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Balancing Between the Traditional Sphere and the ‘New Woman’: The Practice of Female Homesteading in Albany County, Wyoming, 1875-1908

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Balancing Between the Traditional Sphere and the 'New Woman'

The Practice of Female Homesteading in Albany County, Wyoming, 1875-1908

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MA History, Politics, Cultural and National Identities

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Introduction

Albany County, May 1, 1905: 'MARY POWELL FOUND GUILTY Jury on Sunday Brings in a Verdict Convicting Mrs. Powell of Cattle Stealing'¹

At first glance, this newspaper article, published in *The Laramie Boomerang* at the turn of the century, fits into a classic story about the 'Wild West'. This stereotypical portrayal of a cattle thief brought to justice excites imagery of the adventures of cowboys fighting outlaws, gunslingers, shootouts, and horses riding into the sunset.² Closer inspection, however, reveals that the news item in fact undoes 'wild west' stereotypes. It reverses stereotypical gender roles in the American West during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As Sue Matheson argues, women in the West were often pictured as side characters or victims of property crime, rather than perpetrators—a role usually reserved for men.³ In this article, however, a female homesteader in Albany County, Wyoming, was the perpetrator.

Women in fact played an active role in the creation of the American West, not only as wives and side characters but indeed as active and engaged property owners in their own right. Unlike Mary Powell, most female property owners acquired land and livestock not by stealing but rather in the legal way. The Homestead Act was the most common means of open access for women who wished to own property. The act, which passed in 1862, offered the head of a household 160 acres of free land in the Western areas. A head of a household was not defined by gender, so single or widowed women, who needed to support a household, could also claim a homestead.⁴ For this case study about Albany County, Wyoming, it becomes clear women in Albany also engaged in homesteading by filing a claim through the Homestead Act. Mary Powell is a good example, for she gained her ranch in Albany County by the Homestead Act as well, although she apparently resorted to illegal means to add to her livestock.

Multiple developments influenced the ideas surrounding the practicability of female homesteaders in the West, including social and agricultural developments at the end of the 19th century. In these aspects, Wyoming occupied a unique place in the Western history, as the territory underwent its own distinct development, making it an ideal area for female homesteaders to settle.

¹ 'Mary Powell Found Guilty', *Laramie Boomerang* (May 1, 1905).

² C. Minz, 'Never Seen a Woman Who Was More of a Man: Saloon Girls, Women Heroes, and Female Masculinity in the Western' in: S. Matheson ed., *Women in Western* (Edinburgh 2020) 107-120, 107-110.

³ Ibidem.

⁴ W. Gallagher, *New Women in the Old West. From Settlers to Suffragists, an Untold American Story* (New York 2021) 50.

Wyoming made history for its progressiveness in women's rights, for in 1869 the territory women got the right to vote. These legal rights provided additional opportunities for women to manage their homesteads.⁵ Additionally, the presence of female homesteaders was utilized to advocate for women's suffrage by feminists.⁶ While women's rights in Wyoming territory and later in Wyoming state did not immediately alter social norms in practice, they laid the groundwork for the emergence of the 'new woman'. Winifred Gallagher describes this 'new woman' as a transformation from the traditional domestic role to a more independent and self-fulfilling way of life for women.⁷ Due to the political changes in Wyoming territory, this 'new woman' had a chance to develop, although it became evident that this development would slowly manifest in the practice of female homesteading at the end of the 19th century.

Also important were agricultural developments. These developments were evident throughout the entire West, but differed in Wyoming. Environmental conditions varied across different areas within the state. While Wyoming was mostly characterised by a dry desert environment, Albany County had a more varied landscape, making it more representative for research of western areas.⁸ Some environmental changes had consequences for the entire West, such as overgrazing, which led to the transition of animal husbandry to arable farming. Other agricultural challenges stemmed from diplomatic issues, which varied from state to state, such as infrastructure affecting market potential.⁹ Although these issues affected all homesteaders, patterns among female homesteaders exhibited different responses to agricultural developments. These variations in response were influenced by social gender norms of the time. Women often began homesteading as part of the family business, while men were typically driven to homestead to support a household.¹⁰

These social and agricultural developments were prominent in Wyoming during the second half of the nineteenth century and around the turn of the century. This research focuses on female homesteading in Albany County, Wyoming, in the period from 1875 to 1908. The first land office in Wyoming opened in 1870, and consequently, the first 'proofed up' homesteads in Albany County were recorded in 1875. Additionally, in 1880, the first woman in Albany County 'proofed up' her homestead, meaning that she began homesteading in 1875.¹¹ In 1909, the Enlarged Homestead Act was instituted

⁵ Ibidem, xi - xxiv.

⁶ Ibidem, xx, 68.

⁷ Ibidem, xx.

⁸ Z.L. Boughn, *The Disposal of the Public Domain in Albany County, Wyoming, 1869-1890* (Laramie 1964) 25.

⁹ M. Walsh, *The American West, Visions and Revisions* (Cambridge 2005) 82-86.

¹⁰ D. Garceau, *The Important Things of Life. Women, Work, and Family in Sweetwater County, Wyoming 1880-1929* (Lincoln and London 1997) 116-118.

¹¹ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871 - 1908*. NAID: [7551468](#). Department of the Interior. General Land Office. Cheyenne (Wyoming) Land Office. Records of the Bureau of Land Management, 1685-2006, Record Group 49. The National Archives at Washington, D.C.; *Homestead Final Certificates, 1878 - 1908*. NAID: [7551470](#). Department of the Interior. General Land Office. Evanston (Wyoming) Land Office. Records of the Bureau of

to grant more than 160 acres to homesteaders, as one homestead was deemed too small to create a profitable enterprise. However, this research will specifically concentrate on the original Homestead Act, making 1908 a logical endpoint for this study.

In this research, the social and agricultural developments discussed will serve as a basis for analysing patterns among female homesteaders in Albany County. This analysis aims to examine social and agricultural developments over the years and explore individual cases to gain new insights into the practice of women who homesteaded. The central question of this research is: 'How did social and agricultural developments shape the practice of female homesteading in Albany County, Wyoming, during the period 1875 and 1908?' While conducting this research, the literature on political, social and agricultural development in Wyoming will be linked to new data on male and female homesteaders in Albany County. The comparison between male and female homesteaders is often overlooked in literature. In many cases, female homesteaders have been studied in isolation, but this research will connect patterns of female homesteaders to those of male homesteaders, thereby gaining new insights into the difference in enterprise management between men and women. Additionally, connections and comparisons will be made with data from female homesteaders in other western states and counties.

Historiography

The American West has been interpreted on many different levels, starting with Frederick Jackson Turner who wrote *The Frontier in American History* in 1920. He had a political and economic view on the developments in the West, arguing that he was the first to analyse the frontier more carefully from a historical perspective.¹² Turner saw the American frontier as one of the most important factors that led to the development of American civilization and democracy. He argued that the westward expansion decreased European influence in the more Western areas, leading to the formation of an American identity.¹³ Free land was a key to Turner's theory, as it provided economic freedom and therefore political power, while also nurturing American individualism.¹⁴

This view of Turner persisted throughout the twentieth century and highlighted the significance of masculinity for the frontier.¹⁵ However, Turner overlooked other groups in his 'frontier thesis', and subsequent studies have incorporated different groups, including women and various

Land Management, 1685-2006, Record Group 49. The National Archives at Washington, D.C.; Available at www.ancestry.com, U.S Homestead Records, 1863-1908, Wyoming, Cheyenne.

¹² F.J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York 1920) 3.

¹³ *Ibidem*, 4.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, 32.

¹⁵ Gallagher, *New Women in the Old West*, 168.

ethical or religious groups. The West was not only crucial for the formation of American identity, as Turner describes in his 'frontier thesis', but also for the evolving role of women. The concept of the 'new woman', as articulated by Gallagher, represents a shift in gender norms within society, influenced by political developments and the feminist movement in the West.¹⁶ This complements the political perspective previously argued by Harriet Siegerman described in *Land of Many Hands, Women in the American West*, written two decades earlier. The presentations of women homesteaders play a central role in these works, illustrating the political and social transformations within society.¹⁷ This research aims to utilise these political changes and the theory of the 'new woman' to explore the understanding of female homesteading in Albany County.

On the other side it was also possible to analyse female homesteading within a family context. Dee Garceau saw the motivation and choices of women not in the light of independence and autonomy, but within the family context. She claimed that women who staked a homestead were primarily concerned with the expanding of the family estate. Therefore, Garceau did not study female homesteaders in the light of broader social changes but rather in terms of individual practices.¹⁸ Female homesteading practices have been the subject of research in various counties by several historians. However, there has been a noticeable shift in the focus of these studies. In the 1990s, historians primarily concentrated on single women who homesteaded, often overlooking women with other marital statuses.¹⁹ Recent work by Richard Edwards, Jacob Friefled, and Rebecca Wingo, titled *Homesteading the Plains*, demonstrates that women with different marital states, such as widows were also actively involved in homesteading and in fact, this was even a larger group than the single women. Another significant insight from this study is the importance of analysing differences between counties. They examined two Nebraska counties and found various discrepancies in statistics between them.²⁰

This research will expand upon the ideas of Edwards, Friefled, and Wingo by analysing the significance of homesteading specifically in Albany County as a singular entity. It will highlight the importance of considering the different marital statuses of female homesteaders and how these statuses influenced their motivations and approaches to work. When comparing female homesteading across various counties, it is crucial to take into account the local developments unique to each area.

¹⁶ Ibidem.

¹⁷ Gallagher, *New Women in the Old West*; H. Sigerman, *Land of Many Hands. Women in the American West* (New York 1997).

¹⁸ Garceau, *The Important Things of Life*.

¹⁹ P.M. Bauman, 'Single Women Homesteaders in Wyoming 1880-1930' in: N.F. Cott ed., *History of Women in the United States, Vol 6 Working on the Land* (Munich 1993) 301-332; Garceau, *The Important Things of Life*; H.E. Lindgren, *Land in Her Own Name. Women as Homesteaders in North Dakota* (Fargo 1991).

²⁰ R. Edwards, J.K. Friefeld, and R.S. Wingo, *Homesteading the Plains. Towards a New History* (Lincoln and London 2017).

Positioning homesteading in Albany County within the broader context of Wyoming's history will be informed by seminal works such as Taft Larson's *History of Wyoming* and the agricultural overview provided by Earl Pomeroy in *The American Far West in the Twentieth Century*.²¹ While an earlier attempt in 1964 by Zachariah Lucian Boughn charted homesteading statistics for Albany County between 1869 and 1890, it lacked integration with broader agricultural trends in the American West and political, economic and social developments of Wyoming to position Albany County in the bigger picture of the Wyoming.²² This research aims to provide fresh insights not only into the statistical data of homesteaders in Albany County but also to contextualise this data within a larger historical context. Through the inclusion of case studies from Albany County, attention will also be given to individual circumstances of female homesteaders. Additionally, patterns of homesteading in Albany County will be compared to those in other regions, uncovering both similarities and discrepancies. By examining these broader historical developments, this research will shed light on the implications of these trends and the emergence of new patterns for female homesteaders in Albany County between 1875 and 1908.

Methodology

For this research, various types of primary sources are utilised, including official documents related to the Homestead Act, federal censuses, and newspapers. Ancestry.com, an online collection of family history records, comprises of a compilation of Homestead Records spanning from 1863 to 1908, which are available for different land offices across the country. Here, not only the official homestead certificates, but also other official documents and correspondence regarding these certificates are accessible. For Albany County, records between 1875 and 1908 are accessible through this website.²³ The Bureau of Land Management (BLM) also grants access to certificates of land deeds, including those granted by other Acts, along with additional information about the location of the land.²⁴ This research is specifically focused on the Homestead Act; therefore, landowners—both male and female—acquiring land through other acts are excluded, as the documents on Ancestry only provide records

²¹ T.A. Larson, *History of Wyoming* (Lincoln 1965); E. Pomeroy, *The American Far West in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven 2008).

²² Boughn, *The Disposal of the Public Domain in Albany County*; The numbers of homesteaders provided by Boughn show do not correspond with the count of homesteaders from the count in this research, for this research have a higher total number of homesteaders in Albany County. This discrepancy might be explained by a more complete (online) archive these days, other explanation for the high discrepancy stays out. This research use the numbers counted in the archive, *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908* and *Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908*; Available on www.ancestry.com.

²³ www.ancestry.com (consulted April 24, 2024).

²⁴ <https://glorerecords.blm.gov> (consulted April 24, 2024), Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records.

pertaining to the Homestead Act. A combination of the documents in Ancestry and BLM are employed to gather statistical data regarding the number of homesteaders in Albany County. Apart from the total count, this data is also utilised to ascertain whether female homesteaders in Albany County had family nearby and if there was a potential for mutual contact between homesteaders based on proximity. Within the official documents, the testimonies of claimants and witnesses offer crucial information about the investment value, crops, and additional details about the family and occupations of the homesteaders. It was indispensable to 'proof up' a homestead without submitting testimony of the claimant as well as those of two witnesses. While the extent was more detailed for earlier years, all years provided some basic information about the homesteads and the family situation of the claimant.

These official sources are supplemented with data from the federal census of 1880, 1900, and 1910, as well as local newspapers. However, the federal census of 1890 is unavailable due to its destruction in a fire at the Commerce Department in 1921.²⁵ Within the federal census records, information on the household composition is provided, along with details such as marital status and occupations of the residents.²⁶ It is important to note that not all women are listed in the federal censuses of these years; in some cases, individuals may only appear in one census or may not be recorded at all. Consequently, the information from the federal census may be significantly removed from the time of the beginning of homesteading. Despite incomplete data, the available information remains valuable for understanding the circumstances and choices of female homesteaders.

Additionally, in this research local newspapers served as a crucial source for gaining insights into the social lives of female homesteaders and their role within the community. These can be accessed through the *Wyoming Digital Newspaper Collection*. The collection is utilized to gather statistical information on the women mentioned in the newspapers and the topics in which women were discussed. Furthermore, the newspapers offer case studies that shed light on the social and professional lives of female homesteaders. The frequent mentions of female homesteaders in newspapers for various reasons underscore their significance within the community.²⁷ The primary newspapers used in this research include *The Laramie Daily Boomerang* and *The Laramie Republican*,

²⁵ www.ancestry.com (consulted April 24, 2024).

²⁶ Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. (NARA microfilm publication T9, 1,454 rolls). Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C; Available at www.ancestry.com, 1880 United States Federal Census, Wyoming, Albany; United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1900. T623, 1854 rolls; Available at www.ancestry.com, 1900 United States Federal Census, Wyoming, Albany; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910 (NARA microfilm publication T624, 1,178 rolls). Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C. For details on the contents of the film numbers, visit the following NARA web page: [NARA](http://www.ancestry.com); Available at www.ancestry.com, 1900 United States Federal Census, Wyoming, Albany.

²⁷ www.wyomingnewspapers.org (consulted April 24, 2024), Wyoming Digital Newspaper Collection.

both of which were prominent daily publications in the region during that period. Additionally, smaller newspapers are also referenced in the study.

This research is structured into three distinct chapters. Chapter one serves as a demographic analysis, which answers the question: 'How was female homesteading characterized in the demographic statistics for homesteading in Albany County between 1875 and 1908?'. This chapter provides statistical insights into the number of male and female homesteaders in Albany County, along with an exploration of the correlation between patterns of homesteaders over time and the social gender norms as well as the state diplomatic issues of Wyoming. In doing so, it underscores the significance of Albany County within the broader context of Wyoming. Additionally, the chapter delves into the marital status and ages of women, offering comparative analyses with data from other counties and states.

Chapter two focuses on the analysis of the social structures among female homesteaders. The central question explored in this chapter is: 'How did the social connections of female homesteaders in Albany County, between 1875 and 1908, influence their role in their homestead experiences and impact their involvement in the local community?'. This investigation delves into the motivations behind starting homesteading, the composition of households, and the role of female homesteaders within their communities. Through examining these aspects, the chapter offers insights into the social support networks available to female homesteaders, as well as the extent of individualism and autonomy they experienced. Moreover, it highlights not only the survival strategies employed by women in homesteading but also their active participation and influence within local communities.

Chapter three focuses on the entrepreneurial endeavours of both female and male homesteaders. This chapter addresses the question: 'How did female homesteaders manage their enterprises in Albany County between 1875 and 1908?'. Initially, it correlates agricultural choices and developments with statistics regarding the three types of homesteads available: arable farming, husbandry, or self-sufficient homesteads. Additionally, the chapter analyses the investment value in homesteads made by both genders. Finally, the management of homesteads is examined through case studies to determine if there were differences in the approaches taken by male and female homesteaders in running their enterprises.

Chapter 1: Demographics of Female Homesteaders

Albany County, May 17, 1906: 'Will Become A Bride [...] when Mrs. Powell shall have completed her jail sentence she will become the bride of Hans Fehr'.²⁸

This is a quote from a newspaper article about Mary Powell, affirming that, in her time, marriage was seen as the main goal in life for women.²⁹ Despite this societal norm, the introduction highlights that Powell deviated from the traditional 'feminine' stereotype due to her involvement in cattle theft. As this article covers the outcome of the lengthy legal case related to her cattle theft, it is crucial to recognize Powell's femininity by mentioning her upcoming remarriage.³⁰ Although the domestic role remained important for women in the period 1875 to 1908, notable changes occurred in the gender roles, particularly in the Western areas. The West was more progressive regarding women's rights, and Wyoming was the first place to fully enfranchise women.³¹ Mary Powell's case also demonstrates this shift, as in 1894, she served as 'clerk of election', demonstrating women's political participation during that period.³²

In this chapter, the evolving developments concerning womanhood and agricultural advancements in Wyoming will be linked to the growing number of women who acquired homesteads in Albany County, aiming to address the question: 'How was female homesteading characterized in the demographic statistics for homesteading in Albany County between 1875 and 1908?'. In order to answer this question, firstly statistical information was gathered on the amount of women homesteaders in Albany County. This information is compared with the statistics of women in other western counties. Secondly, the position of homesteaders in the County of Albany will be compared to the broader developments in Wyoming and the West as a whole. This comparison will be structured around three distinct phases of Wyoming's history: the period preceding statehood (up to 1890), the era marked by political turmoil (1890-1897), and the years characterised by agricultural challenges (1897-1908). Lastly, this chapter will discuss the marital status and age of women in Albany County and compare this to female homesteaders in other Western counties. This analysis will be based on statistical information gathered from the official homestead documents and federal census records.

