

Connecticut Women and the Right to Vote

With Some Plainville Connections To These Historic Events



Part 2

**A Virtual Exhibit by Rosemary Morante
Plainville Historical Society
Summer 2020**

Photo: Suffrage Parade. RG101box4folder7. Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association Records. State Archives. Connecticut State Library.

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1917: The Movement Splits

Status of the Movement

State suffragists had worked hard to grow the movement. By 1917, the CWSA had over 32,000 members.¹⁴ They raised money and hired staff. There were many local leagues in the state.

They had also worked hard to convince state political leaders. However, even with a great organization, there was little success legislatively. In 1915, for example, the General Assembly had rejected a bill for a state constitutional amendment granting suffrage.¹⁵

Emergence of the National Women's Party

With frustration at the state level, some suffragists had already become interested in the National Women's Party (NWP). The NWP agenda was to work directly for a federal amendment granting women in all states the right to vote. They were also willing to take more aggressive steps to achieve their goal.

In 1917, Katherine Houghton Hepburn resigned as CWSA President and ultimately headed the state's NWP branch. Others including Josephine Bennett and Catherine Flanagan of Hartford and Helena Hill Weed of Norwalk also became involved in the NWP.

Several women from Connecticut, including Catherine Flanagan and Helena Hill Weed, were among those who picketed and protested at the White House and were even arrested and incarcerated.

Relationship of the CWSA and NWP

There was some tension between the CWSA and NWP state branch, but the split was apparently not as acrimonious as some might think. In her book *Votes and More for Women: Suffrage and After in Connecticut*, Carole Nichols notes that leaders like Katherine Houghton Hepburn maintained CWSA membership and understood that all groups had a common goal.

Suffragists Say These Legislators Broke Faith In Vote On Amendment.

A list of thirty-one members of the state Legislature, accused by suffrage leaders of having broken their pledges in voting against the suffrage amendment, is displayed in the window of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Organization on Asylum street. Similar lists are being prepared for distribution. Suffrage leaders say that these men will be opposed by the association in all their future political aspirations.

Article in the Hartford Courant on April 9, 1915 after the latest suffrage bill had been defeated. Apparently a number of legislators had promised support that did not materialize.



Josephine Bennett with her daughters.

Photo is from the Program Book: Votes for women: pageant and parade, arranged by the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, 1914. 324.3 C752of, The Connecticut Historical Society.



Catherine Flanagan, shown here in 1920.

Photo: 2017.86.16. The Connecticut Historical Society.

1917-1918: Connecticut Goes to War

Supporting the War Effort

In April 1917, the United States entered World War I. Many state suffragists wanted to demonstrate patriotism and show that women were instrumental in supporting the war effort.

They helped through Red Cross work and selling Liberty Bonds. CWSA members even pitched in to help the home front deal with the Flu Epidemic of 1918 by assisting visiting nurses. CWSA also ran farms to teach women about agriculture.

In 1918, three women were appointed as members of the State Council of Defense. They included prominent suffragist Caroline Ruutz-Rees who had chaired the CWSA's War Work Committee.

More women also went to work at this time. Although Rosie the Riveter icon did not exist until World War II, an increasing number of women worked in the state's factories during World War I.

It is thought that the roles played by women during the war may have helped to change attitudes about the role of women in general.

Picketing Continues in Washington

Some Connecticut suffragists such as Helena Hill Weed of Norwalk took a different stance and continued to picket the White House. Their rationale was that if the U.S. was fighting for democracy abroad, we should not be disenfranchising women at home.

These two different perspectives were reflected within the national movement as well as within the Connecticut suffrage movement.



Women at Winchester Repeating Arms in New Haven. 1918.

Photo: Library of Congress. 94506155. "No known restrictions on publication."

Suffrage Officers Become
Influenza Nurses



Hartford Courant. October 17, 1918.



Caroline Ruutz-Rees.

Photo is from the Program Book: Votes for women: pageant and parade, arranged by the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, 1914. 324.3 C752of, The Connecticut Historical Society.

