

# Julia B. Nelson

## “The Rock on Which the Effort for Woman Suffrage Has Been Founded in This State”

Frederick L. Johnson

**D**ELEGATES TO THE CONVENTION of the fledgling State Temperance Alliance of Minnesota expected little controversy as they gathered in Red Wing’s Music Hall on September 1, 1874. But while the male-dominated assembly readied a pre-November election temperance campaign that would choke off the alcohol trade they despised, Julia Bullard Nelson, Harriet Duncan Hobart, and Elizabeth C. Hutchinson were engineering an insurrection that boldly placed woman suffrage on the agenda.<sup>1</sup>

Hobart and Hutchinson possessed solid temperance backgrounds and were properly credentialed for the gathering, but Julia Nelson carried even more weight among conventioners. They knew her as a temperance saint abused—“basely and vilely insulted”—by an Anoka saloon owner on July 11, 1874. During that incident, Nelson appeared with anti-liquor protesters in front of James McGlauflin’s tavern. The owner manhandled them into the middle of the street. Nelson returned, only to be shoved back onto the roadway. She confronted McGlauflin, citing her lawful right to stand where she pleased. Saying, “I’ll show you about law,” the angry barkeeper came at her with more force. Roughed up but not injured, the determined Nelson filed suit against the “rumseller.” On July 31, a six-man Anoka jury issued a “no cause for action” verdict in the case.<sup>2</sup>

As the Red Wing temperance meeting convened, the trio of women knew they could count on support for woman suffrage from one critically important male delegate—convention chairman Phineas A. Jewell, of nearby Lake City. The influential Jewell gave a short speech favoring woman suffrage, noting “that the work of Temperance Reform could not be prosecuted to a successful end without their co-operation, their votes.” Nelson, Hobart,



Julia Bullard Nelson

and Hutchinson placed a concise 30-word statement before the temperance alliance’s platform and resolutions committee:

*Resolved:* That sex should be no barrier to the exercise of the elective franchise, and we hail with pleasure the signs of the times, which indicate the approach of woman’s suffrage.<sup>3</sup>

“[U]pon its reading,” wrote a newspaper reporter, “many of the male delegate [sic] rose at once, earnest to have something to say against its being adopted.” These indignant men viewed the proposal as a brazen, unwarranted detour from their true purpose. Nelson chided convention-goers, according to news reports, saying “She was sorry the temperance boat was so small that they could not take women along.”<sup>4</sup>

Consternation reigned in the Music Hall as the proceedings lurched toward chaos. “The discussion of the question waxed so intensely warm,” observed one newspaperman, “[that] in order to quell the feeling, the

Hutchinson Family singing troupe sang a Kansas Woman's Suffrage song. . . . Phineas Jewell then stood and asked them to sing a song made popular during the Civil War, "Tell My Mother that I Die Happy." The Hutchinsons took the edge off the fiery debate, but the well-known singers, of whom Elizabeth Hutchinson was a member, nurtured a broader agenda. To them, support for woman suffrage came naturally. In 1855, a branch of the New Hampshire family had moved to Minnesota Territory's McLeod County and founded the village that carried their name. From the outset, women in Hutchinson possessed voting privileges on "all matters not restricted by law."<sup>5</sup>

Following the failure of the original resolution, temperance alliance delegates managed to cobble together a suffrage statement that praised women for their role in the movement while looking forward to a time when they could vote. Words alone, to the three suffragists, meant little. But for the first time in Minnesota, a formal resolution for action on woman suffrage had been supported, if only tepidly, at a public meeting. Hutchinson, who had followed Nelson as a speaker for woman suffrage during the convention's opening session, returned the next day with her family singing group. With temperance now the delegates' sole focus, the Hutchinsons sang an anti-liquor tune, "O ye sellers of rum in our city." Nelson had composed the lyrics. Happy conventioners demanded an encore.<sup>6</sup>

**JULIA B. NELSON'S AGGRESSIVE EFFORTS** to compel the 1874 State Temperance Alliance of Minnesota convention to address woman suffrage was a notable opening skir-

## Nelson's colleagues, first in Minnesota and later nationally, came to view her as emblematic of the woman suffrage crusade.

ish in Minnesota's half-century struggle to secure voting rights for women, but was not Nelson's first public effort on behalf of the cause: she organized what is believed to be Minnesota's first debate on woman suffrage, staged in 1869 at Red Wing's Good Templars Hall. Ignoring the suffocating Victorian-era strictures that corseted American women of her time, Nelson (1842–1914) made major contributions to three important American social and political movements: woman suffrage, temperance, and civil rights for African Americans. By 1881, the year in which she assisted in organizing the Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association (MWSA), Nelson, then 39 years old, had braved 14 challenging years as an administrator and teacher of freed Black children in Texas and Tennessee schools. During her last three decades of life, Nelson headed the MWSA for seven years (1890–96), frequently worked on its executive board, and served as a paid state and national lecturer for the group. Simultaneously, she worked for the Minnesota WCTU as superintendent of the state's Franchise Department to secure voting access for women, and as a lecturer, organizer, and later as editor and business manager of the WCTU newspaper *Minnesota White Ribbon* (1902–06).<sup>7</sup>

Nelson's colleagues, first in Minnesota and later nationally, came to view her as emblematic of the woman suffrage crusade. Celebrated for her oratorical skill, writing talent, and dynamic promotion of women's rights, Nelson served as both field marshal and foot soldier in America's fractious suffrage army. Indeed, in their 1902 *History of Woman Suffrage*, Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper made clear their choice for Minnesota's principal suffragist—Nelson—noting it was she "who for twenty years has been the rock on which the effort for woman suffrage has been founded in this State."<sup>8</sup>

"ON A DARKISH NIGHT in June of 1857 the steamer *Henry Clay* landed at the town of Wacoota and from that boat stepped my father Edward Bullard, who had been down the river and brought back with him some horses,

*Women crusaders against a saloon in Anoka, 1873.*



some cattle, and two awkward school girls, one of whom was myself." So begins Nelson's account of her family's migration to Minnesota Territory and a small sawmilling outpost at the head of Lake Pepin. Parents Edward and Angeline Bullard had moved from their Denmark, Iowa, home to join George W. Bullard, Edward's successful brother and a founder of Wacouta (present-day spelling), situated on the Mississippi River five miles southeast of Red Wing. The Bullards established a river valley farmstead on what today is known as Bullard Creek.<sup>9</sup>

Fifteen years old upon her arrival in Wacouta, Julia enrolled in Red Wing's Hamline University, the territory's first institution of higher learning. In a rarity for American universities of the era, Hamline admitted women. She came within two terms of graduation but, at age 19, became the first woman in Goodhue County to earn the top category of three teaching certificates—a "first" grade certificate—issued by the county superintendent of schools. She began a teaching career in Minnesota and Connecticut that lasted from 1861 to 1866.<sup>10</sup>