²⁸ 'The Case at an End', *The Laramie Republican (Weeklyed.)*, Volume 16, number 40 (May 17, 1906).

²⁹ Ibidem; G. Riley, *The Female Frontier. A Comparative View of Women on the Prairie and the Plains* (Lawrence 1988) 15.

³⁰ 'The Case at an End', *The Laramie Republican (Weeklyed.)*, Volume 16, number 40 (May 17, 1906).

³¹ Gallagher, *New Women in the Old West*, 39-68.

³² 'Commissioners Proceedings', *The Semi-Weekly Boomerang*, Volume 14, Number 41 (December 10, 1894).

1.1 Role of Women in Western Areas

The role of women in Western society underwent great development in the last decades of the nineteenth century. According to the social norms of separate spheres, the prevalent idea of womanhood right after the Civil War (1861-1865) was the virtuous Victorian woman whose lives revolved predominantly around their domestic tasks. This ideology started to change during the period of the great migration to the Western areas after the Civil War. In the last decades of the 19th century, there was a development towards the idea of the 'new woman'. Unsurprisingly, this started in the Western areas seeing as this was a place where new societies had to be built from scratch.³³ Women were needed in the construction of these new Western societies to fulfil the jobs that were seen as 'feminine', such as cooking, teaching, and housekeeping. Even though women initially came to the Western areas to fulfil jobs that were seen as 'feminine', they often began homesteading. As time progressed, there were also women in the West who were born there and took a homestead as they came of age. These developments made it more common for women to take a homestead and increasing amounts of women did so. This straightened the lopsided ratio between men and women in Western areas.³⁴ As an example, in 1870 20.7% of the total population in Wyoming comprised of women, and in 1910 this was 37.2%.³⁵

The Homestead Act gave women the chance to own land because the act did not discriminate based on gender. This gave women more alternatives in how to run their lives because, unlike in the East, women got the chance to own land. Owning land meant that women had the opportunity to start a business in an industry that traditionally only men undertook and worked in. This, however, did not mean that all women could claim a homestead and start an enterprise. To get access to free land by the Homestead Act, one had to be the head of a household, resulting in the exclusion of married women from filing for a homestead.³⁶ The role of a wife in the creation of new societies and the work they did on homestead should, however, not be underestimated. Nonetheless, the single women and widows were the only ones who had the opportunity to own property in their name.³⁷ Even though women could own land in the West, this did not become a goal in every woman's life. Marriage was still seen as the main goal a woman should reach for. It did, however, become an opportunity for

³³ Gallagher, *New Women in the Old West*, xix-xx; Sigerman, *Land of Many Hands*, 10-11.

³⁴ Lindgren, *Land in Her Own Name*, 54-55.

³⁵ Riley, *The Female Frontier*, 15. The given percentages are calculated based on the numbers given in Riley's book.

³⁶ Gallagher, *New Women in the Old West*, 4,5-8; S. Patterson-Black, 'Women Homesteaders on the Great Plains Frontier' in: *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Spring, 1976) 67-88, 67.

³⁷ Edwards, Friefled, and Wingo, *Homesteading the Plains*, 130.

women to gain more economic freedom and therefore make their own choices regarding their life path.³⁸

It is evident that several factors influenced the number and percentage of female homesteaders, such as the size of the county or the year in which homesteads became available in the county.³⁹ Literature shows that the average percentage of female homesteaders amounted to somewhere between 6% and 20% per county.⁴⁰ In the years between 1875 and 1908, 44 women received a certificate to own a homestead, which accounts for 9.8% of all certificates issued in Albany.⁴¹ The amount in Albany is slightly less than the average of 12% that Elaine Lindgren provides for the counties she studied in North Dakota, the 11.9% that Patterson-Black found for her study in Colorado and Wyoming, the 11.8% that Bauman produced during her study of four Wyoming counties, and the 10.3% that Edwards, Friefled, and Wingo came up with for two counties in Nebraska.⁴² One of the major factors that contributed to the observed difference in the percentage of women homesteaders was the time people started a homestead in the studied area. Research showed that as time progressed, proportionally more women took homesteads.⁴³ The data from Albany seems to support this point. Taking the average of female homesteaders per decade in Albany, it shows that as time progressed, there was an increase in the amount of ownership certificates received by women in Albany. Whereas only 5% of the certificates received for owning a homestead were filed by women during the 1880s, in the years following 1900 this number had increased up to 13.7%.⁴⁴ Although the absolute numbers, as well as the percentages, are increasing, it is important to keep in mind the major swings within the decennia while analysing the different averages of women owning a homestead between decennia.⁴⁵

Lindgren argues that there is a correlation between the increasing number of women who claimed a homestead and the changing role of women in the West. This correlation appears to be twofold. The changing ideas about womanhood, which came along with the increasing amount of

³⁸ Lindgren, *Land in her Own Name*, 112, 214.

³⁹ Lindgren, *Land in Her Own Name*, 55.

⁴⁰ Bauman, 'Single Women Homesteaders'; Edwards, Friefled and Wingo, *Homesteading the Plains*; M.M. Hensley, *Staking Her Claim. Women Homesteading the West* (Glendo 2008); Lindgren, *Land in Her Own Name*; Patterson-Black, 'Women Homesteaders on the Great Plains Frontier'.

⁴¹ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470*; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 1.,

⁴² Bauman, 'Single Women Homesteaders', 330; Edwards, Friefled and Wingo, *Homesteading the Plains*, 134; Lindgren, *Land in Her Own Name*, 52; Patterson-Black, 'Women Homesteaders on the Great Plains Frontier', 68.

⁴³ Hensley, *Staking Her Claim*, 24-25; Lindgren, *Land in Her Own Name*, 52; Patterson-Black, 'Women Homesteaders on the Great Plains Frontier', 68.

⁴⁴ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470*; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, Appendix 2.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*; see also, appendix 1.

women's rights in the West made it more acceptable for women to take on a claim.⁴⁶ As a result, more women took on a claim, and thus became an important part of the working class in Western society. This development called for more legal rights for women in these areas and the role women played, created a growing support for women's suffrage in the West.⁴⁷ Without political rights and power, women were held back in the creation of these new societies. By granting women rights, they could take their role in society and participate in building up the West, which was beneficial for those areas. The increasing importance of the role of women within society was a good starting point from which the feminist organisations on the state level started to rise in almost all states in the West, except for Wyoming⁴⁸

Although no organisation stood up for women's rights in Wyoming, this state was seen as one of the most progressive states regarding women's rights. According to historians, Wyoming received these credits because they were the first state to grant voting rights to women, which happened in 1869. At the beginning of the migration westward, Wyoming was not popular to migrate to. This was due to the bad infrastructure, poor architecture, and the arid landscape. The territory of Wyoming did its best to attract people by improving the latter, but also by making it more attractive for women by putting women's rights on their political agenda.⁴⁹ Another reason Wyoming was early with granting women rights was because of the domestic feminism that was dominant in Wyoming. Instead of arguing that men and women were equal to gain political and economic rights for women, domestic feminists emphasised the difference between the two sexes to advocate the value of a woman's point of view in political debates.⁵⁰ This was beneficial for Wyoming, for it did attract women to go to their state but there was no threat of them taking over, for the ratio between men and women was so skewed that women had no chance of overruling men in an election. Overall the advantages for concerning themselves with women's rights outweigh the threat of women taking over for Wyoming.⁵¹

1.2 Albany County as Part of Wyoming State

In the last decades of the nineteenth century Wyoming underwent several military, political, and economic changes. Larson defines different periods in the history of the state, in his book *History of*

⁴⁶ Lindgren, *Land in Her Own Name*, 54.

⁴⁷ J.M. Jensen, 'The Gentle Tamers Revisited. New Approaches to the History of Women in the American West' in: M.A Irwin, J.F. Brooks eds., *Women and Gender in the American West* (Albuquerque 2004) 9-36, 28-29.

⁴⁸ H.J. McCammon, 'Stirring Up Suffrage Sentiment. The Formation of the State Women Suffrage Organizations, 1866-1914' in: *Social Forces*, Vol 80, No. 2 (Oxford 2001) 449-480, 451, 457.

⁴⁹ Larson, *History of Wyoming*, 78-84, 195-199, 359-365.

⁵⁰ V. Scharff, 'The Case For Domestic Feminism. Women Suffrage in Wyoming' in: N.F. Cott ed., *History of Women in the United States*, Vol 19/1 *Women Suffrage* (Munich 1994) 29-51, 36-38.

⁵¹ Larson, *History of Wyoming*, 80; Scharff, 'The Case For Domestic Feminism', 46.

Wyoming. The first period is between 1870 and 1890, during which Wyoming was politically not a state but a territory. This period concluded with Wyoming gaining statehood in 1890. The second period is between 1890 and 1897. This was the initial stage of the statehood, which brought new political issues. Aside from these concerns, these years were characterised by an economic depression and a military conflict. The last relevant period is the period between 1897 and 1909. During this period there were conflicts between sheep and cattle owners in the agrarian industry.⁵²

When studying the influence of the aforementioned issues on the number of new homesteaders, there are a few things to take into consideration. First of all, the influence is two-way, which means that these issues influenced the homesteaders, but the homesteaders also played a role in the creation of some of these issues. The second consideration is that the population and the number of homesteads are growing over time throughout the entire West.⁵³ This implies that the developments are not only connected to the situation in Wyoming but also need to be seen in a broader context. Thirdly, there is a five year delay for homesteaders to start their homestead and obtain the final deeds to the land, for the Homestead Act required individuals to live and work on the land for five years to receive their final proof. This delay is the standard situation that will be used in this research, although there may be exceptions where people received their land deeds later or purchased the land before the completion of the five years.⁵⁴ Furthermore, it is important to note that the periods under consideration are not of the same length. Therefore, caution must be exercised when drawing firm conclusions based solely on absolute numbers. The numbers and periods, therefore, need to be studied within a broader context. Lastly, it is important to mention that this research focuses solely on the number of homesteads that resulted in a final proof. Since there were also cases in which the claimants did not persist until they obtained their land deeds. Therefore, this should be taken into consideration when analysing the number of new homesteads per period.

Before the statehood in 1890, the Wyoming territory was not growing fast. It was mostly used for passing through, towards California, Oregon, and Utah. This required military bases in Wyoming territory, for the migrants were constantly threatened by attacks from indigenous people. With the coming of the Homestead Act of 1862, increasing numbers of people decided to stay in Wyoming.⁵⁵ In 1870 the first land office in Wyoming opened in Cheyenne, however at this time only a small portion of the land in Wyoming was available for homesteading. In the two decades that followed, more land became available, and more people started to settle in Wyoming. Homesteading in Wyoming,

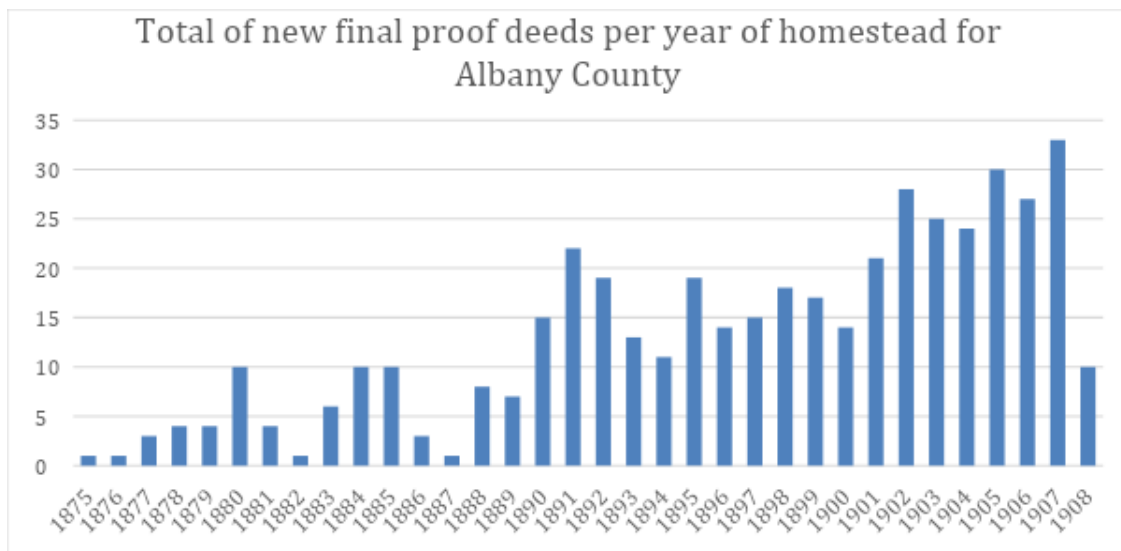
⁵² Larson, *History of Wyoming*, 295-306, 372.

⁵³ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁴ Edwards, Friefeld and Wingo, *Homesteading the Plains*, 33-37.

⁵⁵ Person D.A., 'Wyoming Pre-Statehood Legal Materials. An Annotated Bibliography. Part II' in: *Wyoming Law Review*, vol. 7 No. 2 (Laramie 2007) 333-408, 401-403.

however, was not very successful in the period between 1870 and 1890, for in 1890 only a small part of the Wyoming settlers had gotten their final proof.⁵⁶ In Graph 1 there can be observed that after 1890, the overall final proofs in Albany County per year were rising. This is the same year as the statehood of Wyoming, but causation between these two should be considered carefully. Due to the delay of five years for obtaining the final proof. Which means that the homesteaders who gained their final proof in the period until 1894 started their homesteads in the pre-statehood period.⁵⁷ A more likely explanation for the rise of new patents beginning in the 1890s is the sudden rise of new entries in the years 1885 and 1886. The reason for the sudden rise of entries could have been the cattlemen organisation which started to have a great influence in 1885. Another factor that might have influenced the rise was the irrigation laws of 1886, which stated that the water had to be divided fairly between the different districts. Taking Wyoming as a whole, many homestead entries did not result in final proofs, due to the hard winter of 1886-1887, and the bankruptcy of the cattle company in 1888.⁵⁸ Despite these hardships new entries did seem to have a small effect in Albany County, as there was an overall rise in new land patents in that area at the beginning of the 1890s, around five years after the rise of new entries.⁵⁹



Graph 1: Total of new final proof deeds for a homestead in Albany County per year; Source: Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 1.

⁵⁶ Larson, *History of Wyoming*, 173-178.

⁵⁷ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 1; graph 1.*

⁵⁸ Larson, *History of Wyoming*, 147, 158, 171, 178.

⁵⁹ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 1; Graph 1.*

In 1890 Wyoming was granted statehood, but this did not mean that settling in the state became easier. Wyoming hoped to get a large increase in its population by becoming a state. The population did grow, however, it was not the amount Wyoming state had hoped for. Due to political and military conflicts as well as an economic depression in the period between 1890 and 1897, the population of Wyoming did not grow as intended. For instance, these issues affected the number of homesteads established in Wyoming compared to other states.⁶⁰ Addressing these issues, are a couple more prominent. Starting with the Johnson County war, at the beginning of the statehood. This war had a great effect on the number of settlers as this conflict was between cattlemen over cattle theft.⁶¹ Aside from the military problems in Wyoming, this period is also characterised by an economic depression following the Johnson War. This depression affected the whole of the United States and caused a small amount of new settlers in Wyoming.⁶² In Albany County, there are some swings, in final proofs of homesteaders, visible (graph 1) in the new land patents in this period. However, neither the Johnson War or the economic depression are likely to have caused the decrease in final proofs, because the biggest decrease in this period is visible between 1892 and 1894. This indicates that the decrease already started in 1887, which was in the period before Wyoming became a state.⁶³ In 1887, a new law was instituted, which stated that there was a tax levied on homesteads. So, most likely, the taxes on homesteads were the main reason for a small decrease of homesteaders in this period, rather than the political and military issues.⁶⁴ The total number of final proofs started to rise again in 1895, which can be explained by developments 5 years earlier. After 1890, Wyoming cattlemen enjoyed cheap irrigation due to the water rights problem which was solved in 1890.⁶⁵ In the end, despite the issues Wyoming had in its first period of statehood which caused a lower rate of new settlers in the state, on average, there is a growth visible in the amount of final proofs in the period 1890 to 1897 in Albany county.

After 1897, the political issues of the state started to fade away, and the population of Wyoming started to grow again.⁶⁶ This growth is also visible in Albany County. The new homesteaders who filed their claim in 1897 got their final proof in the year 1902. This is also the year that the overall amount of new final proofs started to grow again.⁶⁷ This, however, was not without consequence as

⁶⁰ Larson, *History of Wyoming*, 295-306, 372.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, 268-270.

⁶² *Ibidem*, 295.

⁶³ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908*, NAID: 7551468; *Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908*, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 1; Graph 1.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*; Larson, *History of Wyoming*, 301-302.

⁶⁶ Larson, *History of Wyoming*, 314-319, 580.

⁶⁷ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908*, NAID: 7551468; *Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908*, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 1; Graph 1.

the enlarged amount of homesteads brought new problems to Wyoming. Due to more stock raisers in the same area, the question about grazing rights between cattlemen and sheepmen started to rise. The cattle-sheep conflicts stretched over a long decade from 1897 to 1909.⁶⁸ This new development also influenced Albany County, as the amount of homesteaders increased there as well.⁶⁹ The developments in the amount of final proofs on homesteads in Albany show that Albany was a representative part of Wyoming and the development of new homesteads there should be placed in a broader context of political, military, and economic issues of Wyoming during this entire period.

