

Mina Westbye: Norwegian Immigrant, North Dakota Homesteader, Studio Photographer,
"New Woman"

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Mina Westbye

- X Norwegian Immigrant
- X North Dakota Homesteader
- X Studio Photographer
- X "New Woman"

Mina Westbye, photographer, courtesy Glenn Durban



The Homestead Act of 1862 allowed Americans and immigrants who declared their intent to become citizens the opportunity to lay claim to land in the public domain. In 1903, Mina Westbye and her cousins Marie and Olive Jensen were among the earliest homesteaders in what is now Divide County in northwestern North Dakota. Westbye and (presumably) one of the Jensen sisters pose outside Westbye's homestead shack circa 1904 in what Mina called the "wild west."

by Lori Ann Lahlum

In December 1904, Mina Westbye wrote to her future husband, Alfred Gundersen, that she “[c]ame to Mpls. from the wild west yesterday.”¹ A young, single Norwegian immigrant, Westbye and two American-born cousins, Olive and Marie Jensen, homesteaded on adjoining sections of windswept, gently rolling grasslands in present-day Divide County, North Dakota, southeast of Crosby.² Westbye, however, had not taken out her land in pursuit of the Jeffersonian agrarian ideal of becoming a farmer. Like many other single women homesteaders (including the Jensen sisters), Westbye planned to sell her claim to provide capital for other pursuits. In many ways, Westbye was a part-time homesteader since well-developed rail lines facilitated her frequent movement between northwestern North Dakota and Minneapolis. Despite being one of the earliest homesteaders in the region, her story is largely forgotten because she did not stay on the land.

Mina Westbye, homesteader and Norwegian immigrant, embodies the spirit of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century New Woman, characterized by Sylvia Hoffert as “single, well-educated, independent, self-sufficient, and strong-willed.”³ Between 1900 and 1908, the period when Westbye first lived in the United States, she resided much of the time in Minneapolis, where she earned her living as a domestic or a seamstress. An intelligent woman, Westbye quickly mastered English and read broadly. Indeed, she carried on botanical, theological, and sociological conversations with Gundersen in their correspondence. And Westbye took opportunities to enhance her economic well-being, whether by choosing to emigrate, claiming homestead land, or, later, by operating a photography studio in the Norwegian American community of Hanska, Minnesota. Westbye’s example is particularly interesting because historians have addressed single, women homesteaders as New Women but not typically through the lens of immigration.⁴ Moreover, most scholars situate the New Woman in urban areas.⁵

A venturesome young woman, Westbye (right, circa 1900) emigrated to Minneapolis, Minnesota. There she lived with conservative Lutheran relatives and worked as a domestic and a dressmaker or seamstress.

Westbye’s life not only illuminates this New Woman in the countryside, it also points to the New Woman in Norwegian American communities.⁶

Born in 1879, in Trysil, Norway, a mountainous, forested region near the Swedish border, Mina Westbye grew up in a family with seven siblings. Her father, Peder O. Westbye, emigrated in 1888 and left behind his family, including infant twins. He worked as a surveyor in Yellow Medicine County, Minnesota, and later settled in Minneapolis, where he worked as a map-maker. After Peder relocated to America, Mina’s mother, Anne Karine Olsdatter Brevig, took in boarders to help make ends meet. In Norway, adolescents typically entered adulthood when confirmed in the Lutheran Church (the state church) at fourteen or fifteen; Mina Westbye was confirmed in 1893 at the age of fourteen.⁷

During his absence, Peder Westbye kept in contact with his family, and from the mid-1890s he tried to get an elder daughter to emigrate and keep house for him. Women often kept house for single male relatives in the period, and it was one way for Norwegian women to secure passage to the United States. In 1900, twenty-one-year-old Mina Westbye,



Courtesy Glenn Durban



In Minneapolis (above, circa 1900), Westbye joined the Norwegian Unitarian church and became friends with Unitarian minister Amandus Norman and his wife, Corinne. The Norman family would play an important role in Westbye's life in the next few years.

who, according to her son-in-law, Glenn Durban, was the more “adventurous daughter,” decided to emigrate, making her part of a large migration of single people from Norway. These labor migrants often emigrated to cities; Westbye settled in Minneapolis, although she did not live with her father, with whom she had a somewhat strained relationship. Instead, Westbye resided with her aunt, Petronella Jensen (her mother’s sister), and uncle, Erik Jensen, and their five children, Julius Theodore (b. 1871), Olive (b. 1872), Marie (b. 1876), Anna (b. 1882), and Ingeborg (b. 1884). When Westbye arrived in Minneapolis, her cousin Olive worked as a dressmaker and Marie attended school. Reverend Erik Jensen was a conservative, “orthodox” minister, according to Westbye, who adhered to the teachings of the Norwegian Synod of the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America. Westbye did not hold Reverend Jensen’s religious beliefs.⁸

Like many other young immigrant women, and especially Norwegian immigrant women, Westbye

worked as a domestic and a seamstress or dressmaker in Minneapolis. In spite of living with her conservative Lutheran relatives, Westbye became involved with the Norwegian Unitarian church in the city, the Nazareth Church.⁹ The relationship she developed with the minister, Amandus Norman, and his wife, Corinne, became an important facet of her life in America.

At some point while living in Minneapolis, Westbye and Marie and Olive Jensen decided to lay claim to land in northwestern North Dakota. This decision may have been made shortly before the young women set off for “the wild west.” In late August of 1903, Westbye filed her first naturalization papers, which was a necessary step before an immigrant could claim land under the Homestead Act. Later that day or early the next, Westbye and the Jensen sisters boarded a train headed for Minot, North Dakota. On August 27, 1903, all three women claimed land in Blooming Valley Township, Williams County (now Divide County).¹⁰ Westbye and the Jensen sisters were among the earliest settlers to take out homesteads in the region, yet



they (and others) are not listed as early settlers in the county history because compilers used the 1915 atlas plat map of landowners to construct the list.¹¹

The Homestead Act of 1862 allowed Americans and those who declared their intent to become citizens the opportunity to lay claim to land in the public domain. Men and women who met the require-

ment of twenty-one years of age and served as head of family could take out 160 acres of land for a filing fee of ten dollars (later fourteen dollars). Although this legislation excluded most married women, single women and widows could claim land. After living on the claim for five years and making improvements, the homesteader could “prove up” and receive title



Mina Westbye, photographer, courtesy Glenn Durban

Because the Homestead Act treated single women the same as men, the legislation challenged gender hierarchies, providing women, including immigrant women like Westbye, the opportunity to become landowners. Women homesteaders in northwestern North Dakota took land for a variety of reasons, although they fall into two general categories: those who intended to farm and “investment homesteaders,” who filed claims with the intention of selling the land once they had proved up. In this view, Westbye and one of her cousins enjoy coffee on the prairie circa 1904.

northern plains. Because single women were treated equally with men under the Homestead Act, the legislation ultimately challenged gender hierarchies by providing women, including immigrant women, the opportunity to benefit economically from the ownership of land.¹²

The Homestead Act also pushed the frontier westward. In the 1860s, Minnesota led the nation in the number of homestead entries filed. Twenty years later, during the “Great Dakota Land Boom” of the 1880s, settlers flocked to the territory; in 1883, Dakota Territory accounted for nearly 40 percent of all homestead claims in the United States, with more than 11 million acres taken. Congress created North and South Dakota in 1889, and by the early 1900s more settlers had moved to the Dakotas and eastern Montana. Because so many first-, second-, and third-generation Norwegian Americans took part in the process, the end result was the creation of Norwegian American communities across the northern Great Plains.

