



Theses and Dissertations

1985

Women Homesteaders in Utah, 1869-1934

Jill Thorley Warnick

Brigham Young University - Provo

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd>

 Part of the [History Commons](#), [Mormon Studies Commons](#), and the [Women's Studies Commons](#)

BYU ScholarsArchive Citation

Warnick, Jill Thorley, "Women Homesteaders in Utah, 1869-1934" (1985). *Theses and Dissertations*. 5197.
<https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd/5197>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by BYU ScholarsArchive. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of BYU ScholarsArchive. For more information, please contact scholarsarchive@byu.edu, ellen_amatangelo@byu.edu.

D
1.02
.W37
1985

L2

WOMEN HOMESTEADERS IN UTAH, 1869-1934

A Thesis

Presented to the
Department of History
Brigham Young University


In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by

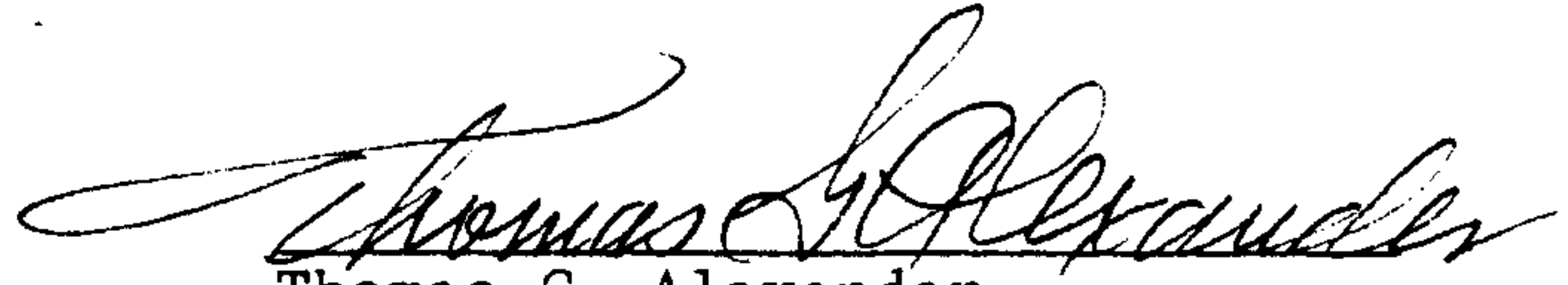
Jill Thorley Warnick

December 1985

This thesis, by Jill Thorley Warnick is accepted in its present form by the Department of History of Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.



Ted J. Warner
Committee Chairman



Thomas G. Alexander
Committee Member

November 19, 1985
Date



James B. Allen
Department Chairman

Typed by: Leslie Haderlie

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 1

Chapter

 One. VIEWS OF LAND IN EARLY UTAH MORMON RECORDS 3

 Two. MORMON SETTLEMENT PATTERNS AND CHANGES IN WOMEN'S
 LEGAL RIGHTS IN UTAH 22

 Three. STATISTICAL PROFILE OF WOMEN HOMESTEADERS IN UTAH 42

 Four. COMPARISON WITH OTHER FRONTIERS 78

 Five. LIFE SKETCHES AND LIFESTYLES ON SOUTHERN UTAH
 MOUNTAIN AND DRY LAND HOMESTEADS 91

APPENDIX 126

SOURCES CONSULTED 129

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure

1.	Logan Land Entries From 1870-1935	49
2.	Cedar City Land Entries From 1870-1935	52
3.	Monticello Land Entries From 1870-1935	53

LIST OF TABLES

1. Male and Female Entries Before and After 1900	50
2. Success Rates of Women With a Comparison to Male Success Rates	57
3. Utah and Colorado Percentages of Female Entries Before and After 1900	80
4. Success Rates on Different Frontiers	86

INTRODUCTION

The land--few words evoke so many images or stir us so deeply, for we both possess the land and are possessed by it. Complicating this relationship are our changing perceptions of it--the myths and realities.

Much of Utah's history is the story of the relationship of humans and the land. Human perceptions of Utah's land have changed over time and affected the way it has been used. The homestead movement was an important phase in the use of Utah's land. Through federal settlement acts many Utahns obtained title to public land. This study is an attempt to learn more about the relationship between women and the land and about the lives of women in Utah.

The study is based on Utah land records from 1869-1934. Most homesteading activity in Utah took place during this period. Federal land laws were extended to Utah in 1869. In 1934 the nature of the federal land system was altered. Emphasis shifted from providing land to citizens for farming and livestock-raising to direct government supervision of public lands, making homesteading more difficult.

In spite of the significant role played by women in the settlement of Utah, their history has often been neglected. Historical studies of women in Utah have usually focused on female

¹"In This Issue," Utah Historical Quarterly 49 (Winter 1981):3.

leaders, political movements such as suffrage, or women involved in plural marriages. Utah land records provide a rich source for looking into the lives of women who otherwise would go unnoticed. A significant number of women in Utah homesteaded. By looking at the women whose names appear in the land records, important information is added to the historical picture of women in Utah.

CHAPTER ONE

VIEWS OF LAND IN EARLY UTAH MORMON RECORDS

Quoting the statement that "Landscape is history made visible," Charles S. Peterson identifies three Utah agricultural landscapes. The first landscape is the Mormon village landscape that:

was introduced with the arrival of the first Latter-day Saints and was a projection of the needs and values of the Mormon people as they played upon and influenced the environment of the Great Basin.

Superimposed on the village landscape was the homestead landscape which reflected national influences rather than church influence. In turn, the homestead landscape was succeeded by the dry farm landscape. The dry farm landscape indicates an even greater response to federal influence than does the homestead landscape. Each of these landscapes represents social, political, and economic developments in Utah's history; and today, in certain areas of the state, parts of each landscape remain identifiable.²

If the successive landscapes described by Peterson are seen as a physical record of developments in Utah, then views of

¹Charles S. Peterson, "Imprint of Agricultural Systems on the Utah Landscape," The Mormon Role in the Settlement of the West, Richard H. Jackson, ed. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), p. 91.

²Ibid., pp. 97-98.

land, which affect the way land is settled and used, can be seen as the blueprint for these landscapes. A brief survey of Mormon concepts of land reveals that theological beliefs blended with the practical experiences of settlement, the influence of the federal government, and a sense of individualism. This led to the development of the different agricultural landscapes in Utah.

Theological beliefs largely determined how Utah was settled, and today, in many areas of the State, a Mormon landscape is identifiable.³ The Plat of the City of Zion was generally followed in establishing most Mormon communities. The Mormon Village was laid out with wide streets intersecting at right angles. Farmers lived in town and traveled daily to outlying farmlands. Not all villages were agricultural; mining and manufacturing villages were also founded and usually contained smaller lot sizes. Whether for mining or agricultural purposes, all villages were intended to be self sufficient. Uniform town

³Karl B. Raitz, "Theology on the Landscape: A Comparison of Mormon and Amish-Mennonite Land Use," Utah Historical Quarterly 41 (Winter 1973):23-34; Donald W. Meinig, "The Mormon Culture region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 55 (June 1965):191-220; Richard V. Francaviglia, The Mormon Landscape: Existence, Creation, and Perception of a Unique Image in the American West (New York: AMS Press Inc., 1978); Richard H. Jackson, comp., Images of the West: Elements of the Mormon Landscape (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Geography Department, 1976). Discussion of the Mormon Village and land practices can be found in Feramorz Y. Fox, "The Mormon Land System: A Study of the Settlement and Utilization of Land Under the Direction of the Mormon Church," Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1932; Lowry Nelson, The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952); Richard H. Jackson and Robert L. Layton, "The Mormon Village: Analysis of a Settlement Type," The Professional Geographer 28 (May 1976):136-141.

lots were distributed among settlers and were large enough for growing fruit, vegetables, and livestock.⁴

Settlement in villages allowed the Saints to maintain ecclesiastical organizations, provided protection from thieves, land jumpers, and Indians, and facilitated cooperation in financial and secular matters. In 1882 John Taylor continued to advise Mormons to settle in villages, ". . . as has been our custom from the time of our earliest settlement in these mountain valleys," and claimed that spreading out on individual farms was ". . . dangerous, inconvenient and expensive."⁵

Additional attitudes that affected Mormon land use were the belief that as the children of God they had a stewardship over the earth and that the earth would be regenerated into a paradisiacal glory. The earth was seen as the Lord's, but each person had rights to it. The Church, as the Lord's representative, took over the distribution of land to Church members. Though individuals held property, it was considered to be consecrated to God for the purpose of building the Kingdom of God on earth.⁶

⁴Iron County Centennial Committee, Iron County Centennial 1851-1951 (Cedar City, Utah: Iron County Centennial Committee, no date of publication given), p. 19; states that Cedar City was laid out with longer blocks and shorter lots because it was intended to be a manufacturing community. Leonard D. Arrington provides an excellent summary of the Mormon Village in Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900 (Lincoln and London, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), p. 24.

⁵As cited in Dean L. May, "The Making of Saints: The Mormon Town as a Setting for the Study of Cultural Change," Utah Historical Quarterly 45 (Winter 1977):77.

⁶Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 25.

After receiving a stewardship over property and after villages were settled, Mormons were to develop local resources in an orderly manner. By doing so, the Saints saw themselves as participating in the earth's renewal. Man was God's partner in the regeneration of the earth. They saw themselves as chosen by God, and thus they were called to the practical work of making the earth abound with plants and animals. Their purpose was to make the earth suitable as a dwelling place for God and his Son.⁷

The idea of bringing about spiritual ends through practical efforts such as farming and building homes is seen in the minutes of the Parowan School of the Prophets. Branches of the School of the Prophets were established throughout the territory in an effort by Church leaders to counter the increasing influence of the national government and other forces outside Mormondom. The schools operated from 1868 until 1872.⁸ Since one of the of the major functions of the School was to educate members on methods of applying for land patents, views of land held by members were recorded in the minutes.⁹ Minutes of the Parowan School of the Prophets reveal that beliefs such as stewardship over the earth,

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ John R. Patrick, "The School of the Prophets: Its Development and Influence in Utah Territory" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1970), p. 2; and Lawrence B. Lee, "Homesteading in Zion," Utah Historical Quarterly 28 (Winter 1960):30. Lee cites "Journal History of the Church," March 20, 1869; April 24, 1869; May 8, 1869; on film at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; and Millennial Star 31 (Wednesday, September 29, 1869):647, as evidence for this point.

⁹ Lee, "Homesteading in Zion," p. 30.

partnership with God, and cooperation in preparing the earth to receive its paradisiacal glory were adapted to the practical experience of settlement and individual needs.

Discussion in the Parowan School often touched on the idea that the members were partners with God in settling the area. Like the Saints who entered the Salt Lake Valley, the settlers of the Parowan area did not buy the land nor did they sign a treaty for settlement privileges.¹⁰ Under such circumstances, it was easy for them to see the land as an inheritance from God. Jehial McConnell's words express the belief that God was looking after their rights to the land. He stated that he ". . . often felt thankful for the bareness of the country, [because] . . . the frost, drouth, etc. kept the dogs off in this Territory."¹¹ William H. Dame, President of the School, echoed McConnell's belief when he announced that their ". . . land was now surveyed." He reminded the School members of their duties as saints and said, ". . . we should try and be for the Kingdom of God [and] said Congress was trying to do something with Utah but they would fail."¹² Along similar lines, C. C. Pendleton claimed that, "The Lord has moderated this climate, it is not so severe as it was a few years

¹⁰The only purchase made was from Miles Goodyear who occupied land in the vicinity of Ogden, Utah. Wain Sutton ed., Utah: A Centennial History (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co. Inc., 1949), pp. 35-40.

¹¹"Minutes of the School of the Prophets Held in Parowan 1868-1872," (Copied by Brigham Young University Library 1956), July 30, 1870. Original spelling and punctuation retained in this and subsequent Parowan School quotations.

¹²Ibid., February 18, 1871.

ago, this should encourage us and give us faith" ¹³ This view of the land as a gift from God may also account for the fact that Indian land rights were seldom discussed in the School. Statements indicate that School members were more concerned with avoiding confrontations than they were with Indian land rights. This is seen when C. C. Pendleton said he ". . . did not approve of going for fish as it might arouse feelings with the Indians." ¹⁴

At times some School members were motivated more by the desire to control and own more land than they were by their charge to build the Kingdom of God. This situation may have prompted Jens Nielson to remind school members that ". . . we did not come here to get property, but came to learn the principles of the gospel." ¹⁵

The belief that the land they occupied had been given to them by God did not entirely overcome School members' concern over the encroachment of Gentiles on their Great Basin Kingdom. The existence of the School was evidence that Mormons felt threatened by the outside world. The potential loss of their land made the threat all the more powerful. Parowan School member Joseph Fish summed up the situation when he said:

. . . we have always had to work at a disadvantage, this government never gives us any advantage if there is a doubt the enemies of this people always receive the benefit of it, it is so with our land. We will have to be very careful or they will trouble us about it, there is considerable opposition to this

¹³ Ibid., May 4, 1872.

¹⁴ Ibid., July 16, 1870.

¹⁵ Ibid., January 15, 1870.

work,¹⁶ this is not unlooked for we have been told of it years ago.

Mormons realized their squatter's rights were not secure in the face of advancing enemies and made efforts to secure their lands. Like Saints throughout the territory, the settlers of Parowan were told to obtain land titles granted by the federal government rather than the Mormon Church. On August 19, 1871, a telegram from Church President Brigham Young was read to the Parowan School. It stated ". . . that the survey of Little Salt Lake Valley was returned and now in the register's office and we should take steps to secure our land."¹⁷ Jesse N. Smith later spoke to the Parowan School of the necessity of getting title to their land. He felt that if they held title, ". . . coming in contact with the outside world would be no detriment to us."¹⁸

Interest in the federal land system was heightened by the arrival of Gentiles into the area, caused by the opening of nearby mines. Members of the School discussed the efforts of Gentiles to overcome their work and warned one another of the evil influence of the mines.¹⁹ Warnings were not only about potential destruction of the character of Saints and their efforts to build up Zion, but about the very real possibility of losing their lands if proper

¹⁶ Ibid., March 9, 1872.

¹⁷ Ibid., August 19, 1871.

¹⁸ Ibid., May 4, 1872.

¹⁹ Ibid., February 11, 1871; March 4, 1871; April 8, 1871; April 15, 1871; September 2, 1871; September 30, 1871; October 14, 1871; December 16, 1871; December 23, 1871; January 27, 1872; May 4, 1872; July 20, 1872; July 27, 1872.

filing procedures were not followed. Instructions on how to file claims and exhortations to obtain land titles appear often in the School's minutes.²⁰

In addition to actual filing for title, other measures were taken to protect Mormon property rights in the area. W. H. Dame suggested that all of the School's members should "turn out and vote" in the upcoming election because "the best of men" were needed on the city council "as our land is coming into market and the council will have more or less to do with it."²¹ Also, School members were told to save their money instead of buying stock animals so they would have enough to enter their land. To raise the necessary money, it was suggested that salt from a small lake west of town be saved and sold to the mining town of Pioche.²²

Concern over outside influences such as mining and efforts to thwart these influences seems to have reinforced individual commitment to building the Kingdom. This is represented in the record of Edward Dalton's words.

Spoke of President Young's policy in building up this people, thought it was the best policy for this people, thought that mining was a ruinous thing to a people, tradesmen and farmers are the ones that builds [sic] a place up.²³

²⁰ Ibid., August 21, 1864; September 17, 1870; February 11, 1871; April 8, 1871; April 15, 1871; June 3, 1871; August 18, 1871; August 26, 1871; September 2, 1871; October 7, 1871; December 16, 1871; January 6, 1872; March 9, 1872; March 30, 1872; April 20, 1872; May 4, 1872.

²¹ Ibid., July 30, 1870.

²² Ibid., August 21, 1869; August 26, 1871; April 15, 1871.

²³ Ibid., March 4, 1871.

Adherence to the trades and farming as the means of building the Kingdom of God continued as the number of Saints increased. To accommodate the growing population, it was necessary to locate other lands in the area for settlement. Jesse N. Smith reported that he ". . . had been around with the President thought the best place they saw for a settlement was Pangwitch [sic]. The Saints are increasing and need more room."²⁴

The pressure of a growing population probably resulted in concern over the way the land was being used. Members used the forum provided by the School to discuss inefficient and careless farming:

. . . we ought to farm less and do it better and raise more from one acre than we do now from two, thought we ought to farm one third less than we do now.²⁵

. . . we were too careless in the matter and farmed too much land we should farm less and do it better.²⁶

Spoke of getting our land more in a body it would save water . . . we should cultivate our land better thought that when we get the titles to our land we should fence better.²⁷

. . . we²⁸ [have] no right to monopolise the bounties of nature.

Discussion in the School also indicates that the people of Parowan experienced some disharmony in blending religious ideology with the influence of the U.S. Government that prescribed to

²⁴Ibid., September, 1870.

²⁵Ibid., August 12, 1871.

²⁶Ibid., June 10, 1871.

²⁷Ibid., September 2, 1871.

²⁸Ibid., February 25, 1871.

Mormons such things as how to obtain legal title to lands they had occupied for over two decades. This is seen in the debate that ensued over whether to move the location of a community field. Some members wanted to move from fields north of town to land located to the west where there was less milkweed. The reasoning was, since they needed to buy their land from the government anyway, they might as well get the best land possible. Those who held land in the north fields were concerned that their acreage would be reduced if they moved to land west of town.²⁹

The controversy developed further when it was reported that one L. Barton was homesteading some of the land in the west field. Barton's move went against the Mormon tradition of cooperation in respecting one another's squatter's rights. S. H. Rogers expressed the general feeling of the group when he said,

. . . all persons should file an application in the U.S. Land office to secure them their land otherwise we may loose it had no fellowship for men who would try to Homestead³⁰ over anothers Claim considered it a High handed Misdemeanor.

Barton's attempt to homestead on what was seen by School members as someone else's claim shows that Mormon views of land were challenged by national views. The federal land system was designed to benefit the individual rather than the group. Barton's action, an attempt to gain personal advantage, shows that the national land system was gradually challenging Mormon views.

Though Parowan School of the Prophets minutes do not completely document the adaptation and change that occurred in

²⁹ Ibid., August 26, 1871; August 12, 1871.

³⁰ Ibid., January 6, 1872.

Mormon views of land, there are other sources that provide valuable insights to the development of Mormon land views. A survey of sources written by Mormon women indicates that views of land held by Mormon women were similar to views held by members of the Parowan School of the Prophets. However, views of land expressed in the Woman's Exponent, a newspaper written and published by Mormon women in Utah from 1872 to 1914, are an exception. The Exponent often depicts an idealistic view of land that is rarely seen in journals and memoirs. An idealistic tone would be expected from a newspaper such as the Exponent, which was intended to promote sisterhood among the women of Utah. Also, its writers usually were not immediately acquainted with the hardships of settling the land, and the passage of time after settlement tended to favorably color their view of the experience. Though the views of land expressed in the Exponent are not especially representative of the views held by Mormon women, they deserve discussion because they had some influence on those who read them.

Like the Parowan School of the Prophets, the Exponent viewed the land occupied by the Saints as a gift, but it also felt the land had special significance for women. They viewed the land as a refuge where a heroic, enduring, and independent race of women were harbored:

Here in these valleys, hemmed in from the discordant elements of the outside world by the stupendous mountains that tower to such sublime heights, are a race of women, who surpass in their heroism, in their endurance, and in conscious independence of character any, we believe, in the known world. The union of heart and soul characterizes them as a class, is one of the

most strengthening influences which could be brought³¹ to bear in making them heroic in the truest sense of the term.

The land, or the West, was a gift in the sense that it provided protection "from the discordant elements of the outside world" and made it possible for a superior race of women to develop.

The importance of the West and what it meant for women was the major emphasis of the Exponent when land was discussed. With a view similar to Frederick Jackson Turner's, the barren West was depicted as a place for rebuilding society; new cities would be built, and it would be the source of solving problems of mankind:

"Westward the course of empire wends its way!" will become more and more the theme of the poet, and the historian, as well as the statesman, and the leaders of the people. Cities will be built up in the now barren regions, and a higher state of cultivation than has ever yet been known will be the glorious future of the people of the intermountain states: and they will yet solve the³² most difficult problems that agitate the world of mankind.

Over the years of its publication, the Exponent's theme of the West as an influence in shaping a new culture developed and crystallized. Writers became more committed to the idea that the progress the West represented was not selective for any particular group of people, though it was emphasized that women would benefit most by advancing to equal status. Evidence given by the Exponent to prove the progressive nature of the West was the innovativeness of the West versus the traditionalism of the East. Specifically, the West instituted suffrage for women while the East did not:

³¹Woman's Exponent, October 1, 1877.

³²Exponent, December 1, 1895.

It is a singular thing that the west [sic], the intermountain states should lead in the matter of equal suffrage, which in itself means progression, the East hangs back and clings more closely to all old forms and traditions, while the great broad magnificent West, reaches outward and upward for larger growth, and greater enterprise, taking in the newer elements without fear of disaster and conserving all the vitality by new methods, to produce stronger and wider breadth of conditions, for the benefit and blessing of the great masses ³³ of people, who must be considered, in society and in government.

The open lands of the West were seen as a blessing to societies, governments, and the masses because they provided space for building and reworking the structures of society. The effect of the land did not exclude any group of people, but to take full advantage of the potential of the opportunities offered by the barren West, it was necessary for women to participate in the work along with men. The Exponent stated:

There is a destiny for the great West, which has been predicted by wise men which is daily becoming more widely apparent that must be fulfilled; and the generation now growing up have this work to perform; and women will be participants as well as men, therefore the education and growth of knowledge on all progressive matters should be equal, and in this way greater historical epochs may be consummated, than ³⁴ where only men do the planning and thinking and active work.

To the writers of the Exponent the land represented important ideals. In the virgin lands of the West they saw the chance to recreate society into one of equality. The West offered women the opportunity to participate on a level they had long deserved. In fact, they claimed that without the equal participation of women, civilization would not be able to progress much further and "great historical epochs" would not be achieved. Equal female

³³Ibid., November 15, 1895.

³⁴Ibid., December 1, 1895.

participation was an absolute necessity to properly take advantage of the advancement of civilization offered by the barren lands of the West.

Absent from the pages of the Exponent is the perception of a practical association between the land and humanity. The idealistic view of the relationship between land and humanity, as expressed in the Exponent, might suggest that women were not as conscious as men were of the practical realities of settling the land. However, a brief gleaning of writings by individual women shows this was not the case.

Clearly, women were also conscious of an everyday, practical relationship with the land as well as seeing themselves as participants in building the Kingdom of God. Mary Ann Weston Maughan recorded her thoughts twenty years before the Exponent began to write of a great destiny for the area. Foremost in her mind was the belief that she had joined with God's chosen people. As she traveled to the Great Basin she wrote: "Now I had left all and was traveling [sic] alone to a land unknown to me, but I had cast my lot with the people of God and in him I put my trust."³⁵ Implicit in Maughan's words is the belief that God would help her face a land unknown to her. The belief that she had joined with a chosen people is extended to the Salt Lake Valley as can be seen in her words:

³⁵Mary Ann Weston Maughan, "Journal," no date. Joel E. Ricks Collection of Transcriptions, Utah State University. Original spelling and punctuation in this and following quotations have been retained.

I think this is destined to be a great place there are stores and houses going up in all directions we staid in Salt Lake City one week and enjoyed the society of our friends. Then we were counceled to settle in Tooele 35 miles west of S.L. City. This valley was then being settled. Here I found 2 old friends from England Bro. and Sister Rowberry. and some of our friends from Navoo here we camped in a tent and wagon on our city lot untill we Built a nice large duble log house.³⁶

Maughan's mention of stores and houses being built and her statement that the area was destined to be a great place is perhaps a reflection of her belief that she was witnessing the building of the Kingdom of God. However, her words are free of much religious phraseology, and she seems more concerned with the practical aspects of settlement. This is seen in her reference to living in a tent and wagon until her house was built and finding friends from England already in Tooele. Association and friendship seem to have eased the hardships of settling in an unknown land.

Mary did not describe Tooele Valley, which contrasts with her reaction six years later when she first saw Cache Valley in northern Utah. Of her move to Cache Valley she wrote,

in Sep. haveing [sic] sold or given away our possessions in Tooele we again took up our line of march for some place in the North in wich to make a new home . . . when we got to the mouth of the Canyon we stoped to look at the Beautiful Valley before us my first words were O what a beautiful Valley.³⁷

Perhaps Mary's first view of Cache Valley reminded her of her homeland, England, but her words seem to be typical of other women who commonly wrote about the beauty they saw. Although Mary Dart Judd wrote of the beauty of the Salt Lake Valley, she

³⁶Maughan, "Journal," 1850.