Another important perspective to analyse is if the developments in this period also influenced the number of women and the percentages of women proving their homestead in Albany. For the first discussed period, pre-statehood 1870-1890, the amount of women in Albany is low. Only 3 women received their final proof, which represented 4,1% of all issued final proofs in that period. The women who started homesteading in this period received their final proof in the period 1875-1894, so for analysing the amount of women who homesteaded during the period before statehood, the final proofs of this period should be studied. In this period, the percentage lies at 4,6% concerning 7 women.⁷⁰ This is comparable to what other historians find in their research on other counties and states at the beginning of the Homestead era.⁷¹ At the beginning of the 1890s, the overall number of women started to rise. The same development is visible in Graph 1 for the total amounts of new land patent deeds in Albany. Interestingly enough, in contrast to the graph of total numbers, the amount of female homesteaders' final proofs started to rise in 1897. Considering the five-year delay, this means that in 1892 the number of women who started a homestead in Albany started to rise. However, it is important to be careful with drawing hard conclusions based on this, as the total amount women is low. A specific explanation could not be found, so it is possible that the explanation needs to be seen from a broader context about the changing ideas regarding womanhood, as discussed in paragraph 1.1.

1.3 Marital status and Ages of Female Homesteaders

To analyse the role and influence of women in a certain demographic area, it is necessary to categorise these groups on marital status. In doing so, differences between patterns of female homesteaders of different areas will be explained. In Appendix 4, the marital status of the 44 female homesteaders in

⁶⁸ Larson, *History of Wyoming*, 371-372.

⁶⁹ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470*; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 1; Graph 1.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*; see also, appendix 3.

⁷¹ Hensley, *Staking Her Claim*, 24-25; Lindgren, *Land in Her Own Name*, 52; Patterson-Black, 'Women Homesteaders on the Great Plains Frontier', 68.

Albany is shown. It reveals that six women (13.6%) are categorised as "assignees." This meant that these women, who were called 'assignees', had their name on the land patent, but the homestead was not completely theirs. In five cases, these women were assignees to men, and in one case, a woman was an assignee to another woman. This means that in Albany County, 38 women homesteaded in their own name.⁷²

When analysing the marital status of women who took a homestead in the West, it is important to consider that this varies across different counties and areas. There are three relevant groups of women to distinguish, namely, widows, single women and married women. Examining the marital status of women at the time of their arrival, it becomes evident that the largest group, comprising 16 women (36.4%), were widows.⁷³ Comparing this data to findings by other historians in different counties, the percentage of widows in Albany appears relatively high. Edwards, Friefeld, and Wingo discovered a total of 28.1% of women who were widows at the time of filing their claims in two Nebraska counties, while Lindgren found 15% for her counties in North Dakota.⁷⁴ It is worth noting that Albany is not an exception in terms of these percentages when compared to the breakdown of the two counties researched by Edwards, Friefeld, and Wingo. For example, in Dawes County, the percentage of widows was 34.4%, which is comparable to the situation in Albany.⁷⁵ Another significant group of women who owned a homestead in Albany were single women, comprising 14 women (31.8%) at the time of entering their homestead. This is groupsize is comparable to the group of widows. The research of Edwards, Friefeld, and Wingo showed a percentage of 32.9% single women, which is similar to Albany. However, there is a difference of 9% between the two counties they studied, namely Custer and Dawes County.⁷⁶ Interestingly, this is significantly different from the results of Lindgren's and Bauman's research, for within these researches, single women were the largest group. Lindgren found that 83% of women were single, while Bauman reported a percentage of 68.9%.⁷⁷ The last relevant group consists of women who initially embarked on the homestead adventure with their husbands but inherited the homestead due to their husband's death during the five years. In Albany, this group is relatively small, comprising 5 women (11.4%).⁷⁸ In Lindgren's research, this percentage is even lower, accounting for only 1% of women, whereas Edwards, Friefeld, and Wingo's research reported 25% of

⁷² *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 4.*

⁷³ *Ibidem*; see also, appendix 4.

⁷⁴ Edwards, Friefled, and Wingo, *Homesteading the Plains*, 138; Lindgren, *Land in Her Own Name*, 20.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*. The percentage of 34.4% is calculated based on the numbers Edwards, Friefled and Wingo give in their research.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*. The percentage of 9% is calculated based on the numbers Edwards, Friefled and Wingo give in their research.

⁷⁷ Bauman, 'Single Women Homesteaders' 320; Lindgren, *Land in Her Own Name*, 20.

⁷⁸ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 4.*

women falling into this category, and Bauman's research showed 29.1%.⁷⁹ The reasons for the significant differences in percentages among counties remain unclear and could be interesting for future research.

Not only the marital status, but also the age of women is a variable that varies for the different countries. It needs to be taken into account that the age of the women and marital status are connected, for most, widows are much older than single women.⁸⁰ For example, Lindgren found that in her study area the biggest group was by far between 21 and 25 at the time of filing the claim, which is consistent with the large group of single women in that area.⁸¹ In areas where the differences in marital status are more spread out, the average age was older.⁸² This is visible when the average ages are splitted into marital status. The mean age in Albany for single women at the time of proving up is 29.2, which is comparable to Lindgren's research, for she analyses the time of filing the claim, around 5 years earlier than receiving the final proof.⁸³ On average, the widows were the oldest group of women in Albany, but this also differs per county. In Albany, the median for this group was 52, which is a little lower than the median age of 59.5 that Edwards, Friefled, and Wingo found for this group at the time of final proof.⁸⁴ It is important to be careful when analysing the average and median age, considering the average age of women in Albany (43.8) and the median age (39) are far apart. Also, in Albany, the biggest groups were the younger women.⁸⁵ This shows that the age of female homesteaders is varied per county and therefore marital status of women seems to be of more importance than age in the study of female homesteading.

This means that it could be interesting to analyse two different variables within a county concerning ages, namely the age development over time and the age of women in relation to men in Albany County. When considering the average age development over time, no patterns could be observed for female homesteaders. This shows that there is no relation between age and the changing gender roles over time.⁸⁶ In comparing women to men no differences of importance could be observed either. The average age of men who received their final proof in Albany County was 42.5, this is around

⁷⁹ Bauman, 'Single Women Homesteaders' 320; Edwards, Friefled and Wingo, *Homesteading the Plains*, 138; Lindgren, *Land in Her Own Name*, 20.

⁸⁰ Edwards, Friefled and Wingo, *Homesteading the Plains*, 136-137.

⁸¹ Lindgren, *Land in Her Own Name*, 19.

⁸² Edwards, Friefled and Wingo, *Homesteading the Plains*, 137-139.

⁸³ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908*, NAID: 7551468; *Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908*, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 5, table 1; Lindgren, *Land in Her Own Name*, 19.

⁸⁴ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908*, NAID: 7551468; *Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908*, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 5, table 1; Edwards, Friefled and Wingo, *Homesteading the Plains*, 138-139.

⁸⁵ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908*, NAID: 7551468; *Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908*, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 5, table 1,2.

⁸⁶ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908*, NAID: 7551468; *Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908*, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 5, table 3.

one year younger than the average age of women who received their final proof. The same is visible with the median, which is also only one year apart. So, there was a greater difference between the ages of women of different counties who received their final proof, than between men and women within Albany County who received their final proof.⁸⁷ The difference in age of women between counties can therefore be best explained by marital status, for as shown, single women were significantly younger than widows or married women. The age between men and women within the county of Albany is comparable to each other.

The period 1875-1908 underwent several developments on different levels. In the first place, the role that women played started to change over the years, and this development is strongly connected to the increasing number of women who started a homestead. By placing female homesteaders of Albany in perspective to female homesteaders in other areas, it shows the similar patterns. Specifically the increase of female homesteaders in Albany County from 5% in the 1880s to 13.7% in the 1900s, should be placed in the larger context of the development of 'new woman' in the West. On the other side, the comparison of female homesteaders in Albany County to the male homesteaders in Albany County has shown dissimilarities. The total fluctuation of homesteaders in Albany County over the years can be explained by economic, political, and agricultural developments in Wyoming. However, patterns of the female homesteaders in Albany show that the amount and percentages of who received their final proof started to rise again in 1897 in contrast to the patterns of all homesteaders in Albany County. This shows that not only did the economic, political, and agricultural developments play a role in the number of homesteaders, but it also contributed to the supplementation of changing ideas regarding womanhood to the female homesteaders. Comparing the different categories of female homesteaders to other areas, it shows dissimilarities. In Albany County, the group widows were substantially bigger than in other researches and the group single women was relatively low. Furthermore, the ages of female homesteaders per category were also different to women in other areas. However, the ages of male and female homesteaders in Albany County were comparable to each other.

⁸⁷ Ibidem.

Chapter 2: Social Structures

Albany County, April 11, 1896: 'PERSONAL PARAGRAPHS. [...] Mrs. Mary Powell came over from the capital this morning.'⁸⁸

In a time without social media, local newspapers had personal paragraphs, containing information about the whereabouts of individual people of the community. In this case, Mary Powell was mentioned for a trip into town, even before the big news about her cattle theft which she performed a decade later.⁸⁹ This was not uncommon, considering that multiple female homesteaders in this research were mentioned in the local newspaper for doing daily business, such as visiting the capital or shopping in town.⁹⁰ This information is useful in the analysis of the social life of female homesteaders, which is the goal of this chapter. The question that will be answered is: 'How did the social connections of female homesteaders in Albany County, between 1875 and 1908, influence their role in their homestead experiences and impact their involvement in the local community?'. Edwards, Friefeld, and Wingo defined four ways of analysing social structures for homesteading women, namely, through ethnic ties, additional jobs, neighbours and witnessing each other's homesteads.⁹¹ One factor will be added to this list: the social activities in society that women engage in, because this factor gives additional insights into the role women played in public life and society in Albany County. In this research, ethnic ties will be left out of consideration, given that in all the cases where there was ethnic information available, their 'race' was stated as 'white' in the federal censuses. Furthermore, most women were born in America, although in other states, and only a small amount were born foreign.⁹² Therefore, in the analysis of social structures of this chapter there will be focused on the other four social structures, namely additional jobs, neighbours, witnessing one another's homesteads, and social activities of the homesteading women. The social networks of women in Albany will be charted and there will be analysed to what extent these networks played a role in the local communities. In the first place, the focus will lie on the family ties of the homesteaders. Secondly, the importance of neighbours will be discussed. Lastly, the influence of female homesteaders and their role in the local community will be analysed. Federal censuses and testimonies of claimants will give insights into the households and families of the residents. Official applications for proving up and testimonies of

⁸⁸ 'Personal Paragraphs', *The Laramie Republican*, Volume 06, Number 205 (April 11, 1896).

⁸⁹ Ibidem.

⁹⁰ Multiple newspapers on www.wyomingnewspaper.org.

⁹¹ Edwards, Friefeld and Wingo, *Homesteading the Plains*, 145.

⁹² Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. (NARA microfilm publication T9, 1,454 rolls); United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910 (NARA microfilm publication T624, 1,178 rolls); Available at www.ancestry.com.

witnesses will provide information about the employment of these women. Lastly, local newspapers will be used as a source to analyse the influence of women in society and their role in public life. This chapter will focus on the 38 women in Albany County who homesteaded in their own name, so the six assignees are omitted in this chapter.

2.1 Family Structures

Historians traditionally thought that one of the main goals for single women to migrate West was to find a husband. This argument was supported by the lopsided ratio between men and women in the Western states and territories.⁹³ Riley even states that women were put under pressure to marry fast due to this ratio.⁹⁴ Marriage was indeed a goal for many women, but young women who started the homestead adventure saw marriage as something farther away in the future, which gave them more opportunities to make a profession in paid jobs and to enjoy the public life of a landowner.⁹⁵ Even if it would have been the case that women took on a claim in order to find a husband, statistics show that this was at least not successful.⁹⁶ Most of the single women who filed a claim, stayed single during the five years until the proving up. In addition, the average age of marriage of women who homesteaded was higher than the national average.⁹⁷ This does not seem to be any different for the county of Albany. Here, between 1875 and 1908, 14 single women made a file for a homestead, while only three of them were married by the time of proofing up on the claim.⁹⁸ This does not include women who might have started homesteading but gave up their claim because of marriage in the county of Albany.⁹⁹ Literature on this subject, however, does not give any reason to think that this would be a large group.¹⁰⁰

Then there is the question if taking a homestead was an individualistic choice for women to gain economic freedom. The motivation does not differ much for the homesteading women in the different kinds of categories of marital status in their decision to take a homestead, with one exception, namely the group married-widow(-remarried). These widows started their homestead adventure together with their husbands and they decided to stay on the homestead after their husband died.¹⁰¹

⁹³ Hensley, *Staking her claim*, 39.

⁹⁴ Riley, *The Female Frontier*, 15.

⁹⁵ Lindgren, *Land in her Own Name*, 112, 214.

⁹⁶ Hensley, *Staking her claim*, 39.

⁹⁷ Edwards, Friefled, and Wingo, *Homesteading the Plains*, 137; Jensen, 'The Gentle Tamers Revisited', 20; Lindgren, *Land in her Own Name*, 36, 50.

⁹⁸ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470*; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 4.

⁹⁹ J. Corbett, *Seven Summer. A Naturalist Homestead in the Modern West* (Salt Lake City 2013) 10.

¹⁰⁰ Hensley, *Staking her claim*, 38-39.

¹⁰¹ Lindgren, *Land in her Own Name*, 47.

This group of widows was the minority of widowed homesteading women (15.8%) in Albany County.¹⁰² The majority of the widows who took a homestead were already widowed.¹⁰³ A homestead gave widows with children, who still lived at home, a source of income to provide for their children.¹⁰⁴ Widows with grown children had similar reasons as young single women to start homesteading. Garceau found in her data of the county Sweetwater in Wyoming that single women took up a homestead claim as an enlargement of the family estate. Due to the arid land in Wyoming, one homestead was not enough if a homesteader wanted to start a ranch.¹⁰⁵ Edwards, Friefeld, and Wingo's data on women of two counties in Nebraska also support Garceau's findings, but nuances this by stating that this was only a part and that for 40% of the female homesteaders they conflicting findings. They researched this by analysing the persons women sold the land to after proving up and for their data this was in 40% of the cases not family.¹⁰⁶ Lindgren analysed the amount of female homesteaders that settled near family, and found that a major part of the homesteading women, single as well as widowed, settled near family.¹⁰⁷

The majority of female homesteaders in Albany also settled near family, assuming that the settlement near family provided social support of family and a larger family estate. In total, there is information about the family of 34 of the homesteading women. Of the other four women, it is unclear if they settled near family because of the lack of information on the family or maiden name. Of the women for whom it is possible to determine whether or not they settled near family, 73.5% of the women in Albany did so. The percentage of women who settle near family in Albany is a little higher for the group of single women in comparison to the widowed women. The category of women in which no one settled near family was the group who started homesteading with their husband and inherited the homestead after their husband's death.¹⁰⁸ A possible reason for this is that, due to the fact they had their husband in the beginning, they did not need family as much for their survival in comparison to the other categories of women. It is still hard to determine if female homesteaders settled near family to be near their family and that their homestead was an individualistic homestead, or that it was for enlarging the family estate.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, the analyse of selling the homestead is not been

¹⁰² *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908*, NAID: 7551468; *Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908*, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 4.

¹⁰³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰⁴ Lindgren, *Land in her Own Name*, 46-47.

¹⁰⁵ Garceau, *The Important Things of Life*, 116-118.

¹⁰⁶ Edwards, Friefled, and Wingo, *Homesteading the Plains*, 140-144.

¹⁰⁷ Lindgren, *Land in her Own Name*, 27.

¹⁰⁸ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908*, NAID: 7551468; *Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908*, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 6.

¹⁰⁹ Bauman, 'Single Women Homesteaders', 305; Patterson-Black, 'Women Homesteaders on the Great Plains Frontier', 223-224.

researched here. More information of the motivations for female homesteaders might be gathered from research connecting these two statistical research methods.

Social networks were important for homesteaders. First, it is important to define the different kinds of concepts of social networks, for there are different meanings to these concepts. To start with the terms 'household' and 'family'. Primarily, these two concepts seem the same and in many instances, this is the case. There is however an important difference between the two terms. The term 'household' defines the people who live in the same house. This could be family, but also other persons such as boarders or hired labourers. Then there is a difference between the concepts of the 'nuclear family' and the 'extended family'. The 'nuclear family' consists of parents with their children.¹¹⁰ In this research, these are the women who lived together with their husbands and children, or with one of those two solely. The term 'extended family' or 'kinship' consist of broader family ties, such as cousins, nephews/nieces, uncles/aunts or grandparents/grandchildren. A 'nuclear family' or 'extended family' could live in one household, but they could also live in different households but still be tied by their biological ties.¹¹¹ After the Civil War, the rise of a 'private patriarchal nuclear family' structure appeared, which meant that in contrast to the early colonists' time, household affairs were private and there was a separate sphere between male and female jobs. The female job was to be a 'virtuous and caring mother' who depended for her livelihood on the financial caretaking of her husband.¹¹²

For Albany County, in 26 cases it was possible to discover the households composition at the time of residence on the homestead. Since there were only three federal censuses left in the study period, the information gathered from the federal census might not be from the period the homesteader was working to prove their homestead. In some cases, the women had already taken residence on their homestead, but it was not yet proven. In other cases the federal census dated up to two decades after proving up.¹¹³ Another thing that is important to take into consideration is that it was not obligated to live continuously on a homestead. This means that there are cases where the women partly lived elsewhere, for example with their parents.¹¹⁴

Considering the 26 women of whom the household information was available, 24 of them lived with relatives of some kind in the same household, with two exceptions, namely Ciara Simpson, whose household consisted of only boarders, and Mary Powell, who lived according to the federal

¹¹⁰ R. Parkin, *Kinship. An Introduction to the Basic Concepts* (Oxford 1997) 28.

