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The Presidential Campaigns of Belva Lockwood

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Looking back upon the late nineteenth United States women's movement, names such as those of pioneers Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton often come to mind. Nonetheless, this movement was not a united organization. There were many splinters and factions within the women's movement that held opposing ideologies, not just on suffrage but on social issues such as temperance, polygamy, and politics.

Belva Lockwood was one such pioneer. Her experience in education and the law made her a valuable as a contributor within Anthony and Stanton's organization; however today, her name seems to be lost among the more well known suffragists. Lockwood was the first women to practice law before the United States Supreme Court. She was the first women to run a full campaign for President of the United States in 1884. Ironically, although historically significant, Belva Lockwood's bold decision to run for President cost her the respect of many members in the suffrage movement, resulting in a loss of prominence in the major suffrage organizations. This essay will examine Lockwood's efforts to practice law, participation in the women's movement, two candidacies for president of the United States, and the legacy of her accomplishments.

Despite Belva Lockwood's ground-breaking accomplishments, there is little written about her campaign. More attention is placed upon the eccentric Victoria Woodhull, who was nominated in 1872, but never ran a full campaign. Lockwood's accomplishment as the first woman to practice law before the United States Supreme Court is more commonly associated with her name. While this was a notable achievement, it is remarkable that major works on the women's movement have completely left out her candidacy. For instance, works such as Eleanor Flexner's Century of Struggle and Susan B. Anthony's The History of Woman Suffrage do bring attention

to Lockwood's Supreme Court achievements and participation in the National Woman Suffrage Association, but make no mention of her two presidential campaigns. Nor do these works mention Lockwood's 1884 running mate Marietta Stow whose role in nominating Lockwood, campaign for governor of California, push for probate reform, and newspaper publication played a significant role in the women's movement. It is possible that many earlier works have neglected Lockwood's and Stow's run because they went against Susan B. Anthony's decision to support the Republican Party in 1884. Anthony compiled the first four volumes of History of Woman Suffrage. This collection is a valuable source for research on the late nineteenth century women's movement. Whatever Anthony's reason for not mentioning and providing documentation of Lockwood's two campaigns, it has left historians with less of a record of her candidacy. Furthermore, the amount of primary source material for Lockwood is small compared to the large availability of material on Anthony and Stanton.[1]

Jill Norgren's book Belva Lockwood: The Woman Who Would Be President, and several journal articles are the most significant and complete works on Lockwood. She contends that Stanton and Anthony have overshadowed the accomplishments of Lockwood. Norgen's asserts that this treatment is "an injustice, for Belva Lockwood was a model of courageous activism and an admirable symbol of a women's movement that increasingly invested its energies in party politics."[2]

There are several significant events in the second half of the nineteenth century women's movement. The 1848 Seneca Falls Convention marked the beginning of a unified women's movement with New York housewife Elizabeth Cady Stanton emerging as a major leader. Susan B. Anthony, a strong minded Quaker woman, would soon

follow. The two women formed an alliance, although not always a solid one, that would last for over half a century.[3]

After the Civil War the budding women's suffrage movement would experience a major split. There were existing disagreements on sexual morality, a woman's role in society, her place in marriage, and the legitimacy of divorce. Nevertheless, the fight to end slavery had been one unifying aspect of the movement. Many women suffragists were also abolitionists. Yet, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, which gave voting rights to all men regardless of race, were not embraced by the entire women's movement. The conservative activist Lucy Stone did not want risk the passage of the amendments by pushing for their inclusion of women. Stanton and Anthony, conversely, did not want to support any amendment that did not give women the same rights as men. The result was the 1869 formation of the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), run by Stanton and Anthony. Stone and her husband, Henry Blackwell, responded by forming a more conservative organization named the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA).[4]