Like Westbye and her cousins, some of these early homesteaders were women. In fact, North Dakota had a relatively high rate of women homesteaders, especially in the early twentieth century. The percentage of women claiming land in North Dakota varied by time and location, but typically it was between 5 and 18 percent, with a small number of locales reaching 30 percent. Divide County (the northern portion of Williams County in 1903) appeared on the high end. In H. Elaine Lindgren’s sampling for Divide County, women constituted between 17 and 18 percent of homesteaders.¹³ In her larger study of women homesteaders in North Dakota, Lindgren found that 24 percent of the women had been born in Norway and another 22 percent were the daughters

(patent) to the land after paying a title fee. Later, a person had the option of acquiring title to a homestead after six months of residency by commuting (purchasing) it for \$1.25 per acre. The dream of “free land” provided by the Homestead Act, combined with railroad, territorial, and state promotions, brought hundreds of thousands of people to the

of immigrants.¹⁴ In Blooming Valley Township, where Westbye and the Jensen sisters claimed land, women accounted for 27 percent of all claimants who acquired title to their land. Additionally, the township's population was decidedly Norwegian American.¹⁵ By homesteading, Westbye and other immigrant women participated in an American process and had direct contact with American governmental institutions, but because so many settled in the same area, they often lived in communities in which language and cultural practices from Norway flourished. The interplay among Norwegian language and traditions and American society and institutions (including schools and the English language) created distinctive Norwegian American communities.

Although these Norwegian immigrant and Norwegian American women homesteaders took land for a variety of reasons, they fall into two general categories: those who acquired land for agricultural purposes (whether to farm it themselves, add it to the family's holdings, rent it to a farmer, or join it with a spouse's property) and those who filed a claim with the intention of selling the land once they proved up.¹⁶ Historian Dee Garceau refers to these latter women as "investment homesteaders." For them, acquiring title to the land became important because they could sell the land to generate income. For women like Mina Westbye, "economic independence" came when they found a buyer for their land—not from making the land agriculturally productive.¹⁷

Marie Jensen, Olive Jensen, and Mina Westbye claimed land on adjoining sections (14, 15, and 22) at the Minot land office in August of 1903. After filing the claim, they traveled to Blooming Valley Township and began the

process of meeting the legal requirements to acquire title, such as erecting a dwelling and living on the land for a portion of the year. Westbye appears to have stayed in the area until early December, when she returned to Minneapolis to "[earn] a living." She resided there until mid-March 1904, when she returned to her claim. That autumn, after meeting the six-month residency requirement, Westbye filled out the paperwork for final proof, which would give her title to the land, and ran her notice of final proof in the *Crosby Review*. Also in the fall of 1904, Westbye began corresponding with Alfred Gundersen, whom she most likely met through the Unitarian Church in Minneapolis. These letters provided Westbye and Gundersen, a Norwegian immigrant and graduate of Stanford University, with the opportunity to get to know each other. At least some of the letters have been preserved, and they richly document Westbye's homesteading experience.¹⁸

During the months they lived in Blooming Valley Township, Westbye and the Jensen sisters made homes and began transforming the prairie into agricultural cropland, or "improving" the land, under provisions of the Homestead Act. Marie and Olive Jensen set up shanties in close proximity to each other, but Westbye's claim shack, or "villa," as she once described it, lay a bit farther away from her cousins' dwellings, though still close enough for frequent visits. No shade trees stood on Westbye's claim. According to homestead records, a frame house "painted on the outside and papered inside, car shaped roof, door and window, and very nicely

Homestead records describe Westbye's frame house (right, circa 1904) as "painted on the outside and papered inside, car shaped roof, door and window, and very nicely furnished inside." When Westbye described her "claim shanty," she indicated that it was tarpapered to keep out the elements, which kept the home "cozy." She put in ten acres of wheat and flax, grew a garden, and had a well on her claim.



Mina Westbye, photographer, courtesy Glenn Durban

When posing for the homestead photographs, Westbye and the Jensen sisters revealed typical middle-class conventions: wearing proper clothing, doing embroidery, having coffee, wearing sunbonnets to protect their faces from the sun, writing letters, reading, picking flowers, having curtains on the windows, and using table linens. Yet, at the same time, their homesteading challenged conventional roles. Here, Westbye is on the right. The two homestead shacks in the distance are presumed to be those of the Jensen sisters.



Mina Westbye, photographer, courtesy Glenn Durban

furnished inside” stood on her land. When Westbye described her “claim shanty,” however, she indicated that it was tar-papered to keep out the elements, which kept the home “cozy.” The claim had ten acres of wheat and flax, a garden, and a well in 1905. Westbye most likely hired the sod breaking done in 1904, and in 1905 she hired neighbor Adolph Holte (a Norwegian American from Minnesota) to seed the acreage in flax, a particularly good crop for newly broken ground. In the summer of 1905, Westbye began work on a cellar and discussed the possibility of “building a sod house next to [her] shanty,” which suggests that she at least briefly considered staying in North Dakota beyond her acquisition of the land.¹⁹ On the claim, Westbye read voraciously and visited her cousins and neighbors. She gardened, and in addition to the half-acre vegetable garden, she had a small flower garden that she tended with care. In Norway, farms have permanent place names, and many immigrants continued this tradition in the United States. Westbye embraced this custom and called her “farm,” as she referred to her claim, “Trysil,” after her home community in Norway.²⁰

Mina Westbye was also an amateur photographer, and she documented her homesteading experience with exquisite photographs, most likely taken in 1904. Six of these photographs are in the family’s collection; four, donated by Westbye’s daughter, Sylvia Durban, can be found at the Norwegian Emigrant Museum in Ottestad.²¹ As geographer Christina Dando has noted: “By taking and keeping photographs of this

process [homemaking on the Great Plains], the photographers are claiming as their own this landscape and acknowledging their roles as creators and shapers of landscape.” Moreover, these “Plains settlers would attempt to capture the new landscape as it appeared to them.”²²

In photographs, Westbye positioned herself right in the center of the landscape and documented her role in the homesteading process. In many ways, her images point to the domestication of the northern plains landscape and reflect the creation of a female and domestic space.²³ The photographs also exude middle-class proscriptions on the proper roles for women and reflect how Westbye and the Jensen sisters wanted to be portrayed: wearing proper clothing, doing embroidery, having coffee outdoors while wearing sunbonnets to protect their faces from the sun, writing letters, reading, picking flowers, hanging curtains on the windows, and using table linens. Yet, at the same time, the images challenge those proscriptions because Westbye and her cousins independently took land and participated in a largely male activity of claiming land for themselves.