³⁷Maughan, "Journal," September 15, 1856.

expressed the belief, similar to Mary Ann Weston Maughan's, that she had joined with God's chosen people. She wrote:

For three months we had been traveling away from a civilization which had cast out the Saints to build up a better one in Deseret. After our long desert travel to Salt Lake City was beautiful to us, with its streams of crystal water murmuring along the streets. There were not many houses but there were enough to give it an air of civilization and comfort. We left our home in Bridgport Conn. in April 1849 and arrived in Salt Lake City in September, 1850. We had traveled about 3000 miles and passed through many changes and vicisitudes, some of them a very trying nature. Three of our dear ones had passed through the gateway of death, we trust to a better life beyond. They accomplished their work we still live on to accomplish ours. The new arrivals in Salt Lake had the privalege [sic] of going north or south to settle.³⁸

Mary Judd seems to have received strength from the land that, to her, was to become the Kingdom of God. Ann Prior Jarvis reports a similar feeling, "When I saw the valley where God's people were, I felt I could endure a great deal more for the same privilege."³⁹

Not all women felt the same upon their arrival in the Salt Lake Valley. Mary Jane Mount Tanner describes the valley with different words. She says:

Our position commanded a fine view of the country; if rocks and hills, trees and bushes could be called country. . . . The valley presented a barren aspect. It was covered mostly with sage brush and sunflowers, with a few small streams of water running through it, and some squallid Indian wigwams scattered about. The timber was all on the mountains, none growing in the lowland. Not even a load of wood could be procured without climbing the hills.⁴⁰

³⁸W.P.A., "Sketch of Life of Mary Dart Judd," Federal Writer's Project. St. George Public Library, St. George, Utah.

³⁹W.P.A., "Ann Prior Jarvis: Autobiography," Federal Writer's Project, St. George Public Library, St. George, Utah.

⁴⁰Mary Jane Mount Tanner, A Fragment: The Autobiography of Mary Jane Mount Tanner (S.L.C.: Tanner Trust Fund, 1980), pp. 47-48.

It was probably harder for Mary Jane to see the land, without houses and other signs of civilization, as the Kingdom of God. She arrived in the Salt Lake Valley in September of 1849, before there were as many of the signs of civilization that seem to have encouraged the other writers.

Most times the initial view of the Great Basin was uplifting for women, but when they were called to settle outlying areas their views of land took on new perspectives. Their acquaintance with the harsh reality of the land often changed their view of it. One of the first changes was in their view of the land as a source of strength and as a place to build the Kingdom of God. Ann Jarvis, who said she felt she could endure much more after seeing the home of the Saints in Salt Lake Valley, changed the tone of her words after she arrived in southern Utah. Her enthusiasm as a builder of the Kingdom seems to have waned as she became acquainted with the St. George area. She wrote:

When we arrived on the 5th of December, 1861, on the adobe yard, it was not a Promised Land unto us. Christmas Day we had bran for dinner. I did not have a stove to cook with and it rained forty days and nights. The first meal I had on my city lot was some flax seed, and I was always dainty. By all working, we never had a hundred dollars surplus, and I have seen my children cry. I have seen the silent tears roll down their cheeks. I was about thirty-one years old and had eight children. One was in East Boston,⁴¹ but the other seven were alive and hearty, hungry children.

Like Jarvis, other women called to outlying areas of the expanding Great Basin Kingdom gained intimate knowledge of the realities of the land. The image of a land of struggle and

⁴¹Jarvis, "Autobiography."

hardship is seen in their written words. For example, Violet Lunt Urie wrote:

The women too, sacrificed and worked to build our community [Cedar City]. They sewed, and cooked, and worked in the corrals and went to the mountains to do dairy work. They took care of the men, and made life a little easier for everyone but themselves in this land of struggle and hard work.

Despite hardship and struggle, life is very bounteous and full of joy. My life has been a dream, a skip, a hop, and a song. Yet many sad things have⁴² happened. It makes me cry when I think of some of the things.

Hannah A. Crosby's words portray a similar view:

Panguitch was a new country, the seasons were short, our crops frosted year after year. The Indians had once broken the town up but gave us very little trouble. It was a good sheep and cattle country and through experience we learned better how to handle the climate and we with others succeeded very well financially. Then we went to Bunkerville where we had some more hard pioneering life. We settled on the treacherous Virgin River that gave us no end of trouble washing out⁴³ our dams, filling up our ditches and washing away the land.

To Mary Dart Judd, life on the Kingdom's frontier lands meant centering her life in her immediate surroundings. In her words, "Being on the extreme frontier, and much absorbed in helping my husband produce the necessities of life, I could not pay much attention to what was going on outside of my immediate surroundings."⁴⁴

⁴²Violet Lunt Urie, "Autobiography," Typescript, Church Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. Spelling and punctuation have been retained in this and subsequent quotations from this source.

⁴³"Sketch of the Life of Hannah A. Crosby, Daughter of Edward and Emily Bunker Abbot," compiled by Lois E. Jones, William R. Palmer Collection, Southern Utah State College, Cedar City, Utah.

⁴⁴"Sketch of Life of Mary Dart Judd."

From these accounts it is evident that women also had a practical relationship with the land. They saw the land idealistically in the sense that it would become the Kingdom of God, but they were also aware that the Kingdom would come only by hard work and struggle. As they gained a more intimate knowledge of the land, women's views of land changed and developed. Over the years, as women participated in reaping the fruits of civilization, they were able to view the land more favorably. At times they viewed the land with more than a religious eye and endowed it with special significance for women. This is seen in the Exponent's discussions of the West as a place to rebuild society into one that gave women equal status and the credit they deserved.

The change and development in Mormon views of land is only one of the elements that created an atmosphere that led women in Utah to participate in the homestead movement. Changes in Mormon settlement practices and legal rights pertaining to land ownership also occurred and facilitated the filing of land claims by Utah women.

CHAPTER TWO
MORMON SETTLEMENT PATTERNS AND CHANGE IN
WOMEN'S LEGAL RIGHTS IN UTAH

Utah's agricultural landscapes--the Mormon village, homestead, and dry-farm--represent social, political, and economic developments in Utah's history.¹ Some of these developments are of particular importance to the story of women homesteaders in Utah. For over twenty years Mormons held their lands by squatter's rights while Congress and others used land rights as one of their weapons in their fight against Mormonism. At first, the federal land system was withheld from Utah because it was feared that Mormon control would become even stronger if they were allowed to obtain legal title to their lands. When, in 1869, the federal land system was extended to Utah, the reasoning had changed and it was believed that Mormon influence could be broken by non-Mormons obtaining legal title to lands in the territory.

Extension of federal land laws was, of course, necessary before women in Utah could take advantage of them. Forces such as overpopulation, individualism, and changes in legal rights combined to provide motivation for women in Utah to participate in the homestead movement.

¹Peterson, "Imprint of Agricultural Systems," pp. 97-98.

The prelude to the extension of federal land laws to Utah was the period of Mormon domination of land affairs. Land in the Salt Lake Valley was distributed in September 1848. Seen as an inheritance, city lots were given out according to the requirements of the law of stewardship--"equal according to circumstances, wants and needs."² For the original group of pioneers in the valley "lots were selected and assigned, and not awarded by lottery as was subsequently practiced." Drawing for land became the custom, "to prevent any hardness that might occur by any other method of dividing land."³ This method of land distribution was commonly used in other settlements in the territory. In distributing land, rules of eligibility were used. Unmarried men were not allowed to participate; people in non-farming professions were either allowed less farming land or did not receive any. Polygamous men received an allotment for each family.⁴

Rules of eligibility did not exclude women. Martha Sonntag Bradley reports that in the first apportionment of land in Salt Lake City, forty-one women were given city lots for their own use as well as for use by their families. It is not certain whether women received property when land was distributed in other communities; however, the motivation in Salt Lake City seems to have been to promote self-sufficiency. Bradley claims that the

²Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, p. 51.

³Fox, "The Mormon Land System," pp. 150-51.

⁴Ibid., p. 152. See also, Joel E. Ricks, "David Jenkins," in Memories of Early Days in Cache County, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Salt Lake City apportionment of lots to women was a clear-sighted and pragmatic method of helping single parent families to become self-sufficient without labeling it welfare. As heads of households, these women were given city lots and encouraged to act as intelligently and industriously as men who headed families.⁵

Land surveys, distribution, and recording continued to be carried out by the Church until the provisional government of the State of Deseret was established in March 1849. At this time a surveyor-general was appointed to take on the responsibility of recording land transactions.⁶

The comingling of religious and temporal affairs continued to dominate events during Utah's territorial period. On September 9, 1850, Utah was established as a territory, rather than as a state as Utah's citizens had hoped. The legislature was elected--both men and women were able to vote--and these representatives usually carried out church policies in regard to temporal affairs. The integration of religious and temporal workings in Utah's land system is seen in the granting of a number of large tracts to individuals by the territorial legislature in 1855. These tracts were located in diverse areas of the State (i.e., Rush

⁵ Martha Sonntag Bradley, "Women and Land Ownership 1847," (unpublished paper, copy in possession of the author). City lots given to women through the Mormon Church deserve further study; however, the poor state of early Utah land records may make further study difficult.

⁶ For more specific treatments of the workings of the "unique" land system in Utah, see Lawrence L. Linford, "Establishing and Maintaining Land Ownership in Utah Prior to 1869," Utah Historical Quarterly 42 (Spring 1974):126-143; and George W. Rollins, "Land Policies of the United States as Applied to Utah to 1910," Utah Historical Quarterly 29 (July 1952): 239-251.

Valley, Cache Valley, Juab County) and appear to have been community herd grounds. The men to whom these lands were granted were religious leaders in their respective areas, and it was understood that the animals "of all the settlers might be fed on the individual herd grounds."⁷

Mormon Church President Brigham Young served as the governor of Utah from September 1850 until April 1858. Under his control the legislature continued the policy of granting large tracts of land and resources to individuals. Such policy was probably inspired by the threat of greedy outsiders and was a means of protecting the rights of individual members.⁸ This practice caused concern in the appointed governors that followed Brigham Young in office, especially Alfred Cumming. In December 1859 Cumming encouraged the legislature to adopt a policy of small land grants. He claimed:

Under existing circumstances, the grants of lands to be used for herding and other purposes are unreasonably large and their occupancy has become exceedingly oppressive to certain portions of the community, and I would recommend the adoption of measures for their eventual abolishment.

In the same message he went on to specify preferable size for land allotments:

When the lands are open to sale and pre-emption, the public interest, and more especially the interest of the poorer classes would be promoted by restricting claims by law to less than quarter sections, and I believe they⁹ should be restricted to lots, not exceeding twenty acres each.

⁷ Joel E. Ricks, "The Early Land System of Utah, 1847-1870," (M.A. thesis: University of Chicago, 1920), p. 17.

⁸ Ricks, "Early Land System," pp. 30-31.

⁹As cited in Ricks, "Early Land System," pp. 31-32.

Cumming's statements reflect a general concern held by Congress over Mormon influence in affairs in Utah. Hoping to break Mormon domination of affairs in the territory, Congress withheld federal land laws from Utah until 1869. Occupying the land with only squatter's status, in the eyes of the federal government, Utahns desired the extension of land laws to the territory. Beginning with Millard Fillmore in 1850, United States presidents, with the exceptions of Lincoln and Johnson, recommended that the federal system of land laws be extended to Utah. Congress, however, did not favor the recommendation. Refusal to extend land laws to Utah was used as a tool to battle polygamy and Mormon control of Utah's lands. U.S. representatives in 1854 felt that extension of federal land laws to Utah territory would mean public recognition and approval of the practice of polygamy, and the proposal was stopped in its tracks. Not until February 1867 did the question receive further serious consideration. This time it was argued that land laws should be extended to Utah as a means of breaking the Mormon monopoly that prevented others from settling there. This argument, the promise of a bill designed specifically to take care of the "Mormon question," and the need of the federal system to allot lands for the railroad, that was fast approaching the territory, led to congressional extension of land laws to the territory of Utah. A Federal Land Office was opened in Utah in March 1869.¹⁰

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 35-41. Also see Gustive O. Larson, "Land Contest in Early Utah," Utah Historical Quarterly 29 (October 1961):309-325; and Thomas G. Alexander, A Clash of Interests: Interior Department and Mountain West, 1863-96 (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1977), pp. 26-27.

Both Mormons and the national government had to make adjustments for the federal land system to work in Utah. Ultimately, the Mormons made the greatest adjustment because they were threatened with the loss of their lands if they did not obtain legal title from the national government. One example of adjustment made by both sides is seen when Mormons were allowed to claim the property they held within townsites under the terms of the Townsite Act of 1867. The Act was not easily applied to Utah because property ownership within towns had previously been determined by Mormon land surveys which did not match the federal government's system. To obtain property lying within the boundaries of a community, it became the practice for a local leader to make entry for several individuals in his name. When the patent was received, title was divided and given to individuals according to the boundaries already occupied. Likewise, the federal system was adapted to Utah by allowing the plat and block system for identifying property in towns while the usual Township and Range system was used to identify outlying areas.¹¹

Another case of necessary adjustment developed when the ideals of Mormon village settlement patterns conflicted with land acquisition procedures prescribed in the 1862 Homestead Act. The Act required five years of continuous residence on the claim as one condition to receive the patent. Apparently Mormons adapted the requirements to their usual practice of living in town and daily

¹¹ Linford, "Establishing and Maintaining Land Ownership," pp. 139-42.

traveling to farmlands by spending a few days in residence on their claim before professing to have met patent requirements.¹²

After the federal system of land laws was extended to Utah Mormon influence in land affairs was greatly diminished. Internal forces such as overpopulation, rise of new leaders, and a sense of individualism joined with the external force of federal land laws to bring about changes and an eventual breakdown in concerted and orchestrated Mormon settlement and land use patterns. Charles Hatch's study of communities in Cache Valley shows that by the second generation, lack of suitable land to provide for community expansion resulted in outmigration. Hatch states:

Having little property to lose by moving but none to gain by staying, mature unmarried older children began looking outside the village for opportunity denied them within. If possible they would select spouses also raised in the village. Because they wanted to be close to their family homes, Mormon youths of hourglass communities north of Salt Lake City moved to newly forming towns further north, only a handful settled in the south. Moving to the closest convenient frontier, those reaching maturity in the 1880s rebuilt their childhood villages. Those maturing later tended to settle on dry farms.¹³

Hatch assumes that the same pattern was followed in southern communities, but the environment was more hostile and played a more important role. This probably led "Church leaders to direct and

¹²Such practices occurred on other frontiers and were not exclusive to Mormons. Lawrence B. Lee has found that the intent of the Homestead Act was often achieved in Utah and that Mormon farmers did not speculate with the land they acquired under the law. Lee claims that homesteading in Utah was unique. See Lee, "Homesteading in Zion," pp. 29-38.

¹³Charles M. Hatch, "Land, Inheritance and Family Formation of Mormon Towns," a paper presented at the Twenty-Second Annual Conference of the Western History Association, Phoenix, Arizona, 1982, pp. 37-38. (Copy provided by Mr. Hatch.)

'call' settlers to places so desolate reasonable people would have ignored if left on their own."¹⁴

Richard Sherlock also recognizes an outmigration due to overpopulation from earlier phase Mormon empire settlements. He says that settlements from Cache Valley to Arizona were affected "by the flood of migrations" and suggests that overpopulation was "perhaps the most important long-term crisis of the period" because it resulted in the "breakdown of the tightly structured Mormon village system."¹⁵

Sherlock sees the problem of overpopulation and the resultant breakdown of Mormon settlement patterns as only part of a larger breakdown in Mormon social, political, and economic institutions. He says these forced migrations do not follow the pattern of the highly planned Mormon migrations of the earlier period. "Though it is possible to find carefully planned and carried out settlements such as settlements of Arizona and Bluewater, New Mexico, the bulk of the migrations were scattered and unplanned."¹⁶ Supervision provided by the Church was given after settlement had begun. Sherlock sees 1877, the year Brigham Young died, as a watershed year as far as Mormon experience on the frontier goes. Without Brigham Young's guiding spirit and with the subsequent rise to leadership of younger men less interested in maintaining

¹⁴Ibid., p. 38.

¹⁵Richard Sherlock, "Mormon Migration and Settlement After 1875," Journal of Mormon History 2 (1975):54.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 57.

traditional ways, "many of the distinctive features of the Mormon social system either disappeared or were changed."¹⁷

Wayne Wahlquist identifies other forces at work within Mormonism that contributed to the breakdown of Mormon social, political, and economic institutions. In his thorough study of "Settlement Processes in the Mormon Core Area, 1847-1890," he concludes that individualism played an important role in Mormon settlement processes. He says:

the Mormon Core was not a monolithic region of uniform culture where individual decisions awaited direction from and deferred to ecclesiastical authority. It was an area of significant¹⁸ diversity. Individualism was not submerged in communalism.

Among the findings that support Wahlquist's conclusion are: uniform distribution of villages which resulted from "aggregate choices of many individuals acting on their own initiative," not according to a settlement plan set out by Church authorities; a survey of Mormon journals that shows a great deal of social mobility which resulted from personal choice rather than direction from Church authorities; and a very high rate of turnover in Mormon Core communities during the entire colonization period that resulted in "a great deal of diversity within the community and from community to community."¹⁹

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 66.

¹⁸ Wayne Wahlquist, "A Review of Mormon Settlement Literature, Utah Historical Quarterly 45 (Winter 1977):20; and Wayne Wahlquist, "Settlement Processes in the Mormon Core Area, 1847-1890" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Nebraska, 1974).

¹⁹ Wahlquist, "Settlement Processes," pp. 293, 310-311.

Wahlquist, Sherlock, and Hatch show that forces such as individualism, overpopulation, and social mobility had a great impact on the changes in Mormon settlement and land use patterns. Extension of federal land laws to the territory facilitated the change. Mormons were quick to take advantage of the opportunity to gain title to their lands. Wahlquist explains that Mormon willingness to cooperate with the federal government on land issues was due to the fear that they would again lose their lands as they did in persecutions experienced in Missouri and Illinois. Utah's settlers were aware of the tenuous nature of their land titles and were afraid that land jumpers might manipulate land titles and again dispossess them of their property. As a result, Mormons were anxious to gain legal title to their land as quickly as possible. Thus, when the Government Land Office opened in Salt Lake City in 1869, there was a virtual rush to apply for title.²⁰

Originally, government granting of title to lands that Mormons had held essentially as squatters reinforced the Mormon land system. However, internal pressures such as overpopulation and overused lands soon forced settlers into areas that had been seen as less desirable due to poorer environment or the threat of Indians. When internal forces were combined with the external force of federal land laws, changes resulted in the way Mormons settled and used the land. At this point the Mormon landscape began to be altered and individual homesteads outside Mormon villages gradually appeared.

²⁰Ibid., p. 306.

Change in the legal atmosphere during the territorial period was particularly relevant to land ownership and the legal rights of women in Utah. Three years after federal land laws became applicable in Utah and enabled Mormons to obtain legal title to their lands, the Territorial legislature passed a law that granted women legal rights that they had not previously enjoyed. Though initially the act appears to have been an effort to expand women's rights, a closer look indicates that the primary reason for passing the act was to facilitate land transfers in the territory. On February 12, 1872, a bill, commonly referred to as the "Married Person's Property Act," was passed by the Utah Territorial Legislature.²¹ The Act abolished the dower system, gave each spouse the legal rights to "sue or be sued, plead and be impleaded, or defend and be defended at law," and assured each spouse full rights and benefits from the property they brought into the marriage.

The Married Person's Property Act was a departure from the common law system that was the basis of Utah's legal system; but viewed from a national standpoint, the passage of this bill was not unusual. Beginning in 1839, with Mississippi, many states had adopted Married Women's Property Acts by the time Utah's act was passed. Seemingly, such acts reflect social reform and concern for equality that marked mid-nineteenth century America. However, granting of property rights to women was not due so much to agitation for women's rights as it was to the need to rectify the

²¹ Compiled Laws of Utah 1876 (Salt Lake: Deseret News Printing Establishment, 1876), p. 342.

problems that the common law system caused in the legal system and in speculation. Also, in some western states women's suffrage and other women's rights were offered to attract families and women to the area.²² The common law legal system was formally instituted in Utah by the Organic Act that made Utah a territory on September 9, 1850.²³

²²Norma Basch, In the Eyes of the Law: Women, Marriage and Property in Nineteenth-Century New York, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), p. 9; Lawrence M. Friedman, A History of American Law (Simon & Schuster: New York, 1973), pp. 185-86; Sandra L. Myres, Westering Women and the Frontier Experience 1800-1915, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), p. 216. Research that Carol Cornwall Madsen and Lisa Madsen Pearson have done in Utah's court records has led them to the same conclusion. Madsen and Pearson are currently preparing a full-length study of the legal rights of women in territorial Utah. Papers presented by them at the May 1984 Mormon History Association Conference, held at Provo, presented their initial findings. My work in this chapter is intended to provide an overview and will not give the depth, breadth, or specifics of their work.

²³Lisa Madsen Pearson in her paper "Innovation and Accommodation: Women and the Law in Territorial Utah," unpublished paper in the possession of the author, identifies conflict over federal enactment of the common law in Utah through the Organic Act of 1850. She says, "Generally only the legislature had the power to formally adopt or receive the common law as part of the state's or territory's law. The first Utah Territorial legislature passed no such law; in 1851 Brigham Young, in response to an inquiry, affirmed that Utah had not adopted the common law and in 1854 the legislature passed an act prohibiting reference to common law (cases from any court or laws from any source other than those passed by Congress or the Utah legislature) in any court proceeding. In 1892 an 'Act to Recognize the Common Law as the Rule of Decision' was killed in the legislature. The federal judiciary was outraged by this action and circumvented it, in one case ruling that the people of Utah had tacitly agreed to the opening of common law in the Territory and in other cases holding that the Organic Act passed by Congress creating the Territory of Utah had the effect of extending the common law to the Territory. Many of these judicial pronouncements were made late in the territorial period or after statehood and do not establish that common law rules and practices, including those imposing disabilities on married women, were followed in reality in the early territorial period." p. 13.

The common law system originated in Medieval England to protect the land-holding class against the king.²⁴ Under common law the married woman essentially ceased to exist legally. The basic concept behind the system was that,

By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law, that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband, under whose wing, protection and cover she performs everything . . . and her condition during marriage is called her coverture.²⁵

Theoretically coverture only applied to married women. Single women were free to own land, conduct business, sue; they were free to act as legal entities. However, this was not always the case because women were viewed and defined according to their "natural role"--procreation and sexual function. The idea that those women not married should be married prevailed.²⁶

Land ownership under the common law was rather intricate. When a woman entered marriage her husband took control of her real property because under coverture she had no legal identity. A lack of legal identity made it impossible to sue or be sued, make contracts, or convey property. At the time of marriage the husband

²⁴Lynne R. Hall, "Property Law and the Homemaker," Exponent II 8 (Spring 1982):6. Land laws apparently developed to prevent land reverting to the ownership of a higher lord or king.

²⁵Blackstone, Commentaries (1763) as cited in Lynne R. Hall, "Property Law and the Homemaker," Exponent II 8 (Winter 1982):2.

²⁶Susan Moller Okin, Women in Western Political Thought, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1979), p. 250; and Ruth A. Gallaher, Legal and Political Status of Women in Iowa, An Historical Account of the Rights of Women in Iowa from 1838 to 1918, (Iowa City, Iowa: The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1918), p. 4.

gained legal control over his wife's property. He could sell it or do what he liked with it. If a woman died before her husband, all of her property became her husband's through what was called "title by curtesy." On the other hand, if a woman survived her husband, she was entitled to a dower, or one-third of her husband's property. When a woman received dower property, she had no right to sell it during her lifetime. Upon her death it was to pass to her husband's oldest male heir; this kept the property in the family. Problems arose under this system because during his lifetime, a man could not sell the dower portion of his property, and a wife had no access to the dower until her husband died. Such aspects of the common law made land sales difficult and did not adequately protect a woman whose husband had left her with children to support.²⁷

An interesting comparison to the common law system is seen in the Community Property Law system that was adopted by eight states--California, Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico, Washington, Texas, Idaho, and Louisiana. The Community Property system is based on the civil law tradition of Spain and France. Under this system married women could own property, make contracts in their own name, exercise some control over their property, and, in some situations, exercise governmental authority.²⁸ The philosophy behind this system considers the wife to be a contributing partner rather than a ward of her husband because the joint efforts of the husband and

²⁷ Gallaher, Legal and Political Status, pp. 3-13; and Hall, "Property Law and the Homemaker," pp. 2 and 4. Each piece provides good summaries of women's position under the common law.

