363-65, 368-69;
3: 148; **14**: 716-63; **15**:
 581
 Universal Franchise Association
 conventions, **2**: 236-38;
13: 280-88; **14**: 540-55
 Universal Peace Union, **1**:
 41-42; **12**: 808-9
 Wisconsin Equal Rights
 Association, **14**: 644
 Wisconsin WSA, **1**: 492; **13**:
 404-7
 with Frederick O. Prince and
 Bird Club, **21**: 1046-48
 with John D. Long, **21**:
 1046-48
 WLNL, **10**: 434-91, 492, 503-9,
 512, 522, 539-40, 572, 657-68,
 800-805, 808-9
 woman's rights movement
 anniversary, **2**: 553; **14**:
 1002-51
 woman suffrage convention,
 Galena, IL, **13**: 413-16
 woman suffrage convention,
 Springfield, IL, **13**: 401
 woman suffrage conventions, St.
 Louis, **1**: 479; **13**: 397-98
 woman suffrage meeting,
 Glasgow, Scotland, **22**:
 700-708
 Women's Franchise League,
28: 461
 Women's New York State
 Temperance Society, **7**:
 195-212, 714-33
 Women Taxpayers' Association of
 Monroe County, **17**: 400-401
 Working Woman's Association,
12: 1011-14; **13**: 756-60
 Working Woman's Association,
 Hester Vaughan meeting,
13: 131-34
 Centennial Exhibition, 1876
 Fourth of July celebration,
18: 859-60
 International Council of Women
 preliminary to founding,
23: 342-43
 mass meeting for equal rights
 at Lake Waccabuc, NY,
12: 289-90
 New York City Woman Suffrage
 League
 Pilgrim Mothers' Dinner,
30: 651-91; **31**: 826-35;
33: 49-55
 woman's rights conventions
 at Rochester, NY, **6**:
 723-40, 742-57
 at Seneca Falls, NY, **6**:
 702-22, 731-40
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady,
 biographies and obituaries by
 "Anna Elizabeth Dickinson,"
1: 314-16, 323, 330, 346-47,
 411; **13**: 159-92
 article on Nicolas Joly, **23**:
 444-48
 "Charles De Berard Mills,"
41: 458
 "Colonel Robert Green Ingersoll,"
40: 110-11
 "Frederick Douglass," **33**: 964
 "Gerrit Smith . . .," **40**:
 810-14
 "In Memoriam" (Elizabeth W. M.
 Phillips), **36**: 85
 "John Tyndall," **32**: 662-64
 "Lucretia Mott," **21**: 777, 780,
 786-98
 "Lydia Maria Child," **21**: 535
 "Matilda Joslyn Gage--Obituary,"
38: 641-43
 "Mrs. Stanton's Tribute to Miss
 Willard," **38**: 358
 "Obituary: Mrs. Paulina Wright
 Davis," **18**: 1052
 "Parker Pillsbury," **38**: 678
 "Reminiscences of Paulina
 Wright Davis," **42**: 172-75
 "Sketch of Miss Anthony's Life,"
35: 1113
 "Susan B. Anthony," **23**:
 1096-1117
 Tribute to Robert Green
 Ingersoll, **40**: 43
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, birthday
 celebrations
 at New York, NY, **24**: 661-73;
41: 934-38
 reception at Hotel Savoy, New
 York, **34**: 487, 490, 520-21
 at New York, NY
 circular for, **34**: 387-88
 ECS lecture for, **34**:
 478-90, 599-600
 SBA attends, **34**: 478-90
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, book
 reviews
 of Caroline H. Dall, *The
 College, the Market, and the
 Court*, **12**: 812-21
 of ECS, *Eighty Years and More*,
38: 385
 of Helen H. Gardener, *Is This
 Your Son, My Lord?* **28**:
 956-57
 of Horace Bushnell, *Women's
 Suffrage--The Reform Against
 Nature*, **1**: 598-99
 of Horace Fletcher, *The A B C
 of True Living*, **39**: 509-10
 of *Life and Letters of Thomas
 Huxley*, **41**: 925
 of Mary A. Dodge, *Woman's
 Wrongs*, **1**: 52-53
 of Sarah M. C. Perkins, *The
 Six of Them*, **39**: 560
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, diaries
 1883 Apr 23, **45**: 379
 1885 Feb 10, **45**: 383
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, *Eighty
 Years and More*
 copyright of, **37**: 164
 ECS review of, **38**: 385
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady,
 endorsements and advertisements
 advertisement for *Revolution*,
12: 799
 endorsement of Hamilton
 Willcox, *Freedom's
 Conquests; The Great Spread
 of Woman Suffrage . . .*,
27: 86
 endorsement of John Cowan, *The
 Science of a New Life*,
15: 883-85
 of Blanchir Washing Compound,
2: 21, 30
 of Fairy Soap, **39**: 905
 of Lewis Union Suits, **41**: 330

Stanton, Elizabeth Cady,
 inscriptions and autographs,
 13: 318; 14: 707; 17: 986;
 18: 497; 19: 1027; 20: 386,
 693-94; 23: 291-92; 24: 37;
 26: 568; 35: 930; 38: 363;
 42: 154, 585; 45: 376-77
 excerpt from "True Republic,"
 15: 413-14

"Happy Thought," 42: 413-15
 in *Eighty Years and More*,
 42: 590, 642-43

in *HWS* 1, 21: 1063

in *HWS* 1-2, 22: 720-21

in *HWS* 2, 22: 719

in *HWS* 3, 25: 162; 27:
 576

in *Woman's Bible*, 35: 852;

38: 630-31; 40: 361;

42: 752-55; 45: 339

"My Grace," 45: 337-38

Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, interviews,

2: 533; 14: 60; 16: 553;

21: 433; 26: 752; 27: 510;

28: 883-85; 31: 441; 32: 770;

37: 60-61; 39: 444-45; 41:

499, 595-98

about Laura D. Fair, 15: 697

about Margaret M. S. Dilke,

26: 566

conversation with Horace Greeley,

2: 78; 13: 761

on Abraham Lincoln, 35: 567

on anti-suffrage speech of

William C. Doane, 34: 140

on anti-suffragists, 39: 561

on Beecher-Tilton affair,

16: 609; 18: 67, 72-73,

447

on Brigham H. Roberts, 39:

562

on child labor, 39: 846

on divorce, 39: 876

on election for NAWSA president,

40: 827

on free silver, 36: 12

on girlhood, 34: 467

on *History of Woman Suffrage*,

21: 516

on Jacob Deboise, 36: 6-7

on NAWSA meetings, 39: 847

on new departure, 15: 684

on New York State

constitutional campaign,

32: 745, 776

on NWSA meetings, 20: 312

on Ohio suffrage movement,

26: 850

on political parties, 26: 916

on Prohibition and Democratic

parties, 26: 875

on religious bigotry of women,

36: 237-44

on return from Europe, 23:

349

on sermon of William W. Patton,

24: 38-39

on success, 38: 644

on suffrage movement, 26: 842

on Victoria Woodhull, 18: 510

on *Woman's Bible*, 33: 803-4,

1012-14; 34: 178, 208;

36: 234-36

on Woman's National Liberal

League, 28: 9

on woman suffrage, 20: 641;

33: 945-45A; 35: 607

on Woman Suffrage Press

Association, 34: 288

on women hating women, 36:

658

phrenological interview, 42:

426-28

with John W. Geary, 13: 136

Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, lectures

"Address of Welcome," to

International Council of Women,

26: 403-5, 406-14, 415-75

"Antagonism of Sex," 31:

451-52, 467-72; 41: 999-1003

"Are Homogeneous Divorce Laws

in All the States Desirable?"

42: 575-82

at Dansville Sanitarium, 27:

655-57

at Horace Mann School, New York,

32: 770

at South Place Chapel, London,

23: 263-67

at Unity Chapel, New York City,

17: 398-99

"Before and After the Elections,"

16: 524

"Bible and Woman," 18: 21

"Bible and Woman Suffrage,"

20: 796-803

"Bible on Woman's Rights,"

45: 367-69

"Bible Position of Women,"

12: 712-51

"Bread and the Ballot," 11:

648-49, 651-53, 657

"Christmas on the Mayflower,"

31: 829-35

"Co-Education of the Sexes,"

17: 322-92

"Coming Girl," 16: 552, 610;

17: 425, 1042; 19: 487-88

"Coming Woman," 21: 5

"Degradation of

Disfranchisement," 29: 3, 7,

13-15, 28-54; 41: 1040-45

"Disabilities and Limitations

of Sex," 24: 3-5, 12-13,

73-75

"Educated Suffrage," 33:

643-44, 646-51; 42: 520-21,

530

"Educating the Sexes Together,"

written with SBA, 8: 502-60

"Education," 8: 155-98A

"Emma Willard, the Pioneer . . .,"

31: 565-77

"Ethics of Suffrage," 31: 453,
 463-66, 654

"Fashionable Women," 2: 66-67,

73-74; 13: 670-71, 676-737;

14: 50-54, 92

"Fashionable Women Shipwreck,"

10: 105-29

"Fear," 6: 1000-1028

for 85th birthday celebration,

34: 478-90, 599-600

for AERA meeting, 11: 694-728

for Congress of Representative

Women, World's Columbian

Exposition, 31: 451-53,

463-72, 654; 41: 999-1003

for Congress on Government,

World's Columbian Exposition,

32: 273-85

for meeting on Daniel

McFarland's trial, 2: 373

for National Society for

Women's Suffrage meeting,

23: 187-233

for National Woman's Rights

Convention 1858, 8: 1134-35,

1138-47

for NAWSA convention 1890,

28: 94-142

for New York constitutional

campaign, 32: 730-34

for New York State Anti-Slavery

Society, 10: 157-62

for New York State tour for

equal rights, 11: 694-728,

739-88; 12: 1-78

for NWSA convention 1889,

26: 1050-52, 1077, 1083-84

for Parliament of Religions,

World's Columbian Exposition,

31: 615-53

for tour for impartial

suffrage, Kansas, 12:

375-438, 484-51

"Free Speech," 9: 1028-55,

1085-87, 1092-95

"Friendships of Women," 28:

38

"Future of the Republic,"

10: 599-656

"Girl of the Future," 17:

398-99

"Hereditary Genius," 45:

126-228

"Heredity," 20: 691-92

"Home Life," 18: 489; 20:

272, 449-616

in Byron Center, NY, 26: 843

in Cheyenne, WY, 15: 666

in Council Bluffs, IA, 15:

649

in Davenport, IA, 3: 76

in Fraternity Course, Brooklyn,

11: 1062-65; 12: 1-78

in Keokuk, IA, 14: 165

in Lansing, MI, 15: 434

- in Mount Morris, NY, **15**: 419-20
 in Omaha, NE, **45**: 373
 in Parker Fraternity Course, Boston, **16**: 524
 in Romeo, MI, **3**: 28
 in Salem, OH, **15**: 611
 in Salt Lake City, **3**: 240; **15**: 674, 679
 in Santa Cruz, CA, **15**: 712
 in Star Course, Philadelphia, **15**: 503-5
 in St. Louis, MO, **12**: 583-85
 in St. Paul, MN, **2**: 189; **14**: 113
 in Sunday Lecture Society Course, Chicago, **18**: 763
 in Sunday Lecture Society Course, Milwaukee, **19**: 487-88
 in West Side Course, Chicago, **20**: 685-86
 "Is the Bible Opposed to Woman Suffrage?" **21**: 6-42
 "Kate and Petruchio," **14**: 693
 "Marriage and Divorce," **3**: 283, 285; **14**: 936-1044, 1073, 1100, 1103-4; **15**: 362-63, 710-11
 "Marriage and Maternity," **3**: 240; **15**: 696; **18**: 245
 "Matriarchate, or Mother-Age," **28**: 1013-17, 1036, 1041-42, 1048-50
 "National Protection for National Citizens," **19**: 1017-19, 1029-86; **20**: 38-114
 "New Republic," **15**: 685-89
 on Bible and education (fragment), **45**: 261-67
 on free love, **15**: 862-81
 on Liberal Leagues, **19**: 752-74
 on McFarland trial, **2**: 383; **14**: 819
 on reconstruction, **12**: 663-83
 on relations between capital and labor, **13**: 147-58
 on science of life (fragment), **45**: 247-60
 on taxation of church property, **19**: 775-82
 on woman's dress, **18**: 511
 on woman's rights, **6**: 782-815
 on Woman's Temperance Crusade, **45**: 374-75
 on woman suffrage, **12**: 752-84; **14**: 687
 "Opening Address," for NWSA 1879, **20**: 644-51, 657-75
 "Open the Door," **2**: 301; **14**: 164, 689
 "Our Boys," **18**: 314-16; **19**: 690; **45**: 75-125
 "Our Defeats and Our Triumphs," **38**: 200, 213-18
 "Our Foremothers," **30**: 653-91
 "Our Girls," **18**: 305; **20**: 428, 682, 685-86, 735, 747, 749; **21**: 96, 110-11
 "Our Young Girls," **7**: 562-63; **14**: 122-24, 154-56, 162-63, 522-23, 675, 1062; **15**: 84-85, 708; **45**: 1-74
 "Perils of Immigration," **33**: 688-89, 700-704
 "Pleasures of Age," **24**: 663-71; **41**: 934-38
 "Presidents and Parties" **16**: 407-67, 488-89, 496
 "Questions of the Hour," **19**: 494
 "Reconstruction," **11**: 739-88, 1062-65; **12**: 1-78, 122-23
 "Rich and Poor," **17**: 1
 "Rights of Children," **20**: 263
 "Self-Government," **18**: 407-45
 "Significance and History of the Ballot," **38**: 204, 243-69; **41**: 972-75
 "Solitude of Self," **29**: 1006-9, 1017-24; **41**: 906-9
 "Subjection of Woman," **17**: 462-87
 "Suffrage a Natural Right," **32**: 273-85
 "Taxation," **19**: 717-51
 "Ten Virgins," **21**: 110-11
 to Church of Peterboro, **6**: 1000-1028
 to colored citizens, Macon, MO, **12**: 372
 to Free Religious Association, Providence, **21**: 986-88, 1012-45
 to Manhattan Liberal Club, New York, **30**: 122-23
 to Merchants' Exchange, St. Louis, **20**: 794-95
 to New York Medical College for Women commencement, **15**: 496-98
 to Nineteenth Century Club, New York, **23**: 737-38
 to Seidl Society, Brooklyn, **27**: 330
 to Seneca Falls Conversational, **7**: 562-63
 to Universal Franchise Association of DC, **14**: 936
 tour for impartial suffrage, Kansas, **12**: 374-441, 568-69
 tour for woman suffrage, 1869, **13**: 402-3, 408, 417-19
 tour with George F. Train, **12**: 590-600, 605-10, 615-33, 637-41, 645-50
 to Vassar College students, **45**: 229
 to Wide-Awake Club, Seneca Falls, **9**: 826-42
 to working women, Boston, **14**: 595
 to Young Men's Woman's Suffrage League, New York, **18**: 139-203
 "True Republic," **3**: 116; **14**: 1158; **15**: 1-83, 446-47, 450-51, 503-5, 593-96, 602, 672-673A
 "What Can Women Do For the War?" **10**: 669-97
 "What Woman Suffrage Means," **28**: 461
 "Woman," **8**: 208-34
 "Woman in the Bible," **12**: 684-711
 "Woman's Duty to Vote," **26**: 969-74
 "Woman's Municipal Government," **37**: 199-200
 "Woman's Position in the Christian Church," **23**: 263-67
 "Woman's Position in the Church," **24**: 76
 "Woman Suffrage," **18**: 21, 26-27
 "Woman Suffrage and Free Love," **15**: 698-700
 "Woman's Whiskey War," **17**: 1010, 1043-44
 "Women in Washington," **18**: 763
 "Worship of God in Man," **31**: 615-53
 for Grant campaign
 in Hartford, **16**: 525
 to Central Hartranft Club, Philadelphia, **16**: 488-89
 to Republicans, Scranton, **16**: 496
 to Women's Republican meeting, Rochester, **16**: 407-67
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, legal papers
 claim against New York State, **10**: 902-3
 estate of Daniel Cady, **9**: 410-11; **11**: 157-58; **18**: 376-77; **19**: 467-68
 estate of Margaret Livingston Cady, **16**: 336-37
 partnership agreement, *HWS*, **18**: 1081-84
 power of attorney, **22**: 434-35
 real estate, **6**: 665-67; **8**: 424-46, 430-31; **9**: 919-21, 963-64, 968-73; **10**: 153-54, 203-10, 700-701, 760; **11**: 182-83, 260-62, 408A-15; **12**: 79-84, 876-83, 975; **13**: 399-400; **14**: 921-22; **17**: 2-4; **18**: 502; **25**: 482-87
 witness to contract, **7**:

- 1037-38
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, legislative testimony
 Delaware General Assembly, Joint Session, **21**: 800-801
 New York State Assembly, Committee on Grievances, **24**: 121-36
 New York State Constitutional Convention 1867, Suffrage Committee, **12**: 260-64
 New York State Senate and Assembly, Judiciary Committees, **9**: 546-48, 612-62; **11**: 892-1046
 New York State Senate, Judiciary Committee, **9**: 1101-9
 U.S. House and Senate Committees on the District of Columbia, **2**: 239-41; **14**: 556-62
 U.S. House Committee on the Judiciary, **28**: 17-25; **29**: 993, 1016-27; **35**: 474-75, 522; **40**: 950-55, 1001-42; **41**: 906-9
 U.S. Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections, **19**: 1028-86; **20**: 1-232
 U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, **15**: 1027-28, 1033, 1039-42, 1048-58
 U.S. Senate Select Committee on Woman Suffrage, **22**: 292-95; **26**: 577-632; **28**: 3-8; **38**: 204, 243-69; **41**: 972-75
 U.S. Senate Select Committee on Woman Suffrage and House Committee on the Judiciary, **23**: 681-84; **42**: 163-67
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, manuscript writings, **42**: 155, 402-3, 943; **45**: 342
 anecdote about a drunkard's widow, **45**: 307-10
 anecdote about statue of Minerva, **45**: 230-46
 biographical sketch of herself, **24**: 171-72
 "Clerical Assumption," **24**: 1034-46
 "Family, the State, and the Church," **24**: 791-822
 "Hereditary Genius," **45**: 126-228
 "Imprisoned Angel," **42**: 206-7
 "Interpolation?" **28**: 240-41
 "My Creed," **45**: 278-87
 on divorce, **45**: 326-27
 on divorce laws, **45**: 317-25
 on religious bigotry of women, **36**: 237-44
 on Robert L. Stanton, **45**: 335
 on universal suffrage, **11**: 804-66
 on *Woman's Bible*, **36**: 234-36
 on women owning their bodies, **45**: 301-6
 "Open Letter to the Pan Presbyterian Council . . .," **21**: 413-21
 outline on woman and religion, **45**: 311-16
 proposal for a People's party, **16**: 81-85
 "Why has woman been degraded under all forms of religion?" **45**: 288-300
 "Woman's Bible," **35**: 673-75
 "Would I vote if the right of suffrage were secured to me?" **27**: 669-73
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, memorials, petitions, appeals
 appeal to delegates, New York State Constitutional Convention 1894, as signer, **32**: 788-89
 appeal to New York City Board of Health, **38**: 368-69
 appeal to New York State Senate, Select Committee, **7**: 1015-24
 appeal to petition for woman suffrage in Territory of Hawaii, **39**: 468-69
 appeal to petition New York State Constitutional Convention 1867, **12**: 227
 petitions transmitted to New York State Constitutional Convention 1867, **12**: 266-81
 petition to New York State Constitutional Convention 1867, **12**: 319
 petition to New York State Constitutional Convention 1894, **32**: 872
 petition to New York State Senate, **7**: 41-42
 "To the Women of the Republic," **10**: 390-94
 for AERA
 appeal, ". . . to the People of the United States," **12**: 225
 memorial to Congress, **11**: 692-93, 873-74
 petition to New York State Senate, **11**: 871-72, 882
 for National Woman's Rights Committee
 appeal to sign petitions to Congress, **11**: 243
 petitions to U.S. Congress, **11**: 296
 petitions to U.S. House, **11**: 326-29
 petitions to U.S. Senate, **11**: 309, 885-87
 for National Woman Suffrage and Educational Committee
 "Declaration and Pledge of the Women of the United States," **15**: 371-73
 for New York State Woman's Rights Committee
 "Appeal to the Women of New York," **9**: 941-44
 "To the Women of the Empire State," **9**: 340-41, 661-62
 for New York State Woman's Rights Conventions
 "Address to the Legislature of New-York," **7**: 971-92
 text of petition to New York State Legislature, **8**: 252-53
 "To the Women of the State of New-York," **8**: 100
 for NWSA
 addresses to Republican Party, National Conventions, **21**: 251, 257-58, 267-69
 "Address . . . to the National Democratic Convention," **18**: 830-40
 address to U.S. Senate Committee on District of Columbia, **1**: 462; **13**: 300-307
 "Appeal for a Sixteenth Amendment," **18**: 1070-72
 appeal, "Stand By the Republican Party," **23**: 816-18
 appeal, "To Our Friends," **13**: 748-50
 appeal to suffragists for data on members of Congress, **22**: 117-18
 appeal to women to celebrate the Fourth of July, **21**: 433, 726
 memorial to Rutherford B. Hayes, **20**: 678-81
 "Memorial to the Congress of the United States," **18**: 278, 306-12, 313
 memorial to U.S. House and Senate for declaratory act on woman's right to vote, **16**: 962-64, 991
 memorial to U.S. House and Senate for sixteenth amendment, **20**: 687-90
 memorial to U.S. House and Senate to secure right to vote in District of Columbia, **18**: 721-27, 758-59
 memorial to U.S. House seeking to speak, **16**:

- 24-26
 "New Appeal . . . to Roll Up Mammoth Petitions to the New Congress," 19: 490-93
 petitions to U.S. House and Senate for declaratory act on woman's right to vote, 15: 841-44, 1077
 petitions to U.S. Senate, 22: 291
 petition to U.S. House and Senate for protection of women, 17: 911-17
 signer to petition to U.S. Congress, 17: 943
 for Waterloo, NY Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends
 Address to the Women of the State of New York, 6: 1056-65
 for WLNL
 appeal for petitions, 10: 711, 724
 appeal, "One Million Petitioners!" 10: 741
 appeal, "To the Women of the Nation," 10: 699
 appeal, "Woman's One Political Right . . .," 10: 590
 for Woman's Suffrage Association of America
 "Address," 1: 361; 13: 119
 for Women's New York State Temperance Society
 "Temperance--Rights of Women. An Appeal . . .," 7: 308
 read to mass temperance meeting at Albany, NY
 "Women's Appeal for the Maine Law," 7: 513-14
 to New York State Legislature
 address from New York State Woman's Rights Convention, 7: 971-92
 "Women's Appeal for the Maine Law," 7: 513-14
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, miscellaneous forms and ephemera, 7: 483; 21: 68; 24: 36; 27: 81-82; 39: 7-10; 40: 821
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, notes
 copy of verse by Mary Mapes Dodge, 45: 340
 list of friends to receive ECS birthday issue of *New Era*, 24: 605-8
 on Charles Kingsley, 45: 341
 on correspondence of Paulina K. W. Davis, 19: 1-8
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, notices
 of marriage of Theodore W. Stanton and Marguerite M. Berry, 21: 976
 resumption of NWSA meetings, 3: 148
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, published articles, 2: 132
 "14th Plank in the Republican Platform," 16: 376
 "About the Woman's Bible," 34: 165
 "Abuses of Christmas," 31: 825
 "Adah Isaacs Menken," 1: 309-10
 "Address . . .," 40: 925
 "Address to the Judiciary Committee . . .," 41: 972-75
 "Advice to the Strong-Minded," 1: 157
 "American Equal Rights Association," 1: 582
 "American Marriage and Divorce," 41: 191-93
 "Anna E. Dickinson," 1: 590
 "Another Step towards Freedom," 28: 412
 "Answer to Bishop Stevens," 42: 835
 "Antagonism of Sex," 41: 999-1003
 "Appeal to My Suffrage Coadjutors," 42: 751
 Appeal to the governors of the thirteen colonial states, 24: 1127
 "Appeal to the Women of New York," 31: 862-63; 32: 175-76
 Appeal to the women of Ohio, 26: 851-54
 "Appeal to Women," 42: 873
 "Appeal to Women's Clubs," 41: 1036-37
 "Appeal to Young Women," 32: 196-209
 "Are Homogeneous Divorce Laws in All the States Desirable?" 38: 1011-12; 41: 186-90
 as compiler, "Present Status of the Woman Suffrage Movement," 24: 56-59
 "As To Woman In The Bible," 42: 786
 "Ballot," 1: 92
 "Battling for the Ballot," 33: 63-76
 "Beacon Lights of History," 24: 251
 "Be Content in the Sphere Where God Has Placed You," 38: 738, 751-52; 39: 650
 "Begin at the Beginning," 27: 161
 "Benevolent Boy," 6: 1033
 "Best Qualities of Woman," 34: 577
 "Bible and Church Degrade Woman," 36: 211-33; 39: 651-74
 "Bible and Woman," 42: 627
 "Bible Marriage," 1: 100
 "Bicycle Era," 34: 326-30, 332
 "Bishops and Women!" 42: 659
 Bloomer costume, 40: 163, 197-203
 "Bloomerism," 7: 94
 "Bloomerism in the Mills," 7: 95
 "Boston Woman's Suffrage Convention," 1: 357
 "Bread and Babies," 1: 373
 "Build a New House," 11: 558
 "California Trees," 3: 256
 "Capital and Labor," 1: 132
 " 'Catholic World' on Woman's Suffrage," 1: 550
 "Cause of Their Indifference," 39: 545
 "Cecil Rhodes's Will a Model for Millionaires," 42: 644
 "Chicago Convention," 1: 145
 "Chicago Platform Under the Ink," 1: 164
 "Chief Obstacle in the Way of Woman Suffrage," 26: 929-30
 "Chinaman on Lacing," 41: 557
 "Christian Church and Woman," 23: 990-93, 1031-40; 24: 824-30; 36: 112-17
 "Christmas Holidays, 1823-1893," 31: 819
 "Christmas on the 'Mayflower,' " 41: 634-35
 "Church Action," 21: 886
 "Class of Men, Who, Like Minerva . . .," 42: 660, 695
 "Clergy and the Woman's Cause," 24: 157
 "Clergy and Women," 1: 558
 "Co-Education Will Not Repel . . .," 39: 679
 "Col. William J. Nagle," 1: 188
 "Commencement of the Medical College for Women," 1: 518
 "Compulsory Education for the Masses," 42: 623
 "Conditions Which Led to First Suffrage Convention," 38: 306-12
 "Constitutional Amendments," 11: 392
 "Constitutional Convention," 12: 253, 315-16
 "Convention," 1: 590; 6: 1066
 "Cultivate Self-Respect," 42: 322
 "Dame Crump's Pig and the Peace Democrats," 1: 176
 "Dampier to Bathing," 7: 59
 "Daniel O'Connell and Lucretia

Stanton, Elizabeth Cady (cont'd.)

- Mott," 1: 313
 "Decoration Day," 32: 797
 "Defence of Women's Modesty," 42: 699
 "Degradation of Disfranchisement," 41: 1040-45
 "Degradation of Woman," 1: 12-13
 "Degraded Status of Woman in the Bible," 36: 1-4
 "Devil," 7: 96
 "Devil Again," 7: 104
 "Dignity of the Ballot," 1: 357
 "Disabilities and Limitations of Sex," 23: 1143
 "Disfranchisement Is Degradation," 1: 438
 "Disraeli," 1: 112
 "Distillery," 7: 474
 "Divine Rights of Men," 35: 1097
 "Divorce," 6: 1043
 "Divorce Versus Domestic Warfare," 28: 324-33
 "Don't Marry Men with Silly Names," 41: 559
 "Don't Unsex Yourself," 1: 614
 "Dreadful Uncomfortable," 7: 75
 "Dress and Disease," 3: 514
 "Dr. Parkhurst's Appeal to Mothers," 41: 1004
 "Duties of Citizenship," 35: 953
 "Duty of the Church to Woman at This Hour," 41: 1072; 42: 292-93
 "Editorial Correspondence," *Revolution*, 1: 40, 233-34, 241-42, 249-50, 257-58, 265-66, 281-82, 289-90, 297-98, 305-6, 385-86, 442-43, 450, 466, 482-83, 490-91, 498-99, 506-7, 522-23, 618-19; 2: 24-25, 32, 64-65, 144-45, 152-53, 160, 168-69, 176-77, 184-85, 192, 200-201, 215, 224-25, 231, 246, 294, 311, 319, 327, 335, 343, 347-48
 "Educated Suffrage," 40: 151
 "Educated Suffrage Justified," 32: 1110
 "Educated Suffrage Not a Side Issue," 37: 314
 "Educational Test Again," symposium, 29: 441
 "Education Will Do It," 42: 353
 "Effect of Woman Suffrage on Questions of Morals and Religion," 35: 1013-15; 40: 131-32
 "Elevation of Womanhood: The Duty of the Church . . .," 42: 290-91
 "Elizabeth Cady Stanton Says, 'No,'" 45: 273
 "Elizabeth Cady Stanton's Opinion of the War," 38: 640
 "Emancipation of Women," 7: 152
 endorsement of Lillie D. Blake for NAWSA president, 40: 815-16, 896
 entry for *Johnson's Universal Cyclopaedia*, 34: 867-69
 "E Pluribus Unum: The Anniversaries," 1: 148
 "Equilibrium of Sex," 39: 920-21; 41: 556
 "Era of the Bicycle," 34: 331
 "Ethics of Suffrage. . .," 31: 654
 "Excise Report," 6: 1067
 "Expurgated Edition of the Bible," 42: 941
 "Falsus in Uno--Falsus in Omnibus," 41: 1018
 "Family Unit," 23: 879
 "Fashion a Tyrant Everywhere," 7: 164
 "Fashions Against Suffrage," 39: 912
 "Feet and False Ribs," 39: 904
 "Few Gentle Taps at Mr. Greeley," 15: 716
 "Fifteenth Amendment," 1: 574, 590; 2: 28
 "Finance for the People," 1: 374
 "First Step," 42: 323-25
 "Fountain Rises No Higher Than Its Source," 40: 41-42
 "Fourth of July," 1: 575
 "Frank Blair on Woman Suffrage," 1: 309
 "Free Schools," 7: 25
 "Free Trade," 1: 534
 "Friendship of Half a Century," 42: 942
 "From the Pacific," 3: 240
 "Full Names," 21: 585
 "George Francis Train," 1: 558
 "Gerrit Smith on Petitions," 1: 430
 "Give Woman Her Rightful Place," 41: 902
 "Going Over to the Copperheads," 1: 180
 "Golden Wedding," 2: 279
 "Good," 7: 97
 "Great Captains, Napoleon and Grant," 36: 1064
 "Greatest of Bugaboos," 15: 730
 "Greatest Question Ever Before the British Parliament," 29: 60
 "Great Men and Their Wives," 2: 509
 "Great Men's Wives," 27: 120
 "Great Trial," 27: 166
 "Greenbacks or Gold," 18: 451
 "Guardian of the Ballot Box," 38: 612
 "Half-Concealed Resistance," 35: 1049
 "Happy Marriages and Their Causes," 41: 331
 "Harriet Beecher Stowe and Susan B. Anthony," 2: 61
 "Has Christianity Benefited Woman?" 24: 294-304, 395
 "Head of the Family," 2: 37
 "Health of American Women," 22: 790-97
 "Hearth and Home," 1: 414, 518
 "Heavenly Father and Mother," 31: 599
 "Height of Meanness," 7: 16
 "Henry James on Woman," 1: 414
 "Henry Neil and His Mother. Conversations," 6: 990, 999, 1031, 1034-36, 1038, 1075-76, 1079
 "Henry Ward Beecher," 1: 413-14
 "Hereditary Genius," 20: 855, 863
 "Heredity," 42: 278-86
 "Hester Vaughan," 1: 365, 389
 "History of Woman Suffrage from 1848 to 1877," 20: 384, 415, 430, 445-46, 699, 725, 740, 752, 820, 825, 837-39, 871, 894, 908; 21: 2-3, 103, 112, 162-63, 247, 383, 428, 515, 622-23, 727-28, 864-67
 "Home Life a Century Ago," 42: 375-78
 "Home Patriotism," 31: 679, 699, 870-73
 "Hon. Henry Wilson," 1: 377-78
 "Honored Place for the Bible in English Literature," 42: 758
 "Honored Visitor," 40: 173
 "Hon. Samuel F. Carey of Ohio," 1: 213
 "Hons. Julian, Wilson, Pomeroy," 1: 422
 "Hon. Thomas A. Jenckes's Bill," 1: 189
 "Horace Bushnell," 2: 4
 "Horace Greeley," 1: 341
 "Household of Women," 41: 552
 "Housekeeping," 6: 1088
 "How a Graduated Land Tax Would

- Stanton, Elizabeth Cady** (cont'd.)
 "Settle Oregon?" 42: 150
 "How Man Legislates for Woman at Albany," 1: 84
 "How Shall We Solve the Divorce Problem?" 42: 787, 861
 "How to Make an Ideal Sunday . . .," 42: 400-401
 "How to Make Woman Independent," 8: 288-89
 "Hurrah for Wyoming!" 28: 302
 "Hysterical Gentlemen," 42: 599-600
 "Ideal Marriage of the Future," 42: 713
 "If Women Came to Congress . . .," 34: 474-75
 "I Have All the Rights I Want," 1: 518; 8: 206; 9: 501-4; 13: 472-74
 "Immigration and Suffrage," 31: 373
 "Importance of Pure Air," 41: 1021
 "Important Work to Get Ready for the World's Fair," 31: 398
 "Impunity in Crime," 1: 599
 "Inalienable Right of School Girls," 41: 592
 "Indifference of Women Themselves," 41: 526
 "Insignia of Fashionable Woe," 40: 269, 335; 41: 260
 "Is Marriage a Success? A Symposium," 27: 142, 179-80
 "... Is There an Antagonism Between Woman and the Colored Man?" 1: 502
 "Is the Woman's Bible a Success? A Short Symposium," 35: 676
 "Is Woman as Responsible Criminally as Man? A Symposium," 42: 595
 "Is Woman Inferior to Man?" symposium, 40: 235-36
 "It Is of No Use," 42: 326-27
 "It Is So Unlady-Like," 9: 387, 505-8
 "Jails and Jubilees," 25: 447-48
 "James, the Barber," 7: 305
 "John Stuart Mill," 2: 60
 "Joint Resolutions before Congress Effecting Women," 11: 264
 "Kansas," 1: 0
 "Karl Pearson on the Matriarchate," 28: 717
 "Laboring Man a Slave," 1: 160
 "Labor Reform," 45: 274-77
 "Last Republican Lamp Has Gone Out," 1: 156
 "Lecturer's Trials," 23: 1005-6
 "Legacy of Injustice and Hatred," 42: 657
 "Legal Voters," 11: 393
 "Legislative Doings," 6: 1054
 "Letters to Mothers," 7: 114, 140-41, 165-66, 214
 "Let the Blue Laws Rest," 27: 137
 "Liberals in Religion Afraid of Us," 23: 853
 "Like Oliver Twist, American Students are Asking for 'More,' " 42: 628-40
 "Lily Spencer: Truth Unveiling Falsehood," 1: 544
 "Look Up Higher," 1: 293
 "Lord Chancellor," 29: 95, 174-79
 "Lyceum Experiences," 23: 865; 24: 355-59
 "Make Pockets Unto Yourselves, . . .," 41: 624
 "Manhood Suffrage," 1: 405
 "Man Marriage," 1: 526-27; 15: 814-14A
 "Man Superior-- Intellectually-- Morally-- Physically," 6: 1037, 1039, 1044
 "Man the Usurper," 1: 76
 "Marriage and Divorce," 1: 333-34; 23: 889-950; 42: 711
 "Marriage and Divorce: Popular Objections Answered," 27: 107-14
 "Marriage Law," 27: 116
 "Marriages and Mistresses," 1: 325-26
 "Married Woman's Property Bill," 35: 664
 "Married Woman's Property Bill of 1848," 37: 468
 "Military Drill," 34: 193
 "Miss Becker on the Difference in Sex," 1: 301
 "Miss Cleveland's Line," 24: 1047-49
 "Moral of the Byron Case," 13: 790-91
 "Moral Power, or Brute Force?" 39: 556
 "Mr. Forney," 2: 44, 53
 "Mr. Gladstone on the Designs of the Almighty," 28: 469
 "Mrs. Annie Besant. Theosophy. English Schools. American Cake," 28: 847-54
 "Mrs. Dall's Fraternity Lecture," 9: 927
 "Mrs. Miller, Daughter of Gerrit Smith," 7: 98
 "Mrs. Stanton Does Not Care for Either Party," 41: 557
 "Mrs. Stanton Indignant," 30: 140
 "Mrs. Stanton on Need of New Schools," 36: 11
 "Mrs. Stanton on Typographical Errors . . .," 21: 513
 "Mrs. Stanton on Woman's Disabilities," 28: 766
 "Mrs. Stanton to the Women of New York" 14: 896
 "Mrs. Swisshelm," 7: 99
 "Mrs. Tilton," 2: 270
 "My Bouquet," 7: 306
 "My Cousin Sobriny Jane," 7: 17-18
 "National Labor Congress," 1: 309; 2: 60
 "Nation Without a Woman," 40: 724
 "Need of Liberal Divorce Laws," 23: 889-962
 "New Dress," 7: 215
 "New Men," 1: 100
 "New Year," 1: 422
 "New York Constitutional Convention in 1867," 33: 63-76
 "Note from Mrs. Stanton," 20: 813
 "Notes and Comments," 15: 543
 "Nothing New," 18: 386; 42: 17-18
 "Oil Merchant, Versus Christianity," 7: 590
 "Old Age the Happiest Part of a Well-Spent Life," 39: 558
 "Old Year Is Gone," 1: 413
 "One Way to Abolish Unhappy Marriages," 40: 234
 on national divorce law, 40: 227
 on physical education of females, 7: 89
 on presidential election, 21: 426
 on SBA's visit to London, 23: 132
 on spitting, 7: 74
 on temperance, 6: 1053
 on voting attempt, 1880, 21: 570
 on woman's sphere, 7: 15
 Open letter on educated suffrage, 38: 89-92
 Open letter to Herbert Spencer, 45: 387
 Open letter to Thomas B. Reed, 39: 464
 Open letter to William Jennings Bryan, 36: 45
 Open letter to women in Illinois, 13: 412
 "Opponents of Woman Suffrage," 32: 798, 834
 "Orange Marmelade," 1: 145, 165

Stanton, Elizabeth Cady (cont'd.)