The vast expanse of grasslands stood in stark contrast to the mountainous, forested region where Westbye grew up. Westbye embraced this landscape and clearly articulated a romantic aesthetic of the northern plains; this land-view is evident in both photographs and in letters. She “often [found] herself out on the prairie,” and she wrote about the “wide prairies” and the beauty of nature, especially the wildflowers.

Despite the constantly blowing wind, Westbye saw beauty in the gloriously sunny days and the clear, starry nights. The stunning photographs belie the fact that the North Dakota plains could challenge Euro-American settlers' landscape sensibility.²⁴

Like most Norwegian immigrant women, Westby also viewed the land in terms of its agricultural potential. In a 1905 letter, for example, she described the "rolling prairie" in Divide County as "extra good farmland," and that transformation of the prairie to an agrarian landscape is visible in the background of some of her photographs. She also described herself as "happy" on the prairie, but gendered assumptions of who could farm influenced how she viewed her opportunities. At one point, she wistfully wrote: "I am certain that if I had been a man I would have been a farmer."²⁵ Other Norwegian immigrant women, however, saw themselves as farmers. For example, Anna Guttormsen homesteaded near Malta, Montana, in 1916 and actively worked the land, though she, too, spent winters in town working.²⁶

Although there is a clear sense of open space and distance in the letters and photographs (Westbye wrote that she was often "alone" and lacked neighbors), Blooming Valley Township actually became populated quite quickly. Because she was such an early homesteader, she traversed some distance in the course of her daily life. Not owning a horse, she initially had to walk sixteen miles to the closest post office and "store," and she made a ten-mile trek round-trip to get milk. She walked half a mile over uneven prairie land to haul water from her well. With pluck, Westbye wrote that she "walked 5 miles daily in addition to working in the garden, so got enough exercise."²⁷

Although she noted that she went "for days without seeing another person," Westbye's letters indicate she recognized that the area was, in fact, dotted with claim shacks, sod houses, and farmhouses. During the time Westbye lived on her claim, the sections close to her had also been homesteaded. When it came time for Westbye and Olive Jensen to prove up on their claims, they served as witnesses for each other, which was common; many of their other witnesses lived in close proximity to the women. By this time, Norwegian Americans in the area had established two Lutheran churches (one Synod and one Haugean) and hosted social events. While it is unlikely West-

bye attended Lutheran church services, she may have attended some of the literary and debate society meetings, parties, and dances.²⁸

Westbye's "wild west" was also not really very "wild." Historian Carlos Schwantes explains that the "railroads took the 'wild' out of West" because they linked the region with the rest of the country. In North Dakota, the Minneapolis, St. Paul & Sault Ste. Marie Railroad, better known as the Soo Line, extended to Portal, along the Canadian border, when Westbye arrived in the region.²⁹ The Soo Line brought settlers and supplies to northwestern North Dakota, and it shortened the distance between the area and more settled regions to the east. In fact, the railroad lay some thirty-five miles from Westbye's claim and became central to her story. Like many women who homesteaded, Mina Westbye had a job off the homestead—in Minneapolis. The railroad allowed her to live in Minneapolis and "civilization" for a portion of year. Westbye's work (as a seamstress or dressmaker and domestic) during the periods she spent away from her homestead also points to the fact that single women homesteaders often had nonagricultural jobs, although perhaps not many worked such a distance from their claim.³⁰

During her time in Minneapolis in 1905, Westbye lived with Unitarian minister Amandus Norman, his wife, and their foster son. It seems likely that she assisted Corrine Norman in the house in addition to her work as a seamstress.³¹ She needed to "earn a living" because she had to support herself and, in part, because she paid to have the land broken, the flax planted, and the well dug. How much of the money Westbye earned went toward the costs associated with homesteading is not clear since it appears that Westbye borrowed money to pay for these costs with the intention of selling the homestead and using those proceeds to pay off her debt.³²

Westbye made her final proof in November 1904, but the General Land Office halted the process to investigate whether she was indeed an actual settler. Olive Jensen, who made her final proof at the same time as Westbye, also had her application stopped pending an investigation. With the patent not forthcoming, Jensen first contacted the Land Office in October 1905 to inquire why the process was taking so long. Jensen also did not understand why there was "so much trouble about [her] proof especially

when [she] lived up to the rules.” Like Westbye, Olive Jensen had to “make a living,” which meant being away from her claim when the inspector arrived. The homestead also represented a major investment for Jensen, and in an October 1905 letter she implored the Land Office to “kindly act upon my proof as soon as possible as it is a very important matter for me.” In a postscript, she asked the Land Office to look into Westbye’s proof as well. In a subsequent, undated later from North Dakota, Jensen inquired anew about the status of the proof process and again noted that she was a “poor working girl.”³³

Eventually, an inspector visited Jensen’s claim. When the investigator arrived, he found shrubbery planted around the house as well as the necessary improvements and noted that “claimant is doing the best she can considering her means to carry out the homestead laws.” He concluded that the investigation could be suspended, and Olive Jensen’s acquisition of the land moved forward. The investigator’s statement demonstrates that gender framed the way he viewed Jensen’s homestead application. Implicit in his comment is that had Jensen been a man, she might not have met the standards for acquiring the land. Additionally, both Mina Westbye and Olive Jensen used gendered arguments, including their marital status, to explain why they had to be off their homesteads.³⁴

The investigation into Westbye’s being off her land kept her in North Dakota longer than planned, but she finally returned to Minneapolis in late 1905.