In the 1880's the women's movement was active in party politics. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, and Susan B. Anthony pushed their suffrage organizations to the national level. San Francisco's Marietta Stow followed this movement closely. She was founder, editor, and contributor to the Women's Herald of Industry, a newspaper that discussed women's issues, book reviews, and politics. In her paper she announced her run for governor of California in July 1882, hoping that the governorship would be a "stepping stone" to senator then on to President.[5] Although her run was unsuccessful, she felt strongly that qualified women should not shy away from nomination in political

positions. By time the 1884 election came around, Stow's frustration with the Republican Party's apathy towards the suffrage issue shifted her loyalties to the Greenback Party.[6] The Greenbacks' support of women's suffrage gained her support, but she felt strongly that women should have their own party. Consequently, in July of 1884 Stow announced in her newspaper the formation of the Equal Rights Party and the nomination of Abigail Scott Duniway for President of the United States.[7]

This was a peculiar move given the relationship between these two women. Abigail Duniway, an Oregon newspaper editor and suffrage activist, wrote a letter to Stow discouraging her from running for governor. Duniway held that Stow was under-qualified for the position. She expressed concern that Stow's campaign would be subjected to mockery and misrepresent women's issues, although she did admit that it brought the attention of the press to the women's movement.[8]

In the Women's Herald of Industry, Marietta Stow announced the nomination of Duniway due to her many years of experience and position in the women's movement. However, Stow never consulted Duniway on her plans to nominate her for President. As a result, Duniway wrote a letter under her own newspaper's name, The New Northwest, rejecting the nomination and informing her that "a disenfranchised candidate of a disenfranchised people will make a sorry run for any office." Duniway reasoned that nominating women for political office would weaken the movement itself. The nominees would be portrayed as notoriety seekers. Stow, publishing Duniway's letter in her paper, responded that the Equal Rights Party would "reluctantly" take down her name and suggested Duniway and Susan B. Anthony should organize a women's party on the state and national level.[9]

During this time, Belva Ann Lockwood, a subscriber to the Woman's Herald, Washington D.C. lawyer, and women's activist, wrote a letter to Stow resulting from her frustration toward Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, both of whom supported of the Republican Party and its nominee, James G. Blaine. It is possible that this letter was also a result of the correspondence between Stow and Duniway, published in the Women's Herald's July edition. Lockwood believed that "the Republican party, claiming to be the party of progress, had little else but insult for women" and Stanton and Anthony were out of touch with the present circumstances. In her letter to Stow, Lockwood called for the formation of a women's party with women nominees. She explained that although women were not permitted to vote there was no law preventing them from running for elected office. In order to achieve equality, women needed to seize this opportunity. Reading this letter, Marietta Stow knew she had found her nominee.[10]

Belva Ann Bennett was born on October 24, 1830 in Royalton, New York. Unlike her fellow New York suffragist Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lockwood was born to a poor family with little social status or opportunity for a good education.[11] She began teaching at age fourteen to help support her family and began to experience the reality of her status as a woman when she learned that she was paid half the salary of male teachers. She asked her father to permit her to continue her education; however her father did not believe that was a woman's role. As a result, Lockwood followed the expectations of her society and married Uriah McNall at age eighteen. McNall died in 1853 as a result of a mill accident. Lockwood, now age twenty-two, had to support herself and their four year old daughter, Lura. [12]

Despite criticism from friends and her father, Lockwood seized the opportunity to pursue her dream of a higher education. She sent her daughter to live with her parents. She enrolled in Genesee Wesleyan Seminary in Lima, New York, that offered an experimental coeducation program. After graduating with honors in June of 1857 and realizing there were few career choices for women, she began teaching again.[13]

Now that she had the income to support herself, Lockwood sent for her daughter and started to become active in the well fueled New York women's movement. It was here she met and began collaborating with Susan B. Anthony. Both being teachers, they began to serve together on the state's School Association striving to elevate the curriculum for females to the same level as males. For instance, Lockwood implemented physical education such as gymnastics and calisthenics for the girls at her school.[14]

Becoming more and more interested and involved in politics, in 1866 Lockwood decided to take her daughter and move to Washington D.C. She wanted "to see what was being done at this great political center, -this seething pot, -to learn something or the practical workings of the machinery of government." Living in D.C., Lockwood spent time observing congressional debates and Supreme Court hearings, expanding her interest and knowledge in constitutional law, economics, and politics. She even applied for a position for the consulship at Ghent, Belgium. Her application was disregarded.[15]