- "Other Side of the Woman Question," 20: 904-7
- "Our Boys on Sunday," 24: 1011-18
- "Our Costume," 7: 76, 100
- "Our Defeats and Our Triumphs," 38: 216-18
- "Our History," 20: 698
- "Our Jails and Prisons," 1: 229
- "Our Young Girls," 1: 28, 197
- "Overland Letters," 3: 194-95, 202-3, 212, 219-20, 227-28
- "Pan Presbyterian Council," 21: 512
- "Parable of the Ten Virgins," 19: 705-12; 37: 227, 591-601
- "Parties or Platforms," 26: 848
- "Patriotism and Chastity," 28: 780, 951-55
- "People's Party," 1: 221
- "Peter and Paul in the Toledo Convention," 1: 510
- "Petitions," 1: 574
- "Philosopher on the Stool of Repentance," 1: 21
- "Philosophy of Suffrage," 17: 1057-58
- "Physical Education of Girls," 28: 749
- "Pleasures of Age," 41: 934-38
- "Politics of Reformers," 21: 408
- "Positivists in London," 26: 115-34
- "Power of Tears . . . A Symposium," 42: 641
- "Preface," to Helen H. Gardener, *Pray You, Sir, Whose Daughter?* 30: 729-32
- "President--People," 18: 204
- "President Woolsey," 1: 599
- "Press," 1: 575
- "Prisons and Punishments," 1: 422
- "Prisons Should Reform Rather Than Punish," 39: 609
- "Progress in the Political Rights of Woman," 27: 494
- "Progress Is the Law," 41: 564
- "Progress of the American Woman," 41: 636-39
- "Pronunciamento," 2: 12
- "Question of Marriage--The Importance of Health to Women," 27: 151-52
- "Radical in a Fog," 1: 120
- "Railway Passengers Assurance Company," 1: 317
- "Reading the Bible in Public Schools," 37: 85-90; 38: 624-25
- "Read the Bible for Yourselves," 41: 560
- "Recalled by the Grant Pageant," 36: 1057
- "Religion for Women and Children," 24: 937-38
- "Reminiscences," 27: 159-60, 162-65, 168-70, 181-84, 190-93, 202-4, 208-29, 257-78, 287-308, 331-48, 351-64, 373-99, 407-10, 424-29, 436-41, 467-78, 495-504, 524-27, 539-42, 622-33, 990-1002, 1030-43, 1062; 28: 226-27, 248-53, 303-19, 339-53, 435-36, 455-56, 463-65, 489-92, 580-88, 610-18, 646-59, 718-25, 781-92, 818-33, 899-908, 917-26, 933-38, 968-83, 1001-2; 29: 96-109, 121-31, 149-67, 197-99, 205-6, 226-27, 232-33, 245-46, 251-52, 257-58, 261-75, 285-96, 303-20, 324-25, 354-66, 386-403, 412-22, 479-90, 522-29, 548-55, 578-95, 599-618, 627-45, 977-92, 1098-1108; 30: 1-2, 13-17, 46-48, 88-96, 313-15
- "Reminiscences of Elizabeth Cady Stanton," 33: 27-43
- "Republican Queens Abdicate Their Thrones," 24: 223-24
- "Restrictive Sunday Laws," 41: 198
- "Rev. Henry Edgar," 1: 598, 606
- "Rev. Joseph Thompson on Woman's Suffrage," 1: 542
- "Rev. Newman Hall," 1: 438
- "*Revolution*," 1: 470
- "Rev. Sydney Smith vs. Rev. Antoinette L. Brown," 8: 244
- "Rhetorical and Grammatical Curiosities," 1: 277-78
- "Rich and Poor," 42: 128-30
- "Robert B. Roosevelt," 1: 582
- "Roll Up the Petitions," 1: 413
- "Rules for Home Education," 7: 877
- "Runaway Wives," 19: 579
- "Ruth Hall," 8: 152-53
- "Salus Populi Suprema Lex," 6: 1068
- "Scene at the Polls," 1: 365
- "Secret of Keeping Young," 42: 238
- "Self-Government the Best Form for Self-Development," 42: 163-67
- "Seneca Pic-Nic," 7: 472
- "Shall the World's Fair Be Closed on Sunday?" 31: 348-67
- "Shall the World's Fair Be Open on Sunday," 30: 22-23
- "Shall Women Ride the Bicycle?" 35: 1066-73
- "Sharp Points," 1: 106
- "Short Discussion on the Modern Marriage Problem," 42: 700
- "Should Married Women Work?" 38: 913
- "Should Not the Rulers of a Republic Read and Write?" 39: 564-65
- "Should Radical Abolitionists Go to Congress?" 11: 594
- "Should Women Vote?" 6: 1077-78
- "Side Issues," 2: 530
- "Significant Sign," 39: 692-93
- "Sixteenth Amendment," 1: 551
- "Slave's Appeal," 9: 936-40
- "Sobriety Jane," 7: 64
- "Solitude of Self," 41: 906-9
- "Solution of the Race Question," 42: 652
- "Something About Babies," 19: 783-86
- "South Dakota," 28: 685, 939
- "Specially Inspired Men," 35: 988
- "Sphere of Man," 1: 470
- "Stand By Your Guns, Mr. Julian," 1: 430
- "Startling Fact," 6: 1045
- "State Rights," 1: 196
- "Story for Wives," 3: 106-7
- "St. Paul on Duties of Wives," 1: 245
- "Strong-Minded Women of the Bible," 1: 60
- "Suffrage a Natural Right," 32: 273-85
- "Suffrage for Woman the Primal Question," 23: 876
- "Sunday at the World's Fair," 30: 18-20
- survey on women and the Bible, 37: 277, 291, 374, 387-88, 469
- "Tammany Platform Under the Ink," 1: 217
- "Targets for Spanish Guns," 38: 626-29
- "Teach Women to Think," 21: 427
- "The Few Will 'Gladly Give' of Their Luxuries," 38: 645
- "Theodore Dreaming, With Flag at Half Mast," 1: 120
- "Theodore Parker," 24: 1071
- "There Is No Sex in Brains," 42: 654
- "'The World' Forsakes Us," 2: 44
- "Thirty Million Disenfranchised

- Stanton, Elizabeth Cady** (cont'd.)
- Citizens," 35: 1085
- "Threat Never Executed," 29: 330-34
- "Time to Rest," 2: 351
- "Too Many People Vote Now," 1: 614
- "To Our Radical Friends," 1: 148
- "To the Electors of the Eighth Congressional District," 11: 595
- "To the Revising Committee of the Woman's Bible," 34: 166
- "Trailing Dress and No Pocket," 39: 922
- "Tribune and the Times," 1: 60
- "Tribune in Hysterics," 1: 590
- "True Remedy for the Social Evil," 41: 602
- "Two Valuable Gifts," 37: 445
- "Unfairness of Laws of Marriage and Divorce," 42: 707
- "Universal Suffrage," 1: 237; 11: 204
- "Unjust Decision against the Tax-paying Women of Indiana," 21: 514
- "Unqualified Suffrage--Its Tendency," 11: 397
- untitled, 2: 164, 295
- "U.S. Senator Hoar Reminded," 32: 1031
- "Voice from the Far West," 15: 701
- "Wall Street," 1: 112-13
- "Wanted--Spiritual Telegraph, It Would Be a Boon to Wife and Mother," 41: 640-41
- "War in Kansas," 41: 947, 976
- "War or Peace. Competition or Co-operation," 38: 568-72, 593
- "Washington," 1: 113
- "Washington Convention," 18: 282
- "Washington Gossip," 1: 52, 68-69, 84
- "Washington Monument," 1: 534
- "Watch Your Rulers," 1: 373
- "What Is a Democrat?" 1: 278
- "What Is the Chief Danger . . . That Confronts the New Century?" symposium, 41: 628
- "What Possible Value Would Suffrage Be to Woman?" 1: 527
- "What Rev. Theodore Cuyler Says," 1: 590
- "What Should Be Our Attitude Toward Political Parties," 28: 282-99
- "What's in a Name?" 41: 555, 557, 561
- "What Women Say of the Bible," 37: 291
- "What Would You Substitute for the Bible as a Moral Guide?" a symposium, 38: 651
- "When Women Vote. . .," a symposium, 32: 270-71
- "Where Is Mr. Greeley?" 1: 590
- "Where Must Lasting Progress Begin?" 29: 374-76
- "Where Must True Social Progress Begin?" 42: 328-29
- "Whom Shall We Trust?" 19: 425
- "Who Shall Fill Our Places," 2: 375
- "Who Were There?" 2: 68
- "Why Must Women Vote," 6: 1055
- "Wife," 7: 153
- "Wife-Beaters," 40: 36
- "William Lloyd Garrison," 1: 24-25
- "Will Tammany Hall Accept the Situation?" 1: 172
- "Woman," 6: 1032
- "Woman and the Bible," 30: 121
- "Woman on Divorce," 27: 107-14
- "Woman's Bible," 24: 1086; 25: 49; 33: 838, 862-67, 897-902, 917-24, 937-42, 954-59, 991-97, 1005-11; 34: 31-34, 94-101, 127-35, 141-46, 167-73, 180-85, 194-202, 234, 242-50, 297-301, 315-22, 335, 348, 376, 409, 466; 35: 875, 904, 1098; 36: 47-48, 163, 189, 682, 694, 846, 859, 878, 886, 906, 934, 947, 970, 989, 1003-4, 1016, 1045-46, 1056, 1065-66, 1075, 1095-96; 37: 35, 54-56, 58-59, 91-92, 107-8, 118-20, 145-49, 156-57, 167-68, 228-29, 236, 292, 355
- Woman's Bible*, about, 34: 847-50; 36: 150-51; 37: 277, 291, 374, 387-88, 469
- "Woman's Bible--Revised by Woman," 33: 965-70
- "Woman's Campaign in New York," 16: 522
- "Woman's Dress," 2: 20
- "Woman's Education," 1: 599
- "Woman's First Duty," 38: 88
- "Woman's Medical College," 1: 527
- "Woman's Own Effort to Secure the Ballot," 35: 981-82
- "Woman's Position," 34: 566
- "Woman's Position in the Bible," 38: 768; 42: 696, 709-10
- "Woman's Position in the Christian Church," 23: 263-67
- "Woman's Protectors," 1: 438
- "Woman's Reason," 40: 289
- "Woman's Rights," 6: 764-65
- "Woman's Rights Movement and Its Champions . . .," 13: 193-235
- "Woman's Suffrage Association," 40: 21
- "Woman's Suffrage Convention," 1: 574
- "Woman Suffrage and the Church," 24: 961
- "Woman Suffrage Battle Nearly Won," 42: 870
- "Woman Suffrage in Michigan," 18: 79
- "Woman Suffrage Organizations," 15: 828-29
- "Woman's Unused Influence," 42: 572
- "Woman's Victories," 27: 138
- "Woman's Work in the Future," 42: 706
- "Women and Black Men," 1: 462
- "Women and Children," 23: 780
- "Women and the State," 2: 52
- "Women Appeal to the President," 42: 811-20
- "Women Do Not Wish to Vote," 32: 592-600
- "Women Ignored in Progress," 41: 194-95
- "Women of Hawaii: Woman Suffrage in Our New Possessions," 39: 500
- "Women of the Bible: Deborah and Jael," 1: 573
- "Women of the Bible: Esther," 2: 97
- "Women of the Bible: Huldah and Hagar," 2: 86
- "Women of the Bible: Vashti," 2: 18
- "Women of Wealth," 18: 303-4
- "Women Question," 12: 542-51
- "Women Should Read the Bible for Themselves," 41: 545
- "Women's Rights," 34: 867-69
- "Women Their Own Emancipators," 32: 1032
- "Word About Dust," 40: 91
- "Word About George Sand," 2: 504
- "Words from the Pacific," 3: 272
- "Workingmen's Condition," 1: 213
- "Working Women's Association," 1: 349
- "World," 1: 582
- "Worship of God in Man?" 42: 160

- "Worst Enemy of Woman Is Woman," 25: 604-5
 "Wyoming," 28: 354
 "Wyoming Admitted as a State into the Union," 28: 627-31
 "Wyoming a State," 28: 466
 "Wyoming Once More," 28: 382
 "Wyoming. The First Free State for Woman. July 4, 1890," 28: 867-70
 "Wyoming! The First Free State for Women," 28: 457-60
 "Yesterday and To-Day," 27: 422
 "Yo-Semite," 3: 264
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, receptions
 at Chicago, 3: 197; 26: 884-85
 at National Woman Suffrage Parlor, 18: 822, 829
 for 85th birthday, 34: 487, 490, 520-21
 of Cook County WSA, 15: 634-35
 of District of Columbia WSA, 29: 997, 1053-55
 of Political Equality Club of Rochester, 29: 444-48
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, remarks
 about "My Grace," 24: 823
 at lecture by Editha G. Montez, 14: 842
 at lecture by Margaret L. S. Lawrence, 34: 91
 on female strength, 15: 882
 on waiting for rights, 16: 611
 to Bird Club, Boston, 14: 580
 tour for woman suffrage, 1869, 13: 398
 to Wide-Awake Club, Seneca Falls, 9: 855
 tour for impartial suffrage, Kansas
 at polls, 12: 573
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, statements
 about the *Woman's Bible*, 25: 64
 "Do Women Still Favor War?" 38: 698
 message to young women, 21: 118
 of Thanksgiving sentiments, 24: 727
 on Brigham H. Roberts, 40: 244, 797-800
 on divorce, 27: 103
 on fire, safety, and gender, 34: 22
 on moral power and brute force, 39: 620
 on music, 34: 872
 on New York State constitutional campaign, 32: 799-802
 on N.Y. horse show, 34: 525
 on public schools, 33: 24
 on punishment of wife beaters, 41: 255
 on sexual differences, 32: 775
 on street car conditions, 42: 658
 on street safety for women, 34: 174-75
 on the new woman, 41: 404
 on trial of Marie Barberi, 34: 241
 on vivisection, 34: 573-74
 on voting in Europe, 39: 621
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, unidentified writings, 32: 963; 33: 659; 45: 268-72
 about freedom in human relationships, 3: 337
 about Kansas People's Party, 32: 993
 about legislatures and woman suffrage, 24: 968
 "About Marrying Too Young," (extract), 2: 543
 about men in ill health, 3: 555
 anecdote about orphan boy raised by suffragists, 3: 560
 on co-education, 14: 121
 on Eve, 20: 381
 on ideal number of children, 16: 612
 on intemperance, 35: 621
 on New York street sanitation, 33: 657
 on sleep, 21: 733
 on woman suffrage, 27: 674-75
 "Prison Life," 18: 1109-42
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, verse and toasts
 "Always Together," verse for Gerrit and Ann C. F. Smith, 45: 328-30
 "At Parting," 10: 36
 "How art thou fallen O! Nancy!" verse for Ann C. F. Smith, 45: 331-33
 "Katydid," verse, 31: 388-90, 661-62; 32: 763
 "Merry Christmas & New Year," verse for Nora S. Blatch, 40: 337-39
 "Merry Christmas," verse for Nora S. Blatch, 42: 393-97
 "Susan's Wedding," verse for SBA, 28: 38
 toast for John Cochrane, 10: 373
 toasts for Ellen C. Walter's Christmas dinner, 10: 359-62
 verse for Ann C. F. Smith, 9: 515-16
 verse for Charles D. Miller, 45: 334
 verse for family of Theodore W. Stanton, 41: 610-11
 verse for Gerrit Smith, 9: 555-56
 verse for Henry B. Stanton, 45: 336
 verse for Margaret L. S. Lawrence, 30: 497-99; 37: 310-12
 verse for Nora S. Blatch, 40: 106-9
 verse for SBA, 28: 38; 40: 945-48; 41: 10-12
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, voting attempt, 1880
 account by Edward P. Furlong, 21: 523-24
 ballot cast, 21: 520-21
 ECS account of, 21: 570
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady (1882-1909)
 letter(s) from ECS, 22: 473-77, 539-42; 29: 260
 other letters
 from Blatch, Nora S., 29: 260
Stanton, Gerrit Smith
 letter(s) from ECS, 9: 931; 20: 806
 letter(s) from SBA, 9: 845-50
 other letters
 to Stanton, Theodore W., 12: 356-58
Stanton, Harriet Brown
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, 34: 691-92; 40: 75-77
Stanton, Harriet Eaton
 letter(s) from ECS, 11: 801; 18: 1067; 19: 471, 565, 713; 20: 265, 409, 411, 414, 421, 696, 729-34, 738-39, 811; 21: 109, 139, 279, 282-83, 294, 306, 315, 325-26, 344, 355, 372, 380, 566-67, 711, 859, 863, 925-26, 937; 22: 709-10
 letter(s) to SBA, 22: 600
 See also Blatch, Harriet Eaton Stanton
 lecture by
 "Character and Times of Edmund Burke," 21: 96
Stanton, Hélène
 letter(s) to ECS, 42: 271, 822
 other letters
 to Stanton family, 42: 271
Stanton, Henry Brewster
 announcement of marriage of Theodore W. Stanton and Marguerite M. Berry, 21: 976
 circular for law practice, 6: 511
 letter(s) from ECS, 6: 974-78;