She followed up on Olive Jensen’s initial inquiry with a letter to the Land Office in December. Like Jensen, Westbye focused on her status as a single, working woman to explain why she had been absent from her land. She undoubtedly expressed the concerns of many single women when she described her situation. “This delay,” asserted Westbye, “has caused me a lot of extra expences [*sic*] and also a good deal of worry as I have no one to depend upon to help me, but have to work hard to earn my living.” She had “lived up to the homestead rules, as well as [she] understood,” and believed the government should follow through with its obligation. Upon further investigation, the inspector was convinced “the claimant has and is at present acting in good faith in regard to her homestead.” Westbye acquired title in 1906 after paying two hundred dollars for it. Once she secured title to her land, Westbye sought to sell her land but had trouble doing so. Over the course of the next two years, it became clear how important a profit had become to her. By this point, she wanted to return to Norway but could not until she had paid her debt from homesteading (and possibly from learning photography and starting a photography business).³⁵

Westbye began to study photography and embark on “learn[ing] a trade” in Minneapolis in 1906 while waiting for final title to her land.³⁶ She learned quickly, though she obviously knew how to use a camera when she started her formal training. Family documents indicate that she began working

(Duplicate) DOCUMENT No. 4392

Allowed by "P" Nov 17-05 RECEIVER'S OFFICE AT MINOT, NORTH DAKOTA

No. 10584 Dec 26, 1905

RECEIVED FROM **Mina Westbye** of Williams County, North Dakota, the sum of **Two Hundred**

Dollars and _____ cents; being in full for the **NE** Quarter

of Section No. **22** In Township No. **162** N., of Range No. **96 W** containing **160** acres and _____

hundreths, at \$ **1.25** per acre. **H. E. No. 24875** Commuted.

\$ **200.00** **T. E. Fox** Receiver.

\$ **1.00** testimony fee received. Number of written words **667** Rate per 100 words **15** cents.

State of North Dakota, County of Williams: ss.

I hereby certify that the foregoing instrument was filed for record in this office on the **8** day of **Jan** A. D. **1906** at **8:40** o'clock **A** M., and duly recorded in Book **F** of Receiver's Receipts on page **144** **H. E. Field** Register of Deeds.

Westbye’s “wild west” was not really very wild since railroads linked the region with the rest of the country. Mina supported herself by traveling to Minneapolis to work for part of the year in such jobs as domestic and dressmaker or seamstress. Although the General Land Office investigated Westbye for the absences, she finally acquired title in 1906, as recorded in this entry of the “Receiver’s Office at Minot, North Dakota.” She paid two hundred dollars for her 160 acres and immediately tried to sell it to repay her debt and realize some profit from her venture.



While in Minneapolis, Westbye lived with the Norman family some of the time, helping with household work. When Amandus assumed the full-time ministry of the Unitarian Nora Free Christian Church in Hanska, Minnesota, and moved his family there, Westbye followed. Above, the Normans, at far left, are pictured with Inga Holmbo, in plaid skirt, and an unidentified woman in Hanska in 1907. Westbye referred to this image as a “codakpicture” in a letter to Alfred Gundersen.

as a photograph retoucher, a position commonly held by women during the period.³⁷ According to historian Peter Palmquist, in some ways a career in photography was an occupation suitable for women since it represented an extension of the domestic sphere. That said, in the early twentieth century, photography was not a female-dominated profession like teaching. According to historian Tracey Baker, once photography shifted from “art”—an acceptable extension of the domestic sphere—to “science” and “commerce” (operating a studio), it became less acceptable as a career for women.³⁸

While working and studying photography, Westbye had also engaged with a small, intellectually stimulating Norwegian American Unitarian community in Minneapolis. The Norman family had long been at its center, but in 1906 the Unitarian Nora Free Christian Church in Hanska, about 105 miles southwest of Minneapolis, called Reverend Norman to serve full-time as pastor. Prior to this, the

Normans had lived in Hanska during summers, and Reverend Norman had preached a few additional times throughout the year. This schedule had been utilized since Kristofer Janson, a well-known Norwegian Unitarian minister and critic of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (the Norwegian Synod), had become the church’s first minister in 1882.³⁹ In 1907, Westbye too moved to Hanska and operated a photography studio while she resided with the Normans. In this community composed largely of first-, second-, and third-generation Norwegian Americans, her Norwegian and English language skills would have been important. The May 7 issue of the *Hanska Herald* introduced Westbye as a “capable photographer” as indicated by her recommendations and “her views of the cities” Minneapolis and St. Paul.⁴⁰

In Hanska, Westbye took photographs that appeared in the local newspaper as well as studio photographs and pictures of groups, including



Courtesy Glenn Durban

In 1906, Westbye studied photography in Minneapolis, which she viewed as “learn[ing] a trade.” She embarked on that occupation in Hanska, where she acquired the local studio. The *Hanska Herald* introduced Westbye as a “capable photographer” in an article on May 7, 1907. She took photographs that appeared in the local newspaper as well as studio portraits, group photographs, and photographs of community activities. In this 1906 photograph, Westbye is standing with a studio assistant seated at left.

schoolchildren. Importantly, she documented preparation of the land for construction of the Liberal Union Hall, a community center built by the Nora Church that also housed the church's library, which was also available to the general public. Although Westbye also quickly became a part of community life, Hanska did not hold the allure of Minneapolis, and Westbye soon found the small town "dreary." Compounding the situation, she increasingly expressed a desire to visit Norway. In mid-October 1907, Westbye went to Minneapolis for a short visit. A few weeks later, the first announcement that she had decided to close her photography studio appeared in the *Hanska Herald*. Reverend Norman thought the decision "foolish" and encouraged Westbye to continue with her "successful little business," but Westbye was determined to return to Norway.⁴¹

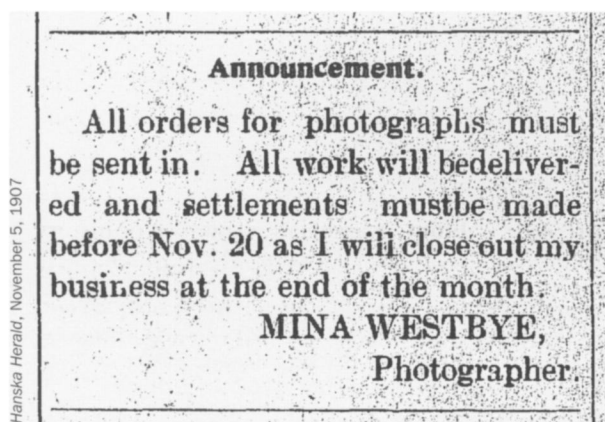
Before she could depart, however, Westbye had to sell her land in North Dakota. Indeed, the fact that her homestead had not been sold weighed heavily on her mind: she had put time, money, and work into the homestead with the idea that she would make a profit, but now it prevented her from leaving the United States. Westbye's personal life also became more unsettled as her relationship with Alfred Gundersen—a relationship that had been largely long distance and had taken place through letters—grew somewhat strained. Gundersen failed to understand just how important the homestead was to her. At one point, Westbye became a bit terse with Gundersen when he offered to help pay her debts and sent her ten dollars; she felt the debts were her responsibility. She also rejected Gundersen's suggestion for her to move to Paris while he did doctoral work at the Sorbonne (he offered no promise of marriage). Westbye instead

went forth with plans to return to Norway. The tension became clear in Westbye's letters to Gundersen as the salutations switched from "Dear Friend" to "Dear Mr. Gundersen."⁴²

