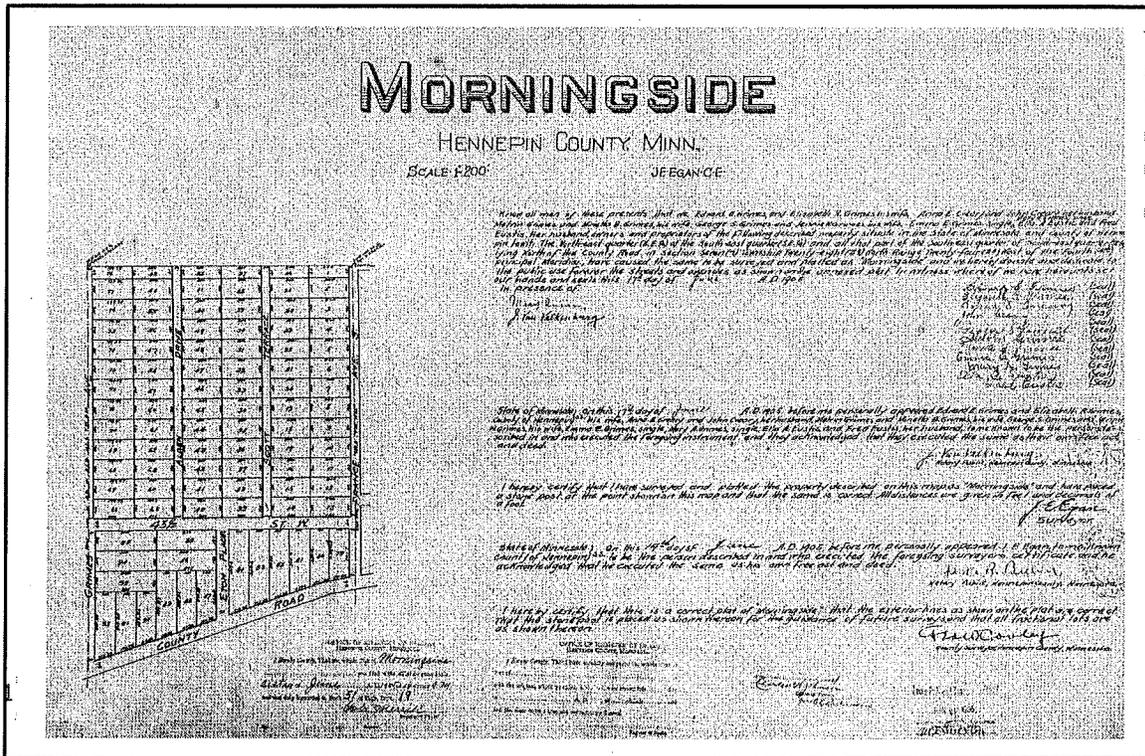


HISTORIC BUNGALOWS OF THE MORNINGSIDE NEIGHBORHOOD: A MULTIPLE PROPERTY STUDY



Prepared for the Edina Heritage Preservation Board
By Robert C. Vogel
Preservation Planning Consultant
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ABSTRACT

Multiple Property Study Name: Historic Bungalows of the Morningside Neighborhood

Associated Historic Contexts: The Suburban Landscape (1887-1974)
Morningside: Edina's Streetcar Suburb (1905-1941)
Morningside Bungalows (1905-1930)

Associated Property Type: Bungalow

Summary of Findings:

The primary planning objective of the study was to simplify the process for designating historic bungalows in the Morningside neighborhood as Edina Heritage Landmarks. The study report is a cover document (similar to the National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form) that will be used by the Heritage Preservation Board to evaluate the landmark eligibility of individual bungalows. It is not intended for use as a multiple property landmark nomination document, nor is it a substitute for the heritage landmark determination of eligibility that is required by ordinance.

The study builds upon the results of previous surveys and extensive archival research. The heritage preservation value of Morningside bungalows is examined contextually in relation to the significant broad patterns and trends in Edina's historical development. A new thematic historic context, "Morningside Bungalows (1905-1930)," has been delineated to serve as the organizing device for historical and architectural data that relate specifically to bungalows. The study explains how properties may meet one or more of the Edina Heritage Landmark eligibility criteria, discusses historic integrity considerations, and outlines a general plan of treatment for Morningside bungalows as the basis for developing treatment and design review guidelines for individual heritage resources.

Little houses, like jewels, must be exquisitely formed; they cannot be, as it were, rough-hewn like great blocks of stone.

Gustav Stickley
The Craftsman (1916)

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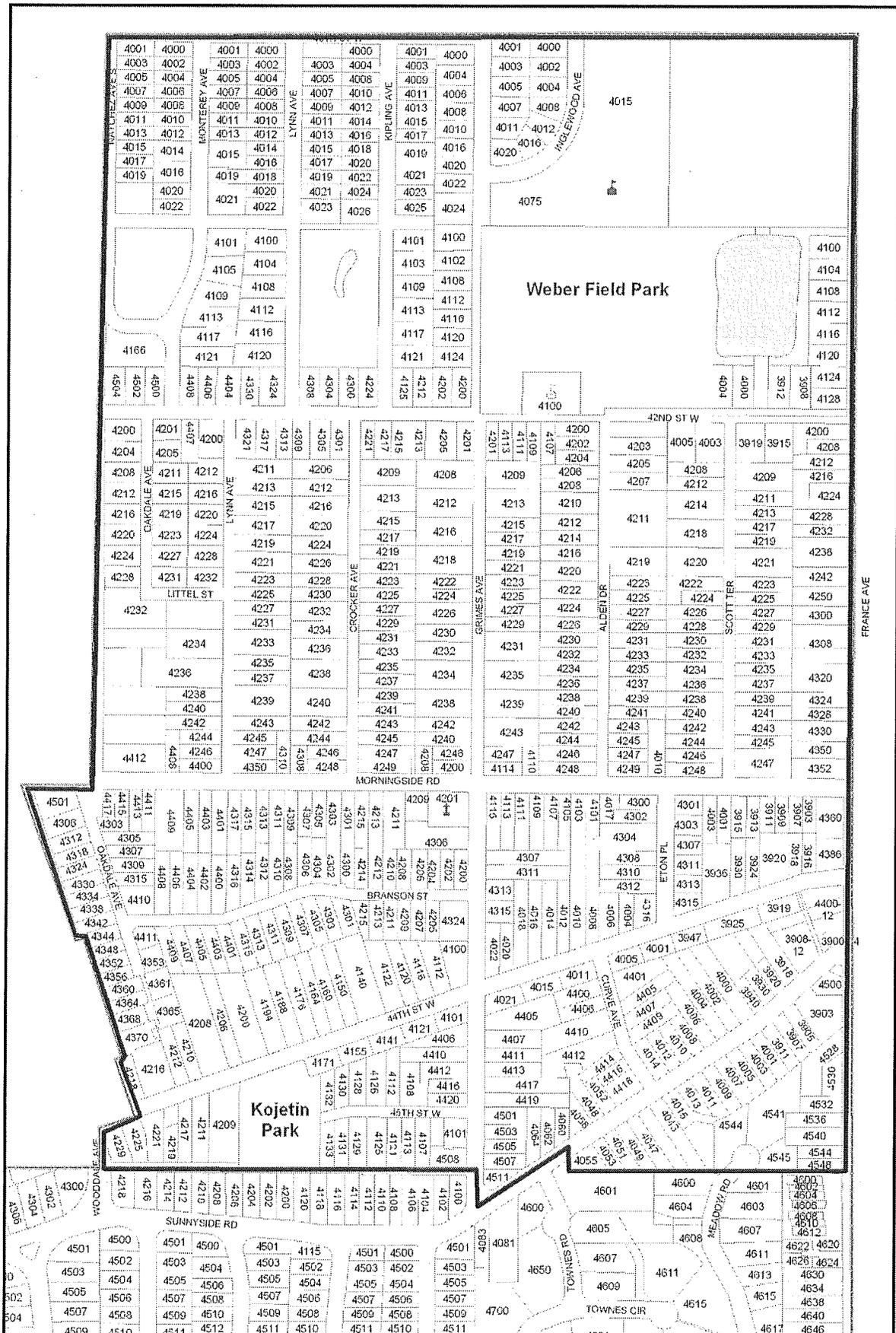
INTRODUCTION

The Historic Bungalows of the Morningside Neighborhood Multiple Property Study was undertaken pursuant to City Code Section §801.04, subd. 2.¹ The project was financed in part with federal funds in the form of a Certified Local Government grant administered by the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) of the Minnesota Historical Society. Work commenced in October, 2009 and the final products were delivered in August, 2010. The study report was prepared by Robert C. Vogel, the city's Preservation Planning Consultant, with input from city staff and members of the HPB, as well as Morningside residents.

The report is a planning document that presents information about a specific set of thematically related heritage resources which have been determined worthy of consideration for designation as Edina Heritage Landmarks. The primary research goal was to develop a framework that would enable the Heritage Preservation Board (HPB) to identify and evaluate the historic significance and integrity of individual bungalows in the perspective of a well defined local historic context, thereby simplifying the landmark nomination process. The resulting document serves as a historic context "cover" similar to the National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF).² In addition to the traditional MPDF components (historic contexts, property types, etc.), the report includes a general plan of treatment for historic bungalows that will inform individual landmark nomination documents.

While the information presented in the following pages will undoubtedly become part of future Heritage Landmark nominations, the report is not a multiple property nomination document and cannot be used to simultaneously evaluate and designate any group of Morningside bungalows. Nor is the inventory of Morningside bungalows intended to replace the Heritage Landmark determination of eligibility process that is required by City Code §850.20, subd. 3. These limitations notwithstanding, the report has obvious potential applications as an educational resource and will be an important heritage resource management tool in the hands of preservation policy makers and practitioners.

Historic Bungalows of the Morningside Neighborhood
Multiple Property Study – 2010



I. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

MORNINGSIDE GEOGRAPHY

Morningside is an inner-ring Twin Cities suburban neighborhood located in the northeastern part of the City of Edina, comprising approximately seven hundred single-family homes and a small number of multi-family and commercial properties. Although the earliest settlement in this part of Edina dates from the 1850s, all of the historic bungalows were constructed during the community's initial period of intensive suburban development, which lasted from 1905 until about 1930. Prior to 1905, land use was dominated by agriculture and nearly all of the land was in farms. Most of the heritage preservation resources are found within the area bounded by West 42nd Street, France Avenue, West 44th Street, and Grimes Avenue, where the housing stock is predominantly 60-100 years old. There are also scattered bungalows and bungalow cottages along Sunnyside Road, Crocker Avenue, Curve Avenue, and Eton Place. Westgate, small cluster of commercial buildings (several of which are contemporaneous in age with the bungalows), is situated along France Avenue between 44th Street and Sunnyside Road. Otherwise, except for schools and churches, the neighborhood is residential in character.

West 44th Street and France Avenue, the historic route of the Como-Harriet streetcar line, are the principal Morningside thoroughfares. France Avenue divides the Morningside neighborhood and the city of Edina from the Linden Hills neighborhood in the city of Minneapolis. Within the Edina city limits, the southern part of Morningside abuts the White Oaks and Country Club neighborhoods. Except for a brief span of years when Morningside was a separate incorporated municipality (1920-1960), the lines of demarcation between Morningside and its sister neighborhoods in Edina have been ambiguous and subject to shifting perceptions of community identity. Except for West 44th Street and Sunnyside Road, all of the important streets within the historic core neighborhood are oriented north-south and east-west, forming a dense grid of standard-sized blocks and lots.