- 7: 24, 32, 53, 55-57, 68, 105; 9: 1147; 12: 559
 letter(s) to ECS, 6: 460-69, 502-5, 511-14, 519-20, 758, 840; 7: 40, 43-47, 60-63, 937-38; 8: 605, 611, 850-58, 1090; 9: 212-13, 856, 1060-63, 1143-46; 10: 73-75, 131, 136-38
 letter(s) to Elizabeth Cady, 6: 368-73
 letter(s) to SBA, 10: 376
 power of attorney, 22: 434-35
 verse from ECS, 45: 336
 other letters
 from Bigelow, L., 6: 974-77
 from Opie, Amelia A., 6: 402-4
 from Smith, Gerrit, 7: 20-23
 to Miller, Elizabeth S., 6: 908-13
 to Smith, Gerrit, 6: 386-89, 908-13
 to Stanton children, 10: 136-38
 to Stanton, Daniel C., 7: 112-13
 to Stanton, Henry B., Jr., 7: 112-13
 to Weld, Theodore D., 6: 1084-87
- Stanton, Henry Brewster, Jr.
 letter(s) from ECS, 7: 112-13, 135-39, 144, 187, 216; 9: 931; 21: 345
 letter(s) from SBA, 9: 845-50
 power of attorney, 22: 434-35
 other letters
 from Stanton, Henry B., 7: 112-13
- Stanton, Margaret Livingston
 inscription(s) from ECS, 20: 386
 letter(s) from ECS, 11: 801; 16: 564-67; 18: 735; 19: 495-502, 598
See also Lawrence, Margaret Livingston Stanton
- Stanton, Marguerite Marie Berry
 letter(s) from ECS, 22: 96, 104; 24: 166-68, 695
 letter(s) from SBA, 39: 872
 letter(s) to SBA, 23: 43, 53
See also Berry, Marguerite Marie
- Stanton, Robert Brewster
 letter(s) from ECS, 32: 846-49
- Stanton, Robert Livingston (1859-1920)
 ECS writing on, 45: 335
 letter(s) from ECS, 18: 736; 25: 529-34; 34: 295-96
 letter(s) from SBA, 44: 196-98
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, 34: 631-32
 letter(s) to SBA, 24: 564-66
 power of attorney, 22: 434-35
- Stanton, Robert Livingston (1885-1974)
 letter(s) from ECS, 29: 298; 36: 105
- Stanton, Theodore Weld
 announcement of marriage, 21: 976
 inscription(s) from ECS, 23: 291-92
 letter(s) for ECS, 22: 62-63
 letter(s) from ECS, 15: 417; 17: 460-61; 18: 214, 1000; 20: 253, 359, 676-77, 724, 748, 751, 804-5, 903; 21: 137, 181, 295, 316, 346, 407, 519, 529, 536, 568-69, 700, 716, 722, 738, 851, 897, 935-36; 22: 97, 99; 23: 235-36, 243; 24: 855, 864; 25: 156-57; 29: 196, 297, 335, 460; 30: 12, 480; 31: 314; 32: 782, 1045; 33: 532, 928; 34: 286; 35: 611, 899; 36: 858, 1054; 37: 316, 1015; 38: 55, 410, 547, 763, 787, 914; 39: 582, 1067; 40: 58; 41: 303, 599, 912, 992; 42: 333
 letter(s) from SBA, 18: 284-89A; 39: 872; 43: 566
 letter(s) to ECS, 35: 797-98
 letter(s) to SBA, 20: 317; 23: 43, 53-54, 630-31; 26: 376-77, 561-63; 39: 705-7; 42: 862-63, 872; 43: 595-98
 family of
 verse from ECS, 41: 610-11
 other letters
 from Stanton, Gerrit S., 12: 356-58
 to Tyler, Welthea B., 10: 352-55
- Stanton children
 other letters
 from Stanton, Henry B., 10: 136-38
- Stanton family
 other letters
 from Stanton, Hélène, 42: 271
- Staples, Owen George
 letter(s) from SBA, 37: 1045-46
 letter(s) to SBA, 37: 1076-77
- Starrett, Helen Martha Ekin
 article(s) in *Revolution*, 2: 77
 letter to Working Woman's Association, 13: 130
- State Center, IA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 667
- Stead, William Thomas
 letter(s) from ECS, 28: 927-29
 letter(s) to ECS, 28: 362-64, 932
- Steam Corners, IN
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 519-20
- Stearns, Sarah Burger
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 1059-62
 letter(s) from SBA, 28: 185-93
 letter(s) in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, 18: 868-69
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, 20: 318, 790; 21: 64
 letter(s) to SBA, 22: 277-78; 28: 562
- Stebbins, Catharine Ann Fish
 certificate as delegate from NWSA to Republican Convention, 21: 68
 letter(s) from ECS, 35: 969
 letter(s) from SBA, 21: 343
 letter(s) to ECS, 10: 39-40; 18: 931; 19: 435, 508
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, 38: 148; 39: 764
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, 23: 639-40
 letter(s) to SBA, 18: 870; 19: 435, 508
 other letters
 to McClintock, Mary Ann W., 18: 931
 to Mott, Lucretia C., 18: 931
 to Post, Amy K., 18: 931
- Stebbins, Giles Badger
 letter(s) to ECS, 9: 419; 10: 39-40
- Steele, George Washington
 letter(s) to SBA, 41: 94
- Steinbiss, Herman W.
 letter(s) to SBA, 40: 734
- Steinthal, S. Alfred
 letter(s) to SBA, 23: 625
- Stella, Queen
 interview(s) with SBA, 39: 501
- Stephens, Kate
 letter(s) from SBA, 23: 750-54, 784-88, 849-52; 25: 24-27, 181-83, 571-74; 26: 831-32
- Stepniak, Serge Mikhailovich
 letter(s) to ECS, 25: 632-33
- Sterling, John M.
 letter(s) to ECS, 9: 785
- Stetson, Charlotte Anna Perkins

- letter(s) from SBA, **36**:
664-65, 675-76, 679-80, 957
- letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 690-91, 737
- lecture by
SBA introduction to, **36**:
695
- Stetson, Grace Ellery Channing
letter(s) to ECS, **35**: 613-18
- Steubenville, OH
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 217
- Stevens, A. J. W.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
2: 186, 280
- Stevens, Angie E. L.
letter to WLNL meeting, **10**:
463
- Stevens, Emily A. Pitts *See*
Pitts, Emily A.
- Stevens, Frederick Clement
letter(s) to SBA, **40**: 715
- Stevens, Lillian Marion Norton Ames
letter(s) to SBA, **42**: 412
- Stevens, Olive F.
letter(s) from SBA, **45**:
370-71
- Stevenson, Sarah Ann Hackett
letter(s) from SBA, **34**: 846
- Stevensville, PA
ladies of
letter to WLNL meeting,
10: 463
- Stewart, Ella Seass
letter(s) from SBA, **44**: 340,
357-58
- Stewart, Elsie
letters in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 868, 870
letter(s) to SBA, **20**: 318
- Stewart, Jane E.
letter(s) to ECS, **6**: 459
See also Marsh, Jane E.
- Stewart, William Morris
letter(s) from SBA, **41**: 63,
225
letter(s) to SBA, **30**: 79
- Stewartson, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 401
- Stiles, Mrs. T. C.
letter(s) to ECS, **2**: 496
- Stillman, Mrs. J. H.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 34
- Stockham, Alice Bunker
letter(s) from ECS, **24**: 1061
- Stockton, CA
Republican Party rally
SBA attends, **35**: 1083-84
- Stone, Henry N.
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 415, 448, 505
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 428, 461, 464; **2**: 163,
226
- Stone, Lucinda Hinsdale
letter(s) from ECS, **37**:
531-34
letter(s) from SBA, **37**:
537-38
letter(s) to SBA, **38**: 149-50
- Stone, Lucy
lecture by, **1**: 1
letter(s) from ECS, **7**: 993-96;
8: 418-21; **16**: 154-55,
200-201, 245-47, 354, 366-67,
523; **17**: 395-97, 453-56;
18: 946, 957-60, 1006;
20: 360-63, 412-13; **26**:
787; **28**: 944-47
letter(s) from SBA, **7**: 452-56,
471, 516-20, 687-97, 710-13,
776-80, 784-89, 858-62, 952-53,
960-61, 993-95, 1028-33,
1039-46; **8**: 254, 384,
599-604, 612-15, 788-91,
812-13, 844-45, 929-31, 942-49,
961-64, 992-96, 1099-1102;
9: 1-5, 50-55, 162, 222,
377-80, 715-18; **16**: 333-35,
357-62; **18**: 946; **20**: 367,
371-74; **25**: 806-7; **29**:
369-72; **45**: 347-57
letter(s) to ECS, **7**: 811-15;
8: 584-85, 609-10; **9**: 538,
560-61; **12**: 112, 117, 124;
13: 863-65; **16**: 324-27,
395; **18**: 955-56, 1007-8
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
28: 65, 79; **31**: 248, 293
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 319
letter(s) to SBA, **7**: 475-78,
578-80, 589, 771-75, 781-82,
823-24, 842, 939-42, 950-51,
954-55, 962-64, 1025-27; **8**:
105-6, 241-42, 298-309, 314-22,
350-54, 398-402, 462-64,
467-68, 484-89, 562-63, 567-73,
579-83, 587-88, 593-94, 597-98,
607-8, 842-43, 846-49, 922-27,
935-38, 953-60, 965-66,
1022-24, 1104-5; **9**: 57-58,
217-20, 235-38, 388-89; **10**:
862-68; **12**: 147-53, 189-90;
20: 366; **23**: 710, 1125-26;
24: 1-2; **26**: 747, 758,
984-85; **28**: 39, 172, 793-93A,
948-49; **29**: 404-7
letter to AERA meeting, **12**:
184, 198, 202
real estate transaction, SBA,
24: 247-50
co-author, for National Woman's
Rights Committee
appeal to sign petitions to
Congress, **11**: 243
co-signer
AERA, petition to New York
State Senate, **11**:
871-72, 882
NAWSA, appeal to celebrate
the Fourth of July,
28: 411
other letters
from Brown, Antoinette L.,
7: 516-20
from Garrison, William L.,
1: 580-81
from Johnson, Samuel, **1**:
580
from Phillips, Wendell,
9: 136-37
from Weiss, John, **1**: 580
from White, Armenia S. A.,
1: 599
to Nichols, Clarina I. H.,
24: 310-11
- Storm Lake, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 668
- Storrs, William C.
trial of SBA, **16**: 542-43,
555-57, 585-86, 602
- Stout, Marion Ira
meeting to commute death
sentence of
announcement of, SBA, **9**:
113
SBA attends, **9**: 115-18
- Stowe, Emily Howard Jennings
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
23: 634
- Stowe, Harriet Beecher
letter(s) from SBA, **14**:
157-60
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
13: 671
letter(s) to SBA, **14**: 125-26
letter to woman's rights
anniversary meeting, **14**:
1021
- Stowe-Gullen, Ann Augusta
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
29: 1014; **38**: 150; **42**:
459
- Streator, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 402
- Strickland, Edward F., Jr.
letter(s) from ECS, **20**:
261-62; **24**: 1025-27
letter(s) from SBA, **18**:
751-54, 923-28; **19**: 483-86
letter(s) to SBA, **18**: 868
- Strickland, Fannie E.
letter(s) from SBA, **25**:
575-78
- Strickland, Sarah E.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
2: 57-58
- Stritt, Marie Bacon
letter(s) to SBA, **43**: 743;
44: 228
- Strong, Irene

- letter(s) to SBA, **31**: 474-77
- Strong, Janet
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 319
- Strong, Oliver Smith
letter(s) from ECS, **17**: 25
letter(s) to ECS, **17**: 25-26
- Stuart, Abbie H. H.
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 868
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 318
- Stuart, J. W.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 428
- Stuart, Mary A.
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 64
- Studwell, Edwin A.
letter(s) from ECS, **12**:
611-14; **14**: 1045, 1052-53
letter(s) from SBA, **11**:
566-73; **13**: 268-70; **14**:
910-13
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 551
letter(s) to SBA, **2**: 233
other letters
to Patton, Ludlow, **11**:
574
- Sturge, Sophia
letter(s) to ECS, **6**: 407-8
- Sturgeon, Isaac Hughes
letter(s) from SBA, **12**:
235-36
- Sturgeon, Nannie C. Allen
letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 580
- Sturgis, MI
SBA lectures, **14**: 688; **21**:
1
- Sturgis, Mira P.
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
21: 65
- Sublette, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 403
- Sublimity, OR
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 322-23
- Suffolk County, MA
real estate transactions, SBA,
24: 247-50
- Sugar Grove, PA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 444
- Sugar Hill, NH
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1237-38
- Sullivan, Isaac Newton
letter(s) from SBA, **36**: 847
- Sulloy, Cyrus Adams
letter(s) to SBA, **40**: 716
- Sulphur Springs, MO
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1166
- Sulzer, William
letter(s) from SBA, **30**:
100-103; **40**: 755
letter(s) to SBA, **40**: 804
- Summers, Adele
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 343, 420; **2**: 245
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
2: 265
- Sumner, Charles
letter(s) from ECS, **10**: 714,
716-18, 821, 839; **11**: 356-59,
421-23
letter(s) from SBA, **10**:
587-89, 716-18, 727-30, 734-36,
753-54, 818-19; **11**: 389-91,
528-32; **13**: 459-61; **16**:
39-45, 574-76; **17**: 55-57
letter(s) to ECS, **10**: 840
letter(s) to SBA, **10**: 591,
731-33, 802; **45**: 360
other letters
from Wilbour, Charlotte B.,
10: 716-18
- Sumner, Mrs. J.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 43
- Sunbeam, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 404
- Sutherland, A.
other letters
to DeVoe, Emma S., **28**:
571-72
- Sutherland, Duchess of *See*
Leveson-Gower, Millicent
Fanny St. Clair-Erskine
- Swain, Mrs. A. M.
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
24: 909
- Swain, Joseph H.
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 515-16
- Swain, Lucy A. F.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 255-56
- Swanwick, Anna
letter(s) to ECS, **22**: 779-80;
23: 91-93
- Sweden *See* National Council of
Women
- Swedesburg, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 669
- Sweet, Emma Biddlecome
letter(s) from SBA, **34**: 333,
452-53, 470-71; **36**: 943;
37: 121-22, 158-59; **39**:
900-903, 916-19; **40**: 22-30,
336; **41**: 546; **42**: 139, 399;
43: 369, 704; **44**: 184-85,
977
letter(s) to SBA, **34**: 333;
36: 1008
shorthand notebook of dictation
from SBA, **34**: 611-791
- Swift, Frances Cater
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 653
- Swinton, John
editorial on ECS birthday,
34: 477
letter(s) to ECS, **31**: 614;
34: 477; **36**: 14-15; **37**:
561-63
- Swisshelm, Jane Grey Cannon
letter(s) from ECS, **7**: 101-2
letter(s) from SBA, **23**: 6-8,
80-84
letter(s) to SBA, **11**: 281-82;
22: 44
- Switzerland *See* Association
internationale des femmes,
Ligue de la paix et la liberté
- Sycamore, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 405-12
- Sylvis, William H.
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 351-52
- Syracuse, NY
interview(s) in, SBA, **38**: 83
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 62-63
SBA lectures, **7**: 644
anti-slavery tour
SBA attends, **9**: 1077
centennial of Samuel J. May's
birth
SBA lectures, **37**: 302-9
mass temperance meeting
SBA attends, **7**: 269-72
Political Equality Club of
meetings of, SBA attends,
38: 352-53
SBA lecture, **32**: 186
state constitutional campaign
meeting
SBA attends, **32**: 735-36
state tour for equal rights
ECS and SBA attend, **11**:
793-94
- T
- Table Rock (NE) WSA
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
39: 764
- Tacoma, WA
ladies of
letter(s) from SBA, **27**:
310
- Taft, Lorado Zadoc
letter(s) from SBA, **30**:
150-51, 367-68, 514-15, 520-25;
44: 344-46
letter(s) to SBA, **30**: 86
- Talmage, Thomas DeWitt
letter(s) to SBA, **26**: 374-75,