¹¹¹ Ibidem.

¹¹² L. Stone, *Kinship and Gender. An Introduction* (Boulder 2006) 256-262.

¹¹³ Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. (NARA microfilm publication T9, 1,454 rolls); United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910 (NARA microfilm publication T624, 1,178 rolls); Available at www.ancestry.com.

¹¹⁴ Lindgren, *Land in her Own Name*, 110.

census alone.¹¹⁵ In two-thirds of the cases, female homesteaders in Albany lived solely with their family, nuclear or extended family, and had no other residents in their household.¹¹⁶ It is interesting to analyse the amount of women who lived with their nuclear family, to analyse whether female homesteaders were living according to the new social norms of their time, namely, the 'private patriarchal nuclear family' structure. This is the case for 16 (64%) of the women. In 14 cases, the woman who owned the land was the mother of the children or wife of her husband and in two cases the woman who owned the land still lived in their parental home.¹¹⁷ In 31.3% of households consisting of nuclear families, there were additional people outside the family living within the household. These were servants, boarders and labourers. A total of 44% of the women lived solely with their nuclear family on their homestead.¹¹⁸ This percentage shows that women, even though they were the landowners, mostly kept to the 'traditional' idea about family that existed in the nineteenth century, but that practical considerations caused in some cases that there were additional people in the household. Unfortunately, there is too little data available to analyse whether these patterns among female homesteaders changed during the studied period.

The category in which most women lived with their nuclear family was the category of Widow-Widow, followed by the category in which the women were married but widowed during the phase of homesteading.¹¹⁹ This is also the biggest category in which women could have had underaged children. For the women who did not live with their children, this did not automatically mean they had no children, except for the single-single group. In some cases, the children lived elsewhere with their own families.¹²⁰ In eight cases (33.3%) of the households with family, the household was supplemented with other persons outside the family. This group consisted of boarders/roomers, hired hands, servants and patients. This percentage is approximately the same for the women who lived with their nuclear family as for the women who lived with their extended family.¹²¹ This shows that family was the basis of the household for female homesteaders in Albany County and for the majority this was even the nuclear family.

¹¹⁵ Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. (NARA microfilm publication T9, 1,454 rolls); United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910 (NARA microfilm publication T624, 1,178 rolls); Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 7, table 1

¹¹⁶ Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. (NARA microfilm publication T9, 1,454 rolls); United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910 (NARA microfilm publication T624, 1,178 rolls); Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 7, table 2.

¹¹⁷ Ibidem; see also, appendix 7, table 3.

¹¹⁸ Ibidem; see also, appendix 7, table 2.

¹¹⁹ Ibidem; see also, appendix 7, table 3.

¹²⁰ Ibidem.

¹²¹ Ibidem; see also, appendix 7, table 2.

2.2 Homesteading as a Social Undertaking

Neighbours and family members, male as well as female, outside of the household played an important role in the support and security of homesteading women. Edwards, Friefeld, and Wingo specify that the success of female homesteaders was mostly based on male contacts.¹²² However, data from Albany shows this does not always have to be the case. In two cases, it is clear that the women choose to settle near their mother's homestead. Annie Brown was a single woman who settled near her mother, who was already widowed at the time of entering her claim. Ida May Baillie was a widowed woman when she decided to take a homestead near her widowed mother, who also was already widowed when she started homesteading.¹²³ So in both cases, the mother took a homestead independently of a man and both daughters followed their example. There is also another example of female family connections in Albany, however in this case the family connection is harder to define. This is the case in the example of Jeannie Houghton and Mary Houghton. They both have the same family name and their homesteads were proofed up in the same year and were situated close to each other. This applies for Laura Simpson and Ciara Simpson as well. Even though their final deed date was fifteen years apart, their homesteads were situated near each other.¹²⁴ First, this shows that family was important for the support of women on the homesteads. Secondly, this also shows that the decision to start homesteading and their potential success was not only supported and encouraged by male family members but also by female family members.

Garceau focuses in her study of Sweetwater County on the family ties of female homesteaders. At the beginning of the homestead era, homesteading with a large family was important to survive on the plains of Wyoming, since few neighbours already lived there. So, when migrating to the West, networks of adult siblings as well as other extended family members were important for homesteaders.¹²⁵ While not denying that family did play an important role for female homesteaders, social connections outside the family also should be taken into consideration. These, however, are harder to define, for it is hard to tell how often they saw each other outside of the official documentation of their homesteads. However, this documentation gives some insights into social networks outside of the family. In defining social interactions between female homesteaders, it is interesting to analyse the witnesses of the homesteads. In some cases, women witnessed each other's claims. Women as witnesses not only give insight into social networks but also show a shift in the

¹²² Edwards, Friefled, and Wingo, *Homesteading the Plains*, 156.

¹²³ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470*; Available at www.ancestry.com; <https://gloreCORDS.blm.gov> (consulted April 24, 2024), Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records.

¹²⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹²⁵ Garceau, *The Important Things of Life*, 41, 52.

jurisdiction women had.¹²⁶ It is important to keep in mind that the social contact networks of women were probably even bigger than these official documents can show us, for there could also be contacts who weren't witnesses to each other's homesteads.¹²⁷ In the data available from Albany county, there is a connection visible between Elizabeth Pingree and Bertha Niefer. Niefer's new husband witnessed the homestead final proof for Elizabeth Pingree and both Elizabeth Pingree as well as her new husband George Pingree were witnesses on the homestead of Bertha Niefer.¹²⁸ There is also good reason to believe that Ellen Clark and Erminie Lehmer, both homesteading women, had contact with each other. Lehmer gave Lawrence Bennet as a potential witness and his father, John Bennet witnessed the homestead of Ellen Clark.¹²⁹ These women lived also in close proximity to each other, which gives reason to believe that they had mutual contact at the time of homesteading.¹³⁰

Another way for women to engage in social connections in the community was waged work outside the farm. Aside from the social contract that was gained by doing paid work and fulfilling a public role in the community, this was also needed to support the claim. So while working to prove it, most homesteaders, male as well as female, worked outside the homestead to earn additional money.¹³¹ It is interesting to analyse the kind of jobs they did elsewhere. In doing so, there will be some insights into the role women played in the public domain as labourers. For Albany, using the federal censuses, as well as the 'testimonies of claimant', this information was available for only 16 cases. Interestingly enough, there was one woman who was engaged with 'non-traditional' female work to earn money, namely, Jean Cruickshank Burnett. She filed her claim in June 1900, and in the census of the same year she is defined as a 'farm labourer'.¹³² There was also one woman, Ciara Simpson, who was in a leadership position, namely being superintendent of schools.¹³³ Even though she was in a

¹²⁶ Edwards, Friefled, and Wingo, *Homesteading the Plains*, 161.

¹²⁷ *Ibidem*, 156-158.

¹²⁸ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908*, NAID: 7551468; *Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908*, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com.

¹²⁹ United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*; Available at www.ancestry.com; *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908*, NAID: 7551468; *Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908*, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com; <https://glorerecords.blm.gov> (consulted April 24, 2024), Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records.

¹³⁰ <https://glorerecords.blm.gov> (consulted April 24, 2024), Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records.

¹³¹ Edwards, Friefled, and Wingo, *Homesteading the Plains*, 147; Garceau, *The Important Things of Life*, 121; Lindgren, *Land in Her Own Name*, 111.

¹³² *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908*, NAID: 7551468; *Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908*, NAID: 7551470; Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. (NARA microfilm publication T9, 1,454 rolls); United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910 (NARA microfilm publication T624, 1,178 rolls); Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 8, table 1.

¹³³ United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*; Available at www.ancestry.com.

leadership position, education itself was seen as a respectable place for women to work.¹³⁴ The rest of the women did additional work in fields that were at the time traditional 'female jobs'.¹³⁵ Lindgren found similar results, as most of the women in her case study also worked in more traditional female jobs.¹³⁶ The difference between Lindgren's results of paid work for women in North Dakota and the results in Albany County is that in Albany County the 'non-traditional' jobs for women are different from those in North Dakota. Occupations such as journalists, postmasters, and mail carriers, that Lindgren describes as 'non-traditional' are occupations that women fulfil more city.¹³⁷ The two women in Albany whose jobs can be described as 'non-traditional', are of a different kind, namely a male job on the farm and a leadership position.¹³⁸ However, aside from some exceptions, most women did decide to stay in the traditional sphere of doing women's work even though they were also landowners.¹³⁹

There was also a group who did not engage in paid labour while being on their homestead. Interestingly, these 6 women are all in the category of widows. It should be taken into account that these women did not necessarily only do housekeeping. In three cases it was stated that they did 'business'.¹⁴⁰ In the case of Mary N. Powell, it was stated in the census of 1900 that she was a farmer, which can be interpreted as taking care of all the business on her ranch.¹⁴¹ In the other two cases, there are statements of the women being away on business trips in the testimony of claimants. In only two cases, they are stated as 'housekeeper' in the federal census. In the case of Mary L. Harris, who proved up in 1880, there is a logical explanation. Her husband was still living when the census of 1880 was created. In 1880, she also proved up the land as a widow, so her husband died that year. It would be

¹³⁴ Riley, *The Female Frontier*, 122-127.

¹³⁵ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908*, NAID: 7551468; *Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908*, NAID: 7551470; Census of the United States, 1880. (NARA microfilm publication T9, 1,454 rolls); United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910 (NARA microfilm publication T624, 1,178 rolls); Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 8, table 1.

¹³⁶ Lindgren, *Land in her Own Name*, 117-118.

¹³⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹³⁸ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908*, NAID: 7551468; *Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908*, NAID: 7551470; Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. (NARA microfilm publication T9, 1,454 rolls); United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910 (NARA microfilm publication T624, 1,178 rolls); Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 8, table 1.

¹³⁹ *Ibidem*; Lindgren, *Land in her Own Name*, 117-118.

¹⁴⁰ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908*, NAID: 7551468; *Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908*, NAID: 7551470; Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. (NARA microfilm publication T9, 1,454 rolls); United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910 (NARA microfilm publication T624, 1,178 rolls); Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 8, table 2.

¹⁴¹ United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*; Available at www.ancestry.com; Garceau, *The Important Things of Life*, 119-120.

logical that she was a housekeeper while her husband worked the land. She did not have to engage in earning money, for her husband was present the whole five years between the filing of the claim and almost to prove up. Her husband, however, did work outside the homestead, as a house carpenter. So her husband worked the claim and earned money for her livelihood.¹⁴² Therefore, there was only one woman who could be considered as solely a 'housekeeper' while living alone on the homestead.¹⁴³

Furthermore, with all these 6 cases, the family network and reason for homesteading should be taken into account, for homesteading was a costly business, so money was needed to make a homestead successful and in doing so families worked together.¹⁴⁴ Two women, Laura Simpson and Dianna Brown who both proved up in 1884, took care of business during the first period on their homestead, as stated in the testimony. In the census of 1900, 16 years later, they were registered as 'farmers' and 'stock raisers'.¹⁴⁵ This means that they succeeded in making their business work. This, however, did not mean that they did not need additional money. An analysis of the household of Laura Simpson in 1900, shows that she has boarders in her household. So, in addition to managing a farm, she also gained some money by having boarders.¹⁴⁶ For Dianna Brown, who was a stock raiser in 1900, there was probably also additional money available. Her daughter, Annie Brown, proofed up her homestead adjacent to her mother 6 years later. In both the census of 1880 and 1900 Annie Brown is living in the same household as her mother. While Dianna Brown is taking care of business, the testimony of Annie Brown states that she is away every winter to be a teacher.¹⁴⁷ The enlargement of the family business as a reason for taking a homestead would be most probable for this example, for Annie keeps living with her mother and the homesteads are connected. In seeing these two homesteads as one enterprise, it would be likely that Dianna is not only taking care of the business of

¹⁴² *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470*; Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. (NARA microfilm publication T9, 1,454 rolls); United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910 (NARA microfilm publication T624, 1,178 rolls); Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 8, table 2.

¹⁴³ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470*; Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. (NARA microfilm publication T9, 1,454 rolls); United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910 (NARA microfilm publication T624, 1,178 rolls); Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 8, table 2.

¹⁴⁴ Garceau, *The Important Things of Life*, 127.

¹⁴⁵ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470*; United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*; Available at www.ancestry.com.

¹⁴⁶ United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*; Available at www.ancestry.com.

¹⁴⁷ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470*; Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. (NARA microfilm publication T9, 1,454 rolls); United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910 (NARA microfilm publication T624, 1,178 rolls); Available at www.ancestry.com.

her homestead but of the business of both her and her daughter's homestead. The earned wages of Annie Brown are probably going to support the household and Dianna would therefore also profit from the additional wages of her daughter. This shows that it is not automatically the case that women who did not do additional jobs while homesteading did not have extra income, due to the social dimension of homesteading.

2.3 Role of Women in the Community

A way to get information about the community activities women interacted with, is by analysing the local newspapers of the time. These show that women in Albany County were also engaging in social organisations and were having, in their way, an impact on the community. Even though these women lived on homesteads outside the city, most women in this case study (71.1%) were mentioned in local newspapers.¹⁴⁸ This shows that these women did have some influence in the community. In some cases, the mentions are brief and do not provide much information. For example, Eliza Cleve and Nancy Marshall, are only mentioned for proving up on their homestead.¹⁴⁹ In other cases, newspapers wrote about women visiting family in other states or countries, or even sometimes a visit to town was worth mentioning.¹⁵⁰ These newspaper articles give insights into how substantial the social status of these women was. Additionally, this shows that social engagements were seen as important in the homestead era.

Another way to get influence in public life was to engage in social activities and community organisations. Examples are churches or other social clubs to improve the community, but also social activities for fun, such as parties.¹⁵¹ The social activities were in many cases also mentioned in the newspapers. It needs to be taken into account that it would be possible for a woman to engage in social activities without it being mentioned in the newspaper. The importance and magnitude of these social activities also differ per woman. In some cases, it was just a mention of being present at a social event. For example, Mattie B. Haley attended several dances and is named in a list of attendance in the newspaper.¹⁵² In twelve cases (44.4%) newspapers mention that the woman is an active member

¹⁴⁸ www.wyomingnewspapers.org (consulted April 24, 2024), Wyoming Digital Newspaper Collection; see also, appendix 9, table 1.

¹⁴⁹ 'Notice for Publication', *The Semi-Weekly Boomerang*, Volume 15, Number 56 (September 23, 1895); 'Notice for Publication', *The Laramie Republican*, Volume 15, Number 257 (June 9, 1905).

¹⁵⁰ Multiple newspapers at www.wyomingnewspapers.org (consulted April 24, 2024), Wyoming Digital Newspaper Collection; among others, 'Personal Paragraphs', *The Laramie Republican*, Volume 06, Number 205 (April 11, 1896); 'Personal Paragraphs', *The Laramie Republican*, Volume 15, Number 271 (June 26, 1905); 'Personal Paragraphs', *The Laramie Republican (Weeklyed.)*, Volume 16, Number 52 (August 9, 1906); 'News Gathered up Around Grant', *The Laramie Republican (Semi-Weekly)*, Volume 19, Number 49 (January 30, 1909).

¹⁵¹ Riley, *The Female Frontier*, 177-179.

¹⁵² 'Society's Many Sides', *The Weekly Boomerang*, Volume 17, Number 20 (May 20, 1897); 'Social Happenings', *The Laramie Republican*, Volume 12, Number 234 (May 17, 1902); 'The Week in Society', *The Laramie*

of a social or political organisation.¹⁵³ Analysing these twelve women more closely shows that in one case the social club was the local church, and in seven cases it was non-religious social clubs, such as the Clio club, a women's club, or a sixties club.¹⁵⁴ Four women were engaged in more political public engagements. Both Delia Neville and Florence Travis worked as clerks of elections just before starting homesteading.¹⁵⁵ Jean Burnett has been nominated to run in an election for justice of the peace for the Democrats party three years after she had proved up on her homestead.¹⁵⁶ Caira Simpson was eligible as superintendent of schools for the republican party. She even engaged in this job during the first five years of homesteading, so even before she proofed up on her homestead.¹⁵⁷

It needs to be taken into account that not all women who engaged in public life might have reached the newspaper, but also not all women who were prominent members of society were members of a social club. A fine example is the comparison of Mary Ann Dingle and Laura Simpson. Mary Ann Dingle died in 1901 and Laura Simpson died in 1906 and in both cases, there was an article written in more than one local newspaper. This shows that both women were probably prominent in their neighbourhoods. The articles are very similar to each other, but the difference is that in the case of Laura Simpson, she was an active member of society and in the Methodist church, and in the case of Mary Ann Dingle it was only mentioned that she would be missed by family and friends.¹⁵⁸ This shows that Mary Ann Dingle probably had a social life based on friends and family, but not based on public life, contrary to Laura Simpson who had an active role in society. Based on these two cases, it can be concluded that women could be important for the community and receive mention in the newspaper, without being active members of a social club.

Republican, Volume 15, Number 157 (February 11, 1905); 'O.N.O. Valentine Party', *The Laramie Boomerang*, Volume 24, Number 284 (February 15, 1905).

¹⁵³ www.wyomingnewspapers.org (consulted April 24, 2024), Wyoming Digital Newspaper Collection; see also, appendix 9, table 2.

¹⁵⁴ www.wyomingnewspapers.org (consulted April 24, 2024), Wyoming Digital Newspaper Collection; see also, appendix 9, table 3; 'Social Happenings', *The Laramie Republican*, Volume 12, Number 162 (February 22, 1902); 'Pioneer Woman Died Saturday', *The Semi-Weekly Boomerang*, Volume 26 (November 19, 1906); 'society', *The Laramie Boomerang*, Volume 26 (February 15, 1908).

¹⁵⁵ 'Commissioners Proceedings', *The Laramie Republican*, Volume 09, Number 102 (December 12, 1898); 'Commissioners Proceedings', *The Semi-Weekly Boomerang*, Volume 14, Number 41 (December 10, 1894).