Belva Ann Bennett McNall married dentist Ezekiel Lockwood in 1868. Being able to support herself for so long, she had no hesitations about marrying a sixty-six year old man. She gave birth to her second child in January 1869, at age thirty-eight. Tragically, their daughter died at eighteen months of age. Despite their differing views on religion,

he was a Baptist and she a Methodist; they shared similar political views and worked together on women's rights.[16]

Lockwood's desire to practice law continued and with her husband's support she applied to Columbian College in 1869. Her application was denied on the basis that her presence "would be likely to distract the attention of the young men." The following year, the new National University Law School announced they would admit men and women. Lockwood was accepted along with fifteen other women; however only Lockwood and Lydia S. Hall would remain to complete the program. Due to the complaints of the male students, the women were no longer allowed to attend lectures but could continue their course of studies. Also because the men did not want to graduate with women, Lockwood and Hall would not receive their diplomas. Despite not having her diploma, Lockwood sought admission to the District of Columbia bar, but was denied.[17]

During this temporary pause in Lockwood's legal career, Theodore Tilton, editor of The Golden Age, hired Lockwood to tour for three months in the South as a correspondent. Tilton also asked her to campaign for Horace Greeley, the 1872 Liberal Republican presidential nominee, endorsed by The Golden Age. She agreed, even though Greeley was against woman suffrage. Lockwood gave no reason for this decision. While on tour, in addition to reporting, she gave campaign speeches, conducted polls, and sought endorsements for Greeley. After Greeley's defeat in November by the incumbent Ulysses S. Grant, Lockwood returned to Washington.[18]

Not willing to give up on her desire for diploma and to further her fight to obtain recognition to the bar, Lockwood wrote a letter to President Ulysses S. Grant on September 3, 1873 stating:

> Sir-, You are, or are you not, President of the National University Law School. If you are its President, I desire to say to you that I have passed through the curriculum of study in this school, and am entitled to and demand, my diploma. If you are not its President, then I ask that you take your name from its papers, and not hold out to the world to be what you are not.

Although, President Grant never sent a reply to her letter, the following week the university's chancellor presented Lockwood with her diploma and several days later she was admitted to the D.C. bar.[19]

Although she was not completely accepted by her colleagues, Lockwood claimed that she was able to get cases because a woman lawyer was a novelty and the attention it brought provided free advertising and sympathy. As she received more cases, for example, a case representing the Cherokee Indians with a 3,000,000 claim, she needed admission to the bar of the United States Supreme Court and the U.S. Court of Claims. Her application was denied on the account of her gender. She took her case to Congress where a bill was passed on February 7, 1879 admitting women to the United States Supreme Court bar. On March 3, 1879, Belva Lockwood became the first female member of the United States Supreme Court bar.[20]

Lockwood was very important in the women's movement due to her ability and accomplishments as a lawyer, lobbying efforts, and Washington D. C. location. Elizabeth Cady Stanton praised Lockwood's experience and abilities to practice in front of the Supreme Court.[21] Lockwood was an active member and regular speaker for Stanton and Susan B. Anthony's National Women's Suffrage Association (NWSA), as

well as Washington's Universal Franchise Association where she served as president. Marietta Stow enlisted Lockwood to assist with a congressional bill giving marital rights to women in regards to estate, property, and child custody. The bill did not make it past committee. Lockwood also lobbied for pension claims, mining rights, Indian affairs, and foreign policy.[22]

A major issue for the women's movement was the Mormon religions practice of polygamy in Utah. This issue put the women's movement in a precarious position. Women in Utah had the right to vote yet the practice of polygamy was looked upon by most suffragists as immoral. The two major factions of the women's movement had different views on this issue. The American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), led by Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell, viewed polygamy as slavery and refused to have any affiliation with the Utah suffrage movement. Perhaps not completely understanding the Church of the Latter Day Saints rationale for polygamy, Stanton and Anthony's National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) took the position that the Mormon women's ability to vote would empower them to cleanse the immoral practice of polygamy. However, Mormon women did not see their practice as immoral; they believed that polygamy by "taming male sexuality" cured the problems of prostitution and adultery in society. The Mormon issue furthered the divide between the two groups.[23]