While at Hamline, Julia met Ole Nelson, a year her senior, who joined the patriotic group of 120 students and teachers from the school who volunteered to fight in the nation's fratricidal civil war. Stationed in swampy bayous along the Mississippi at Helena, Arkansas, Ole Nelson was among the hundreds of Sixth Minnesota Infantry Regiment soldiers ravaged by malaria. He survived the war, returning in June 1865 to his Belvidere Township farm south of Red Wing. He and Julia married on September 25, 1866.<sup>11</sup>

Nelson gave birth to a boy, Cyrus, in August 1867, but the infant died before his first birthday. Tragedy continued when, five months after Cyrus's death, Ole succumbed to the effects of wartime disease at age 27. Devastating as the losses were, Nelson persevered. Now 26, she answered a call from the American Missionary Association (AMA), a leading antislavery group, to teach formerly enslaved people in AMA-sponsored freedmen schools. Prior to the Civil War, most states in the South had made it illegal to educate slaves. With the war's end, northern teachers were needed in the South to handle that task for Black residents. In September 1869, Nelson left Red Wing for her teaching assignment in Houston, Texas. Friends gathered at the steamboat landing to provide a proper send-off, but foreboding about her future in the South turned it into a melancholy, almost funereal farewell. A parting hymn wafted over the water as her steamer moved past Barn Bluff.<sup>12</sup>

*Nelson with a pupil in Columbus, Texas. She was a schoolteacher in freedmen's schools in Tennessee and Texas in the 1870s and 1880s.*

*Nelson, age 24, about the time she married Ole Nelson. Within two years, Nelson lost both her infant son and her husband.*



Soon after she began teaching, Nelson came down with malaria. Upon her recovery, the AMA dispatched the Minnesotan to a rural Texas school at Columbus in the state's southeast. She was its only instructor. Along with teaching Black students, Nelson soon found herself in the midst of an important state election. It was here she began to develop the political advocacy skills she would later employ for woman suffrage. Passage of the Fifteenth Amendment to the US Constitution in 1870 guaranteed Black male citizens voting rights. Columbus's Black community and Nelson encountered the Ku Klux Klan, dedicated to restoring white supremacy in the South. KKK members prepared to hijack the local election.



Clearly comfortable in her uncommon role as a single, self-sufficient professional woman, Nelson shrugged off fear of the Klan—thanks, in no small part, to protection offered by the Black community in which she worked—and commenced a letter-writing campaign exposing KKK election strategies and promoting her civil rights agenda. Her missives went to newspapers holding editorial views favorable to the work of northern teachers in the South. Newspapers would often print her letters in full. A lengthy front-page example of a Nelson newspaper communiqué is found in a December 1870 letter fired off to the Frederick Douglass–owned *New National Era* in Washington, DC. There, she reported that the Klan and its supporters hoped “to re-establish the law of the six shooter.” But Black community members organized and stood up for their rights, and Nelson reported witnessing “Hundreds of colored men marching up to the polls on equal footing with those who think them unfit to breath [sic] the same air, go to heaven . . .”<sup>13</sup>

A woman of some means—the family farm and property in Red Wing served as a source of income—she broadened her cultural horizons in the summer of 1873, touring Europe en route to the Vienna Exposition before returning to Red Wing to lecture about her adventures. Still deeply committed to the education of underserved Black students, Nelson began teaching in Tennessee Society of Friends schools over a 12-year span, beginning in 1875, taking a two-year break (1880–82) for family and personal business. During this pause from teaching, the *Minneapolis Tribune* printed an 1882 article about Nelson, titled, “A Lady Farmer,” a detailed look at her broad knowledge of farming methods, which added that she was a “warm advocate of woman suffrage.” The *Tribune* also reported on an updating of Nelson’s 240-acre Belvidere Township operation conducted with the help of former students, “three faithful negro men.” One of the workers and former students, Jeremiah Patterson, would go on to rent the farm, marry Verna Gaylord, a white woman from a neighboring farm, and start a family.<sup>14</sup>

Nelson’s reputation in Minnesota as an effective woman suffrage and temperance advocate grew through the 1880s, even as she continued her teaching in Tennessee. During summers at home and during her 1880–82 interlude in Minnesota she traveled the state advocating for suffrage and temperance. Ethel Hurd’s *Woman Suffrage in Minnesota* observed, “[Nelson’s] work for suffrage in Minnesota was closely interwoven with that of temperance.” In September 1881, while attending the state WCTU’s annual meeting held in Hastings, she again held talks with temperance women about creating a state woman suffrage organization. Nelson and 13 other like-



One of Nelson’s former students from Tennessee, Jeremiah Patterson, right, moved to Minnesota to assist with Nelson’s farm near Red Wing. He went on to rent the farm and marry and start a family with Verna Gaylord, left, who lived on a neighboring farm.

minded colleagues, including Harriet Duncan Hobart, her ally at the raucous 1874 Red Wing temperance meeting, planned to weave permanent links between the WCTU and woman suffrage efforts in Minnesota. These temperance advocates believed creating a cooperating suffrage organization would benefit both movements, and it was here that the Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association was born.<sup>15</sup>

Notable women at that Hastings suffrage conclave, along with Nelson, included Sarah Burger Stearns of Duluth, an early state suffrage advocate; the aforementioned Harriet Hobart, just beginning a record 13-year run as president of the Minnesota WCTU; Minneapolis-based Amanda (Mrs. A. T.) Anderson, a temperance promoter

with a commitment to woman suffrage and close friend of Nelson; and Harriet E. Bishop, the storied St. Paul educator of Minnesota settlement days. Yet, neither the temperance nor suffrage gatherings captured the attention of the *Hastings Gazette*, because the newspaper failed to discover, or chose not to cover, what would prove to be a historic assembly of temperance women dedicated to Minnesota women's voting rights.<sup>16</sup>

**JULIA BULLARD NELSON** and other early leaders of Minnesota's woman suffrage movement were far from representative of their time and place. America's so-called "Gilded Age" (roughly 1875–1912), with its rigid Victorian social strictures that excluded women from nearly every aspect of public life, was no golden era for woman suffragists. These remarkable reformers languished in political anonymity, laboring in full knowledge that most of their contemporaries viewed them as an irrelevant cadre of social outliers who had embarked upon a hopelessly quixotic mission.

As they lived through the last decades of the nineteenth century, Nelson and Sarah Stearns fully understood the Minnesota anti-suffrage culture described by the ornate phrasing of Minnesota historian William Watts Folwell: "The Minnesota electorate, restrained by immemorial tradition and by the surviving conviction that Sacred Scripture excluded women from independent public activities, was slow to welcome the innovation." This "ancient prejudice," as Folwell called it, would stubbornly persist.<sup>17</sup>

"The advocates of suffrage in Minnesota were so few in the early days and their homes so remote from each other, that there was little chance for cooperation, hence the history of the movement in this State consists more of personal efforts than of conventions, legislative hearings and judicial decisions." This illuminating statement by the MWSA's then-president, Sarah Stearns, accurately characterized the state's small, loosely organized band of suffragists during the 1880s. During this quiescent period, Nelson stood out among the few spreading the suffrage gospel.<sup>18</sup>

Other roadblocks, some of their own construction, stood in the Minnesota suffragists' way. Among those aligning against MWSA initiatives were male and female traditionalists, increasing numbers of naturalized male immigrant voters, influential society matrons and their sisters of privilege, and dedicated enemies of the WCTU, who likened suffrage advocates to holier-than-thou prohibition backers. Some members of the suffrage and temperance movements, convinced of the righteousness

of their cause, could be their own worst enemies. Critics labeled them overly judgmental, sanctimonious, and pompous, adjectives occasionally applied to Nelson. She didn't care. In standing up for her beliefs, Nelson never took a backward step.

