

**THEMATIC STUDY OF
HERITAGE RESOURCES
ASSOCIATED WITH WOMEN in
THE CITY OF EDINA, MINNESOTA**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Searching for Women in Edina History.....	4
Native American Women.....	10
Rural Women	15
Suburban Women	27
Associated Heritage Resource Types	34
Conclusions and Recommendations	37
References Cited	39

INTRODUCTION

“Where are the markers commemorating the achievements of women?” The question was asked by the authors of a brief essay on famous women published in the newsletter of the National Trust for Historic Preservation in the year of the nation’s bicentennial:

Among the hundreds of historic places designated as National Historic Landmarks or listed in the National Register of Historic Places, those associated with famous women are few in proportion to those commemorating great men. The women who are honored are apt to be relatives of famous men, or women whose fame rests on slim historical evidence (Tinling and Ruffner-Russell 1976).

More than two decades later was estimated that fewer than 5% of the properties listed in the National Register of Historic Places were judged to be significant primarily on the basis of their association with women (Shull 1998). The contributions of Edina women are no better represented in the current roster of properties designated or determined eligible for Edina Heritage Landmark designation. The present study represents a modest attempt at addressing the diversity deficit.

The Heritage Landmark program represents the City of Edina’s principal planning tool for the preservation of historically significant buildings, sites, structures, objects, and districts. Significant heritage preservation resources have been deemed critical community development resources because they provide tangible links to the community’s historical and cultural heritage. A form of overlay zoning, Heritage Landmark designation helps preserve and protect significant heritage properties by providing official recognition of their importance and consideration in planning for development projects. Therefore, it is imperative that the city’s plan for heritage preservation provide for the identification, evaluation, designation, and treatment of significant historic properties that reflect the contributions of women. The Heritage Landmark program represents the City of Edina’s principal planning tool for the preservation of historically significant buildings, sites, structures, objects, and districts. Significant heritage preservation resources have been deemed critical community development resources because they provide tangible links to the community’s historical and cultural heritage. A form of overlay zoning, Heritage Landmark designation helps preserve and protect significant heritage properties by providing official recognition of their importance and consideration in planning for development projects. Therefore, it is imperative that the city’s plan for heritage preservation provide for the identification, evaluation, designation, and treatment of significant historic properties that reflect the contributions of women.

Associated Historic Contexts

The *Thematic Study of Heritage Resources Associated with Women in the City of Edina* was an exercise in heritage preservation planning and as such built upon the results of a number of previous studies undertaken by the Edina Heritage Preservation Board.

Historic contexts are widely viewed as the cornerstone of the preservation planning process and in Edina the development of historic contexts has been an ongoing priority within the city's heritage preservation program for over three decades (Scott and Hess 1981; Vogel 1999, 2010). The preservation element contained in the current version of the city's comprehensive plan, adopted in 2008, delineates a two-tiered framework of local study units which help guide decisions relating to the identification, evaluation, and treatment of heritage resources.

The Tier 1 historic contexts are city-wide in scope and encompass broad, general themes. All three of these study units provide context for the heritage of women:

- The Native American Landscape, 10,000 BC to AD 1851
- The Agricultural Landscape, 1851 to 1959
- The Suburban Landscape, 1887 to 1974

Although gender is not a defining characteristic of any of the Tier 2 study units, the following historic contexts probably relate most directly to women's history themes and engendered heritage resource types:

- Edina Mills: Agriculture and Rural Life, 1857 to 1923
- Cahill Settlement: Edina's Irish Heritage, 1850s to 1930s
- Morningside: Edina's Streetcar Suburb, 1905 to 1955
- Country Club District: Edina's First Planned Community, 1924 to 1944
- Country Clubs and Parks: The Heritage of Recreation, Leisure and Sport, 1910 to 1950s

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. And it should be noted that while these study units are unique to Edina, they are reflected in several statewide historic contexts developed as part of the Minnesota SHPO's preservation planning efforts.

Research Design

The more we know about women in Edina history, the better we will be able to identify and evaluate heritage preservation resources associated with the contributions of women. Therefore, the objectives of the thematic study were straightforward:

- 1) Refine, modify, elaborate on and revise as necessary local historic contexts previously delineated to reflect the heritage of Edina women.
- 2) Develop new historic contexts that emphasize the particular kinds of heritage preservation resources associated with women's history.
- 3) Identify property types associated with women's history, describe their physical characteristics and associative qualities, discuss their significance, and develop a

concise statement of property type eligibility requirements for consideration as Edina Heritage Landmarks.

Research methods were conventional and focused on archival research in primary and secondary source materials to document important events and patterns of events that reflect the contributions of women to Edina history; to identify individually significant Edina women; and to develop a contextual framework for identifying and evaluating heritage resources associated with women's heritage themes. The thematic study was expected to result in a revised statement of historic contexts and property types that would assist city officials in identifying, evaluating, and registering significant heritage resources associated with women's history. It was also anticipated that the study would generate information that could be used in public education.

All research was conducted in accordance with the applicable Secretary of the Interior's standards for historic preservation planning (National Park Service 1983) and the guidelines issued by the Minnesota State Historic Preservation Office for architecture/history projects (SHPO 2008).

SEARCHING FOR WOMEN IN EDINA HISTORY

Historical research was an essential element of the thematic study. Archival data was compiled from both primary and secondary source materials,¹ critically evaluated, and synthesized with reference to women's history themes and associated heritage resources. Local historic contexts provided the basic organizational framework for analysis.

Background Research

The initial phase of thematic research involved assembling existing information relating to heritage resources in Edina associated with women, including information generated by previous surveys and community histories. The best general history of Edina in terms of its treatment of women's history is *Edina: Chapters in the City History*, by Deborah Morse-Kahn (1998), which chronicles the lives and times of women settlers and suburbanites. Paul D. Hesterman's *From Settlement to Suburb: The History of Edina, Minnesota* (1988) provided a useful narrative outline of local history but cast hardly any light on the activities of women. The articles by Joe Sullivan in *About Town*, the city's official quarterly magazine, were eminently readable but contained little about Edina women—the exception is Sullivan's essay on the Baird House (Sullivan 2002).

The association of women with Edina's architectural history was obviously not a priority with William W. Scott and Jeffrey A. Hess, although the published report of their city-wide historical and architectural survey took special note of the activities of Iva Skone in developing three of the residential properties in Morningside (1981:57). If there were any women involved in the design and construction of local architectural landmarks, no mention of them appears in the Edina section of *A Guide to the Architecture of Minnesota*, compiled by David Gebhard and Tom Martinson (1977)—the last-named was an original member of the Edina Heritage Preservation Board.

Nineteenth century local history compilations generally include little information relative to what we would now call women's history themes. Scanty historical data on gendered institutions and groups could be found scattered through the pages of the *History of Hennepin County and the City of Minneapolis* (Warner and Foote² 1881) and Isaac Atwater's *History of the City of Minneapolis* (1893), which typically reference individual women merely as the mothers, wives, or daughters of noteworthy men. The historical essay on Edina by R. J. Baldwin in the *History of Minneapolis and Hennepin County* (Atwater 1895) provided some useful contextual information.