¹⁵⁶ 'Certificate of Nominations', *The Laramie Boomerang*, Volume 28, Number 200 (October 28, 1908).

¹⁵⁷ Multiple newspapers at www.wyomingnewspapers.org (consulted April 24, 2024), Wyoming Digital Newspaper Collection; among others, 'Democratic Sample Ballot', *The Daily Boomerang*, Volume 18, Number 195 (November 1, 1898); 'Republican County Ticket', *The Laramie Republican*, Volume 11, Number 67 (October 29, 1900); 'Commissioners Proceedings', *The Laramie Republican*, Volume 12, Number 100 (December 9, 1901); 'Commissioners Proceedings', *The Laramie Republican*, Volume 12, Number 199 (April 7, 1902).

¹⁵⁸ 'Death of Mrs. Dingle Saturday Afternoon', *The Laramie Republican*, Volume 12, Number 30 (September 16, 1901); 'Old Timer Dies', *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, Volume 34, Number 306 (September 17, 1901); 'Local Brevities', *The Laramie Boomerang*, Volume 21, Number 155 (September 17, 1901); 'Pioneer Woman Died Saturday', *The Semi-Weekly Boomerang*, Volume 26 (November 19, 1906); 'Dies Last Saturday', *The Laramie Republican (Weeklyed.)*, Volume 17, Number 14 (November 22, 1906).

Another important social mention in newspapers concerned weddings of potential new couples. The pressure to marry, that Riley described (paragraph 2.1), has to be recognized by the fact that newspapers were eager to write about weddings and social activities to gain a relationship. Women were mentioned as bridesmaids in other marriages, but also women were mentioned for their weddings, for example, Laura Asplin, Elizabeth Pingree, and Ida May Baillie.¹⁵⁹ This already gives a good indication of the importance of marriage, but society also interfered with new potential couples. There was one newspaper that listed all potential young boys and girls during a dance.¹⁶⁰ Ellen Clark engaged in social work as a chaperone for young people to get to know one another during a getaway on Twin Mountain.¹⁶¹ Postponement of marriage did give women the chance to engage in paid jobs and public life in society.¹⁶² Even though public engagement of women was beneficial for the building of Western communities, it was encouraged to be wed.¹⁶³ It is important to realise that it was not only the single women and widows who were engaged in public life. Of the three cases of single women who married during homesteading, two women were mentioned in newspapers. Bertha Niefer was in a school organisation before she started homesteading and got remarried, so this could be seen as a postponement of marriage to engage in social life. On the other hand, Jean Burnett was engaged in politics, while she had already proven up the homestead and had married.¹⁶⁴

There can be observed that homesteading is a social undertaking, either with family, neighbours or the community. In the case study for Albany County, there is one exception for whom can be questioned to what extent she was engaged in social life. Della Eychaner was not named in the local newspapers. She is also the only woman in the category of single-single who did not settle near family and did not start a family during homesteading.¹⁶⁵ In all other cases, it is shown that women took on homesteading not only as an enterprise but also engaged in various social dimensions during their homesteading period. As mentioned, the family was an important factor in the decision to file a claim, but the family

¹⁵⁹ Multiple newspapers at www.wyomingnewspapers.org (consulted April 24, 2024), Wyoming Digital Newspaper Collection; among others, 'May Day at Blackburn's Hall', *Laramie Sentinel*, Number 02, Edition 02 (May 8, 1880); 'Mother and Daughter', *The Boomerang*, Volume 12, Number 23 (August 18, 1892); 'Briefly Mentioned', *The Laramie Republican*, Volume 07, Number 45 (October 2, 1896). "The Kid' Sends Sherman Notes', *The Laramie Republican*, Volume 16, Number 35 (September 21, 1905); Riley, *The Female Frontier*, 15.

¹⁶⁰ 'Jolly Dance at The Hanke Ranch', *The Laramie Republican*, Volume 18, Number 229 (May 8, 1908).

¹⁶¹ "The Kid' Sends Sherman Notes', *The Laramie Republican*, Volume 16, Number 35 (September 21, 1905).

¹⁶² Lindgren, *Land in her Own Name*, 112.

¹⁶³ McCammon, 'Stirring Up Suffrage Sentiment', 451, 457; Riley, *The Female Frontier*, 15.

¹⁶⁴ 'School Ma'ams Here', *The Daily Boomerang*, Volume 12, Number 150 (September 6, 1892); 'Certificate of Nominations', *The Laramie Boomerang*, Volume 28, Number 200 (October 28, 1908); Lindgren, *Land in her Own Name*, 112.

¹⁶⁵ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908*, NAID: 7551468; *Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908*, NAID: 7551470; ; Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. (NARA microfilm publication T9, 1,454 rolls); United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910 (NARA microfilm publication T624, 1,178 rolls); Available at www.ancestry.com.

remained important while living on the homestead. Due to practical reasons (more elaborated on in paragraph 3.3), additional people outside the family could be added to the household. However, most female homesteaders stuck to the 'private patriarchal nuclear family' structure, which became dominant after the civil war. Although female homesteaders chose to stick to this structure, homesteading remained a social undertaking, in which male as well as female contacts played an important role in the life of the female homesteaders. This was also seen for the financial sustenance of their livelihood. While most women also did additional jobs themselves, to survive on the homestead they also depended on family, neighbours and their community for financial aid. The latter did not only provide support for the female homesteaders, but they also helped to create communities. Social activities and organisations were important in the lives of women and also gave them some public influence. This was evident for female homesteaders of all marital status, even the married women. This shows that women, independently of men, influenced the creation of communities.

Chapter 3: Homestead as an Enterprise

Albany County, March 10, 1905: 'The destruction of the stables and hay on the ranch owned by Mrs. Powell, but leased to Lord Charles Kennedy, last Sunday, is attributed to this neighborhood quarrel.'¹⁶⁶

This newspaper article is part of the many newspaper correspondences regarding the accusation of Mary Powell. Through the lines describing the incident, insights are gained into how a female homesteader like Mary Powell manages her enterprise. As seen in the quote above, Mary Powell leases her ranch to Charles Kennedy. This indicates that, at this point, a male is managing her ranch, despite her being the owner.¹⁶⁷ In this chapter, the focus will be on the way women managed their homesteads. The central question of this chapter is: 'How did female homesteaders manage their enterprises in Albany County between 1875 and 1908?'. The differences between men and women in the management of their homestead will be analysed. The dissimilarity between the two genders show that men and women had different considerations regarding the type of enterprise they choose, for example husbandry, arable farming or the combination of both. This chapter discusses these different types of enterprises and how their proportion developed over time. Testimonies of claimants and witnesses show which crops the homesteader cultivated within the five years of 'proving up', and this is used to determine what kind of homestead it was. The size of the homesteaders investment in their homestead was also stated in these testimonies. Combining this data in the analysis indicates that the kind of enterprise greatly influenced the investment of homesteaders in their homestead. This is complemented by other factors which determined the amount of investment on the homestead. Lastly, there will be discussed whether there was a difference between men and women in the management of their homestead. Here, the testimonies provide information, but data was gathered from federal censuses and newspapers.

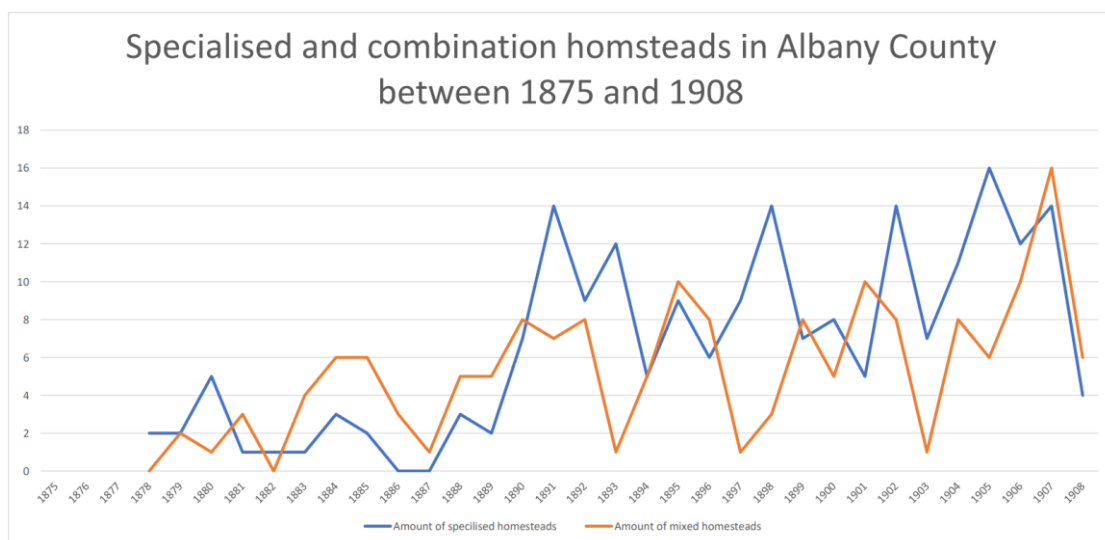
3.1 Types of Enterprises

By taking a homestead, one could make multiple agricultural choices. It was possible to use the homestead as a business to make money and therefore produce for the market, or to make the farm self-sufficient. In the mid-nineteenth century the starting point of most homesteaders was to be self-sufficient. Historically, there is a debate over the extent of farmers' aspirations to expand this to a

¹⁶⁶ 'Women in Toils', *Wyoming Tribune (Cheyenne) Volume 10, Number 80* (March 10, 1905).

¹⁶⁷ *Ibidem*.

capitalistic business.¹⁶⁸ There are three different kinds of agricultural enterprises to define, namely: animal breeding, arable farming, or a combination of both. Margaret Walsh argues in her work about Kansas that in the post-civil war era, many farmers who started farming decided to go with combination farms. This was so they could be (partly) self-sufficient, at least until they had built some capital to specialise. Due to technological changes and better transport means, there was a shift from the self-sufficient into more commercial and specialised agriculture in the late 1860s and 1870s.¹⁶⁹ When analysing the same for Albany County, a similar development is visible. Graph 2 shows the amount of specialised and combination farms in Albany County. Here it becomes evident that until 1890, more homesteaders chose a combination of animal breeding and farming, after 1890 this shifted to more specialised enterprises.¹⁷⁰ Here, the 5 year timespan until proofing up also needs to be taken into account, so the shift visible in 1890 in the graph, is a development which started in 1885. Therefore, in Albany County, the shift from self-sufficient farms to commercial farms is clearly visible, but this shift occurred more slowly than it did in Kansas. An explanation for this delay could be that Walsh's study focuses on Kansas, which lies further east than Wyoming. Developments were mostly moving from the East towards the West. As migration also followed this pattern, it would be logical that this development was only visible about a decade later in Albany County.¹⁷¹



Graph 2: Division of Specialised and combination homesteads in Albany County per year; Source: Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 10.

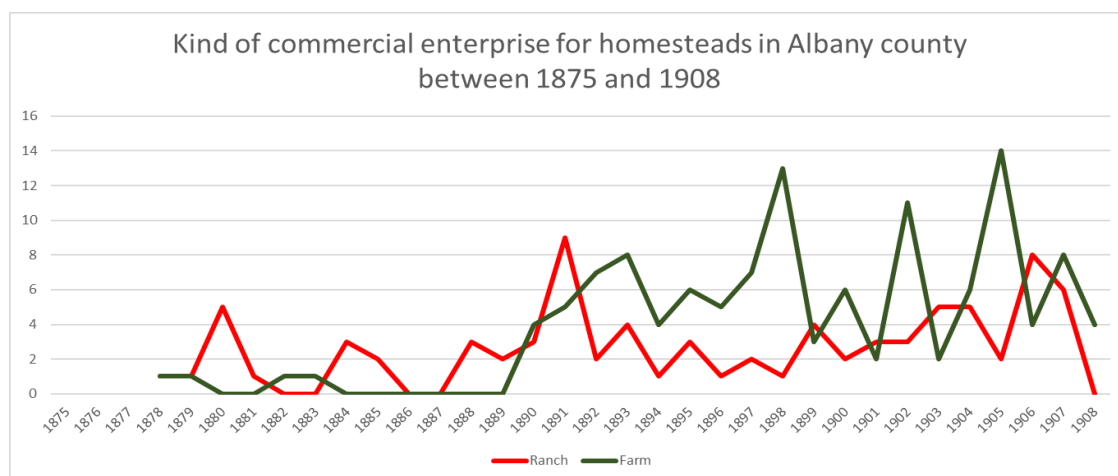
¹⁶⁸ Walsh, *The American West, Visions and Revisions*, 78-80.

¹⁶⁹ Ibidem, 88-91.

¹⁷⁰ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 10, graph 2.*

¹⁷¹ Pomeroy, *The American Far West in the Twentieth Century*, 25-27.

This shift towards more commercial farms was also a cause for the depression of 1893. More farmers started producing for the market, which exceeded the market size and was the cause for the falling prices on numerous farming products.¹⁷² Furthermore, this shift can be divided into two phases. Initially, animal husbandry was more popular due to the open range policy, where ranchers used public and private land to let their stock graze without boundaries. This made the stockbreeding business inexpensive. However, this began to change in the 1880s as grasslands became depleted by overgrazing. Consequently, more farmers with specialised farms took on arable farming.¹⁷³ This shift is also evident in Albany County. Graph 3 illustrates the transition in 1892 from cattle raising to agricultural farming. Again, considering the five year timespan for proofing up, this meant that in the end of the 1880s, arable farming became more prominent than stockbreeding.¹⁷⁴ Interestingly, the development here does not show a delay compared to Kansas.¹⁷⁵ An explanation for the lack of a delay for this development can be attributed to overgrazing and the failure of the cattle company in 1888.¹⁷⁶ Another possibility lies in the experience gained in planting techniques by farmers. In the 1890s, new farming techniques were developed and disseminated, leading to increased knowledge about planting in dry lands.¹⁷⁷



Graph 3: Division of ranches and agricultural farms in Albany County per year; Source: Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 10.

¹⁷² Pomeroy, *The American Far West in the Twentieth Century*, 3.

¹⁷³ Walsh, *The American West, Visions and Revisions*, 88-91; Pomeroy, *The American Far West in the Twentieth Century*, 7-8.

¹⁷⁴ Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 11, graph 3.

¹⁷⁵ Walsh, *The American West, Visions and Revisions*.

¹⁷⁶ Larson, *History of Wyoming*, 158.

¹⁷⁷ Pomeroy, *The American Far West in the Twentieth Century*, 34.

Analysing the numbers of different types of homesteads for this period in total gives insight into the proportions of which choices men and women made in their types of farms. For the total amount of homesteaders, male and female, 44.6% chose self-sufficient combination farms, 33.2% agricultural farms, and only 22.2% chose animal husbandry.¹⁷⁸ This is an interesting finding, for Garceau argues that in Sweetwater County, 90% of the rural households between 1880 and 1910 were ranches.¹⁷⁹ Edwards, Friefled, and Wingo also found in their case study that animal husbandry was most popular.¹⁸⁰ This raises the question of how to explain the difference between Albany County and these counties. First and foremost, there could be a difference due to the research method. In Garceau's research, she only looked at information regarding occupations of a sample of 50 household heads gathered from the federal censuses. This means that all possibilities to acquire land were taken into consideration, whereas for Albany County, only the farmers who obtained land by the Homestead Act are taken into account.¹⁸¹ Another possible explanation for the differences could be the climate of the different areas. Garceau describes the climate of Sweetwater county as mostly dry, whereas in Albany County, the climate was more varied.¹⁸² Gender differences might also explain the varying findings in the types of the whole period, there is a substantial difference visible in the type of farm they chose. For both men and women, data for the type of the farm was available for approximately 80% of the total amount of homesteads. 54.3% of men chose a specialised farm, while for women, this percentage was slightly higher at 65.7%. This shows that women were more inclined to choose commercial homesteading than men.¹⁸³ Another interesting difference for the women is evident in the timing. The first time a woman 'proved up' a mixed-homestead was in 1894, so before that, all female homesteaders in Albany County had specialised homesteads.¹⁸⁴ This finding contradicts the findings in graph 2, where in the early period, more people chose mixed homesteads.¹⁸⁵

This can be explained by connecting this data to the reasons for women to take on a homestead (as discussed in paragraph 2.1). Due to the fact that an important motivation for women to take a homestead was the enlargement of the family estate, it is logical that women more often had a specialised homestead than men. A self-sufficient farm did not require a large area, whereas for the

¹⁷⁸ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908*, NAID: 7551468; *Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908*, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 10.

¹⁷⁹ Garceau, *The Important Things of Life*, 91.

¹⁸⁰ Edwards, Friefeld and Wingo, *Homesteading the Plains*, 147.

¹⁸¹ Garceau, *The Important Things of Life*, 91.

¹⁸² Boughn, *The Disposal of the Public Domain in Albany County*, 25; Garceau, *The Important Things of Life*, 94.

¹⁸³ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908*, NAID: 7551468; *Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908*, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 12, table 1.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁸⁵ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908*, NAID: 7551468; *Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908*, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 10, graph 2.

commercial farms, more land could mean more profit. Another important difference can be found in the type of specialised homesteads men and women generally had. Both men and women had more agricultural farms than ranches, but for women, the percentage of ranches was around 7% higher than for the men.¹⁸⁶ The theory of female homesteaders wanting to expand the family business would also explain why women were more likely to take on a ranch than men. Especially in the ranching business, one homestead would not be enough to make a profit. If a male rancher needed more land, they could gain it illegally, or legally by asking their (female) relatives to file for a homestead.¹⁸⁷ This is also supported by the statistics of women homesteaders in Albany County. In 29 cases of female homesteaders in Albany, both the type of enterprises as well as information about whether or not they had settled near family is available. Of these 29 women, all 6 of the women who started a ranch settled near family. In the category of arable farming, 69.2% of the women settled near family, and for the mixed farms, 77.8% settled near family.¹⁸⁸ It can thus be cautiously concluded that women wanted to help their family, and therefore more women chose specialised homesteads, especially in ranching business, to assist in the business of family members.