In May 1908, Westbye sold her claim to Reverend Norman for one thousand dollars, which presumably enabled her to pay off her debts and facilitated her trip. Back in Norway, Westbye studied photography in Oslo (then Kristiania) and eventually opened a photography studio in Trysil. Thus, for Mina Westbye, a homestead provided the revenue to study photography. She may not have become an actual farmer on her North Dakota homestead land, but neither was Norman or the subsequent purchaser. In 1910, J. H. Phelps purchased the land (the fourth person to own the section) and actively farmed it. Thus, seven years after the initial homestead claim, the land truly became a farm.⁴³

As for the Jensen sisters, both Marie and Olive returned to Minnesota and both women sold their homesteads in 1910 to P. O. Holland, a professor and the treasurer of St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota, who was also active in the real estate market. Marie sold her land to Holland for "\$1 and other valuable consideration" that remained unnamed but was in her possession. Marie Jensen never married; she worked as a seamstress and agent before disappearing from the records.⁴⁴

Olive's relationship with her homestead land is a bit more complicated since once she married, her property became a part of a family's land holdings and economic strategies. Olive Jensen married Adolph Hulberg in 1908, and she and her husband sold the land to Holland for one dollar. Hulberg had trained as a watch repairman and once worked in his brother's Northfield jewelry store. He also owned a farm in Scott County, Minnesota. The couple's only child was born in southwestern North Dakota, not



Westbye soon found the small town of Hanska "dreary." She decided to close her photography business and return to Norway, though she still needed to sell her homestead. Her suitor of several years, Alfred Gundersen, a Norwegian studying in Paris, offered to help settle her debts, but she preferred to meet her own obligations. She finally sold her land to Reverend Norman in 1908 for one thousand dollars, paid her debts, and moved to Oslo, where she again studied photography and eventually opened a studio in Trysil.



Gundersen returned to the United States in 1910, Westbye returned in June 1911, and they married thereafter. Gundersen spent his career at the Brooklyn Botanic Gardens, and the couple raised a family in the Catskill Mountains of New York. As for Westbye’s cousins Marie and Olive Jensen, they also sold their homesteads and returned to Minnesota. Mina is pictured here in the left foreground; the others are unidentified.

far from where Olive’s sister Anna lived. The couple paid off the mortgage on the Hulberg farm in 1910. It is possible that Olive’s homestead played a role in paying off the mortgage. In 1911, the Hulbergs sold their Scott County farm, and later that year Adolph died unexpectedly.⁴⁵

At some point, Westbye and Alfred Gundersen resumed their correspondence. He ultimately convinced her to marry him and return to the United States. She re-immigrated in 1911 and joined Gundersen in Boston. By this time, he had finished his doctoral studies in Paris and was employed by Harvard University at the Arnold Arboretum. In a few years, the couple moved to Brooklyn, where Gundersen accepted a position at the Brooklyn Botanic Gardens, his employer for the rest of his career. Westbye and Gundersen built a home in the Catskill Mountains and raised a family there, where she settled into her roles as wife and mother of two girls. She remained in contact with her Minnesota relatives

and some friends, and one daughter attended St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota.⁴⁶

Between 1903 and 1908, Mina Westbye epitomized the New Woman. As a homesteader, she participated in an activity dominated by men; the profit from her investment allowed her to enhance her employment opportunities and economic well-being through education—to study photography. The fact that Westbye had immigrated from Norway adds another layer to the story. Much more work needs to be done on both notions of New Womanhood in rural areas and the immigrant New Woman. Perhaps Mina Westbye’s life can be a starting point for further inquiry.

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Notes

Mina Westbye

1. Mina [Westbye], Minneapolis, to Dear friend! [Alfred Gundersen], Dec. 5, 190[4], 1, copies of Westbye letters in author's possession. Westbye wrote some letters in English; translations are my own. Copies of Westbye materials in author's possession. Glenn Durban, Mina Westbye's son-in-law, provided me with access to documents and photographs in the family's possession. He also hosted me for a three-day research trip in the spring of 2008. In many ways, Glenn and I have been working on this project collaboratively. Others have also assisted in the preparation of this article: Chris Durban, Kristian and Guri Sanaker (Mina's great-nephew), Millie Addy, Sigrid Lien, David Danbom, Dee Garceau, Betty Bergland, and two anonymous readers. Lien, an art historian, has written about Westbye in a book about Norwegian immigrant photographers in the United States. See Sigrid Lien and Eva Reme, *Lengselens bilder: Fotografiet i norsk utvandringshistorie [Pictures of Longing: The photographic culture of Norwegian U.S. immigrants]* (Oslo, Norway, 2009).

2. Olive is the Anglicized version of Olava, a family name from her mother's family; Mina's middle name is Olava. Olive Jensen used both names.

3. Sylvia D. Hoffert, *A History of Gender in America: Essays, Documents, and Articles* (Upper Saddle River, N.J., 2003), 283. For the New Woman, see Jean V. Matthews, *The Rise of the New Woman: The Women's Movement in America, 1875-1930* (Chicago, 2003); and Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York, 1985), 167-81, 245-96.

4. See, especially, Dee Garceau, *The Important Things of Life: Women, Work, and Family in Sweetwater County, Wyoming, 1880-1929* (Lincoln, Neb., 1997), 112-28. H. Elaine Lindgren looks at immigrant women in *Land in Her Own Name: Women as Homesteaders in North Dakota* (Fargo, N.Dak., 1991); and in "Ethnic Women Homesteading on the Plains of North Dakota," *Great Plains Quarterly*, 9 (Summer 1989), 157-73. For an introduction to women homesteaders, see Katherine Benton-Cohen, "Common Purposes, Worlds Apart: Mexican-American, Mormon, and Midwestern Women Homesteaders in Cochise County, Arizona," *Western Historical Quarterly*, 36 (Winter 2005), 429-452; Sarah Carter, ed. *Montana Women Homesteaders: A Field of One's*

Own (Helena, Mont., 2009), 15-38; Katherine Harris, "Homesteading in Northeastern Colorado, 1873-1920: Sex Roles and Women's Experience," in *The Women's West*, ed. Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson (Norman, Okla., 1987), 165-78; Sheryll Patterson-Black, "Women Homesteaders on the Great Plains Frontier," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 1 (Spring 1976), 67-88; Sherry L. Smith, "Single Women Homesteaders: The Perplexing Case of Elinore Pruitt Stewart," *Western Historical Quarterly*, 22 (May 1991), 163-83; Nancy J. Taniguchi, "Land Laws, and Women: Decisions of the General Land Office, 1881-1920—A Preliminary Report," *Great Plains Quarterly*, 13 (Fall 1993), 223-36.

5. A recent collection of biographies illuminates gender in the age of New Womanhood in the American West. These essays address issues of race, class, and gender broadly, although just one essay looks at the life of an immigrant woman. See Dee Garceau-Hagen, *Portraits of the Women in the American West* (New York, 2005).