²⁸ Sandra L. Myres, Westering Women, p. 213.

wife enable them to acquire property. Whatever is acquired by their joint efforts is known as common property. The industry and contributions of each partner are valued equally. Thus, at the death of a spouse the remaining partner has an equal right to possessions acquired during the marriage.²⁹ Some of the differences between common law and community property systems are obvious, but there are differences that are more fundamental and far-reaching.

The law in the common law states fails to recognize the wife as a helpmate and partner engaged with the husband in the common enterprise of creating a family as well as a fortune, and refuses her the place of dignity to which she is entitled.³⁰

This system seems revolutionary in comparison to the common law system; and viewed within the framework of Turner's frontier thesis, it seems logical to claim that its adoption by seven states in the West is a prime example of the effect that the frontier had on Western legal systems. However, French rule in Louisiana and Spanish occupation in California, New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona, rather than the liberating influence of the frontier, is probably the best explanation of why these areas adopted the community property legal system.

Adoption of the Common Law System in Utah may seem natural when the New England heritage of many of the leaders and members of

²⁹ Richard Ballinger, A Treatise on the Property Rights of Husband and Wife, Under the Community or Ganancial System, Sec. 4 (1895), as cited in Hall, "Property Law and the Homemaker," 8 (Spring 1982):6.

³⁰ William Brockelbank, The Community Property Law of Idaho, Sec. 1.5 (1962), as cited in Hall, "Property Law and the Homemaker," 8 (Spring 1982):6.

the Mormon Church is taken into account. However, as Lisa Madsen Pearson reports, the common law was imposed by Congress when territorial status was given to Utah. Pearson's work shows there was conflict between federal officials and Utah territorial officials over the matter of whether the Common Law had been adopted in Utah--federal imposition of Common Law through the Organic Act of 1850 apparently was not accepted by Utah's territorial legislature or by Utah's leading civil and church authority, Brigham Young. Even though statements and legislation indicate that it may not have been formally accepted in the territory, it is not clear whether in reality Common Law rules and practices were followed in Utah's early territorial period.³¹

A brief survey of land abstract books located in San Juan, Cache, Rich, Utah, and Iron Counties shows that after original title was granted to a man, subsequent transactions often included his wife's name or the notation "ex. tux." Records on such transactions indicate this was due to the wife's dower interest. When the land was sold, the wife usually gave up her dower interest in the property for a nominal fee, usually \$1.00.³² This appears to be true for all of Utah's territorial period including the fifteen years the Married Person's Property Act was effective (1872-1887). Continuation of the practice after the Married

³¹Pearson, "Innovation and Accommodation," pp. 12-13. See footnote 26.

³²I did not find evidence of prenuptial agreements protecting women's property rights. However, further research may reveal evidence of this practice in Utah.

Person's Property Act was passed was most likely for precautionary reasons. This suggests that the threat of losing land caused Utahns to conduct land transactions according to the federally imposed Common Law system even though the Married Person's Property Act had abolished the dower.

The Married Person's Property Act of 1872 was meant to facilitate land transactions in the territory. The right of dower was abolished to avoid legal difficulties that would result from multiple dower claims made by plural wives.³³ The lack of attention given the passage of the bill suggests that it was intended to simplify land transactions rather than promote the rights of women. Other than reporting the activities of the territorial legislature, Salt Lake City's two main newspapers made no particular mention of the bill. The Salt Lake Tribune was concerned about plans for an illegal constitutional convention, women voting, and the authoritative, theocratic, hierarchical Mormon priesthood, while the Deseret News was discussing the arrest of Brigham Young, the Mormon trials, and the desire for Utah's statehood.³⁴ Though the bill received little attention at the time it was passed, it received attention several years later. In 1882 the Woman's Exponent reported,

³³Ibid., p. 43.

³⁴See the Salt Lake Tribune and the Deseret News from January 8, 1872 to February 18, 1872. The Tribune's concern over Utah women voting reflects a national view that women's suffrage was a radical reform. In fact, many feminists refused to support it because it was feared that advocacy would endanger other important reforms like education and employment legislation. The 1870 adoption of women's suffrage in Utah was seen by the nation as a measure that strengthened Mormon political control.

The right of dower in Utah has been the theme of much discussion in private and public, in the press of the country and among the officials of the Territory. They acknowledge they are sore on this subject, and think it an outrage to the people that the right of dower should have been abolished by the legislature of Utah.³⁵

Sponsored by George Q. Cannon, the bill abolished the dower system--"No right of dower shall exist or be allowed in this Territory," gave each spouse the right to "sue or be sued, plead or be impleaded, or defend and be defended at law," and gave each spouse full rights and benefits from the property they brought into marriage.³⁶ On February 14, 1872, Governor George L. Woods returned the bill to the legislative assembly and gave no explanation. He said, "I herewith return to the House, in which it was originated, an Act entitled an act concerning the property rights of married persons, without my approval."³⁷ Governor Woods' action did not kill the bill. On February 15 Councilor Cannon requested that the rules of the Council be suspended. His request was granted, and he again presented the bill which again passed both legislative bodies. Two days later in its summary of the activities of the legislature, the Salt Lake Tribune reported that "Communications from the Governor announced his approval of 'An Act concerning the property rights of married women,' . . ."³⁸

³⁵Woman's Exponent, December 1, 1882.

³⁶Compiled Laws of Utah 1876, p. 342.

³⁷Deseret News, February 15, 1872. Also found in the Utah Territorial Legislative Assembly Journal 1874, (Salt Lake: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1874), p. 32.

³⁸Salt Lake Tribune, February 17, 1872.

Governor Woods changed his mind after this second passage; but two years later when the legislature met, he requested that the dower system be restored. He said, "I approved that bill; but after due reflection, I am satisfied that in so doing I made a mistake. And I recommend that the portion of the act referred to be repealed at this session."³⁹ His request went unheeded. Similar requests continued to go unheeded, as did Governor E. H. Murray's strongly worded appeal:

Sheer justice demands the right of the dower for wifehood. Unjust discrimination, unrest and untold suffering follow its denial. Every enlightened argument favors it. To grant the elective franchise and deny the right of dower is entirely inconsistent. It is denied in no State or Territory except where something better is given. The passage of an act that restores the right of dower to the wives of Utah will receive my cordial approval.⁴⁰

The governors were federally appointed, and their influence was not strong enough to persuade the territorial legislature to repeal the bill. However, on March 3, 1887, federal action in the form of the Edmunds-Tucker Act restored the dower system in Utah.⁴¹ The dower remained in force for two years after Utah gained statehood (January 4, 1896). On January 1, 1898, the system was modified in wording that sounds very much like the dower system

³⁹"Governor's Message to the Legislative Assembly of Utah Territory," Legislative Assembly Journal 1874, (Salt Lake: Tribune Printing and Publishing Co., 1874), p. 32.

⁴⁰"Message of His Excellency E. H. Murray," House Journal 1882, (Salt Lake), p. 33.

⁴¹United States Statutes At Large 24 (December 1885 to March 1887):638.

but portrays the idea that one-third of her husband's estate was a woman's right rather than a gift.⁴²

Passage of the Married Person's Property Act seems not to have been inspired as a statement on women's position, but rather it facilitated the workings of Utah's legal system. Though the primary purpose of the Act was to make land transactions easier, it also enhanced the position of women in Utah by putting a law in the books that gave them legal identity and the right to own property. This change in the legal atmosphere combined with other forces, such as overpopulation and individualism. The result was an environment in which women in Utah could use the federally extended Homestead acts.

⁴²Revised Statutes 2826 and 2832, Compiled Laws of Utah 1907, (Salt Lake City: Skelton Publishing Co., 1908).

CHAPTER THREE

STATISTICAL PROFILE OF WOMEN HOMESTEADERS IN UTAH

Nearly 7 percent of Utah's land was patented by private citizens. This figure becomes significant when it is considered that about 80 percent of the land in Utah is government owned or administered.¹ Public land acts such as the Homestead Act of 1862, the Desert Entry Act of 1877, the Enlarged Homestead Act of 1909, and the Stock Raising Homestead Act of 1916 were an important path to land ownership for Utahns.

Aside from commission and legal fees, the Homestead Act offered 160 acres of free land to qualified entrants who fulfilled residence and improvement requirements. When filing a land claim, the entrant had to make an affidavit stating that he or she was over twenty-one years of age or the head of a family; that he or she was a United States citizen or had declared intention to become a United States citizen; and that the entry was made for his or her

¹Utah has 52,541,440 acres. Through public land acts, 3,607,683 acres were patented. As of 1984 the federal government owns 34,687,710 acres, or over 66 percent of Utah. Indian reservations make up 2,274,000 acres. The State of Utah owns approximately 3,719,359 acres. Acreage owned by county and local governments is unknown. Refer to Facts and Figures for Utah 1984 (Bureau of Land Management, 1984) for Utah's total and federal government acreage. State owned acreage was given over the telephone by the Utah State Lands Office on April 23, 1985. For acreage patented, see Paul W. Gates, History of Public Land Law Development (Washington, D.C.: Written for the Public Land Law Review Commission, 1968), p. 797.

exclusive use and benefit and intended only for settlement and cultivation. Entrants were required to begin five years of continuous residence within six months after application. The nature of improvements or cultivation was not specified by the act, but it was expected that improvements and cultivation would be continuous and show the good faith of the entry person. If the entry person chose, after several months of residence and cultivation, he or she could obtain, or commute, title to the tract by paying \$1.25 per acre for lands outside the limits of railroad grants, and \$2.50 per acre for lands within the limits of land granted to railroads. The residence requirement could be extended up to two years when droughts, grasshopper plagues, and other natural catastrophes interfered. Thus, seven years of residency was allowed before there was any danger of the entry being cancelled.²

In other settlement acts acreage, improvement, cultivation, and eligibility requirements differed from the Homestead Act. The Preemption Act of 1841 was important in giving original settlers the opportunity to obtain legal title. Under its terms settlers who had already inhabited and improved the land were given the right to claim up to 160 acres by paying \$1.25 per acre at the proper time, either when the land was offered at public sale or

²U.S. General Land Office, Suggestions to Homesteaders and Persons Desiring to Make Homestead Entries (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906); Paul W. Gates, History of Public Land Law Development (Washington, D.C.: Written for the Public Land Law Review Commission, 1968), pp. 394-95. In the original act, an entry person could commute title after six months. The requirement for commutation was increased to fourteen months in 1891 by the General Revision Act.

came up for entry. Those eligible for preemption were more limited than in the Homestead Act. Those allowed to preempt land were heads of families, widows, or single men over twenty-one who were United States citizens or declared intention to become a citizen.³

The Timber Culture Act of 1873 allowed 160 acres without timber to be claimed by a citizen who was the head of a family, or over twenty-one years old. The only requirement was cultivation of timber on ten acres of the claim. The claimant had to cultivate and care for the trees for a period of eight years before final proof could be made.⁴

The Desert Land Act of 1877 came about as an adaptation for homesteaders in the arid and semi-arid regions of the West. It was applied to the states and territories of California, Oregon, Nevada, Washington, Idaho, Montana, Utah, Wyoming, Arizona, New Mexico, and Dakota. Under the Desert Act a settler could purchase up to 640 acres of land if he or she irrigated it within three years. At the time of filing, the entrant paid 25 cents per acre. Upon offering proof of compliance with the law, the entrant took title to the land after paying an additional \$1.00 per acre.⁵

The Enlarged Homestead Act of 1909 was passed in response to those who advocated dry land farming. Allowed acreage was

³Gates, Public Land Law Development, pp. 238-39.

⁴Charles W. Stayner, Farmer's and Miner's Manual (Salt Lake City: Stayner and Simmons Land Agents & Attorneys, 1883), pp. 10-11.

⁵Roy M. Robbins, Our Landed Heritage (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1976), p. 219; and Gates, Public Land Law Development, p. 401.

increased to 320 acres on non-irrigable and non-mineral lands with no saleable timber. The act was made applicable in Oregon, Washington, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, Montana, Wyoming, and Nevada. Five years residence and continuous cultivation of something other than native grasses were required. Commutation was not allowed. On two million acres in Utah, the residence requirement was omitted because on many lands there was no known source of domestic water though the land was considered to be useful for dry farming. Lands open to entry under the Enlarged Homestead Act had to be classified as suitable by the Department of the Interior through the Geological Survey.⁶

The Stock Raising Act of 1916 was intended to meet the needs of settlers on lands not suitable for cultivation. Land filed for under this act had to be designated by the Secretary of the Interior as stock raising land and had to be classified as good only for forage and grazing. The maximum entry size was 640 acres, and specific improvements instead of cultivation were required. In addition, water holes were reserved for public use, no commutations were allowed, and coal and mineral rights were reserved.⁷

While land acts such as the Stock Raising Homestead Act and the Enlarged Homestead Act made it feasible to homestead a greater variety of lands, other land laws made it more difficult to acquire public lands. The General Revision Act of 1891 stiffened

⁶Gates, Public Land Law Development, p. 503.

⁷Benjamin H. Hibbard, Public Land Policies (University of Wisconsin Press, 1965), pp. 398-99.

the terms for acquiring federal land by lengthening commutation time from six to fourteen months and by repealing the Preemption and Timber Culture Acts. In 1934 the Taylor Grazing Act withdrew all public lands from settlement, location, sale, or entry to create grazing allotments to be leased from the government for private use. The Act also provided for a system of classifying remaining public lands. The Act permitted further disposal of federal land under homestead laws if the land and climate had been determined as suitable for agricultural purposes. The federal supervision, reservation, and classification of public lands provided for by the Taylor Grazing Act changed the nature of the federal land system. Essentially, federal settlement laws were important in Utah for a period of about sixty-five years. During this period Utah's landscape was altered from one reflecting Mormon influence to one which included national settlement patterns of scattered homesteads and dry land farms.⁸

Land records show that a significant number of land entries in Utah were made by women. A survey of the Land Claims File located at the Bureau of Land Management in Salt Lake City shows that 13.5 percent of Utah's land claimants were women.⁹ A

⁸ See Gates, Public Land Law Development, pp. 400, 484-85, for discussion of the General Revision Act of 1891 and the Taylor Grazing Act. Marion Clawson and Burnell Held in The Federal Lands: Their Use and Management (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1957), pp. 32-34, also provide information on the Taylor Grazing Act.

⁹ The Land Claims File is located at the Bureau of Land Management, Salt Lake City, Utah. The file is an alphabetical listing of all types of land claims made in Utah. The file is not

more specific search of tract entry books for townships in three areas of the state--Cedar City, Logan, and Monticello--reveals similar numbers. In eight townships surveyed in the Cedar City area, 12.9 percent of the total entries made were made by women. Ten townships in the Logan area show 12.5 percent; and the five townships around Monticello reveal 9.9 percent were female entrants.¹⁰

Because the federal land system had to be superimposed on the Mormon land system, it has been claimed that "homesteading in Zion" formed a distinctive chapter in America's homestead movement.¹¹ If this is true, it might be assumed that the story of women homesteaders in Utah is also distinctive. This is true in terms of some motives indicated by the statistics; but in most cases, numbers obtained from land records indicate that the statistical record of Utah's women homesteaders does not vary greatly from that of women on other frontiers. A closer look at the statistics obtained from land entry books provides a profile of

complete because its use was discontinued sometime in the early 1950s. Also, a search for names listed in the tract entry books showed that not all of those names could be found in the file.

¹⁰These areas were chosen because they are located in diverse areas of the state--Cedar City in southwestern Utah, Logan in northern Utah, and Monticello in southeastern Utah--and because they each are made up of similar land types.

Utah Tract Entry Books. Townships surveyed for the Cedar City area are: T38S, R9W; T38S, R10W; T37S, R10W; T37S, R9W; T35S, R12W; T35S, R11W; T34S, R5W; and T33S, R9W.

Logan area townships are: T14N, R2E; T14N, R5E; T13N, R5E; T13N, R2E; T13N, R1W; T12N, R7E; T12N, R5E; T12N, R6W; T11N, R7W; and T11N, R2E.

Monticello area townships are: T35S, R25E; T34S, R25E; T34S, R23E; T33S, R26E; and T33S, R24E.

¹¹Lee, "Homesteading in Zion," p. 30.

women who homesteaded in Utah and reveals possible reasons for why these women did so.

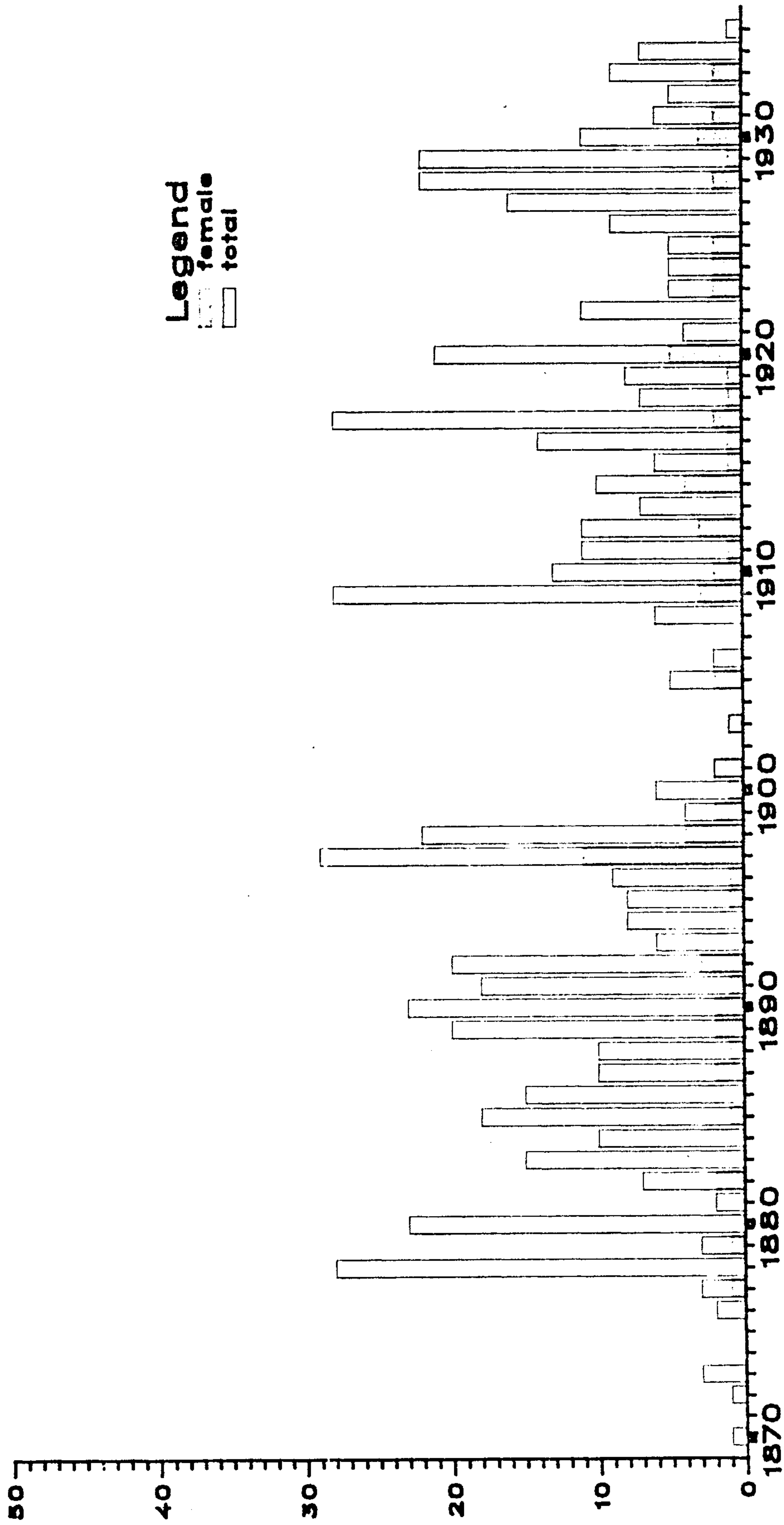
Of the townships surveyed for the Cedar City, Logan, and Monticello areas, women in the Logan area were first to file. The first female entry in the Logan area townships was made in 1877, eight years after the 1869 opening of the Land Office in Utah. Women in the Logan area continued to file land entries into the early 1930s, a period of just over five and a half decades. The years of 1897 and 1898 show a heavy concentration of filing by women in the surveyed townships (see Figure 1).

The distribution of female land entries in the Logan area show that 38 entries were made before 1900 and 42 were made after 1900. As can be seen in Table 1, the percentage of female entries in the Logan area declined only slightly after 1900.¹²

Fifty-nine entries filed by women in the Logan area were homestead entries; ten were desert entries, ten were stock-raising homestead entries, one was a preemption, and on eleven entries the type of entry was not written or the microfilm was too unclear to determine the type of entry.

¹²I am indebted to Katherine Llewellyn Hill Harris for this point of analysis. See "Women and Families on Northeastern Colorado Homesteads, 1873-1920" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Colorado, 1983), pp. 127-28. On eleven entries the date was either too unclear to read or not written. In all three areas notations in the tract books were not always complete. At times the microfilm or penmanship was unclear and occasionally was too unclear to read. Some entries were not identified as a specific type. These were not included in the counting of entry types used in each area. This accounts for the difference in numbers in Table 1 and the specific entry types. Slight differences in the total male entries found between Tables 1 and 2 and Figures 1, 2, and 3 are due to errors that resulted in counting and recording the large number of entries.

Logan Land Entries From 1870-1935



Legend
female
total

FIGURE 1

TABLE 1

MALE AND FEMALE ENTRIES BEFORE AND AFTER 1900

	<u>Cedar City</u>	
	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>
Before 1900	47 = 12.8%	321 = 87.2%
After 1900	30 = 12.3%	214 = 87.7%

	<u>Logan</u>	
	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>
Before 1900	38 = 11.9%	280 = 88.1%
After 1900	42 = 11.6%	320 = 88.4%

At various times after filing a land claim, thirty-three or 36.3 percent of the women in the Logan area relinquished their claims. Relinquishment meant that the person who had filed a claim and had not yet made final proof on it could sell his or her claim to another individual after properly notifying the land office.¹³ Twenty-nine, or 31.9 percent, of the women who filed land claims in the area eventually received the patent to their claims. This means that approximately one-third of the Logan area's female land claimants obtained legal title to their claims, one-third sold or relinquished their right to their claims, and one-third failed to obtain title by homesteading.

The townships surveyed in the Cedar City area show that women did not begin filing for land until the 1880s and had ceased

¹³Charles W. Stayner, Farmer's and Miner's Manual, pp. 6 and 9.

filing by the early 1920s, a period of forty years. The records indicate two periods of heavier filing in this area, 1893-1898 and 1911-1913.¹⁴ Entries made by women in the tract books appear under the Desert entry and the Homestead entry. Thirty-one women used the Desert entry, forty-five used the Homestead entry, and in six cases the type of entry was unclear.

In the Cedar City area, forty-seven entries were made before 1900, and after 1900 thirty entries were filed. However, Table 1 shows that the percentage of female entries over time in the Cedar City area is comparable to the percentage in the Logan area. As in the Logan area, the percentage of female land entries declined only slightly after 1900.

The records surveyed in the Cedar City area indicate that 39 percent or thirty-two of the female entrants relinquished or sold the right to their claims, and nearly 43 percent or thirty-five of the female entrants obtained the patent to their claims. This indicates that less than one-fifth of the women who filed land claims in the Cedar City area failed to obtain title or money from selling a relinquishment.

Female homesteading in the townships surveyed in the Monticello area did not begin until after the turn of the century. The earliest female entry was made in 1909. Filing in the surveyed townships continued into the late 1920s, lasting around twenty years. This area also shows a period of concentrated filing by women which began in 1914 and lasted through 1922 (see Figure 3).

¹⁴See Figure 2. The dates of entry for five female entries in these townships were unrecorded.