¹ As used by historians, the term primary source refers to documentary material that dates from the time period being studied; archival records that were produced closest to the event being documented. Secondary source materials, in contrast, are texts produced by researchers and recorded in books, articles, papers, or other works, which are either published or unpublished; they are second-hand accounts of historical events based on interpretation or analysis of historical data.

² Authorship of this work is sometimes erroneously attributed to Edward D. Neill, who contributed a general outline of Minnesota history to this and several other popular county histories.

The search for individual women with links to Edina in the standard biographical reference works for Minnesota women (Bauer 1999; Cornwall and Stutheit 1941; Foster 1924; James et al. 1971; Stuhler and Kreuter 1977; Upham and Dunlap 1912) produced almost entirely negative results.

Heritage Resources Inventory

The City of Edina maintains files on well over six hundred individual buildings and sites that have been documented by various surveys since the 1960s. The inventory also includes survey notes, research materials, and copies of historical documents relating to buildings, sites, structures, objects, and districts deemed to be of historical, architectural, archaeological, or cultural interest. The number of recorded heritage resources evaluated as historically significant on the basis of their association with women is discouraging—a thorough and systematic review of the inventory files revealed that while women were reported as owners, occupants, or users of all but a small fraction of the city's heritage resources, the association with women's history themes was hardly ever mentioned in discussing the preservation values of surveyed properties.

The intensive survey of the Edina Country Club District that was conducted under the auspices of the Heritage Preservation Board in 2006 found the names of hundreds of women linked with individual houses by virtue of their names having appeared on the deed records. The survey utilized the old field survey cards used by the city assessor's office, which contained selected (and often incomplete) information about the owners and occupants of individual Country Club homes, some of which dated back to the 1940s and 1950s. While some anecdotal information about the previous owners of individual properties was recorded, most of the women were merely named as the deed holders in common with their husbands.

Women's History Literature Search

Assuming that the general pattern of Edina women's history reflected some of the broad themes considered important in American women's history, a literature search was conducted in women's history texts. Because of the voluminous extent of women's history in academic writing, this research was oriented toward the works dealing with general historical and cultural trends likely to be represented by the existence of particular types of heritage resources in Edina. The following works by academic historians provided a general framework for the literature review: *Women in Modern America: A Brief history*, by Lois W. Banner (1994); *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America*, by Sara M. Evans (1997); *A Social History of American Family Sociology*, by Ronald L. Howard (1981); and *American Women's History*, by Doris L. Weatherford (1994).

To find books and articles containing information relevant to the heritage of Edina women, the following guides were consulted: *Women's History in Minnesota: A Survey*

of *Published Sources and Dissertations*, by Jo Blatti (1993); and the annotated bibliography of articles pertaining to women in the Minnesota Historical Society serial publication *Minnesota History*, compiled by Bonnie Beatson Palmquist (1977). Because these reference works are out-of-date, the tables of contents and indices of recent issues of *Minnesota History* and *Hennepin County History* were searched for Edina-related material. Very little pertaining to Edina women could be found, however. Obviously, many of the problems and pitfalls of gendered history identified by Rhoda R. Gilman in her essay “Women’s History?—Do They Have Any” (1975) continue to persist more than a quarter of a century later.

Gender in Heritage Preservation

The literature search encompassed the growing body of heritage preservation work focused on buildings and sites associated with women. Until very recently, preservation professionals treated the heritage of women almost entirely in terms of buildings. For purposes of National Register listing or local landmark designation, this approach focused on buildings which illustrated the important achievements of specific individual women whose accomplishments met the traditional criteria for “persons significant in our past.” Today, however, there is growing interest in the preservation of properties which illustrate important gender-specific patterns and trends within established local, statewide, and national historic contexts.

The following works were found to be most relevant to the objectives of the thematic study: *Historic Preservation: Collective Memory and Historical Identity*, by Diane L. Barthol (1996); *Restoring Women’s History through Historic Preservation*, edited by Gail Lee Dubrow and Jennifer B. Goodman (2003); *Her Past Around Us: Interpreting Sites for Women’s History*, edited by Polly Welts Kaufman and Katharine T. Corbett (2003); *Reclaiming the Past: Landmarks of Women’s History*, edited by Page Putnam Miller (1992); *Susan B. Anthony Slept Here: A Guide to American Women’s Landmarks*, by Lynn Sheer and Jurate Kazicklas (1994); and *Women Remembered: A Guide to Landmarks of Women’s History in the United States*, by Marion Tinling (1986). The essays in the special issue of the National Park Service publication CRM titled *Placing Women in the Past* (1997) provided an excellent overview of how the women’s history movement has transformed the way preservationists think about American heritage resources.

Research in Primary Source Materials

Primary historical data relating to Edina women is actually abundant, more particularly for the period after 1905, but quite dispersed and much of it is not readily accessible. Fortunately, quite a bit of the relatively scanty primary source material relating to women in Minnesota during the early settlement period has been printed. The present study used Harriet Bishop’s *Floral Home; or, First Tears of Minnesota* (1857) and Elizabeth Ellet’s *Summer Rambles in the West* (1853) for viewing pioneer women in Minnesota, although neither of the authors probably never set foot in what is now Edina. The diaries of early settler and Grange leader Sarah Baird (1883-1918) are preserved in the Sarah

G. and George W. Board papers at the Minnesota Historical Society. Unfortunately, little in the way of correspondence, diaries, or memoirs written by other nineteenth century Edina women has been archived.

A treasure trove of general data relating to women as a subset of the local population exists in the records of the United States Bureau of the Census. The federal census of population taken in 1860 was the first to record the occupations of females, though the results were not tabulated separately in the published reports. The 1870, 1880, 1890, and 1900 censuses show dramatic increases in numbers of local women who were participating in the non-agricultural economy.³ The manuscript census schedules for 1860-1930 are available on microfilm. Although no two censuses are alike, the schedules are valuable because they document the members of each household by name, age, and sex and indicate the occupations of persons over the age of sixteen. In addition to population data, the census also collected specific information on agriculture, transportation, housing, and other activities, though much of the data is not organized by gender in the published reports. The 1930 census was the last “traditional” census: beginning in 1940, the census bureau compiled data based on sampling, rather than asking every respondent the same set of detailed questions. Unfortunately, the original schedules for some of the special censuses have been lost—including the entire 1900 census. Aggregate census data on Edina (Richfield pre-1890) was reviewed using the National Historical Geographic Information System (NHGIS 2004) and Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS), databases compiled by the Minnesota Population Center, and “American FactFinder,” an online retrieval system made available by the United States Census Bureau.