1917-1918: Plainville Connections

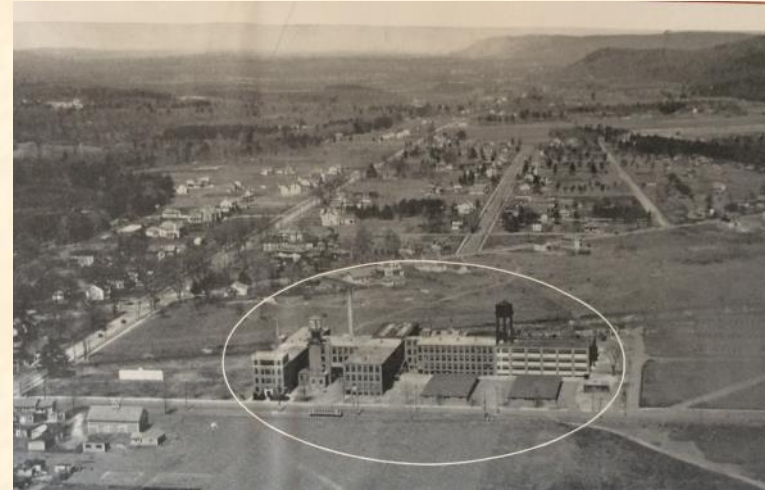
Plainville Women and World War I

Like others in the state, Plainville women played key roles during the war years:

- ◆ The increase of women in manufacturing was reflected here. In a commemorative booklet, Trumbull Electric stated that women employees increased from 12 to 150 and that “women saved the day.” Marlin Rockwell placed ads for women workers in *The Herald*.
- ◆ Plainville women volunteered for the war effort. The local War Bureau had an active women’s committee. Women helped with Liberty Bonds, Red Cross work, and other activities.
- ◆ Monica Brock from South Washington Street was an Army Nurse who served in France. Sadly, she died shortly after her return. Monica Brock is the only Plainville woman to lose her life while in military service. On December 2, 1918, *The Herald* mourned the loss of the “heroine which this town had in the great war.”

Two More Suffrage Events in Town

- ◆ On June 19, 1918, *The Herald* reported on the Home Guard’s four-day carnival opening that evening. One of the organizations with a booth was a group listed as Votes for Women Workers. The carnival was held in Pierce’s field on Pierce Street.
- ◆ *The Herald* reports about one month later that Nancy M. Schoonmaker of the CWSA will speak at Plainville Campgrounds. Nancy Schoonmaker was a writer and lecturer who held the position of Citizenship Chairperson in CWSA.



Trumbull Electric (taken about 10 years after World War I).

Photo: Plainville Historical Society files.



Army Nurse Monica Brock

Photo:
Plainville Historical Society files.



MRS. NANCY M. SCHOONMAKER,
Organizer for Hartford County.

Photo:
Hartford Courant.
March 4, 1918.

1918-1919: Political Involvement

Campaigns of 1918

Although women did not yet vote, the CWSA played a role in the 1918 election. A pro-suffrage state legislature was an important goal.

The CWSA sought endorsements of suffrage, interviewed candidates, and released lists of supporters. On October 20th, *The Hartford Courant* reported that they also offered to speak at rallies of both political parties.

African-American Activism

In her article “Uncovering African American Women’s Fight for Suffrage” in *Connecticut Explored*, Karen Li Miller tells of African-American activism in Hartford during this time. Women such as Mary Johnson were engaged in both community and political endeavors. Chair of the Colored Republican Women of Connecticut by 1918, Mary was also involved in Liberty Loans and founding of a community center with skills training for young women.¹⁶

In Spring 1919, Hartford’s Mary Townsend Seymour became a noted voice for suffrage. She was a co-founder of Hartford’s NAACP. Mary Townsend Seymour raised important issues about race. She questioned leaders about the hesitation of the movement to address these issues so as not to lose potential support in the South.

Her support for truly universal suffrage was clear when she made a public announcement at an Hartford event that the federal “Susan B. Anthony Amendment” should be passed “without compromise.”¹⁷



November 3, 1918 Hartford Courant article just before the mid-term elections. The CWSA focused a lot of effort on interviewing candidates and identifying those who were supportive, opposed, or noncommittal.



Mary Townsend Seymour.

Photo: Courant Sunday Magazine. Sept. 14, 1952.

1919: One Last Attempt at State Legislation

A Bill to Grant Suffrage in Presidential Elections

During the first half of 1919, there was one last valiant attempt to pass a suffrage bill in the state legislature. The bill would have allowed the state's women to vote in Presidential elections.

The Campaign for Passage

The CWSA, under President Katherine Ludington, worked very hard to secure passage. On March 11th, about 100 women marched to the State Capitol with petitions containing thousands of signatures. Impassioned testimony was given at the committee hearing.