Cedar City Land Entries From 1870-1935

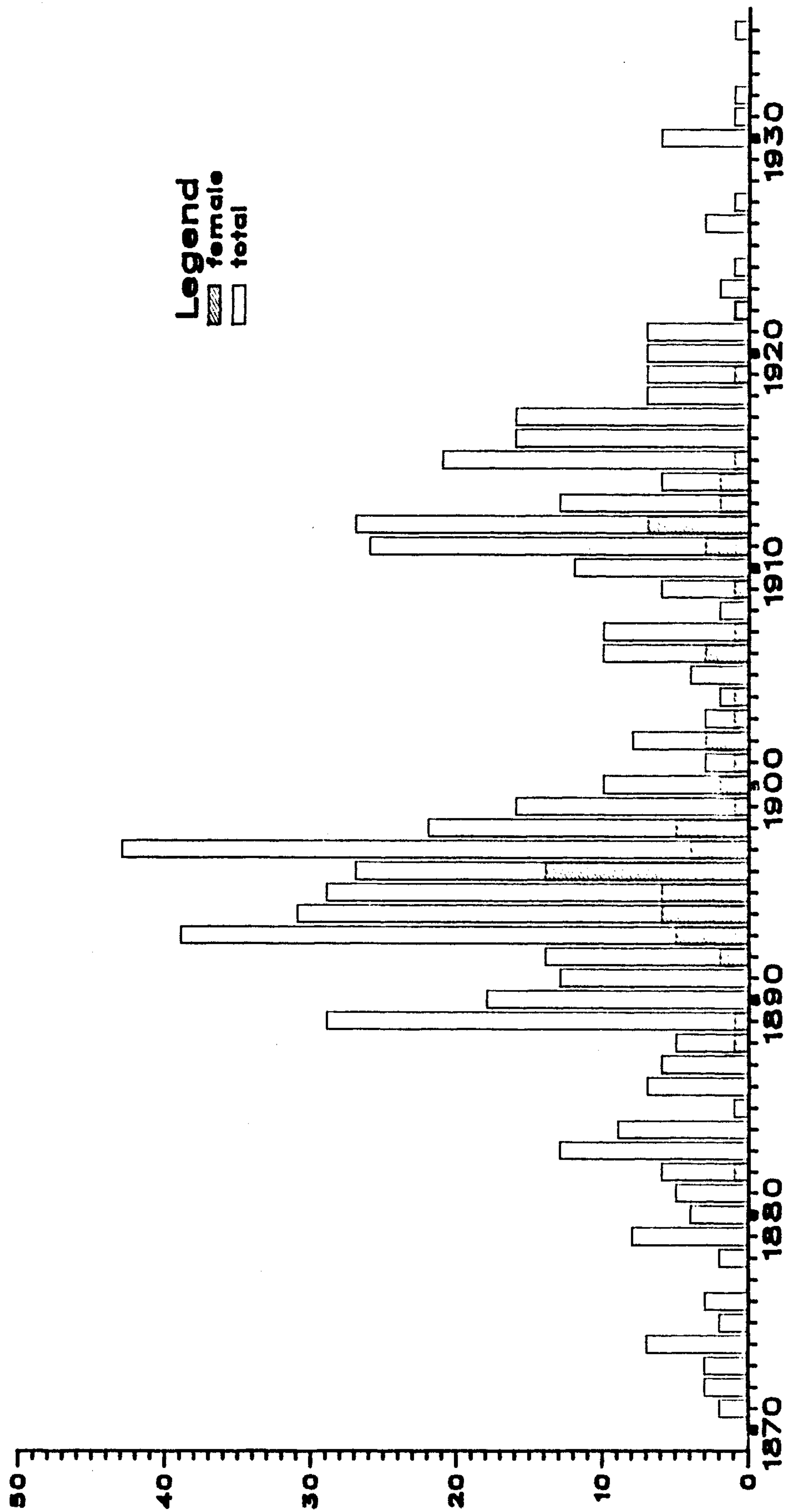


FIGURE 2

Monticello Land Entries From 1870-1935

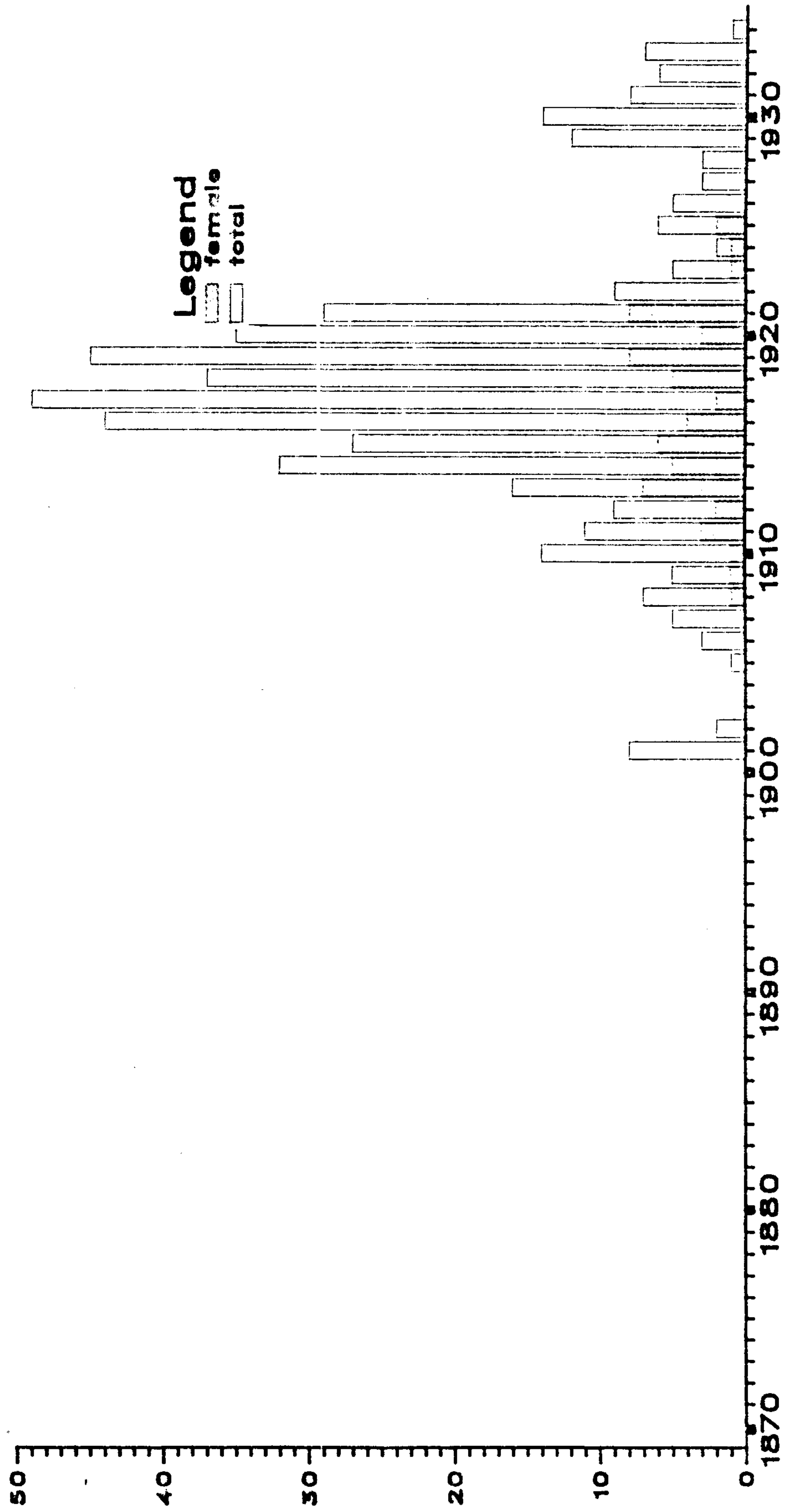


FIGURE 3

Notations in the tracts books show that forty-one women used the Homestead entry and six women used the Desert entry; the Enlarged Homestead entry, recorded as a Homestead entry, was often used.¹⁵

In the Monticello area eighteen female entries, or 36.5 percent, were relinquished. Patents were granted in twenty-three cases meaning that 39 percent of the women who filed for land in the Monticello area received legal title to their entries. These figures indicate that about one-fourth of the female land claimants in the area were unsuccessful.

The Monticello area exhibits an obvious difference from filings in the two other areas. Permanent settlers did not arrive in San Juan County until 1880, and Monticello was not settled until 1888. As was so in the Cedar City and Logan areas, full-fledged homesteading began after a stable settlement had been established. Homesteading in the area began after the turn of the century with encouragement lent by the Enlarged Homestead Act and the success of dry land farm experimentation in Utah. Geographical isolation of the Monticello area and the fact that most land suitable for homesteading had already been taken up in other areas of Utah also account for the latter development of homesteading seen in the area.¹⁶

¹⁵The Enlarged Homestead entry was identified by acreage exceeding the 160 acres allowed for a homestead; accordingly, 24 of the 41 Homestead entries can be identified as Enlarged Homestead entries.

¹⁶Melvin J. Frost, "Factors That Influenced Homesteading and Land Abandonment in San Juan County, Utah" (M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1960), pp. 54-65.

In the Monticello area the percentage of entries filed by women is nearly 3 percent lower than those in the Cedar City and Logan areas. The difference is most likely due to the land boom that developed in southeastern Utah during the second decade of the twentieth century. Beginning in 1909 San Juan County sent delegates to meetings of the National Dry Farm Congress for several years. The advertising of delegates and others soon attracted people from many parts of the country who hoped to cultivate, build homes on, or secure title to and sell the land.¹⁷ A higher percentage of the participants in southeastern Utah's land rush were probably single men or men who came to make a home before they brought their families to live there. The higher percentage of males in the Monticello area would distinguish it from the Cedar City and Logan areas where the population of males and females in the mid-nineteenth century was about equal.¹⁸ The consistently equal population of men and women in the Cedar City and Logan areas and the influx of a higher percentage of men into southeastern Utah after the turn of the century probably best explain the lower percentage of female entries in the Monticello area.

In the three surveyed areas women were as successful, or nearly as successful, as men in patenting the land they had filed for. The tract books indicate that 42.7 percent of the women in

¹⁷Cornelia Adams Perkins, Marian Gardner Nielson, and Lenora Butt Jones, Saga of San Juan (San Juan County Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1968), pp. 194-95.

¹⁸Richard D. Poll, gen. ed., Utah's History (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), "Women in Early Utah," by Ann Vest Lobb and Jill Mulvay Derr, p. 337; Wahlquist, "Settlement Processes," pp. 119-24.

the Cedar City area, 31.9 percent of the women in the Logan area, and 39.0 percent of the women in the Monticello area received patents for the tracts on which they filed. These percentages are impressive, especially when compared with the success rate of men applicants in the same areas, as shown in Table 2. In the Cedar City area townships, an average of 43.8 percent of the male applicants received patents, while 34.2 percent in the Logan area and 31.5 percent in the Monticello area received title to their lands. These figures reveal that women in the Monticello area were slightly more successful in patenting their land than the men, though in all three areas, the rate of obtaining land patents for men and women is nearly equal.

It appears that there were family ties among homesteaders and that family members helped one another to successfully patent their claims. The repeated occurrence of surnames entered in the tract books for the same townships and sections indicates that family members homesteaded on nearby tracts and helped one another to prove up on their claims.¹⁹ Additional evidence of family networks between homesteads is the Sherratt family in the Cedar City area. Homestead entrants Roselia May Rosenberg and Alice M. Sherratt were sisters and daughters of John and Christine Sherratt. Alice B. Bullock, another entrant, was a sister-in-law to Roselia's

¹⁹ Refer to the Utah Tract Entry Books for evidence of this. This cannot be determined to definitely be the case until family reconstruction is done. Also, dissimilar last names might also prove to be relatives through marriage. I am indebted to Katherine Llewellyn Hill Harris for this point. See "Women and Families on Northeastern Colorado Homesteads," pp. 154-55.

TABLE 2
 SUCCESS RATES OF WOMEN WITH A COMPARISON
 TO MALE SUCCESS RATES

Cedar City Area			
	Entries	Patents	Success
Females:	82 = 12.9%	35	42.7%
Males:	553 = 87.1%	242	43.8%
TOTAL:	635	277	
Logan Area			
Females:	91 = 12.5%	29	31.9%
Males:	638 = 87.5%	218	34.2%
TOTAL:	729	247	
Monticello Area			
Females:	59 = 9.9%	23	39.0%
Males:	534 = 90.1%	168	31.5%
TOTAL:	593	191	

and Alice M.'s mother, Christine Sherratt. Alice B. Bullock's niece, Mary Ann L. Heyborne, also filed a homestead entry. The Sherratt, Bullock, and Heyborne dairy homesteads on Cedar Mountain were "within a stone's throw of each other," and the families enjoyed "a friendly social life milking cows, sewing, riding and dancing . . ."²⁰ Undoubtedly, the close association between families made the homesteading experience easier.

Besides the help of family members, women also appear to have supported one another in patenting their land claims. In several instances the tract books show that women with the same surname made entries in the same township. For instance, in the Logan area Catherine and Lydia Haws made entries in Township 13 North, Range 1 West, and both received patents to their claims. In the Cedar City area, the 1900 Census shows that Francelle Corry, Clara Perry, Naomi Perkins, and Louisa Perry all lived next to one another in four different households. Francelle Corry and Louisa Perry, both married women, made entries in Township 35 South, Range 11 West. Clara Perry, a single woman, made her entry in the adjoining township, Township 35 South, Range 12 West. Their filing on land close to one another appears to have been a cooperative venture. On the other hand, Naomi Perkins' entry in Township 38 South, Range 10 West, which was some distance from the other three entries, seems not to have had much to do with the other three entries.

²⁰See Kate B. Carter, comp., Our Pioneer Heritage, vol. 18 (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1975), pp. 202, 211-12, 245-46.

It appears that in most cases, women who patented land took five to seven years to do so; they took the full time required to prove up, rather than commuting the title, and also took advantage of time extensions allowed in cases such as drought and grasshopper plagues. Obtaining title was apparently delayed in order to put off payment of land taxes.²¹

Another cause of delay is seen in the number of valid entries. This especially seems to be the case in two of the Cedar City townships--Township 35 South, Range 12 West, and Township 35 South, Range 11 West--where thirteen different women all filed desert entries on March 24, 1896. All thirteen cancelled their entries by relinquishment one year and a half later.

for entry. It appears that the increase of female entries reflects other forces at work. Forces such as religious exhortation, population trends, and economic need are possible explanations for the increase of entries.

In both the Logan and Cedar City areas, women filed for land in greater numbers during the mid-1890s. Education and exhortation by the Mormon Church may have been the source of this pattern. When outsiders began to challenge Mormon squatters' rights, the Mormon Church initiated an official program for educating members on how to obtain legal title to their lands. In the mid-1860s the Salt Lake area experienced a rash of claim-jumping. The School of the Prophets in Salt Lake City and Parowan was used as a tool for countering this threat by educating members about federal land practices.²² Official notices from the land office were published in the Mormon Deseret News. Editorials urged Church members to quickly prove up on their claims and warned that the Saints were in danger of losing their improvements to outsiders if the Saints allowed the seven-year statutory period to lapse.²³ The Church also had land attorneys who handled homesteading paperwork. They filled out entry papers, handled relinquishment and final proof affidavits, and disseminated interpretations of General Land

²²"Minutes of the School of the Prophets," Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, March 20, 1869; April 24, 1869; May 8, 1869; "Minutes of the School of the Prophets Held in Parowan 1868-1872," August 21, 1864; September 17, 1870; February 11, 1871; April 8, 1871; April 15, 1871; June 3, 1871; August 18, 1871; August 26, 1871; September 2, 1871; January 6, 1872; March 9, 1872; March 30, 1871; April 20, 1872; May 4, 1872.

²³Lee, "Homesteading in Zion," p. 31.

Office regulations. William Clayton handled the work during the 1870s, and Charles W. Stayner took it over in 1878.²⁴ The official program seems to have reached all members of the Church. On January 1, 1880, the Relief Society Minutes for the Cedar City Ward record that "Mary A. Lunt spaek about the Consle Brother Snow had given about . . . our Land their was stele with out a fence she thought it would have to be ten det to as soon as we could."²⁵ Though the women seem to have been reached by the Church's push to get members to file for land, the time lapse between the official push and concentrated periods of filing is too great to account for the mid-1890s increase in land claims filed by women in the Logan and Cedar City areas.²⁶

The greater number of entries filed during the mid-1890s by women in the Cedar City and Logan areas may have been due to an influx of outsiders similar to what the Salt Lake area experienced in the 1860s. The presence of Gentiles among the Mormon population most likely would have caused a fear of claim jumpers that would have prompted greater numbers of people to seek legal title to

²⁴ Ibid. Also see Stayner, Farmer's and Miner's Manual.

²⁵ Cedar Ward, Parowan Stake, "Relief Society Minutes, 1877-1903," Church Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. Spelling and punctuation have been retained.

²⁶ Services provided by people such as Charles W. Stayner were apparently used by many people in outlying areas, women not excluded. Karl T. Cox stated that his mother and grandfather filed their claims at the County Courthouse. The pamphlet put out by Charles W. Stayner's office, Farmer's and Miner's Manual, says, "The party need not come to town, but on due notification we prepare the proofs, and they can be sworn to before the District or Probate Judge, or in the presence of their respective clerks." p. 8.

lands that had been held by squatter's rights. Population growth in the Logan and Cedar City areas indicates a possible influx of outsiders, especially in the Logan area.²⁷ However, the development of mines, which would have brought non-Mormons into the Cedar City and Logan areas, does not correlate with the concentration of land entries filed in the 1890s.²⁸ It appears that much of the population increase was due to Mormon immigrants settling in these areas.

Church influence and fear of claim jumpers are possible explanations of the increase in filing by women in the Cedar City and Logan areas in the mid-1890s. However, the best explanation for this occurrence is the depression of the 1890s. The depression affected the entire nation, and agricultural areas especially felt

²⁷In Cache, population increased from 8,229 in 1870 to 12,562. Between 1880 and 1890 the increase was nearly 3,000--from 12,562 to 15,509. From 1890 to 1900 the population went from 15,509 to 18,139. Iron County population growth in 1870 was 2,277; increased to 4,013 in 1880; decreased to 2,683 in 1890; increased to 3,546 in 1900. Population growth in Washington County which adjoins Iron County followed a similar pattern: 1870, 3,064; 1880, 4,235; 1890, 4,009; and 1900, 4,612. The decrease in Iron County population between 1880 and 1890 may have been due to outmigration to areas such as San Juan County and the San Louie Valley in Colorado. See Luella Adams Dalton, comp., History of the Iron County Mission and Parowan the Mother Town (no place, publisher, or date given), pp. 209-38. Klaus D. Gurgel, "Historic Population Growth," Atlas of Utah, Wayne Wahlquist, ed. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1981), p. 110, provides figures for counties in Utah.

²⁸With the exception of the La Plata lead and silver mine begun in 1891 in Cache County, the development of mines was either before or after the decade of the 1890s and does not account for an influx of outsiders. The La Plata mine was the only mine in northern Utah. See Klaus Gurgel, Richard H. Jackson, and Robert Jones, "Historic Mining Communities," Atlas of Utah, Wayne Wahlquist, ed. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1981), pp. 98-99.

its impact. The fact that females in the Cedar City and Logan areas filed more entries during this period can be interpreted as an attempt to gain more land to bolster the low incomes of families in these agricultural communities. More land, especially free land gained through public land acts, was probably seen as an opportunity to expand family resources. Support for this theory is that by 1880 small farms in Utah had proved to be uneconomical, and farmers began to acquire larger tracts of land. By 1900 the average farm size had increased three times.²⁹ In addition to increased farm sizes, the number of relinquishments in the Cedar City and Logan areas indicate that the business of selling relinquishments, and the subsequent return of money, may have also been an incentive that led women to enter land claims during this period.

The increase in homestead entries in the mid-1890s does not correspond with Paul W. Gates' findings that the number of homestead entries filed fluctuated according to business and immigration cycles. Gates has found that when business was depressed and immigration declined, the number of homestead entries decreased; but when business improved and immigration was high, homestead entries increased.³⁰ This was not the case in the Cedar City and Logan areas. Though immigration to Utah during this period apparently decreased, it appears that hard economic times

²⁹ Dale R. Broadbent and Klaus D. Gurgel, "Number of Farms: Acreage and Size of Farms 1850-1980," Atlas of Utah, Wayne Wahlquist, ed. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1981), p. 184.

³⁰ Paul W. Gates, Public Land Law Development, p. 402.

prompted an increase in the number of homestead entries rather than a decrease.³¹ The difference may be due to the Mormon Village settlement pattern. In these areas, entrants often did not have to give up their homes and begin anew to homestead outlying areas. By keeping residence in town and traveling occasionally to a new land claim, it was possible to homestead without having to forfeit the security and support of an established family and community.

In all three of the surveyed areas there is an increase in the number of land claims filed by women during the second decade of the 1900s. (See Figures 1, 2, and 3.) The increase continued into the early 1920s in the Logan and Monticello areas. This trend corresponds with the increase in prices for farm commodities during the decade. Higher prices were brought about by growth of industrial and urban centers in the state and by the market for farm goods opened by World War I.³²

Statistics obtained from Tract Entry Books reveal other trends. In both the Cedar City and Logan areas the percentage of female entries filed before 1900 and the percentage of female entries made after 1900 are essentially the same (see Table 1).

³¹Wayne L. Wahlquist, "Settlement Processes," p. 114. After railroad transportation became available to Utah in 1869, the Mormon Church ceased organized migration. "Utah immigrants secured their own transportation and arrived individually by rail; consequently, there is no record of the number arriving after the completion of the railroad. Subsequent decline in the total population growth rate indicates that the rate of migration to Utah also declined."

³²Richard D. Poll, gen. ed., Utah's History (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), "Integration into the National Economy, 1896-1920," by Thomas G. Alexander, pp. 429-33.

This suggests that attitudes in Utah toward the role of women were consistent before and after 1900.³³

Factors which affected the experience of women homesteaders in Utah are better understood by taking a closer look at the seventy-eight names of female land entrants which appear in the seven townships surveyed in the Cedar City area. (See Appendix A for these names.) Additional information on these women was obtained from a search of census records, family group sheets, and land records. Fifty-nine of the names were found either in the 1880 and 1900 census records, family group sheets, or both. Some names not found in either of these records were found in the Land Claims File at the Bureau of Land Management.³⁴ From these records marital status was determined and the women were divided into four groups: Monogamous Married, Polygamous Married, Female Head of Household, and Single.

³³See Table 1. Several studies on women in Utah before the turn of the century make the case that some attitudes toward the role of women were more liberal than on other frontiers. See Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, Carol Cornwall Madsen, and Jill Mulvay Derr, "The Latter-day Saints and Women's Rights, 1870-1920: A Brief Survey," Task Papers in LDS History, No. 29 (Salt Lake City: Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1979); Thomas G. Alexander, "An Experiment in Progressive Legislation: The Granting of Woman Suffrage in Utah in 1870" Utah Historical Quarterly 38 (Winter 1970):20-30; Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "Under the Sunbonnets: Mormon Women with Faces," Brigham Young University Studies 16 (Summer 1976):471-84; and Mormon Sisters, Claudia L. Bushman, ed. (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Co., 1976).

³⁴Family Group Sheets, Patron's Section, Genealogical Society, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. United States Federal Census 1880, Genealogical Society, Film Number 1255336, Iron County. United States Federal Census 1900, Genealogical Society, Film Number 1241683, Iron County.

Twenty-one women entrants were identified as married women according to the name they used at the time they filed. This is surprising in light of the wording of the Homestead Act which allowed only persons who were the head of a family or 21 years of age the privilege to file for public land.³⁵ However, as the Act was interpreted, there were occasions when a married woman was eligible to file a homestead entry. If she met the other qualifications of a homesteader, a married woman was allowed to make a homestead entry if she was divorced, separated from, or had been deserted by her husband. Another case where a married woman was allowed to file was when she was actually the main support of the family because her husband had been incapacitated by disease, confined in prison, or for some other reason could not support the family. Also, a married woman who had resided on and made improvements on her claim before her marriage could enter the claim after her marriage if her husband did not hold land under an unperfected homestead entry at the time she entered her claim.³⁶ In addition to provisions of the Homestead Act which permitted married women to file claims, the Desert Entry Act of 1877 was interpreted to allow any female citizen, married or single, the right to file a desert entry.³⁷

³⁵Gates, Public Land Law Development, pp. 394-95.

³⁶General Land Office, Suggestions to Homesteaders, pp. 5-6; and General Land Office Circular, The Manner of Proceeding to Obtain Title to Public Lands Under the Preemption, Homestead, and Other Laws (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1884), pp. 11-12.

³⁷Stayner, Farmer's and Miner's Manual, pp. 11-12.