The records of the Minnehaha Grange No. 398 and the Minnesota State Grange are preserved in the state archives at the Minnesota Historical Society. The archives of the Minnehaha Grange include minute books, correspondence, and scrapbooks spanning the Grange’s 112-year existence. The unpublished records of rural school districts No. 16 and No. 17, covering the years circa 1858 to 1957, are also archived at the Minnesota Historical Society. The financial records and board of education minutes provide the names of individual teachers, the terms of their employment, compensation, etc., as well as information about schoolhouses and grounds. The Hennepin County Library has collections of unpublished material generated by several local women’s groups, including the Morningside Woman’s Club, founded in 1920, and the Edina Woman’s Club, which first met in 1925. Both the Edina and Morningside village council minutes and other municipal records are archived at City Hall, but neither record group contains much that pertains directly to women’s history, at least for the period prior to 1960.

Newspapers and Periodicals

Newspapers, ordinarily an excellent source of local history information, were not systematically investigated for the present study due to time and funding constraints.

³ Some demographers have suggested that the nineteenth century census figures on female employment in the 1880 census may have been biased downwards.

The Edina area did not have its own local newspaper until the 1930s but local news and information appears to have been routinely printed in various Minneapolis dailies, such as the *Tribune* (1867-1982), the *Star* (1920-1982), and the *Journal* (1888-1939). Historically, metropolitan newspapers regularly published news stories about women and beginning in the late-nineteenth century had special interest sections and columns aimed at women readers. Back issues of the *Tribune*, *Star* and the *Journal* are preserved on microfilm but are not well indexed; searchable online collections of the papers are available from ProQuest and the Library of Congress, but browsing is cumbersome. A search of the *Crier*, a monthly community newspaper published for residents of the Country Club District from 1930 to 1941, yielded some useful bits and pieces of information about the activities of individual women and groups of women.

Research in Secondary Source Materials

Due to the dearth of excavated sites, the cultural legacy of Native American women in the Edina area must be extrapolated from recent anthropological and historical research. Guy Gibbon's book-length overview, *The Sioux* (2003), provided a good summary of the scholarly consensus on the role of women in Sioux society. A broader perspective on Indian women was provided by several of the essays in *The Indian People of Eastern America: A Documentary History of the Sexes*, edited by James Axtell (1981), and *Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women*, edited by Nancy Shoemaker (1995). The subject of gender in archaeology is probed in the essays collected by Joan M. Gero and Margaret W. Conkey in their book *Engendering Archaeology* (1991); Sarah M. Nelson's *Gender in Archaeology* (1997) is widely regarded as the authoritative text on this topic.

There is a growing body of quality historical scholarship focused on rural women in the Upper Midwest (see Fairbanks and Sundberg 1983 and the bibliographic references in Peavy and Smith 1996). The literature reviewed included a couple of excellent scholarly articles relating to Minnesota farm women (e.g., Riley 2002; Webb 1986). However, surprisingly little work has been done on women settlers in Hennepin County. On the subject of farm women and their families, there is an extensive literature dealing with the Country Life Movement and the plight of farm women; the thematic study relied upon L. H. Bailey's *Country Life* (1911), William L. Bower's *The Country Life Movement in America* (1974), and Florence Ward's article on the problems faced by farm women in the *Journal of Home Economics* (1920). *Farm Women: Work, Farm and Family in the United States* by Rachel Rosenfelt (1985), *Entitled to Power: Farm Women and Technology, 1919-1963*, by Katherine Jellison (1993), and *The Invisible Farmers: Women in Agricultural Production* by Carolyn Sachs (1983) are examples of the current scholarship written from a national perspective. Although some of their viewpoints now seem badly outdated, the following early twentieth century studies provided insight into the conditions which most likely prevailed on Edina farms: *The Woman on the Farm* by Mary Meek Atkeson (1924), *The American Country Girl* by Martha Ford Crow (1915), *Women in the Life on the Farm* by R. C. Barns, *What Farm Women Are Thinking* by G. A. Lundquist (1923), and *Farm Boys and Girls* by William A. McKeever (1913). A

number of contemporary agricultural extension bulletins dealing with various aspects of farm family life were also consulted.

The history of the Minnehaha Grange and the role played by women in it is well documented. Solon J. Buck's *The Granger Movement* (1913), together with Thomas Clark Atkeson's *Semi-Centennial History of the Patrons of Husbandry* (1916) and *Outlines of Grange History* (1928), place the local grange organization in its proper historic context. The activities of Sarah G. Baird and other local women Grangers are described in detail in the annual *Proceedings* of the Minnesota State Grange (1891-1974) and receive honorable mention in the official *History* (1947).

Background information on the role of women in education, with an emphasis on rural schools, was obtained from *Country Life and the Country Schools*, by Mabel Carney (1912). Edith Abbott's *Women in Industry: A Study in American Economic History* (1910) and the collection of essays edited by Agnes F. Perkins, *Vocations for the Trained Woman: Opportunities Other Than Teaching* (1910), provided context for the activities of nonfarm women. The historical literature dealing with housewives and housekeeping is quite voluminous, but the most helpful synthetic works were "*Just a Housewife*": *The Rise and Fall of Domesticity in America*, by Glenna Matthews (1987); *The Great American Housewife*, by Annegret S. Ogden (1986); and *Never Done: A History of American Housework*, by Susan Strasser (1982).

The following architectural histories provided background information relating to the historic context of gendered space and the role of women in the design of houses: *The Comfortable House: North American Suburban Architecture*, by Alan Gowans (1986), *Ranches, Rowhouses & Railroad Flats*, by Christine Hunter (1999), and *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America*, by Gwendolyn Wright (1981). Daphne Spain's *Gendered Spaces* (1992) provided insights into the physical segregation of women in architectural arrangements. The same author's *How Women Saved the City* (2001) provided a unique perspective on the role played by women in shaping the American urban landscape in the period between the Civil War and World War I.

NATIVE AMERICAN WOMEN

Native American people lived in and utilized the natural resources from what is now Edina for many thousands of years prior to the appearance of Europeans. It is assumed that women made up at least fifty percent of the native population and their role in the life of local communities can be reasonably inferred from the archaeological record as well as from oral traditions.

Pre-Contact Period

Archaeologists group together as prehistoric Indians all the peoples who lived in North America before the first Europeans arrived. Information about prehistoric cultural traditions must be gained almost entirely from the things they left behind them, artifacts and ecofacts that have somehow been preserved until the present day, generally in the form of stone and bone tools, pottery, animal and human skeletal remains, post molds where house posts were once fixed in the grounds, and the like. While archaeological data can provide a fairly clear picture of how people lived at a particular place during a specific period of time, we generally have only a vague understanding of the lives and cultural contributions of Native American women before the earliest written records were created by European observers.

The plainest evidence that Native Americans lived in the Twin Cities area in prehistoric times comes from several hundred mounds, midden deposits, and isolated artifact findspots which have been investigated by archaeologists since the nineteenth century. The archaeological record shows that Native Americans first appeared in the region about 12,000 years ago near the end of the Pleistocene ice age and inhabited the area continuously through several successive cultural traditions. The Twin Cities area had much to offer native people, including abundant wildlife and other critical natural resources. Unfortunately, no prehistoric archaeological sites have yet been recorded within the city limits of Edina: the nearest excavated prehistoric sites are located along the Minnesota River in Eden Prairie and Bloomington.