In Morningside, as in Edina as a whole, physical geography (topography, climate, vegetation, etc.) has determined to a large extent where people live, what kind of work they do, the routes over which they must travel and transport essential goods and services, and the types of homes they inhabit. The land surface shows abundant evidence of prehistoric glaciations, with extensive areas of till plain where local relief generally ranges from 10 to 50 feet. The underlying bedrock, which consists of Paleozoic-aged sedimentary strata, is deeply buried underneath up to 150 feet of glacial deposits, mostly sand and gravel that were laid down between 18,000 and 10,000 years ago, at the end of the Pleistocene ice age. The terrain is fairly uniform throughout Morningside and is characterized by rolling hills interspersed with swales and shallow depressions. Prior to suburban development and the installation of storm sewers, the area was drained by a number of small, nameless ephemeral streams and elongated

wetland basins, which carried the surface water southward and westward, towards Minnehaha Creek. Relief was an important factor in suburban development because the surface contours of a given tract of land was directly related to its suitability for home building. Differences in elevation and slope also influenced the development of transportation systems—the tracks for streetcar lines, for example, could only be constructed over level or gently sloping land.

Owing to its mid-continental location, Minnesota has a sub-humid climate that is characterized by four distinct seasons and a marked tendency toward extremes in its weather patterns. The most important influence on atmospheric conditions is the succession of high and low pressure systems which continually sweep across the state from west to east. Average annual precipitation in Hennepin County is approximately 28 inches, of which roughly 70% falls as rain between April and October. Average seasonal snowfall accumulation is about 50 inches and though the amount of snow varies considerably from year to year, there is usually snow on the ground much of the time from late fall through early spring. The Twin Cities area averages about 36 thunderstorms a year and severe storms, such as tornadoes and blizzards, occasionally occur. The changeable weather, especially the wide variations in temperature between winter and summer, has had a potent influence on regional architecture since prehistoric times.

Most of the soils in the Edina area are dark-colored Mollisols that formed in glacial drift under both prairie and forest. The original (i.e., pre-settlement) vegetation was tall grass prairie intermingled with groves of oak, maple, aspen, and other hardwood trees. The favorable growing season (approximately 170 days) and fertile soils encouraged the development of family farms and before the era of suburban sprawl this part of Hennepin County ranked high in agricultural output. Where agriculture was still being carried on at the beginning of the twentieth century, the major money producing crops were corn, oats and hay, and the accessibility of good markets favored dairying and livestock farming.

More than a century of intense suburban development has changed the lay of the land to a considerable extent. Most of the changes have come as a direct result of planned activities such as land clearing for residential development and street construction. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Morningside, like the rest of Edina, is entirely urbanized—the last operating farm within the city limits passed out of existence in 1959 and no sizeable tracts of vacant land remain, other than parks, playgrounds, golf courses, and scattered wetland basins. More than half of the land surface is covered by building mass, parking areas, streets and highways.

ASSOCIATED HISTORIC CONTEXTS

To qualify for designation as an Edina Heritage Landmark, a property must be shown to be historically significant within its historic context. The Edina Heritage Preservation Plan presents a general outline of the historic contexts that provide the basic framework

for identifying and evaluating buildings, sites, structures, objects and districts that reflect important themes in local history.

For planning purposes, Edina historic contexts are organized in a two-tiered format, with the Tier 1 historic contexts representing broad, general, city-wide themes organized around the concept of historic landscape assemblages (i.e., historical environments) which describe the major trends in Edina's historical development. The Tier 2 study units are more narrowly defined, both thematically and geographically, in order to provide a framework for evaluating the preservation potential of heritage resources that are associated with particular localities.³

The historic contexts applicable to bungalows in the Morningside neighborhood are:

- Tier 1: "The Suburban Landscape (1887-1974)"
- Tier 2: "Morningside: Edina's Streetcar Suburb (1905-1941)"

A sub-unit of the Tier 2 historic context, entitled "Morningside Bungalows (1905-1930)," has been developed as part of the present study.

All of the local historic contexts are a work in progress. They are intended to be revised, elaborated on, merged or discarded as new information and interpretations become available.

"BUNGALOW" DEFINED

The bungalow represents an iconic American house form and is the subject of an extensive literature, yet there is considerable variation in the meaning of the word as it is used by architects, historians, geographers, preservationists, and others. As an architectural classification, *bungalow* is commonly used to denote a characteristic type of dwelling, a vernacular building form, a period style, and a design tradition. It is frequently used arbitrarily and imprecisely, with little or no regard to descriptive meaning. There are also important regional variations in what kind of house constitutes a bungalow. Because of the absolute lack of consensus, every writer is forced to make his or her own decisions concerning what is and what is now a bungalow.⁴

The etymology of the word is somewhat better understood. Derived from the Bengali noun *bangala* (or *bangle*), meaning a low house with galleries or porches all around, it was transplanted to Great Britain and America more or less simultaneously during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. References to bungalow houses first appeared in print in the United States during the 1850s and the term had become firmly embedded in American English by the end of the century.⁵ Sometime around 1900, however, progressive architects adopted the term and began applying it to a particular class of suburban cottages with low, sloping roofs and informal floor plans, and the term rapidly gained popular currency through the medium of mass circulation magazines.⁶ In the Twin Cities area, "bungalow" entered the mainstream shortly after 1910 and was

commonly employed by journalists and realtors to describe just about any kind of small, comfortable dwelling.

For planning purposes, the Edina HPB uses the term bungalow as the generic classification for any small, detached, single-family residence constructed between circa 1905 and 1930 that is less than two full stories in height, has a core footprint of less than 800 square feet (excluding porches and other appendages), and exhibits any combination of the following American Arts and Crafts Movement and Craftsman Style derived design characteristics:

- gable or hip roofs
- wood or stucco wall cladding
- entry porches (full or partial-width, open or enclosed; projecting or under the main roof)
- sun porches (rear or side elevations)
- dormers (hip, gable, or shed)
- exposed structural elements (rafters, purlins, brackets, struts, beam ends)
- multi-pane double-hung wood sash windows with divided lights in the upper sash
- ribbon windows, bay windows, piano windows
- fireplaces, end-wall chimneys
- brick-faced or rusticated concrete block foundation walls
- informal (open) floor plans with living room in front, bedrooms in back or upstairs
- built-in furniture (cabinetry, bookcases, buffets, inglenook seating)
- hardwood flooring (oak or maple)
- rustic landscaping featuring flower boxes, trellises, or pergolas

The resource classification system used for Morningside bungalows is discussed in detail in Chapter III.

MORNINGSIDE BUNGALOW SURVEY DATA

The bungalow multiple property study builds on historical research and heritage resource surveys conducted under the auspices of the Edina HPB since the late 1970s. The first city-wide historic resources survey was carried out by Jeffrey Hess in 1979 and included Morningside.⁷ The published version of the survey report described several examples of Morningside bungalows and evaluated their potential significance within the context of local architectural history.⁸ The 1999 Edina Historic Contexts Study prepared by the present writer delineated a planning unit for the Morningside neighborhood that focused on its suburban heritage and identified bungalows as one of the building forms worthy of preservation interest. With the results of the historic context study in hand, the HPB sponsored a windshield reconnaissance survey of Morningside in 2004. Subsequent pedestrian surveys looked at selected blocks and documented some of the individual bungalows located in the oldest section of the neighborhood (roughly the area above West 44th Street, between France and Grimes). Approximately one hundred and fifty bungalows have been identified in the Morningside neighborhood, though only a small handful have been documented at the intensive level

(i.e., thoroughly documented to provide all of the information needed to fully evaluate historic significance and integrity).

Edina has a rich history that has attracted the attention of two very fine public historians, Paul Hesterman and Deborah Morse-Kahn, who have produced very high-quality local narrative histories. Both of their books include valuable research on Morningside and Morse-Kahn's is copiously illustrated with historical photographs and maps.⁹ The Edina Historical Society sponsored a major exhibit on Morningside in 2005 and has in its archives a large collection of original documents, including photographs of Morningside people and places, and old tax assessment records for individual bungalow properties.

II. MORNINGSIDE BUNGALOWS IN HISTORIC CONTEXT

This chapter discusses the most important trends, patterns and themes that provide the historical perspective from which Morningside bungalows can be understood and valued as critical heritage preservation resources. The approach is thematic and interdisciplinary. Although the geographical focus is on the Morningside neighborhood, a good deal of the contextual information presented here is applicable to other early-twentieth century suburban heritage resources in Edina.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The broad outline of Edina history, with special reference to important events which shaped the development of Morningside, is briefly summarized in the following timeline (drawn from published local histories):

1854	First settlement in Edina
1858	Township government organized
1885	Waveland Park platted by J. T. Grimes
1888	West Minneapolis Heights platted
1889	Edina Village incorporated
1905	Morningside Addition platted; Twin City Rapid Transit Co. extends streetcar service to 44 th & France
1909	Morningside Congregational Church organized; Morningside residents petition village council for streetlights
1911	Telephone service extended to Morningside and Edina
1918	Odd Fellows Hall built at 44 th & France
1920	Morningside votes to "secede" from Edina
1921	Morningside village government organized
1922	Thorpe Bros. development of Country Club District begins
1926	Construction of Morningside and Wooddale schools
1935	Construction begins on Highway 100
1954	Como-Harriet streetcar line discontinued
1966	Morningside annexed to Edina
1977	Morningside School closes

Grimes Homestead

The Jonathan Taylor Grimes House at 4200 West 44th Street, built in 1869, is considered the birthplace of Morningside. Jonathan and Eliza Grimes immigrated to Minnesota Territory from Indiana in 1855 and after a brief residence at St. Anthony Falls they relocated to Waterville (later Edina Mills), where Jonathan had an interest in a grist mill on Minnehaha Creek. Shortly after the Civil War the family moved about a mile north of the creek to a farm that eventually covered over 366 acres (of which one quarter-section, 160 acres, was within the modern-day city limits, the rest being in

Minneapolis and what is now St. Louis Park). A pioneer horticulturist who was one of the first presidents of the Minnesota Horticultural Society, Jonathan Grimes owned a fruit and ornamental tree nursery behind Lake Calhoun and was largely responsible for introducing the catalpa tree to Minnesota for planting as a street tree.¹⁰ After a long and active career and raising nine children, Jonathan and Eliza retired and moved to a house on South Nicollet Avenue in Minneapolis, where they lived until their deaths in (Eliza in 1902, Jonathan in 1903). Their heirs sold off the farm holdings to developers piecemeal between 1905 and about 1915.

The portion of the Grimes farm that became Morningside after 1905 extended roughly from France Avenue west to Wooddale Avenue and from West 45th Street north to West 42nd Street. The total area platted for the Morningside Addition in 1905 was 240 acres and it included part of the vacant plat of Waveland Heights, a subdivision originally laid out by Jonathan Grimes in 1885: the area (which was never developed) was bounded by Baird and Grimes avenues between 42nd and 46th Streets.

Early Suburban Development in Edina

Thirty years after it was settled, the Edina area remained almost entirely rural, but because of its proximity to Minneapolis it was attractive to developers at an early date. The first recognizable suburban development commenced in the late 1880s, when the Minneapolis Threshing Machine Company (later known as Minneapolis-Moline) established its farm machinery manufacturing works in West Minneapolis. Essentially a Victorian era industrial park, West Minneapolis (set off from the city of Minneapolis proper in 1893 and renamed Hopkins in 1928) depended upon the newly constructed streetcar line to carry commuting factory workers to and from their homes.¹¹ The industrial development led to a local housing boom that soon spilled over into the adjacent parts of western Richfield Township, where a number of small residential tracts were platted within what became the village of Edina, beginning with West Minneapolis Heights in 1887.¹² Meanwhile, a narrow-gauge steam railroad (the Minneapolis, Lyndale & Minnetonka, popularly known as the “Motor Line”) was built to provide passenger service between Minneapolis and Excelsior; its tracks crossed part of the Grimes farm, which led to the platting of Waveland in 1885. The sudden onset of suburbia prompted local voters to set Edina off from Richfield and incorporate it as a free-standing village in 1888.