Nelson enjoyed the spotlight and the influence it brought to her and the movement. To friends and colleagues, she was now simply "Julia B."—a name first applied in her early years. In 1881, organizers of the popular annual Methodist camp meeting at Red Rock (present-day Newport) chose Nelson as the main speaker for its annual Fourth of July temperance event, but her remarks centered on suffrage. Outdoor worship at summer camps had become popular with Minnesotans during the post-Civil War years, Red Rock among the most popular. A *Pioneer Press* reporter took interest in Nelson's views and looks: "She is an ardent woman suffragist, but not of the Susan B. Anthony type . . . she is rather comely . . . and [does not avow] that all men are brutes and a discredit to society." Nelson's demeanor while advocating for women's rights allowed her to overcome a common public view that saw suffragists as self-righteous and overbearing.<sup>19</sup>

Tactical suffrage work, meanwhile, continued. In the absence of president Stearns, vice president Nelson chaired the September 1882 MWSA state convention in Minneapolis. Nelson endorsed Stearns's written plan to bring their suffrage arguments directly to Minnesota legislators. Nelson further advised delegates to beware of increasing European immigration, also a concern of Stevens. They believed that once the newcomers became naturalized citizens, the men could bring Old World prejudices about women to Minnesota voting booths: "Legislators and members of Congress were as a class better able to grasp the merit of the question [suffrage] than were foreign-born voters, in whose native countries women are oppressed," a journalist paraphrased Nelson as saying. Earlier, when a controversy arose about the fairness of a vote consequential to Minnesota suffragists, Stearns had similarly offered no sympathy for the "ignorant classes who could not, or did not read their ballots." (Anti-suffragists argued that a deceptive ballot was used in passing the 1875 constitutional amendment that enabled women to vote on public school-related issues.) But such detail did not trouble Stearns. Minnesota women could vote, at least where schools were concerned, yet they believed legislative action was preferable to risking a popular vote by ill-informed voters.<sup>20</sup>

National suffragists shared the troublesome view of immigrant voters expressed by Nelson and other Minnesota suffragists. While a strong advocate for Black civil rights, Nelson saw immigrant men as likely to be

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ill-educated traditionalists who opposed the extension of women’s rights. At their 1886 convention, National Woman Suffrage Association officials called on Nelson to read her poem “Hans Dunderkopf’s Views of Equality.” Written in the heavy German dialect of an undereducated immigrant, “Dunderkopf” was a caricature that had become popular public performance fare. Demeaning and cruel by present-day standards, poems and jokes delivered in dialect and produced typically at the expense of the nation’s African Americans and expanding immi-

*Julia B. Nelson's home in Red Wing. She is sitting on the porch, second from right. The house, at 219 5th Street, was on the National Register of Historic Places, due to its association with Nelson, until it was torn down around 2004.*

grant population were, in the 1880s, proven audience pleasers, and reflected the sentiments held by suffragists who believed immigrant attitudes established barriers to enacting woman suffrage.<sup>21</sup>

Nelson took an active part in the first MWSA statewide campaign during 1883–84 to organize suffrage clubs, and, in March 1884, she was MWSA’s sole representative at the NWSA national convention in Washington, DC. Two years later, 43 years old and a school principal, Nelson addressed a US House judiciary committee hearing on woman suffrage as a Minnesota suffragist and “law-abiding citizen and taxpayer” who had “beg[u]n Teaching freedmen when it was so unpopular that men could not have done it,” and noted that a man in her job received nearly four times more pay.<sup>22</sup>

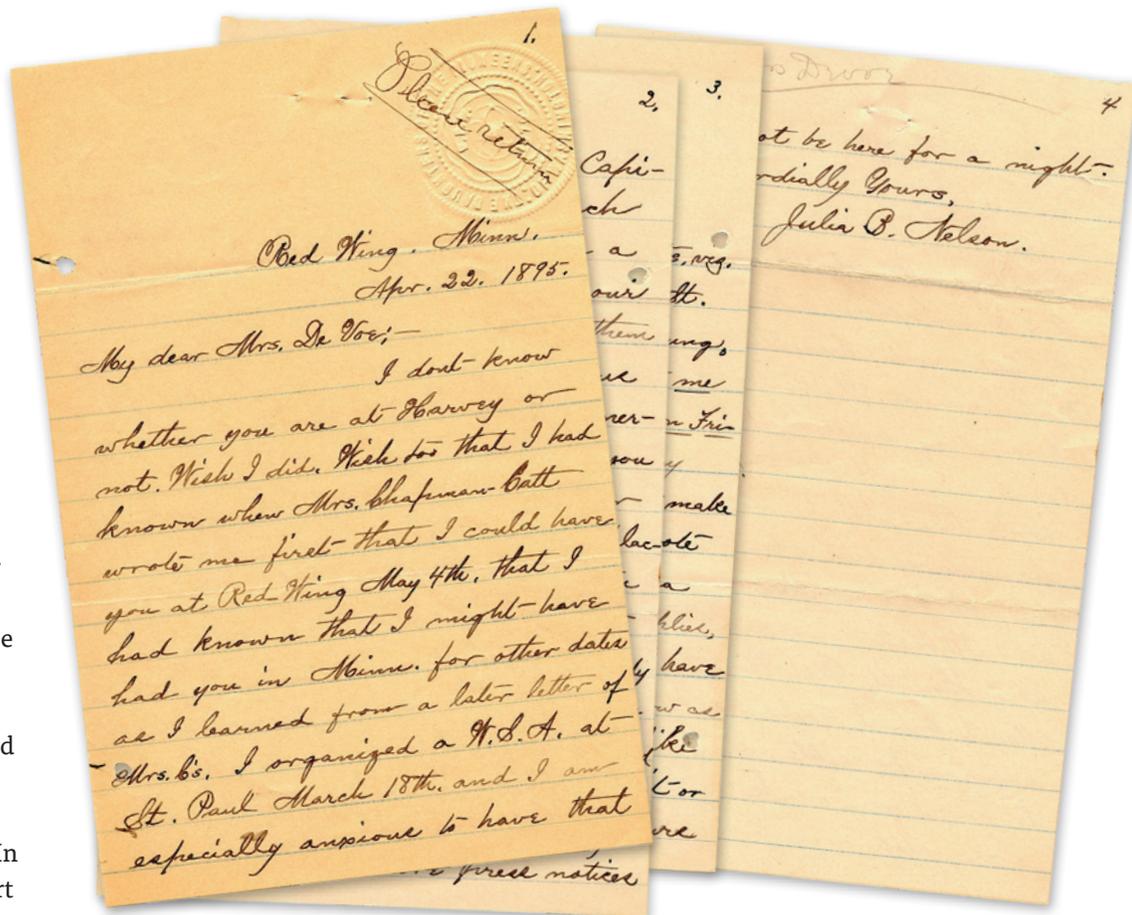
As her activities increased in 1888, so did Nelson’s reputation. In March, she took part in an unprecedented demonstration of woman power, the International Council of Women, a conference of woman suffrage leaders from nine countries around the world. Held in Washington, DC, the assembly lived up to its leaders’ assertion that “the time has come when women from all over the world should unite in the just demand for their political enfranchisement.” A buoyant Nelson praised the gathering