The practice of polygamy and woman suffrage prevented Utah from entering statehood. The 1882 Edmunds Act made polygamy a felony and established a commission to enforce the law in Utah. As the anti-polygamy movement became a national issue, Anthony and Stanton tried to disassociate themselves from the cause of Utah's women.

However, Belva Lockwood, also a member of the NWSA, spoke out against the Edmunds Act, asserting that it violated the Mormons' civil rights on the basis that it was part of the Church of the Latter Day Saints religious practice. At the 1884 NWSA convention, Lockwood gave a speech to gain support for the Mormons' fight. Near the end of the speech, Susan B. Anthony interrupted and stated that the NWSA would defend the Utah women's right to vote but would not pass judgment on the "general laws" of Congress. In all likelihood, Lockwood's position and outspokenness in support of the Mormons was a major cause for the eventual rift between herself, Stanton and Anthony.[24]

The rift between Lockwood and the NWSA continued to grow. Lockwood disagreed with Stanton and Anthony's position on the Mormon cause, and now on the NWSA's decision to support the Republican Party in the 1884 presidential election. Stanton and Anthony felt it was wise to back James G. Blaine, the Republican nominee, because he would be in "harmony" with a Republican-run Congress. To get their suffrage amendment passed through the House and Senate, this support could be valuable. Anthony and Stanton had made it clear that they felt it was in the best interest of the suffrage movement to align themselves with a major party, specifically the Republicans. They praised the Greenback party's nominee Benjamin F. Butler, but believed third "parties now struggling into existence" would be unsuccessful. Lockwood did not agree. Her letter to Stow in The Woman's Herald furthered the rift. Her acceptance of Marietta Stow's nomination of herself as a presidential candidate would cause the final blow to their relationship.[25]

Inspired by Lockwood's letter involving the Duniway nomination, Marietta Stow wrote a letter to Lockwood informing her she had been nominated for president.

Lockwood stated that she was surprised and that she carried it around in her pocket for three days before she wrote to Stow on September 3, 1884 accepting the nomination. Marietta Stow would be Lockwood's running mate.[26] Stow nominated Clemence S. Lozier for vice president, but the New York City physician wrote to Stow that she was honored but her "professional duties will give me too little time for opportunities so grand."[27] Lockwood did not think she would be elected as President, but believed her campaign would symbolically represent the right of women to pursue elected office. She wrote in a personal letter "not that we shall succeed in the election, but we can demonstrate that a women may under the Constitution, not only be nominated but elected."[28]

The Presidential election of 1884 was forecasted to be a close race between the Democratic nominee Grover Cleveland and Republican James G. Blaine. The two major parties played it safe by focusing on major defining issues such as tariffs, railroads, labor, and federal and corporate issues. They stayed away from issues applying to social reform and civil rights. These ideologies were pursued by the numerous third parties such as the Greenback, Anti-monopoly, Prohibition, and Equal Rights Party.[29]

Belva Lockwood presented the platform of the National Equal Rights Party to Washington's National Republic newspaper. The fifteen point platform in addition to women's suffrage and equal rights for all, supported soldiers' pension relief, a moderate protective tariff, family law reform, temperance, and citizenship for Indians and the breakup of tribal reservations.[30] In an October 12th campaign speech to five hundred people, Lockwood declared that for the last twenty years the Republicans and Democrats offered the same "platitudes." She accused Republicans of only pushing for a protective

tariff while the Democrats only pushed for free trade. She predicted that the country would soon face a financial crisis and if elected she would abolish the national banks. Lockwood reminded the crowd that "there are in this country 12,000,000 tax paying women, who have no voice in government by which they are controlled."[31]