Suburban expansion ground to a sudden halt during the financial crisis known to historians as the Panic of 1893, when widespread business failures and falling land prices led to hard times for developers. The distressed real estate market did not begin to bounce back until 1895-96, when the beginnings of a great wave of new home construction began to sweep over the Twin Cities area. The rapid expansion of the American economy between the 1890s and the 1920s was nothing short of phenomenal: at the end of the World War in 1918, the United States was the wealthiest nation on the face of the earth. The wave of prosperity was briefly interrupted by a brief recession in 1907 (the so-called “banker’s panic”) and another, milder economic downturn in 1913-14. Rapid industrial expansion and improvements in building

technology fed the housing boom, but its principal cause was the explosive increase in urban population growth.¹³

The rapid influx of suburban residents after 1905 quickly transformed the face of Edina from a mosaic of family farms to a patchwork quilt of rural and suburban neighborhoods.¹⁴ After the 322 lots in the Morningside Addition, developers platted a succession of residential subdivisions between 1905 and 1930: Grimes Homestead Addition (55 lots, platted in 1906), Crocker and Crowell's Addition (99 lots, platted in 1908), and Melvin Grimes subdivision of Grimes Homestead (platted in 1915).¹⁵

Boom and Bust Cycles

Viewed from the perspective of economic history, the chronology of local development presented at the beginning of this chapter describes a cycle of irregularly separated booms and busts. The nation-wide financial "panics" of 1857, 1873, 1884, 1893, 1907, 1913, 1920 and 1929 stand out as the low-points, marked by declines in home building, widespread business failures, and a general curtailment of development activities. Each ruinous depression was preceded by a building boom which was, in turn, followed by a revival of prosperity. The year-built information in the Edina assessor's database provides irrefutable evidence that local development patterns generally, and in particular the sequencing of Morningside bungalow construction, mirrored the national business cycle.

Thus the initial phase of suburban development in Edina was foreclosed by the Panic of 1893 (one of the deepest economic recessions in U.S. history), which had a ruinous effect on projects such as Waveland Park and West Minneapolis Heights. The years between 1895 and 1929, however, were characterized by a general trend toward prosperity (the recessions of 1907-08, 1913-14 and 1920-21 were relatively mild) and transformative shifts in material culture, epitomized by the popularity of the bungalow, the frenzied pace of suburban development, and the rise of the automobile over railroads as the dominant form of personal transportation. The pent-up demand for affordable housing may have been the chief determining factor in shaping post-World War I development in Morningside, but the same period witnessed tremendous speculation in real estate nation-wide that produced a surge in suburban growth that was not equaled until after World War II.¹⁶

The decade of the 1920s, which many believed had opened a new and never-ending era of prosperity, came to a close in the most complete economic collapse in American history. New home construction in Morningside did not slow down until 1930 but building had practically ceased by 1931.

THE STREETCAR SUBURB

Morningside was situated on the outer edge of the Minneapolis urbanized area, far enough from the center city to require residents to commute to work. In 1905, the

principal mode of transportation used by commuters was the street railway or streetcar; and personal automobiles did not supplant mass transit until the 1920s.¹⁷

Early Street Railways

The importance of railroads in state and local history can hardly be overestimated. The first steam locomotive in Minnesota became operational in 1862; three decades after the *Tom Thumb* inaugurated the railway age in the United States. The late nineteenth century was marked by intense railroad building: by 1900, several thousand miles of track had been laid in the state. A branch line of the Minneapolis & St. Louis Railway was built west from Minneapolis in the 1880s and the stations at Elmwood (St. Louis Park) and West Minneapolis (Hopkins) provided the Edina area with its first direct rail connections with the Twin Cities.

The late nineteenth century witnessed not only the construction of major trunk railroads, but also the development of urban commuter rail systems. The increasing concentration of population in the Minneapolis urban core between the 1870s and 1890s created a distinctly urban transportation problem: how to move large numbers of people from where they lived to where they worked and shopped within an ever-expanding urbanized area. From the beginning it had been necessary to run railroad tracks over some city streets, but these were not really practical street railways in the proper sense. In the 1870s the first horse-car tramway was built within the Minneapolis central business district to handle inner-city traffic. Hardly less ambitious in its conception, but much less successful in its realization, was the effort to construct a steam-powered commuter railway between downtown Minneapolis and Excelsior on Lake Minnetonka. The Minneapolis, Lyndale & Minnetonka Railway was organized in 1879 and planned to take over the vacation and excursion trade; the route was surveyed and right-of-way was acquired from the landowners along the projected line, which passed north of Edina Mills and ran across the farms of Jonathan Grimes and Henry Brown in what would become Morningside. There was a station designated “Grimes” and another at Mendelsohn, near where the tracks crossed from Edina into Hopkins, but the narrow-gauge steam railway (popularly known as the “Motor Line”) was plagued by financial difficulties and the segment west of Lake Calhoun had to be abandoned in 1886. A more ambitious commuter railway project was launched in 1907 by the Minneapolis, St. Paul, Rochester & Dubuque Electric Traction Company, the creation of Col. Marion Willis Savage and other Minneapolis capitalists. Better known as the “Dan Patch Line,” it was built from South Minneapolis to Northfield and maintained passenger stations at Brookside and Interlachen in Edina from 1915 until 1942.

The economic exigencies of the maturing Twin Cities industrial base led to the construction of the first trolley or streetcar lines in the late 1880s. The Minneapolis Street Railway Co. was organized in 1873 and eventually built a trolley system with over 115 miles of track. In the 1890s it was electrified and extended as far as Lake Harriet by the late 1890s as part of the Minneapolis & St. Paul Suburban Railroad Co., which was incorporated in 1890 as a wholly owned subsidiary of the Twin City Rapid Transit Co.

(TCRT), a holding company formed by a group of investors headed by real estate developer Thomas Lowry (1873-1909).

The first generation streetcar lines faced problems of right-of-way acquisition, track construction, bridges, gauge, and motive power. Hardly less important than the engineering challenges were those connected with construction financing. Because the suburban systems had to be built through thinly populated areas, they were unable to offer prospective investors an immediate return; not surprisingly, streetcar companies were highly speculative ventures and the decisions of their directors were more often influenced by the desire to reap windfall profits from inflated real estate values than by any expectation of long-term dividends. The most important technical advance in streetcar transportation was the substitution of electricity for steam power, which came about as a result of inventions made by Frank J. Sprague and others. The first practical overhead trolley line in the country was built in Kansas City in 1884 and the Twin Cities street railways undertook electrification of their commuter lines in 1890. Service steadily improved because of faster, more efficient streetcars, but also because the company was able to make substantial investments in better tracks, more comfortable cars, improved heating and lighting, and safer grade crossings. Passenger fares were low and the nickel fare persisted until after World War I (rate increases antagonized public opinion and invited ever more government interference in transit company operations).

The idea of a monopolistic street railway system that encompassed the entire Twin Cities metropolitan area seems to have originated from the lure of real estate, rather than transportation infrastructure development, and the population explosion in Minneapolis and Saint Paul gave the idea great impetus. The fundamental fact that transportation development had historically produced a boom in real estate values was obvious and there was no shortage of capitalists willing to speculate on the progress of the Twin Cities, where the mania for land dealing was ever-present. Thomas Lowry, an experienced and hugely successful real estate developer, quickly brought together an investment group that snapped up the Minneapolis and Saint Paul streetcar companies as well as the assets of several bankrupt lines without any apparent future, which they consolidated into a holding company called the Twin Cities Rapid Transit Company (TCRT). Acquisition and construction costs were financed primarily with private money and credit obtained through loans, mortgages, stock subscriptions, and the sale of bonds, and a considerable amount of TCRT's financing was handled by financial interests in Chicago and Eastern cities. TCRT eventually absorbed all of the competing streetcar lines, which it operated as subsidiary companies. The combination of streetcar lines formed an inter-locking, metropolitan area-wide system (over 530 miles of track at its peak) that insured greater efficiency—because of its inherent economies of scale, TCRT was able to make a number of important improvements in service, but more importantly, it eliminated competition and thereby secured larger profits for the investors.¹⁸

Como-Harriet Streetcar Line

One of the streetcar lines acquired by the TCRT was the Minneapolis & St. Paul Suburban Railroad, which in the spring of 1905 began construction of a trolley line extension from Lake Harriet westward, following the right-of-way of the defunct Minneapolis, Lyndale & Minnetonka.¹⁹ The new Lake Harriet to Excelsior line was built under a charter from the state and was operated in accordance with a series of franchise agreements the company negotiated with the local governments along the route. These franchises granted it valuable rights and concessions, including the right of eminent domain, temporary exemption from certain taxes, and what amounted to a monopoly. The attitude on the part of most public officials was that the streetcar company needed to be given encouragement by every means possible; the generous state charter and local franchise agreements no doubt also reflected prevailing popular opinion.

Full service between Lake Harriet and Excelsior opened on September 30, 1905. The system (eventually designated the Como-Harriet Line) entered Edina from Minneapolis on France Avenue and turned west on 44th Street—the important stops in Morningside being those at 44th and France, Grimes and 44th and Wooddale and 44th. The entire line between downtown and Morningside was double-tracked by 1906 and a new loop was added at 44th and France in 1909. In 1909 service was extended to Hopkins, where the Como-Harriet Line intersected the old St. Louis Park and Hopkins trolley line that ran along Excelsior Boulevard. Sometime before 1925 the tracks were extended to 50th and France. The streetcar company continued to offer service to Lake Minnetonka until 1932.

The Como-Harriet Line was the catalyst for the initial phase of residential development in Morningside, which in 1905 was still well beyond the western fringe of the built-up area in South Minneapolis. The cultural and economic impact of the streetcar extended beyond transportation: the streetcars helped break down rural isolation, improved the social and educational opportunities available to residents of outlying districts, and afforded suburbanites many of the benefits of both city and country life. By stimulating travel within the Twin Cities region, the TCRT system effectively united the suburbs with each other and the older urban core areas, thereby fostering development of a metropolitan culture. The Como-Harriet Line made it possible for workers living in Morningside to commute to factory jobs in Hopkins and downtown offices. The streetcar also encouraged small retail and service businesses to set up near the car stops, thereby increasing the economic vitality of the neighborhood and lowering the cost of living for everyone.

The TCRT served over 31 million riders in 1900, 54 million in 1905, and 87 million in 1910; 1920 was the year of peak ridership, with 138 million trips. From 1906 until 1926 the company operated its own fleet of excursion steamers on Lake Minnetonka and backed the development of several major amusement park complexes. Nevertheless, the streetcar business was not particularly profitable. The rising costs of fuel and equipment, combined with the constant introduction of improvements rendered

necessary in many cases by municipal ordinances, made operating more expensive. The habit of the nickel fare, deeply ingrained since the nineteenth century, persisted until 1920, when it was raised to six cents; the cash fare jumped to eight cents in 1925 and a one-way trolley ride cost a dime in 1929. (The token fare was slightly less than the cash fare.) High financing costs, persistent labor relations problems, and rising customer dissatisfaction contributed to the TCRT's inability to compete successfully with private automobiles and its financial situation worsened steadily until the late 1940s, when the company was taken over by outside interests and dismantled. Trolley service on the Como-Harriet Line ended in 1954 (the cars were sold off, many of them from the Como-Harriet Line ending their days in Mexico City or Newark, New Jersey). Busses, which had served the Morningside-Edina area since the early 1920s (the bus company was another component of the TCRT mass transit monopoly), continued to provide regular commuter service but had much less impact on the character and appearance of the community.