for “uniting women-  
hood [sic] of the world  
and for the uplifting of  
humanity.” After work-  
ing through a weeklong  
agenda, Nelson returned  
to Minnesota inspired by  
the power of women’s unity.  
In June she was selected to  
address the Indianapolis  
convention of the Western  
Association of Writers, a  
prominent literary society.  
In its coverage of the event,  
one newspaper described her  
as “well known as a writer  
and lecturer upon temperance  
and woman suffrage.” And  
in September, voters at the  
state WCTU convention in Red  
Wing elected Nelson as their  
vice president and her friend  
Harriet Hobart as president. In  
November, Nelson and Hobart  
attended the national WCTU  
convention in New York City. And  
throughout 1888 and 1889 Nelson toured Minnesota as a  
paid lecturer on behalf of the WCTU, and in the process,  
worked in plugs for woman suffrage.<sup>23</sup>

**SUSAN B. ANTHONY’S** energizing appearance before  
MWSA’s Minneapolis convention in October 1889 pre-  
viewed a new strategy for the evolving American suffrage  
movement. Anthony asked convention goers to enlist in  
a state-by-state drive to construct a network of suffrage  
strongholds that would create momentum for a constitu-  
tional amendment. South Dakota would achieve statehood  
in November 1889, and suffrage was on the ballot the fol-  
lowing November. MWSA opted to “throw its weight into  
South Dakota.” Nelson was appointed and funded to travel,  
speak, and recruit as the territory prepared for statehood.  
Delegates left the MWSA convention with Anthony’s  
admonition ringing in their ears: “Don’t leave anything to  
the chivalry of man, because you won’t get it.”<sup>24</sup>

Lingering winter weather and a tight schedule faced  
Nelson on March 31, 1890, as she left Red Wing by train,  
heading to Milbank, South Dakota, for a speech that even-  
ing. It was an opening salvo in a seven-month grassroots  
effort that brought, along with Nelson, the nation’s most  
powerful suffrage speakers and organizers to the state.



April 22, 1895, letter written by Nelson in her role as president of the Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association to national suffrage lecturer Emma Smith DeVoe about the difficulties the two were having regarding DeVoe’s pending Minnesota suffrage trip, organized by Carrie Chapman Catt.

Fought mostly during the region’s hottest and driest sum-  
mer on record, the South Dakota offensive mutated into a  
long, painful slog. As fall approached, fatigue and frustra-  
tion beset suffrage workers. Emma Smith DeVoe, veteran  
lecturer for the National American Woman Suffrage Asso-  
ciation, refused to make any more appearances in remote  
schoolhouses and lobbied for work in the relative comfort  
of towns. Reassigned to cover DeVoe’s schedule, a peeved  
Nelson wrote an official, “If she wants the glory of being  
met by a brass band let her have it. I’d rather have the *time*  
to speak.”<sup>25</sup>

Nelson believed the South Dakota suffrage effort was  
in trouble, predicting the state’s southeast was “where  
the battle is thickest and here’s where we shall meet a  
Waterloo.” Nelson’s prediction was accurate—South  
Dakotans dealt the national movement a crushing defeat,  
opting against the vote for women by more than a two-  
to-one margin. Undeterred by the setback, Anthony and  
Nelson detoured to Fremont, Nebraska, on November 12 to  
attend that state’s 10th annual convention. Then, with the

MWSA convention looming just one week away, Nelson headed back to Minnesota. Armed with ample supplies of courage, tenacity, intellect, and strength, she intended to bring the vote to Minnesota women by the turn of the century.<sup>26</sup>

Delegates to the annual MWSA convention, held in St. Paul, chose Nelson as their president on November 19, 1890. Nelson immediately set in motion an ambitious lobbying operation in the Minnesota Legislature. A *St. Paul Daily Globe* reporter saw potential in Nelson's powerful presidential address to members while also pointing to an obvious MWSA weakness—"never more than thirty ladies present and ten of those did the talking." To fire up MWSA's small and fractious base, Nelson began a monthlong journey lecturing at local societies. She also convinced MWSA board members to shift annual conventions to cities outside the Twin Cities.<sup>27</sup>

In February 1891, Nelson, acting personally as MWSA's political action committee, took the battle to the state capitol. With the help of Amanda Anderson, she convinced Sylvanus A. Stockwell, a progressive Minneapolis Democrat, to introduce a bill enabling women to vote in municipal elections. Nelson spent several weeks meeting with legislators while at the same time authoring a small free newspaper, *The Equal Rights Herald*, and writing a leaflet, "Points on Municipal Suffrage," which was placed on the desk of each legislator. Unfortunately, the house committee indefinitely postponed action on the bill.<sup>28</sup>

Despite continued setbacks, Nelson remained undeterred through the 1890s, prowling the halls of the Minnesota state capitol during the biennial four-month legislative sessions, gathering support for various bills that would bring to Minnesota women a voting status equal to that of men. MWSA pushed for differing forms of woman suffrage, including suffrage for women in municipal elections (1891), suffrage for women with educational qualifications (1893), suffrage for women on all questions relating to the liquor traffic (1895), and suffrage for all tax-paying women (1897). Yet none of these suffrage measures gathered enough support for success. Nelson's efforts, however, yielded some gains for legislation that increased the status of women in Minnesota law. Successful efforts included providing county officials with power to appoint a "female" as deputy in county offices—which Nelson wryly noted in her history of the MWSA was "presumably of the human species"—and increasing from age 10 to 16 the legal age of consent (for sexual activity) for the protection of girls.<sup>29</sup>

Nelson found ample time to address suffrage issues when the state legislature was not in session. Her words resonated during dozens of meetings and speaking

## **Armed with ample supplies of courage, tenacity, intellect, and strength, Nelson intended to bring the vote to Minnesota women by the turn of the century.**

engagements in Minnesota and across the nation. One Washington, DC, suffrage newspaper celebrated Nelson's achievements on the eve of her testimony before a US Senate committee: "Mrs. Nelson is an all-around woman. She is a philosopher, takes the world in a genial way . . . as a lecturer, adapting herself to place and people, logical and persuasive, she is unsurpassed: as a writer she wields a ready pen; as a woman she is generous and unselfishly devoted to the reforms in which she is engaged." NAWSA also recognized Nelson's skills. Beginning in February 1894, she traveled on its behalf through Kansas and Missouri for 10 weeks, lecturing and organizing local affiliates. She opened her six-week NAWSA-backed visit to New Mexico Territory on April 1, 1896, and assisted in establishing the first territorial suffrage association there. Nelson then moved to Oklahoma Territory and a seven-week assignment. But despite her efforts, none of these states or territories adopted woman suffrage.<sup>30</sup>