Lockwood did not expect full support from the women's suffragists. She recognized that there were many divisions in the movement itself. However, it was the goal of the Equal Rights Party to encompass all factions of the movement. [32] As much as Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony agreed with Lockwood's plea for women's suffrage, they did not agree with her candidacy. Because they did not make the nomination the declared it was not "regular." Anthony believed there was no firm base to Lockwood's campaign. Yet, there is little evidence that Anthony spoke out publicly against Lockwood and Stow's campaign. Anthony, perhaps to avoid further embarrassment of their former fellow activist, kept distant from the campaign. She did attend one of Lockwood's campaign speeches in New York. Anthony wrote to Stanton that Lockwood's speech "was too much like a rehash of the men's speeches." She also criticized Lockwood for wearing her hair like Martha Washington and dying her gray hair brown, stating "so human are poor mortal strongminded women."[33]

Abigail Duniway was more forthcoming on her objections to Lockwood and Stow's candidacy. Duniway's paper the New Northwest, accused Lockwood of notoriety-seeking. The campaign would bring embarrassment to her supporters and to the entire suffrage movement. Her comments after the campaign were even more biting. The New Northwest described Lockwood and Stow's run as "stupendous stupidity." The paper denounced the existence of an Equal Rights Party, that there was no convention and that

Stow had done the nominating herself. Duniway accused the two women of using the campaign for "advertising purposes" and the three month campaign had damaged years of work from the suffrage movement. Surprisingly, Lockwood and Stow published this scathing letter in Stow's paper, now renamed National Equal Rights, of which Lockwood was now co-editor.[34]

Duniway's concern that the Equal Rights campaign would be subjected to mockery was not unwarranted. Of course during the Gilded Age mockery was a characteristic of most campaigns. The humor magazine Puck, known for ridicule of political candidates, depicted a cartoon with Lockwood on stage along with Greenback party nominee, Benjamin Butler, with the caption "Let the Show Go On: The Political Columbine to Join the Political Clown."[35] The most common ridicule observed in Lockwood's campaign was the formation of "Belva Lockwood Clubs." Groups sometimes as large as one hundred men would dress up in bonnets, "Mother Hubbard" dresses, parasols, and striped stockings and parade down the street. In a New Jersey parade one of the men planned to ride a tricycle, something Lockwood was famous for doing around Washington, D.C., but joked it was out of their campaign budget.[36] Lockwood reflected on the clubs in a 1903 article as a "lively and amusing feature of the campaign."[37]

Lockwood was treated no worse than the major candidates. Cleveland was scoffed at because he had an illegitimate child. Blaine was also subjected to his fair share of mockery. There were false allegations that Lockwood was divorced, when in reality her husband passed away in 1877.[38] However, the press for the most part treated Lockwood respectfully although more as a novelty than a serious candidate. Many articles spent more ink describing her looks than her platform. Articles gave her height and weight,

and described her hairstyle. The press enjoyed describing her bold move of riding her tricycle around D. C. with her red stockings that shows "a shapely calf which no lady would be ashamed to own." It was joked that if she became President she could ride over to the Senate to give her addresses without dismounting.[39]

The novelty of Lockwood's campaign brought many invitations for her to give speeches. Not having much money to campaign Lockwood accepted fees to travel around the country and speak. She actually came out of the campaign with a profit of one hundred twenty-five dollars. Her speeches tended to focus on major economic national issues rather than woman's issues.[40]

As predicted, the presidential election of 1884 was close. Cleveland had only 23,000 additional popular votes than Blaine and had 219 electoral votes to Blaine's 182. Cleveland was the first Democratic president elected in twenty-four years. Exact results of Gilded Age campaigns are hard to determine. The secret Australian ballot had not yet been adopted. It was not uncommon for votes to be miscounted or discarded. Lockwood believed that is what happened to her votes.[41]