6. Authors from the period wrote about Norwegian immigrant New Women but almost exclusively from the perspective of urban women, largely in Minneapolis and Chicago. See Ingrid Urberg, "The 'Hungry Heroine' in Norwegian American Fiction," in *Norwegian American Women: Migration, Communities and Identities*, eds. Betty A. Bergland and Lori Ann Lahlum (St. Paul, forthcoming May 2011).

7. Thorbjørn Bakken, ed., *Årboka: Trysil—Før og Nå 1999: Aktualiteter og historiske streif* (Gjøvik, Norway, 1999), 142; Eyvind Lillewold, ed., *Trysil-Boka: Alminnelig Del II* (Elverum, Norway, 1963), 309-10; Glenn Durban correspondence, 2001, 2005-2009; *Davison's Minneapolis Directory, 1905*, vol. 3 (Minneapolis, 1905), 1823; Komfirmerte 1893, Ministerialbok nr. 9 (1881-1897), Trysil, Hedmark fylke, Digitalarkivet, www.digitalarkivet.no (accessed Oct. 28, 2010).

8. Mina Westbye family documents; Glenn Durban, conversations, March 2008; Ship Protocols for Oslo, Digitalarkivet, www.digitalarkivet.no, (accessed Oct. 17, 2000, Mar. 2, 2001); S.S. *Cymric* Manifest, Liverpool, Oct. 12, 1900; Mina Westbye, Trysil, to Dear Friend [Alfred Gundersen], May 13, 1905, 3; 1900 Roll Census, Minneapolis, ward 11, available at www.ancestry.com; and O.M. Norlie, *Who's Who Among Pastors in All the Norwegian Lutheran Synods of Amer-*

ica, 1843-1927, trans. and rev. Rasmus Malmin, O. M. Norlie, and O. A. Tingelstad, 3rd ed. *Norsk Lutherske Prester i Amerika* (Minneapolis, 1928), 281. I have found different birthdates for some of the children, especially Marie. It appears that there may have been another child between Olive and Marie. For Norwegian American women in Minneapolis and St. Paul, see David C. Mauk, "Finding Their Way in the City: Norwegian Immigrant Women and Their Daughters in Urban Areas from the 1880s through the 1920s," in Bergland and Lahlum, eds., *Norwegian American Women*. For a general introduction to Norwegian immigration and the immigrant experience, see Odd S. Lovoll, *The Promise of America: A History of the Norwegian-American People* (Minneapolis, 1983); Ingrid Semmingsen, *Norway to America: A History of the Migration*, trans. Einar Haugen (Minneapolis, 1978). Mina Olava Westbye's name also appears as "Mina Olava Vestby." The ship's protocol from Digitalarkivet lists her as Nina Westby for her 1900 departure; the *Cymric* manifest lists her as Mina Westby.

9. Mauk, "Finding Their Way in the City"; Glenn Durban correspondence.

10. Westbye family documents; 1905 Minnesota State Census, available at www.ancestry.com; *Davison's Minneapolis Directory, 1905*, vol. 2 (Minneapolis, 1905), 1319; *Davison's Minneapolis Directory, 1905*, vol. 3 (Minneapolis, 1905), 1823; Mina Westbye, First Papers, Naturalization, 1903; Mina Westbye homestead file, file number 28857, National Archives and Records Administration; Marie Jensen homestead file, file number 24874, *ibid.*; Olive Jensen homestead file, file number 28858, *ibid.*

11. *Stories and Histories of Divide County Written by the Participants or Relatives* ([Marceline, Mo.], 1964), 61-63.

12. The most complete work on public land is Paul W. Gates, with a chapter by Robert W. Swenson, *History of Public Land Law Development* (Washington, D.C., 1968). For general discussions on the Homestead Act and other land legislation, see Gilbert C. Fite, *The Farmers' Frontier, 1865-1900* (New York, 1966), 16-24; Lindgren, *Land in Her Own Name*, 57-81.

13. Lindgren, "Ethnic Women Homesteading," 161. Both Harris and Patterson-Black found similar numbers in their studies. Benton-Cohen indicated that between 14 and 21 percent of people claiming land in Cochise County, Arizona, were women.

14. Lindgren, *Land in Her Own Name*,

22. See the appendix in Lindgren, *Land in Her Own Name* for data on ethnicity. I calculated the percentage of Norwegian American women by going through Lindgren's cohort list.

15. Mina Westbye to Dear Friend [Alfred Gundersen], Apr. 28, 1905, 3. I used the same general methodology Lindgren outlined in "Ethnic Women Homesteading" for trying to provide context for sex and ethnicity. I searched the online U.S. Bureau of Land Management homestead records database for Divide County, T162N, R96W, and tallied the results. One hundred and forty-eight names were generated in the dataset. Forty women and 108 men received land patents. The 1910 roll census indicates a large Norwegian American population. In 1965, much of the area was decidedly Norwegian. See William C. Sherman, *Prairie Mosaic: An Ethnic Atlas of Rural North Dakota* (Fargo, N.Dak., 1983), 24. A problem of determining the ethnicity of the homesteaders who received a patent is that many of them do not appear in the 1910 North Dakota census.

16. Because my interest has been in land-view and agriculture, I have framed the discussion on homesteading within an agrarian/non-agrarian context. For a more detailed discussion, see Lori Ann Lahlum, *Norwegian Women, Landscape, and Agriculture on the Northern Prairies and Plains, 1850-1920* (Texas Tech University Press, under contract).

17. Garceau, *The Important Things of Life*, 117, 127.

18. Westbye homestead file; Marie Jensen homestead file; Olive Jensen homestead file; Mina Westbye, Trysil, to Dear Friend! [Alfred Gundersen], Nov. 14, 1904, 3; Mina Westbye to Dear Friend [Alfred Gundersen], May 13, 1905, 3; Alfred Gundersen, Wesleyan University, Middleton, Conn., to Dear Miss [W]estbye, Sept. 29, 1904, 4-5; Alfred Gundersen obituary, in *Bulletin of the Torrey Botanical Club*, 85 (Dec. 1958), 484-87.

19. Westbye homestead file; Mina Westbye, Mpls. to Dear Friend! [Alfred Gundersen], Feb. 17, 1905, 3; Westbye letter, Apr. 28, 1905, 1-2; Mina Westbye, Trysil, to Dear Friend! [Alfred Gundersen], May 30, 1905, 3; 1910 North Dakota Roll Census, Blooming Valley Township, Divide County, available at www.ancestry.com.

20. Mina Westbye, Trysil, to Dear Friend [Alfred Gundersen], Nov. 14, 1904; Westbye letters, passim.

21. The photographs are attributed to Mina Westbye. Her daughter, Sylvia Gundersen Durban, donated some photographs to the Norwegian Emigrant Museum. A few of these photographs, as

well as some Westbye created in Norway, are available from the Trysil Community (Trysil Kommune).