Back in Minnesota for the summer of 1894, Nelson enlisted Ignatius Donnelly, a legislative ally from the 1893 state senate suffrage battle, to bolster her campaign for superintendent of Goodhue County schools. But during a Cannon Falls People's Party campaign stop, Donnelly chided Nelson for not showing enough gratitude for his organization's support. Nelson in turn skewered Donnelly for his tepid backing of suffrage. "When I held up the woman suffrage plank of the platform . . . I must have had the heaviest part of the load if that plank is so heavy that all the men in the People's party together can't carry it." A long shot in a Republican stronghold, Nelson was defeated.<sup>31</sup>

Nelson remained frustrated by six years of minimal success with Minnesota lawmakers and offered a blunt rejoinder to the 1897 legislature when a tax bill failed to treat married women fairly. Lecturing a senate committee, Nelson called for an end to "the [legislative] methods of Robin Hood and his merry men," and declared as "reprehensible" the "present custom of collecting taxes from women to make public improvement about which they have neither vote nor veto."<sup>32</sup>

It is worth noting that while serving as MWSA president Nelson maintained close personal relationships with her Black friends and protégés while displaying her very public commitment to racial equality. She did so even as other national suffrage leaders severed ties with their African American allies in an effort to bring white women in the Jim Crow South on board. Nelson led WCTU's outreach efforts with the state's Black community and made speeches to Black congregations in St. Paul, including Pilgrim Baptist Church. Her friendship with William H. Richards, a former student teacher, and by the 1890s a law professor at Howard University, lasted throughout her life. In May 1897, Nelson and her former student, Jeremiah Patterson, opened Equal Rights Meat Market in Red Wing. Considering the times, this Black-white business partnership was astonishing.<sup>33</sup>

**STAGGERED BY A CONTINUING** series of ignominious defeats as the twentieth century approached, national and state suffragist movements stalled. Nelson's term as MWSA president ended in April 1897, her major goals unfulfilled. Worse, in 1898, Minnesotans approved a constitutional amendment that made future amendments to the state constitution nearly impossible, thus blocking a primary path to woman suffrage. Nonetheless, Nelson's belief in the cause persisted. As the century turned, she assisting in editing MWSA's *Minnesota Bulletin* from 1902 to 1906 as well as also editing and serving as business manager of the WCTU's monthly magazine, *Minnesota White Ribbon*.<sup>34</sup>

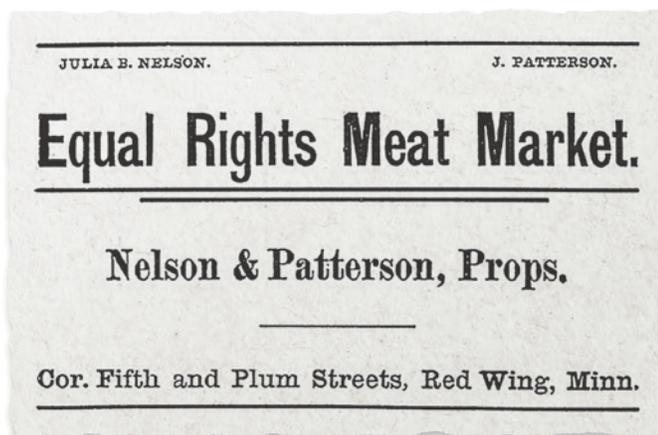
Internal divisions regarding MWSA's future direction burst into public view during the October 1911 convention, described in the *Minneapolis Tribune* as "one of the liveliest rows that ever featured a political convention of any sort



Nelson around 1903. On her lap is a copy of the WCTU magazine, *Minnesota White Ribbon*, of which she was the editor and business manager.

in the state." A contest for the presidency brewed between supporters of the formidable incumbent, Emily E. Dobbin, whose relations with the executive committee had frayed, and challenger Alice Ames Hall, a St. Paulite active in the Minnesota Federation of Women's Clubs. Helping referee the disputes was Nelson, "whose kindly eyes," wrote the *Tribune* reporter, "have looked at all sorts of trouble . . . in political campaigns for more years than most of the delegates had even seen."<sup>35</sup>

Hall's victory triggered an angry walkout by Dobbin supporters. Nelson had backed the more progressive Dobbin during the contentious convention floor fight, and she soon reached a decision that must have shocked the Minnesota suffrage hierarchy. The 69-year-old MWSA charter member and 30-year veteran of the organization resigned. Looking for a new path to suffrage, Nelson joined with other MWSA defectors to form the Minnesota Equal Franchise League. In just a month, the league attracted 360 members, most from existing MWSA affiliates. That number soon doubled. Nelson represented the Equal Franchise League on its national executive board and traversed the state as a recruiter. In November 1913, Nelson joined four other Equal Franchise League colleagues heading for the NAWSA convention in Washington, DC. The league had continued paying dues as an auxiliary MWSA member; thus their representatives were eligible to attend. The Minnesotans planned on taking part in a post-conference "suffrage school" led by Alice Paul,



Red Wing newspaper ad for the *Equal Rights Meat Market*, which Nelson opened in 1897 with Jeremiah Patterson.

# Minnesota Woman Fights the President

## Mrs. J. B. Nelson's Strong Stand

Red Wing Reformer, Now in East, Takes Exception to  
Roosevelt's Attitude Towards Newspapers—Be-  
lieves Parents Should Be Censors of  
Their Children's Reading.

### INDORSES ENGLISH SUFFRAGISTS

**N**EW YORK, March 3.—(Special.)—A Minnesota woman has thrown down the gauge to T. Roosevelt, the present resident of the White House at Washington. Men have trembled merely at the thought of differing with the great American czar; but not so this woman from the North Star state. She is Mrs. Julia B. Nelson of Red Wing, now visiting relatives in Brooklyn. She has taken exception to the president's attitude against that portion of the public press that has seen fit to publish as fully as possible all of the details of the cause celebre—The State versus Harry K. Thaw.

Mrs. Nelson is an exceptional woman. From 1838 to 1890 she was vice-president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union of Minnesota. She has served twice as superintendent of Franchise of the Union, once in 1881 to 1883 and again from 1890 to 1896, when she was also president of the Women's Suffrage association. Her latest active connection with the Minnesota W. C. T. U. was during the period between the years 1902 and 1906, when she was editor of the Minnesota White Ribbon, now published at Montevideo.

#### SHE IS A BULLARD.

It will not seem strange that this woman has the hardihood to differ with Roosevelt when it is learned that she comes from celebrated fighting

Cortelyou clapping his hands over the mouth of Miss Columbia in an effort to keep her tongue from wagging. I would show Roosevelt standing by egging his subordinate in this effort with his younger



Mrs. JULIA B. NELSON.