3.2 Investment in the Homestead

The Homestead Act advertised 'free land' in the West, but to make a successful enterprise of the homestead, a monetary investment was needed.¹⁸⁹ Becoming the owner of the homestead also required cultivating and improving the land. A homesteader had to live on the homestead for at least six months a year for a timespan of five years, necessitating the construction of a home on the land.¹⁹⁰ In the testimonies of claimants and witnesses, the total improvement value was requested of a potential homesteader. The investments that recorded in this category mainly included the worth of their houses, barns, fences, cattle corrals and irrigation systems. In most cases, the witnesses and the claimant assigned the same value to the improvements made on the homestead. In the case that these values were not equivalent, the claimant's value was chosen as the improvement value. This value represents only the investment value and stands independent of the profitability of the homestead.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁶ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908*, NAID: 7551468; *Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908*, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 12, table 2.

¹⁸⁷ Garceau, *The Important Things of Life*, 23,117.

¹⁸⁸ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908*, NAID: 7551468; *Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908*, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 13.

¹⁸⁹ Garceau, *The Important Things of Life*, 118-119.

¹⁹⁰ Gallagher, *New Women in the Old West*, 50.

¹⁹¹ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908*, NAID: 7551468; *Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908*, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com.

The data of Albany County indicates that, on average, the value of investment is higher for combination farms compared to specialised farms.¹⁹² One possible explanation for this discrepancy could be that the investments primarily consisted of the housing costs for living on the homestead.¹⁹³ With self-sufficient homesteads, individuals likely aimed to sustain their own livelihood on the land, leading them to invest more in their housing situation. The type of homestead and the four factors related to the investment value are correlated. These four factors are: the decrease of the value of investment over time, the difference of the value of investment between men and women, the marital status of the women and the composition of the household of women.

In the first place, the decrease of investment value over time is important to consider. Graph 2 illustrates a visible decline in the number of self-sufficient homesteads. Since these homesteads are the ones for which a higher investment was needed from the settlers, the height of the investment may offer an explanation for the decrease in overall value.¹⁹⁴ However, it is important to consider that this trend could also be reversed. Economic depression might have influenced investment value over time, potentially leading to a lower value for specialised homesteads. When analysing the median and average investment per year, a decrease in the value of investment is evident starting in 1894-1895. These were the settlers who began homesteading onset of Wyoming's statehood in 1890, a period that marked an economic depression across the country.¹⁹⁵ This could be attributed to the decline in investment, but it is noteworthy that the decrease persisted until 1908, indicating a sustained reduction in investment value.¹⁹⁶ However, both explanations should be approached cautiously, as the amount of available data for some years is limited.

The second notable finding is the significant lower value of investment made by women compared to men. Upon further examination, it's evident that the type of homestead does not influence the height of the investment made by women.¹⁹⁷ In all three types of homesteads, the average investment of women homesteaders is approximately 100 dollars less than that of men. Moreover, even greater discrepancies emerge when considering the median investment values.¹⁹⁸ One could argue that since men typically worked more, they earned more money and thus had a higher

¹⁹² *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470*; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 14, table 1.

¹⁹³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹⁴ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470*; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 10; graph 2.

¹⁹⁵ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470*; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 15; Larson, *History of Wyoming*, 295-306, 372.

¹⁹⁶ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470*; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 15.

¹⁹⁷ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470*; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 14, table 3,4.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibidem*.

disposable income for investment.¹⁹⁹ However, this argument fails to explain the differences within the group of female homesteaders based on occupation. Of the 13 cases of female homesteaders of whom both occupation and investment value data are available, there is no correlation between the occupation and the height of the investment. Although drawing conclusions from a small sample should be done with caution, it raises doubts about the extent to which occupation influenced the height of investment value.²⁰⁰ So, by this theory, the difference between men and women in the height of their investment value might not be solely explained by men's work and their higher income. Another explanation for the discrepancy between men and women, could be the type of homestead. Women had more often specialised homesteads than men, and the lower investment value for specialised homesteads might provide an explanation for this discrepancy. Given the smaller number for women homesteaders, it would be illogical to propose the reverse theory, namely that women decreased the value of specialised homesteads.²⁰¹

When examining female homesteaders, two factors appear to have influenced the investment value, namely the composition of the household of the women and their material status. Among the 24 cases of women homesteaders in Albany, for whom data on household composition and investment value are available, those who lived solely with family on the homestead had a notably higher median and average investment value compared to those who lived with individuals outside the family. This disparity is considerable, with an average difference of almost 500 dollars and a median difference of 325 dollars.²⁰² This discrepancy can be attributed, once again, to the variation in the type of the homestead. Specifically, 80% of the women who had additional people in their household had specialised homesteads, whereas only 57.1% of the female homesteaders who lived solely with family had specialised homesteads.²⁰³ This suggests that female homesteaders whose household included people beyond their family were predominantly living on specialised homesteads, whereas women

¹⁹⁹ Sigerman, *Land of Many Hands*, 142.

²⁰⁰ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908*, NAID: 7551468; *Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908*, NAID: 7551470; Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. (NARA microfilm publication T9, 1,454 rolls); United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910 (NARA microfilm publication T624, 1,178 rolls); Available at www.ancestry.com.

²⁰¹ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908*, NAID: 7551468; *Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908*, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 12, table 1.

²⁰² *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908*, NAID: 7551468; *Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908*, NAID: 7551470; Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. (NARA microfilm publication T9, 1,454 rolls); United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910 (NARA microfilm publication T624, 1,178 rolls); Available at www.ancestry.com; appendix 16, table 1.

²⁰³ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908*, NAID: 7551468; *Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908*, NAID: 7551470; Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. (NARA microfilm publication T9, 1,454 rolls); United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910 (NARA microfilm publication T624, 1,178 rolls); Available at www.ancestry.com; appendix 16, table 2.

who lived exclusively with family were less likely to live on specialised homesteads. Furthermore, this aligns with the explanation for the difference in investment value between specialised and combination homesteads. Women who lived with family likely primarily focused on sustaining the livelihood of their family on the homestead. Contrarily, additional people in households, such as boarders or hired workers, often contributed financially, indicating that female homesteaders in such situations were likely more inclined towards profit-making endeavours.

When analysing the marital status of the women, it becomes evident that women who began homesteading with a husband had done a higher investment than single women and widows. The investment of married women is nearly double to that of single women, with widows falling in between.²⁰⁴ One potential explanation for the higher value of investment of married women could be supported by the finding that men invested more in the homestead than women did, considering the majority of the investment for these women was done by their husband. While other explanations for the differences in investment value based on marital status are less clear, these findings correspond with the variances in median acres of cultivation identified by Edwards, Friefeld, and Wingo in their research of two counties in Nebraska. They discovered that married women who began homesteading with a husband cultivated the most acres, while single women cultivated three times less acres. Here, the category of widows also fell in between these two categories.²⁰⁵ It is important to note the distinction between investment value and cultivated acres; the former reflects an investment in home and real estate, while the latter indicates the amount of labour a homesteader dedicated to the land. Despite these differences, it is evident that single women did a smaller investment in their homestead than the other categories of women. Edwards, Friefeld and Wingo attributed their findings to the likelihood that single women were more frequently employed off the land.²⁰⁶ However, this explanation does not directly relate to the monetary fund's women had available to invest in their homestead. According to Edwards, Friefeld and Wingo, widows cultivated land because they had children residing on the property and that married women had the highest cultivation due to the assistance from their husband.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁴ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470*; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 17.

²⁰⁵ Edwards, Friefeld and Wingo, *Homesteading the Plains*, 148.

²⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, 148-150.

²⁰⁷ Edwards, Friefeld and Wingo, *Homesteading the Plains*, 148-150.

3.3 Management of the Homestead

The role of women in society underwent significant changes during the late 19th century, leading to the emergence of the 'new woman'.²⁰⁸ It is interesting to analyse whether female homesteaders approached working their land within the traditional gender roles or with 'non-traditional' gender roles. In doing so, several important factors must be considered. Firstly, it is crucial to explore the reasons behind women's choices on how they worked their homesteads. Did they adopt certain methods due to feminist ideals, or were practical considerations more influential? The unique circumstances of the individualistic cases must be taken into account. Some women may have had financial or social means to mobilise others to do the 'fieldwork' on their behalf, while others may have engaged in 'male-tasks' out of necessity.²⁰⁹ Conversely, if men could not mobilise women for domestic chores, they would also have had to perform these tasks themselves. However, women were more likely to take on non-traditional occupations compared to men.²¹⁰ Secondly, it is important to recognize that there is not a singular answer regarding whether women adhered to traditional roles or not. Homesteaders needed to be adaptable, so it was possible for both sexes to do traditional tasks as well as non-traditional tasks.²¹¹ Lastly, there needs to be considered that the data on women activities in the management of their homestead is limited for this research. The censuses give information on the occupation, and the testimonies of witnesses and claimants provide some information on occupations and jobs of homesteaders. In some cases, newspaper articles provide indications of how the enterprise was managed, but this is a rarity.

It was already demonstrated in paragraph 2.2 that in Albany County, the jobs women pursued outside their claims to support their homesteads were mostly typically feminine. To assess whether this femininity was also extended to the management of their enterprise, Lindgren divides this question into two parts, namely, if these women were in charge of their homesteads and if they actually worked the field. For the first part, Lindgren provides a clear answer. In most cases, women indeed oversee the management of the homesteads themselves.²¹² However, in this study, determining whether women managed their enterprise themselves is harder to define. In the cases of Laura Simpson, Dianna Brown, and Catherine McPhee there are clear indications that they did manage their homesteads independently. Testimonies of claimants for all three women mention their absence for business trips, and the federal census lists their occupations as farmer and stock raiser.²¹³ There is

²⁰⁸ Gallagher, *New Women in the Old West*, xix-xx.

²⁰⁹ Lindgren, *Land in her Own Name*, 121.

²¹⁰ *Ibidem*, 216.

²¹¹ Lindgren, *Land in her Own Name*, 216.

²¹² Lindgren, *Land in her Own Name*, 215, 223-224.

²¹³ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470*; Available at www.ancestry.com.

one case, Caira Simpson, where evidence suggests that she did not manage her own enterprise. An article in the *Laramie Republican* wrote in 1901, the year of her final deed, a part about her ranch and they stated: 'Fields of oats, wheat, barley and potatoes are successfully cultivated by Mr. Marble, the present occupant of the ranch,'.²¹⁴ Similarly, as discussed in the introduction of this chapter, this is also the case for Mary Powell, although in her case the article is written two years after she received her final deed.²¹⁵ It is important to note that renting out farmland became more common during the 1890s, which may have influenced these decisions.²¹⁶ Lastly, as discussed in paragraph 2.2, there is some implicit indication that women, like Annie Brown, who homesteaded to enlarge the family property, potentially also did not take care of the management of their own homestead.²¹⁷ In all other cases in this study it is difficult to determine whether the women really took care of the management themselves or not.

The second part of the question Lindgren addresses, whether women worked on the homesteads themselves, is harder to answer. Lindgren argues that women mostly did a mix of domestic work and fieldwork.²¹⁸ Gallagher similarly asserts that women took on "masculine" tasks such as fieldwork and business management on their homesteads, not out of necessity or feminist ideals, but rather to support the household and without undermining male authority.²¹⁹ If women were unsure how to perform a particular task, they often had access to male connections for help.²²⁰ While it is difficult to determine definitively whether women had access to help, analysing household compositions can provide some insight. Of the 26 women in Albany County for whom household information is available, 18 (69.2%) had an adult male available to assist on the homestead. In most cases, this man was also listed as a farmer or farm labourer by occupation.²²¹ In the remaining 10 cases, where no adult male was present in the household, it does not necessarily mean that they lacked assistance from men. For example, in the case of Caira Simpson, it was previously demonstrated that

²¹⁴ 'Ranches and Ranchmen of Albany County', *The Laramie Republican* (December 1, 1901).

²¹⁵ 'Women in Toils', *Wyoming Tribune (Cheyenne)*.

²¹⁶ Pomeroy, *The American Far West in the Twentieth Century*, 10.

²¹⁷ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470*; Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. (NARA microfilm publication T9, 1,454 rolls); United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910 (NARA microfilm publication T624, 1,178 rolls); Available at www.ancestry.com; <https://glorerecords.blm.gov> (consulted April 24, 2024), Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records.

²¹⁸ Lindgren, *Land in her Own Name*, 216.

²¹⁹ Gallagher, *New Women in the Old West*, 78,172.

²²⁰ Riley, *The Female Frontier*, 135.

²²¹ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470*; Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. (NARA microfilm publication T9, 1,454 rolls); United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910 (NARA microfilm publication T624, 1,178 rolls); Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 16, table 3.

there was a male occupant on her homestead who cultivated the land.²²² Similarly, in the case of Mary N. Powell, who according to the census is living alone, newspaper articles suggest that she did not run her ranch alone. The numerous newspaper articles about her cattle theft shows that she worked alongside her son.²²³ Aside from Caira Simpson, in this newspaper article in the *Laramie Republican*, there are two cases mentioned where the ranch of a woman was described among the articles about homesteading men. These women were granted land by different acts than the Homestead Act, and therefore not counted in this research. However, these three women who are described are interesting because in all three cases there is mention of a male in the running or working on the ranch, whereas, by all the men there is no other person named in the running or working on the ranch. At most, their wife is named as assisting with 'feminine' tasks.²²⁴

Some women also opted to generate income from their homestead within the domestic sphere, by producing home products, accommodating borders and offering domestic services for customers. Despite being paid, these jobs were still considered within the realm of women's traditional roles, given their domestic nature.²²⁵ In Albany County, federal census records indicate that four women were keeping borders on their homestead.²²⁶ Jeannie Houghton placed an advertisement in the newspaper for her 'home bakery' business.²²⁷ While it's possible that more women in Albany County engaged in selling home products, Houghton's advertisement suggests that she ran a successful enterprise to merit such publicity. It's important to note that these domestic methods of earning income from the homestead were not exclusive to women landowners. In the articles of the *Laramie Republican* about ranch owners, there are two instances where male ranchers had borders, but in both cases, a woman was managing this. In one case, it was the rancher's wife, while in the other, the rancher hired a woman to handle it.²²⁸ This demonstrates that women had in most cases similar ways to run their homesteads as men did. Although, it was possible for both sexes to engage in 'non-traditional' work out of practicability, gender roles remained prevalent in most cases. Female homesteaders mobilised men to do the ranch work, while male homesteaders relied on women to do the domestic tasks.

²²² 'Ranches and Ranchmen of Albany County', *The Laramie Republican* (December 1, 1901).

²²³ Multiple newspapers at www.wyomingnewspapers.org (consulted April 24, 2024), Wyoming Digital Newspaper Collection; among others, 'Under Arrest', *Wyoming Semi-Weekly Tribune*, Volume 10, Number 25 (March 17, 1905); 'Mary Powell Found Guilty', *Laramie Boomerang* (May 1, 1905).

²²⁴ 'Ranches and Ranchmen of Albany County', *The Laramie Republican* (December 1, 1901).

²²⁵ Riley, *The Female Frontier*, 146.

²²⁶ Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. (NARA microfilm publication T9, 1,454 rolls); United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910 (NARA microfilm publication T624, 1,178 rolls); Available at www.ancestry.com.

²²⁷ 'Reopened. The Home Bakery', *The Laramie Boomerang*, Volume 23, Number 288 (February 13, 1904).

²²⁸ 'Ranches and Ranchmen of Albany County', *The Laramie Republican* (December 1, 1901).

In the agricultural business in the second half of the nineteenth century multiple shifts are evident. Firstly, there was the transition of self-sufficient farms to commercial farms. For Albany County, this shift began in the 1880s, slightly later than in, for example, Kansas. This transition occurred at different paces throughout the entire Western region and served as a catalyst for the depression in 1893. Within the commercial industry, another shift is also noticeable, namely, a transition from husbandry towards arable farming. Here, there is no delay for Albany County relative to Kansas. Secondly, the specialised homesteads had a lower investment value compared to mixed homesteads. A correlation exists between the transition from mixed homesteads to specialised homesteads and the decrease of value of the homestead over time. However, in both shifts in Albany County, a gender difference is apparent. Female homesteaders more frequently opted for specialised homesteads than male homesteaders. Furthermore, within these specialised homesteads, women more often owned ranches than men. This finding might be explained by the motivation of many women to start homesteading, namely the enlargement of the family estate. Additionally, the value of investment in the homestead differed between female and male homesteaders. It was demonstrated that female homesteaders made lower investment values than men. For this finding, the most important influence on the investment value was the composition of the household and the marital status of the women. In Albany County, women's occupations and jobs did not influence the investment value. Regarding the management of the homestead, little difference in management style was found between men and women. Anecdotal evidence indicates that both men and women had typical male and female tasks to perform on the homestead for land exploiting and generating extra income. However, the male homesteaders did enlist women to perform the typical female tasks on their homestead, while female homesteaders enlisted men for the typical male tasks on their homestead.

Conclusion

The focus of this research was on the 44 female homesteaders, of whom 38 homesteaded in their own name in Albany County between 1875 and 1908. This period witnessed numerous developments in various fields. This research analysed these developments in light of female homesteaders to address the main question: 'How did social and agricultural developments shape the practice of female homesteading in Albany County, Wyoming, during the period 1875 and 1908?'. This was studied through the statistics of female homesteaders, their social structures, and their management of their homesteads. In doing so, the development of Albany County is placed within the broader context of Wyoming and the West. Wyoming could be considered an exceptional state due to the progressive ideas of feminism and women's rights that were established there as the first in the United States.