The lack of Edina archaeological sites notwithstanding, it is possible to extrapolate about the potential for heritage resources associated with prehistoric Native American women in Edina. The forests and prairies, stream valleys and wetland basins would have been attractive because they offered a wide range of natural resources that were useful to people whose subsistence pattern was based upon hunting and gathering. The best places to live would have been along Minnehaha and Nine Mile creeks, where animal life, fish, roots, and berries were available in abundance; when agriculture was introduced, the floodplains would have been the very best areas for growing maize, squash, and other native domesticated plants. In prehistoric times and long afterward, Minnehaha Creek may have been regarded as culturally significant (perhaps even sacred) because it linked the Mississippi River with Lake Minnetonka. Clusters of late prehistoric archaeological sites, including several large burial mound groups identified with the Woodland and Mississippian cultural traditions, have been recorded along the

lower Minnesota River and it would be reasonable to expect that members of these communities would have ranged over the territory adjacent to the riparian zones.

Post-Contact Period

Because the association between certain cultural and economic patterns and gender survived into historic times, it is possible to reconstruct some important trends which became set in prehistory. The first Europeans appeared in Minnesota in the late 1600s and left written accounts of both the land and its indigenous inhabitants. At the time, what is now the Twin Cities area formed part of the tribal homeland of the Mdewakanton band of the Eastern Dakota or Sioux nation (Gibbon 2003). The Sioux are generally assumed to be the historical manifestation of the prehistoric Sandy Lake cultural tradition, which flourished in the prairie lakes region of north-central Minnesota between AD 1000 and 1700. At the time of initial contact with Europeans in 1682, the Mdewakanton villages were clustered near Lake Mille Lacs, and over the next century these bands migrated southward, eventually displacing other indigenous peoples (Anderson 1980). By the early 1800s there were several important Mdewakanton villages located along the Minnesota and Mississippi rivers (Babcock 1945; Letterman 1969). Two or three relatively large Mdewakanton communities existed in close proximity to Edina until tribal sovereignty was extinguished by treaty in 1851. Interaction between Indians and Euro-Americans was common and generally peaceful, though most of the settlers probably viewed the natives as a nuisance. There is one recorded encounter between a settler's wife and an individual Indian man that took place in what is now St. Louis Park sometime in the 1850s (Burns 1946). The last of the Mdewakanton groups did not depart from Hennepin County until 1854 but roving bands continued to visit the area after the Dakota War of 1862 (Morse-Kahn 1998:82).

The letters, reports, journals, and memoirs of fur traders, explorers, soldiers, missionaries, Indian agents, and settlers are valuable sources of information about the Indians, and they often record what native women did, thought, and said. While it is regrettable that the great majority of the earliest observers were men and wrote only about the things that interested them, leaving out information future historians would very much like to have, the written data has helped scholars partially reconstruct the major trends and patterns in women's history which may be represented by preserved archaeological resources.

Women's Role in Subsistence

It is probably impossible to underestimate the importance of women in traditional subsistence. Although the hunting of wild game was by and large a male-dominated activity, women obtained much of the food that was consumed by gathering wild plant foods and farming. The gathering of wild plants was principally the work of women in almost every Native American culture. Ethnobotanical studies have identified literally hundreds of wild plants native to the Twin Cities area that were gathered for food, fiber and medicinal use by Indians. Among the Mdewakanton, women were primarily responsible for tapping maple trees and boiling down the sap to make maple sugar.

Women no doubt helped butcher and bring home game taken by their men; they also trapped rabbits, birds, and other small animals to supplement their families' diets, and for some groups wild plant foods and small game may have predominated over food supplied by hunting large game. Aquatic wildlife was also an important source of nutrition and there are historical accounts Mdwakanton women helping men catch fish and gather shellfish (Woolworth and Woolworth 1980).

A number of wild plants were domesticated for food and fiber by native people at a very early date. Horticulture first appears in the Minnesota archaeological record at sites dating to around one thousand years ago and the role of agriculture in the subsistence pattern increased over time, especially among the Oneota groups. In historic times, the villages of the Mdwakanton Sioux all had extensive garden plots where maize, beans, and squashes or pumpkins were the dominant crops. The ethnographic literature paints a clear picture of the existence of a sexual division of labor, with women doing most of the farm work among the Sioux; old men and boys were also compelled to work in the communal fields but the principal farmers were women. It is difficult to say whether or not any Indians living in Edina would have raised crops because the larger and more permanent villages were customarily located along major streams. Although farming appears to have dominated subsistence for Sioux populations settled in villages, it is problematical whether it provided over half of any community's total food supply. It would be safe to assume, however, a direct correlation between the importance of agricultural products and the amount of time women devoted to farming.

Historical accounts describe Indian women everywhere doing most of the food preparation, preservation, and storage. Every group prepared and preserved its food in much the same way and stored part of the surplus away for future use. Recipes are well reported in historical accounts and the remains of meals are preserved in a thousand archaeological contexts. Because the earliest native people to live in Minnesota would have lacked pottery, food preparation techniques are not well documented until approximately two thousand years ago. Although some Indian communities lived literally from hand to mouth without storing very much food for the future, almost all cultures dried, cooked, or parched meat and vegetable foods for preservation. Ways and means of storing food varied over time, with most groups utilizing pit storage; in Sioux villages, outdoor scaffolds were built for temporary storage of corn and other provisions; the Mdwakanton also stored a great deal of food inside their bark-covered houses and on porches at one end of their dwellings.

Among many native cultures there was a sexual division of labor in crafts and housekeeping. Women made most of the clothing; with the exception of weapons and metallurgy, they also dominated much of the craft work, such as animal hide dressing, pottery, basketry, bags, matting, beadwork, and quillwork. In most cultures, young women were chiefly employed in gathering wild plants, tending gardens, and fetching wood and water, while middle-aged and older women were mostly engaged in more sedentary tasks such as cooking, sewing, and pottery making. Because sedentary crafts were highly valued, old age meant little or no diminution in the status of women. Along with child care and routine housekeeping chores, native women labored almost

constantly—few of the early historical observers failed to remark on the apparent fact that women did most of the work in a Sioux village and the lazy husband-hardworking wife stereotype persists to the present day. In point of fact, in most native societies the activities of men were not generally regarded as more essential than those of women and the vast majority of traditional subsistence tasks could be performed by either gender if circumstances demanded.

Family Life

In the area family life, Native American cultures exhibited an astonishing degree of variation in custom and structure between groups, though the roles of men and women were always well defined. Among the Sioux, the family was considered the basic unit of tribal life; because they placed a high value on matrilineal descent,⁴ women were of primary importance to each family and their children were the center of attention (Gibbon 2003:99-104). Monogamy was the norm, although Mdewakanton elites practiced polygamy; individuals appear to have had more influence in the selection of marriage partners than brides and grooms in other native traditions, although the opinions of elders probably carried the most weight. Elopement was uncommon but occurred with sufficient frequency to attract the attention of romantic European writers.