Of the twenty-one women in the Cedar City area who were married at the time they entered a land claim, fifteen used the desert entry. The circumstances of the remaining six married entrants probably allowed them to file under the Homestead Act. One example is Kate Lublin Alexander who was separated from her husband, Thomas Murphy Alexander, when she homesteaded in Panguitch Valley in 1894.³⁸ Like Kate, the remaining five women who filed land claims under their married names were possibly separated or divorced from their husbands at the time they filed land claims and would have qualified to file as a head of household. It is possible that some of these women may have qualified as land entrants as the main support for their families because their husbands were in prison, incapacitated, or otherwise unable to provide for their families. However, at this point, there is no evidence that indicates that this was the case for any of the women in the Cedar City area who filed under their married names.

The average age at filing for these monogamously married women was thirty-four years. A gap of over seventeen years separates them from the group of identified polygamous wives, and twenty years separate them from the female head of household group. The younger age of this group makes it more of a possibility that they were responsible for supporting a family. It also indicates that they were directly involved in the improvement of their

³⁸ See Our Pioneer Heritage, Kate B. Carter, comp., vol. I (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1958), pp. 47-48. Genealogical records from the Patron's Section of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints do not accurately record divorces. These records are usually submitted by descendants who may not have been aware of a divorce or chose not to record it.

tracts. Expansion into new lands and frontiers necessitated that women take on non-traditional roles and work directly on the land.³⁹ This practice was probably reinforced by the tight economy of the frontier that made it more difficult to hire an extra hand.⁴⁰ Women on the frontier became an important labor source. This is demonstrated by the pattern of dairying in Cedar City. The dairies in the mountains were the responsibility of the women and children while the men usually remained in the valley to look after farms.⁴¹ An expansion of effort in land acquisition by wives possibly helped to increase the family's income. A title search on lands patented by females in each area shows that title to the land was most often retained by the woman and was not immediately sold to a probable family member. Though this shows that women often held title to the land they patented, it does not show to what extent, in practice, husbands or other family members had control over the same property. Thus, it cannot be definitely determined

³⁹ Julie Roy Jeffrey, Frontier Women, the Trans-Mississippi West 1840-1880 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1979); JoAnna L. Stratton, Pioneer Women, Voices From the Kansas Frontier, with an introduction by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981); and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "Women's Work on the Mormon Frontier," Utah Historical Quarterly 49 (Summer 1981):276-290.

⁴⁰ William R. Palmer, "Early Merchandising in Utah," Utah Historical Quarterly 31 (Winter 1963):36-50.

⁴¹ Gladys McConnell, "Pioneer Dairying," unpublished manuscript, Special Collections, Southern Utah State Collection, Cedar City, Utah; Fae Nelson Benson and McNone Nelson, "Dairying on Cedar Mountain," Special Collections, Southern Utah State College Library, Cedar City, Utah; "Cora Jones Stucki," Life Sketch obtained at Cedar City Public Library, Cedar City, Utah; Mary H. Urie, "Mountain Dairying," Cedar City Public Library, Cedar City, Utah; and Arvilla H. Day, "Dairying at the Joseph M. Perry Ranch," Cedar City Public Library, Cedar City, Utah.

whether or not tracts entered by married women were intended to become additions to lands in the possession of husbands or other family members.

Nine of the women who made entries in the surveyed Cedar City townships were polygamous wives at the time they filed a land claim. These names cannot be counted as an accurate representation of the numbers of polygamous wives who filed for land in this area, as those who filed under their maiden names are difficult to track down in the census and family group sheets where they were identified by their married names. The practice of filing under maiden names did take place. Mary Ann Wilson was the second wife of Henry Lunt and had been married to him for thirty-seven years when her maiden name appears in the tract books. She made her entry in 1894, four years after the practice of polygamy had been given up by the Mormon Church.

There appears to be a variety of circumstances that led polygamous wives to file land claims. First, entries by polygamous women as the head of a household were outlawed in 1879, mainly because it was feared that Mormons were gaining control over land by having polygamous wives file land claims as the head of household and turn the patents over to their husbands. The use of maiden names, as in the case of Mary Ann Wilson, may have been an attempt to circumvent this ruling to add to the husband's land holdings.

It is possible that the majority of the nineteen names, for which no biographical information can be found, fall into the category of polygamous wives who filed under maiden names. If all

nineteen women proved to be polygamous wives, this would mean that about one-third of the land entries made by women in the Cedar City area would have been made by polygamous wives. This indicates that the practice of polygamous wives filing on land to increase their husbands' holdings at best only partially explains why women in the area filed tract entries.⁴²

The second matter that needs to be considered in the case of polygamous women who filed land claims is the fact that seven of the nine identified plural wives were discovered under their married names. Lettitia Corry was the first wife of Andrew Corry and made the earliest entry recorded for this group of women in 1892. The latest filing was in 1911 by Sara A. Houston, the second wife of James Houston. Five entries were made in the 1890s, two were made after 1900. Use of married names by these women might be interpreted as evidence that they were establishing their own households after the practice of polygamy had been officially discontinued by the L.D.S. Church in 1890.

Some of the motivation for polygamous wives to establish separate households was apparently due to separation and estrangement. This is seen in the case of Fidelia Winget DeMill. At some time before 1905 she left her husband. She says, "I didn't get a divorce but moved uptown in a place by myself." After his first wife died in November 1905 her husband wanted her to come back, but

⁴²See Lee, "Homesteading in Zion." His search of the tract books for Salt Lake County for 1869-1880 only turned up 166 female names out of 3,027. This indicates that the practice was not very prevalent even if all of the 166 names were determined to be polygamous wives.

she chose not to return. She says, "As we did not agree as well as we should, I did not go back to him."⁴³

For reasons that are not as clear as Fidelia DeMill's, Sara Ann Higbee, the second wife of David Dunn Bullock, also established her own household. From 1893 to 1897 she lived in Salt Lake City away from her husband in Cedar City. She returned to Cedar City in the spring of 1897. The first of her two entries was filed in 1897. Sarah's stay in Salt Lake City and the entries she made in her maiden name are evidence that she maintained her own household. On the other hand, the fact that she gave birth to children in June 1893 and January 1897, before she returned to Cedar City, suggests that the separation of households was for the sake of appearance.⁴⁴

The dates of the entries filed by polygamously married women indicate that in one way or another, they were establishing their own households. All of the entries made by polygamous wives in their married names were filed after 1890 when the open practice of plural marriage was given up by the Mormon Church. Even though the average age of polygamously married women was about fifty-one, it appears that they, as well as monogamously married women, took advantage of exceptions under the law that allowed married women to file land claims. They may have also entered their claims as the head of a household.

⁴³Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, An Enduring Legacy, vol. II (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing Co., 1979), p. 61.

⁴⁴Kate B. Carter, comp., Our Pioneer Heritage, vol. 18 (Salt Lake City: D.U.P., 1975), p. 247.

The national pressure that caused the Mormon Church to give up plural marriage may have led some women to create the appearance of no longer being plural wives though, as appears to be the case with Sarah Higbee, they still enjoyed some of the rights of marriage. For other polygamous wives, like Fidelia DeMill, the break with their husbands was complete, and land entries were a means of supporting their own households.

Seven of the women who filed land claims in the townships studied in the Cedar City area were listed as heads of households in the census records. All of these women were widows and had children to support at the time they filed for land. Their interest in filing was probably to increase the economic base of the family, or to obtain an inheritance that could be passed to their children.

The average age at filing for female heads of households was fifty-four years, making them the oldest of the four groups. The older nature of this group of land entrants might indicate that female heads of households did not participate in the improvement of their tracts. This view is supported by the 1900 census which indicates that three female heads of families had sons living with them who would have been capable of aiding in the fulfillment of the requirements for homestead entry. However, three female heads of households were listed in the census as having young children who could not be expected to significantly help their mothers to prove up on their claims, and it is more likely that these women

were directly involved in improving their tracts in an effort to support their families.⁴⁵

Twenty-two of the female entrants in the Cedar City area were single when their names appeared in the tract books. Most of these women were found in the 1900 census as a daughter living in her parents' home. The land records indicate that some of the single land entrants were married at some time after entry and before they were issued a patent. In two cases the tract record notes that the entrant's name had been changed by marriage.⁴⁶

Single female entrants in the surveyed townships in the Cedar City area were the youngest of the four groups of female land entrants. The average age of this group on the day they filed for land was about twenty-three years of age. Their entries were concentrated mainly in the eight years from 1896 to 1904.

The motivations for single women to become property holders seem to be more diverse than in the other groups. There are several factors that may account for this diversity. First, single women in the area were usually first and second generation descendants of women and men who had come from other areas to settle in Utah. Their mothers had been directly involved in the settlement of Utah's frontier lands and in many cases provided a

⁴⁵ Charles S. Peterson, Look to the Mountains, Southeastern Utah and the La Sal National Forest (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), p. 162.

⁴⁶ Such a notation reads, "F.C. No. 7413 July 14, 1902 to Mary E. Sandin formerly Mary E. Mackleprang." The name the entry was filed under was Mary E. Mackleprang.

role model that did not focus entirely on domestic duties.⁴⁷

Children on frontier lands were also expected to work and often carried out non-traditional work. In her autobiography, Violet Lunt Urie, who grew up in Cedar City, details some of the responsibilities she was given as a child.

When I was nine, I was detailed with Evan Williams who was then ten or eleven years of age, to drive the hogs from the mountain to Cedar City. We drove about 35 pigs from Jones Hollow to Cedar City [about 25 miles] It seems a reflection on the men folk that they would require to young people to get the pigs to Cedar City. We would be very tired and as we came to some green grassy spots we would want to stop in the shade, but we couldn't for we had to keep driving the pigs relentlessly all day long in order to get them to Cedar City by nightfall. . . .

The years of driving pigs put me in fine fettle to be in condition to drive Lehi Jones' calves down from the mountain when I was 14. . . . When I was helping Henrietta he would often get me up early and have me put in a days work for him driving animals, shucking corn, or doing other farm work, before I was free to help Henrietta.⁴⁸

It is very likely that Violet's experience was similar to that of many of the single women who filed land entries in the Cedar City area. Their childhood experiences and the examples of their mothers probably taught them that they were capable of entering and improving a tract.

A second factor that may have led single women to homestead was the potential to make money from a land claim. It would be expected that single women experienced more freedom than women

⁴⁷Elinor Richey prefaces her Eminent Women of the West (Berkeley, California: Howell-North Books, 1975) with the theory that a heritage of frontier-seeking fathers and the example of mothers who were initial settlers of Western frontiers combined to result in innovative and important contributions made by many first generation women born in the West to varied fields of study such as science, photography, politics, dance, and literature.

⁴⁸Urie, "Autobiography."

who had families to look after and may not have felt the responsibility of providing for a family that women in the other three groups felt. Several of the single women in the Cedar City area apparently saw the chance to act as entrepreneurs when they filed their homestead claims. Four of the identified single women were still single when they sold their patented land to the Cedar Sheep Association, as were two other single entrants when they sold their land to an interested individual.

The possibility of providing herself with a dowry of land may have been as motivating for a single female land entrant as the possibility of making money. The Lehi Banner reveals that this was a consideration of some single female land entrants in Utah when it reported, "Miss Laura Knudson will go to the Reservation and get her a 160 acre ranch. We have not yet learned the name of the fortunate young man who will 'prove up' on it."⁴⁹

Census records show that four of the twenty single female land entrants were raised in households headed by females. These daughters may have felt an extra responsibility to help support their families. Also, the family networking between homesteads indicates that many of the other single female homesteaders also felt the responsibility to help support their families, and probably filed for land for this reason.

A title trace was conducted in the Cedar City, Logan, and Monticello to determine what happened to land patented by

⁴⁹August 24, 1905. On microfilm at the Utah Historical Society, 300 Rio Grande, Salt Lake City, Utah.

females.⁵⁰ Title to tracts patented by females in the surveyed townships were traced until at least the first change in title. The search revealed that women usually retained title for several years. In Monticello the average time of holding titles was just over six years; in the Cedar City area it was nearly nine years; in Logan women held title for an average of nearly thirteen years.

About one-third of the women who patented land sold it to a probable family member.⁵¹ In the Logan area eight of twenty-six women sold their land to a probable family member. Nine other women sold land to persons who appear to be non-relatives; and three sold to companies--the Cache Co., the West Cache Irrigation Co., and Alfred Kearn and Sons Inc. In four cases heirs were given ownership of the tract after the death of the women who received patent. In two cases, no change in ownership was indicated. On one transaction a husband's name was listed along with the female's when land transactions were made.⁵²

In the Monticello area seven of nineteen women sold to a probable family member and eight sold to persons apparently not

⁵⁰ Land Abstract Books at the Courthouses in Iron, Washington, Cache, Rich, Box Elder, and San Juan Counties were used. It was found that these records were not always complete. In at least three cases original patents had not been recorded. This may account for the apparent lack of change found in some of the tract title chain.

⁵¹ A probable family member was determined by surname. Persons with the same surname were considered to be relatives. Without reconstructing family relationships it is impossible to determine if lands sold to persons with different surnames were relatives or not.

⁵² The reason for this is unknown. In transactions conducted by a female, the name of a spouse included on the transactions seems to occur less frequently than in reverse cases. Its use may have been to ensure property rights.

related. Heirs were granted title to female patented lands by the court in two cases, and in two cases no change in ownership was indicated. In two instances the name of a spouse was listed on subsequent transactions.

Only four of twenty-four women in the Cedar City area sold their tracts to a probable family member. Eight sold to persons apparently not related. Most sales in the Cedar City area were to a company or to the government through tax sales. E. Fanny Stubbs and Alice B. Bulloch apparently experienced financial problems and had to sell their land for taxes after keeping ownership for sixteen and twenty-one years, respectively. Fanny's land was sold in 1936 for \$12.89 worth of taxes, and Alice's was sold in 1922 for \$84.15 worth of taxes. Five women sold their land to the Cedar Sheep Association. In one case heirs received the patent and in two instances no change in ownership was found.

There seems to be no definite pattern in what women did with the land after they received legal title. This indicates that they kept land according to their own needs. There are instances where land was sold to a probable family member within a year. This practice would be expected to show that women homesteaded to increase their husband's or family's holdings and that a strong patriarchal system existed. However, the practice was infrequent--twice in the Monticello area, once in the Cedar City area, and once in the Logan area--and does not lend sufficient evidence to support such an argument. Rather, the evidence shows that the women who homesteaded had individual reasons for homesteading and that they exercised control over the land they patented.

CHAPTER FOUR

COMPARISON WITH OTHER FRONTIERS

Statistically, the experience of women homesteaders in Utah does not vary much from that of women homesteaders on other frontiers. Female homesteaders on other frontiers--northeastern Colorado, southeastern Colorado, and southeastern Wyoming--have been the subject of two separate studies. Katherine Llewellyn Hill Harris conducted a study of "Women and Families on Northeastern Colorado Homesteads, 1873-1920." As a doctoral dissertation Harris' study is the most comprehensive. Sheryll Patterson-Black's "Women Homesteaders on the Great Plains Frontier" is an initial survey but provides important observations of women homesteaders based primarily on literature, photographs, written sources, and land records.¹ These studies provide a valuable basis for comparison for the present study.

The percentage of women land entrants reported in these studies is similar to the percentage of land entrants in Utah. Patterson-Black's search of land records in LaMar, Colorado, and Douglas, Wyoming, revealed that an average of 11.9 percent of the homestead entrants were women. She found that the percentage of

¹Sheryll Patterson-Black, "Women Homesteaders on the Great Plains Frontier," Frontiers 1 (Spring 1976):67-88.

female entries increased through the years. Percentages of female land entries varied as much as 4.8 percent in Douglas, Wyoming in 1891 to 18.2 percent in LaMar, Colorado in 1907.² Harris' findings were similar to Patterson-Black's. Land records for two north-eastern Colorado counties, Logan and Washington, showed that before 1900 the percentage of female claimants was 12 and 10 percent respectively. After 1900 the percentage increased to nearly 18 percent. Harris ascribed much of the 5 to 7 percent increase of entries filed by women to "gradual loosening over time of attitudes proscribing non-traditional behavior" for women.³

The average of 13.5 percent female land entrants in Utah compares with the 11.9 percent and 14.3 percent average found by Patterson-Black and Harris. However, the trend of an increasing percentage of female land entrants over time is not seen in the three areas studied in Utah.⁴ In the Cedar City area the percentage of female entrants from 1869 to 1900 was 12.8 percent, and from 1900 to 1934 it decreased slightly to 12.3 percent. In the Logan area the percentage trend nearly mirrors that in the Cedar City area. The percentage of entrants before 1900 was 11.9 percent, while after 1900 the percentage dropped slightly to 11.6 percent. (See Table 3.)

²Patterson-Black, "Women Homesteaders," p. 68.

³Harris, "Women and Families," pp. 127-28.

⁴The Monticello area was not included in this comparison since homesteading in the surveyed townships did not begin until after 1900.

TABLE 3

UTAH AND COLORADO PERCENTAGES OF FEMALE ENTRIES
BEFORE AND AFTER 1900

	<u>Colorado</u>	
	<u>Logan County</u>	<u>Washington County</u>
Before 1900	12.1%	10.0%
After 1900	17.5%	17.8%
	<u>Utah</u>	
	<u>Cedar City Area</u>	<u>Logan Area</u>
Before 1900	12.8%	11.9%
After 1900	12.3%	11.6%

There are several factors that may explain why the percentage of female land entrants in Utah remained consistent while it increased on other frontiers, particularly the northeastern Colorado frontier. The first factor that needs to be considered is that settlement in northeastern Colorado was later than in Utah. Settlers began to arrive in northeastern Colorado in the early 1870s. Growth in the area was relatively slow until the 1880s. With the coming of railroads into northeastern Colorado in the 1880s and the nation's economic recovery after the Panic of 1873, settlement rapidly increased. Growth in the area received a setback when natural disasters such as the hard winters of 1885-86 and 1886-87, drought, and locust plagues combined with the national economic depression of 1893. Falling prices, loss of livestock, and overgrazed rangelands caused great hardship for settlers in the areas and many, those who could afford it, left the area.

Outmigration was not permanent, and soon after the turn of the century another land boom developed. A period of increased rainfall, revival of the nation's economic well-being, introduction of the sugar beet industry, the dryland farming movement, and new government land laws contributed in attracting settlers to the area. These favorable conditions stabilized and maintained growth in the area.⁵

Settlement in Utah was much earlier than it was in northeastern Colorado and, until the 1890s, was less subject to national economic trends. Through the second half of the nineteenth century the majority of Utah's settlers were motivated by religious conviction. Mormon settlers arrived in Salt Lake Valley in 1847. By 1851 Cedar City had been established; Logan followed in 1859; and Monticello, in southeastern Utah, was settled in 1888. Each of these communities was established under direction of the Mormon Church. The Church attempted to create and maintain a cohesive and self-sufficient society during Utah's territorial period. Schools of the Prophets, cooperative merchandising, and the United Order were some of the devices used by the Church in efforts to accomplish its purpose. However, by the time Utah attained statehood in 1896, Utah's economy was beginning to become integrated with the nation's.

Developments in Utah's economy are seen in the Cedar City, Logan, and Monticello areas. Though several years separate the

⁵Harris, "Women and Families on Northeastern Colorado Homesteads," pp. 36-118.

establishment of each of these areas, the pattern of settlement is very similar. After valley lands had been settled, two phases of homesteading developed in each area--mountain homesteading and dry land homesteading.⁶ The dates of these phases vary from area to area, but the pattern was basically the same in all three. Mountain homesteading developed according to local needs. Settlers in each area moved onto mountain lands after valley lands had become overgrazed. Dairy products produced on mountain lands were important in maintaining each area's economy. For instance, in the Cedar City area, mountain homesteading began in the 1870s after valley lands had become overgrazed. Townspeople went to the mountains during the summer months to dairy. Dairy products were sold to nearby mining camps, such as Silver Reef, and were an important source of cash income for the community. As Utah's economy became tied to the nation's economy, the local importance of dairying diminished. Mountain dairying in the Cedar City area died out in the mid-1920s.

⁶ See Charles S. Peterson, Look to the Mountains, pp. 156-165, which discusses homesteading in the La Sal Mountains. Pearl Butt, conversation with the author May 2, 1984, states that her husband's parents and the Adamses ran dairy homesteads in the Blue Mountains west of Monticello. Saga of San Juan by Cornelia Adams Perkins, Marian Gardner Nielson, Lenora Butt Jones, 2nd ed. (San Juan County Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1968), pp. 194-213, gives accounts of dry farm homesteading in San Juan County. Paul Willie's "History of Dairying in Cache Valley, in Cache Valley: Essays on the Past and People, Douglas D. Alder, ed. (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1976) documents dairying in the Cache Valley area. Dairying there appears to have been of a more cooperative nature than in the other areas and often developed into modern businesses. However, the early pattern of going to summer ranches for dairying purposes was followed.

The development of dry farm homesteads in each area was connected more to national trends. The Enlarged Homestead Act of 1909 which allowed entry persons to file for up to 320 acres instead of the 160 acres permitted under the Homestead Act contributed to Utah's development of a dry farming phase.⁷ The movement was encouraged by the success of dry farm experiments conducted by John A. Widstoe and the Utah State Agricultural College. The development of dry farm homesteads in Utah was further encouraged by higher prices for farm goods and World War I.

The difference in the pattern of settlement between northeastern Colorado and Utah is that settlers in Utah were attracted mainly by the pull of the Mormon religion rather than the national prosperity, presence of the railroad, technological developments, and introduction of new industries which attracted settlers to northeastern Colorado. The religious pull to Utah attracted a population that was made up of nearly equal proportions of males and females. Equal percentages of females in the population, from the first stages of its settlement, distinguish Utah from most frontiers in western America.⁸

Another factor that helps explain the consistent percentage of female land entrants before and after 1900 in the Cedar City and Logan areas is attitudes toward the rights of women. According to a study done by Maureen Beecher, Carol Madsen, and Jill Derr,

⁷Dalton, History of the Iron County Mission, p. 147.

⁸Poll, Utah's History, p. 337; and Wahlquist, "Settlement Processes," pp. 119-24.

the rhetoric of Mormon leaders concerning fundamental rights of women has changed very little over the years. Beecher, et al., state that there has been a consistent philosophical commitment by Church leaders to education, fair and equitable employment practices, and political rights for women in Utah.⁹ Women in the Mormon Church have always voted on ecclesiastical matters. This right was extended into the sphere of civil affairs when the State of Deseret was established in 1849. During its short period of existence, women as well as men voted in civil elections. When Utah was established as a territory by the federal government in 1850, female suffrage was not provided for. However, in 1870 the territorial legislature again gave women the right to vote. Thomas Alexander states that the granting of woman suffrage in 1870 was "congruent with the progressive sentiment among the Mormons at the time."¹⁰ Utah women were disfranchised by the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887, but in 1895 the Constitution of the new State of Utah returned the franchise to women. The overwhelming approval of woman's suffrage in 1895 can be seen as indicative of progressive attitudes inherent in Mormonism at the time. Alexander says that this spirit in Utah was "in advance of the rest of the nation and because of their experience and beliefs, the Mormons were willing to move in where others feared to tread."¹¹ The passage of the Married Person's Property Act in 1872 also reflects progressivism

⁹Beecher, et al., "Latter-day Saints and Women's Rights."

¹⁰Thomas G. Alexander, "An Experiment in Progressive Legislation," p. 29.

¹¹Ibid., p. 30.

in Utah. Though the Act primarily facilitated land transactions in the territory, it also gave married women the legal right to own land. The early and consistent commitment to suffrage, legal rights, and fair employment practices for women helps account for the uniform pattern of land entries filed by women in the Cedar City and Logan areas before and after 1900.

The success rate of females and males in patenting claims on the studied frontiers of Utah, southeastern Colorado, northeastern Colorado, and southeastern Wyoming is fairly consistent. In the northeastern Colorado counties of Washington and Logan, 1 to 2 percent separates the success of each sex. Before 1900 in Washington County, 45 percent of female land entrants patented their claims, while 46 percent of the men obtained patents. After 1900 the percentages increased to 55 percent of the women and 58 percent of the men who received patents. Before 1900 in Logan County, 51 percent of the women and 55 percent of the men patented their claims. After 1900 the success of women was 54.4 percent while men were successful 52 percent of the time.¹² Patterson-Black's study reveals a similar pattern for southeastern Colorado and southeastern Wyoming. She found that 42.4 percent of the women made final claim to the land while 37 percent of the men succeeded.¹³

Harris' and Patterson-Black's findings resemble the success rates of men and women in the three areas studied in Utah.

¹²Harris, "Women and Families on Northeastern Colorado Homesteads," pp. 155-56.

¹³Patterson-Black, "Women Homesteaders," p. 68.