The changing role of women in the West during this period led to an increasing number of women homesteaders. Lindgren attributes this increasing number of female homesteaders to the changing ideas regarding gender roles and demographic shifts in the ratio of male and female homesteaders. This was twofold, due to the changing social norms, it became more acceptable for women to start homesteading and as more women began homesteading, acceptance grew and new ideas were created regarding womanhood.²²⁹ This demographic shift is also evident for Albany County. The percentage of female homesteaders grew from 5% in the 1880s to 13.7% in the 1900s. When compared to other counties in Wyoming and states in the West that have already been researched, the proportion of female homesteaders in Albany County is comparable. For Albany County, the percentage of female homesteaders was 9.8%, while other studies give percentages between 10% to 12%.²³⁰ Analysing the development over time of all the homesteaders in Albany County shows that the agricultural developments in Wyoming greatly influenced the number of homesteaders. The number of homesteaders fluctuated over the years, despite an overall growth trend. Notably, there is a contradicting fluctuation visible in the number of female homesteaders compared to the total number of homesteaders in Albany County. For female homesteaders, an overall increase in number started in 1892. This trend is not visible by the number of male homesteaders. The absence of a similar fluctuation in total increase of homesteaders suggests that the rise of female homesteaders is not attributable to agricultural developments, but an explanation should be found in the changing ideas regarding womanhood. Albany County alone provides limited data, so further research on the

²²⁹ Lindgren, *Land in her Own Name*, 54.

²³⁰ *Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470*; Available at www.ancestry.com; see also, appendix 1; Bauman, 'Single Women Homesteaders', 330; Edwards, Friefeld and Wingo, *Homesteading the Plains*, 134; Lindgren, *Land in Her Own Name*, 52; Patterson-Black, 'Women Homesteaders on the Great Plains Frontier', 68.

development of female homesteaders for other counties could be helpful to determine whether this finding is a coincidence or a broader development starting in 1892 influencing female homesteaders.

To analyse the patterns of female homesteaders further, these groups can be divided into subcategories based on marital status. Here, some discrepancies are noticeable when comparing the literature. The recent work of Edwards, Friefled, and Wingo shows that widows were the biggest group of female homesteaders, while older research from the 1990s indicates that most female homesteaders were single women.²³¹ Despite the unclarity of the discrepancies between these researches, data from Albany County matches the image of Edwards, Friefled, and Wingo. Not only the difference in marital status is evident in the former research, but also discrepancy in ages. However, there is an explanation for this discrepancy, namely the focus on different groups.²³² In addition to the ages of female homesteaders analysed by other historians, this research also compared this to the ages of men in Albany County. Here, no significant difference in the average and median age is evident. This indicates that age is not a crucial factor in the study of female homesteaders, whereas marital status is. The explanation for the substantial difference between the marital status of women in different areas might be an interesting perspective for further research.

On the homestead, social connections such as family, neighbours, and employers proved to be important for their decision to start homesteading as well as their survival on the homestead. Within the household, family, and especially the nuclear family, played a significant role for women in Albany County. This aligns with the evolving idea of family in the second half of the nineteenth century, where the nuclear family emerged as the cornerstone of society.²³³ Women often added various individuals to their households out of practicality for their survival on the homestead. Beyond the household, family and neighbours also played crucial roles in the survival of female homesteaders. Edwards, Friefled, and Wingo argue that mainly male contacts were important for the survival of female homesteaders.²³⁴ However, this research shows a more nuanced image, for anecdotal evidences shows that female homesteaders also relied on each other while homesteading. A more extensive research might provide more insights in the significance of contact between female homesteaders, for this research only shows that there was contact between them but does not show the significance. There might be a connection between this finding and the theory of the 'new woman' in the West, because support among female homesteaders might have encouraged other women to be more

²³¹ Bauman, 'Single Women Homesteaders'; Edwards, Friefeld and Wingo, *Homesteading the Plains*; Garceau, *The Important Things of Life*; Lindgren, *Land in Her Own Name*.

²³² Ibidem.

²³³ Stone, *Kinship and Gender*.

²³⁴ Edwards, Friefeld and Wingo, *Homesteading the Plains*, 156.

independent and embark on homesteading which led to more female homesteaders. However, the evidence in this research is too little to connect this finding with the theory of the 'new woman'.

Garceau had a contradicting finding to the theory of the 'new woman'. She argued that women took on homesteading mostly for the enlargement of the family estate and not for personal independence.²³⁵ While the personal motivations of women are challenging to define, data of Albany County suggests that Garceau's statement is plausible. This is supported by the data that 73.5% of the female homesteaders in Albany County settled near family. Furthermore, women's choices differed from those of male homesteaders, with women opting for commercial homesteads in more cases than men, particularly in the case of ranches. These two findings are interconnected, as commercial homesteads, especially ranches, required larger land holdings than self-sufficient homesteads. The data for Albany County is relatively limited, so further insights into the connection between gender and the division of specialised and mixed enterprises could be gained by incorporating more data from different areas and other land acts. By incorporating ego documents, such as letters or diaries, insights into the personal motivations of the choice for different types of homesteads female homesteaders choose might be gained.

This is further supported by the discrepancy in the investment value and the types of homesteads between male and female homesteaders. This contrast indicates that women were more inclined to expand the family business. A possible explanation for this variance in value could be attributed to the differences in the types of homesteads. Women had more specialised homesteads compared to men, and specialised homesteads tended to have a lower average investment value than mixed homesteads. This could be explained by the nature of the investment required for homesteads, for these were primarily houses people needed to live in. This is also linked to the household of the female homesteaders. In 80% of the cases, where additional people resided in the household, the homestead was a specialised homestead, with a correspondingly average lower investment value. The kind of jobs held by female homesteaders did not appear to influence the investment value, suggesting that the theory that men had more income than women and therefore a higher value is not a sufficient explanation for this disparity. Marital status did prove to be a significant factor in the investment value difference. Women who began homesteading with their husbands had considerably higher investment value compared to widowed and single women. This is not only reflected in the lower investment value of this group in Albany County, but Edwards, Friefled, and Wingo also found that single women were the group who put the least effort in their homestead. Widows, on the other hand, often had children to support, and their homestead provided crucial income, while married women typically embarked

²³⁵ Garceau, *The Important Things of Life*.

on the homesteading adventure with their husbands, who contributed to the investment.²³⁶ The importance of family in influencing investment value contradicts the theory that individualism, economic freedom, and feminism were the primary motivations for women to start homesteading. Overall, the undervaluation of investment value among historians makes it challenging to precisely define differences in investment value, but this finding for Albany County suggests a strong connection to the importance of family and marital status on female homesteaders.

On many levels, this research demonstrates the tension between the changing role patterns and the traditional role patterns of women in society. In many ways, the concept of the 'new woman' has influenced female homesteaders. However, data from Albany County shows that women often choose to adhere to traditional role assignments in many aspects. In the management of the homestead, little difference is to be found between the choices made by men and women. However, significant differences were visible in the tasks performed on the homestead. Lindgren and Gallagher argued that the mixing of male and female jobs did occur out of practicality and not due to feminist ideas.²³⁷ It becomes evident from data of Albany County that most women mobilised men to do the 'male jobs', whereas men did the opposite. Regarding wage work, it was found that the majority of the women studied also adhered to traditional 'female jobs'. However, when the social work of women within the communities is analysed in newspapers, it becomes evident that women began to engage in the public and political domain, which was previously limited to men. The 'new woman' is visible in this respect, as women were mentioned as clerks of election and two of the female homesteaders were even active in a political party. Although this indicates an overall change in gender roles in society, it should be placed in perspective. As already stated, in most aspects female homesteaders in Albany County remained within the traditional spheres. Furthermore, as shown, in newspapers women were also mentioned in the context of marriage and the traditional gender roles.

So, the Homestead Act provided a way for women to be more into the 'male-sphere' by enabling them to own land and create their own business. This shift was not only evident on the homesteads but also within the communities, where women played an increasing role within society. Additionally, agricultural changes influenced homesteaders, but this influence varied between male and female homesteaders in Albany County. This discrepancy becomes apparent in differences in investment value and the types of homesteads chosen. It is evident that there was a substantial increase in the number of female homesteaders in Albany County, indicating that homesteading became more commonplace for women. However, for female homesteaders, homesteading appeared to be less of an individualistic choice, but more a social endeavour. With the emergence of the 'new

²³⁶ Edwards, Friefeld and Wingo, *Homesteading the Plains*.

²³⁷ Lindgren, *Land in her Own Name*, 216-217.

woman' and the new opportunities it brought, female homesteaders started to engage into public and political life in their communities. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that, in general most female homesteaders in Albany County chose to adhere to the 'traditional gender' roles while homesteading.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Ratio of New Final Proof Deeds Between Male and Female Per Year

Ratio of new final proof deeds between male and female homesteaders per year in Albany County between 1875 and 1908

	women	men	Total per year
1875	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	1 (100%)
1876	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	1 (100%)
1877	0 (0%)	3 (100%)	3 (100%)
1878	0 (0%)	4 (100%)	4 (100%)
1879	0 (0%)	4 (100%)	4 (100%)
1880	1 (10%)	9 (90%)	10 (100%)
1881	0 (0%)	4 (100%)	4 (100%)
1882	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	1 (100%)
1883	0 (0%)	6 (100%)	6 (100%)
1884	2 (20%)	8 (80%)	10 (100%)
1885	0 (0%)	10 (100%)	10 (100%)
1886	0 (0%)	3 (100%)	3 (100%)
1887	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	1 (100%)
1888	0 (0%)	8 (100%)	8 (100%)

1889	0	7	7
	(0%)	(100%)	(100%)
1890	0	15	15
	(0%)	(100%)	(100%)
1891	2	20	22
	(9.1%)	(90.9%)	(100%)
1892	1	18	19
	(5.3%)	(94.7%)	(100%)
1893	0	13	13
	(0%)	(100%)	(100%)
1894	1	10	11
	(9.1%)	(90.9%)	(100%)
1895	1	18	19
	(5.3%)	(94.7%)	(100%)
1896	1	13	14
	(7.1%)	(92.9%)	(100%)
1897	3	12	15
	(20%)	(80%)	(100%)
1898	3	15	18
	(16.7%)	(83.3%)	(100%)
1899	0	17	17
	(0%)	(100%)	(100%)
1900	4	10	14
	(28.6%)	(71.4%)	(100%)
1901	2	19	21
	(9.5%)	(90.5%)	(100%)
1902	6	22	28
	(21.4%)	(78.6%)	(100%)
1903	5	20	25
	(20%)	(80%)	(100%)
1904	0	25	25
	(0%)	(100%)	(100%)
1905	6	24	30

	(20%)	(80%)	(100%)
1906	3	24	27
	(11.1%)	(88.9%)	(100%)
1907	1	32	33
	(3%)	(97%)	(100%)
1908	2	8	10
	(20%)	(80%)	(100%)
Total	44	405	449
	(9.8%)	(90.2%)	(100%)

* Source: Homestead Final Certificates, 1871 - 1908. NAID: [7551468](#). Department of the Interior. General Land Office. Cheyenne (Wyoming) Land Office. Records of the Bureau of Land Management, 1685-2006, Record Group 49. The National Archives at Washington, D.C.; Available at www.ancestry.com, U.S Homestead Records, 1863-1908, Wyoming, Cheyenne; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878 - 1908. NAID: [7551470](#). Department of the Interior. General Land Office. Evanston (Wyoming) Land Office. Records of the Bureau of Land Management, 1685-2006, Record Group 49. The National Archives at Washington, D.C.; Available at www.ancestry.com, U.S Homestead Records, 1863-1908, Wyoming, Cheyenne.

* This is counted on name of the one who made the final proof regarding [ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com). In six cases the women is assignee of the land, but it is counted as 'female'.

* Some deeds note on Global Land Organization two counties. If one of the counties was Albany it is counted in this table.

Appendix 2: Ratio Between Male and Female Homesteaders per Decennia

Frequency and percentage of new final proof deeds of men and women per decennia in Albany County between 1875 and 1908

	Women	men	Total homesteads
1870s	0 (0%)	13 (100%)	13 (100%)
1880s	3 (5%)	57 (95%)	60 (100%)
1890s	12 (7.4%)	151 (92.6%)	163 (100%)
1900s	29 (13.7%)	183 (86.3%)	212 (100%)
Total	44 (9.8%)	404 (90.2%)	448 (100%)

* Source: Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com.

* This is counted on name of the one who made the final proof regarding ancestry.com. In six cases the women is assignee of the land, but it is counted as 'female'.

* Some deeds note on Global Land Organization two counties. If one of the counties was Albany it is counted in this table.

* Some decennia is are not complete. 1870s is only data from the second half of 1870s, and 1900s is until 1908.

Appendix 3: Frequency and Percentage Final Proof Deeds of Women in Pre-Statehood

Frequency and percentage of final proof deeds of women homesteaders pre-statehood in Albany County

	Frequency of women	Percentage of women
1870-1889	3	4.1
1875-1894	7	4.6

* Source: Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com.

* Periods are based on T.A. Larson, *History of Wyoming* (1965).

Appendix 4: Marital Status of Women Homesteaders

Marital status of women homesteaders at the time of entry of the land and at the time of the final proof, in Albany County between 1880 and 1908

	Frequency	Percentage	Percentage (without assignees)
Widow-Widow	16	36.4	42.1
Widow-Remarried	1	2.3	2.6
Married-Widow	5	11.4	13.2
Married-Widow-Remarried	1	2.3	2.6
Single-Single	11	25.0	28.9
Single-Married	3	6.8	7.9
Divorced	1	2.3	2.6
Total (without assignees)	38	86.4	100
Assignees	6	13.6	
Total	44	100	

* Source: Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com.

Appendix 5: Age of Female Homesteaders

Table 1: Age of women homesteaders at the time of the final proof deed based on marital status in Albany County between 1875 and 1908

	Average age	Median age
Widow-Widow	53	52
Widow-Remarried	57	57
Married-Widow	51	56
Married-Widow-Remarried	37	37
Single-Single	29.2	29
Single-Married	31.7	31
Divorced	42	42
Assignees	52.5	52.5
Total	43.8	39

* Source: Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com.

* Information available for 38 women.

Table 2: Frequency of ages of female homesteaders at the time of the final proof deed per 5 year in Albany County between 1880 and 1908

	Frequency	Percentage
25-29	8	21.1
30-34	7	18.4
35-39	5	13.2
40-44	5	13.2
45-49	1	2.6
50-54	2	5.3
55-59	3	7.9
60-64	2	5.3
65-69	2	5.3
70-74	2	5.3
75-79	1	2.6
Total	38	100

* Source: Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com.

* Information available for 38 women. This includes 2 assignees.

Table 3: Age at the time of the final proof deed between men and women homesteaders in Albany County between 1875 and 1908

	Average age	Median age
Male	42.5	40
Female	43.8	39
Total	42.7	40

* Source: Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com.

Appendix 6: Women Who settle Near Family Based on Material Status

The frequency and percentage of female homesteaders who settled near family at the time of arrival on the homestead in Albany County between 1875 and 1908

	Settle near family	Did not settle near family	Total
Widow-Widow	10 (66.6%)	5 (33.3%)	15 (100%)
Widow-Remarried	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)
Married-Widow	0 (0%)	3 (100%)	3 (100%)
Married-Widow- Remarried	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	1 (100%)
Single-Single	10 (90.9%)	1 (9.1%)	11 (100%)
Single-Married	3 (100%)	0 (0%)	3 (100%)
Total	9 (26.5%)	25 (73.5%)	34 (100%)

* Source: Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com.

* This is based on the time they filed the claim. In two cases there was a family member that settled near her after she had filed the homestead, these two cases are in this table included in the category 'did not settle near family', for this was the situation when filing the claim.

Appendix 7: Composition of Households of Female Homesteaders

Table 1: Frequency and percentage of women who lived with family in a household on their homestead in Albany County between 1875 and 1908

	Lived with family in their household	Lived without family in their household	Total
Frequency of women	24 (92.3%)	2 (7.6%)	26 (100%)

* Source: Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. (NARA microfilm publication T9, 1,454 rolls). Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C; Available at www.ancestry.com, 1880 United States Federal Census, Wyoming, Albany; United States of America, Bureau of the Census. Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1900. T623, 1854 rolls; Available at www.ancestry.com, 1900 United States Federal Census, Wyoming, Albany; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910 (NARA microfilm publication T624, 1,178 rolls). Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C. For details on the contents of the film numbers, visit the following NARA web page: [NARA](http://www.ancestry.com); Available at www.ancestry.com, 1900 United States Federal Census, Wyoming, Albany.

* Information was not available for all women.

Table 2: Frequency and percentage of female homesteaders who lived with solely family and with family and additional people in a household in Albany County between 1875 and 1908

	Lived solely with family in a household	Lived with family and additional people in a household	Total
Women lived with nuclear family	11 (68.7%)	5 (31.3%)	16 (100%)
Women lived with extended family	5 (62.5%)	3 (37.5%)	8 (100%)
Total	16 (66.7%)	8 (33.3%)	24 (100%)

* Source: Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. (NARA microfilm publication T9, 1,454 rolls); United States of America, Bureau of the Census. Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910 (NARA microfilm publication T624, 1,178 rolls); Available at www.ancestry.com.

* Information was not available for all women. This also excluded the women who did not live family at all.

Table 3: Frequency and percentage per category of female homesteaders who lived with their nuclear family and extended family in their household Albany County between 1875 and 1908

	Lived with their Nuclear Family	Lived with extended family	Total
Widow-Widow	7 (63.6%)	4 (36.4%)	11 (100%)
Widow-Remarried	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)
Married-Widow	3 (100%)	0 (0%)	3 (100%)
Married-Widow-Remarried	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)
Single-Single	1 (25%)	3 (75%)	4 (100%)
Single-Married	2 (66.7%)	1 (33.3%)	3 (100%)
Divorced	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)
Total	16 (66.7%)	8 (33.3%)	24 (100%)

* Source: Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. (NARA microfilm publication T9, 1,454 rolls); United States of America, Bureau of the Census. Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910 (NARA microfilm publication T624, 1,178 rolls); Available at www.ancestry.com.