- 541
Tampa, FL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 110
Tanner, Margaret Priestman
letter(s) to SBA, 23: 629
Tappan, Charles W.
letter(s) to *Revolution*, 1: 283; 2: 22
letter(s) to SBA, 1: 139
Tappan, Mary J.
letter(s) to ECS, 10: 461
Tasmania Woman's Christian Temperance Union
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, 42: 459
Tayler, Robert Walker
letter(s) to SBA, 40: 792
Taylor, Caroline (Wing)
letter(s) to SBA, 6: 545-49
Taylor, Caroline Wing
letter(s) to SBA, 6: 553-57
Taylor, Clementia Doughty
letter(s) to ECS, 23: 129-31, 168-71; 24: 1094-97; 25: 75-76, 98-100; 26: 84
letter(s) to SBA, 23: 624
letter to woman's rights anniversary meeting, 14: 1019
Taylor, Emily G.
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 1091
letter(s) to ECS, 25: 105-6
Taylor, Ezra Booth
letter(s) from SBA, 27: 84-85
letter(s) to SBA, 28: 379-81, 511
Taylor, Helen
letter(s) from ECS, 26: 20-23, 91-96
letter(s) from SBA, 26: 904-5
letter(s) to SBA, 26: 102-4
Taylor, Mrs. Helen
letter(s) to Universal Franchise Association conventions, 2: 238
Taylor, Ina Light
letter(s) from SBA, 41: 157
Taylor, Lansing G.
letter(s) to SBA, 6: 545-49
Taylor, Lucy Beaman Hobbs
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 729-30
Taylor, Peter A.
letter(s) to SBA, 23: 623
Telker, Jane A.
letter in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, 18: 868-69
Teller, Henry Moore
letter(s) from SBA, 31: 791; 41: 308
temperance meetings
grand demonstration at New York, NY
SBA lectures, 7: 525-59
mass meeting at Albany, NY
ECS appeal to legislature read, 7: 507-15
SBA attends, 7: 507-15
mass meeting at Syracuse, NY
SBA attends, 7: 269-72
women's meeting at Albany, NY
letter from ECS, 7: 146-51
SBA attends, 7: 145-51
Temple, Mrs. E. E.
letter(s) from SBA, 41: 116
Temple, Helena B. *See* Müller, Frances Henrietta
Tenaflly, NJ *See* Bergen County, NJ
Tennessee
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 5: 459-72
See also Chattanooga, Knoxville, Macon, Memphis
Tenney, J. A.
article(s) in *Revolution*, 2: 83
Tenney, Rachel S. Knowles
letter(s) from SBA, 41: 471
letter(s) to SBA, 1: 73; 22: 145
Terre Haute, IN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 521
SBA lectures, 20: 711-13
woman suffrage convention
SBA attends, 25: 794-99
Terre Haute WSA
meetings of
SBA attends, 21: 300-303
Terrell, Eliza B.
letter to WLNL meeting, 10: 467
territories *See* entries under later state names
Terry, Alice Ellen
letter(s) to ECS, 34: 490, 499
Terry, Ellen *See* Terry, Alice Ellen
Texas
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 5: 473-75
See also Beaver, Corsicana, Lawrence
Texas Equal Rights Association
executive committee
letter from SBA, 32: 1108-9
Thacher, John Boyd
letter(s) from ECS, 30: 622-31
letter(s) from SBA, 30: 602-5
letter(s) to SBA, 30: 597
Thayer, Caroline Coddington
letter(s) from SBA, 41: 325-29
letter(s) to ECS, 9: 141-42
Thomann, Gallus
letter(s) from SBA, 41: 345-46
Thomas, Mr.
letter(s) from ECS, 44: 921-28
Thomas, Arthur Lloyd
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, 31: 246
Thomas, Charlotte J.
letter(s) from SBA, 44: 473
Thomas, Cora de La Matyr
letter(s) from SBA, 27: 619; 29: 184-85, 651-52; 41: 200
Thomas, Ella Gertrude Clanton
inscription(s) from SBA, 43: 359
Thomas, Hiram Washington
other letters
to Jones, Jenkin L., 32: 708
Thomas, H. S.
letter(s) to *Revolution*, 1: 82
Thomas, John
letter(s) from SBA, 7: 432, 464, 805
See also Editor, *Carson League*
Thomas, Maria Louise Palmer
incorporation of National Council of Women, U.S., 29: 1-2
letter(s) from ECS, 38: 289-90
letter(s) from SBA, 23: 480-81, 713-14; 28: 1-2
Thomas, Martha Carey
letter(s) from SBA, 42: 429-30; 44: 530-31, 778-80
letter(s) to ECS, 42: 726
letter(s) to SBA, 42: 416-17, 422, 445, 619-20, 651; 44: 542
Thomas, Mary Bentley
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, 34: 655
Thomas, Mary Frame Myers
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 516
letter(s) to International Council of Women, 26: 335
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, 20: 318, 320
letter(s) to SBA, 10: 466-67
SBA entry on, *Johnson's New Universal Cyclopaedia*, 20: 618
SBA entry on, *Johnson's Universal Cyclopaedia*, 34: 866
Thomas, Michael Holt
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, 31: 247
Thomas, Miss M. J.
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,

- 28: 89
- Thomasson, John Pennington
letter(s) to ECS, 39: 449-50
letter(s) to SBA, 23: 623
- Thomasson, Katharine Lucas
letter(s) to ECS, 22: 717, 744; 39: 449-50
letter(s) to SBA, 23: 628; 44: 291
- Thompson, Barbara J.
letter(s) from ECS, 20: 829-36
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 1185
letter(s) from SBA, 20: 251-52; 21: 675-82, 815, 903-4, 922-24; 22: 4-5, 49-50, 64-65, 129-31, 235-40, 383-89, 580-82
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, 21: 66; 24: 908
- Thompson, Elizabeth Rowell
about, gift toward *HWS*, 21: 473
- Thompson, Ellen Powell
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, 36: 750
letter(s) to SBA, 38: 35
- Thompson, George
about, circular for funds, 9: 215
- Thompson, Joseph Parrish
letter(s) to ECS, 1: 538
letter(s) to *Revolution*, 1: 516
- Thompson, Martha J.
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, 38: 150; 40: 854
- Thompson, May Eliza Wright
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, 21: 64
See also Sewall, May Eliza Wright Thompson
- Thomson, Anna
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 5: 427
- Thomson, Mary Adeline
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 5: 428
letter(s) from SBA, 25: 646-51
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, 23: 642
letter(s) to SBA, 23: 1093-95; 27: 178
other letters
from Jenkins, J. O., 23: 1094-95
- Thorndyke, Mrs. E. P.
letter(s) to ECS, 21: 222-23
- Thurston, John Mellen
letter(s) to SBA, 40: 717; 41: 104
- Tillotson, Mary Ella
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 1272
- Tilton, Elizabeth Richards
letter(s) to SBA, 1: 13; 2: 273
- Tilton, Theodore
appeal to form Union Suffrage Society, 2: 305; 14: 632-34
letter(s) from ECS, 12: 447-52, 999-1002; 14: 114-18, 885-88, 1179-82; 15: 680-82, 743-47, 763, 859-61
letter(s) from SBA, 10: 182-85, 196-97, 380-83
letter(s) to ECS, 1: 345; 12: 800, 872-75; 18: 290-91; 23: 164-65, 238-40; 24: 549; 34: 500-502; 36: 986-88; 38: 374-75
letter(s) to National Woman Suffrage Committee convention, 15: 1027, 1035
letter(s) to SBA, 10: 200-202, 375, 742; 11: 681, 686, 689-90; 34: 405-7
poems in *Revolution*, 2: 259
See also Editor, *Golden Age*
other letters
from Beecher, Henry W., 2: 369; 14: 722
to Beecher, Henry W., 2: 369; 14: 722
- Tipton, IN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 522-24
- Tiskilwa, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 413
- Titus, Frances W.
letter(s) to SBA, 18: 868
- Titusville, PA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 5: 445-48
SBA lectures, 21: 732
- Tod, Isabella M. S.
letter(s) to ECS, 23: 28
letter(s) to International Council of Women, 26: 376
letter(s) to SBA, 23: 630
- Toepfer, Amalie Walborn
inscription(s) from ECS, 42: 590
- Toepfer, Viggo
inscription(s) from ECS, 42: 590
- Toledo, OH
ECS lectures, 14: 92, 693
interview(s) in, SBA, 23: 1001; 32: 228
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 5: 218-19
SBA lectures, 16: 577; 19: 538-39; 23: 997-1000
NAWSA conference
SBA attends, 37: 440-40B
tour for woman suffrage, 1869
ECS lectures, 13: 417-19
- SBA lectures, 13: 419
- Toledo WSA
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, 20: 320
reception for SBA, 23: 1002
meetings of
letter(s) to ECS, 24: 662
SBA attends, 32: 224-27
- Toleson, Alice A.
letter(s) from SBA, 41: 117-19
- Tomlinson, Edward Mulford
letter(s) from SBA, 43: 725-26; 44: 179-80
- Toms River, NJ
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 1255
- Tongue, Thomas H.
letter(s) to SBA, 40: 705
- Tontogany, OH
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 5: 220
- Topeka, KS
interview(s) in, SBA, 30: 303; 32: 823-24, 878, 880, 891, 1111, 1113; 34: 228-31
SBA lectures, 11: 189; 32: 890
statement(s) in, SBA, 32: 883
indignation meeting
SBA attends, 32: 892
state amendment campaign
SBA lectures, 32: 1112
state amendment campaign meeting
SBA attends, 32: 825-32
- Topeka Equal Suffrage Association
picnic, SBA attends, 34: 233
- Toronto, ON, Canada
interview(s) in, SBA, 27: 568
SBA lectures, 27: 565-67
See also Dominion Suffrage Association
- Toulon, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 414-15
- Tourgée, Albion Winegar
letter(s) from SBA, 31: 519-24
letter(s) to SBA, 31: 545-48
- Tousey, Sinclair
letter(s) to SBA, 2: 236; 14: 541, 552
- Towanda, PA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 5: 449
- Town, Anna W.
letter(s) from SBA, 44: 466-67
- Townsend, Emma H.
letter(s) to SBA, 43: 352
- Townsend, Harriet A.
letter(s) to SBA, 31: 407-10
- Townsend, Milo A.
letter(s) from ECS, 15: 535-36
letter(s) to ECS, 15: 493-94

- Townsend, Samuel P.
letter(s) to SBA, 7: 522-24
- Tracey, Edwin
interview(s) with SBA, 44: 488-89
- Train, George Francis
article(s) in *Revolution*, 1: 141, 461, 480-81, 485, 521
lecture by, 1: 236
letter(s) from ECS, 12: 554, 579
letter(s) from SBA, 12: 554, 557; 14: 512-14
letter(s) to ECS, 1: 78; 12: 555-56, 581-82; 14: 804-6
letter(s) to *Revolution*, 1: 10, 17-18, 37, 45, 51, 61, 69, 77, 84-85, 117-18, 125, 147, 154, 163, 171, 189-90, 195, 203, 219-20, 228, 244, 252, 260, 268, 276, 284, 292, 300, 308, 316, 332, 340, 348, 364, 380, 404, 420, 472, 477, 501, 508-9, 525, 541, 557
letter(s) to SBA, 1: 332; 12: 555-56, 558, 577-78, 581; 42: 196-97; 45: 366
tour with ECS and SBA, 1: 1-2; 12: 590-600, 605-10, 615-33, 637-41, 645-50
other letters
from Clark, Benjamin F., 1: 452
from Lane, Mary E. B., 12: 554
from Reynolds, Milton W., 12: 554
from Robinson, Charles, 12: 554
from Wood, Samuel N., 12: 554
to Clark, Benjamin F., 1: 452
to Reynolds, Milton W., 12: 555
to Wood, Samuel N., 12: 556
- Trall, Russell Thacher
letter(s) to SBA, 1: 197, 210; 2: 49
- Travers, Virginia M.
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, 32: 344, 457
- Travis, Mrs. P. Engle
letter(s) to SBA, 21: 205-9
- Tremont, NY
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 5: 64
- Trenton, MO
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 1167
- Tristan y Moscozo, Flore Célestine
Thérèse Henriette
article(s) in *Revolution*, 1: 332
- Troll-Borostyani, Irma von
statement on women and the Bible, 37: 374
- Troup, Alexander
letter(s) to National Woman Suffrage Committee convention, 15: 1025, 1033, 1037
- Trout, Jennie Kidd Gowanlock
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, 22: 272-73
- Troy, NY
ECS lectures, 24: 76; 30: 226-53
state constitutional campaign meeting
SBA attends, 32: 555-57
state tour for equal rights
SBA attends, 11: 1059-61
- Troy Female Seminary
accounts for Elizabeth Cady, 6: 83
registrations of Elizabeth Cady, 6: 1-5
See also Emma Willard Association
- Trueblood, Minnie A.
letter(s) to SBA, 28: 40
- Truesdale, Sarah Cole
arrest for illegal voting with SBA, 16: 602; 17: 76
- Truman, James
co-author
letter(s) to Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, 8: 1149-51; 9: 307-9
- Trumbull, Lyman
letter(s) to National Woman Suffrage Committee convention, 15: 1023, 1031
- Truth, Sojourner
autograph of ECS, 14: 707
letter(s) from ECS, 12: 106-7
letter(s) from SBA, 11: 280
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, 22: 640
- Tucker, Gideon John
letter(s) to SBA, 27: 1003-6
- Tucker, Mary Eliza Perine
article(s) in *Revolution*, 2: 41, 61-62
- Tudor, Euphemia Fenno
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 843
letter(s) from SBA, 22: 252-55
- Tudor, Sarah H.
letter(s) from SBA, 29: 556-57
- Tunbridge, VT
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 5: 500
- Tunstall, Martha Goodwin
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, 20: 318; 21: 64
- Turner, George
letter(s) to SBA, 42: 876-77
- Tuscola, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series, 4: 416
- Tuskegee Institute
SBA lecture, 43: 518-19
- Tuttle, Rev. J. H.
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, 20: 792
- Twin Territorial WSA
meetings of
letter from SBA, 44: 386
- Tyler, Welthea Butler
letter(s) from ECS, 10: 352-55
other letters
from Stanton, Theodore W., 10: 352-55
- Tyndall, John
ECS obituary of, 32: 662-64
- U
- Uhrichsville, OH
SBA lectures, 20: 407
- Unadilla, NY
interview(s) in, SBA, 18: 70-71
- Underwood, Benjamin Franklin
letter(s) from ECS, 23: 1041-42; 24: 87-90, 154-56, 173-75, 211-13, 229-32, 558-63, 678-82, 871-72, 934-36, 957-60, 972, 1024; 25: 391-94; 26: 879-80; 38: 240-42, 273-75
See also Editor, *Index*
- Underwood, Helen G.
article(s) in *Revolution*, 1: 612
letter(s) to *Revolution*, 1: 287
letter(s) to SBA, 1: 591
- Underwood, Henry L.
letter(s) to NWSA meetings, 24: 21
- Underwood, Maria Gloria Jackson
letter(s) from SBA, 17: 1053-56
- Underwood, Sara A. Francis
article(s) in *Revolution*, 1: 57-58, 435, 528, 572
letter(s) from ECS, 24: 269-72, 377-82; 25: 77-79, 391-94, 586-91, 658-63, 697-705, 774-79, 800-805, 808-15; 26: 879-80; 27: 154-57; 35: 300-303
letter(s) from SBA, 13: 271-74
letter(s) to ECS, 25: 5, 104
letter(s) to SBA, 1: 444

- statement on women and the Bible,
37: 374
- unidentified correspondents
letter(s) from ECS, 2: 321;
3: 407, 409; 6: 1072;
10: 713; 11: 463, 802;
12: 254-58, 865; 13: 145,
488; 14: 1055-57; 15: 444;
16: 347, 1021-22; 17:
1038-40; 21: 571-75; 22:
736; 24: 581-84; 26: 771,
921-22; 28: 669, 846; 32:
929; 34: 516; 35: 600-606,
610, 617-18, 915-16; 38:
316-17, 577-78; 44: 999-1005
- letter(s) from SBA, 2: 303;
6: 995-96; 7: 299-301, 873,
1047; 8: 297, 875-76; 9:
112, 221, 1073-74; 10: 86-87,
102-3, 167, 219, 513-15, 906;
11: 180, 187, 210, 626;
12: 371, 444, 446, 572, 580;
13: 260-63, 740-44; 14:
566-67, 926, 1075-77; 15:
323, 663, 796, 858; 16:
390-91, 540, 545-46, 568-70,
579, 997-98; 18: 94, 265-68,
504-9, 755-56, 920-22, 1079,
1085-86; 19: 489, 550, 714;
20: 255, 821-22; 21:
453-54, 518, 933-34, 984-85;
22: 98, 100; 23: 290,
423-26, 442, 470-71, 482-84,
502-3, 562-63, 781-83, 809,
815, 989; 24: 288, 879-81;
25: 37, 50-51, 558-59, 1076;
26: 17, 69-71, 111-12,
740-41, 782-83, 829-30, 835,
898, 911, 962, 1006-7; 27:
153, 543, 614, 1020, 1100-1101;
28: 626, 634, 676; 30: 361,
564, 692-93; 31: 323-24, 858,
868; 32: 659, 665, 779,
1038-39, 1044; 33: 750-52,
880-83, 925; 34: 352, 439-40;
35: 563-64, 597; 36:
206-10, 917, 999; 37: 37,
522, 528, 539, 557, 581-86,
588, 988; 38: 378-79, 729,
754, 924, 940; 39: 1, 462-63,
914; 40: 206-7, 296-99, 324;
41: 206, 472-81, 647, 996-97;
42: 24, 591, 796-97, 803,
807; 43: 325, 376-78, 547-48,
608, 631-32, 638, 799; 44:
31, 190, 385, 411, 549, 805,
807-8, 891, 962, 972, 978A-82;
45: 385-86, 413
- letter(s) to ECS, 1: 121-22,
147, 161-62, 424, 427, 549,
557, 591, 591, 592; 2: 6, 13,
89-90, 138, 150, 181, 257;
21: 999
- letter(s) to SBA, 1: 178, 182,
427-28, 439, 443-44, 515, 524,
549; 2: 29, 30, 32, 51, 138,
165, 190, 212, 249, 303, 313;
16: 312; 17: 219; 18:
1053; 20: 257; 23: 661-66;
27: 1082; 28: 392; 29:
231; 32: 1107; 34: 855;
37: 84, 588-89; 40: 354,
667, 677; 43: 352
- verse for SBA, 2: 272
- unidentified members of ECS family
letter(s) from ECS, 21: 736;
35: 925; 39: 845
- verse for ECS, 42: 332
- unidentified members of SBA family
letter(s) from SBA, 6: 759-63;
8: 1044; 13: 612-15
- unidentified places
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1-5
- Union, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 417
- Union, OR
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 324-31
- Union Agricultural Society fair
SBA lectures, 9: 857-916
- Union Hill, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 418
- Union League of America (Colored),
Number 23
meetings of
SBA attends, 1: 202;
12: 942
- Union WSA
Theodore Tilton's appeal for
unity, 2: 305; 14: 632-34
- meetings of
call to, 14: 714
ECS and SBA attend, 2:
363-65, 368-69; 14:
716-63
ECS attends, 3: 148;
15: 581
- planning meeting
letter(s) from ECS and SBA,
2: 327-28
- United Kingdom *See* Bristol,
Edinburgh, Glasgow,
Manchester, London, York;
Liberal Party, National
Society for Women's Suffrage,
National Union of Women's
Suffrage Societies, Personal
Rights Association, Women's
Franchise League, Women's
Liberal Federation
- United States Brewers' Association
letter(s) from SBA, 42: 123
letter(s) to SBA, 42: 56, 123
- meetings of
letter from SBA, 41:
343-44, 346
- United States Commissioner's Court
trial of SBA, 16: 542-44,
555-59, 585-86, 602-3, 606,
848-65
- United States Congress
appeal from National Woman's
Rights Convention 1866,
11: 531-32
- memorial on behalf of women of
Hawaii, from NAWSA, 39: 508,
728-29
- petition from NWSA, SBA signed,
19: 698-99
- petition from National Woman's
Rights Committee
ECS and SBA signed, 11:
296
- United States Copyright Office
registrations for ECS
Eighty Years and More,
37: 164
Home Life a Century Ago,
42: 348
Reminiscences, 27: 281
Woman's Bible, 34: 137
- registrations for ECS and SBA
History of Woman Suffrage,
22: 547
- registrations for SBA
History of Woman Suffrage,
25: 22; 42: 913-15,
919
- United States District Court
trial of SBA, 16: 604-5;
17: 76-82, 86-91, 98-148,
220-29
- trial of SBA
conviction, 17: 213-14
execution of judgment,
17: 239-40
hearing on writ of habeas
corpus, 16: 836-65,
974-89
indictment, 16: 1000-1004
petition for writ of habeas
corpus, 16: 827-29
- United States House of
Representatives
introduction of bill for relief
of SBA, 18: 23-25
- memorials, 11: 873-74; 17:
944; 22: 377
- memorials signed by ECS and/or
SBA, 16: 24-26, 962-64; 18:
313, 758-59; 20: 690
- petitions, 19: 441-47; 20:
239-49; 21: 48-49; 41:
57-58, 60-62, 223-24, 231-32
- petitions signed by ECS and/or
SBA, 11: 326-29; 15: 1077;
17: 915-17, 943, 950-68;
21: 224-27
- report on petition for
remission of SBA's fine,
18: 33-41
- Committee on Elections
NAWSA memorial on Brigham
H. Roberts, 39: 443
- Committee on Territories