In January 1885 Lockwood petitioned to Congress that she received votes in nine states in addition to the votes she believed were thrown away Pennsylvania. She contended that she had acquired 4,711 votes. Lockwood also contended that Indiana switched Cleveland's electoral votes to her, although it was discovered that it was a prank letter sent to her. New York and Indiana were important states in the final results of the election. Cleveland had won New York by only a 1,149 votes. Lockwood claimed that because she received 1,336 votes in New York, Cleveland did not win New York by a majority. There is speculation that Lockwood put forward the petition because she was

secretly working with the Republican Party to overturn Cleveland's win. Regardless of her motivations, her petition was ignored.[42]

Shortly following the campaign, Lockwood began traveling around the country giving paid lectures. When her tour brought her to Utah, the Mormon leaders graciously welcomed her. Following her visit, she wrote a nine page letter to President Cleveland defending the Mormon cause. Her lecture tour discussed politics, temperance, her travels, and women's issues. Her 1888 article "The Mormon Question" was published in fifty newspapers. There is speculation that The Mormon Church paid Lockwood to write this article in order to bring attention to their cause, but Lockwood never admitted to being hired by The Church of the Latter Day Saints.[43] In addition to lecturing, Lockwood also published articles. In "The Present Phase of the Women Question" she wrote of the importance of a woman receiving an education. This would allow marriage not to be viewed "as a necessity but as a sacred and inviolable contract into which she has no right to enter until able to be self-supporting."[44]

Perhaps prematurely, by March 1885 Stow and Lockwood's paper National Equal Rights, placed on the front page Lockwood as the 1888 presidential nominee for the Equal Rights Party and Stow as her running mate. It is unclear if Stow put forward this nomination with of without Lockwood's approval.[45] The paper only put out three editions before it discontinued circulation, possibly due to lack of money. Nonetheless, in subsequent interviews Lockwood stated she had not decided if she would pursue another campaign.[46] In May of 1888 the Equal Rights party held its convention in Des Moines, Iowa and again nominated Lockwood for President. The party's platform was almost identical to the 1884 campaign.[47]

Once again the Equal Rights Party made nominations without consulting the candidates. Lockwood accepted the nomination despite previous claims she would not pursue office again. Her running mate however did not accept. Alfred Love, founder of the Universal Peace Union, of which Lockwood was an active member, declined the nomination on the basis that the position would conflict with his pacifist beliefs. Lockwood may have recommended Love for nomination. She wrote of her disappointment of his withdrawal. Charles Stuart Wells replaced Love.[48]

Not unlike the 1884 campaign, many women suffragists were once again unhappy with Lockwood's run. As with 1888, Stanton and Anthony believed it was best for the woman's suffrage movement to put their support behind a major party candidate. There is speculation that it also angered them because Lockwood did not confer with the NSWA and AWSA before accepting her nominations. Furthermore there may have been concern that since Lockwood was now in the national spotlight she would outshine and embarrass the organizations.[49]

Lockwood was optimistic about her second campaign. In May of 1888 she told the New York Times that she believed The Equal Rights Party would receive a higher vote than the 1884 election.[50] Nonetheless, Lockwood's 1888 campaign received far less attention than her 1884 candidacy. She was no longer a novelty. Reflective of the attitudes toward women, a newspaper article explained that two years ago Lockwood said she would not run, "but everybody knows what a woman's 'no' means."[51] Otherwise the press covered very little of her campaign. Additionally, Lockwood received fewer endorsements from her previous supporters.[52]

Overall the 1888 Presidential election was similar to the former election. Democratic incumbent nominee Grover Cleveland campaigned for free trade and Republican Benjamin Harrison crusaded for a protective tariff. Third parties such as the Prohibition and Union Labor Party once more campaigned for reforms. Grover Cleveland won the popular vote; however he lost the electoral vote 168 to 233, leaving Harrison the winner.[53] Despite Lockwood's claim that she had received votes in several states, a ballot from Kentucky is the only evidence. No votes were recorded for Lockwood in 1888.[54]