44th and France Commercial Development

Morningside was founded for residential development and there do not seem to have been any structures erected for commercial use until about 1920. The earliest commercial development was proposed for the area near Wooddale and Sunnyside Road, but it was quashed by local opposition groups. The first commercial buildings erected were a cluster of retail stores and shops along France Avenue between Morningside Road and 44th Street, strategically placed to take advantage of commuter traffic moving in and out of the TCRT's streetcar hub. The buildings were mostly two-level commercial blocks, configured so that the ground floor held retail or office space, while the upper floors were used primarily for residential apartments. The Odd Fellows Hall at 4388 France Avenue (built in 1918) provided public assembly space as well as retail outlets and many of the early town meetings were held there. By the 1940s the demand for commercial space exceeded the boundaries of the original business district proposed twenty years earlier: one- and two-story, brick-faced, flat-roofed stores, shops and office buildings eventually lined France Avenue, where commercial buildings were intermingling with residences all the way from Morningside Road to W. 50th Street. Offshoots of the "Westgate" business node extended a short distance up both 44th Street and Sunnyside Road.

SUBURBAN INFRASTRUCTURE

During the early twentieth century the suburbs became the growth centers of America.²⁰ With advances in transportation (first the streetcars, then automobiles), it became much easier to live outside of the city center and commute into it. It was not long before new streetcar suburbs leapfrogged the older railway suburbs, attracting population and economic growth that had heretofore been concentrated within the urban core.

Morningside's residential landscape reflects several of the important broad themes in the pattern of suburban development in the Twin Cities area.²¹ Between 1905 and 1930, Morningside developers built several hundred new single-family homes, mostly

bungalows, on tracts of land previously occupied by farm fields and orchards. The new suburban built environment was strikingly different from the surrounding rural landscape but shared many characteristics in common with other inner-ring suburbs: the relatively high density of people per square mile within the platted subdivisions, the architectural similarity of the houses, and the dependence upon mass-transit. The population of Edina village (including Morningside) more than doubled between 1900 and 1920, from 749 to 1833; between 1920 and 1930, the number of residents living in the newly incorporated village of Morningside rose from just over 500 to 903.²²

Civic Geometry

Morningside's built environment was shaped to a large extent by the platted subdivisions that transformed raw land into lots, blocks and streets. The creation of each subdivision marked a critical step in the process of suburbanization. The process of subdivision platting basically remains the same today as in 1905. A land survey plat, also called a plat of subdivision, is a map depicting the geographical characteristics of a piece of land; essentially an engineer's translation of the legal and technical requirements for subdividing vacant land into multiple units for the purpose of development. Its primary purpose is to precisely locate property lines and corners, measure surface elevations, and depict all existing improvements, easements or utilities so that legal title to the land can be conveyed to new owners without disputes over boundaries and the amount of land contained in a given parcel. When the survey is made, the surveyors make a detailed written record of the land being surveyed, mark the lines of individual lots (using wooden stakes or metal pins), and install monuments (steel pipes) to mark the corners of the subdivision. Because of the legal requirement that subdivisions be platted before any building lots can be sold, each plat of survey must be presented to the local government for approval and then registered with the county recorder's office.

The Morningside subdivision plats were laid out in accordance with contemporary practice, with straight, parallel streets that intersected at right angles to form uniform square blocks. The rigid geometric scheme reflected the primary economic objectives of the subdivision proprietors, which was to subdivide a tract of raw land into as many easily marketable lots as possible so that it could be converted into cash as quickly as possible. Because conventional wisdom held that the corner lots represented the most valuable real estate, the gridiron plat maximized the number of street intersections. (It also had the effect of setting aside a substantial portion of the platted area for public streets and alleys.) No provision was made for public parks or other landscape amenities. While it was inherently speculative, wasteful of land, and inefficient for internal circulation, the gridiron plat was the standard template for nineteenth and early twentieth century urban development.²³

Community Development

While the early Morningside real estate developers did not always foresee the results of their work in terms of any kind of urban plan, their home-building projects, no matter

how speculative in design, show evidence of planning. First and foremost, the gridiron plat of north-south and east-west streets and the standardized lot dimensions created a symmetrical framework for neighborhood development—the grid also made the lots easier to sell and reduced the cost of home construction as well. The streets were laid out with sufficient width to make them convenient traffic-ways which were adaptable to the installation of sidewalks and utilities. Although there was no official land use zoning in Minnesota cities and villages until after passage of the Zoning Enabling Act in 1929, the early Morningside subdivisions contained no land set aside for commerce or manufacturing—or parks and recreation, for that matter—insuring that land use would be homogeneous and residential. As soon as the area became thickly settled, Morningside residents vigorously opposed developers' proposals which they perceived as disfiguring, intrusive, or inconsistent with the character of the community.

As Morningside filled up with suburbanites, the neighborhood's interests inevitably clashed with the community values of rural Edina's agrarian residents. The rapidity with which Morningside developed caused no little amount of consternation among the village solons and by 1911 the newcomers began to gain control over local government through the ballot box, sweeping several of the established farmer-politicians out of office. In subsequent years, Morningside residents banded together to demand fundamental shifts in village policy in order to obtain infrastructure improvements such as sewer and water. Rural leaders must have seen the futility of attempting to ward off further suburbanization and they eventually agreed to allow the Morningsiders to secede from Edina and incorporate as a freestanding municipality in 1920.²⁴

Although Morningside builders and realtors were unabashedly enthusiastic about growth, public opinion generally supported the notion that the community could not afford uncontrolled development. The rapid pace of suburban development in the 1920s fostered the creation of civic organizations whose members took it upon them to help guide future development and public improvements. As the population rose and new development projects loomed on the horizon, these citizen groups became increasingly focused on keeping commercial activity out of the interior of the neighborhood. The same interests were also successful in enhancing property values through public works improvements such as construction of a network of paved sidewalks, street lighting, the building of Morningside School, installation of storm and sanitary sewer lines, and the creation of a municipal water system served by the Minneapolis waterworks.

The Imprint of the Automobile

Although the earliest suburban development responded to the extension of the Twin Cities streetcar system, the introduction of the automobile probably had a greater impact on Morningside's built environment. After a century of experimentation with steam and electrically powered conveyances, the first practical gasoline engine-drive motor vehicle was produced in 1893. The industry remained small and cars were little more than upper-class recreational vehicles until 1903, when there ensued a period of rapid development and intense competition among a galaxy of automobile producers. The retail price of Ford's Model T, first introduced in 1908, and was reduced by 1914 to

a figure that put it within reach of the typical middle-class family. In 1914 there were already over 42,000 private automobiles registered in the state and the number grew to 300,000 by 1920.²⁵

The great expansion of automobile ownership coincided with the bungalow building boom of 1910-1930. One of the most important effects of the coming of the automobile was a renaissance in road building, Road and bridge building and maintenance have always been important functions of local government; nevertheless, by the 1880s most of the local roads were probably little more than rutted tracks that meandered between farm fence lines. The bicycle craze of the 1890s and the advent of Rural Free Delivery in 1896 sparked the first widespread popular movement for improved roadways and several Good Roads organizations formed in the Twin Cities area to marshal political support for better roads and bridges. The state began making small contributions for the improvement of town and country roads in the early 1900s. The village of Edina rapidly increased its annual appropriations for street and bridge work. Under the strain of motor traffic, the old dirt and gravel surfaces were quickly found to be inadequate and various forms of bituminous paving were being laid by the 1910s. France Avenue was laid out and paved with water-bound macadam; it was later widened and paved with asphalt. The great period of highway construction, however, did not come until the 1930s.

HEARTH AND HOME DURING THE BUNGALOW ERA

Early twentieth century Morningside was an architecturally homogeneous neighborhood of suburban cottages and bungalows sited on standard-sized suburban lots along straight-line streets. Leftover, undeveloped land and some of the unbuilt lots originally platted for homesites was eventually developed for a small retail and service business center, a public school, and the Morningside Congregational Church. By just about any standard of measure, Morningside was a middleclass community, though the prevailing social milieu tended to blur the traditional distinctions between blue-collar and white-collar lifestyles. People of widely varying social and economic backgrounds found their way to Morningside because they could afford the houses that were built there. Based on census data and anecdotal information obtained from the neighborhood news sections of the local newspapers, it is safe to say that the typical (if not statistically average) Morningside bungalow owner made his or her living as a factory or office worker, small business owner, or tradesman; there was also a smattering of doctors, lawyers, schoolteachers, and mechanics. Neither occupation nor education level seems to have been much of a segregating factor within the village, where class distinctions would have been reduced by the modest housing (and perhaps by the neighbors' shared experience of being suburban pioneers). Social distances between Morningside families were also foreshortened by the fact that everyone was white, English-speaking, and a member of a mainstream Christian denomination.

Home Building

Morningside real estate developers and home builders, like most other early-twentieth century Americans, adopted a *laissez-faire* approach to business and the growth of the community generally followed the same pattern as nineteenth-century suburban development. Although there were laws on the books which sought to restrain some of the most harmful practices, land development and home building were virtually unregulated before the 1920s.²⁶

Each real estate boom in the Twin Cities was accompanied by a frenzy of subdivision platting. The earliest subdivision comprising part of the greater Morningside neighborhood was platted in 1885 but most of the late-nineteenth century development was farther west, around West Minneapolis (Hopkins). At the turn of the century, Edina Village was dotted with several small agglomerations of non-farm development, but most of the land north of Minnehaha Creek was vacant. In 1905 a group of Minneapolis investors purchased part of the old Jonathan Grimes home farm (part of which had previously been subdivided twenty years previously for the abortive Waveland Park development), which they had surveyed and laid out in blocks and lots. The name of the subdivision was the Morningside Addition.²⁷ The next twenty-five years witnessed a flurry of subdivisions, which together comprise much of the eastern portion of modern-day Morningside as well as the adjacent portions of St. Louis Park, South Minneapolis, and Edina. Like the original Morningside proprietors, these developers were for the most part Minneapolis businessmen (often described as “up and doing men”) who had come to Minnesota early in their careers, determined to make their fortunes by speculating on the progress of the Twin Cities. The profits from real estate dealing may have been their prime motivation, but for the most part they were also civic-minded.

The period from 1905 to 1930 was also a golden age for small independent building contractors and realtors. The housing boom of 1914-18 was followed by a recession, the result of postwar industrial stagnation and deflation. Although the economic tide was against them, a few builders kept on erecting new houses in Morningside and despite the rising cost of living there were plenty of prospective buyers with money to invest in new homes or rental property. As evidenced by real estate advertisements in the *Minneapolis Journal*, *Minneapolis Morning Tribune* and other Twin Cities newspapers, Morningside home values and rents remained stable and the slow-down in new construction and sales of new homes never reached crisis proportions.

By the end of 1922, the recession had run its course and the business cycle abruptly changed direction, ushering in the so-called “Roaring ‘Twenties.” The six years from 1923 until the stock market crash in 1929 were years of unprecedented prosperity and growth in most of suburban America (nationally, per capital income increased more than 30% during this period), and especially in the newly incorporated Village of Morningside, where new home construction rose to unheard-of levels. A good share of the building activity was infill construction on lots platted years earlier, but there was also considerable development in newly platted subdivisions. The high-water mark for new home construction was reached in 1925-30, when approximately one hundred new

residences were built in Morningside. Home building, as well as sales of existing homes, retarded during the Great Depression of 1929-35 and it was not until the late 1930s that the economy recovered sufficiently for local developers to invest in significant new building activity.