22. Christina E. Dando, "Constructing a Home on the Range: Homemaking in Early-Twentieth-Century Photograph Albums," *Great Plains Quarterly*, 28 (Spring 2008), 106, 117.

23. For a discussion on frontier women domesticating their spaces, see Annette Kolodny, *The Land Before He: Fantasies and Experience of the American Frontiers, 1630-1860* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1984).

24. Westbye letters, passim; Westbye letter, Apr. 28, 1905, 1-3; Mina Westbye, Knoff, N.Dak., to Dear Friend! [Alfred Gundersen], May 13, 1905, 4.

25. Westbye letter, May 30, 1905, 1-2. In this letter, she tells Alfred that she is being investigated for being off her claim.

26. Anna Guttormsen Hought with Florence Ekstrand, *Anna: Norse Roots in Homestead Soil* (Mount Vernon, Wash., 1986), 67-89. For an agrarian perspective on homesteading and a Norwegian immigrant woman who actually farmed the land in North Dakota, see Erling N. Sannes, "Free Land for All: A Young Norwegian Woman Homesteads in North Dakota," *North Dakota History: Journal of the Northern Plains*, 60 (Spring 1993), 24-28.

27. Westbye letter, Feb. 17, 1905, 3; Westbye letter, Apr. 28, 1905, 3; Mina Westbye, Trysil, to Dear Friend! [Alfred Gundersen], May 6, 1905, 2.

28. Westbye homestead file; Olive Jensen homestead file; *Stories from Divide County*, 62; *Crosby (N. Dak.) Review*, 1905, passim; Mina Westbye, Trysil, to Dear Friend! [Alfred Gundersen], Nov. 14, 1904, 3. See also, Mina Westbye, Columbus, N.D., to Dear Friend! [Alfred Gundersen], Oct. 23, 1904, 1; Westbye letter, Apr. 28, 1905, 2. Knoff, a much closer post office/store, operated by John Olson Knoph, opened in 1905. It appears in the records as Knoph and Knoff.

29. Carlos A. Schwantes, "How Railroads Took the 'Wild' Out of the West," *Wild West* (Apr. 2008), 42-49; Westbye letter, Apr. 28, 1905, 2; Elwyn B. Robinson, *History of North Dakota* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966; reprint Fargo, N.Dak.: Institute for Regional Studies North Dakota State University, 1996), 227.

30. Westbye letter, Oct. 23, 1904, 1. Many men in Divide County also sought employment off their homesteads, and it was not unusual for them to return to Minnesota to work the harvest season. When a married couple homesteaded, the wife frequently maintained the claim during her husband's absence; sometimes a daughter stayed on the claim while her father worked off the claim. Thus, mar-

riage or a family made it easier for the homesteader to be away from the claim. As such, single men homesteaders had some of the same employment needs and considerations as single women homesteaders. For an example of men working the harvest in Minnesota, see "Adolph Holte," in *Stories and Histories of Divide County*, 67-69.

31. Westbye letters, passim; 1905 Minnesota census. Both Marie and Olive Jensen worked in Minneapolis, too. Westbye lived at times with the Normans during this period and other times in a boardinghouse.

32. Undated Westbye letter, Westbye homestead file. Westbye never clearly articulated where she acquired the debt, although it is reasonable to presume that a good portion of the debt came from her homesteading experience.

33. Westbye homestead file; Olive Jensen homestead file.

34. Olive Jensen homestead file; Westbye homestead file. Marie Jensen experienced no problem getting title to her land. She proved up later than her sister and her cousin, most likely because she had been sick and off her land.

35. Westbye homestead file; Mina Westbye, Mpls., to Dear Friend [Alfred Gundersen], Sept. 24, 1905. In 1905, Westbye appeared in the Minneapolis city directory as a seamstress. Interestingly, Westbye appears in the 1905 Minnesota state census as living in Minneapolis with the Normans. However, at the time of the census, she wrote a letter to Alfred Gundersen from her homestead in western North Dakota, and sworn affidavits indicate she was at her homestead at that time. She also tried to find suitable employment in northwestern North Dakota but could not find "work she [would] like." See Westbye letter, May 30, 1905, 1.

36. Mina Westbye, Minneapolis, to Dear Friend [Alfred Gundersen], Feb. 1906, 4. In the letter, Westbye wrote "en trade" and noted that she used the Norwegian American language.

37. Timeline of Westbye's life based upon the letters and other family materials and created by her daughter, Sylvia Gundersen Durban.

38. Peter E. Palmquist, "Pioneer Women Photographers in Nineteenth-century California," *California History* (Spring 1992), 112; Tracey Baker, "Nineteenth-century Minnesota Women Photographers," *Journal of the West*, 28 (Jan. 1989), 23.

39. *Nora Free Christian Church, Seventy-fifth Anniversary, 1881-1956* (self-published, n.d.), copy available at the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, and the Brown County Historical

Society, New Ulm, Minn.; Ole Jorgensen, "Speech at the Laying of the Cornerstone of the Nora Church Parsonage," June 24, 1906, box 3, P809, Norwegian-American Historical Association, Northfield, Minn.; *100th Anniversary of the Nora Free Christian Church, Unitarian-Universalist, Hanska, Minnesota, 1881-1981* (self-published, [1981]), copy at the Minnesota Historical Society; *Hanska: A Century of Tradition, 1901-2001* (Madelia, Minn., 2001), 212.

40. *Hanska (Minn.) Herald*, May 7, 1907.

41. *Hanska (Minn.) Herald*, May 17, 1907, July 5, 1907; Westbye letters, passim; *Hanska*, 117; Draxton, *Kristofer Janson in America*, 331; *Hanska (Minn.) Herald*, Oct. 18, Nov. 8, 1907; Mina Westbye, *Hanska to Dear Mr. [Alfred] Gundersen*, Sept. 23, 1907, 4; Mina Westbye, *Hanska, to Dear Mr. [Alfred] Gundersen*, Oct. 10, 1907, 2.

42. Westbye letter, Sept. 23, 1907, 3-4; Westbye letter, Oct. 10, 1907, 1; Mina Westbye, *Hanska, to Dear Mr. [Alfred] Gundersen*, Nov. 22, 1907, 1; Mina Westbye, *Hanska, to Dear Mr. [Alfred] Gundersen*, Nov. 13, 1907, 1-2; Mina Westbye, *Hanska, to Dear Mr. [Alfred] Gundersen*, Nov. 30, 1907, 1-2; Westbye letter, Sept. 23, 1907, 3; Alfred Gundersen, Paris, to Dear Minnie [Westbye], Oct. 8, 1907, 1. In December 1908, and writing from Oslo, Westbye still told Gundersen that her claim had not sold, even though she had sold it seven months earlier.