The traditional culture of the Eastern Sioux provided for engendered objects and spaces (Gibbon 2003:94-99). However, while there was a clear-cut separation of function between women and men in economic matters and the division of personal property reflected the differences in their perceived roles, the lines were never drawn hard and fast. Housekeeping, for example, was a female realm, though both sexes were involved in the construction of dwellings. Men sometimes helped with farming and male leaders often sought the counsel of honored women before making important military or diplomatic decisions. Some women must have acquired considerable household property in the form of pottery, tools, textiles, and other personal possessions. Although hunting and trapping were predominantly male occupations, women also played an important role in the fur trade.

Down through history, Indian women have exercised authority in political and religious affairs (see Nelson 1997). Extended family units were often headed by women elders and in most bands multi-generation groups lived together and traced kinship through the female line. Religion, which pervaded every aspect of Sioux culture, involved elaborate ceremonies, some of which were differentiated based on gender. Native American religious traditions were complex and too culturally sensitive to allow generalization, except to say that among the Sioux, women's roles in religious matters were well defined. Sioux women also took part in storytelling, artwork, music, and medicine. Older women held a secure and honored place in native families, where they continued to perform important services for their families and the community at large as long as they were able. They were often held in especially high regard as repositories of tribal lore and therefore played a pivotal role in educating the young.

⁴ When a man married a Sioux woman, it was expected that he would move into her home.

Pottery: Gendered Artifacts

Much of our knowledge of ancient Native American culture is based on archaeological finds of pottery, most often represented by broken sherds and occasionally by whole vessels. Pottery was important to native cultures for utilitarian and ceremonial use throughout the Americas, but represents a fairly recent technological innovation in North America. The oldest fired clay objects found in Minnesota probably date to the Woodland period, which began around two thousand five hundred years ago. Most archaeologists believe that fired clay pottery entered the region from the southeastern United States, where the technique of making hardened clay vessels may have been discovered accidentally or was imported from Mesoamerica. Pottery styles and shapes developed according to various local customs and techniques. Different cultural traditions are readily identifiable by their use of different pot shapes, temper, firing, surface finishing, and decorative styles.

Although there is comparatively little unequivocal evidence, archaeologists generally agree that women were the chief pottery makers in all of the major native cultural traditions (Wright 1991). In Minnesota, the craft culminated several hundred years ago with the development of myriad forms of fire-baked clay wares used for cooking and storage, as well as highly decorated specialty vessels. Because all potters prospected clay and made pots near the places where they lived, it has been fairly easy for archaeologists to determine the probable origins of excavated pottery remains. Some pots were traded between different native groups, so potsherds are also a useful indicator of intertribal exchange and cultural diffusion. No Native American group used the potter's wheel—all pots were made by coiling and pinching. The historic tribes eventually gave up making earthenware pottery after they obtained metal and glass wares through the fur trade.⁵

⁵ The Mdewakanton apparently stopped making earthen pottery in the 1830s; cooking in clay pots had given way to cooking in metal kettles introduced by fur traders at least a generation earlier.

RURAL WOMEN

The first Europeans to visit Minnesota arrived in the middle of the seventeenth century, but almost two hundred years passed before they established permanent settlements anywhere within the state's boundaries. The military reservation at Fort Snelling and the fur trade station at Mendota attracted the first nodes of Euro-American settlement in the 1820s, but it was not until the 1850s that immigration to Minnesota from the older settled parts of the United States commenced in earnest. By the time Minnesota attained statehood in 1858, a trickle of pioneers had moved in and taken up claims in what was then western Richfield Township. A mature, agriculturally-based settlement system was in place by the time the village of Edina was incorporated in 1887. The first inroads of nonfarm development were made in the 1880s, but reorientation of land use patterns toward streetcars and automobiles was not rapid until after 1905. The characteristics of rural development differed somewhat from place to place within Edina, parts of which did not become densely suburbanized until the 1960s.

Pioneer Women

The basic pattern of early Euro-American settlement in the Edina area was derived chiefly from the older settled portion of the Middle West, and thus from a New England as well as from a Midwestern background. While the population included important contingents of Irish, Germans, and other foreign-born immigrants, the typical Edina pioneer was an old stock American who traced his or her roots back to New England, Upstate New York, or the Great Lakes states. Unlike the Northeastern states, Minnesota was not generally settled as closely knit communities, but as single family farmsteads. In the case of Edina, the only immigrant group that was preoccupied with maintaining ethnic homogeneity was the Irish, who established a cohesive rural neighborhood in the vicinity of the Cahill School during the 1860s (Hesterman 1988:29-38).

Nearly all of the early settlers were general farmers who grew grain as their primary cash crop and were accustomed to animal husbandry. Architecturally, they created a built environment which featured modest, single family farm dwellings and large barns surrounded by a rambling ensemble of stables, granaries, sheds, spring houses, privies, and other specialized outbuildings. Once the area was densely settled, the family farmsteads were linked by a close gridding of wagon roads and farm lanes (Morse-Kahn 1998:11-62). Many of the settlers immigrated as nuclear family groups consisting of married adults and their offspring. In the mid-nineteenth century it was not socially acceptable for unmarried adult women to immigrate to a new home in the West unless accompanied by a family group. Occasionally, a pioneer family consisted of an aggregate or two or more nuclear families, spanning two or even three generations. A sizable minority of Edina pioneers were unmarried males who established farms and then set about starting families. The courtship and marriage process was more or less conventional and most unions were sanctioned by a marriage license and appropriate ceremony. Cohabitation of unmarried women and men was not unheard of on the

frontier, but no local examples present themselves in the historical record. By and large, bachelors chose their mates from the households living nearby, or, having established themselves, they returned to their home places to acquire a bride from amongst old friends and neighbors. Attitudes about acquiring a spouse were actually quite liberal during the early settlement period—the easing of Victorian social norms was no doubt a direct result of the relative shortage of eligible females. Young women were normally considered to be of marriageable age in their mid-teens, but census data suggest the typical pioneer bride was slightly older. Male settlers tended to marry for the first time when they were in their twenties.

The pioneer woman, like her male counterpart, was chiefly concerned with finding a suitable tract of land on which to build a home. Acquiring land was of critical importance: land and the promise of its bounty was what attracted most settlers to Minnesota in the first place. Land sustained the pioneers until they could build permanent homes and was the principal incentive for immigration to newly settled regions; indeed, land was the basis of the frontier economy and real estate speculation the paramount factor in economic development. There is no evidence to suggest that pioneer women were any less land-hungry than their men. When Hennepin County was opened to settlement in 1852, the public domain was surveyed by the General Land Office and sold at public auction, one township at a time. Most of what is now Edina was disposed of in tracts of between 40 and 160 acres and sold for the minimum price of \$1.25 per acre, payable in cash or land warrants. Federal law also sanctioned squatters' rights through a process known as pre-emption, which enabled pioneers who managed to make claims before the government land survey was completed to secure title to up to 320 acres at \$1.25 an acre. Federal law explicitly limited public land transfers to adult males and widows; there was, however, no legal impediment to women holding title to land once it had been alienated from the public domain.