Home Financing

Difficulties with financing early-twentieth century suburban home construction eventually led to transformational changes in building loans and banking practices. Speculative home builders had traditionally relied on private and commercial lending to cover the costs of land acquisition and construction; sometimes, especially for large-scale projects, groups of investors would float loans to developers and builders, or give them mortgages (often based on highly inflated land valuations). To finance the purchase of a new bungalow in 1918, for example, the typical buyer (unless he had sufficient savings or could borrow the money from family members or friends) usually needed a substantial loan secured by a mortgage against the house, which were typically three to five-year instruments with annual interest payments and a balloon payment when the note came due. Down-payments were also as high as 50% of equity. It was not until after the establishment of the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) home mortgage insurance program in 1934 that prospective buyers could finance up to 80% of the cost of a house with long-term, low-interest mortgages with small monthly installment payments. In 1940 (the first year for which figures are available), 226 Morningside homeowners were making mortgage payments, which averaged slightly less than fifty dollars a month.

Home Ownership

The bungalow is frequently described as a popular form of middle-class housing in the context of early twentieth century urbanization. Between 1905 and 1930, Morningside gave hundreds of families their first opportunity to own, not merely rent, the detached single-family home that became symbolic of the “American dream.”²⁸ Morningside bungalows also provided a highly desirable and affordable form of rental housing and as many as half of the bungalows may have been built as investment properties.²⁹

Morningside bungalows were too expensive for those living on the margin of existence. Although there are no reliable data on the incomes of home buyers, builders and realtors appear to have focused their marketing efforts on families with annual incomes over \$2500.³⁰ One of the greatest immediate effects of the First World War was to create a labor shortage, which forced wages upward and increased workers’ purchasing power, thereby expanding the pool of potentially qualified home buyers. The war economy also led to shortages in construction materials which drastically slowed new home building during 1917 and 1918; the pent-up demand for housing helped stimulate the postwar housing boom (already inevitable because of massive rural-to-urban population shifts).

While it is difficult to account entirely for the enormous popularity of the bungalow, some explanation may be found in the fact the standard of living for middle-class families improved markedly between the 1890s and the 1920s, which probably motivated many families to move up from older housing into new modern dwellings. Judging from the tenor of articles published in contemporary magazines, improvements in plumbing, heating, and housekeeping made even recently constructed houses seem old-fashioned and functionally obsolescent. A declining birth rate, restriction of foreign immigration, and increased availability of credit also helped foster public enthusiasm for new home buying. The greatest boon to suburban growth, however, was the automobile: the period from 1914 to 1929 saw a phenomenal increase in private automobile ownership among all classes of people. Although mass transit remained important (the Como-Harriet streetcar line remained in operation until 1954), by the end of the 1920s the great majority of Morningside households owned at least one automobile.

III. THE HERITAGE RESOURCE VALUES OF MORNINGSIDE BUNGALOWS

For planning purposes, we have chosen to treat the Morningside bungalow as a generic heritage resource type encompassing a wide range of variants and subtypes which share certain physical characteristics in common and are associated with a particular time and place. More broadly, the bungalow represents a particular type of housing, a period of architecture, and a distinctly American cultural phenomenon. This theoretical construct links the themes, patterns and trends delineated in the historic context narrative with actual historic resources on the ground.

THE ARCHITECTURAL LEGACY OF THE BUNGALOW ERA

“The bungalow age is here,” declared architectural pattern book impresario William Radford in a plan book published in 1908.³¹ After a quarter-century of experimentation, mostly with country cottages designed for the upper classes, American architects and builders produced the first recognizable specimens of what would become the iconic bungalow form in the 1890s. The early work on designing bungalow prototypes for rural and suburban living was done largely in southern California, where the innovative design concept had had a considerable development long before there was much interest in other parts of the country. The bungalow achieved wide public acceptance only after it was adopted by housing reformers and mass-market home builders during the early 1900s. It was in every way a national house type—it has been estimated that several hundred thousand were built across the country between 1910 and 1930. The bungalow movement reached Minnesota before 1910 and after a slow start the house type became extremely popular, reaching its zenith between 1915 and 1925 (though bungalows continued to be built in small numbers until the 1940s³²).

The Bungalow Design Tradition

The bungalow represented a major innovation in domestic architecture: the small comfortable house that provided homebuyers of moderate means with unprecedented levels of domestic comfort. Well designed and built of durable materials, they utilized complex technology while relying on simple plans.³³

There can be no denying that the bungalow was a byproduct of the American Arts and Crafts Movement. One of the major figures in the movement was Gustav Stickley (1858-1942), a Wisconsin-born furniture maker and self-taught architect. Stickley is probably best remembered today as an artisan and he helped popularize the so-called “Mission” style of furniture. In 1901, Stickley founded *The Craftsman*, a monthly magazine to help promote the work of his Eastwood, New York guild of furniture makers. The mission of *The Craftsman* evolved after 1903, when Stickley began to publish plans and editorialize on the benefits of the new progressive architecture. The ideal of the “Craftsman House” fused the arts-and-crafts aesthetic with the California bungalow design theory—the Craftsman architectural philosophy, with its focus on

democratic family values and the environment, was deeply rooted in Progressivism. Although most of the sixty or so bungalow house plans published in the magazine between 1903 and 1916 were not actually designed by Stickley or his associates, the terms Craftsman and Bungalow eventually became synonymous.³⁴ While they did not invent the bungalow, Gustav Stickley, Henry H. Saylor, and their colleagues at the forefront of the American Arts and Crafts movement certainly adopted it as the ideal Craftsman house and regarded it as a form of domestic architecture ideally suited to southern California, which was a hotbed of bungalow design during the first two decades of the twentieth century.³⁵

The bungalow idea was disseminated through architectural and general interest publications. Architectural pattern books and builders' plan books first had first appeared in the 1850s and offered plans and specifications for all kinds of homes. Bungalow plan books by independent architects and development companies took the country by storm between 1900 and 1920.³⁶ A number of architectural publishing companies appeared on the scene, led by the Radford Architectural Co. of Chicago, which issued hundreds of bungalow plans. Henry H. Saylor and other progressive architects created sets of highly sophisticated bungalow designs aimed at a national audience.³⁷ Lumber companies also began to issue plan books and catalogs.

Bungalow plans were also widely circulated in magazines, some of which allowed their subscribers to order free house plans with detailed specifications that could be turned over to a local contractor or carpenter. One of these was Minneapolis-based *Keith's Magazine on Home Building* (and various other titles), which began publication in 1899 and remained in business until the 1920s.³⁸ In addition to the special interest periodicals like *The Craftsman* and *The Western Architect*, mass circulation publications like the *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Good Housekeeping*, and *Country Life* regularly gave their readers a vision of the perfect bungalow. There were even magazines devoted entirely to bungalows. Bungalows became so popular that mail-order companies like Sears, Roebuck & Company, Aladdin Homes, and Montgomery Ward began marketing mail-order house kits. These kit houses were a bargain (some of the most popular bungalow models retailed for as little as \$750) and financing on the installment plan was also available. The mail-order bungalows were manufactured pre-cut in factories and shipped by rail for assembly on-site by local carpenters.³⁹

The popularity of the pattern book, magazine and mail-order bungalows probably had a homogenizing effect on the built environment overall and may even have caused some erosion of the old regional differences in vernacular architecture. But the end result was not an endless landscape of cookie-cutter bungalow neighborhoods for the simple reason that the mass-market bungalow plans encouraged architectural diversification, allowed for a wide degree of customer choice, and provided prospective house owners and builders with near-unlimited opportunities for customization.

Construction Materials

Morningside bungalows are wood frame constructions with masonry basements walls and asphalt or composition shingle roofs. The construction materials were affordable, easy to come by, and of a high quality; labor was cheap and there was a large pool of skilled workers available in the Minneapolis area. The predominant exterior wall cladding material was historically wood clapboard siding, followed by stucco.⁴⁰ Bungalow siding, a form of bevel siding (also known as “colonial” siding) was a staple lumberyard product.⁴¹ No brick bungalows have been recorded by survey, although bungalows with brick veneer foundations, brick porch balustrades, and decorative brick trim are present. The use of molded rock-faced or rusticated concrete block for foundation walls and porch column pedestals was popular before 1920, although the great majority of the basement walls now consist of undecorated standard dimension concrete block.

The Bungalow Aesthetic

The bungalow was a small house that offered all the comforts and conveniences of a much larger, architect-designed residence, but could be built on a comparatively small lot at a minimum of cost. Generally rectilinear in plan, with the narrow end facing the street, the mass of the house is dominated by the wide, low-pitched roof. Facades had clapboard, stucco, or mixed materials siding and the proportion of window to wall area was dramatically higher than was typical on earlier housing; the numerous windows (which Stickley’s acolytes liked to call “the eyes of the house”), often grouped together to form ribbon windows of three or more contiguous sets of double-hung sash, flooded the interior spaces with daylight and provided natural cross-ventilation. Second-stories (including unfinished attics) were illuminated with double-hung windows in the gable-end walls and most of the rooms had dormers in a variety of sizes and shapes. Architectural decoration consisted largely of non-functional structural members: exposed roof rafters and purlins, knee-braces, and struts. Front elevations sometimes had brick facing on the foundation wall or sawn wood shingle siding under the gable-end. Rock-faced concrete block was commonly used to rusticate the surfaces of foundation walls and porch pedestals.

Although built from mass-produced materials and based on standardized designs, individual bungalows were intended to stand out from neighboring homes and were often embellished with eye-catching decorative detailing. Architectural historians and preservationists often refer to the “bungalow style” and classify bungalows generally in terms of their exemplification of the design principles ascribed to the Craftsman or some other period style.⁴² Most of the bungalows actually built, however, defy conventional classification based on the concept of style:

Excessive nationwide patronage for popular housing tended to strip the bungalow of style, or at least of historic architectural style. The bulk of the American public was interested primarily in homes providing a livable and what it considered a pleasant atmosphere, with more emphasis upon comfort than

culture. Functionalism—meaning holding to stark essentials—was embraced only in the rarest instances, as the idea was ingrained that everything made had to be elaborated, that is “prettied up.”

Examined from the perspective of American vernacular architecture, the bungalow aesthetic was a regional or local appropriation of several different idioms. The most influential of these were the American Arts and Crafts and early twentieth century Modern movements, but local builders showed a keen interest in the Colonial Revival, Tudor, Mission and other eclectic modes. Although there is no way to know with any kind of certainty, the inspiration for Morningside bungalow designers seems to have come chiefly from mainstream architectural pattern books and catalogues.

The Bungalow Lifestyle: Indoors

The bungalow was synonymous with the “comfortable home” that emerged in post-Victorian era America and epitomized suburban home building in the twentieth century:

Comfort and convenience were its hallmarks. Indoor plumbing, built-in gas and electric facilities, central heating, all that had been luxuries available only to the well-to-do just a few decades earlier, now became standard features for all. Privies and chamber pots vanished, except for young children’s potty-chairs; in their place homeowners could choose among all sorts of models of porcelain toilets and bathtubs and sinks. Laundry facilities began to appear in basements.⁴³

Most Morningside bungalows were marketed as five- or six-room dwellings, though some may have been built as small as three rooms and the largest contained eight or more rooms (excluding porches, which were typically placed on both the front and rear elevations). The open floor plan placed all of the main activity areas on the ground floor, with living and dining rooms in front and the kitchen and master bedroom isolated at the rear. Additional bedrooms were usually placed on the second floor.

While the living room did not originate with the bungalow, “at least it came into full potency with it” and was “the very heart and core of the house, regulating its pulse and the outflowing of life that animated it.”⁴⁴ The living room usually occupies the entire front of the house in Morningside bungalows (it is almost always the largest room) and the front doors enter directly into the living room from a porch; where there is no porch, the front stairs lead directly into the living room. Some bungalow living rooms have bays at one end and French doors at the other leading to the den or porch. Living rooms often featured built-in furniture that gave the room beauty and dignity in addition to economizing the amount of floor space. The cozy brick fireplace placed at one end of the living room was a popular bungalow amenity.