Nelson's advocacy was not limited to temperance, suffrage, and rights for African Americans, as this March 3, 1907, Minneapolis Tribune headline shows.

the movement's controversial but rising star, who with Lucy Burns founded the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage in 1913 (later the National Woman's Party), which split from NAWSA a short time later.<sup>36</sup>

Years of intense advocacy and travel were beginning to take their toll on Nelson. In hopes of clearing up recurring bronchitis issues and acting on her doctor's advice, Nelson wintered in Florida following the convention. On May 18, 1914, she wrote "[I] cast business cares and worries aside" for five months. She added, "Am saving what little strength I have for the Suffrage work." When contacted to take part in a fall North Dakota suffrage campaign, Nelson felt ready.<sup>37</sup>

Prior to the trip, Nelson undertook a meaningful pilgrimage to the October 16–17, 1914, MWSA convention in Minneapolis. Nelson confided to Ethel Hurd, the influential Minneapolis suffragist, that she "deeply regretted" her decision to leave the organization she helped create. Nelson gave a brief address renewing her allegiance to the group. On the 19th, Nelson took an afternoon train to Fargo and that night held a meeting in nearby Mapleton. A photo feature on Nelson's arrival carried in a Fargo newspaper inelegantly labeled her the "Grand Old Woman of Minnesota Suffragists."<sup>38</sup>

After the demanding two-week whistle-stop tour filled with speeches, rallies, and travel, a fatigued Nelson headed home to Red Wing. Illness soon set in, the malady developing into acute pneumonia. The North Dakota expedition was the last battle in her 40-year struggle for woman suffrage and equal rights for all. On December 24, 1914, Julia B. Nelson died at age 72. She had gone down fighting.

Julia Bullard Nelson labored simultaneously at both state and national levels as a driving force in three major American social and political movements. Though many devoted their life's work to both temperance and woman suffrage, none also worked for Black civil rights in the Reconstruction and early Jim Crow era, as did Nelson. Hers is a record of service unmatched in Minnesota's woman suffrage history, and her single-minded, steadfast leadership at the dawn of the state's movement rightfully earns her the description as "the rock on which the effort for woman suffrage has been founded in this State."<sup>39</sup> □

## Notes

1. "Proceedings of the State Temperance Alliance," *Grange Advance* [Red Wing], Sept. 9, 1874, 10; Ethel Edgerton Hurd, *Woman Suffrage in Minnesota: A Record in Its Behalf since 1847* (Minneapolis: Minnesota Woman Suffrage Organization, 1916), 4. Hurd erroneously labels that gathering as a Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) affair. The WCTU of Minnesota was formed in Minneapolis on September 6,

1877, becoming the state's dominant anti-liquor group. Julia Wiech Lief, "A Woman of Purpose, Julia B. Nelson," *Minnesota History* 47, no. 8 (Winter 1981): 307. Lief, the great-niece of Nelson, possessed Julia Nelson's diaries and letters at the time she wrote her article; the location of these primary sources is no longer known. Harriet Duncan Hobart would become the longest-serving president of the Minnesota Woman's

Christian Temperance Union (1881–94): see Frederick Johnson, "Hobart, Harriet Duncan (1825–1898)," *MNopedia*, Minnesota Historical Society, <http://www.mnopedia.org/person/hobart-harriet-duncan-1825-1898>.

2. Quotation from Rev. J. B. Tuttle, a Baptist clergyman representing Anoka at the convention, *Red Wing Argus*, Sept. 3, 1874, 4; *Anoka County Union*: "That Line," July 21, 1874, 3;

"Our Lodge Temperance Workers," July 28, 1874, 3; "A Lawsuit," Aug. 4, 1874, 3; "An Anoka Suit," Aug. 25, 1874, 3; "Letter from Julia Nelson to a friend," Aug. 25, 1874, 3. For an account of the McGlaufflin trial, see *Grange Advance* [Red Wing], Aug. 12, 1874, 4.

3. Dr. Jewell, cofounder of Lake Pepin Nurseries, was a leading Minnesota temperance advocate whose early death from cancer in May 1878 was a heavy blow to the movement: "Phineas A. Jewell," *Annual Report of the Minnesota State Horticultural Society* 25, no. 2 (Feb. 1897): 49–50. "Proceedings of the State Temperance Alliance," 10.

4. "Proceedings of the State Temperance Alliance," 10.

5. "Proceedings of the State Temperance Alliance," 10; Philip D. Jordan, "The Hutchinson Family in the Story of American Music," *Minnesota History* 22, no. 2 (June 1941): 113–15. The provision that women of Hutchinson could vote "in all matters not restricted by law" was granted during a community meeting vote on November 21, 1855. Although not delineated, the restriction placed on that right might have been in deference to state and federal law.

6. "Proceedings of the State Temperance Alliance," 10. Nelson wrote the lyrics to "Tis Time for the Women to Pray," with the Hutchinsons using her words sung to the music of "A Song of the New Crusade" (1874). Danny O. Crew, *Suffragist Sheet Music: An Illustrated Catalog of Published Music Associated with the Women's Rights and Suffrage Movement in America, 1795–1921* (Jefferson, NC, and London: McFarland, 2002), 102, shows the lyrics written by Nelson.

7. Franklyn Curtiss-Wedge, *History of Goodhue County, Minnesota* (Chicago: H. C. Cooper Jr. and Co., 1909), 1055. Neither of the most reliable sources, the MWSA's early history—Hurd, *Woman Suffrage in Minnesota*—and the "Minnesota" chapter written by Sarah Burger Stearns in *History of Woman Suffrage, 1876–1885*, eds. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage (Rochester, NY: Susan B. Anthony, 1902), 3:649–61, make any mention of Minnesota suffrage debates earlier than Nelson's. Hurd, *Woman Suffrage in Minnesota*, 8, 17; Alumni Association, *History of the Hamline University of Minnesota when Located at Red Wing, Minnesota, from 1854 to 1869* (St. Paul: The Association, 1907), 180; Lief, *A Woman of Purpose*, 308–9. The Minnesota WCTU established the journal as the *Minnesota White Ribboner* in 1890 and later changed the title.

8. Hurd, *Woman Suffrage in Minnesota*, 8, 17–22; Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage, 1883–1900* (Rochester, NY: Susan B. Anthony, 1902), 4:772.

9. Curtiss-Wedge, *History of Goodhue County*, 218, 1055–56. Julia was born in High Point, Connecticut, on May 13, 1842. Bullard Creek, named for the family, runs through Wacouta to the Mississippi. Charles Nelson Pace, ed., *Hamline University* (Minneapolis: Hamline University Alumni Association, 1939), 18–21.

10. Lief, "A Woman of Purpose," 304; Curtiss-Wedge, *History of Goodhue County*, 1055; Alumni Association, *Hamline University*, 180–83. On the grades of teaching certificates, see General Laws of the State of Minnesota, 1877, Chapter 4, "County Superintendents of Schools," Sec. 7 (St. Paul: Ramaley & Cunningham, 1877), 135.

11. Alumni Association, *Hamline University*, 180, "War Record," 249–52; Lief, *A Woman of Purpose*, 304. For details of the travails of Ole Nelson's Sixth Minnesota Infantry Regiment while stationed at Helena, Arkansas, see Board of Commissioners, *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, 1861–1865* (St. Paul: Minnesota Legislature, 1891), 321–24.