As shown in Table 4, 42.7 percent of female land entrants and 43.8 percent of male land entrants obtained title to their tracts in the Cedar City area. In the townships surveyed in the Logan area, females were successful 31.9 percent of the time, while males were 34.2 percent successful. Women in the Monticello area townships patented their land 39 percent of the time, and men patented at the rate of 31.5 percent.

TABLE 4
SUCCESS RATES ON DIFFERENT FRONTIERS

	<u>Colorado and Wyoming</u>	
	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>
Washington County		
Before 1900	45.0%	46.3%
After 1900	55.0%	58.3%
Logan County		
Before 1900	51.4%	55.1%
After 1900	54.4%	52.0%
LaMar, Colorado, and Douglas, Wyoming	42.4%	37.0%
	<u>Utah</u>	
	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>
Cedar City Area	42.7%	43.8%
Logan Area	31.9%	34.2%
Monticello	39.0%	31.5%

Harris sees the comparable success rates of men and women as due to the "overwhelming presence of families on the homesteading frontier." She states, "Family members helped each other, so that in most cases receipt of a patent should not be seen as a purely individual accomplishment but as the result of a cooperative effort."¹⁴ Patterson-Black's survey of written sources led her to a similar conclusion. She states, "Friends and relatives who homesteaded together provided tremendous support for one another."¹⁵

Association between family members is also apparent in the three areas studied in Utah. These family members cooperated with and supported one another. Cooperation and help of family members and friends was probably an important factor in the successful patenting of claims in the Cedar City, Logan, and Monticello areas.

Patterson-Black's and Harris' studies both reveal women homesteaders from diverse backgrounds. The statistics, interviews, and written sources used in this study indicate that the same is true of women homesteaders in Utah, though the variety of Utah's women homesteaders appears to be even greater than on the two other frontiers. Neither Harris' nor Patterson-Black's study reveals female land entrants who were polygamously married, nor did they find women who filed under their married names, as was the case in Utah. They do recognize that divorcees homesteaded, but the occurrence does not seem to be common. Harris reviewed hundreds of stories of homesteading couples and found only two divorces and one

¹⁴Harris, "Women and Families on Northeastern Colorado Homesteads," p. 155.

¹⁵Patterson-Black, "Women Homesteaders," p. 79.

separation. She concludes that family and marriage bonds among the agricultural population of northeastern Colorado were stable and long-term, and that people in the area shunned divorce.¹⁶

Patterson-Black's study does not give numbers, but in her survey of written material she found that "some of the homesteaders were women escaping from oppressive marriages, either as divorcees or runaways."¹⁷ The presence of six women who appear to be divorcees or separated from their husbands, found in the group of women in the surveyed Cedar City townships who filed under their married names, may indicate that attitudes toward divorce and separation were more tolerant in Utah than they were in northeastern Colorado. The fact that polygamy was practiced by some members of the Mormon Church indicates that marriage and family ideals did not conform to national ideals. This anomic situation, brought about by millennial belief and colonization of the Great Basin, led to a high divorce rate among polygamists. During the period in which polygamous marriage was practiced in Utah, "official attitudes toward divorce were quite lenient."¹⁸ Official leniency toward polygamous divorces may have also had some effect on attitudes toward divorce and separation in monogamous marriages in Utah.¹⁹ More lenient

¹⁶Harris, "Women and Families on Northeastern Colorado Homesteads," pp. 151-52.

¹⁷Patterson-Black, "Women Homesteaders," p. 72.

¹⁸Eugene E. Campbell and Bruce L. Campbell, "Divorce Among Mormon Polygamists: Extent and Explanations," Utah Historical Quarterly 46 (Winter 1978):5.

¹⁹Statistics available for divorce rates in Utah indicate that the divorce rate in Utah was higher than the national rate. Reliable figures before 1890 are not available. In 1890 Utah's

attitudes toward divorce and separation would have made it easier for women in Utah who were involved in unhappy marriages to leave them. Women who did leave their husbands probably found themselves in a position where they needed to support themselves. Homesteading was one way they could support themselves. This was the case for Kate Alexander, and appears to be the case for five other women in the Cedar City area who filed under their married names.

Though there is a slight variation in the types of women land entrants, the motivations of women on each of the studied frontiers appear to be similar. Patterson-Black and Harris found that women homesteaded as a means of supporting a family, adding to family resources, developing economic freedom, concern for the health of a family member, or for adventure.²⁰ As discussed in Chapter Three, women homesteaders in Utah appear to have entered land claims for many of the same reasons.

Differences in the statistical record are mainly due to the influence of the Mormon Church in Utah. This is seen in things such as the earlier settlement of Utah by a population made up of nearly equal proportions of men and women. Earlier settlement and equal percentages of men and women help account for the consistent percentage of land entries filed by women before and after 1900 in Utah. Also, consistent official attitudes toward political,

divorce rate per 1,000 was 0.7, and nationally it was 0.5. In 1900 the rate was 1.0 in Utah and 0.7 nationally. See Poll, Utah's History, p. 688.

²⁰Patterson-Black, "Women Homesteaders," pp. 71-73; Harris, "Women and Families on Northeastern Colorado Homesteads," pp. 159-165.

educational, and legal rights of women in Utah as well as more lenient attitudes toward divorce appear to have helped create an atmosphere that was as open as other frontiers for the participation of women in the homestead movement.

Though there are differences, the statistical record indicates that women homesteaders in Utah were much the same as women who homesteaded in other frontiers. The likeness is seen in the similar percentages of female land entrants and the similar rates of success in obtaining patents. Women in Utah had many of the same reasons for filing land claims as women on other frontiers. And, as on other frontiers, families and friends in Utah helped and supported one another.

The statistical record of women homesteaders in Utah and its comparison to other frontiers provides a valuable profile of women homesteaders in Utah. However, the profile can be expanded by studying their lives on the homestead and by looking at some of their life stories.

CHAPTER FIVE

LIFE SKETCHES AND LIFESTYLE ON SOUTHERN UTAH MOUNTAIN AND DRY LAND HOMESTEADS

A profile of women homesteaders in Utah is provided by the statistics and numbers presented in Chapter Three. However, the profile derived from those numbers does not reveal much about the personalities of women homesteaders or their lives on the homesteads. It is possible to broaden the picture with sources such as life sketches, memoirs, and interviews. In this chapter, life sketches of five women homesteaders in the Cedar City area help in picturing some of the types of women who homesteaded, and a look at lifestyles on mountain and dry land homesteads leads to a better understanding of what the experience was like for the women who filed land claims. I have focused on the Cedar City area because documentation of both mountain and dry land homesteading phases is, at this point, more complete than in the Logan and Monticello areas, though for the dry land homestead phase I have also drawn from interview material from the Monticello area.

The information presented in Chapter Three indicates that women homesteaders in Utah came from various backgrounds and had differing motives for homesteading. The following biographical sketches illustrate some of the differences in background and personality of women homesteaders in the Cedar City area.

Annie Alldridge Thorley was single at the time she filed her homestead entry in 1897. She was the only girl in a family of eight boys. She fit in well with her brothers and learned to ride a horse better than they. It was not unusual for her to mount her horse by running up behind it, jumping, and landing astraddle, ready to ride.¹ Annie was born June 2, 1872, and became involved in the family's dairying lifestyle, living four or five months each summer on their mountain dairy at the base of Miner's Peak on Cedar Mountain. Lehi and Henrietta Jones settled nearby. By 1884 these families had begun to operate one of the largest dairies in the area.² The land on which cows and sheep grazed, the two cabins (one for each family), and the shared springhouse were held by squatter's rights.

The joint dairying venture apparently went well for over a decade, until December 17, 1897, when Annie Thorley paid a filing fee of \$16.00 to enter a claim in her name on the tract the Jones and Thorley families had been dairying on. Her reasons for filing are essentially unknown. Her son says her father put her up to it to increase family landholdings.³ However, Annie was single at the time she filed and tract books show that the tract remained in her name after her marriage, at the age of thirty, to Everard Alvin

¹Lehi Jones, interview by the author, Cedar City, Utah, October 1980 (tape in possession of the author).

²York F. and Evelyn K. Jones, Lehi Willard Jones 1854 - 1947 (Salt Lake City: Woodruff Printing Company, 1972), p. 93.

³Karl T. Cox, conversation with the author, Cedar City, Utah, October 1980.

Cox. Thus, it seems more likely that Annie's homestead claim was intended largely for personal use.

The Jones family had not been aware of Annie's intention to file, but her legal claim preempted their squatter's rights and they were forced to move to another area of the mountain to dairy. Annie's claim ended the joint dairying of the Jones and Thorley families. Annie's application was successful when two years later, on November 4, 1899, she received a patent for the land. Annie had apparently taken advantage of the 1880 addition to the Homestead Act which allowed application of prior residence toward the five years residence required for proving up on the land.⁴

Alice Maria Sherratt is another example of a single homestead entrant in the Cedar City area. She was born December 23, 1871, in Cedar City, Utah. She was an able student and reading became a lifetime habit and a favorite way to pass the time. While in school she was nicknamed "Lally," but as she matured it was shortened to "Lal," by which she was known for the rest of her life. Alice grew up in a family of four boys, two sisters, and an adopted Indian girl named Phoebe who was one of Alice's closest companions. At the age of sixteen Alice became deaf and never regained any hearing even though a great deal of money and effort was spent trying to recover it. Because she had no hope of hearing again, Alice learned to read lips. She was also known as an excellent cook and housekeeper and was well liked.⁵

⁴Stayner, The Farmer's and Miner's Manual, pp. 7-8.

⁵Carter, Our Pioneer Heritage, vol. 18, p. 212.

Alice's family created a dairy on Cedar Mountain with the Bullock and Heyborne families. Undoubtedly, during the summers spent on the mountain she became familiar with the tract in Township 37 South Range 10 West that she entered in the tract entry books on June 25, 1898, at twenty-seven years of age.⁶ Three years after she filed the land claim, and when she was thirty years old, Alice met and married James A. Smith, a veterinarian. The following year, on December 30, 1902, she received the patent to her 160 acre claim. Alice retained title in her name but sold the land two years later for \$320.00 to the Cedar Sheep Association.⁷ The land appears to have provided needed cash for a new marriage, and it is probable that Alice homesteaded with such a purpose in mind.

Other women homesteaders in the Cedar City area had needs different from Annie Thorley's and Alice Sherratt's when they filed tract claims. When Sage Treharne Jones filed a homestead entry in 1895, she was a widow. She was born November 27, 1832, in Carmarthen, Wales. Sage was about fifteen years old when her family converted to Mormonism. They remained in Wales for a couple of years after their conversion. Then in 1849 they headed to America to settle with the rest of the Saints in Utah. During the journey Sage's mother and father died of cholera leaving Sage, her sister, and three brothers to make their own way. A more favorable consequence of the journey was Sage's acquaintance with Thomas Jones, also a Welsh immigrant. They agreed to be married when they

⁶Ibid., p. 202.

⁷Ibid., p. 212.

reached Utah. The agreement was fulfilled on October 28, 1852. Sage was nineteen on the day of her marriage. The young couple lived for a time in Salt Lake City and Spanish Fork before they finally settled in Cedar City in 1854. Sage gave birth to six boys and one girl. The oldest, a boy, died at the age of four after being kicked by an ox. Sage's husband became plagued by rheumatism. He died of the disease on September 2, 1862, leaving her with a young family to raise. The oldest, a boy named Lehi, was eight years old.⁸

Sage has been described as "an independent woman . . . determined to give her children all the advantages that could be had."⁹ To support her family she took in sewing and depended on ten acres of farmland located on the outskirts of town. The children helped with farm chores and found small jobs to perform for other people. Sage and her oldest son, Lehi, were eventually granted a contract from the Pony Express to deliver mail to rural areas of Nevada. She served as the postmistress, and he did the riding. This lasted until about 1877. In 1885 Sage was appointed as postmistress for Cedar City. She was not able to write English, but her children filled in doing the necessary correspondence and bookwork. She later learned to write so she could write letters to her son Kumen who had been called by Mormon Church authorities to settle in southeastern Utah.¹⁰

⁸Jones, Lehi Willard Jones, pp. 6-9, 32.

⁹Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 32, 41, 95.

Sage's determination to provide for her children most likely influenced her decision to file a homestead claim in 1895. She died March 30, 1897, two years after her entry, and the patent for her 160 acre claim was given to heirs five years later on December 30, 1902.

Some of the women land entrants in the Cedar City area were separated or divorced and found themselves in the position where they needed to provide for a family. This appears to be the case of Kate Lublin Alexander. In about 1853, as a child of about seven, she immigrated to America with her Danish-Jewish parents who had converted to the Mormon religion. The family journeyed from St. Louis to Utah in a handcart company. They arrived in Salt Lake City September 13, 1857. During the next seven years Springville, Salt Lake City, Mount Pleasant, and Gunnison were homes for the Lublins; they were among the first settlers of Mount Pleasant. Sometime around 1864 when Kate was about eighteen, she left her family, who had settled permanently in Gunnison, and went to southern Utah. There she met and married Thomas Murphy Alexander. They lived and worked in mining camps in Utah and Nevada. Over a period of sixteen years, Kate gave birth to five sons. They eventually settled in Panguitch. The marriage apparently experienced discord, because Kate left her husband. It appears that the separation left her in a situation where she needed to provide for herself and some of her family. In 1894 Kate entered a tract of 160 acres in the center of Panguitch Valley. She, along with three of her sons, worked on the claim and cooperated with neighbors in fulfilling homestead requirements. In the five years that it took

to prove up, Kate, her sons, and her neighbors built seven miles of ditch, cleared, cultivated, and secured water rights for 40 acres of land. The patent to Kate's 160 acre claim was issued November 4, 1899.¹¹

Another example of women who needed to support themselves is Fidelia Winget DeMill. Fidelia was the second wife of Oliver DeMill. She was born on December 18, 1847, three months after her parents arrived in Salt Lake City. Her parents settled in Springville for several years before they were called by Church authorities to Cedar City to help strengthen the community against Indians. On the journey to their new home Fidelia's father became ill and passed away January 14, 1854, two months after they had settled in Cedar City. In the spring of that same year Fidelia's mother took her family back to the better conditions they had known in Springville. However, the second year there grasshoppers destroyed all their crops and they experienced extreme hardship. They usually had very little to eat. Fidelia remembered "picking up every little crumb of bread that fell upon the floor and eating it. Our food was very scarce and we were allowed but very little each day."¹²

Fidelia's education was limited due to her family's lack of food and clothing. From the time she was thirteen she worked for her board and clothing. The family later moved to Manti, Utah. While working there she became acquainted with her husband, Oliver

¹¹Carter, Our Pioneer Heritage, vol. I, pp. 47-8.

¹²Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, An Enduring Legacy, vol. 2, p. 58.

DeMill. Fidelia was sixteen and Oliver was eighteen years older than she. They were married June 3, 1865. She went with her husband to live in Shonesburg in southern Utah. She missed her family and was lonely while there. About a year later she became very ill and returned to her family in Manti to receive medical treatment.¹³

After her recovery she spun yarn to pay her medical bill and returned to live with Oliver in southern Utah. At first she lived with her husband's first wife and her family of eleven children. Later, she had her own home, a one-room log cabin with a dirt roof and floor. They had to work hard to make a living. They spun and wove their yardage from which they sewed and knitted all of their own clothing, including stockings. Fidelia did all of the sewing for both families. She also worked in the Washington County clothing factory.¹⁴

Fidelia was married five years before she had children, but she subsequently gave birth to seven children--five girls and two boys. On February 15, 1885, when Fidelia's youngest child was only eleven days old, Oliver hid Fidelia and her children in a canyon to avoid capture by federal officers who were arresting polygamists. Their shelter was a large rock that formed a roof, and they slept on the ground. Fidelia says that, "After dumping us in this forsaken spot, he [Oliver] then went home and left us to the mercy of the wilds." The family was to stay there until the

¹³Ibid., pp. 58-9.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 59.

scare was over. A neighbor woman living in the canyon, a mile below Fidelia's camp, aided Fidelia by cutting small trees and forming a wall for their shelter which kept out the wild animals.¹⁵

Fidelia later moved to Rockville. She raised one of her granddaughters and cared for a couple of other grandchildren after the deaths of two of her daughters. Sometime before 1905, Fidelia separated from her husband. When his first wife died on November 30, 1905, Oliver asked Fidelia to return to him. She refused, though she did return to Rockville from Hurricane, where she had been living, to nurse him before his death in 1908.¹⁶

Fidelia's 160-acre homestead entry filed September 4, 1900, may have been intended to help her support herself after separating from her husband. She obtained legal title to the tract in Township 38 South Range 10 West on December 31, 1903. Title to the land remained in her name for fifteen years until she sold it for \$700.00 in 1918 to Roswell DeMill. Roswell was probably an in-law. Fidelia lived in southern Utah in Hurricane for eleven years and then moved to Monroe in central Utah where most of her family was living. She died November 2, 1931, in Monroe.¹⁷

Pearl Butt and Augusta Hunt, who homesteaded with their husbands on dry land homesteads, knew women who homesteaded on their own. The reasons they give for women entering homestead claims also indicate that the women land entrants had varied and

¹⁵Ibid., p. 60.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 61.

¹⁷Ibid.

individual reasons for homesteading. Hunt claims that quite a number of homestead claims filed by women were meant for addition to the landholdings of a father or husband. She also knew women who attempted to make their claims produce enough to support a family. Reporting similar reasons for women filing land entries, Pearl Butt says that women in the Monticello area filed on land to get a place for their children.¹⁸

The backgrounds of women homesteaders in the Cedar City area were diverse, but the lifestyles of women living on mountain and dry land homesteads had many things in common. Differences that did occur were mainly due to technological developments that resulted in the turn of the century dry land farm movement and the gradual adoption of federal settlement patterns. The settlement of the Cedar City area, the move from usable valley lands to summer-time mountain homesteads, and later to dry land homesteads which were usually intended as full-time residences, illustrate the gradual adoption of federal settlement ideals. Technological improvements, such as electricity and methods of tapping underground water, enabled dry land homesteaders to live on, farm, and make a living off land that had previously been too dry. Other than these differences, a closer look at the settlement of Cedar City and the lifestyle of mountain and dry land homesteads shows that the experiences of women on both types of homesteads were often quite similar.

¹⁸ Augusta Wilcox Hunt, interviewed by the author, February 24, 1984, St. George, Utah (tape in the possession of the author); Pearl Bliss Butt, conversation with the author, May 2, 1984, Monticello, Utah (notes in the possession of the author).

Cedar City was laid out as an iron manufacturing center. The city's layout of longer blocks and shorter lots reflects the idea that the town was intended to be a manufacturing community.¹⁹ Parley P. Pratt, who headed a group sent to explore the area in December 1849, reported that it was capable of supporting a community of 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants.²⁰ The settlers called to carry out the Iron Mission arrived at Center Creek, where Parowan is now located, in January 1851. In November of the same year the company split up; some remained and the others went south to where Cedar City now stands. The fledgling iron industry experienced numerous setbacks, one of them being the involvement of some of the settlers in the Mountain Meadows Massacre in 1857. The iron works were shut down in 1859. The failure of the iron industry and the shame of the massacre caused many to leave, and Cedar City's population was decreased by nearly two-thirds.²¹ Those who remained turned to agriculture, and livestock raising became the area's lifeblood. As sheep and cattle numbers increased, good grazing and farming land became harder to find, and the valley lands became overgrazed. Fear of Indians and the relative inaccessibility of the sylvan mountain lands to the east and south of Cedar City kept the settlers out of them until 1869. With the

¹⁹Iron County Centennial Committee, Iron County Centennial, p. 19.

²⁰Gustive O. Larson, Cedar City, Gateway to Rainbow Land (Cedar City, Utah: Cedar City Chamber of Commerce, 1950), pp. 9-10.

²¹York F. and Evelyn K. Jones, Lehi Willard Jones, p. 17.

advent of better trails, more settled relations with the Indians, and the need for better grazing land, townspeople began to move into the mountains during the summer months.²²

In 1869, Eliza McConnell was the first person to take cows into the mountains for the purpose of dairying. Within the next two years nearly half of the townspeople sought to acquire rights to mountain land.²³ By the mid-1870s mountain dairying had become an established practice in the Iron County area.

Marketing of butter and cheese brought cash into the area's frontier economy. These products were readily received in the burgeoning mining camps that sprang up and flourished during the 1870s and began to die away around the turn of the century.²⁴

The move to the mountain in early spring wasn't made until the roads were passable and the children were out of school. The five or six months spent in the mountains dairying were the responsibility of the women and children. Fae Nelson Benson and McNone Nelson state, "During the summers we spent at our mountain

²²McConnell, "Pioneer Dairying," pp. 1-2; also see McConnell, "Colonizing Cedar Mountain," Special Collections, Southern Utah State College Library, Cedar City, Utah; Day, "Perry Ranch," p. 1; and "Iron County Centennial," p. 25.

²³William R. Palmer, "A Costly Experiment," p. 1, William R. Palmer Collection, Special Collections, Southern Utah State College Library, Cedar City, Utah; McConnell, "Colonizing Cedar Mountain," p. 2.

²⁴William R. Palmer, "Early Day Trading with Nevada Mining Camps," Utah Historical Quarterly 26 (October 1958):354-368; William R. Palmer, "Merchandising in Early Utah," pp. 36-40; and Juanita Brooks, "Silver Reef," Utah Historical Quarterly 29 (Fall 1961):281-87. The most important mining camps were Pioche, Silver Reef, and Delamar.

homestead, Mama would generally be with the girls while Papa remained in town [Cedar City] to take care of our farms." The men would help move their families to their mountain homesteads and return to the valley to farm. They would return every few weeks with needed supplies and pick up the cheeses and butter their families had produced.²⁵

Living quarters were made of quaking aspen logs with chinking between the logs and varied in size from one to several rooms. One of the rooms was the dairy room or milk house. Whenever possible mountain homes were located near a creek or spring. In some cases the milk house was built over the spring to help keep the milk house cool. At first all the floors in the house were dirt, but later only the dairy room had a dirt floor. The dairy room floor was sprinkled with water to keep the room cool and damp for keeping butter, milk, and cheeses.²⁶

Work on the dairy was rigorous and usually began before sun-up in an effort to beat the flies. Responsibilities were assigned according to age. While the older family members milked, the younger ones had the responsibility of taking care of the calves, which had to be turned in with their mothers long enough to get the milk started and then taken away again.²⁷ The younger children were also responsible for herding the animals.

²⁵Benson and Nelson, "Dairying on Cedar Mountain"; "Cora Jones Stucki"; Urie, "Mountain Dairying"; Day, "Perry Ranch."

²⁶Day, "Perry Ranch," p. 1; and McConnell, "Pioneer Dairying," p. 3.

²⁷Benson and Nelson, "Dairying on Cedar Mountain."

Life on these homesteads taught children to take responsibility and sometimes meant that parts of childhood had to be put aside. Violet Lunt Urie, who grew up spending her summers on a mountain dairy near Cedar City, tells us:

I remember going to the mountain alone with a man, who was probably a hired man, or could have been a neighbor. I took my doll along with me. When I arrived at the mountain cabin I found a place to put my doll in the cupboard and just then someone called to tell me to tend the kids. From then on I found there were always to [sic] many kids for me to have time for dolls.²⁸

Besides looking after the children, Violet was asked to do many other things such as driving pigs and cows great distances, and doing other farm work.²⁹

When Cora Stucki was fourteen and her sister Mayme was seventeen, they were put in charge of their family dairy on Cedar Mountain because their mother's health was poor. These two girls, along with the younger children, ran the dairy during the week. Their father came to the dairy on weekends.³⁰

Violet Urie assures us that dairying was not all hard work and drudgery. Children on mountain homesteads found time for play. There were jolly times sitting around the campfire and playing hide and seek or run sheep run by the light of the moon after their daily chores were done.³¹ Cora Jones Stucki says that on nights

²⁸Urie, "Autobiography."

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰"Cora Jones Stucki," p. 2. Cora's mother was Mary Ann Wilson's Daughter; see Appendix A.

³¹Dalton, History of the Iron County Mission, pp. 380-81.

when she and her brothers and sisters did not have anything to do they would sit on the fence of the corral and each choose a cow. "When our cow laid down then we could go in and go to bed. Sometimes it seemed that the cow we picked would never lay down."³²

The teenage girls were mainly responsible for the milking. If a family did not have girls the right age, then relatives or girls from the community were hired. Each girl milked the same cows at each milking. A good dairy maid averaged between ten and fifteen cows at one milking, but the really good ones handled around twenty-five cows per milking.³³

The average dairy milked fifteen to thirty cows, while the largest milked around seventy-five or eighty.³⁴ Many of the cows were range cows and only produced a few quarts of milk at each milking. The first cows in the Cedar City area were Red Durhams. These cattle were crossbred with cattle that were taken from the members of the Fancher Company who were killed in the 1857 Mountain Meadows Massacre. Fancher cattle were reported as being "dark red with wild popping black eyes; very skittish and difficult to domesticate, and not good milk producers, either." Holsteins were

³²"Cora Jones Stucki," pp. 2-3.