* Information was not available for all women. This also excluded the woman who did not live family at all.

Appendix 8: Employment of Female Homesteaders

Table 1: Employment of female homesteaders in Albany County between 1875 and 1908

	Frequency	Percentage
Boarding house	2	12.5
House work	2	12.5
Teacher	1	6.3
Governess	1	6.3
Nurse	1	6.3
Wage earner	1	6.3
Superintendent of schools	1	6.3
Farm laborer	1	6.3
No employment	6	37.5
Total	16	100

* Sources: Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. (NARA microfilm publication T9, 1,454 rolls); United States of America, Bureau of the Census. Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910 (NARA microfilm publication T624, 1,178 rolls); Available at www.ancestry.com.

* Information was available for 16 cases.

* The percentages are summed up over 100%. This is due to completion.

Table 2: Occupations of the group 'No employment' for female homesteaders in Albany County between 1875 and 1908

	Frequency	Percentage
Taking care of business	3	50
Housekeeper	2	33.3
Famer	1	16.7
Total	6	100

* Sources: Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. (NARA microfilm publication T9, 1,454 rolls); United States of America, Bureau of the Census. Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910 (NARA microfilm publication T624, 1,178 rolls); Available at www.ancestry.com.

Appendix 9: Female Homesteaders Mentioned in Local Newspapers and Social Clubs

Table 1: Frequency and percentage of female homesteaders mentioned in local newspapers of Albany County between 1875 and 1908

	Frequency	Percentage
Mentioned in Newspaper	27	71.1
Not mentioned in newspaper	11	28.9
Total	38	100

* Source: www.wyomingnewspapers.org; Wyoming Digital Newspaper Collection.

Table 2: Frequency and percentage of women who were according local newspapers active member of a social club in Albany County between 1875 and 1908

	Frequency	Percentage
Active in a social club	12	44.4
Not active in a social club	15	55.6
Total	27	100

* Source: www.wyomingnewspapers.org; Wyoming Digital Newspaper Collection.

* Information was available for 26 cases. Women who were not mentioned in a newspaper were left out of this table.

* This shows the mentioning in newspapers, it is possible that women were active in a social club without the local newspaper wrote about it.

Table 3: Frequency and percentage of social clubs women were active in for Albany County between 1875 and 1908

	Frequency	Percentage
Political club	4	33.4%
Church	1	8.3%
Remaining social club	7	58.3%
Total	12	100%

* Source: www.wyomingnewspapers.org; Wyoming Digital Newspaper Collection.

Appendix 10: Frequency of Specialised and Combination Homesteads

Frequency of specialised and combination homesteads per year in Albany County between 1875 and 1908

	Specialised homesteads	Combination homesteads	Total
1875	0	0	0
1876	0	0	0
1877	0	0	0
1878	2	0	2
1879	2	2	4
1880	5	1	6
1881	1	3	4
1882	1	0	1
1883	1	4	5
1884	3	6	9
1885	2	6	8
1886	0	3	3
1887	0	1	1
1888	3	5	8
1889	2	5	7
1890	7	8	15
1891	14	7	21
1892	9	8	17
1893	12	1	13
1894	5	5	10
1895	9	10	19
1896	6	8	14
1897	9	1	10
1898	14	3	17
1899	7	8	15
1900	8	5	13

1901	5	10	15
1902	14	8	22
1903	7	1	8
1904	11	8	19
1905	16	6	22
1906	12	10	22
1907	14	16	30
1908	4	6	10
Total	205 (55.4%)	165 (44.6%)	370 (100%)

* Source: Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com.

* Information was available for 370 cases, which is 82.4% of the total homesteaders.

* Of the total of specialised homesteads comprised 33.2% agricultural farms, and 22.2% animal husbandry.

* Information for the kind of homestead is taken from the testimonies of claimants and in some cases the testimonies of witnesses. In these documents the kind of crops they raised was documented. When stated that they raised vegetables, wheat, oats, etc., the kind of homestead is documented as a farm. In some cases they stated that they held cattle or used the land for grazing land, in that case the homestead is stated as ranch. In some cases the livestock was not a direct question and then when in that case only the crop as hay was mentioned, it is counted as ranch, because for keeping a ranch you needed pasture land as well land to grow hay crops.²³⁸ If there was a combination of vegetables and livestock or vegetables and hay it is count as a combination farm.

²³⁸ Garceau, *The Important Things of Life*, 23.

Appendix 11: Kind of Specialised Homesteads

Cleavage of the specialised homesteads between ranches and farms in Albany County between 1875 and 1908

	Ranches	Farms	Total
1875	0	0	0
1876	0	0	0
1877	0	0	0
1878	1	1	2
1879	1	1	2
1880	5	0	5
1881	1	0	1
1882	0	1	1
1883	0	1	1
1884	3	0	3
1885	2	0	2
1886	0	0	0
1887	0	0	0
1888	3	0	3
1889	2	0	2
1890	3	4	7
1891	9	5	14
1892	2	7	9
1893	4	8	12
1894	1	4	5
1895	3	6	9
1896	1	5	6
1897	2	7	9
1898	1	13	14
1899	4	3	7
1900	2	6	8
1901	3	2	5
1902	3	11	14

1903	5	2	7
1904	5	6	11
1905	2	14	16
1906	8	4	12
1907	6	8	14
1908	0	4	4
Total	82 (40%)	123 (60%)	205 (100%)

* Source: Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com.

* Information was available for 205 cases.

* Information for the kind of homestead is taken from the testimonies of claimants and in some cases the testimonies of witnesses. In these documents the kind of crops they raised was documented. When stated that they raised vegetables, wheat, oats, etc., the kind of homestead is documented as a farm. In some cases they stated that they held cattle or used the land for grazing land, in that case the homestead is stated as ranch. In some cases the livestock was not a direct question and then when in that case only the crop as hay was mentioned, it is counted as ranch, because for keeping a ranch you needed pasture land as well land to grow hay crops.²³⁹ If there was a combination of vegetables and livestock or vegetables and hay it is count as a combination farm.

²³⁹ Garceau, *The Important Things of Life*, 23.

Appendix 12: Division of the Type of Homesteads

Table 1: Frequency and percentages of homesteads divided between specialised and combination homesteads for men and women in Albany County between 1875 and 1908

	Specialised homestead	Combination homestead	total
Men	182 (54.3%)	153 (45.7%)	335 (100%)
Women	23 (65.7%)	12 (34.3%)	35 (100%)
Total	205 (55.4%)	165 (44.6%)	370 (100%)

* Source: Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com.

* Information for the kind of homestead is taken from the testimonies of claimants and in some cases the testimonies of witnesses. In these documents the kind of crops they raised was documented. When stated that they raised vegetables, wheat, oats, etc., the kind of homestead is documented as a farm. In some cases they stated that they held cattle or used the land for grazing land, in that case the homestead is stated as ranch. In some cases the livestock was not a direct question and then when in that case only the crop as hay was mentioned, it is counted as ranch, because for keeping a ranch you needed pasture land as well land to grow hay crops.²⁴⁰ If there was a combination of vegetables and livestock or vegetables and hay it is count as a combination farm.

Table 2: Frequency and percentages of the type of homestead that men and women had in Albany County between 1875 and 1908

	Combination homestead	Agricultural farms	Ranches	Total
Men	153 (45.7%)	110 (32.8%)	72 (21.5%)	335 (100%)
Women	12 (34.3%)	13 (37.1%)	10 (28.6%)	35 (100%)
Total	165 (44.6%)	123 (33.2%)	82 (22.2%)	370 (100%)

* Source: Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com.

* Information for the kind of homestead is taken from the testimonies of claimants and in some cases the testimonies of witnesses. In these documents the kind of crops they raised was documented. When stated that they raised vegetables, wheat, oats, etc., the kind of homestead is documented as a farm. In some cases they stated that they held cattle or used the land for grazing land, in that case the homestead is stated as ranch. In some cases the livestock was not a direct question and then when in that case only the crop as hay was mentioned, it is counted as ranch, because for keeping a ranch you needed pasture land as well land to grow hay crops.²⁴¹ If there was a combination of vegetables and livestock or vegetables and hay it is count as a combination farm.

²⁴⁰ Garceau, The Important Things of Life, 23.

²⁴¹ Ibidem.

Appendix 13: Type of Homestead in Relation to Nearby Family

Combination table of frequency and percentage of women in different kind of homesteads and family homesteads in their area in Albany County between 1875 and 1908

	Family homestead near by	No family homesteads near by	total
Combination homestead	7 (77.8%)	2 (22.2%)	9 (100%)
Agricultural Farm	9 (69.2%)	4 (30.7%)	13 (100%)
Ranch	6 (100%)	0 (0%)	6 (100%)
Total	22 (78.6%)	6 (21.4%)	28 (100%)

* Source: Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com.

* In total it data whether family homesteads were nearby is available for 34 cases of women, but only in 28 cases of these the type of homestead is also available.

* Information for the kind of homestead is taken from the testimonies of claimants and in some cases the testimonies of witnesses. In these documents the kind of crops they raised was documented. When stated that they raised vegetables, wheat, oats, etc., the kind of homestead is documented as a farm. In some cases they stated that they held cattle or used the land for grazing land, in that case the homestead is stated as ranch. In some cases the livestock was not a direct question and then when in that case only the crop as hay was mentioned, it is counted as ranch, because for keeping a ranch you needed pasture land as well land to grow hay crops.²⁴² If there was a combination of vegetables and livestock or vegetables and hay it is count as a combination farm.

²⁴² Garceau, The Important Things of Life, 23.

Appendix 14: Investment Value per Type of Homesteads

Table 1: Average and median of the investment value for specialised and combination homesteads in Albany County between 1875 and 1908

	Average	Median
Specialised homestead	1026.10	800
Combination homestead	1118.69	1000

* Source: Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com.

* Information was available for 402 cases. In some cases the value of the claimant and witness differ, in that case the value the claimant gave is taken. In 8 cases the claimant did not give any value, in these cases the value of the witness is taken.

* Information for the kind of homestead is taken from the testimonies of claimants and in some cases the testimonies of witnesses. In these documents the kind of crops they raised was documented. When stated that they raised vegetables, wheat, oats, etc., the kind of homestead is documented as a farm. In some cases they stated that they held cattle or used the land for grazing land, in that case the homestead is stated as ranch. In some cases the livestock was not a direct question and then when in that case only the crop as hay was mentioned, it is counted as ranch, because for keeping a ranch you needed pasture land as well land to grow hay crops.²⁴³ If there was a combination of vegetables and livestock or vegetables and hay it is count as a combination farm.

Table 2: Average and median of the investment value of the different kind of homesteads in Albany County between 1875 and 1908

	Average	Median
Combination homestead	1118.69	1000
Agricultural farm	1095.31	812.50
Ranch	926.65	700

* Source: Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com.

* Information was available for 402 cases. In some cases the value of the claimant and witness differ, in that case the value the claimant gave is taken. In 8 cases the claimant did not give any value, in these cases the value of the witness is taken.

* Information for the kind of homestead is taken from the testimonies of claimants and in some cases the testimonies of witnesses. In these documents the kind of crops they raised was documented. When stated that they raised vegetables, wheat, oats, etc., the kind of homestead is documented as a farm. In some cases they stated that they held cattle or used the land for grazing land, in that case the homestead is stated as ranch. In some cases the livestock was not a direct question and then when in that case only the crop as hay was mentioned, it is counted as ranch, because for keeping a ranch you needed pasture land as well land to grow hay crops.²⁴⁴ If there was a combination of vegetables and livestock or vegetables and hay it is count as a combination farm.

²⁴³ Garceau, The Important Things of Life, 23.

²⁴⁴ Ibidem.

Table 3: Average and median of the investment value for the different kind of homesteads of men in Albany County between 1875 and 1908

	Average	Median
Combination homestead	1125.87	1000
Agricultural farm	1105.49	855
Ranch	929.58	775
Total of men	1068.22	900

* Source: Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com.

* Information was available for 402 cases. In some cases the value of the claimant and witness differ, in that case the value the claimant gave is taken. In 8 cases the claimant did not give any value, in these cases the value of the witness is taken.

* Information for the kind of homestead is taken from the testimonies of claimants and in some cases the testimonies of witnesses. In these documents the kind of crops they raised was documented. When stated that they raised vegetables, wheat, oats, etc., the kind of homestead is documented as a farm. In some cases they stated that they held cattle or used the land for grazing land, in that case the homestead is stated as ranch. In some cases the livestock was not a direct question and then when in that case only the crop as hay was mentioned, it is counted as ranch, because for keeping a ranch you needed pasture land as well land to grow hay crops.²⁴⁵ If there was a combination of vegetables and livestock or vegetables and hay it is count as a combination farm.

Table 4: Average and median of the investment value for the different kind of homesteads of women in Albany County between 1875 and 1908

	Average	Median
Combination homestead	1027.08	812.50
Agricultural farm	1010	800
Ranch	846.88	475
Total of women	901.05	687.50

* Source: Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com.

* Information was available for 402 cases. In some cases the value of the claimant and witness differ, in that case the value the claimant gave is taken. In 8 cases the claimant did not give any value, in these cases the value of the witness is taken.

* This information are the value of the women and this includes the category of assignees.

* Information for the kind of homestead is taken from the testimonies of claimants and in some cases the testimonies of witnesses. In these documents the kind of crops they raised was documented. When stated that they raised vegetables, wheat, oats, etc., the kind of homestead is documented as a farm. In some cases they stated that they held cattle or used the land for grazing land, in that case the homestead is stated as ranch. In some cases the livestock was not a direct question and then when in that case only the crop as hay was mentioned, it is counted as ranch, because for keeping a ranch you needed pasture land as well land to grow hay crops.²⁴⁶ If there was a combination of vegetables and livestock or vegetables and hay it is count as a combination farm.

²⁴⁵ Ibidem.

²⁴⁶ Ibidem.

Appendix 15: Investment Value per Year

Average and median of the investment value per year in Albany County between 1875 and 1908.

	Average	Median
1875		
1876		
1877		
1878	750	750
1879	1725	1550
1880	1833.33	2000
1881	1775	2000
1882	6000*	6000*
1883	1920	1500
1884	1095	900
1885	1050	1000
1886	1266.67	1100
1887	500*	500*
1888	1205	1237.50
1889	911.43	1000
1890	1182.73	1100
1891	889	965
1892	1789.47	1200
1893	1569.23	1200
1894	1102.73	1000
1895	831.58	600
1896	1000	650
1897	673.67	585
1898	1047.22	775
1899	952.06	800
1900	901.79	787.50
1901	939.67	900

1902	961.30	855
1903	1138.46	600
1904	758.48	750
1905	802.88	525
1906	954	600
1907	983.33	900
1908	606	500

** Source: Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com.*

** Information was available for 402 cases. In some cases the value of the claimant and witness differ, in that case the value the claimant gave is taken. In 8 cases the claimant did not give any value, in these cases the value of the witness is taken.*

** For the values with a * was only one value available in that year.*

Appendix 16: Investment Value in Relation to the Composition of the Household and the Type of Enterprise

Table 1: Average and median investment value of the women homesteaders in per household composition in Albany County between 1875 and 1908

	Average	Median
Only family in the household	1307.14	825
Additional people in the household	820.50	500

* Source: Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. (NARA microfilm publication T9, 1,454 rolls); United States of America, Bureau of the Census. Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910 (NARA microfilm publication T624, 1,178 rolls); Available at www.ancestry.com.

* In some cases the value of the claimant and witness differ, in that case the value the claimant gave is taken.

* information is available for 24 cases. Assignees are left out of order.

Table 2: Frequency and percentage of the kind of homestead and the composition of their household for women homesteaders in Albany County between 1875 and 1908

	Specialised homestead	Combination homestead	total
Only family in the household	8 (57.1%)	6 (42.9%)	14 (100%)
Additional people in the household	8 (80%)	2 (20%)	10 (100%)
total	16 (66.6%)	8 (33.3%)	24 (100%)

* Source: Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. (NARA microfilm publication T9, 1,454 rolls); United States of America, Bureau of the Census. Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910 (NARA microfilm publication T624, 1,178 rolls); Available at www.ancestry.com.

* Information for the kind of homestead is taken from the testimonies of claimants and in some cases the testimonies of witnesses. In these documents the kind of crops they raised was documented. When stated that they raised vegetables, wheat, oats, etc., the kind of homestead is documented as a farm. In some cases they stated that they held cattle or used the land for grazing land, in that case the homestead is stated as ranch. In some cases the livestock was not a direct question and then when in that case only the crop as hay was mentioned, it is counted as ranch, because for keeping a ranch you needed pasture land as well land to grow hay crops.²⁴⁷ If there was a combination of vegetables and livestock or vegetables and hay it is count as a combination farm.

²⁴⁷ Garceau, The Important Things of Life, 23

Table 3: Frequency and percentage of the presence of a adult male within the household of women homesteaders in Albany County between 1875 and 1908

	Frequency	Percentage
Adult male within the household	18	69.2
No adult male within the household	8	30.8
Total	26	100

* Source: Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. (NARA microfilm publication T9, 1,454 rolls); United States of America, Bureau of the Census. Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900; Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910 (NARA microfilm publication T624, 1,178 rolls); Available at www.ancestry.com.

Appendix 17: Marital Status and the Investment Value

Average and median of the investment value per group of marital status of female homesteaders in Albany County between 1875 and 1908

	Average	Median
Widow-Widow	902	775
Widow-Remarried	3000	3000
Married-Widow	1025	800
Married-Widow-Remarried	1900	1900
Single-Single	706.82	500
Single-Married	583.33	500
Divorced	300	300

** Source: Homestead Final Certificates, 1871-1908, NAID: 7551468; Homestead Final Certificates, 1878-1908, NAID: 7551470; Available at www.ancestry.com.*

** In some cases the value of the claimant and witness differ, in that case the value the claimant gave is taken.*