- letter from SBA, **22**: 377
 Committee on the District of Columbia
 hearings before, ECS and SBA, **2**: 239-41; **14**: 556-62
 Committee on the Judiciary
 hearings before, ECS
 addresses, **23**: 681-84;
 35: 474-75, 522; **40**:
 950-55, 1001-42; **42**:
 163-67
 hearings before, ECS and SBA,
 28: 17-25; **29**: 993,
 1016-27; **41**: 906-9
 hearings before, SBA, **3**:
 24; **15**: 332-34, 341-50;
 17: 929, 947-49; **21**:
 69, 84-95; **23**: 685-88;
 24: 921-24; **32**: 490-98;
 35: 438, 465-522; **38**:
 204, 224, 243-44, 269-70;
 44: 137
 Select Committee on Columbian
 Exposition
 hearings before, SBA,
 31: 199
 United States Senate
 introduction of bill enabling
 SBA to pay her fine, **17**:
 982
 memorials, **13**: 353-96; **18**:
 721-27; **22**: 382
 memorials signed by ECS and/or
 SBA, **16**: 991; **18**: 306-12;
 20: 687-89
 petitions, **10**: 719-21, 740;
 13: 255-59, 278-79; **17**:
 934, 943, 969-71; **18**: 745;
 19: 441, 456-57; **21**: 45-47;
 23: 457; **40**: 751; **41**:
 54-55
 petitions signed by ECS and/or
 SBA, **11**: 309, 885-87;
 15: 841-44; **17**: 911-14,
 976-80; **21**: 128-30; **22**:
 291; **28**: 220-24; **33**:
 733-34, 768-69
 report on bill enabling SBA to
 pay her fine, **18**: 42-54
 ticket to Senate Gallery, SBA,
 26: 1033
 Committee on Privileges and
 Elections
 hearings before, ECS,
 19: 1028-86; **20**: 1-232
 Committee on the District of
 Columbia
 hearings before, ECS and SBA,
 2: 239-41; **14**: 556-62
 NWSA address to, ECS, **1**:
 462; **13**: 300-307
 Committee on the Judiciary
 hearings before, ECS and SBA,
 15: 1027-28, 1033,
 1039-42, 1048-58
 hearings before, SBA,
 21: 69-83
 Select Committee on Woman
 Suffrage
 hearings before, ECS
 addresses, **23**: 681-84;
 38: 204, 243-69; **41**:
 972-75; **42**: 163-67
 hearings before, ECS and SBA,
 22: 292-95; **26**:
 577-632; **28**: 3-8
 hearings before, SBA,
 22: 287-88; **23**: 667-80;
 27: 60-80; **29**: 1028-52;
 40: 950-54, 956-1000,
 1036-42; **42**: 545-66;
 44: 137-58
 Universal Franchise Association
 national conventions
 address to U.S. Senate,
 13: 353-96
 announcement of, **2**: 125
 calls to, **2**: 215
 ECS and SBA attend, **2**:
 236-38; **13**: 280-88;
 14: 540-55
 text of petition to U.S.
 Congress, **14**: 541, 552
 Universal Franchise Association of
 the District of Columbia
 ECS lectures to, **14**: 936
 SBA lectures to, **2**: 615;
 14: 1141
 Universalist Association *See* New
 Hampshire
 Universal Peace Union
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
 38: 150
 meetings of
 ECS attends, **1**: 41-42;
 12: 808-9
 SBA attends, **13**: 290-94;
 18: 387-400, 888-919
 Unwin, Emma Jane Catherine Cobden
 letter(s) from SBA, **40**: 44-49;
 44: 297-300
 letter(s) to SBA, **40**: 37-40
 See also Cobden, Emma Jane
 Catherine
 Upton, Harriet Taylor
 letter(s) from ECS, **28**: 433
 letter(s) from SBA, **24**:
 1030-33; **25**: 674-77; **26**:
 876-78, 935-97, 1031-32,
 1034-35; **27**: 85, 174-77,
 233-34, 253-55, 585-87; **28**:
 199-203, 234-37, 244-46,
 414-15, 523-28, 537-40, 554-61;
 29: 61-64, 117-20, 192-93,
 449-51, 508-13, 559-62, 570-71,
 621-26, 965-68, 1092-97;
 30: 8-9, 36-39, 74-78,
 128-32, 220-21, 331-34, 371-74,
 502-3, 582-85, 647-50, 715-20;
 31: 391-94, 511-14, 543-44,
 585-91, 604-7, 671-74; **34**:
 832-34; **40**: 329-32; **43**:
 615, 639, 655, 700, 727, 791;
 44: 211, 978
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
 34: 617-18, 629-30, 642-43,
 675-78, 692-94, 743-44, 753-54,
 771, 788-89
 letter(s) to SBA, **32**: 839;
 37: 220; **38**: 322-23,
 383-84, 393; **42**: 829; **44**:
 1015
 See also Editor, "National
 Column," *Woman's Journal*
 other letters
 to Barton, Clara, **43**: 791
 to Roosevelt, Theodore,
 44: 776
 Upton, Julia A. Sherman
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 905-14
 Usher, Leila
 letter(s) from SBA, **42**:
 230-31
 Utah
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 5: 476-92
 See also Beaver, Kanab, Mount
 Carmel, Rockville, Salt Lake
 City
 Utah Silk Commission
 letter(s) to SBA, **40**: 853,
 919
 Utah WSA
 letter(s) from SBA, **32**: 973
 Utica, NY
 SBA lectures, **7**: 684
 anti-slavery tour
 SBA attends, **9**: 1064
 Political Equality Club of
 meetings of, letter from SBA,
 44: 466-67
 state constitutional campaign
 meeting
 SBA attends, **32**: 748-50
 state tour for equal rights
 ECS and SBA attend, **11**:
 739-88
 tour for personal liberty bill
 SBA attends, **9**: 517-18
 Woman's Christian Temperance
 Union
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
 28: 89



Vail, Aaron Rogers
 letter(s) from SBA, **6**: 496-98
 Vail, Moses Edward
 letter(s) to SBA, **6**: 475-78,
 480-86, 536
 other letters
 to Anthony, Hannah L.,
 6: 475-78

- Vail, Samantha Lapham
letter(s) to SBA, **6**: 487-90,
506-10, 524-32, 558-61
See also Lapham, Samantha
Lapham Vail
- Van Benthuyssen, William
letter(s) from SBA, **36**:
958-59; **39**: 612-15; **41**:
334-35, 977
- Van Biel, Emilie S.
letter(s) from SBA, **33**: 44-45
- Vance, Zebulon Baird
letter(s) to SBA, **27**: 1102-4
- Van Clief, Mary M.
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 868
- Vancouver, WA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 508
- Vandalia, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1045
- Vanderhoof, Frances W.
letter(s) from SBA, **44**: 889
- Van der Naillen, Albert
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
2: 245
- Van Lew, Elizabeth L.
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 506
- Van Rensselaer, Martha
letter(s) from SBA, **44**:
436-38
- Van Tassel, J. B.
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 870
- Van Voorhis, Frances Aristine
Galusha
letter(s) from SBA, **42**: 798
- Van Voorhis, John
letter(s) from SBA, **42**: 798
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
17: 931-32
letter(s) to SBA, **16**: 580-81
trial of SBA, **16**: 556-58, 586,
603, 848; **17**: 98-148
- Vassar, Matthew
letter(s) to SBA, **9**: 923
- Vassar College
ECS lectures, **45**: 229
librarian
letter from SBA, **44**: 183
- Vaughan, Hester
about, ECS interview with
Pennsylvania governor, **13**:
136
about, meeting to protest
conviction of, **1**: 387-88;
13: 131-34
about, memorial to Pennsylvania
governor, **13**: 131
letter(s) to SBA, **2**: 126;
13: 858-59
- Venice, NY
interview(s) in, SBA, **38**:
749-50
SBA lectures, **38**: 749-50
- Venturi, Emilie Ashurst Hawkes
letter(s) to ECS, **28**: 390,
437-38
- Vermillion, OH
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 221-22
- Vermillion, A. Martha
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1188-89
- Vermillion, Mary
letter(s) to SBA, **10**: 577
- Vermillion, SD
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 63
- Vermillionville, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 419
- Vermont
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 493-502
See also Bridport,
Montpelier, Randolph, Rutland,
St. Albans, Simonsville,
Tunbridge, Waitsfield,
Waterford
- Vermont, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 420-21
- Vest, George Graham
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
24: 898
- Vicksburg, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1046-48
- Victor, NY
SBA lectures, **17**: 83
- Victoria, BC, Canada
SBA lectures, **15**: 797-803
- Victoria, Queen of the United
Kingdom of Great Britain, Ireland
and Empress of India
inscription(s) from SBA, **40**:
15
See also Bigge, Arthur
- Villard, Helen Frances Garrison
inscription(s) from SBA, **43**:
360
letter(s) from ECS, **30**:
467-70; **31**: 442-45; **41**:
114-15
letter(s) from SBA, **23**:
525-27; **36**: 866; **41**: 177,
508-9; **44**: 401
letter(s) to SBA, **22**: 632-34;
39: 458-60
See also Garrison, Helen
Frances
- Vincennes, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 670
- Vincennes, IN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 525
- Vincent?, Eliska Gerard
letter(s) to International
Council of Women, **26**:
375-76, 487
- Vincent, George Edgar
letter(s) from SBA, **38**:
328-29, 372-73; **41**: 108-10,
201, 339; **43**: 689
letter(s) to SBA, **41**: 378
- Vincent, John
letter(s) from SBA, **1**: 463;
13: 322
- Vincent, John Heyl
letter(s) to SBA, **30**: 340
- Vineland, NJ
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1256-72
SBA lectures, **14**: 602
- Vinton, IA
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 671
- Viola, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 422
- Virginia
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 503-6
See also Lincoln, Manassas,
Richmond
- Virginia WSA
SBA lectures to, **14**: 1142-43
- Visalia, CA
state amendment campaign
SBA attends meetings,
35: 1095-96
- Voorhees, Betsy R.
letter(s) from SBA, **7**:
1054-55
- Vosburgh, Sarah J.
letter to WLNL meeting, **10**:
463

•W

- Wabash, IN
ECS lectures, **2**: 301
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 526
- Wachter, Luise
letter to AERA meeting, **1**:
612
- Wade, Benjamin Franklin
letter(s) from SBA, **13**:
454-55
letter(s) to SBA, **10**: 598;
11: 660
- Wade, Elizabeth Angus Wilkinson
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 441-43
letter(s) to SBA, **22**: 226;
23: 58
See also Editor, "Woman's
Realm," *Pittsburgh*

- Commercial Gazette*
Wadena, MN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1102
Wadkins, Daniel
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 423
Wadsworth, James S.
gubernatorial campaign
SBA lectures for, **10**:
304-50
Wahl, John
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 775, 787
Wait, Anna Amelia Churchill
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 741
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
23: 58
letter(s) to SBA, **28**: 40
Waite, Catherine Van Valkenburg
other letters
from Bradwell, James B.,
21: 233
Waite, Charles Burlingame
letter(s) from SBA, **2**: 232
letter(s) to ECS, **32**:
1097-1101
letter(s) to SBA, **2**: 232;
22: 480-84
Waite, Davis Hanson
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
32: 370, 484
Waitsfield, VT
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 501
Wakefield, RI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 458
Wakeman, Thaddeus Burr
letter(s) to ECS, **38**: 434
Wales, MI
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1049-50
Walker, Miss C. C.
letter(s) to SBA, **15**: 624
Walker, John Brisben
letter(s) from SBA, **37**: 82
Walker, Jonathan
article(s) in *Revolution*,
1: 386
Walker, Maria Luther
inscription(s) from SBA, **45**:
415
Wall, Sarah E.
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 318
Wallace, Alice Heyward Wheelwright
letter(s) from SBA, **41**: 494
Wallace, Catherine P.
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 670
Wallace, Zerelda Gray Sanders
letter(s) from SBA, **35**: 862
letter(s) to SBA, **21**: 1071;
22: 654; **23**: 41, 53, 640;
27: 660; **28**: 522
Walla Walla, WA
SBA lectures, **15**: 754
Wallis, Sarah Armstrong Montgomery
Green
letter(s) from SBA, **18**: 93
letter(s) in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 868, 870
letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 319
Walsh, John D.
letter(s) from SBA, **44**: 785,
880, 886
Walton, Genevieve Maria Julia
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 736-37
Walworth, NY
SBA lectures, **7**: 738-68
Ward, Eliza Titus
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 103-4
Ward, Lydia Arms Avery Coonley
letter(s) from SBA, **38**:
350-51, 596-97; **40**: 134-35,
761-62; **41**: 111-13, 226-27,
414, 495-98, 502-3, 506-7,
522-23, 527-28, 533-36; **44**:
730
verse for SBA, **41**: 172-75
See also Coonley, Lydia Arms
Avery
Ward, William Hayes
letter(s) from ECS, **18**:
746-48; **31**: 795-97; **35**:
267; **44**: 937-40
Wardall, Alonzo
letter(s) to SBA, **27**: 513,
1081
Wardall, Elizabeth Murray
letter(s) from SBA, **27**:
1063-66; **28**: 477-78, 574-79,
638-45, 708-13, 733-36
letter(s) to SBA, **28**: 156
Ware, Sarah E.
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 249-50
letter(s) to ECS, **22**: 300-302
letter(s) to SBA, **21**: 214-15
Warner, Emalea Pusey
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 727-28, 778-79
Warren, Francis Emory
letter(s) to SBA, **29**: 650;
40: 742; **41**: 31
Warren, Helen Maria Smith
letter(s) to SBA, **29**: 377-79,
506
Warren, OH
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 223
Warsaw, IN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 527-28
Warsaw, NY
Political Equality Club of
meetings of, SBA attends,
29: 430
state constitutional campaign
meeting
SBA attends, **32**: 245-46
Waseca, MN
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1103
Washburn, Lemuel K.
letter(s) from ECS, **30**: 72-73;
38: 985-86; **39**: 486
letter(s) from SBA, **44**:
535-36
See also Editor, *Boston*
Investigator
Washington, Booker Taliaferro
letter(s) from ECS, **40**:
272-74; **41**: 950-53
letter(s) from SBA, **34**: 393;
38: 1014-15; **40**: 774;
42: 679-80; **44**: 758
Washington, DC
See also District of
Columbia; Moral Education
Association
ECS lectures, **14**: 936-1001
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 66-106
SBA lectures, **14**: 1141
Central Bureau of Relief
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
28: 89
Frederick Douglass funeral
services
SBA attends, **33**: 755-58
tribute by ECS, read by SBA,
33: 755-58
Frederick Douglass memorial
exercises
SBA remarks at, **42**: 540
Ladies' Spinner Memorial
Association
meetings of, SBA attends,
28: 898, 992
meeting for woman suffrage
SBA attends, **40**: 937
Six O'Clock Club
meetings of, SBA attends,
26: 1039-40
White House
reception at, SBA, **26**:
567
Wimodaughsis
reception, SBA attends,
29: 116
Woman's Washington's Birthday
celebration
SBA attends, **41**: 28
Washington, IA
ECS lectures, **21**: 110-11
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 672-73
SBA lectures, **18**: 737-38;
19: 607
Washington, Margaret James Murray
letter(s) from SBA, **38**:

- 1014-15; **43**: 701
 Washington County, NY
 teacher's license for SBA,
6: 479
 Washington Hollow, NY
 tour for American Anti-Slavery
 Society
 SBA attends, **8**: 886
 Washington State
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 507-8
See also Clark County,
 Olympia, Seattle, Slaughter,
 Tacoma, Vancouver, Walla Walla
 Washington Territorial Legislature
 hearing before, SBA, **15**:
 793-94
 Washington Territory WSA
 meetings of
 SBA attends, **15**: 812-13
 Wasson, David Atwood
 letter(s) to SBA, **8**: 795-98
 Wataga, IL
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 113
 Waterford, PA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 450-51
 Waterford, VT
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 502
 Waterloo, IN
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 529
 Waterloo, NY
 ECS lectures, **6**: 782-815
See also Friends of Human
 Progress
 state constitutional campaign
 meeting
 SBA attends, **32**: 265
 Waterloo Yearly Meeting of
 Congregational Friends
 Address to the Women of the
 State of New York, ECS, **6**:
 1056-65
 Watertown, NY
 state constitutional campaign
 meeting
 SBA attends, **32**: 759
 Watseka, IL
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 424-25
 Watson, Elizabeth Lowe
 letter(s) from SBA, **42**: 604-7
 letter(s) to SBA, **43**: 352
 Watson, J. Fay
 letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 279
 Watson, John
 letter(s) from ECS, **26**:
 788-89
 Watson, Margaret A.
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
24: 908
 Wattles, Esther Whinnery
 letter(s) to SBA, **38**: 149
 Wattles, Susan E. Lowe
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 747
 letter(s) to ECS, **18**: 870
 letter(s) to SBA, **22**: 218
 Waugh, Catharine Gouger
 letter(s) from SBA, **26**:
 896-97
 Waukon, IA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 674
 Waupaca, WI
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 641-49
 Wausau, WI
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 650-53
 Woman's Christian Temperance
 Union
 petition to NWSA and
 Wisconsin WSA meeting,
21: 275-78
 Way, Amanda M.
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 177-78
 Wayne, MI
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1051
 Waynesburg, PA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 452-53
 Waynesburg WSA
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
21: 250
 Waynesville, OH
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
5: 224-25
 Webb, Hannah Waring
 letter(s) to ECS, **6**: 452-53
 Webb, Richard Davis
 letter(s) to ECS, **6**: 452-53
 Webster, Helen Livermore
 letter(s) from SBA, **31**: 788
 letter(s) to SBA, **31**: 773
 Webster, Horace
 letter(s) to ECS, **11**: 444
 Webster, IL
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 426-36
 Webster, IN
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 530
 Webster, SD
 state amendment campaign
 SBA lectures, **28**: 338
 Webster City, IA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 675-76
 Weed, Smith Mead
 letter(s) from SBA, **12**:
 266-67
 Weed, Thurlow
 letter(s) from ECS, **10**: 712;
12: 797-98
 letter(s) to ECS, **10**: 37, 715
 Weeks, Mrs. E. P.
 letter(s) to SBA, **10**: 467-69
 Weinheimer, John L.
 letter(s) from SBA, **22**:
 478-79, 514; **24**: 393-94,
 1059-60
 Weiss, John
 letter to AERA meeting, **1**:
 580
 other letters
 to Stone, Lucy, **1**: 580
 Welch, Abbie A.
 letter(s) to SBA, **43**: 656
 Welch, Margaret Hamilton
 interview(s) with ECS, **41**:
 595-98
 Weld, Angelina Emily Grimké
 letter(s) from ECS, **6**: 379-84
 letter(s) to ECS, **6**: 428;
7: 65-67, 115, 467, 564
 letter(s) to SBA, **8**: 1007-9
 SBA entry on, *Johnson's New
 Universal Cyclopaedia*,
20: 629
 Weld, Theodore Dwight
 letter(s) from ECS, **6**:
 1084-87; **21**: 810-13
 letter(s) from SBA, **34**: 375
 letter(s) to SBA, **26**: 334-35,
 536-37
 other letters
 from Stanton, Henry B.,
6: 1084-87
 Weller, IA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 677
 Wellesley College
 library
 inscription(s) from SBA,
34: 552
 Wellman, Charles P.
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
21: 65
 Wells, Charlotte Fowler
 letter(s) from SBA, **18**:
 979-84
 SBA entry on, *Johnson's New
 Universal Cyclopaedia*,
20: 619
 Wells, Cherrill Hedenberg
 letter(s) from SBA, **39**:
 868-69
 Wells, Emmeline Blanche Woodward
 letter(s) from SBA, **34**: 818;
35: 912-13; **38**: 965
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 666-67, 755-56
 letter(s) to ECS, **29**: 1014
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
20: 318, 790-92; **21**: 63
 letter(s) to SBA, **25**: 205,
 217; **35**: 234; **38**: 149
See also Editor, *Woman's
 Exponent*
 Wells, Frances Boardman
 letter to WLNL meeting, **10**:

- 464
Wells, Ida Bell
 about, SBA interview, 33: 943
 lectures by
 SBA remarks at, 33: 905-6
Wells, Kate Gannett
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
 20: 791
Wells, Sarah Clemmer
 poems in *Revolution*, 2: 235
Wells, S. B.
 letter(s) to SBA, 1: 592
Wells and Richardson Co.
 letter(s) from ECS, 35: 245
Wellstood, Jessie Morrison
 letter(s) to SBA, 20: 774,
 785
Wellsville, NY
 state constitutional campaign
 meeting
 SBA attends, 32: 696
Welsh, Lizzie
 letter(s) to SBA, 10: 464-65
Welshfield, OH
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 5: 226
Welsh Run, PA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 5: 454
Wentworth, Elizabeth R.
 letter(s) to ECS, 18: 937
 letter(s) to SBA, 18: 449,
 937
Wentworth, Hiram
 letter(s) to SBA, 1: 396
West, A. M.
 letter(s) to ECS, 13: 254-59
West, Josephine R.
 letter(s) to SBA, 25: 205,
 217
West, William
 article(s) in *Revolution*,
 2: 97-98, 130
West Auburn, PA
 women of
 letter to WLNL meeting,
 10: 463-64
West Branch, IA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 678-80
Westmoreland, KS
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 756
Western Society of Engineers
 letter(s) from SBA, 41:
 645-46
Western WSA
 meetings of
 SBA attends, 13: 776-89
West Farmington, NY
 SBA lectures, 17: 83
West Liberty, IA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 681-704
West Newton, PA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 5: 455
West Oakland, CA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 43
Weston, Agnes E.
 letter(s) to ECS birthday
 celebration, 34: 490
Westropp, Mrs. E. M. Twemlow
 letter(s) to ECS, 44: 950
West Side, CA
 SBA lectures, 34: 149
West Union, IA
 SBA lectures, 20: 250
West Vienna, NY
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 5: 65-66
West York, IL
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 437
Wethee, Nancy J.
 letter(s) to *Revolution*,
 2: 110
Wetherbee, John
 letter(s) to ECS, 15: 1038
Wetherell, Miss
 letter(s) from SBA, 41:
 278-79
Wetmore, George Peabody
 letter(s) to SBA, 40: 735;
 42: 778-79
Weymouth, George Warren
 letter(s) to SBA, 40: 789
Wheaton, IL
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 438-40
Wheeler, Charles K.
 letter(s) to SBA, 2: 295
Wheeler, IN
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 531-32
Wheeler, Mary Powell
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 1078
Wheelock, Elvira
 letter(s) to *Revolution*,
 1: 34, 255
 See also Ruggles, Elvira
 Wheelock
Whelpley, Albert W.
 letter(s) from SBA, 27: 87-89;
 29: 336-39
Whipple, Rev. A. B.
 letter(s) to SBA, 37: 13
Whipple, Edwin Perry
 letter(s) from ECS, 13: 775
White, Mrs.
 letter(s) from ECS, 35:
 888-89
White, Andrew Dickson
 letter(s) from ECS, 35: 705-6
 letter(s) from SBA, 22: 101-3,
 621-23; 23: 540-42
 letter(s) to SBA, 22: 107-8;
 43: 637
White, Armenia Smith Aldrich
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
 24: 908
 letter to AERA meeting, 1:
 599
 other letters
 to Stone, Lucy, 1: 599
White, Edith Lyman
 verse for ECS, 40: 223
White, Emma K. Haskins
 letter(s) from SBA, 32:
 986-87; 43: 765
White, Grace
 letter(s) from ECS, 41: 306
 letter(s) to ECS, 41: 306
White, Hattie M.
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
 20: 318
White, Henrietta Margaret
 letter(s) to SBA, 43: 811
White, Joseph
 financial records
 accounts with SBA, 6:
 993-94
 receipt to SBA, 6: 930
White, Nettie Louisa
 letter(s) from ECS, 35:
 947-48
White, Sarah Elizabeth Joy
 letter(s) from SBA, 21:
 1119-23
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
 23: 60
White Cloud, KS
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 757
Whitehead, William Adeo
 letter(s) from SBA, 21:
 848-50
Whitewater, WI
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 5: 654-58
Whitfield, A. A.
 letter(s) from SBA, 28:
 680-83
Whiting, Eliza Rose Gray
 letter(s) from SBA, 30:
 358-60; 32: 160-61; 33:
 879; 41: 309-10, 981
Whiting, Miss S. A.
 letter(s) from SBA, 42: 127
Whitlock, Ellen
 letter(s) to SBA, 41: 3;
 42: 827-28
Whitman, Sarah Helen Power
 letter(s) to ECS, 2: 145
Whitney, Sara W.
 letter(s) from ECS, 39:
 841-44
Whitney, Victoria Conkling
 letter(s) from SBA, 35: 294,
 576-77
 letter(s) to SBA, 36: 62-64
Whitson, Mary H.
 letter(s) from SBA, 41:
 415-18
Whittaker, Johnson Chesnutt
 letter(s) from ECS, 21: 152

- Whittier, John Greenleaf
 letter(s) from ECS, **6**: 385, 495, 499, 567
 letter(s) from SBA, **24**: 492-94
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **2**: 89; **13**: 669, 671
 letter(s) to SBA, **26**: 333; **28**: 39
- Whittle, Ewing
 letter(s) to ECS, **23**: 630
- Whole World's Temperance Convention
 SBA signs call to, **7**: 783
 planning meeting
 SBA attends, **7**: 703-9
- Wichita, KS
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 758-59
 NWSA and Kansas Equal Suffrage Association meeting
 SBA attends, **25**: 43-48
- Wickersham, James Pyle
 letter to WLNL meeting, **10**: 463
- Widstrand, Frans H.
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 1055-56
 letter(s) to ECS, **1**: 404; **13**: 135
 letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 404; **13**: 135
- Wilberforce, Albert Basil Orme
 letter(s) to ECS birthday celebration, **34**: 490
- Wilbour, Charlotte Beebe
 article(s) in *Revolution*, **2**: 74
 letter(s) from SBA, **39**: 716-18, 873-74; **41**: 248
 letter(s) to ECS, **34**: 125-24
 letter(s) to ECS birthday celebration, **34**: 490
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **24**: 26
 letter(s) to SBA, **23**: 633-34; **26**: 337-38; **39**: 764
 co-signer
 letter to Woman's Industrial Congress at Berlin, **2**: 109; **13**: 826-28
 other letters
 to Sumner, Charles, **10**: 716-18
- Wilbraham, MA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 865-66
- Wilbur, Julia A.
 letter(s) to *Revolution*, **1**: 27
- Wilcox, Estelle Woods
Buckeye Cookery
 ECS article in, **19**: 705-12
- Wilde, Emma L.
 letter in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, **18**: 868
- Wilder, Daniel Webster
 letter(s) to SBA, **25**: 138
- Wilder, David
 article(s) in *Revolution*, **1**: 109, 118, 134, 142, 158, 271-72, 304, 328, 392, 545, 600-601; **2**: 41
- Wildman, John K.
 letter(s) from SBA, **23**: 1131-33
 other letters
 to Mott, Lucretia C., **14**: 590-92
- Wilet, Gilson
 letter(s) from SBA, **39**: 703
- Wilhelm, Alcinda C.
 letter(s) to *Revolution*, **1**: 178
- Wilkeson, Catharine Henry Cady
 letter(s) from ECS, **20**: 750
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 781-82
- Wilkins, Mr. W. L.
 letter(s) from SBA, **15**: 627
- Willard, Amelia
 letter(s) from ECS, **14**: 1071; **16**: 238; **20**: 726
- Willard, Elizabeth Osgood Goodrich
 article(s) in *Revolution*, **1**: 122, 215, 262, 280, 382-83
- Willard, Frances Elizabeth Caroline
 about, SBA statement on death of, **38**: 286
 ECS obituary of, **38**: 358
 incorporation of National Council of Women, U.S., **29**: 1-2
 interview(s) with SBA, **36**: 663
 letter(s) from ECS, **34**: 89
 letter(s) from SBA, **18**: 1029-32, 1047-51; **23**: 1121-24; **25**: 378-83, 441, 503-8; **26**: 844-47, 859-74, 992-95; **27**: 442-43, 1059-60; **28**: 152-53, 204-11, 691-94; **29**: 136-41; **30**: 362, 376, 516-19, 531, 540; **35**: 269-70, 298-99, 536; **36**: 172-75, 193, 197, 666, 941, 971, 1009-10
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 790-91
 letter(s) to ECS, **34**: 89, 289
 letter(s) to ECS birthday celebration, **34**: 490
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **20**: 318
 letter(s) to SBA, **25**: 440; **26**: 849; **28**: 39; **29**: 326; **30**: 84-85, 87, 317, 531, 540, 575; **31**: 869; **32**: 1003-5, 1075; **33**: 9-10; **35**: 284-86, 297; **36**: 166, 972; **38**: 56-57
 statement on women and the Bible, **37**: 388
 other letters
 from Avery, Rachel G. F., **30**: 362
 from NAWSA business committee, **38**: 116
 from Shaw, Anna H., **30**: 362
- Willard, Mary Bannister
 letter(s) from SBA, **23**: 1121-24
 letter(s) to SBA, **44**: 1016
- Willcox, Albert Oliver
 letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 620
- Willcox, John Keapock Hamilton
 article(s) in *Revolution*, **1**: 179, 222
 ECS endorsement of book by, **27**: 86
 letter(s) from ECS, **29**: 516-17
 letter(s) to ECS, **29**: 545-46
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **28**: 92-93
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **20**: 788
 letter(s) to *Revolution*, **1**: 503; **2**: 253, 272
 letter(s) to SBA, **1**: 439
- Willets, Dudley
 letter(s) to *Revolution*, **1**: 41
- Williams, Anna L. Osborn
 letter(s) to SBA, **42**: 834
- Williams, Mr. B. W.
 letter(s) from ECS, **16**: 518-19
- Williams, Harriet W.
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **5**: 289
 letter to Women's New York State Temperance Society meeting, **7**: 442
- Williams, Mrs. J. R.
 letter(s) from SBA in shorthand, **34**: 657-58
- Williams, Sarah R. Langdon
 letter(s) from ECS, **18**: 936
 letter(s) from SBA, **18**: 806-9, 826-27, 998; **19**: 479-80
 letter(s) in support of NWSA, "Declaration of Rights," 1876, **18**: 866, 869
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **20**: 319; **22**: 278-79; **25**: 204-5
See also Editor, *Ballot Box*
- Williams, Zina Priscenda Young
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **21**: 66
 letter(s) to SBA, **25**: 205, 217
- Williamsburg, KS
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,

- 4: 760
 Williamson, J. B.
 poems in *Revolution*, 2: 357
 Williamson, Robert S.
 letter(s) from SBA, 17:
 215-17
 Williamsport, PA
 SBA lectures, 14: 1069
 Williamston, MI
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 1052
 Willimantic, CT
 SBA lectures, 17: 981
 Willis, Margaret M.
 letter(s) to ECS, 10: 463
 Willis, Sarah L. Kirby Hallowell
 letter(s) from SBA, 29:
 200-204, 646-48
 Willis, S. J.
 letter(s) to SBA, 1: 33
 Wilmington, OH
 women of
 letter to WLNL meeting,
 10: 464
 Wilson, Edgar
 letter(s) to SBA, 41: 76
 Wilson, Eliza T.
 letter in support of NWSA,
 "Declaration of Rights," 1876,
 18: 868
 Wilson, Ella B. Ensor
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
 20: 318
 Wilson, Hannah
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 751-53
 Wilson, Harriet Malvina Howe
 letter to WLNL meeting, 10:
 462
 Wilson, Henry
 letter(s) to SBA, 16: 338;
 17: 427
 Wilson, John Frank
 letter(s) to SBA, 41: 105
 Wilson, Lockwood, Everett & Co.
 letter(s) to *Revolution*,
 1: 600
 Wilson, Mrs. Matthew
 letter(s) to ECS, 18: 88-91
 Wilson, Teresa F.
 letter(s) to SBA, 39: 923
 Wilton Junction, IA
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 705
 Winans, Edwin Baruch
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
 31: 246
 Winans, Emma Buttre
 letter(s) from SBA, 31:
 812-13
 Winchester, IL
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 441
 Winchester, Margaret E.
 letter(s) from SBA, 13:
 268-70
 Winder, R. B.
 letter(s) to SBA, 24: 835
 Winfield, KS
 NWSA and Kansas Equal Suffrage
 Association meeting
 SBA attends, 25: 56
 Winnebago City, MN
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 1104-15
 Winnesheik County WSA
 meetings of
 SBA attends, 18: 503
 Winslow, Caroline Brown
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 4: 106
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
 35: 432
 Winslow, Emily Annette
 letter(s) from ECS, 6: 392-93
 Winslow, Hannah M.
 letter(s) to ECS, 1: 33
 Winslow, Isaac
 letter(s) from ECS, 6: 392-93
 Winsor, Henry
 letter(s) to SBA, 18: 853
 Wisconsin
 letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
 5: 509-658
 See also Amherst, Appleton,
 Augusta, Bangor, Baraboo,
 Beaver Dam, Berlin, Black
 River Falls, Bristol, Colby,
 Darien, Dartford, Eau Claire,
 Elkhorn, Fond du Lac,
 Footville, Fox River, Gale,
 Galesville, Geneva, Green
 Bay, Janesville, Jefferson,
 La Crosse, Lind, Madison,
 Marinette, Millard, Milton
 Junction, Milwaukee, Mineral
 Point, Monroe, Monticello,
 Mukwonago, Omro, Oshkosh,
 Palmyra, Reedsburg, Ripon,
 Rock Prairie, Schofield,
 Sheboygan Falls, Spencer,
 Springfield, Waupaca, Wausau,
 Whitewater
 Wisconsin Equal Rights Association
 meetings of
 ECS attends, 14: 644
 Wisconsin WSA
 letter in support of NWSA,
 "Declaration of Rights," 1876,
 18: 866
 letter(s) to International
 Council of Women, 26: 547
 congressional district tour
 SBA attends, 25: 83-87,
 101-2
 joint meeting with NWSA
 announcement of, 21: 164
 SBA attends, 21: 270-78
 meetings of
 ECS and SBA attend, 1:
 492; 13: 404-7
 letter from ECS, 27: 492
 letter from SBA, 44: 350
 SBA attends, 24: 1133-56;
 25: 724-38; 27: 483-92;
 37: 398-400
 Wixon, Susan Helen
 articles by
 "Woman's Bible," 34: 466
 Wolcott, Edward Oliver
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
 32: 389, 473
 letter(s) to SBA, 32: 472
 Wolcott, Laura J. Ross
 letter in support of NWSA,
 "Declaration of Rights," 1876,
 18: 866
 letter(s) to NWSA meetings,
 20: 320, 792
 letter(s) to SBA, 21: 234-36
 Woman's Bible
 about, ECS interview, 34: 178,
 208
 about, SBA interview, 34: 870
 copyright of, 34: 137
 "Woman's Bible"
 contributions by
 Blake, Lillie Devereux,
 33: 923; 34: 135
 Chandler, Lucinda Banister,
 36: 1005, 1065-66,
 1095-96; 37: 182-83,
 203-4, 221-23, 228-29
 Colby, Clara Dorothy Bewick,
 33: 924, 959, 997, 1011;
 36: 110-11
 Dietrick, Ellen Battelle,
 34: 250
 Gage, Matilda Joslyn,
 36: 1003-4, 1032-33;
 37: 264-65
 Hanaford, Phebe Ann Coffin,
 34: 466; 37: 292
 Neymann, Clara B., 36:
 47-48, 110-11, 163, 189-90,
 694, 846, 859
 Southworth, Louisa Stark,
 34: 202; 36: 88, 190,
 682; 37: 71, 167-68
 Stanton, Elizabeth Cady,
 37: 35, 54-56, 58-59,
 91-92, 107-8, 118-20,
 145-49, 156-57, 167-68,
 228-29, 236, 292, 355
 Wixon, Susan Helen, 34:
 466
 Woman's Christian Temperance Union
 Churchville, NY
 meetings of, SBA attends,
 37: 218
 Clark County, OR
 meetings of, SBA attends,
 35: 795
 Kansas
 meetings of, SBA attends,
 30: 471-72
 Lake Bluff Training School and
 Convocation