There does not appear to be any evidence that Lockwood felt any embarrassment or regret about her campaigns. She was proud of her efforts and their historical significance. Lockwood wrote to Stow that her 1884 run for Presidency would awaken the women's movement and "open a door to be shut no longer." She sought to prove that running for office was a constitutional right.[55] While she continued with this reasoning for her second campaign, one of her primary motivations may have been to aid her lecture career and elevate her position in the women's movement.[56]

Belva Lockwood did not pursue political office again, but she continued to be politically active and to practice law. Through her long lasting work with the Universal Peace Union she continued to travel in the United States and Europe and she continued to fight for women's suffrage and publish articles. Lockwood had the honor to give a speech at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition.[57]

Lockwood's fractured relationship with Susan B. Anthony would not be repaired. Anthony did not care for Lockwood's independent ideas from the NWSA and outspokenness. In 1888 Anthony and other suffrage leaders organized a week long

conference in Washington D.C. The convention would include speeches from prominent women who made significant historical contributions to the women's movement. Despite the accomplishment of being the first women to practice before the Supreme Court, a talk on "Woman in Law" was not assigned to her. Lockwood was further insulted when she was completely excluded from the convention's, "Conference of Pioneers." Lockwood's family claimed she was excluded from the woman's movement due to Anthony's severe jealousy. It was rumored that the two had a face to face altercation with name calling. Lockwood aligned herself with the Federal Suffrage Association and continued her efforts with the Universal Peace Union. [58]

Due in part to the rivalry and disagreements between the NWSA and AWSA the woman suffrage movement made little progress. The 1887 failure to pass a suffrage amendment in the Senate, and the lessening of differences between the two organizations facilitated the merger between the NWSA and AWSA in 1890. The result was the formation of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). Although many original differences between the two groups were solved, the newly united organization committed itself to focusing on centralized issues; however other existing problems led to disagreements now within the organization. The elderly Anthony and Stanton found themselves eventually replaced by a younger generation of suffragists.[59]

Belva Lockwood passed away in May 19, 1917, never able to vote. The Nineteenth Amendment giving her this right would be ratified three years later. Her hopes to see women in major political offices would come even longer after her death. A woman would not be elected governor until 1974 and a woman has yet to serve as President. Women now serve in Congress; nevertheless they remain the minority.[60]

Perhaps her two Presidential candidacies were not the most significant aspects of her life and they certainly were not her only accomplishments. Supreme Court Justice Ruth Gader Ginsberg fervently believes that Lockwood opened doors for women and deserves a more prominent place in history.[61]

There is still more to discover about Belva Lockwood and the Equal Rights Party. There is little written about Marietta Stow, the party's founder and the woman responsible for nominating Lockwood. The concern expressed by Anthony, Stanton and Duniway that Lockwood's campaigns would damage the work of the NWSA is questionable. The late nineteenth century women's movement as a whole was plagued by disagreements and factions. These divisions prevented the formation a well organized and united front. Lockwood's presidential campaigns most likely were minuscule compared to the other issues that weighed down the NWSA. Conversely, it does seems likely that Lockwood's decision to accept her nomination and run two full campaigns pushed her out of the major suffrage organizations. Nonetheless, Lockwood was bold enough to go against the popular Stanton and Anthony's well established organization. The significance of Belva Lockwood is that her two presidential campaigns along with her accomplishments as a lawyer, lobbyist, and peace activist inspired others who came after her.

1. Madeleine B. Stern and Belva Lockwood, "Two Unpublished Letters from Belva Lockwood," Signs, 1:1 (Autumn 1975): 271.

2. Jill Norgen, "Lockwood in 84," Wilson Quarterly 26, (2002): 12-20.

3. Eleanor Flexner and Ellen Fitzpatrick. Century of Struggle, (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1959), 72, 83.
4. Jean V. Matthews. The Rise of the New Woman: The Women's Movement in America, 1875-1930, (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2003), 6-7.

5. Marietta Stow, Woman's Herald of Industry, and Social Science Cooperator, July, 1882.

6. Immanuel Ness and James Ciment, eds. The Encyclopedia of Third Parties in America, 3 vols. (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2000), 2: 271-275. The Greenbacks was a third party named for bank notes issued during the war also known as "greenbacks." The Greenbacks opposed a specie based economy. Benjamin J. Butler was the 1884 presidential nominee for both the Greenback and Anti-Monopoly Party.