Katherine Ludington led off the testimony. On March 12th, *The Hartford Courant* published her remarks including the following:

“Over 98,000 women in Connecticut favor suffrage; their signatures lie in front of you. Even criminals have their forfeited rights; we ask for our ungranted rights.”

The Outcome

In late April, the State House passed the bill 124-97. However, on May 1st, the State Senate gave final rejection by several votes. The state legislature adjourned on May 8th.

It was another disappointment. Some states had made more progress. Neighboring New York, for example, had granted women the right to vote and elected their first women state legislators in 1918.

Despite the fact that Connecticut had such a strong, well-organized suffrage movement with significant public support, they once again could not overcome the political establishment.



Katherine Ludington, President of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association 1917-1920. She led the group during the final years of the struggle for the right to vote.

Photo: Courtesy of Connecticut's League of Women Voters. LWVCT.



Hartford Courant
March 11, 1919.

Connecticut and the 19th Amendment: The Background

The Amendment

While CWSA was still working on state legislation, work on a federal amendment was taking place in Washington D.C. Efforts had received a major boost in 1918 when President Woodrow Wilson finally announced that he would support such an amendment.

By 1919, Congress had before them the proposed amendment:

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

The Vote in Congress

On May 21, 1919, the U.S. House of Representatives approved it and the U.S. Senate did likewise two weeks later. Connecticut Senators McLean and Brandegee both voted against it.

However, three of our five U.S. Representatives had voted for the amendment. Based on *The Hartford Courant's* May 22nd report, these were Augustine Lonergan (1st District), Richard Freeman (2nd District), and Schuyler Merritt (4th District). John Tilson (3rd District) opposed and James Glynn (5th District) did not vote.

Ratification by the States Begins

Next step was ratification by at least 36 states. This would be the three-fourths required by the U.S. Constitution. By Summer 1920, 35 states had approved, others had rejected, and several had not acted.

Connecticut was in the last group. Our legislature only met every other year. They would not be back until January 2021 unless Governor Marcus Holcomb called a special session.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT PASSES SENATE 56 TO 25

Roll Call Shows Two Votes
More Than Necessary
Two-thirds—Now Goes to
States For Ratification—
Brandegee and McLean
Among Eight Republicans
Who Vote No.

BRANDEGEE PLEADS FOR STATES' RIGHTS

Washington, June 4.—Action by Congress on equal suffrage—subject of a fight for forty years' duration—ended late today in adoption by the Senate by a vote of 56 to 25 of the historic Susan B. Anthony constitutional amendment resolution.

The proposed amendment, adopted by the House by a vote of 304 to 89, May 21, as the first act of the new Congress, now goes to the states, ratification by Legislatures of three-fourths of which is required for its incorporation in the federal constitution.

Hartford Courant June 5, 1919.

Connecticut and the 19th Amendment: Ratification

Focus on Connecticut

Attention focused on Governor Marcus Holcomb. This attention came from within the state and from other parts of the country. It was hoped that the strength of our suffrage organizations might carry the day.

The Pressure Builds

There was a surge of activity to persuade Holcomb to call the session. There were petitions, letters, public rallies, national speakers, leaflets, and more. Members of both parties advocated for the session. Even our two U.S. Senators who had voted against the amendment said they were in favor of calling in the state legislature!

However, Governor Holcomb would not budge. The rationale was that there was not an emergency warranting a special session.

Eyes Turn to Tennessee

At some point, attention had turned to Tennessee which, like Connecticut, had not yet acted. After a hard fought battle, their legislature ratified the Amendment on August 18, 1920 during a special session. Connecticut had lost the opportunity to make history as the state that put ratification "over the top."

Connecticut Finally Ratifies

Ultimately, Governor Holcomb did call for a special session although it was a bit "after the fact." On September 14, 1920, the legislature met. The State Senate approved the amendment unanimously. The House approved 159-3. Connecticut was therefore on the record as ratifying the 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.



Hartford Courant May 4, 1920

1919-1920: Plainville Connections

How Did Our Own State Representative and State Senator Vote on Suffrage Legislation?

There were some mixed results here. Let's look at their records:

State Representative John Wade Jr.

John Wade Jr., a metallurgist at Marlin Rockwell, was elected in November 1918. He served the one term. In an October 30, 1920 article, *The Herald* states that "Mr. Wade stood for woman suffrage and backed them on every stand they made." *

While there must be some basis for that assessment, Representative Wade was absent and did not vote on either the 1919 bill or 1920 resolution on ratification. When researching local history, you do not always discover what you hoped to find!