The stereotype pioneer dwelling is a log cabin made of round logs—the historical record is filled with references to pioneers living in “cabins” but the standard frontier building form was actually a hewn log house. The logs were usually hardwood timber, hewed flat on two sides and notched at the corners so they could be tightly stacked. There were three basic forms: the single pen or one-room cabin, the saddlebag house, and the dogtrot house; most log houses started out as single pen structures and evolved with the addition of rooms. Log houses were sturdy, well insulated, and adaptable; some of those built in southern and western Hennepin County in the 1850s and 1860s were quite substantial. The log house form was introduced in America during the seventeenth century and reflected late-medieval notions of traditional domestic architecture and gendered space. Commercial sawmills appeared in Saint Anthony and Minneapolis at a comparatively early date, so many pioneer families were housed in small, crudely built and furnished frame dwellings made from sawn lumber. Construction of these shacks and shanties was probably better suited to the skill-set of the typical foreign immigrant, who was usually not an experienced woodsman and lacked expertise in building with heavy timber.

After acquiring land and providing shelter, the next essential task of the pioneer was to clear enough forest and undergrowth to plant a few acres of Indian corn and some potatoes. Pioneers displayed a preference for farmland with a mix of standing timber and prairie—big trees were reckoned an excellent indicator of soil fertility and provided a handy source of firewood and construction timber. Plowing up the tough prairie sod required almost as much back-breaking labor as grubbing out tree stumps; cultivation was traditionally men's work, but pioneer women often worked alongside their husbands and sons in clearing the land. Once cleared, the fertility of the virgin soil would ordinarily yield a good crop of spring wheat after the first year; by the third or fourth year, the typical settler was usually in a position to sell enough surplus produce for cash to erect a frame house and further improve the homestead.

At a basic level, subsistence farming was a family affair and under frontier conditions, every able-bodied member of the family worked to ensure survival. The literature is filled with accounts of pioneer women planting crops, tending livestock, and helping to bring in the harvest; all the while they carried out a wide range of essential domestic tasks such as cooking, laundry, clothes making and mending, food processing and storage, and, of course, childcare. There is general agreement that the earliest women settlers endured the same hardships as men and shouldered great burdens. Pioneer women are also universally credited with playing key roles in advancing the state of civilization on the frontier.

Farm Families and Farm Work

By the 1870s, the western frontier had moved through central and southern Minnesota. Trunk railroad lines connected Minneapolis and Saint Paul with the Mississippi River and all of the major urban centers of the United States. Edina's initial population boom lasted from the 1850s to the early 1890s and most of the influx of people was made up of farmers and farm laborers. Census data show that local farm output was much more diversified than modern-day Corn Belt agriculture. The early settlers in Richfield Township planted a mix of crops both for home use and for the market: wheat, corn, oats, barely, rye, and potatoes would have been found on most farms, in addition to table vegetables and orchard crops grown mostly for home consumption. Only a few local farmers tried their hand at horticulture on a commercial scale. Livestock raising complemented grain and other field crops; declining soil fertility and the abundance of rough, poorly drained land that was better suited to pasture and forage crops left many local farmers with no other choice but to stop planting so much wheat and start raising more hogs and beef cattle. The proximity of good markets in the Twin Cities urban area encouraged agricultural specialization and there was a rapid shift toward livestock and dairy farming after circa 1890 (Hesterman 1988:6-9). The advent of streetcars and automobiles after 1905 led to considerable interest in truck farming and market gardening. Horses remained the primary source of draft power on farm until the 1920s.

Women were indispensable on family farms, where the lion's share of the labor was performed by the members of the family—only the largest dairy and livestock farms had hired farm hands, although many of the truck farms hired seasonal laborers during the

growing and harvesting periods. Notwithstanding important advances in mechanization, agricultural production was extremely labor-intensive: Edina farmers spent most of their waking hours lifting, carrying, shoveling, pushing, pulling, or working with their hands. The work of farm wives differed vividly from that done by male workers but theirs were also lives of perpetual, often monotonous labor. The routine work performed by the farm wife on a typical farmstead included preparing meals, caring for children, house cleaning, laundry, gathering firewood and water, milking cows, and gardening. Most nineteenth century farm homes were not well provided with labor-saving household machines and conveniences, and the social privileges of farmers' wives were conspicuous by their rarity. Farm wives and others tended to have more children to be cared for than urban women; therefore, they were also required to provide a greater share of the extra-school education for their children—there were no nursery schools for farming communities and no kindergartens before the 1920s. There was a good deal of truth in the old saying that a farmer labors from sun to sun, but the farm wife's work is never done (see Fairbanks and Sundberg 1983).

It was often said that the farmer's wife was the most important and essential person on the farm—and the hardest working member of the farm family. On top of a heavy load of housekeeping and other domestic chores, farm women were traditionally involved in a wide range of agricultural tasks. The amount of kinds of farm work performed by individual women was determined by their age, health, education, experience, and the presence or absence of small children. Farm women in the lower economic strata did a considerable amount of field work, especially in the “rush” seasons of spring planting and fall harvesting. The farm wife's share in planning farm operations and determining the expenditure of farm earnings undoubtedly varied greatly. As indicated by the names on the township plat maps, a few local farms were owned by women, most of whom were farmers' widows.

The generally poor conditions of rural women prompted a widespread movement for improvement of their quality of life. Relief to farm women became a national priority through the work of the Country Life Commission and other progressive bodies, which focused on development of a more cooperative spirit in the management of farm and home, with an emphasis on education and technology (see Bailey 1911; Bowers 1974). The construction of convenient and sanitary housing, providing running water in farmhouses, good roads, and development of women's organizations were seen as the key aspects of rural improvement that would relieve rural women of many of their traditional burdens so they would have sufficient free time and strength to participate more actively in community affairs. Politicians, social reformers, educators, and journalists urged farmers to afford their wives more care and consideration, for the sake of their children and their farms.

The farm home environment improved gradually. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, the emerging field of domestic science began to lift “housekeeping from the plane of drudgery to that not merely of a science, but of an art” (Barns 1910:3). An array of new home appliances found their way into farm homes. Improvements in farmhouse architecture also transformed many of the functional spaces where females

predominated. The modern movement in interior design recognized the need to make the arrangement of the farmhouse more convenient, especially with regard to the piping of water into the house, the location of the pantry and milk room in relation to the kitchen, the provision for drainage for slops, and the installation of central heating systems. Improved kitchen ranges and ice boxes, clothes wringers, and other appliances were readily available from mail-order catalogs by the 1890s.⁶

Technology transformed the social aspects of life on the farm. Improved farm to market roads, streetcars, and eventually automobiles had a terrific effect on breaking down rural isolation and at the same time encouraged cooperative work among family farms (Hesterman 1988:44-51; cf. Interrante 1979; Jellison 1993). Analysis of historic maps and early aerial photographs show the migration of farmhouses from the middle of farms to the roadside edges of farms, so that driveways could be shortened; the same trend caused clusters of farm dwellings to occur where farm boundaries came together along surface roads, forming miniature rural neighborhoods. Social opportunities multiplied with every improvement in transportation: automobiles in particular improved the economic and cultural opportunities available to rural women. Agricultural innovations also had beneficent effects on farm home life: the trend toward smaller, more diversified family farms and the rapid rise of agricultural cooperatives multiplied the number of social contacts between farm families, affording greater opportunities for farm women to interact. The telephone and private automobiles provided direct impetus for the organization of farmers' clubs, mothers' clubs, women's clubs, church societies, and other associations for farm women (see Lundquist 1923).