Nearly every bungalow had a front porch that provided shelter and privacy for the main entry. In the bungalow design scheme, the front porch was an extension of the living room.⁴⁵ Most of the Morningside bungalow porches, however, are too small to have

functioned as “outdoor living rooms” but they did provide a shady place for two or three people to sit comfortably and look out over the front yard. The concept had its drawbacks, however: the front porch may have functioned as a “year-round living room” in the Southern states, but in Minnesota the best a homeowner could expect to achieve was a “three-season” porch enclosed with interchangeable screen and storm windows. In many bungalows, the front porch was inset at the corner of the front of the house, next to the projecting front bay or alcove which was intended to function as the solarium or sun porch: it had solid walls which provided sufficient insulation against the winter cold and plenty of double-hung windows that could be opened or shut as conditions warranted. Most houses had porches on both the front and back elevations: this provided a shady spot no matter which way the house faced, one with a view of the street, the other overlooking the backyard. Some bungalows were designed so that one of the bedrooms had direct access to a screened porch, commonly referred to as a “sleeping porch” because it afforded a pleasant retreat on warm summer nights.

The living room and dining room were combined into one long room in the smallest bungalows; and in the larger homes, the “formal dining room” was entered through an arched opening, which was sometimes set off with heavy wood moldings or built-in bookcases. There was usually a double-acting door between the dining room and the kitchen, which was typically located in the back corner of the main floor, with a small pantry and a short hallway connecting it to one or more downstairs bedrooms. The builders liked to provide the interior hallways with built-in closets, cabinets, and dresser drawers. The rear of the house was entered from a small back porch through a short entrance hall, though in many bungalows the back door opened directly into the kitchen, which was a far cry from the large but awkward Victorian era kitchen and pantry. The bungalow kitchen was designed for the housewife’s convenience and comfort, with ample cupboard space and built-in counters to accommodate all of the modern kitchen appliances. Many Morningside bungalows were built with a breakfast nook, an Arts and Crafts invention that was sometimes identified as the “breakfast room” on the building plans.⁴⁶ It usually took the shape of a small alcove located on the rear of house convenient to the kitchen (usually overlooking the garden) that was fitted with a small table, fixed bench seats, and built-in cupboards.

Sleeping quarters tended to be small, but usually had ample natural day-lighting and ventilation. The bungalow was one of the first widely built house forms designed to be built with clothes closets in the bedrooms (which also reduced the amount of furniture needed). Because of the trend toward smaller families (already well underway by 1910), bungalows tended to have fewer bedrooms than earlier suburban dwellings. Every Morningside bungalow was built with indoor plumbing and equipped with the standard American toilet and bathing fixtures in a streamlined, hygienic space that was, like the kitchen, a testament to modern American domestic engineering. In most floor plans, the bathroom (the name itself was of recent origin) was connected to the downstairs bedrooms by a short hallway, which also led to the kitchen and/or dining room. Some of the larger bungalows were built with an upper-level sleeping porch on the rear elevation, but most of these have been enclosed and converted to year-round

living space. Dining rooms and enclosed porches were also intended to be used as extra bedrooms.

Even the smallest bungalows were built with full basements, usually accessed by a stairway off the kitchen or back porch (sometimes placed between the living room and the kitchen). The basement provided room for the laundry, furnace, coal bin, and vegetable cellar in addition to general storage spaces. Some of the floors were originally packed earth, but most were covered with cement, and while the cellar sash provided minimal illumination and ventilation, basements provided space which the occupants could convert into workshops, play rooms, and extra bedrooms.

In interior design, the prevailing idea was simplicity: economy in floor space, the use of wood and harmonious wall color schemes, and an emphasis on structural features for decoration. The notion that healthy families did not need large and elaborately designed interior spaces may have been one of the hallmarks of the Craftsman philosophy, but most owners of suburban bungalows aspired to a certain level of bourgeoisie tastefulness in their home décor and many Morningside bungalows were built with painted brick fireplaces, parquet entry floors, brass door fittings and wall plates, built-in bookcases and china cabinets with etched glass doors, wrought-iron lantern porch lights, and cut-glass dining room chandeliers. Most of these “arts-and-crafts” fixtures are factory-made stock items rather than hand-crafted.⁴⁷

The Bungalow Lifestyle: Outdoors

The bungalow movement was at the vanguard of a new American vernacular in domestic landscaping. Stickley, who was an enthusiastic landscape gardener, envisioned the bungalow as a small house that was “harmonious with the surroundings in which it is to be placed” and where the garden functioned as an open-air extension of the home interior.⁴⁸ In the hands of ordinary American suburbanites, these “outdoor rooms” were painstakingly landscaped to reflect the arts-and-crafts aesthetic of unpretentious naturalism. The front of the house, beginning with the spacious “living porch” and extending all the way to the curb, was often ornamented with window boxes and hanging baskets, with the viewshed from the street framed by curved flower beds and clumps of shrubbery. Where it formed the outlook from the kitchen or back bedroom, the side yard attracted pergolas, trellises, and various kinds of lawn structures, often made from local materials.

Garages

The evolution of the garage paralleled the evolution of the suburban house and it also had a transformative effect on the built environment.⁴⁹ Garages had their own design vocabulary and most bungalow plan books included designs and specifications for garages. Architectural pattern book publisher William H. Radford even claimed credit for popularizing the term, which originated in nineteenth century France and entered colloquial American English sometime around 1910.

Like the stables for horses in the horse-and-buggy era, automobile garages were freestanding outbuildings that were customarily sited on the back of the lot. Garages were not attached to dwellings until the late 1920s. Bungalows on sloped terrain were sometimes adapted to tuck-under garages, essentially an extension of the house basement with an opening at street level, but this was not commonly done as original construction before the 1940s. The configuration of the original subdivision plats and the size of residential lots largely determined whether the garage was placed directly in back of the house or to the side. Bungalows without alleys required driveways, which had to be built over part of the residential yard; because of the limited side-yard setbacks, this had the effect of eliminating much of the greenspace between houses (especially if neighbors laid out their driveways side-by-side). The driveways also cut across the sidewalks, making pedestrians less safe, and the hard surfaces increased the amount of surface water runoff into the public right-of-way.

As people increasingly came and went from their homes by car, the back door of the house often became the main entryway, which altered the internal circulation pattern and often changed the use of the kitchen and back hallway as well. In some cases, this fundamental change in traffic pattern led to the virtual abandonment of the front doorway, except for the most formal social occasions.

CLASSIFICATION OF MORNINGSIDE BUNGALOWS

The resource type classification system used for Morningside bungalows has five broad categories, based on morphological characteristics observed during field survey or inferred from documentary evidence. While it undoubtedly would be possible to distinguish other subtypes or variants, the forms described below are the most prevalent.⁵⁰

Common Bungalow

This is the predominant Morningside bungalow form. The common bungalow lacks architectural refinement and is in all respects an example of vernacular architecture. In terms of its diagnostic elements, the common bungalow is defined almost entirely in terms of its volumetric characteristics, which consist of a boxy, rectilinear ground plan, single-story (occasionally up to one-and-one-half stories) wall height, and low-pitched gable or hip roof with wide eaves. The front porch (almost always enclosed) usually has its own gable roof and illustrates the Craftsman concept of a “living porch”. While these simple, functional houses reflect individual variations in shape and form, they do not reflect any particular architectural style or fashion, although they usually exhibit modest Arts and Crafts Movement-inspired detailing in the form of small entry porches or vestibules, roof dormers, unenclosed eave overhangs with exposed rafter-tails, and wood cased double-hung windows with divided lights in the upper sash. The larger bungalows tend to carry more elaborate exterior decoration than the smaller ones.

Though the undecorated box bungalow was probably the dominant small house form built throughout the country during the Bungalow Era, it was apparently never very

popular in Morningside, where contractors showed a preference for embellishing even the most modest bungalows with modest, Craftsman-inspired detailing.

Craftsman or “California” Bungalow

This is the classic arts-and-crafts movement-inspired bungalow, synonymous with (and representing a regional adaptation of) the prototypical “California” bungalow form that originated on the West Coast circa 1900 and diffused eastward across the continent.⁵¹ Some writers insist it represents an adaptation of the California Mission Revival style. The primary character-defining elements are: rectilinear ground plan with symmetrical or asymmetrical massing, one to one-and-one-half story wall height, low- to medium-pitch gable roof (occasionally hip) with wide eaves, exposed structural members (rafters, ridge beams, purlins, struts), dormers (the number and placement of which varies widely), spacious front porches with the roof supported by square columns (often set upon pedestals or piers, sometimes battered), and end-wall fireplace chimneys (usually brick). The configuration of the roof is a character-defining element in its own right: the main gable roof with its low pitch and wide shady eaves covers the core of the house, while another, smaller gable roof, placed at right angles to the main roof, covers the projecting front of the house. The front porch may be either open or enclosed and it is sometimes placed next to a projecting “sun room” or “sun parlor” with multiple double-hung windows.

Morningside examples show considerable variation in massing, ground plan, façade orientation, pattern of fenestration, floor plan and exterior detailing—several received highly stylized decorative treatment that shows the influence of the Colonial Revival, Mission and Prairie modes, while others are quite modest, even plain, when viewed from the street. The interiors, which originally contained between five and eight rooms, are characteristically intimate and informal in scale, with hardwood floors, built-in cabinetry, and abundant day-lighting. The Craftsman bungalow form first appeared in Morningside around 1910 and was extremely popular until the early 1920s, when it rapidly faded from favor.

Airplane Bungalow

Another “California” bungalow derivative, the Airplane bungalow is distinguished from the Craftsman bungalow subtype by a single diagnostic feature: a large, ground-level, projecting element (usually the front porch, sometimes the living room) that is covered by a broad, low-pitched gable roof. The height and width of the front-facing gable in relation to the rest of the façade gives this bungalow form its distinguishing historic character. Airplane bungalows in Morningside have both symmetrical and asymmetrical massing and the gable-roofed upper half-story is almost always set back from the larger projecting gable-roofed component. Local examples tend to be more picturesque in their detailing than conventional bungalows and often have bay windows, stone or brick end-wall fireplaces, and fairly elaborate stick-work under the eaves of the roofs. The multi-gable profile and strong horizontal proportions give it a striking streetscape presence,

but this particular bungalow subtype loses much of its charm whenever any of the windows and exterior finishes are replaced with modern synthetic materials.

Portico Bungalow

Identified by Gottfried and Jennings in their seminal work on Midwestern vernacular buildings, the Portico Bungalow is in many ways similar to other bungalow forms but is distinguished by its unique façade geometry.⁵² Typically a one-story house with a compact rectangular plan, it is characterized by its symmetrically balanced façade, side-gabled low-pitch roof, and Craftsman or Colonial Revival style influenced detailing. The primary diagnostic feature is the location and type of the front entry porch or portico, which is always placed in the center of the façade and is covered by a gable roof supported by simple wooden braces, posts (occasionally) round columns. The width and length of the portico is usually something on the order of six to eight feet; most are open, without balustrades or railings, though in some examples a vestibule with the same wall cladding as the body of the house has been substituted for the porch. All of the surveyed examples are one or one-and-one-half stories and have gable roofs with the ridgeline oriented parallel to the street. The gable-ends are sometimes clipped to form the hip-on-gable or “jerkin-head” roof profile, a popular arts-and-crafts trait.