- SBA attends, **24**: 1062-63
 Lakeside Chautauqua Assembly, OH
 SBA lecture, **34**: 273-74
 Louisiana
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
39: 763, 832
 Monroe County, NY
 letter(s) to SBA, **28**: 40
 National
 letter(s) from SBA, **32**:
 405
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
32: 405, 451; **35**: 337,
 442
 letter(s) to SBA, **26**: 541
 meetings of, letter to SBA,
37: 352-54
 meetings of, letter to SBA
 and reply, **34**: 402
 meetings of, SBA attends,
22: 115-16; **31**: 698;
32: 1141-46
 New York State
 meetings of, SBA attends,
34: 346-47
 North Dakota
 meetings of, SBA attends,
28: 600-609
 Pittsburgh, PA
 letter(s) to International
 Council of Women, **26**:
 487
 Pomona, CA
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
35: 360
 Rochester
 receptions, SBA attends,
29: 542
 Rochester Eighth Ward
 meetings of, SBA attends,
29: 276-78
 St. Louis
 SBA remarks at banquet,
33: 985
 Tasmania
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
42: 459
 Utica, NY
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
28: 89
 Wausau, WI
 petition to NWSA and
 Wisconsin WSA meeting,
21: 275-78
 World's
 meetings of, SBA attends,
31: 691-97
 Woman's Congress Association
 executive board
 letter from SBA, **34**: 610
 meetings of
 letter from SBA, **33**: 660
 letter to ECS, **34**: 503
 Woman's Congress of the Pacific
 Coast
 letter(s) from SBA, **35**: 730,
 734
 letter(s) to SBA, **35**: 734
 SBA attends, **34**: 46-88;
35: 728-43
 Alameda County Branch
 meetings of, SBA attends,
34: 119-20
Woman's Journal
 letter(s) to editor from ECS,
16: 1019; **17**: 27; **23**:
 1068; **24**: 289, 714, 751, 933,
 1093; **31**: 321, 372, 384, 592,
 602, 612, 670; **32**: 996, 1047;
33: 17, 46, 933; **34**: 585,
 819; **37**: 115, 260, 313, 383;
38: 305, 861; **39**: 641-47,
 844; **40**: 60, 708; **41**: 532,
 570, 577, 904, 924, 989;
42: 294, 336, 419-20, 712
 letter(s) to editor from SBA,
26: 75; **29**: 348; **30**: 3;
31: 322, 611, 798; **32**: 738;
38: 650, 680
 Woman's National Press Association
 SBA lecture, **25**: 119
 Woman's Protest Committee
 appeal to defeat
 disfranchisement in Oklahoma
 and Arizona, signed by SBA,
44: 332, 346
 Woman's Relief Corps
 No. 31
 meetings of, SBA attends,
39: 850
 woman's rights conventions
 at Akron, OH
 letter from ECS, **7**:
 79-83A
 at Boston
 SBA attends, **8**: 282-84
 at New York, NY
 ECS and SBA sign call to,
7: 806
 SBA attends, **7**: 818-22
 at Rochester, NY
 ECS attends, **6**: 723-40,
 742-57
 at Salem, OH
 letter from ECS, **6**:
 1040-42
 at Seneca Falls, NY
 call to, ECS, **6**: 693
 ECS attends, **6**: 702-22,
 731-40
 woman's rights movement
 twentieth anniversary of its
 founding
 call to, **2**: 496
 ECS and SBA attend, **2**:
 553; **14**: 1002-51
 Woman's Suffrage Association of
 America
 "Address," ECS and SBA, **1**:
 361; **13**: 119
 letter to Democratic Party,
 National Convention 1868,
12: 952-60
 petitions to U.S. Senate,
13: 255-59, 278-79
 "Tammany Hall Platform," ECS
 and SBA, **1**: 204; **12**: 946
Woman's Tribune
 letter(s) to editor from ECS,
23: 1011; **26**: 976; **28**:
 238, 715; **31**: 428; **34**: 377
 letter(s) to editor from SBA,
27: 529, 634; **38**: 679;
40: 707
 woman suffrage conventions
 at Galena, IL
 ECS and SBA attend, **13**:
 413-16
 at Springfield, IL
 ECS attends, **13**: 401
 at St. Louis
 ECS and SBA attend, **1**:
 479, 491; **13**: 397-98
 SBA attends, **13**: 844-52
 woman suffrage meetings
 at Washington
 SBA attends, **40**: 937
 New York's 7th Congressional
 District
 SBA attends, **13**: 583
 Women's Educational and Industrial
 Union
 of Buffalo
 circular for, **31**: 407-10
 of Rochester
 meetings of, SBA attends,
31: 417-18; **44**: 722
 of San Francisco
 reception, SBA attends,
35: 698-99
 Women's Franchise League
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
29: 25
 meetings of
 ECS attends, **28**: 461
 Women's Liberal Federation
 executive committee
 letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
29: 26
 Women's Loyal National League
 (WLNL)
 acknowledgement of donations,
10: 542, 552, 561
 appeal for funds, SBA, **10**:
 820
 appeal for petitions, ECS, SBA,
10: 711, 724
 appeal for petitions, SBA,
10: 738-39
 appeal, "Mammoth Petition," SBA,
10: 737
 appeal, "One Million
 Petitioners!" ECS, SBA,
10: 741
 appeal, "Prayer of One Hundred
 Thousand," SBA, **10**: 746-49
 appeal, "To the Women of the
 Nation," ECS, **10**: 699

- appeal, "Woman's One Political Right . . .," ECS, **10**: 590
- petitions to U.S. Senate, **10**: 719-21, 740
- texts of petition to U.S. Congress, **10**: 473, 503-4, 510-11
- executive committee of report of, **10**: 810
- meetings of
- announcement of, **10**: 817
 - calls to, **10**: 415, 419, 752, 754, 757-59, 764
 - ECS and SBA attend, **10**: 434-91, 503-9, 512, 522, 539-40, 572, 800-805, 808-9
 - ECS attends, **10**: 492, 657-68
 - SBA attends, **10**: 546-47
- Women's New York State Temperance Society
- membership of Clarissa W. Robie, **7**: 483
 - SBA agent for, **7**: 217
 - SBA lectures for, **7**: 221-33, 238-48, 273-97, 313, 525-59, 565-67, 573-75, 581-84, 586-88, 596-640, 644-84, 686
 - "Temperance--Rights of Women. An Appeal . . .," ECS, **7**: 308
- text of petition to New York State Legislature, **7**: 503
- meetings of
- announcements of, **7**: 194, 307, 315
 - calls to, **7**: 188, 595
 - ECS and SBA attend, **7**: 195-212, 714-33
 - SBA attends, **7**: 434-42
- premium for temperance tract announcement of, ECS, **7**: 521
- Women's Typographical Union No. 1 meeting of
- SBA attends, **13**: 95
- Women Taxpayers' Association
- text of petition to New York Legislature, **17**: 933
- Monroe County
- meetings of, ECS attends, **17**: 400-401
 - meetings of, SBA attends, **17**: 73-75, 235-38, 248-49, 258-59, 272-75, 393
- Wood, Bower
- article(s) in *Revolution*, **1**: 115, 170, 248, 264
 - letter(s) to *Revolution*, **1**: 19, 147, 295, 334-35; **2**: 186
- Wood, Samuel Newitt
- article(s) in *Revolution*, **2**: 115
- letter(s) from SBA, **12**: 125-31, 237-38, 311-14, 325-26, 344-49, 366-67, 442-43, 552-53, 560-67
- letter(s) to SBA, **12**: 113-16
- letter to AERA meeting, **12**: 185, 191, 198, 202
- other letters
- from Train, George F., **12**: 556
 - to Train, George F., **12**: 554
- Woodbridge, Mary Ann Brayton
- letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **32**: 451
 - letter(s) to SBA, **20**: 375-77
- Woodhams, Alfred Roe
- letter(s) to NWSA meetings, **21**: 66
- Woodhull, Victoria Claflin
- about, ECS interview, **18**: 510
 - letter(s) from ECS, **15**: 418, 430, 474, 664-65, 852-57; **16**: 62
 - letter(s) from SBA, **15**: 387, 427-29
 - letter(s) to SBA, **16**: 823-26
 - See also Martin, Victoria Claflin Woodhull
- other letters
- from Flournoy, John J., **14**: 1121
- Woodruff, Jessie L.
- letter(s) to SBA, **38**: 668-69
- Woodstock, IL
- letter(s) from, NWSA Series, **4**: 442-43
- Woodstown, NJ
- SBA lectures, **21**: 127
- Woodworth, Grace A.
- letter(s) from SBA, **44**: 559-60, 871-72
- Woonsocket, SD
- state amendment campaign convention
 - SBA attends, **28**: 365
- Worcester County North Anti-Slavery Society
- meetings of
 - SBA attends, **10**: 568
- Working Woman's Association
- memorial to governor of Pennsylvania for Hester Vaughan, **13**: 131
 - joint meeting with Woman's Mutual Aid Society
 - SBA attends, **14**: 517
 - meetings of
 - announcement of, SBA, **2**: 61
 - ECS and SBA attend, **12**: 1011-14; **13**: 756-60
 - SBA attends, **1**: 299-300, 350, 412, 431, 535, 551, 591, 597; **2**: 21, 77, 109, 125-26; **13**: 116-18, 129-30, 139-41, 265-67, 308-9, 451-53, 493-94, 539-40, 552-53, 562, 578-79, 609, 829-30, 858-59; **14**: 87
 - meeting to protest conviction of Hester Vaughan
 - ECS and SBA attend, **1**: 387-88; **13**: 131-34
- Working Woman's Association No. 1
- meetings of
 - SBA attends, **1**: 307, 324; **13**: 1-3, 67-68, 75-76
- Working Woman's Association No. 1 & No. 2
- joint meetings of
 - SBA attends, **13**: 96-97
- Working Woman's Association No. 2
- meetings of
 - SBA attends, **1**: 307-8, 316; **13**: 64-66, 69, 78-80
- Working Women's Protective Union
- meetings of
 - SBA attends, **10**: 573
- World's Columbian Commission
- letter(s) to SBA, **30**: 494-95
- World's Columbian Exposition
- Board of Lady Managers
 - SBA attends, **31**: 712
- Congress of Education
- ECS address for, read by SBA, **31**: 565-77
 - SBA attends, **31**: 564-77
- Congress of Representative Women
- ECS address for, read by Harriet T. Upton, **31**: 453, 463-66
 - ECS address for, read by SBA, **31**: 451-52, 467-72; **41**: 999-1003
 - SBA attends, **31**: 449-72
- Congress on Government
- ECS address for, read by SBA, **32**: 273-85
 - SBA attends, **31**: 593-97
- Congress on Social Purity
- SBA attends, **31**: 496
- Parliament of Religions
- ECS address for, read by SBA, **31**: 615-53
 - SBA attends, **31**: 615-53
- Public Press Congress
- SBA attends, **31**: 478-84
- Religious Press Congress
- SBA attends, **31**: 479-84
- Temperance Congress
- SBA attends, **31**: 505-7
- Woman's Building lectures
- SBA lectures, **31**: 488-89
- World's Independent Order of Good Templars
- letter(s) to NAWSA meetings, **29**: 12
- World's Temperance Convention
- planning meeting

- SBA attends, 7: 703-4
- Wortley, Mary
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
2: 297
- Wright, Mrs.
letter in support of NWSA,
"Declaration of Rights," 1876,
18: 871
- Wright, Anne W.
letter(s) from SBA, 24:
636-39
- Wright, David
letter(s) to SBA, 7: 837-39
- Wright, Ellen
letter(s) to SBA, 9: 119-22,
395-99, 534-35, 760-62; 10:
296-99, 874-75
See also Garrison, Ellen
Wright
- Wright, Flora McMartin
letter(s) from ECS, 25:
523-28, 582-84
- Wright, J. Reynolds
letter(s) to ECS, 1: 193
- Wright, Martha Coffin Pelham
letter(s) from ECS, 8: 327,
412-14; 9: 713-14, 727, 1111;
10: 97, 149-52, 285-86,
428-30, 704; 11: 234-35, 263,
297; 12: 259, 810-11, 832,
841-43; 14: 769-70, 1160,
1175-78; 15: 312, 361,
489-92, 657-60, 719-22, 739-42,
764; 16: 52, 211-12, 341-46,
1006-10; 17: 6-9; 18:
104-13
letter(s) from SBA, 8: 355-62,
449-52, 476-79; 9: 425-28,
529, 1026-27, 1075-76; 10:
8-11, 149-52, 163-66; 12:
368; 14: 532-37, 902-4, 909,
929-31; 15: 486-88, 617-20,
650-52; 16: 124-27, 135-38,
174-76, 313-14, 392-94, 814-19
letter(s) to ECS, 1: 270;
2: 583; 9: 79-83, 680-83,
735-40, 746-48, 922; 12: 833;
14: 715, 1147-48, 1169-72;
15: 324-25, 411-12, 616, 628;
16: 53-57, 74-75, 148-53,
213-17, 368-69; 17: 20-24;
18: 95-101, 133-38
letter(s) to SBA, 2: 273;
8: 310-13, 457-60, 465-66,
470-75, 480-82, 564-66, 827-28;
9: 6-9, 14-18, 25-27, 60-63,
84-86, 114, 154-57, 239-40,
304-6, 395-99, 429-31, 563-66,
732-34, 753-59; 10: 186-89;
14: 66-69, 905-8, 1173-74;
15: 409-10, 537-40, 615;
16: 143, 304-8, 401-3,
490-93; 17: 417-20; 18:
55-61, 215-18
SBA entry on, *Johnson's New
Universal Cyclopaedia*,
20: 624
other letters
from Mott, L. P., 6: 855
from Mott, Lucretia C.,
9: 739-40; 13: 429-33
to Blackwell, Henry B.,
14: 587-89
- Wright, Mary Dean Butterfield
letter(s) from SBA, 44: 487
- Wright, Paulina Kellogg
letter(s) to ECS, 6: 772
See also Davis, Paulina
Kellogg Wright
- Wyandotte, KS
tour for impartial suffrage
ECS and SBA lecture, 12:
374-438
- Wyandotte, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 444-45
- Wyman, Lillie Buffum Chace
letter(s) from SBA, 36: 146
- Wyoming *See* Cheyenne
- Wyoming, IL
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 446-47
- Wyoming County, NY
Political Equality Club of
meetings of, SBA attends,
29: 430
- Y
- Yerkes, Mr. J. H.
letter(s) to SBA, 44: 364
other letters
to Anthony, Mary S., 44:
364
- Yerrinton, James Manning Winchell
letter(s) from SBA, 9: 302-3,
311-12, 334-39, 749-52
- Yonkers, NY
ECS lectures, 17: 428
- York, England
See also Ladies' National
Association
meeting for parliamentary
franchise
ECS attends, 23: 143-46
- York, NE
letter(s) from, NWSA Series,
4: 1225-26
- Young, Charles Howard
letter(s) from SBA, 36: 848
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 773
- Young, Edward J.
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
2: 108
- Young, John Russell
letter(s) from ECS, 13:
466-67; 18: 880-81; 37:
160-61
letter(s) from SBA, 11:
645-47; 12: 643, 805-6,
1003-4; 18: 269-70, 299-300;
38: 320-21
letter(s) to SBA, 38: 332-33
- Young, May Dow Davids
letter(s) from SBA, 41:
239-41
- Young, Samuel
letter(s) to *Revolution*,
1: 483
- Young, Virginia Durant
letter(s) from SBA in shorthand,
34: 664, 708
letter(s) to NAWSA meetings,
31: 240
letter(s) to SBA, 36: 832
- Young, Zina Diantha Huntington
letter(s) to SBA, 25: 205,
217
- Young Men's Woman's Suffrage
League
ECS lectures, 18: 139-203
- Z
- Zakrzewska, Marie Elizabeth
letter(s) to SBA, 18: 1001-4;
31: 317-20
letter to National Woman's
Rights Convention 1866,
11: 513
SBA entry on, *Johnson's New
Universal Cyclopaedia*,
20: 625
- Zanesville, OH
interview(s) in, SBA, 20: 410A