Our State Representative
John Wade Jr.

Photo: New Britain Herald.

State Senator Richard H. Deming

Plainville was in the 5th State Senate District with several Hartford County towns. Senator Richard H. Deming was an attorney from West Hartford. His suffrage record during this time is a positive one.

Senator Deming voted for the 1919 bill to give Connecticut women the right to vote in Presidential elections. Unfortunately, as noted earlier, the bill ultimately failed. Then on September 14, 1920, he also voted to ratify the 19th Amendment. In fact, *The Courant* on September 15th notes that Senator Deming was one of the legislators who met with CWSA President Katherine Ludington on the morning of the 14th shortly before the legislature opened.

* In *The Courant* article about the 1918 elections shown earlier, the CWSA had listed his opponent and incumbent Aquila Condell as non-committal on suffrage. There is no information on John Wade at least in that article.

Many thanks to Steve Mirsky of the State Library for sending pages of the House Journal with official voting record information.



Our State Senator
Richard H. Deming

Photo: Used with permission
of the Deming family.

Fall 1920: Women Register and Vote

Voter Registration

During the Fall of 1920, Connecticut women had the opportunity to register as full voters. For many women who had fought so long and hard, it must have been a memorable moment in their lives.

Election Day: Tuesday 2, 1920

Tuesday November 2nd was Election Day. Connecticut women went to the polls and voted for state and national offices for the first time. *The Courant* reported two days later that 150,000 women had voted.

Running for Office

It was also the first time that women were elected to state office. Five women became State Representatives. They were:

- ♦ Mary M. Hooker of Hartford
- ♦ Emily Brown of Naugatuck
- ♦ Reverend Grace Edwards of New Hartford
- ♦ Helen Jewett of Tolland
- ♦ Lillian Frink of Canterbury.

Mary Townsend Seymour also ran for State Representative. Although not successful in November, she was our first African-American woman to run for the legislature.



Hartford Courant. November 4, 1920.



Representative Emily Sophie Brown, of Connecticut

Emily Brown from Naugatuck was one of the first five women legislators. She was profiled in a Summer 2020 *Connecticut Explored* article by Lyme -Old Lyme High School student Audrey Berry.

During their first term, Emily Brown and Mary Hooker introduced successful legislation to establish a child welfare bureau. ¹⁸

Photo is from *The Woman Citizen* (periodical). July 30, 1921.

Fall 1920: Plainville Connections

Local Women Are Made Voters

New voters were made between October 9th and 19th at Town Hall on Pierce Street. *The Herald* report shown here tells of a busy day on Saturday October 9th. There were several more sessions. By the end of registration, there were 466 women voters.

Who Were Some of Plainville's First Women Voters?

The Herald also tells us that the first three to be made full voters* were Emma Roberts, Sarah Kingsbury and Lillian Osborne. They were from East Street, East Main Street, and Camp Street respectively.

It is particularly poignant to see Mrs. Roberts listed first. Just the year before, her son Leon had died from injuries suffered in World War I. A proud Gold Star mother, Emma was a charter member of the local American Legion and VFW.

Also listed on October 9th is whom we believe to be our first African-American woman voter. Mary Corrine Baker lived on Whiting Street with husband John and two daughters. She was active in our Redeemer's A.M.E. Zion Church. Mary worked as a dental assistant.

And one more... On Saturday October 9th, Christiana "Annie Hills" Calor became a voter at Town Hall. Fifty-one years earlier in 1869 she had traveled to Hartford for the founding convention of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association.

* Please note the term "full voters." Women had registered to vote just in school elections beginning in 1893. Unfortunately, we do not have complete lists of women voters with the partial suffrage from those years.

Examination of Electors.
The selectmen of the town were in session in the town clerk's office today from 10 a. m. until 6 p. m. to receive and examine those qualified for the electors' oath. The hall was filled with women before the opening hour this morning and the selectmen had their hands full when the session opened. The first three women being duly received and placed on the books as qualified voters are: Mrs. Emma C. Roberts, Mrs. Sarah E. Kingsbury and Miss Lillian C. Osborne.

Image: New Britain Herald. October 9, 1920.