Bungalow Cottage

Early twentieth century architectural writers often referred to this as the “semi-bungalow” house form. Most of the bungalow cottages in Morningside were built during the 1920s and are distinguishable from other bungalows by their massing and proportions.⁵³ The primary diagnostic elements of the type are its wall height of one-and-one-half to slightly less than two full stories, medium- to steeply-pitched gable roof shape, and symmetrical pattern of fenestration. The façade is usually oriented parallel to the axis of the roof. Common historic character defining features include projecting or integral front entry porches, screened or glazed sun porches on the side or rear elevation, large shed type dormers (occasionally hip or gable dormers), bay windows, exposed structural members under the roof eaves, and concrete block foundation walls. The most common side-gabled, two-story variant usually has a deep front porch that extends the full width of the façade and is covered by the main roof. Bungalow cottages may exhibit ornamental detailing from the Craftsman, Tudor, Colonial Revival, Mission and Prairie styles and are sometimes difficult to distinguish from Minimal Traditional and Ranch style homes built during the late 1930s and 1940s. Some of the Morningside homes classified as bungalow cottages could also be classified as Craftsman/California or Airplane bungalows.

HISTORICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

Bungalows are an essential component of the historic fabric of the Morningside neighborhood, a direct link to early twentieth-century American life that can enhance or knowledge of local history. They also represent a form of residential architecture that was widely popular across the United States (and world-wide) between the 1890s and

1930s. From a design perspective, the Morningside bungalows reflect regional and local building traditions and materials, but they are not so different from other bungalows in other regions.⁵⁴ A bungalow is a bungalow by any name. They are also thematically related to other vernacular suburban house types, in particular the contemporaneous American Foursquare or “cubic” cottage.⁵⁵ Most architectural historians regard the bungalow as the lineal ancestor of the Ranch or “rambler” house type that dominated postwar suburban tract housing.

Individual bungalows are significant when they represent notable examples of important types or subtypes; when they show the history and development of the neighborhood; and when they provide a physical record of the experience of a particular individual or group which made an important contribution to local history. Some may be documented as works designed by well known architects or builders, as examples of mass-market pattern books or plans published in popular magazines, or as one-of-a-kind homes that illustrate the development of small house architecture. Groups of well preserved bungalows will qualify for designation as districts when they represent cohesive streetscapes that possess a strong identity of time and place. Groups of bungalows associated with a particular home builder or developer may also qualify.

It has been widely written that the bungalow was not just a place to live; it was a way of life. Designed to be practical, expensive, convenient and beautiful—but most of all, “sane and sensible” as Stickley put it—the preserved bungalow is a true cultural artifact that sheds light on two important aspects of Progressive Era American social history, the housing reform movement and the growth of suburbia.

LANDMARK DESIGNATION REQUIREMENTS

Not every Morningside bungalow can or should be preserved and protected as an Edina Heritage Landmark. The Edina Heritage Landmark eligibility criteria (City Code §850.20 subd. 2) state that to be considered worthy of designation, a property must be associated with an important historic context and retain specific aspects of its historic integrity.⁵⁶ Assessing historic integrity is best accomplished by systematically comparing an individual bungalow to related properties so that its most important architectural characteristics can be identified. To retain historic integrity, a bungalow does not need to retain every aspect of its historic integrity in order to be a representative example of the resource type. Generally, a bungalow should be considered a potential heritage preservation resource when it has been altered from its original as-built appearance, but retains enough of its historic character-defining elements to achieve significance within its historic context.

Survey data show that changes have taken place over the course of time in the appearance of most of the Morningside bungalows. The most common alterations involve application of inappropriate artificial siding (e.g., aluminum or vinyl) and replacement of wooden window storm windows and screens with aluminum combination windows; and recent structural additions. Many of these exterior changes are comparatively minor, if not altogether reversible—adverse effects from window and door

replacement, for example, can always be mitigated, so long as the openings have not been enlarged. As for structural additions, new construction is generally considered appropriate in historic residential neighborhoods whenever the work is not readily visible from the street.

A common problem faced by bungalow owners was enlarging the house as the family grew and prospered. While each bungalow was “complete” when it was constructed, it was universally understood by the people who lived in them that they could easily add more living space—consequently, with each addition the house was also “complete” in that it fulfilled conventional notions of propriety. Indeed, the argument can be made that bungalows were planned so that they could easily be enlarged or otherwise structurally modified: the basic plan allowed for construction of room-sized additions on the rear elevation, even on the smallest lots; and many of the published plans show only the first floor finished, allowing for one or two bedrooms and a bathroom to be added on the upper level without altering the exterior. Additional expansion space was provided by the full basement (standard on most Morningside bungalows) and the open or screened-in back porch.

IV. RECOMMENDED PLAN OF TREATMENT FOR MORNINGSIDE BUNGALOWS

By ordinance, when a property is designated an Edina Heritage Landmark, it must have a Plan of Treatment that provides general and specific guidelines for heritage resource management, including design review for Certificates of Appropriateness (COAs). While each plan of treatment needs to be specially tailored to the character of the subject property, it must also reflect certain core heritage preservation practices and show consistency with city preservation policies.

The following general statement of preservation goals and management guidelines should be part of the “boiler plate” for every plan of treatment that is developed for a Morningside bungalow.

PRESERVATION STANDARDS

The City of Edina has adopted the Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties as the required basis for COA decisions by the HPB. “These standards are neither technical nor prescriptive, but are intended to promote responsible preservation practices that help protect . . . irreplaceable cultural resources.”⁵⁷ The preferred treatment for Morningside bungalows is rehabilitation, which is defined as the act or process of making possible a compatible use for a property through repair, alterations or additions, while preserving those portions or features which convey its historical, cultural, and architectural values. This treatment concept gives property owners and the HPB considerable latitude in planning for the types of activities which are subject to design review (demolition, new construction, and moving buildings).

DEMOLITION

The following design review guidelines apply only to projects involving properties that have been designated Edina Heritage Landmarks or Landmark Districts. The goal of design review is to protect significant heritage resources against damage or loss caused by activities which require a City permit.

Demolition Defined

For design review purposes, demolition is defined as the physical alteration of a building that requires a City permit and where (a) 50% or more of the surface area of all exterior walls, in the aggregate, are removed; or (b) 50% or more of the principal roof structure is removed, changing its shape, pitch, or height; or (c) a front porch, side porch, vestibule, dormer, chimney, attached garage or porte-cochere is removed or destroyed. This definition does not include removal of existing siding, roofing, trim, fascia, soffit, eave moldings, windows or doors.

Historic Integrity Considerations

Badly damaged or seriously deteriorated bungalows may no longer qualify for Heritage Landmark status: if an applicant for a demolition permit can show that the subject property no longer meets the Heritage Landmark eligibility criteria because it does not retain the physical characteristics necessary to convey its historic significance, the HPB may grant a COA for demolition, subject to review of the design plan for the replacement house. (The evaluation of historic integrity should be done by a qualified preservation professional in accordance with the applicable city policies and best management practices.)

Mitigation

If a historic bungalow must be demolished, the COA should stipulate an appropriate mitigation strategy to avoid complete loss of the resource. The conventional mitigation options include, but are not limited to:

- Relocation of the historic property to a new site with compatible surroundings where it can be preserved and rehabilitated; and
- Architectural recordation to document the historic property with photographs, drawings, and written information so that a body of data will remain when it is demolished.

Salvage of architectural elements for reuse in new development (or for display in a museum) should be encouraged whenever possible.

Demolition of Garages & Outbuildings

1. Detached and attached garages and other outbuildings may be considered preservation resources if they are known to represent original construction and were built prior to 1930. A COA will not be required for the demolition of garages which are not identified as heritage preservation resources in the landmark nomination documents.
2. Garages and other outbuildings built after 1930 may contribute to the historic character of preserved bungalows—if so, this value should be documented in the landmark nomination and addressed in the individual property plan of treatment.

NEW CONSTRUCTION

The preservation goals in new construction are straightforward: (1) avoid the loss of historic fabric and damage to historic character defining features; and (2) make the new work visually compatible with the historic bungalow and its setting.

Design of New Houses

1. In the case of a historic bungalow that was demolished, new home construction would not ordinarily require a COA. However, the HPB should promote voluntary compliance with historic architectural standards so that new houses are compatible with the size, scale, color, material, and character of the neighborhood.
2. Reproductions of historic bungalows will not be discouraged.

Design of Additions

1. New construction in the form of additions to historic houses should be kept to a minimum and designed to be compatible in size, scale, massing, building materials, color, and texture with the historic property.
2. Additions should be visually unobtrusive when viewing the property from the public street: the preferred location is on the rear elevation.

Design of Garages

1. New detached garages should be placed in an inconspicuous location whenever possible.
2. New attached garages should be placed on a rear elevation and the doors should not be visible from the public street. The garage should also be visually compatible with the historic house when viewed from adjacent historic properties.
3. New construction does not necessarily need to “match” the historic bungalow: contemporary designs and materials are appropriate when they respect the historic character of the heritage resource and its setting.
4. Driveways should be compatible in width and material with historic driveways in the Morningside neighborhood and should be designed in such a manner that they do not radically change, obscure or destroy the historic character-defining spatial organization and landscape features of the lot and yard.

Public Works

The City will develop and implement plans for the preservation, maintenance and repair of all public works and utilities, including streets, trees, sidewalks, street lighting, signs, and open spaces in the vicinity of designated Heritage Landmarks to ensure that no harm is done to any significant heritage preservation resource.

NOTES

¹ By ordinance, the Edina Heritage Preservation Board (HPB) is directed to develop and implement a comprehensive plan for the preservation, protection and use of significant heritage resources. Heritage preservation forms Chapter 6 of the recently updated *Edina Comprehensive Plan* (City of Edina, 2008).

² See the National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form* (Washington: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1991).

³ The historic contexts are outlined in Chapter 6.2 of the *Edina Comprehensive Plan*.

⁴ The architectural literature dealing specifically with bungalows is voluminous (and growing), but the preeminent scholarly work is Clay Lancaster, *The American Bungalow, 1880-1930* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1985). Several excellent local bungalow studies have also appeared in recent years, including Joseph C. Bigott, *From Cottage to Bungalow: Houses and the Working Class in Metropolitan Chicago, 1869-1929* (University of Chicago Press, 2001); Janet Ore, *The Seattle Bungalow: People and Houses, 1900-1940* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007); Dominic A. Pacyga and Charles Shanbreuch, eds., *The Chicago Bungalow* (Chicago Architectural Foundation and Arcadia Publishing, 2001).

⁵ Most of the early references are in the context of East Indian houses, but by the 1870s it was widely used as a colloquial term for any small kind of vacation residence or rustic habitation. The first American house to be called a bungalow was probably the two-story beach house at Monument Beach on Cape Cod, built in 1879 and designed by architect William Gibbons Preston.

⁶ Many contemporary observers, as well as many architects, tended to use the terms “cottage” and “bungalow” interchangeably; Stickley, for example, referred to the earliest bungalow plans published in *The Craftsman* magazine as “Craftsman Cottages.”

⁷ “Survey [of] Historic Buildings of Edina,” unpublished report prepared for the Edina Heritage Preservation Board by Setter, Leach & Lindstrom, Inc., Minneapolis (July 6, 1979).

⁸ William W. Scott and Jeffrey A. Hess, *History and Architecture of Edina, Minnesota* (City of Edina, 1981), pp. 53, 56, 69-70.

⁹ Paul D. Hesterman, *From Settlement to Suburb: The History of Edina, Minnesota*, rev. ed. (Edina: Burgess Publishing, 1993); Deborah Morse-Kahn, *Chapters in the City History* (City of Edina, 1998).

¹⁰ The vintage Grimes Golden Apple was propagated by another Grimes, in Virginia in 1802 or 1804.

¹¹ Norman Francis Thomas, *Minneapolis-Moline: A History of Its Foundation and Operation* (New York: Arno Press, 1976).

¹³ In a monograph dealing with metropolitan area social trends, Calvin F. Schmidj outlined four major stages of Twin Cities urban development: a pioneer settlement period ending in 1865, an era of urban consolidation from 1865 to 1880, a period of rapid growth from 1880 to 1895, with the greatest urban expansion occurring in 1918-37; *Social Saga of Two Cities: An Ecological and Statistical Study of Social Trends in Minneapolis and St. Paul* (Minneapolis: Bureau of Social Research, Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies, 1937), p. 6 and passim.