7. Woman's Herald of Industry, July, 1882 and July 1884.

8. Ibid., July, 1882.

9. Ibid., Sept. 1884.

10. Belva A. Lockwood, "How I Ran for Presidency," The National Magazine: an Illustrated Monthly 17 (March 1903): 728-729.

11. Jill Norgen, Belva Lockwood: The Woman Who Would Be President, (New York: New York University Press, 2007), xiii.

12. Ibid., 3-5.

13. Ibid., 6-7.

14. Belva A. Lockwood, "My Efforts to Become a Lawyer," Lippincott's Monthly Magazine (February 1888), 217-218.

15. Ibid., 221.

16. Norgen, Belva Lockwood, 24-26.

17. Lockwood, "My Efforts To Become A Lawyer," 222-223.

18. Norgen, Belva Lockwood, 47-49.

19. Lockwood, “My Efforts To Become A Lawyer,” 224.

20. Ibid., 226-228.

21. Ann D. Gordon ed., The Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, 4 vols. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2006), 4:xxiii., 284-285.

22. Norgen, Belva Lockwood, 27, 31,111-114.

23. Joan Iverson, “The Mormon-Suffrage Relationship: Personal and Political Quandaries,” Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies 11, no. 2/3(1990). 8-9.

24. Ibid,, 11.

25. Gordon, ed., The Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, 374.

26. Norgen, “Lockwood in ’84,” 14-16.

27. National Herald Industry (Sept. 1884), Published letter of Clemence S. Lozier.

28. Belva A. Lockwood, Letter to Edward M. Davis, Records, 1884 National Equal Rights Party, (September 7, 1884).

29. Norgen, Belva Lockwood, 129-130.

30. Lockwood, “How I Ran For Presidency,” 731.

31. Boston Daily Advertiser, (Boston, MA) October 14, 1884.

32. Woman’s Herald of Industry, (October 1884). Sept. 4 1884. Interview from Evening Star printed within.

33. Gordon, ed., The Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, 372, 374.

34. National Equal Rights, April 1885. Article from the New Northwest published within.

35. Puck, (September 17, 1884), 16:393.

36. Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper, (New York), November 01, 1884.

37. Lockwood, “How I Ran For Presidency,”733.

38. Norgen, Belva Lockwood, 75, 135.

39. The North American, (Philadelphia, PA) September 26, 1884.

40. Norgen, Belva Lockwood, 135, 138.

41. Norgen, "Lockwood in '84,"17-18.

42. Ibid.

43. Norgen, Belva Lockwood , 145-146, 153.

44. Belva A. Lockwood, "The Present Phase of the Woman Question," The Cosmopolitan; a Monthly Illustrated Magazine (October 1888) 468.

45. National Equal Rights, March and April 1885.

46. Norgen, Belva Lockwood, 188.

47. Los Angeles Times, May 17, 1888.

48. Norgen, Belva Lockwood, 162, 164, 167. There is little if any historical account of who Charles Stuart Wells is and what relationship he may have had with Lockwood and the woman's suffrage movement.

49. Ibid., 163.

50. New York Times, May 23, 1888.

51. Atchison Daily Globe, May 29, 1888.

52. Norgen, Belva Lockwood, 166-167.

53. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., History of American Presidential Elections 1789-2001, 11 vols. (Philadelphia,: Chelsea House Publishers, 2002): 1575-1611.

54. Norgen, Belva Lockwood, 167.

55. Lockwood, "How I Ran For Presidency,"731-733.

56. Norgen, Belva Lockwood, 183.

57. Ibid., 187-189.

58. Ibid., 184 -185.

59. Steven M. Buechler, Women's Movements in the United States: Woman Suffrage, Equal Rights and Beyond, (New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press: 1990), 53-54.

60. Norgen, Belva Lockwood, 228,231.

61. Ibid., x, xi.

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