³³McConnell, "Pioneer Dairying," p. 4; Day, "Perry Ranch," p. 1.

³⁴McConnell, "Pioneer Dairying," p. 4; McConnell, "Colonizing Cedar Mountain," p. 3.

not introduced in the area until 1866. It took two milkings to fill the milk tub with enough to make one cheese.³⁵

The mother was not only responsible for the daily tasks of caring for her children, but she was also responsible for producing butter and cheese. Most often cheese and butter were made on alternate days except for Sundays. Gladys McConnell gives an excellent account of how these home dairies produced cheese in "Pioneer Dairying."³⁶ Women on mountain dairies had to do a lot of innovating to produce cheese and butter. They had to produce their own rennet, make their own tubs and presses, as well as devise their own methods of determining the proper temperature for the milk during the various stages of production. The usual thermometer was an elbow dipped in the milk. Between the various stages of production it was common to prepare and serve meals and take care of other household duties.³⁷

A summer's work usually produced sixty to seventy-five cheeses that weighed from 30 to 40 pounds each.³⁸ The value of one

³⁵ McConnell, "Pioneer Dairying," pp. 4-5; Roe Thorley, interviewed by the author, March 1981, Cedar City, Utah (tape in possession of the author).

³⁶ McConnell, "Pioneer Dairying," pp. 5-7; also see Day, "Perry Ranch," pp. 4-7; Benson and Nelson, "Dairying on Cedar Mountain," pp. 1-2; Urie, "Mountain Dairying," p. 1.

³⁷ McConnell, "Pioneer Dairying," p. 7; McConnell, "Colonizing Cedar Mountain," p. 3. Rennet was made by allowing a six-week old calf to suck on its mother. About an hour later the calf was killed and the contents of its stomach removed and stored in a pig's bladder. Half of the rennet was used in making each cheese. They replaced the rennet that had been removed. By this process each dairy usually had enough rennet to last all summer.

³⁸ McConnell, "Pioneer Dairying," p. 7; Urie, "Mountain Dairying," p. 1.

cheese is indicated by Mary Ann Adams' intention to give Clarisa Smith Williams her prize-winning cheese to pay for her board and room. In addition to the cheeses that were produced during the summer, two or three 10-gallon kegs of butter weighing 85 pounds each were produced along with numerous smaller crocks that had been taken to town throughout the summer to trade for needed supplies.³⁹

The sale of dairy products "really paid off."⁴⁰ It often provided the only ready cash a family had.⁴¹ Even though cheese sold for just 14 cents per pound and butter for 20 to 25 cents per pound, many dairying women bought their first iron stoves with the proceeds that came from the sale of these products.⁴² Dairy money also went toward building up homes, farms, and animal herds.⁴³ During one summer Eliza McConnell (who first took cows for the purpose of dairying into the mountains by Cedar City) earned \$400.00, which helped build her family's first brick home. In addition to cash income, each dairy raised a crop of calves, fattened several pigs for their winter meat supply on whey, buttermilk, and acorns, and brought the cows down from the mountain in good condition to winter in the valley.⁴⁴

³⁹ Dalton, History of the Iron County Mission, p. 381; and McConnell, "Pioneer Dairying," p. 7.

⁴⁰ McConnell, "Pioneer Dairying," p. 7.

⁴¹ Ibid.; also see Palmer, "Early Day Trading With the Nevada Mining Camps," pp. 354-58; and Dalton, History of the Iron County Mission, p. 384.

⁴² McConnell, "Pioneer Dairying," p. 8.

⁴³ Dalton, History of the Iron County Mission, p. 384.

⁴⁴ McConnell, "Pioneer Dairying," p. 8.

During the months on the dairy the responsibility for the family's welfare fell upon the mother. Not only was there the possibility of accident and disease, but Indians and wild animals were a constant threat. Indians often visited the Wood Ranch, several miles up Cedar Canyon, to get biscuits and buttermilk. On one occasion, Mrs. Wood had given the Indians all she could spare and still they demanded more. "Fearful but brave, she loosened her false teeth and let them slip out between her lips. The Indians left quickly proclaiming her to be a 'Woman of God.'"⁴⁵

Henrietta Jones spent one sleepless night on her Cedar Mountain dairy knowing that a bear was under the porch where three of her boys were sleeping. The bear spent the whole night eating on a young heifer from her dairy herd. Because she remained calm, none of the boys knew that the bear had been there until they found the remains of the heifer the next morning.⁴⁶

Dairy homesteads were not totally isolated, and homesteaders near one another provided help when it was needed. In many situations the doctoring skills acquired by Eliza McConnell and others were called upon. Such an instance was when Violet Urie fell from a horse and was badly hurt while on Cedar Mountain. Her parents took her to Eliza McConnell for attention. Violet remembered the experience well. She says:

⁴⁵Rhoda M. Wood, "Cedar City's Cattle Industry in the Late 1800's and Early 1900's," Special Collections, Southern Utah State College Library, Cedar City, Utah.

⁴⁶Henry W. Jones, interviewed by the author, September 1978, Cedar City, Utah (tape in possession of the author).

Mrs. McConnell was sort of a nurse. She had me sleep with her in a big bed. I had to stay with her for three or four days. I was extremely glad to get back home.

She would ask me: "How do you feel."

I would be most annoyed at the attention she was giving me and I would say "All right."

I don't know if what she did cured me, or if it were that I wanted to get away from her that made me well enough to go home.⁴⁷

Not all accidents turned out as happily as Violet Urie's. Sarah Stapley's child died when the child fell from a tree. Caroline Schopmann's young daughter died from poisoning she received from sucking nectar from mountain wildflowers. A Smith child drowned in the creek near the Smith cabin. An eight-year-old was kicked to death by a horse. Annie Cox Smith was killed on a mountain dugway when the brake block on her wagon broke and the wagon rolled off the road. Kate Jones died while in childbirth.⁴⁸

In many respects the mountain homesteaders were not isolated. Many lived close enough that it became customary to visit back and forth between chores and milkings. The Joe Perry, Heber Perry, Hyrum Perry, and George Perry families lived within a few hundred yards of one another on Cedar Mountain. On several afternoons during the summer the women would get together to read, do needle work, visit other homesteads, or pick wild gooseberries and raspberries before the evening milking.⁴⁹ This support system and the business of making cheese and butter helped alleviate loneliness.

⁴⁷Urie, "Autobiography."

⁴⁸McConnell, "Colonizing Cedar Mountain," p. 6; and Urie, "Autobiography."

⁴⁹Day, "Perry Ranch," pp. 3-4.

Aside from casual visiting, people dairying on Cedar Mountain gathered for church meetings, dances, and celebrated holidays at a couple of areas on the mountain. At one spot twenty-three families gathered to hold Sunday School meetings. For several years Cedar City's 24th of July celebrations were held on the mountain.⁵⁰

Mountain dairying in the Cedar City area lasted for nearly half a century--from the mid-1870s to the 1920s. As the mountain land was claimed, those who hoped to homestead had to look elsewhere. Technological developments and the dry land farm movement led people onto lands that previously had not been a viable choice.

As a result, dry land homesteading became prominent during the second decade of the twentieth century. Pearl Butt says that she and her husband homesteaded east of Monticello because they were rural people, used to the lifestyle, and needed a home. Encouragement by L.D.S. general authorities to stay in the town and farm outlying areas had to be disregarded because good farming land close enough to commute to and from town was not available.

Augusta Hunt and her husband homesteaded sixteen miles north of Enterprise, Utah, because they wanted to raise their children on a farm. Maud Moyle homesteaded in the Escalante Valley in southwestern Utah with her husband because his patriarchal blessing mentioned land, and he interpreted the reference to become involved in the New Castle Reclamation Company's effort to reclaim the

⁵⁰Thelma Jones, conversation with the author, September 1978, Cedar City, Utah; "Cora Jones Stucki," p. 2; Day, "Perry Ranch," p. 3.

Escalante desert.⁵¹ Etna Schafer and her husband Ben came from Texas to southeastern Utah in about 1930 because many of their neighbors were coming at the same time. Etna says they chose to homestead because, ". . . we had lots of air castles. We were going out to buy us a farm but we never could get us that much money ahead. We decided we were going to have to go someplace where we could file on land to get a farm." Utah was the only place they knew of where they could do that.⁵²

Much like women on mountain homesteads, dry farm women usually lived in primitive conditions. Houses were usually a typical one-room frame house with a lean-to, or a two-room basement.⁵³ Etna Schafer and her husband moved into the home that already stood on their southeastern Utah claim. It was a two-room house with no windows. Etna says that, "Somebody had moved and taken all the floor boards off the floor so we just put windows in and fixed one room where we lived."⁵⁴

The first homes were even more primitive. Etta Barton's parents homesteaded in southeastern Utah in 1916. They lived in a

⁵¹ Butt, conversation; Hunt, interview; Georgia Moyle, "Maud Austin Moyle," unpublished paper provided by Georgia Moyle, Enterprise, Utah (paper in possession of the author).

⁵² Etna Schafer, Oral History, interview by Frank W. Fox, July 20, 1973, Monticello, Utah, pp. 3-4, Southeastern Utah Oral History Project, Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, Utah State Historical Society, and City of Monticello. Hereinafter CRC for Western Studies.

⁵³ Hunt, interview; Maud Austin Moyle, "Colonization of the Desert," William R. Palmer Collection, Special Collections, Southern Utah State College, Cedar City, Utah.

⁵⁴ Schafer, Oral History, p. 6.

tent during the summer while her father built a log house in which he filled the cracks with mud. Etta described their difficult winter: "Winter came, and before winter was gone a lot of those chinks didn't have any mud in them. All in the world we had to keep us warm was a fireplace and a cook stove."⁵⁵

It took time for conditions to improve. Augusta Hunt's home did not have electricity until 1944. Ironing was done by heating irons on her woodburning stove, lights were kerosene, meat had to be bottled, and milk and other perishable items were kept in a cellar.

The comfort of the home was usually secondary to the needs of the farm. The Hunts did not have a bathroom in their house until 1958 because the well pump they had was not good enough to pump water into the house--"Instead of a house with a bath we had a house with a path."⁵⁶ Etna Schafer lined the walls of her log cabin home with pasteboard boxes and papered them with cement sacks. She filled in the cracks with mud.⁵⁷ Water had to be hauled from the well for drinking, washing, bathing, laundering, and watering the garden. The Hunts had to haul water from farther away because the water from the well on their place contained so much mineral residue it was too bad to even wash clothes in.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Etta Barton, Oral History, interview by Thomas G. Alexander, July 20, 1973, Monticello, Utah, p. 11, CRC for Western Studies.

⁵⁶ Hunt, interview.

⁵⁷ Schafer, Oral History, p. 10.

⁵⁸ Hunt, interview; Moyle, "Maud Austin Moyle"; Butt, conversation.

Unlike mountain homesteads, which were usually located by a spring, water was always a consideration on dry farm homesteads. Dry land homesteaders often had to haul water from up to several miles away. When Clement Johnson was away from his southeastern Utah homestead, his wife and son hauled water for the milk cows and house use from four miles away. After a time a well was dug, but water still had to be carried uphill to the house.⁵⁹ Etna Schafer, who homesteaded with her husband in southeastern Utah, had to go to a spring a mile away to get water. She says, "It would take us a whole day to haul water to last a week."⁶⁰ Maud Austin Moyle, a homesteader with her husband in southwestern Utah, hauled water pumped from the well for washing dishes, bathing, drinking, and laundry.⁶¹

Water was a critical element that often determined the success of dry land homesteads. The Moyle's experience indicates the importance of water. They moved onto the Escalante Desert in 1913 expecting to get water from a dam at Grass Valley. The reservoir did not hold water due to its volcanic rock base. Many of the families that came into the area at the same time were forced to leave. The Moyles were able to get water from the Enterprise Reservoir. Even though it was an undependable source of water, they managed to get their land under cultivation and raised

⁵⁹Clement Johnson, Oral History, interview by Richard Swanson, July 23, 1973, Monticello, Utah, p. 9, CRC for Western Studies.

⁶⁰Schafer, Oral History, p. 6.

⁶¹Moyle, "Maud Austin Moyle."

a good crop of hay. When electricity was brought to the area in the 1940s, more people came into the area. Before then, homesteaders in the area were dependent on windmills, diesel engines, and even car motors to obtain water from wells.⁶²

Another factor which often determined success on dry land farms was familiarity with the area. Beginning in 1925, the Hunts spent five summers on their homestead sixteen miles north of Enterprise, Utah, before they proved up. They bought the claim from her husband's aunt, a widow, who had started homesteading to make a living for her children. She had only managed to make a few improvements, one of which was drilling a well with bad water, before she became discouraged and sold her claim. The Hunts bought the claim because they were familiar with the land. Likewise, in 1913, the Butts purchased their claim sixteen miles east of Monticello by paying the old man who lived there \$300 for his squatter's rights. Herman Butt was familiar with the property from his cowpunching days and knew there was a good spring on the tract. The Butts squatted on the land until the area was opened for entry by the government. The Butts knew that their choice of land was not the best, but the tract had good water and water was essential.⁶³

The Moyles, Hunts, Butts, and Schafers were successful homesteaders. Each woman reported that in each of the

⁶²Ibid; Moyle, "Colonizing the Desert"; Hunt, interview.

⁶³Hunt, interview; Butt, conversation; Pearl Bliss Butt, Oral History, interview by Jessie Embrey, July 19, 1973, Monticello, Utah, p. 10, CRC for Western Studies.

areas--southwestern Utah and southeastern Utah--many people came and went. Etna Schafer was impressed that ". . . quite a few neighbors moved out of the area just before we got there." When she and her husband arrived from Texas, they thought there was a rush for land and quickly took over a tract. She felt that if they had lived in the area for a time before they selected, they would have gotten a homestead closer to town and with less timber to clear.⁶⁴ Pearl Butt claims that she and her husband were successful because they were familiar with the lifestyle and familiar with the land. People came into the area "hunting homes." These people found they couldn't make a living, and the Butts and other people bought their land as they left. In this manner the Butts increased their acreage by about 1,000 acres.⁶⁵ Though the Schafers weren't familiar with the area, they were familiar with the lifestyle. Both of their parents had homesteaded in Texas in the early 1900s.⁶⁶

Technology was also crucial in the success of a dry land homestead. Tractors aided in clearing and plowing the soil and harvesting crops, and diesel engines and electricity pumped water necessary for irrigation. However, even with technology, women on dry land homesteads, much like women on mountain homesteads, were important as an extra hand to run equipment, to take on necessary jobs, or to run an isolated household that was basically

⁶³Schafer, Oral History, p. 6.

⁶⁴Butt, conversation.

⁶⁵Schafer, Oral History, p. 3.

self-sufficient. Augusta Hunt says that mostly she looked after her thirteen children, but through the years she did almost every job on the place. At one time she did all of the irrigating on the three farms she and her husband eventually acquired. She ran the tractor for every job except ditching--she says she never could get the hand of running the "ditcher." She ran the bailer and the mowing machine and did the plowing. Maud Moyle assisted in clearing the land on their homestead, and Pearl Butt helped her husband hand grub fifteen acres of their claim with a hoe and was involved in burning the brush. When burning the brush, Pearl would put her baby to bed in a wagon out in the field. However, most of the time Pearl says she did not help in the fields much.⁶⁷ Thressa Lewis Frost, who homesteaded with her husband twelve miles outside of Monticello, states, "We all had work; that was the main object. . . . At times my husband would have to leave home to go away to work and I would stay there with the kids to take care of the work."⁶⁸

Interaction with the environment appears to have been harder on dry land homesteads than on mountain homesteads. In dry land areas, cultivation of the land and drought sometimes combined to make living conditions even harder. Maud Moyle experienced some terrible dust storms in the Escalante Desert area. She says, "When

⁶⁷Hunt, interview; Moyle, "Maud Austin Moyle"; Butt, conversation, and Butt, Oral History, pp. 10-11.

⁶⁸Thressa Lewis Frost, Oral History, interview by Jessie Embrey, July 23, 1973, Monticello, Utah, p. 6, CRC for Western Studies.

the land was broken up the wind swept it in dense clouds over us. We lived in a two room basement and I have taken a tubful of dust out after one storm." On another occasion she and her husband had to crawl on their hands and knees through a dust storm to get to her sick brother; it was the only way they could trace the road.⁶⁹

When it came time to give birth, plans were made to go into town for the delivery. Augusta Hunt went into Enterprise where midwife "Aunt" Mary Holt assisted her births in a private home. Augusta's last baby was born in the Iron County Hospital in Cedar City. Pearl Butt was delivered by a midwife, but when it came time for her children to be born she went back to Moab, her hometown. Two of her three children were born there; the third was to have been born in Moab but came early and was born on the homestead. At the time the Butts were hard up for cash. One week before the baby was due, Pearl convinced her husband to make a freighting trip to Colorado to get cash. Alone on the homestead, Pearl found that the baby was not going to wait for her husband's return. She walked one mile to an old bachelor neighbor's place to ask him to go for help. She found him feeding his pigs. When she told him her situation his eyes got big, he threw down his buckets, and without a word started running for help. Remembering Pearl, he turned and asked, "Can you make it home?" She replied that she had made it there and imagined she could make it back. The mother of a

⁶⁹Moyle, "Colonization of the Desert"; Moyle, "Maud Austin Moyle."

neighbor was visiting the area and had experience delivering babies. She assisted Pearl, and all went well.⁷⁰

As on mountain homesteads, dry land homesteaders often had to depend on their own or a neighbor's know-how in times of sickness because trained medical help was usually too far away. Because there were no doctors in the Horsehead area of southeastern Utah, where Clement Johnson homesteaded, he was asked to drive his Model-T car to get the nurse who lived in Boulder, Utah, or to drive to Dove Creek, Colorado, to get the doctor. While waiting for Clement to come back with the doctor or nurse, Clement's wife would stay and care for the person who was sick.⁷¹ When Pearl Butt's son was sick during the flu epidemic of 1918, the county nurse would not come because she was afraid of catching the flu. Pearl tended him and bathed him through fourteen days of sickness from which he finally recovered. Pearl nursed her brother-in-law and his family through the flu; but when she and a girl staying with her became ill, they spent only a couple of days in bed before they were back to work.⁷² Of the lack of doctors, Thressa Lewis Frost says, "We didn't have any doctors here [Monticello] for years so we just learned to cope with things. If the kids got a cold, you just tried everything on them until it finally broke up."⁷³

⁷⁰Hunt, interview; Butt, conversation; Butt, Oral History, p. 11.

⁷¹Johnson, Oral History, p. 4.

⁷²Butt, Oral History, pp. 11-12.

⁷³Frost, Oral History, p. 8.

Neighbors on dry land homesteads usually lived farther away than on mountain homesteads. The Butt's neighbors were scattered because of the lack of water in the area, and their nearest neighbors were two miles away. Pearl claims she did not experience much loneliness because her childhood experience on a homestead adapted her to the circumstances. Several families used the water from their well, so she was able to see about one family a week when they came for water.⁷⁴

Distance, hard work, and rough traveling conditions made socializing difficult, but dry land homesteaders often developed a sense of community similar to mountain homesteaders. Church groups, relatives who moved into the area, the telephone, and women's clubs helped homesteaders to keep in contact and to ease the loneliness that many felt. On holidays the Butts went into Monticello where Pearl's husband's family lived. The Hunts and the Moyles went into Enterprise for Sunday church services and to visit family members. As more people moved into the area, Maud Moyle helped in establishing the Escalante Valley Women's club that involved women from all of the religious denominations in the area "to keep [them] from losing their minds." The club raised funds for community projects, contributed to the community center building, put on art exhibits, and helped with the Boy Scouts and Little League baseball.⁷⁵

⁷⁴Butt, conversation.

⁷⁵Butt, conversation; Hunt, interview; Moyle, "Maud Austin Moyle."

The first schoolhouse for homesteaders in eastern San Juan County was built in 1920 and served as a community center as well as a meeting place for any denomination that desired to have services. Pearl Butt says that an old fellow called "Coalbed" played the fiddle for most of the dances in the area. He never played a recognizable tune, but he kept time. Occasionally they had hillbilly music for their dances. In the early 1920s a card club was organized. In 1921 an interstate women's club met once every month. People involved were from Utah and Colorado. When they met they quilted, had a study session, or had a musical program with different individuals playing their instruments. Pearl estimates there were as many as forty women involved, though they were never all present at the same meeting.⁷⁶ Settlers in eastern San Juan County homesteads who were members of the Mormon faith met in Lockerby for church services. Clement Johnson says "We had quite a bunch of us go in there. . . . We would drive teams in six or seven miles every Sunday." People in the area got together at different places two or three times a month for dances or playing cards. On Easter everyone would get together for a feast and horse riding contest.⁷⁷

Community support was seen in more than socials and church meetings. In times of need, sickness, and death, neighbors were very helpful. One of Pearl Butt's neighbors took care of Pearl's children for eight weeks while Pearl's husband was in the hospital

⁷⁶ Butt, conversation.

⁷⁷ Johnson, Oral History, p. 3.

in Cortez, Colorado. On Monticello homesteads when someone died the women laid out the dead and lined the casket, and the men dug the grave and made the casket. There were other occasions when neighbors were helpful. Pearl Butt's husband occasionally loaned cows to people while they were getting established in the area, and Pearl helped deliver a couple of babies. Etna Schafer had two bachelors for neighbors. When Ben, her husband, was away hunting or working, the bachelors would ride by to see that Etna and her children were all right. At other times they would help take care of the children and assist in preparing meals. At harvest time homesteaders in the Monticello area exchanged labor so that little money had to be paid out to get crops harvested. Settlers in the Escalante Valley worked together to clear and cultivate one another's land.⁷⁸

The responsibilities given to children apparently varied according to the family. Pearl Butt's oldest daughter worked in the house. Her boy helped with the chores beginning at nine years of age. The youngest girl milked cows, fed the chickens, helped outdoors, and rode horses because she did not want to work in the house. In the Hunt household the nine boys made a full crew that helped in the fields. The four girls worked in the house, milked the cows, and cared for the chickens. Sorting potatoes was a big job, and at age three or four the children were expected to help

⁷⁸ Butt, conversation; Schafer, Oral History, p. 6; Moyle, "Maud Austin Moyle."

with it.⁷⁹ As children growing up on their parents' homestead, Pearl Butt and her sister had the job of thinning the cane. Pearl says, "We wore sunbonnets and the gnats got under them and nearly set us wild. If we pushed our bonnets back, father would say, 'You get your bonnets on.'" When it was stormy weather her father would come into the house while they sewed rag rugs and carpets. Pearl's mother also pieced quilts, and by the time Pearl was nine years old she had pieced her own quilt.⁸⁰

Consideration for the schooling of the children led some people to move from their homesteads into town or to make other arrangements. In about 1936 the Schafers moved into Monticello after they learned there was not going to be a school near their farm at South Canyon Point. Thressa Lewis Frost and her family lived on their homestead during the summer, but moved into town during the winters after the children started school.⁸¹ Some areas were luckier as far as education facilities. A one-room schoolhouse was built in 1922 at Ginger Hill in southeastern Utah. Clement Johnson's children walked three miles each day to attend school there. At various times the family housed the schoolteacher. Later a school was built at Horsehead where the children could attend the grades up to High School. When the Johnson children became old enough to attend High School, various arrangements were made for continuing the children's education. One

⁷⁹ Butt, conversation; Hunt, interview.

⁸⁰ Butt, Oral History, p. 9.

⁸¹ Frost, Oral History, pp. 5, 7.

daughter lived with her grandparents in Ferron, Utah while she attended Junior High and High School. After finishing grade school, while living on the ranch, three other children lived in Monticello by themselves while they attended their first year of High School. After that first year they refused to attend any more school unless their parents moved into town, which they did.⁸²

Maud Moyle moved from the Escalante Desert to Salt Lake City, which was nearly 300 miles away, with her two boys during the winter while they attended school. For Maud the move "helped break some of the sad, lonesome, and long winters." Later Maud and her youngest son rented part of a home in Enterprise for a couple of years while he attended High School.⁸³

Lifestyles on mountain homesteads and dry land homesteads were similar. Living conditions and houses were relatively primitive. In times of sickness or childbirth, homesteaders on mountain and dry land homesteads often depended on their own or a neighbor's knowledge of medicine or midwifery. Though neighbors were often some distance away, usually more so on dry land homesteads, socializing and community spirit for both mountain and dry land homesteaders were maintained by holiday get-togethers, dances, church meetings, and clubs. Women on both types of homesteads had great responsibilities doing farm work, caring for children, and running the homestead while a husband was away working. Responsibilities of women who ran dairies on Cedar Mountain, while husbands

⁸²Johnson, Oral History, pp. 2-3.