43. Deed Record Book 22, 68-69, Divide County Register of Deeds Office; Crosby, North Dakota; Deed Record Book 20, 243, *ibid.*; Deed Record Book 4, 231, *ibid.* Norman made one thousand dollars on the sale of the land.

44. Deed Record Book 21, 159, Divide County Register of Deeds Office, Crosby, North Dakota; Westbye family tree; *Davison's Minneapolis City Directory, 1908* (Minneapolis, 1908), 802; 1910 Minnesota Roll Census, Hennepin County, available at www.ancestry.com.

45. Deed Record Book 21, 150, Divide County Register of Deeds Office, Crosby, North Dakota; Westbye family tree; 1910 Minnesota Roll Census, Scott County, available at www.ancestry.com; Deed Record Book 50, 617-19, Scott County Land Records Office, Shakopee, Minnesota; Deed Record Book 58, 574, *ibid.*; Mortgage Book 38, 127, *ibid.*; Mortgage Book 39, 78, *ibid.*; Evelyn Condiff obituary, *Park Rapids Enterprise*, Feb. 11, 2010. Another Jensen sister, Anna Dodge, and her husband homesteaded near Reeder in 1905. She sent Westbye postcards from North Dakota and at one point asked if they reminded her of homesteading. See Levi Dodge, BLM Serial # NDMTAA

073236, Government Land Office Records, BLM database (accessed Jan. 23, 2010); 1910 North Dakota Roll Census, Adams County, available at www.ancestry.com; Anna Dodge postcards, photocopies, Glenn Durban.

46. Westbye letters, 1910-11; Glenn Durban correspondence; and family documents.

Marketing the Northwest

1. *Helena Herald*, Aug. 23, 1883; *Helena Independent*, Aug. 25, 1883. The party included Isaac D. McCutcheon, the secretary of state and acting governor of Montana Territory; Theodore H. Kleinschmidt, Helena's mayor; local judges, bankers, and businessmen; Hugh McQuaid and Guy X. Piatt of the *Helena Independent*; R. E. Fisk of the *Helena Herald*; and Samual Langhorn, editor of the *Bozeman Chronicle*. They traveled from Helena to Avon in the Pullman coach *St. Paul*, but for the trip beyond Avon they abandoned the coach and crowded into two cabooses.

2. Henry Villard, *Memoirs of Henry Villard, Journalist and Financier, 1835-1900*, vol. 2 (Boston, 1904), 302-9; Nicolaus Mohr, *Excursion through America*, ed. Ray Allen Billington (Chicago, 1973), xxxii. For general background on the Northern Pacific (NP), see also *Northwest Magazine*, a monthly published by the NP and Eugene Smalley, Jan. 1883-1904; Alexandra Villard de Borchgrave, *Villard: The Life and Times of an American Titan* (New York, 2001); *Railroads in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Robert L. Frey (New York, 1988); William D. Middleton et al., *Encyclopedia of North American Railroads* (Bloomington, Ind., 2007); and M. John Lubetkin, *Jay Cooke's Gamble: The Northern Pacific Railroad, the Sioux, and the Panic of 1873* (Norman, Okla., 2006).

3. Robert S. Henry, "The Railroad Land Grant Legend in American History Texts," reprinted from *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 3 (Sept. 1945); George Draffan, "Chronology of the Northern Pacific and Related Land Grant Railroads," <http://www.landgrant.org/history> (accessed July 24, 2001); Louis Tucker Renz, *The History of the Northern Pacific Railroad* (Fairfield, Wash., 1980), 31; Edward Vernon, ed., *American Railroad Manual for the United States and the Dominion . . .*, vol. 1 (New York, 1873), 532.

4. Mohr, *Excursion through America*, xxvii; F. P. Donovan, "Henry Villard," *Railway and Locomotive Historical Society Bulletin*, 89 (Nov. 1953), 9-15.

5. Renz, *History of the Northern Pacific Railroad*, 43; *New York Daily Tribune*, June 28, Sept. 28, 1873; Claude G.

Bowers, *The Tragic Era: The Revolution after Lincoln* (1929, repr., 1931), 416-18; Lubetkin, *Jay Cooke's Gamble*.

6. Mohr, *Excursion through America*, xxvii.

7. *Ibid.*, xxxi.

8. *Ibid.*, xxx; F. P. Donovan, *Railway and Locomotive Historical Society Bulletin*, 8 (Nov. 1953), 12.

9. Villard, *Memoirs*, 2:307; Mohr, *Excursion through America*, xxxi.

10. Villard, *Memoirs*, 2:308, 310; Mohr, *Excursion through America*, xxxiii. Company records contain lists of invitations sent and refusals received. "Villard Excursion File," folder 7, Northern Pacific Company Records (hereafter NP Records), Coll. 137, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul. A complete list of journalists and another guest list appears in the *Portland Oregonian*, Sept. 12, 1883. Lists also appeared in the *New York Times*, Aug. 15, 28, 1883; the *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 31, 1883; the *St. Paul (Minn.) Daily Pioneer Press*, Sept. 3, 1883; and the *Helena Independent*, Sept. 8, 1883. Each list differs somewhat.

11. *New York Times*, Aug. 26, 1883; Mohr, *Excursion through America*, lii; Katharine Villard Seckinger, ed., "The Great Railroad Celebration 1883: A Narrative by Francis Jackson Garrison," *Montana The Magazine of Western History*, 33 (Summer 1983), 21; Mohr, *Excursion through America*, 45, liii.

12. *Lewiston (Idaho) Teller*, Sept. 6, 1883; *New York Times*, Sept. 19, 1884.

13. *New York Times*, Aug. 30, 1883; John H. White, *The American Railroad Passenger Car* (Baltimore, Md., 1978), 353-55; *New York Times*, Aug. 30, 1883. Information regarding the passenger equipment used on the excursion has been compiled from Northern Pacific Railroad records and newspaper accounts beginning with the *New York Times* and ending with the *Portland Oregonian* as well as all the local papers in between. See "Villard Excursion File," folder 2, NP Records.

14. Henry J. Winsor, *The Great Northwest: A Guide-book and Itinerary for the Use of Tourists . . .* (New York, 1883); Villard, *Memoirs*, 2:309; *New York Times*, Aug. 29, 1883; Mohr, *Excursion through America*, 253.

15. *New York Times*, Aug. 29, 1883; Mohr, *Excursion through America*, 75n9; *Portland Oregonian*, Sept. 7, 1883.

16. Mohr, *Excursion through America*, 99, xxxv, xxxvii; *St. Paul (Minn.) Pioneer Press*, Sept. 5, 1883; Mohr, *Excursion through America*, xxi.

17. Mohr, *Excursion through America*, xlii xlix, 99.

18. *Helena Independent*, Aug. 5, 1883; *Billings Weekly Post*, Aug. 30, 1883; *Livingston Enterprise*, Sept. 6, 1883.