Gendered Space on the Farm

Farmhouses served numerous important functions in which women played important roles. Edina's earliest settlers lived in cabins that were copies of traditional log houses, the prototype of which had been introduced in North America by Scandinavians in the seventeenth century and subsequently adapted by Scotch-Irish and German immigrants in the eighteenth century. By the time the area was fully settled, however, the standard farmhouse was a one-and-one-half or two-story frame dwelling, constructed of standard materials with variations on standard plans. Farmhouses were usually enlarged with additions to gain more sleeping space as families grew. Residences on the more substantial farms often incorporated quarters for domestic servants and farmhands; and to accommodate the passing of a farm from one generation to the next in the same family, a second dwelling was sometimes built separately on the same farmstead. Building forms and ornamentation generally reflected common fashions and the architectural character of the rural built environment was overwhelmingly vernacular. A major rural building boom occurred between the 1890s and the 1920s, when many of the older farmhouses were torn down and replaced by houses that were generally more attractive, comfortable, and efficient. Only a small handful of were designed by trained architects or engineers: farmers and their wives were most often solely responsible for

⁶ The first rural post offices in the Edina area were commissioned in the 1850s; rural Free Delivery (RFD) was inaugurated in 1896 and domestic parcel-post, a great boon to mail-order catalog sales, was introduced in 1913.

developing their house plans, although architectural plan books and building manuals with house designs deemed appropriate for rural residents were widely available.⁷ From the 1890s through the 1930s, agricultural education focused considerable attention on farm architecture, including the modernization of dwellings, and a voluminous progressive building literature was generated. One of the core themes of the movement for farm home improvement was to find ways to lessen the burden of female labor.

Women's influence on American farmhouse design increased steadily during the late nineteenth century (see Gottfried and Jennings 2009). Farm women had probably always been involved to some extent in the design of their homes and there was a good deal of conventional wisdom pertaining to the convenient arrangement of rural dwellings. Nineteenth century architectural pattern books and housekeeping manuals provide insight into the design issues that were widely considered women's issues, which were chiefly concerned with interior design and the organization of spaces. A number of popular male and female authors promoted the concept of the "progressive farmhouse" that emphasized efficiency, standardization, and productivity as well as the integration of modern conveniences. Unfortunately, many of the new ideas about domestic healthfulness, efficiency, and convenience were slow to take hold in rural communities and the plan of the traditional farmhouse was not always readily adaptable to new technologies. Nevertheless, by the early twentieth century the typical Edina farmhouse exhibited many of the characteristics common to "modern" suburban dwellings: central heating, indoor plumbing, additional closet space, downstairs bedrooms, "living rooms" that combined the traditional parlor and dining room functions, built-in cabinetry, and smaller, more efficient kitchens.

The typical Edina farmhouse contained between five and eight rooms. The space that was predominantly the realm of women was the kitchen, which was the center of many critical farm activities in addition to food processing and preparation. Farmhouse kitchens were characteristically large, multi-purpose rooms that encompassed spaces and equipment for cooking, laundry, food processing, food storage, and other household tasks, usually located on the first floor or basement in the back of the house. Unless the house was large enough to have a dining room, all of the family's meals were eaten in the kitchen. Over time, the kitchen area was reorganized to accommodate new domestic technologies and modern notions of propriety: farm kitchens became smaller and more compact, better ventilated and day-lighted, and more efficient. Some functions, such as the laundry, moved out of the kitchen into other space; in newer farm dwellings, the kitchen itself migrated closer to the center of the house—summer kitchens, which were nearly universal before 1900, had nearly vanished from the landscape by the 1920s.⁸ The rural building boom of the 1890s-

⁷ The authors of a University of Minnesota Agricultural Extension bulletin on farmhouses felt compelled to note that much more satisfactory results could be secured "if the farmer, before setting out to build, confers with his wife as to the arrangements desired" (White and Neubauer 1936:2).

⁸ Usually an attached extension of the house (but occasionally a detached structure), the purpose of the summer kitchen was to remove from the main dwelling the heat and confusion of canning and other food processing activities during the summer months. In many farmhouses, the back porch served the same function.

1920s was accompanied by revolutionary advances in domestic technology, including a great deal of innovation in labor saving food preparation technology. Built-in kitchen equipment also made housekeeping easier and many of the popular twentieth century farmhouse plans provided the kitchen with windows on two walls, which provided better day-lighting and cross-ventilation.

Outside the house, farm women used several kinds of outbuildings. Farmsteads in mature agricultural districts often included dwelling space for unrelated individuals, such as “hired hands”, household servants, or boarders; some farms had tenant houses and it was not uncommon for two generations of the same family to occupy separate houses on the same farmstead. Women were routinely engaged in processing dairy products on the farm and much of this work was carried out in the cream separator room or milk house. Wash houses and root cellars were common farmstead accessory structures associated with women’s work. There was scarcely a farm in Edina that did not raise poultry to supply home demands and afford a surplus for the market; because the farm wife was most often responsible for chicken and egg production, the brooder houses and coops were traditionally placed in the yard near the house for her convenience. Many Edina farmers derived the largest portion of their cash income from the sale of cream, whole milk, and other dairy products, and among New Englanders, who made up a substantial proportion of the early settlers, milking cows was women’s work, which made milking parlors and milk houses gendered spaces on some farms.

Farm Gardens and Home Grounds

Nineteenth century agricultural publications first discussed the role of women in the planning of farmsteads in terms of adapting the beautification of home grounds to contemporary farming practices. Many of the recommendations for landscape gardening set forth in early architectural pattern books were aimed specifically at women, who were assumed to play a leading role in the embellishment of rural homes. What was sometimes referred to as “scientific” or rational planning of farmsteads developed in the twentieth century as a direct outgrowth of the development of federal and state agricultural research institutions and the professionalization of the home economics and domestic engineering fields. Because of the growing emphasis on increased productivity and labor-saving principles, farmers were encouraged to involve their wives in drawing up plans for the improvement of their farmsteads. Rural design manuals routinely tasked farm women with improving the appearance of their houses and grounds. Agricultural trade publications and government reports frequently touted the benefits of horticulture and landscape planning in improving the quality of life in rural communities (see Mackintosh 1917, 1918; Mulford 1920).