12. Lief, "A Woman of Purpose," 304, 305; Curtiss-Wedge, *History of Goodhue County*, 1055.

13. Julia B. Nelson, "Letter from Columbus, Texas," *New National Era*, Dec. 15, 1870, 1. In a later letter to a Red Wing Methodist Church member, Nelson described enrolling more than 400 pupils in the Free School since September 1871, and "Of these over 100 who did not know the Alphabet when they entered, now read quite well in the Independent Second Reader": Nelson to E. W. Brooks, May 11, 1872, in Lief, "A Woman of Purpose," 306.

14. *Grange Advance* [Red Wing], Jan. 14, 1874, 7; *Lake City Leader*, Mar. 5, 1874, 5; *Red Wing Argus*, Jan. 8 and 15, 1874, 1; "A Lady Farmer," *Minneapolis Tribune*, June 10, 1882, 11. Julia also hired Martha Miller, a young Black woman from Tennessee and likely another former student, to assist the ailing Angeline Bullard, Nelson's mother. Miller appears in the 1885 Minnesota Census as a 19-year-old living with Bullard. See Frederick L. Johnson, *Uncertain Lives: African Americans and Their First 150 Years in the Red Wing, Minnesota Area* (Red Wing: Goodhue County Historical Society, 2004); Appendix, *Census of Minnesota, May 1885*, Black Population of Goodhue County, 148; Jeremiah Patterson, *Red Wing Daily Republican*, Aug. 11, 1883. For more on the Julia Nelson–Jeremiah Patterson connection, see Johnson, *Uncertain Lives*, 48–50, 65–66.

15. *Minneapolis Tribune*, Aug. 27, 1881, 6, reported on the upcoming state WCTU convention in Hastings, erroneously noting the gathering would begin on September 30; the actual date was September 20. Hurd, *Woman Suffrage in Minnesota*, 8.

16. Barbara Stuhler, *Gentle Warriors: Clara Ueland and the Minnesota Struggle for Woman Suffrage* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1995), 20–21; Hurd, *Woman Suffrage in Minnesota*, 9; Johnson, "Hobart, Harriet Duncan"; *Hastings Gazette*, Sept. 24, 1881. The author wishes to thank Cindy Thury Smith, Hastings Pioneer Room curator, and Dakota County historian Heidi Langenfeld for their assistance in reporting on the September 1881 suffrage and temperance activity in Hastings.

17. William Watts Folwell, *A History of Minnesota* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1930), 4:335.

18. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony,

and Matilda Joslyn Gage, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, (Rochester, NY: Susan B. Anthony, 1902), 3:650; the quotation is from this volume's study of early Minnesota woman suffrage written by Sarah Burger Stearns. National Woman Suffrage Association, *Report of the Sixteenth Annual Washington Convention*, [Mar. 1884.] (Rochester, NY), 75. Nelson's maiden name is incorrectly spelled as "Ballard" instead of Bullard, a mistake that is occasionally repeated in other suffrage publications.

19. Lief, "A Woman of Purpose," 304; Merrill E. Jarchow, "Red Rock Frontier Methodist Camp Meeting," *Minnesota History* 31, no. 2 (June 1950): 79–92; *Red Wing Republican*, July 5, 1881, 3, excerpts a *St. Paul Pioneer Press* story regarding Nelson's Red Rock speech.

20. Sarah Burger Stearns communicated with 1882 MWSA delegates through a letter read by Julia Nelson: "Woman Suffragists," *Minneapolis Tribune*, Sept. 30, 1882, 8. For a discussion of the Minnesota electorate in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, including immigrant men, see Folwell, *History of Minnesota*, 4:332–33; Stanton, et al., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 3:653. The word "Yes" was printed on the ballot, so to vote against the amendment the voter had to scratch out "Yes" and pencil in "No." Voters ratified the amendment, 24,340–19,468; Minnesota General Laws, 1875, Regular Session, Chapter 2, "An Act ... relating to Elective Franchise," approved March 4, 1875.

21. A typescript of the poem, located in the Library of Congress, can be read online: <https://www.loc.gov/resource/rbcmil.scrp1017301/?sp=1>. Anthony and Harper, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 4: 75.

22. *St. Paul Daily Globe*, May 16, 1883, 2; *Report of the Sixteenth Annual Washington Convention*, 75; Anthony and Harper, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 4:74–77, 79.

23. Louise Barnum Robbins, ed., "Report of the International Council of Women, 1888," in *History and Minutes of the National Council of Women of the United States* (Boston: The Council, 1898), 1–3. The suggestion for an international union had initially been made at a gathering of British suffragists who arranged a meeting with Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, then in England. *Red Wing Daily Republican*, Apr. 12, 1888, 3; National Woman Suffrage Association, *Report of the International Council of Women, March 25 to April 1, 1888* (Washington, DC: Rufus H. Darby, 1888), 51–187; "Western Association of Writers," *Indianapolis Journal*, June 7, 1888, 7; George S. Cottman, "The Western Association of Writers: A Literary Reminiscence," *Indiana Magazine of History* 29, no. 3 (Sept. 1933): 187–97. Frances E. Willard, world president of the WCTU, took part in the convention. Hobart won reelection 247–10, and Nelson gathered 210 of 233 votes cast. *St. Paul Daily Globe*, Sept. 16, 1888, 1; *Red Wing Republican*, Sept. 6 and 13, 1888, 3; Julia Nelson diary, Jan. 14 and Feb. 6, 1889, in Lief, "A Woman of Purpose," 309–10n29; *St. Paul Daily Globe*, Aug. 18, 1888, 11, and Dec. 15, 1888, 11. The

*Red Wing Republican* followed Nelson's progress through the state in 1888 and 1889.

24. "The Woman Suffragists," *St. Paul Daily Globe*, Oct. 24, 1889, 3; "For Women's Rights," *Minneapolis Tribune*, Oct. 24, 1889, 5, and "The City," Oct. 25, 1889, 5. Delegates also appointed Nelson, Dr. Martha G. Ripley of Minneapolis, and Sarah Burger Stearns of Duluth to be delegates to the upcoming national convention.

25. Nelson wrote to a *Red Wing* newspaper, "I spoke at Milbank, Elmira, Reveille, Alban, Big Stone City and Twin Brooks," and claimed 240 members enrolled: *Red Wing Argus*, Apr. 17, 1890, 1. She sent four more lengthy articles to the *Argus*—May 1, May 22, May 29, June 26—telling of her suffrage adventures. Ida Husted Harper, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony* (Indianapolis, IN: Bowen, Merrill, 1898), 2:685; Nelson to Bailey, Oct. 12, 1890, in Jennifer M. Ross-Nazzal, *Winning the West for Women: The Life of Suffragist Emma Smith DeVoe* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2011), 57. Emma Smith DeVoe (1848–1927), a native of Illinois, later relocated to Washington State, and led it to the suffragists' fifth state victory in 1910.