⁸³Moyle, "Maud Austin Moyle."

and fathers were away farming, were probably more standardized than responsibilities of women on dry land farms which appear to have varied according to the situation of each family. Likewise, the responsibilities of children on dry land homesteads appear to have varied more than those of children on Cedar Mountain homesteads because dry land homesteads raised a larger variety of crops and livestock, while mountain homesteads in the Cedar City area were virtually all for dairying. A concern dry land homesteaders had that homesteaders on Cedar Mountain do not appear to have had was how to get their children educated. Mountain homesteaders in the Cedar City area moved back to town during the fall and winter because snowfall and distance from town made it impossible to live there during those months. During these months their children attended school. On the other hand, dry land homesteaders often intended their homestead to be their primary residence. Lack of available education for their children accounts for many dry land homesteaders moving from their farms into town or giving up their homesteads altogether.

The most significant experiences of homesteading were common to all women. The picture created by life sketches, memoirs, and interviews suggests that the lifestyle of Utah's women homesteaders on mountain dairies or dry farms varied only in respect to environment and technology. Given such differences, other areas of the experience, such as living conditions, sacrifices, and association among homesteaders, were shared by most women homesteaders. The picture presented in this chapter also indicates that the greatest variation in the experience was

probably the women themselves. They had different backgrounds, needs, hopes, and personalities. Homesteading was an important avenue for women to meet their various needs and aspirations, such as supporting a family, adding to family resources, adventure, or entrepreneurship. Filing a land claim was a logical path for many of Utah's women because it often suited their backgrounds. Many had been directly involved in the settlement of Utah's lands or had grown up in families that lived off the land. Also, most women land entrants had the support of family and friends which made homesteading a feasible choice for meeting individual needs.

Women in Utah shared the experience of homesteading with women on other frontiers. The environment in Utah was no more limiting to the participation of women in the homestead movement than it was in other areas of the West. The percentage of land claims filed by Utah women is similar to other frontiers.

Investigation of how women in Utah used national homestead laws reveals a great deal about the lives of women that otherwise might go unnoticed. The record of their participation in the homestead movement is valuable because it broadens our knowledge of the lives of women in Utah and in the West.

APPENDIX A

FEMALE LAND ENTRANTS FROM TOWNSHIPS SURVEYED
IN THE CEDAR CITY AREA

NAME	DATE OF ENTRY	AGE AT FILING	MARITAL STATUS
ALEXANDER, Kate	1894	47	Married
ANDERSON, Louisa	1906	--	--
ATKIN, Luella	1906	--	--
BARTON, Daisy L.	ND*	--	--
BAUER, Alouise	1889	58	FHOH**
BAUER, Leah Jane	1893	22	Married
BULLOCH, Alice B.	1895	46	Plural
BURTON, Ada L.	1914	--	Single
CHAFFIN, Ellen J.	1895	39	Married
CHATTERLY, Sarah Ellen	1890	26	Single
CORRY, Francell	1915	43	Married
CORRY, Lettitia	1892	48	Plural
COSLETT, Agnes	1909	26	Single
DALLEY, Lenora Caroline	1904	21	Single
DALTON, Luella	1906	17	Single
DAVIS, Minnie J.	1900	--	--
DeMILL, Fidelia	1900	53	Plural
EAVES, Alva C.	ND	--	--
EDDARDS, Ada	1896	20	Married
FARROW, Marie	1912	--	Single
FIFE, Kate R.	1895	--	--
GOWER, Martha Ann	1896	70	FHOH
GOWER, Mary	1913	43	Married
HAIGHT, Caroline Eliza	1903	21	Single
HAIGHT, Harriet	1901	--	Single
HALLMAN, Josephine A. H.	1898	--	FHOH
HAMILTON, Ann	1899	40	Married
HATCH, Meltia	1882	--	--
HENRIE, Clara A.	1888	--	--
HEYBORNE, Eunice	1907	25	Single
HEYBORNE, MaryAnn L.	1896	45	Married
HIGBEE, Sara A.	1897 & 1909	--	Plural

* ND = No Date

** FHOH = Female Head of Household

APPENDIX A (Continued)

NAME	DATE OF ENTRY	AGE AT FILING	MARITAL STATUS
HOUSTON, Sarah A.	1911	51	Plural
HUNTER, Euphainia	1902	25	Single
JONES, Caroline R.	1896	35	FHOH
JONES, Irene	1912	--	Single
JONES, Maurie	1912	--	Single
JONES, Sage T.	1895	62	FHOH
LEIGH, Amy W.	1896	40	Married
LEIGH, Mary J.	1902	25	Single
McCONNELL, Elizabeth	1896	--	--
MACFARLANE, Eliza A.	1898	22	Single
MACKLEPRANG, Margaret	1894	--	Plural
MACKLEPRANG, Mary E.	1897	25	Single
MARSHALL, Emma	1894	--	--
MILLER, Rebecca A.	1912	--	Married
MITCHELL, Jolia F.	1911	--	--
MORTENSEN, Cora L.	1912	--	--
MORTENSEN, Louisa	1895	46	FHOH
NELSON, Stella	1913	--	Single
NORTON, Amanda	1893	--	--
PARRY, Elizabeth	1893	--	--
PARRY, Evelyn C.	1906	--	--
PERKINS, Naomi	1898	22	Single
PERRY, Clara	1902	25	Single
PERRY, Lauretta	1919	--	--
PERRY, Louisa L.	1896	28	Married
PENDLETON, Anna	1896	38	Plural
PROCTOR, Martha	1893	19	Married
RIDING, Mary Ellen	1893	--	Married
ROSENBERG, Charlotte	1896	30	Married
ROSENBERG, Roselia May	1896	26	Married
SHAKESPEARE, Maria D.	1892	31	Married
SHERRATT, Alice M.	1898	27	Single
SHERRATT, Barbara	1896	21	Married
SHEPPERSON, Eliza	1896	--	--
STAPLEY, Jane	1896	34	Married
STEVENS, Eliza R.	1912	--	Married
STUBBS, E. Fannie	1911	26	Married
STUMP, Nellie T.	ND	--	FHOH
TAIT, Sarah B.	1894	--	Single
THORLEY, Annie A.	1897	26	Single
WALKER, Betsey A.	1898	20	Single
WEBSTER, Ann Elizabeth	1895	64	Plural

APPENDIX A (Continued)

NAME	DATE OF ENTRY	AGE AT FILING	MARITAL STATUS
WEBSTER, Florence W.	1896	26	Married
WILLIAMS, Aurelia	1894	--	--
WILSON, Mary Ann	1894	60	Plural
WOOD, Elizabeth A.	ND	--	--

SUMMARY

<u>Marital Status</u>	<u>Number</u>
Married	21
Female Heads of Household	7
Single	22
Plural	9
Unidentified	<u>19</u>
TOTAL	78

SOURCES CONSULTED

Books

- Alder, Douglas D., ed. Cache Valley: Essay on the Past and People. Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1976.
- Alexander, Thomas G. A Clash of Interests: Interior Department and Mountain West, 1863-96. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1977.
- Arrington, Leonard J. Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints 1830-1900. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1966.
- Basch, Norma. In the Eyes of the Law, Women, Marriage, and Property in Nineteenth-Century New York. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982.
- Bushman, Claudia L., ed. Mormon Sisters. Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Co., 1976.
- Carter, Kate B., comp. Our Pioneer Heritage. 20 vols. Salt Lake City, Utah: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1958-77.
- Clawson, Marion and Held, Burnell. The Federal Laws: Their Use and Management. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1957.
- Dalton, Luella Adams, comp. History of the Iron County Mission and Parowan the Mother Town. No place, publisher, or publishing date.
- Daughters of the Utah Pioneers. An Enduring Legacy. 7 vols. Salt Lake City: Utah Printing Co., 1978-1984.
- Francaviglia, Richard V. The Mormon Landscape: Existence, Creation, and Perception of a Unique Image in the American West. New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1978.
- Friedman, Lawrence W. A History of American Law. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973.
- Gallaher, Ruth A. Legal and Political Status of Women in Iowa, An Historical Account of the Rights of Women in Iowa from 1838 to 1918. Iowa City, Iowa: The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1918.

- Gates, Paul W. History of Public Land Law Development. Washington, D.C.: Written for the Public Land Law Review Commission, 1968.
- Hibbard, Benjamin H. Public Land Policies. University of Wisconsin Press, 1965.
- Index to Heart Throbs of the West, Vols. 1-7. Indexed by Beth Oyler. Salt Lake City Public Library, 1948.
- Index to Heart Throbs of the West, Vols. 8-12. Indexed by Beth Oyler. Salt Lake City Public Library, 1950.
- Iron County Centennial Committee. Iron County Centennial 1851-1951. Cedar City, Utah: Iron County Centennial Committee, no date of publication.
- Jackson, Richard H., comp. Images of the West: Elements of the Mormon Landscape. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Geography Department, 1976.
- Jeffrey, Julie Roy. Frontier Women, The Trans-Mississippi West 1840-1880. New York: Hill and Wang, 1979.
- Jones, York F. and Evelyn K. Lehi Willard Jones 1854-1947. Salt Lake City: Woodruff Printing Company, 1972.
- Kolodny, Annette. The Lay of the Land: Metaphor as Experience and History in American Life and Letters. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975.
- Larson, Gustive O. Cedar City, Gateway to Rainbow Land. Cedar City, Utah: Cedar City Chamber of Commerce, 1950.
- Myres, Sandra L. Westering Women and the Frontier Experience 1800-1915. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982.
- Nash, Roderick. Wilderness and the American Mind, rev. ed. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973.
- Nelson, Lowry. The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952.
- Okin, Susan Moller. Women in Western Political Thought. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1979.
- Perkins, Cornelia Adams; Nielson, Marian Gardner; and Jones, Lenora Butt. Saga of San Juan, 2nd ed. San Juan County Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1968.

- Peterson, Charles S. Look to the Mountains, Southeastern Utah and the La Sal National Forest. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975.
- Poll, Richard D., gen. ed. Utah's History. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978.
- Richey, Elinor. Eminent Women of the West. Berkeley, California: Howell-North Books, 1975.
- Robbins, Roy M. Our Landed Heritage. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1976.
- Smith, Henry Nash. Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth. New York: Vintage Books, 1950.
- Stayner, Charles W. Farmer's and Miner's Manual. Salt Lake City: Stayner and Simmons Land Agents and Attorneys, 1883.
- Stratton, JoAnna. Pioneer Women, Voices from the Kansas Frontier. Introduction by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981.
- Sutton, Wain, ed. Utah: A Centennial History. New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co. Inc., 1949.
- Tanner, Mary Jane Mount. A Fragment: The Autobiography of Mary Jane Mount Tanner. Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund, 1980.
- Wahlquist, Wayne, ed. Atlas of Utah. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1981.

Documents and Government Publications

- Bureau of Land Management. Facts and Figures 1984.
- Cedar Ward, Parowan Stake. "Relief Society Minutes, 1877-1903." Church Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.
- Compiled Laws of Utah 1876. Salt Lake City: Deseret News Printing Establishment, 1876.
- Compiled Laws of Utah 1907. Salt Lake City: Skelton Publishing Co., 1908.
- Genealogical Society. Family Group Sheets, Patron's Section. Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
- General Land Office Circular. The Manner of Proceeding to Obtain Title to Public Lands Under the Preemption, Homestead, and Other Laws. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1884.

Land Claims File, Bureau of Land Management, Salt Lake City, Utah.

"Minutes of the School of the Prophets Held in Parowan 1868-1872."
Copied by Brigham Young University Library, 1956.

Survey Notebooks, Bureau of Land Management, Salt Lake City, Utah.

United States Federal Census. Iron County, 1880. Genealogical
Society Film Number 1255336. Church of Jesus Christ of
Latter-day Saints.

United States Statutes at Large. Vol. 24, December 1885-March
1887.

U.S. General Land Office. Suggestions to Homesteaders and Persons
Desiring to Make Homestead Entries. Washington, D.C.: Govern-
ment Printing Office, 1906.

Utah House Journal 1882. Salt Lake City.

Utah Territorial Legislative Assembly Journal, 1872. Salt Lake
City: Daily Tribune Job Offices, 1872.

Utah Tract Entry Books, Bureau of Land Management, Salt Lake City,
Utah.

Interviews and Memoirs

Barton, Etta. Oral History. Interview by Thomas G. Alexander,
July 20, 1973, Monticello, Utah. Southeastern Utah Oral
History Project, Charles Redd Center for Western Studies,
Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; Utah State Historical
Society.

Benson, Fae Nelson, and Nelson, McNone. "Dairying on Cedar Moun-
tain." Special Collections, Southern Utah State College.
Cedar City, Utah.

Butt, Pearl Bliss. Conversation with Jill Thorley Warnick, May 2,
1984, Monticello, Utah.

_____. Oral History. Interview by Jessie Embrey, July 19,
1973, Monticello, Utah. Southeastern Utah Oral History
Project, Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, Brigham Young
University, Provo, Utah; Utah State Historical Society.

"Cora Jones Stucki." Life Sketch. Cedar City Public Library.
Cedar City, Utah.

Cox, Karl T. Conversation with Jill Thorley Warnick, October 1980.
Cedar City, Utah.

- Day, Arvilla H. "Dairying at the Joseph M. Perry Ranch." Cedar City Public Library, Cedar City, Utah.
- Frost, Thressa Lewis. Oral History. Interview by Jessie Embrey, July 23, 1973, Monticello, Utah. Southeastern Utah Oral History Project, Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; Utah State Historical Society.
- Hunt, Augusta Wilcox. Interview by Jill Thorley Warnick, February 24, 1984, St. George, Utah.
- Johnson, Clement. Oral History. Interview by Richard Swanson, July 23, 1973, Monticello, Utah. Southeastern Utah Oral History Project, Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; Utah State Historical Society.
- Jones, Henry W. Interview by Jill Thorley Warnick, September 1978, Cedar City, Utah.
- Jones, Lehi. Interview by Jill Thorley Warnick, October 1980, Cedar City, Utah.
- Jones, Thelma. Conversation with Jill Thorley Warnick, September 1978, Cedar City, Utah.
- McConnell, Gladys. "Colonizing Cedar Mountain." Special Collections, Southern Utah State College, Cedar City, Utah.
- _____. "Pioneer Dairying." Special Collections, Southern Utah State College, Cedar City, Utah.
- Maughan, Mary Ann Weston. "Journal." Utah State University, Logan, Utah. Joel E. Ricks Collection of Transcripts.
- Moyle, Georgia. "Maud Austin Moyle." Unpublished paper.
- Moyle, Maud Austin. "Colonization of the Desert." Southern Utah State College, Cedar City, Utah, William R. Palmer Collection.
- Palmer, William R. "A Costly Experiment." Southern Utah State College, Cedar City, Utah, William R. Palmer Collection.
- Ricks, Joel E. "David Jenkins." Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.
- Schafer, Etna. Oral History. Interview by Frank W. Fox, July 20, 1973, Monticello, Utah. Southeastern Utah Oral History Project, Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; Utah State Historical Society.

"Sketch of the Life of Hannah A. Crosky, Daughter of Edward and Emily Bunker Abbot." Lois E. Jones, comp. Southern Utah State College, Cedar City, Utah, William R. Palmer Collection.

Thorley, Roe. Interview by Jill Thorley Warnick, March 1981, Cedar City, Utah.

Urie, Mary H. "Mountain Dairying." Cedar City Public Library. Cedar City, Utah.

Urie, Violet Lunt. "Autobiography." Church Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Salt Lake City, Utah.

Wood, Rhoda M. "Cedar City's Cattle Industry in the Late 1800's and Early 1900's." Special Collections, Southern Utah State College, Cedar City, Utah.

_____. "Interesting Items About Livestock in Utah." Special Collections, Southern Utah State College, Cedar City, Utah.

_____. "The Dairying Colony in Cedar Canyon." Special Collections, Southern Utah State College, Cedar City, Utah.

W.P.A. "Ann Prior Jarvis: Autobiography." Federal Writer's Project, St. George Public Library, St. George, Utah.

W.P.A. "Sketch of Life of Mary Dart Judd." Federal Writer's Project, St. George Public Library, St. George, Utah.

Journal Articles, Dissertations, and Theses

Alexander, Thomas G. "An Experiment in Progressive Legislation: The Granting of Woman Suffrage in Utah in 1870." Utah Historical Quarterly 38 (Winter 1970):20-30.

Beecher, Maureen Ursenbach. "Under Sunbonnets: Mormon Women With Faces." Brigham Young University Studies 16 (Summer 1976): 471-84.

_____. "Women's Work on the Mormon Frontier." Utah Historical Quarterly 49 (Summer 1981):276-290.

Beecher, Maureen Ursenbach; Madsen, Carol Cornwall; and Derr, Jill Mulvay. "The Latter-day Saints and Women's Rights, 1870-1920: A Brief Survey." Task Papers in LDS History, No. 29. Salt Lake City: Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1979.

Brooks, Juanita. "Silver Reef." Utah Historical Quarterly 29 (Fall 1961):281-87.

- Campbell, Eugene E. and Bruce L. Campbell. "Divorce Among Mormon Polygamists: Extent and Explanations." Utah Historical Quarterly 46 (Winter 1978):4-23.
- Fox, Feramorz Y. "The Mormon Land System: A Study of the Settlement and Utilization of Land Under the Direction of the Mormon Church." Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1932.
- Frost, Melvin J. "Factors That Influenced Homesteading and Land Abandonment in San Juan County, Utah." M.S. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1960.
- Hall, Lynne R. "Property Law and the Homemaker." Exponent II (Winter 1982):2 and 4.
- _____. "Property Law and the Homemaker." Exponent II (Spring 1982):6 and 8.
- Harris, Katherine Llewellyn Hill. "Women and Families on Northeastern Colorado Homesteads, 1873-1920." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Colorado, 1983.
- Jackson, Richard H. and Robert L. Layton. "The Mormon Village: Analysis of a Settlement Type." The Professional Geographer 28 (May 1976):136-41.
- Larson, Gustive O. "Land Contest in Early Utah." Utah Historical Quarterly 29 (October 1961):309-325.
- Lee, Lawrence B. "Homesteading in Zion." Utah Historical Quarterly 28 (Winter 1960):29-38.
- _____. "The Homestead Act: Vision and Reality." Utah Historical Quarterly 30 (Summer 1962):215-234.
- Linford, Lawrence L. "Establishing and Maintaining Land Ownership in Utah Prior to 1869." Utah Historical Quarterly 42 (Spring 1974):126-143.
- May, Dean L. "The Making of Saints: The Mormon Town as a Setting for the Study of Cultural Change." Utah Historical Quarterly 45 (Winter 1977):75-92.
- Meinig, Donald W. "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964." Annals of the Association of American Geographers 55 (June 1965):191-220.
- Palmer, William R. "Early Day Trading With Nevada Mining Camps." Utah Historical Quarterly 26 (October 1958):354-368.
- _____. "Merchandising in Early Utah." Utah Historical Quarterly 26 (October 1958):354-368.

- Patrick, John R. "The School of Prophets: Its Development and Influence in Utah Territory." M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1970.
- Patterson-Black, Sheryll. "Women Homesteaders on the Great Plains Frontier." Frontiers 1 (Spring 1976):67-88.
- Peterson, Charles S. "Imprint of Agricultural Systems on the Utah Landscape." The Mormon Role in the Settlement of the West. Richard H. Jackson, ed. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978.
- Raitz, Karl B. "Theology on the Landscape: A Comparison of Mormon and Amish-Mennonite Land Use." Utah Historical Quarterly 41 (Winter 1973):23-34.
- Ricks, Joel E. "The Early Land System of Utah, 1847-1870." M.A. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1920.
- Rollins, George W. "Land Policies of the United States as Applied to Utah to 1910." Utah Historical Quarterly 29 (July 1952): 239-251.
- Sherlock, Richard. "Mormon Migration and Settlement After 1875." Journal of Mormon History 2 (1975):53-68.
- Wahlquist, Wayne. "A Review of Mormon Settlement Literature." Utah Historical Quarterly 45 (Winter 1977):4-21.
- _____. "Settlement Processes in the Mormon Core Area, 1847-1890." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Nebraska, 1974.

Newspapers and Unpublished Papers

- Bradley, Martha Sonntag. "Women and Land Ownership 1847." Unpublished paper.
- Deseret News, January - February 1872.
- Hatch, Charles M. "Land, Inheritance and Family Formation of Mormon Towns." Paper presented at the 22nd Annual Conference of the Western History Association. Phoenix, Arizona, 1982.
- Lehi Banner, August 24, 1905.
- Pearson, Lisa Madsen. "Innovation and Accommodation: Women and the Law in Territorial Utah." Unpublished paper.
- Salt Lake Tribune, January - February 1872.
- Woman's Exponent, 1872 - 1914.

WOMEN HOMESTEADERS IN UTAH, 1869-1934

Jill Thorley Warnick

Department of History

M.A. Degree, December 1985

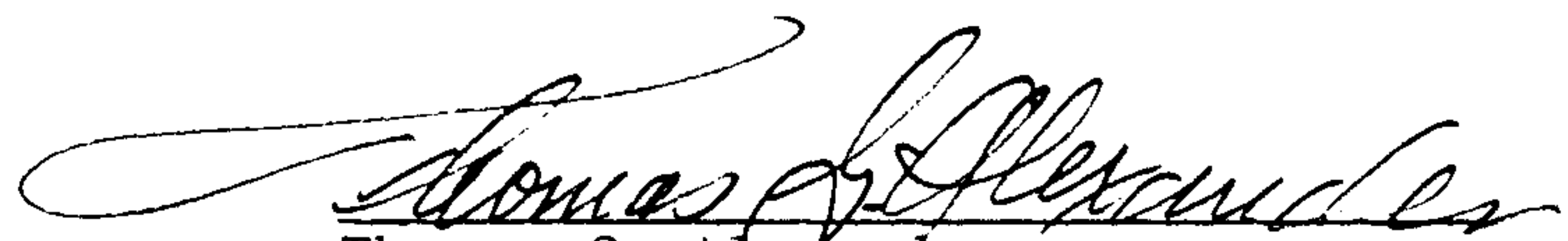
ABSTRACT

Social, political, and economic developments in nineteenth-century Utah combined to create an environment in which women in Utah could participate in the homestead movement. Utah tract books show that a significant percentage of land claims were filed by women. Tract records surveyed in three areas of the State--Cedar City, Logan, and Monticello--reveal 12.9 percent, 12.5 percent, and 9.9 percent, respectively, of the total entries were made by women. The statistical profile of Utah's women homesteaders does not vary greatly from that of women on other frontiers. Women homesteaders in Utah had varied and individual reasons for becoming involved in homesteading, and they evidently exercised control over the land they patented. Sources such as life sketches, memoirs, and interviews indicate that although women homesteaders had different backgrounds and needs which led them to participate in the homestead movement, they shared many common experiences.

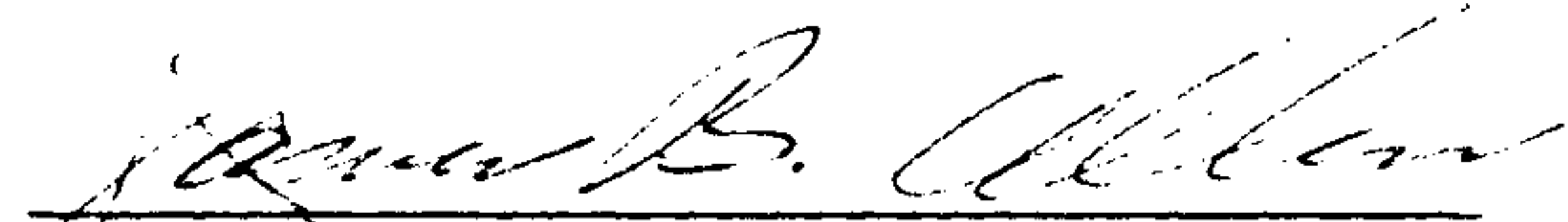
COMMITTEE APPROVAL:



Ted J. Warner
Committee Chairman



Thomas G. Alexander
Committee Member



James B. Allen
Department Chairman