¹⁴ James D. Parsons, "The Morningside District of Edina: Part One, 1855-1905," unpublished manuscript (January, 1995), Edina Historical Society; see also the plats of Edina in P. M. Dahl, *Plat Book of Hennepin County and of Ramsey County, Minnesota* (Minneapolis: Northwestern Map Publishing Cp., 1898) and James E. Egan, *Atlas of Minneapolis, Hennepin County, Minnesota* (Minneapolis Real Estate Board, 1903). The "patchwork quilt" of different land uses is clearly visible in the aerial surveys flown by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, which commenced in 1937.

¹⁵ Browndale Park, a St. Louis Park residential subdivision platted in 1909, extends into Edina north of West 44th Street between Highway 100 and Wooddale Avenue.

¹⁶ Schmidj's data show that issuance of building permits by the city of Minneapolis peaked in 1915-25 and fell off rapidly during the depression, reaching their low point in 1932-34; *Social Saga of Two Cities*, pp. 25-28.

¹⁷ For discussion on the cultural geography of streetcar suburbs, see Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962) and the pertinent chapters in John Stilgoe, *Borderlands: Origins of the American Suburb, 1820-1939* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).

¹⁸ The basic sources for the history of the streetcar system are: John W. Diers and Aaron Isaacs, *Twin Cities by Trolley: The Streetcar Era in Minneapolis and St. Paul* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007); Stephen A. Kieffer, *Transit and the Twins* (Minneapolis: Twin City Rapid Transit Co., 1958); and Russell L. Olson, *The Electric Railways of Minnesota* (Hopkins: Minnesota Transportation Museum, 1976).

¹⁹ The Minneapolis & St. Paul Suburban Railroad was absorbed by the TCRT in 1892; the company remained a corporate entity however, and was reincorporated in 1910. Up until the 1920s, local records frequently reference the Minneapolis & St. Paul Suburban as the official name of the local streetcar company.

²⁰ Richard Harris and Robert Lewis, "The Geography of North American Cities and Suburbs, 1900-1950: A New Synthesis," *Journal of Urban History* 27 (2001):262-293.

²¹ John R. Borchert, "The Twin Cities Urbanized Area: Past, Present and Future," *Geographical Review* 51 (1961):47-70.

²² According to the U.S. Census Bureau, Morningside's population stood at 1262 in 1940; there were 592 households (approximately 2000 people) living in the village when it was annexed back to Edina in 1960.

²³ See Carolyn S. Loeb, *Entrepreneurial Vernacular: Developers' Subdivisions in the 1920s* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), and Jon A. Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840-1917* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), especially pp. 7-26.

²⁴ One of the Morningside leaders was Niels Leerskov, a local home builder who won election to the Edina village board of trustees and was subsequently a Morningside village official. The Leerskov residence is still standing at 4410 Curve Avenue.

²⁵ According to Schmidj (*Social Saga of Two Cities*, p. 65), there were approximately 1300 cars in Minneapolis in 1900 and more than 70,000 by 1935.

²⁶ Jeffrey M. Hornstein, *A Nation of Realtors: A Cultural History of the Twentieth-Century American Middle Class* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005).

²⁷ Like Edina, Morningside is a Scottish place name that was first applied to a locality within the city of Edinburgh. The developers, however, may have been inspired in their choice of subdivision name by Morningside Heights, the "academic acropolis" below Harlem in the Borough of Manhattan, home of Columbia University (which had been known as Bloomingdale Heights until Columbia moved up from Midtown in the 1890s); see Andrew S. Dolkart, *Morningside Heights: A History of Its Architecture and Development* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

²⁸ Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (New York: Pantheon, 1981).

²⁹ However, by the time of the first federal census of housing (1940), 302 of the 376 dwellings in Morningside were owner-occupied; these numbers reflect the general trend toward home ownership, which was particularly pronounced in the Twin Cities suburbs from the 1920s on.

³⁰ According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, \$2500 was considered the minimum income necessary for a decent family standard of living in the 1920s. The Census Bureau reported that per capita income rose from \$319 in 1909 to \$586 in 1918, though

economists generally agreed that the rise in earned income did not necessarily mean a corresponding increase in purchasing power; real wages for full-time workers actually declined between 1900 and 1914. Notwithstanding the very substantial rise in wages and salaries during the 1920s, two-thirds of all Americans lived at or below the official poverty line at the start of the Great Depression of 1929-35.

³¹ *Radford's Artistic Bungalows: Unique Collection of 208 Designs of the Best Modern Ideas in Bungalow Architecture* (Chicago and New York: Radford Architectural Co., 1908), p. 1. Notwithstanding the abundance of contradictory historical evidence, many architectural historians insist the Gamble House in Pasadena, California, designed by the brothers Greene and built in 1909, was the inspiration for the modern bungalow.

³² The Architects' Small House Service Bureau in Minneapolis issued a stock plan book titled *Bungalows* as late as 1937.

³³ Michael J. Doucet and John C. Weaver, "Material Culture and the North American House: The Era of the Common Man, 1870-1920," *Journal of American History* 72 (1985):560-587; Richard Mattson, "The Bungalow Spirit," *Journal of Cultural Geography* 1 (1981):75-92.

³⁴ In addition to scores of magazine articles, Stickley's output included several plan books, including the classic *Craftsman Homes* (1909) and *More Craftsman Homes* (1909), both published by the Craftsman Publishing Co. Reprints of Stickley bungalow plans from 1903-16 are now available under the titles *Craftsman Bungalows: 59 Homes from the Craftsman* (New York: Dover Publications, 1993) and *Craftsman Homes: Architecture and Home Furnishings of the American Arts and Crafts Movement* (New York: Dover Publications, 1979).

³⁵ Peter B. Wright, "California Bungalows," *Western Architect* 27 (October, 1918):97; Los Angeles Investment Co., *Practical Bungalows: Typical California Homes, with Plans* (Los Angeles, 1912); Henry Menken, *California Bungalow Homes* (Los Angeles: Bungalowcraft Co., 1910). A San Francisco architect, A. Page Brown, is sometimes mentioned as the first California architect to design a house explicitly labeled as a bungalow sometime in the early 1890s.

³⁶ The scholarly authority on architectural pattern books is Daniel D. Reiff, *Houses from Books: Treatises, Pattern Books, and Catalogs in American Architecture, 1738-1950: A History and Guide* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001). Examples of this important genre with an emphasis on bungalow plans include: Henry L. Wilson, *The Bungalow Book: Floor Plans and Photos of 112 Houses, 1910*, reprint ed. (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2006); Fred T. Hodgson, *Hodgson's Low Cost American Homes: Perspective Views and Floor Plans of One Hundred Low and Medium Priced Homes* (Chicago: Frederick T. Drake, 1904); William A. Radford, *The Radford American Homes: 100 Houses Illustrated* (Riverside, IL: Radford Architectural Co., 1903); and Charles E. White, *The Bungalow Book* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1923).

³⁷ Henry H. Saylor, *Distinctive Homes of Moderate Cost: Being a Collection of Country and Suburban Homes in Good Taste, with Some Value in Suggestion for the Home-Builder* (New York: McBride, Winston & Co., 1910), and *Bungalows: Their Design, Construction and Furnishing, with Suggestions for Camps, Summer Homes and Cottages of Similar Character* (New York: McBride, Nast & Co., 1911).

³⁸ Advertising for *Keith's Magazine* offered bungalow plans as part of the subscription price; see, for example, the ad with the tagline "Keith Will Help You Build Your Home," in *Popular Science* (November, 1923), 105.

³⁹ See Katherine Cole Stevenson and H. Ward Jandl, *Houses by Mail: A Guide to Houses from the Sears, Roebuck and Company* (New York: Wiley & Sons, 1986); Robert Schweitzer and Michael W. R. Davis, *America's Favorite Homes: Mail Order Catalogues as a Guide to Popular Early 20th Century Houses* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990); and Thomas Harvey's essay, "Mail Order Architecture in the 1920s," *Landscape* 25 (Fall 1981):1-9.

⁴⁰ According to a U.S. Department of Commerce study of Twin Cities housing carried out in 1934, 31.3% of the houses were stucco; the proportion of stucco to wood sided bungalows in Morningside is roughly the same.

⁴¹ Nelson Courtland Brown, *The American Lumber Industry: Embracing the Principal Features of the Resource, Production, Distribution, and Utilization of Lumber in the United States* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1923), p. 84.

⁴² See Robert Winter and Alexander Vertikoff, *American Bungalow Style* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996). The architectural classification section in the National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*, has a "Bungalow/Craftsman" subcategory (p. 25).

⁴³ Alan Gowans, *The Comfortable House: North American Suburban Architecture, 1890-1930* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986), p. 25.

⁴⁴ Lancaster, *American Bungalow*, p. 241.

⁴⁵ Gustav Stickley, "Outdoor Living East and West: Porch Architecture for Various Climates and Modes of Life," *The Craftsman* 26 (July, 1914):406-417; see also Pamela West, "The Rise and Fall of the American Porch," *Landscape* 20 (Spring, 1976):43-47.

⁴⁶ Mark Hammons, "The Birth of the Breakfast Nook," *Architecture Minnesota* (May/June, 1987), 19, 122.

⁴⁷ Jean Gordon and Jan MacArthur, "Popular Culture Magazines and American Domestic Interiors, 1898-1940," *Journal of Popular Culture* 22 (1989):35-60. The underpinnings for bungalow interior design, not surprisingly, originated with Gustav

Stickley; see the sections on home furnishings in his *Craftsman Homes: A Book for Home-Makers* (New York: Craftsman Publishing Co., 1913); cf. Jan Jennings and Herbert Gottfried, *American Vernacular Interior Architecture, 1870-1940: An Illustrated Glossary* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1988).

⁴⁸ *The Craftsman*, 15 (October, 1908): 78.

⁴⁹ J. B. Jackson, "The Domestication of the Garage," *Landscape* 20 (Winter, 1976):10-19.

⁵⁰ The plan for the typical Morningside bungalow did not have an architectural classification when it was built—it seems likely that, unless they were using a particular plan book or were assembling a house obtained through a mail-order catalog, the builders themselves may not have had any clear idea of the different types of bungalows and probably used only generic terms to differentiate one form from another. The architectural classifications used by preservationists and historians are academic creations (and probably tell us more about the kinds of people who write about old buildings than they do about the buildings themselves).

⁵¹ John Mack Faragher, "Bungalow and Ranch House: The Architectural Backwash of California," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 32 (2001):149-171; cf. *Practical Bungalows: Typical California Homes, with Plans* (Los Angeles Investment Co., 1912).

⁵² Jan Jennings and Herbert Gottfried, *American Vernacular: Buildings and Interiors, 1870-1960* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2009), pp. 201-202.

⁵³ Drawing the fine line between "bungalow" and "cottage" has been a challenge for architects, architectural historians, and preservationists.

⁵⁴ While it is true that on the surface Morningside bungalows (none of which are made of brick) look very little like Chicago bungalows (nearly all of which are made of brick), one can argue that the choice of building materials had little influence on the bungalow house form.

⁵⁵ See James Jacobson, *Historical Residential Architecture in Des Moines, 1905-1940: A Study of Two House Types, the Bungalow and the Square House* (City of Des Moines, 1997).

⁵⁶ The Edina Heritage Landmarks eligibility criteria are essentially the same as the National Register Criteria for Evaluation.

⁵⁷ Kay D. Weeks and Anne E. Grimmer, *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties, with Guidelines for Preserving, Rehabilitating, Restoring & Reconstructing Historic Buildings* (Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1995), p. 1.