26. Nelson to unknown, Oct. 17, 1890, in Ross-Nazzal, *Winning the West for Women*, 58. Suffrage amendments also went down in Kansas and Washington in 1894: Anthony and Harper, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 4:803. For a concise history of the 1890 South Dakota suffrage offensive and voting results, see Effie McCollum Jones, "The South Dakota Campaign," *The Woman Voter*, 7 no. 10 (Oct. 1919): 14–15.

27. "Republic in Danger," *St. Paul Daily Globe*, Nov. 19, 1890, 8; *Minneapolis Tribune*, Nov. 20, 1890, 3. The *Tribune* credited Nelson's address as "entertaining and eloquent." The new president also retained her position as state organizer. Anthony and Harper, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 4:772; "What Women Want," *St. Paul Daily Globe*, Nov. 20, 1890, 2.

28. Julia B. Nelson, "Minnesota" (draft chapter for *History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. 4), in "Subject Files: Articles, undated, 1894–1919, Folder 1," digital images 39–105, Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association Records, MNHS, <http://www2.mnhs.org/library/findaids/00756/pdfa/00756-00046.pdf>; also the final version, Julia B. Nelson, "Minnesota," in Anthony and Harper, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 4:772–82. Sylvanus A. Stockwell (1857–1943) was first elected to the Minnesota House in 1891 and served many terms in both the house and senate over the next 50 years. See Sylvanus A. Stockwell profile, Minnesota Legislative Reference Library, <https://www.leg.state.mn.us/legdb/fulldetail?id=14959>.

29. Here and below, Nelson, "Legislative Work," in Hurd, *Woman Suffrage in Minnesota*, 25–26, 29–34. A leaflet composed by Nelson, "Points on Municipal Suffrage," included her argument, "If the Legislature has the power to restrict suffrage it certainly has the right to extend it": Anthony and Harper, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 4:775. For appointing female deputies, see General Laws of Minnesota for

1891, Chapter 40, 121. For the age of consent, see Nelson, "Minnesota" (draft chapter), digital image 67, and General Laws of Minnesota for 1891, Chapter 90, 162, <https://www.revisor.mn.gov/laws/1891/0/General+Laws/Chapter/90/pdf/>.

30. "Women and the Ballot," *St. Paul Daily Globe*, Mar. 13, 1893, 8, carries this quotation from *The Woman's Tribune*. *Red Wing Daily Republican* covered Nelson's trip through Kansas and Missouri: see Feb. 19, 1894, 3; Mar. 29, 1894, 3; May 8, 1894, 8. *Kansas [Garnett] Agitator*, Apr. 26, 1894, 8, observed, "better vote-makers than Mrs. Nelson are scarce." Anthony and Harper, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 4:835, 866.

31. "Woman Suffrage," *The Representative [Minneapolis]*, Feb. 27, 1895, 2. Ignatius Donnelly edited and published this newspaper and was a founder of the People's Party, which arose in 1892, after the destruction of the Farmer's Alliance. Carl H. Chrislock, "The Alliance Party and the Minnesota Legislature of 1891," *Minnesota History* 35, no. 7 (Sept. 1957): 302, 311–12. See also "Municipal Suffrage for Women," *Minneapolis Tribune*, Feb. 22, 1893, 2, for a description of Donnelly and Nelson working together in the state legislature.

32. Quoted in Leif, "A Woman of Purpose," 311.

33. *St. Paul Daily Globe*, Mar. 8, 1893; *Northfield News*, Sept. 28, 1912, 10; *Minnesota White Ribboner* 1, no. 7 (Oct. 1, 1890) notes Nelson's WCTU ties to "colored people." Nelson retained an amicable business relationship with William Henry Richards, and they followed each other's careers. She wrote a brief laudatory biography of Richards (copy in Julia B. Nelson Papers, MNHS), and he bought some *Red Wing* property from her. See Library of Congress, William Henry Richards Papers, "Nelson, Julia B. correspondence": Nelson to My Dear Friend, June 16, 1906, and Nelson to Dear Friend, Oct. 18, 1908, are examples of the correspondence, copies in author's possession. *Red Wing Daily Republican*, May 3, 1897, 4; Johnson, *Uncertain Lives*, 65–66.

34. General Laws of Minnesota for 1897, Chapter 185, 345–46, <https://www.revisor.mn.gov/laws/1897/0/General+Laws/Chapter/185/pdf/>. Folwell, *History of Minnesota*, 4:335, explains, "the new amendment [required] a majority of all votes cast at the election [emphasis added] to ratify an amendment." That impossibly high standard meant a full suffrage amendment to the Minnesota Constitution would never be enacted. The MWSA would need to develop other strategies. Stuhler, *Gentle Warriors*, 33–34, 59–70, considers the changes coming to MWSA.

Hurd, *Woman Suffrage in Minnesota*, 29. Ethel Hurd, principal editor of the *Minnesota Bulletin*, noted, "It was discontinued in 1909, owing to scant funds, not lack of appreciation of its value." The WCTU's *Minnesota White Ribbon*, 1901–06, edited by Nelson, was a successor of *The Minnesota White Ribboner*, 1890–1900.

35. "Woman Suffragists Clash at Election," *Minneapolis Sunday Tribune*, Oct. 8, 1911, 14.

Emily E. Dobbin (1875–1949) taught mathematics and science at St. Paul Mechanic Arts High School: Blanche R. MacDonald, "Woman and Their Work," *Minneapolis Tribune*, Mar. 12, 1911, 24. Alice Ames Hall (1863–1952) became involved in the rapidly growing woman's club movement during the twentieth century's first decades: see Maddie Moran and Layna Zahrt, "Biography of Alice Ames Hall, 1863–1952," *Biographical Database of NAWSA Suffragists, 1890–1920*, <https://documents.alexanderstreet.com/d/1009860075>.

36. Stuhler, *Gentle Warriors*, 77–79; see also Minnesota Equal Franchise League Papers, 1911–17, MNHS; and "The Minnesota Equal Franchise League," *Who's Who Among Minnesota Women*, ed. Mary Dillon Foster (St. Paul: The author, 1924), 205; "Minnesotans Want Suffrage Meeting," *Duluth Herald*, Nov. 28, 1913, 7.

37. Nelson to Dear Miss [Theresa] Peyton, May 18, 1914, in Minnesota Equal Franchise League Papers, 1911–17, MNHS; quotations from this seven-page letter are found on pages one and six. Lief, "A Woman of Purpose," 312–13.

38. Hurd, *Woman Suffrage in Minnesota*, 8, and minutes from the convention [Minnesota Woman's Suffrage Association records (digital), MNHS, Annual Convention Proceedings, 1914–16, Volume 8] make no mention of Nelson's speech, but did list (p. 15) Nelson's monthly pledge for "state work." *Fargo Forum and Daily Republican*, Oct. 19, 1914, 7; *Fargo Forum*, Oct. 15, 1914, 7.

39. Anthony and Harper, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 4:772.

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Images on p. 104, 107, 112 (bottom), Goodhue County Historical Society; p. 105, 106, 109, 112, MNHS Collections; p. 110, "Primarily Washington," <https://primarilywashington.org/items/show/40357>; p. 113, Minnesota Newspaper Hub, MNHS.



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