Admitted as Electors Oct. 9th 1920	
1. Emma C. Roberts	1863
2. Sarah E. Kingsbury	1873
3. Lillian C. Osborne	1863
4. Ellen M. Weston	1857
5. Agnes V. Knight	1861
6. Mary C. Barrett	1872
7. Nellie A. Heston	1869
8. Nellie A. Heston	1885
9. Nellie B. Raymond	1874
10. Nellie B. Thompson	1878
11. Ellen A. Cook	1876
12. Elizabeth R. Crockett	1875
13. Mary C. Austin	1869
14. Lillian C. Heston	1885
15. Lillian C. Heston	1886
16. Mary C. Barrett	1872
17. Lillian M. Lowrey	1861
18. Lillian M. Lowrey	1865
19. Margaret C. Smith	1874
20. Lillian M. Lowrey	1876
21. Mary C. Barrett	1875
22. Lillian C. Heston	1875
23. Lillian C. Heston	1875
24. Sarah E. Kingsbury	1873
25. Sarah E. Kingsbury	1873
26. Sarah E. Kingsbury	1873
27. Sarah E. Kingsbury	1873

First page of 1920 women registrations.

Taken at Office of the Town Clerk. Town of Plainville.

Fall 1920: Plainville Connections

Local Women Turn Out for Political Rallies

Large numbers of women attended these local political rallies. They were held at the Grange Hall on Pierce Street.

October 13th

- ♦ The local Republican Women's Committee arranged a rally on October 13th. Open to men and women, the rally's audience was three-quarters women. Committee Chair Clara Usher presided. One speaker was John Trumbull, the future governor from Plainville who was running for State Senate in 1920. He urged women to vote according to their own minds.

October 25th

- ♦ The Republican National Committee of Colored Voters arranged for an October 25th rally under NAACP auspices. Presider Samuel Baker expressed his pleasure in seeing a "large delegation" of women at their first rally. His wife Julia Baker who had become a voter earlier in October was on the planning committee. They lived on Farmington Avenue. Very active in Redeemer's A.M.E. Zion Church, Julia supervised Sunday School.

October 29th

- ♦ The October 29th Democratic Party rally attracted a large crowd with women comprising the majority at this event as well. Congressman Augustine Lonergan, now running for U.S. Senate, spoke to the crowd and was met with applause. Lonergan was one of three Connecticut Congressmen who had voted for the 19th Amendment.

Note: Information above was found in editions of *The New Britain Herald* from October 1920.

Republican Women's Rally
Plans have been completed by the Republican Women's Committee, to hold a big rally for the republican women and men, Wednesday evening, at the Grange Hall at 8 o'clock. They have secured Miss Lucy Price of New York, Journalist, to speak on "The women's vote, and the republican party." John H. Trumbull, senatorial nominee for the fifth district, will also speak. Instructions on how to use the voting machines will be given. The rally is open to all men and women.

New Britain Herald. October 9, 1920

PLAINVILLE NEWS
RALLY ATTENDED BY ATTENTIVE AUDIENCE
Democrats Hold Forth at Grange Hall
LONERGAN GIVES ADDRESS

New Britain Herald.
October 29, 1920

PLAINVILLE NEWS
REPUBLICAN RALLY AT GRANGE HALL
Republican National Committee of Colored People to Speak Monday
GRANGE FAIR PRIZE WINNERS
Legal Voter Indignant—Tendered
Miscellaneous Shower—Baby Welfare Conference—Girl Breaks Leg—
K. of P. Banquet—Receives Medal.
The republican national committee of colored voters, has arranged to have a republican rally in the Grange Hall, next Monday evening, at 8 o'clock. The rally has been especially called for the colored women voters, but the meeting is open to the public. It

New Britain Herald.
October 22, 1920



Grange Hall (in foreground) on Pierce Street next to the Town Hall. Apparently a popular place for political rallies, it was torn down in 1955.

Photo: Plainville Historical Society files.

Fall 1920: Plainville Connections

Some Plainville Highlights: Election Day 1920

- ♦ Voting took place at Town Hall on Pierce Street, the building which now houses our Plainville Historic Center. Polls opened at 5:30 AM and closed at 6:00 PM. Many factory workers voted early.
- ♦ The first two Plainville women to vote were Mrs. Ella Beach from East Main Street and Miss Mattie Johnson from Unionville Avenue.
- ♦ The Democratic and Republican Registrars of Voters had appointed Clara Usher and Agnes Wade as Deputy Registrars. *The Herald* noted that “These women have the distinction of being the first women deputy registrars in town.” They were to “have charge of the women voters.”
- ♦ Plainville voted for all or most of the victorious candidates including Warren Harding for President, Frank Brandeggee for re-election to U.S. Senate, and John Trumbull as the new State Senator.
- ♦ Out of the 466 women eligible to vote, 441 did so resulting in a great 94.6% turnout for the women. The men’s percentage of turnout was 83.6%.



The Plainville Historic Center as seen today on Pierce Street. The building was the former Town Hall where some of the “Plainville Connections” such as voting and voter registration took place.

Photo: Plainville Historical Society

Note: Much of the information above was found in editions of *The New Britain Herald* from November 1st, 2nd, and 3rd 1920.

Epilogue

In the years that followed Election Day 1920, women throughout the state and in Plainville gradually became more involved in politics and government. This included volunteering for political parties, running for municipal and state office, or engaging in related endeavors.

Quite a number of women who helped lead the suffrage movement, including CWSA President Katherine Ludington, transitioned their activism to the League of Women Voters.

Others put their volunteer efforts into working for various social causes. For example, Katherine Houghton Hepburn turned down requests to run for Senate but became a strong advocate for giving women access to contraception.

Mary Seymour Townsend continued to be involved especially as a labor activist. This “prominent member of the suffragette movement”¹⁹ passed away in Hartford thirty-seven years after women achieved the vote.

Still others pursued professional careers such as super-organizer Emily Pierson who entered Yale Medical School after 1920. She practiced medicine in her hometown of Cromwell for many years and served as a Director of Health and school doctor.

It is not surprising that these women continued on with service and activism in a variety of ways. Their story was truly one of great dedication to equality, social justice, and positive change.

Coming in Late August...

Plainville Women Leading the Way: 1921-Present

Be sure to watch for our next virtual exhibit.

Based on a March 2019 presentation at the Historic Center, it will tell the story of those Plainville women who have held office and impacted our public policy for the past 100 years.



Photo: RG101box4folder7. Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association



Photo: RG101box4folder7. Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association
Records. State Archives. Connecticut State Library.

NOTES

¹ Woodward, Walter W. "The Revolution of 1818," **Connecticut Explored**. Fall 2018. Used online.

² Nichols, Carole. **Votes and more for women: Suffrage and after in Connecticut**. Haworth. 1983.

³ Nichols.

⁴ Nichols.

⁵ **Hartford Courant**. March 11, 1886. Page 1. Used online.

⁶ Connecticut Historical Society. **The work must be done: Women of color and the right to vote**. 2020. Used online.

⁷ **CWSA Minutes**. Volume 1. 1893. p. 166. CT State Library. Used online.

⁸ Jenkins, Jessica D. "The long road to women's suffrage in Connecticut," **Connecticut Explored**. Spring 2016. Used Online.

(Carole Nichols also states that this was the case.)

⁹ **The selected papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony**. Vol. VI. Rutgers University Press, 2013. p. 410. Used online.

¹⁰ Thornton, Steve, "A feeling of solidarity: labor unions and suffragists team up," **ConnecticutHistory.org**. 2015. Used online.

¹¹ "November 13: Emmeline Pankhurst delivers Freedom or Death Speech in Hartford," **Today in Connecticut History**. November 13, 2018. Used online.

¹² Jenkins, Jessica, "Marching shoulder to shoulder: New life in the Connecticut Women's Suffrage Movement," **Connecticut History**. Fall 2000. Used online.

¹³ Thornton. Used online.

¹⁴ Jenkins, "Marching shoulder to shoulder." Used online.

¹⁵ Bingham, Harold J. **History of Connecticut**. Lewis Historical Publishing Company. 1962

¹⁶ Miller, Karen Li, "Uncovering African American women's fight for suffrage," **Connecticut Explored**. Summer 2020. pp.39-40.

¹⁷ Miller, pp.39-40.

¹⁸ Berry, Audrey, "One of the First Five," **Connecticut Explored**. Summer 2020. p. 41.

¹⁹ **Hartford Courant**. January 14, 1957. Page 11. Used online.

Note: Nichols and Bingham were used on-site and notes unfortunately did not include page numbers. Due to Covid-19, it was not possible to return to the two libraries.

A Special Thank You to the Following for Their Assistance

Connecticut Historical Society

Connecticut State Library

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Richmond Memorial Library, Marlborough

Family of Richard H. Deming

The Great Grand-Daughters of Mary Goodrich Clark:

Patsy Burdeshaw, Jane Adams, Mary McLean, Sally Rogers, and Betty Renneker