Fruits and vegetables for domestic use were grown on nearly every farm. The home vegetable garden was essentially the realm of farm women and by the late 1800s there was a fairly extensive popular literature aimed at farmers’ wives (Greathouse 1899). The garden plot was traditionally located near the home so that it could be easily looked after by the farmer’s wife and children; many local farmers also found it desirable to have an orchard for home use with an acre or so of fruit trees and bushes. Judging from

old photographs, most Edina farmsteads included quite extensive gardens, usually fenced. Some farms had two garden plots, a small one near the house for table vegetables and a larger, field-like plot for growing sweet corn, potatoes, cabbages, melons, and other row crops. Farm gardens in the Edina area also traditionally encompassed flower gardens. Women were given specific responsibility for working out their home garden plans and determined the location and amount of space assigned to each crop. Seeds were obtained from mail-order houses, which first appeared in the 1880s. Gardens of an acre or more were cultivated with horse-drawn implements until the first small tractors appeared in the 1920s. The farm garden and orchard was first and foremost a source of food for the family's table, but it also afforded a means of earning a little "pin money" for the farm wife through the sale of surplus produce. Because intensive methods were generally employed, the monetary returns from the small garden plots and orchards were often proportionally much larger than from the rest of the farm.

Most farmers devoted part of their farmstead to the raising of a few animals for home use and the farm wife (and her children) were primarily responsible looked after the chickens, ducks, geese, milk cows, sheep, and pigs. The tendency was to raise several different kinds of animals and their care was viewed as equally attractive to boys and girls. Farm families appear to have relied heavily on the inexpensive and ubiquitous farmers' library guidebooks and agricultural extension bulletins for information about animal husbandry.

Women's Roles in Scientific Farming and Agricultural Education

The fields of scientific farming and agricultural education showed little interest in integrating farm women until the late nineteenth century. Nevertheless, several Edina area farmers demonstrated a keen interest in agricultural improvements and some of it rubbed off on their daughters. Local women and girls also participated in the fairs put on by the state and county agricultural societies, exhibiting crafts and foodstuffs (but not animals until the twentieth century); the interchange of ideas and opportunities for socializing promoted by agricultural organizations must have helped shape the lives of local women. Agricultural journalism, which sprang up before the Civil War, eventually developed a body of literature aimed specifically at female readers.

Women came to dominate some of the specialized branches within agricultural education. Founded by the territorial legislature in 1851, the University of Minnesota admitted relatively few women to its academic programs before the institution was reorganized in the 1870s, notwithstanding the growing numbers of women who came to be enrolled in the university's college of education, which offered practical and theoretical training for prospective high school teachers and principals. The university's college of agriculture was established in 1887 but attracted relatively few women until 1897, when girls were admitted to the school on the same terms as boys to take classes in cooking, sewing, laundering, and homemaking under the rubric of home economics

or “domestic science” as it was then known.⁹ Female attendance increased rapidly after 1900, as did the number of women faculty members. The Cooperative Agricultural and Home Economics Extension Service, established in 1909 for the purpose of disseminating agricultural information to the people of the state. The central task of extension work was to help rural families help themselves by applying modern science and technology to the daily routine of farming, homemaking, and family life and it quickly expanded its scope of service to include instruction in the domestic arts (True 1928). The agency was successful in diffusing information to farm families and its activities in home economics were broad in scope. Beginning in the 1890s, Edina farmers’ daughters attended lectures in their schools given by visiting extension workers, who also provided demonstrations and classes under the auspices of local clubs and associations. Home economist Mary Louisa Bull of Edina Mills was one of the pioneers of extension service in Minnesota and for many years she served on the faculty at the state farm in Saint Paul. A nutrition specialist, she was one of the earliest proponents of hot lunches in public schools (see Bull 1911, 1913).¹⁰

Women and the Grange

An early agricultural organization where women played an important role was the Patrons of Husbandry, founded in 1867 by Oliver H. Kelley of Elk River, Minnesota. Politically, the Grange stood for temperance, universal education, restrictions on foreign emigration, good roads, and cooperative marketing; it was also an early bastion of rural feminism and was one of the earliest national organizations to take a stand for equal rights for women (Buck 1913; Marti 1984; Gardner 1949). The local Patrons of Husbandry chapter, officially designated the Minnehaha Grange No. 398, was established on December 9, 1873 and included in its membership both men and women. It is worth noting that the name of the grange was proposed by Ellen Yancey, an African-American woman whose family settled at Edina Mills shortly after the Civil War; both she and her husband remained active in the Grange for many years (see Morse-Kahn 1998:53-62; Minnesota State Grange 1963). Although primarily a forum for agrarian advocacy and economic reform, the Grange also developed a progressive social and educational agenda with a significant focus on women’s issues (see Patterson 1913). The members of the Minnehaha Grange generally steered away from politics and concentrated much of their early efforts on establishing a local cooperative for buying and selling commodities. Later the educational and cultural interests of the members focused more on monthly meetings with speakers and the sponsorship of seasonal festivals and lavish suppers.

⁹ Catherine E. Beecher, one of the pioneers in education for American women, justified home economics as a proper subject of study for girls in her *Treatise on Domestic Economy* (1841). The first post-secondary curriculum in “domestic science” was introduced at the Iowa State College during the 1870s and in 1888 New York City became the first public school system to offer home economics for high school students.

¹⁰ Bull was the daughter of James Alvah and Mary (Comstock) Bull, who were among Edina’s most prominent early settlers; the family was active in the Grange and local government.

In 1880 the Minnehaha Grange erected a commodious meeting hall in the Edina Mills settlement.¹¹ The Greek Revival style building was arranged and furnished according to Granger precepts. The hall, which had a large assembly room with a stage, as well as space for the cooperative store and a kitchen and dining room (with seating for over forty), was designed to be used for general meetings, retail sales, lectures, programs, festivals, and social gatherings. There were annual dues, with women paying half the amount paid by male members; membership fluctuated but averaged less than thirty even during the Grange's heyday (1870s-1890s), more or less equally divided between the sexes—according to the grange's annual report for 1895, many of the monthly meetings that year were attended by women, without men, a situation that appears to have been fairly common. In addition to its regular business meetings and social events, the Minnehaha Grange offered a range of programs oriented to women and girls and made a special effort to promote tree-planting on Arbor Day in the spring as well as the fall flower festival, known as Ceres Day. For a few years in the early 1900s, it offered cooperative care for widows and orphans.

Recognition of the importance of women in farming was taken by the first Grange leaders. Due largely to the influence of Carrie M. Hall, the niece of the movement's founder, women were made members of the Grange on an equal basis with men. Women Grangers voted, held office, and participated on committees at the local, state, and national levels. Nationally, the Grange was a major force in the woman's suffrage movement. The women of the Minnehaha Grange held important places in its work for decades and one of the leading Grangers in Minnesota was an Edina farm wife, Sarah Gates Baird, who served the local and state granges in a number of capacities over a long career. She was born in Albany, Vermont in 1843 and moved to Minneapolis with her parents in 1857; in 1865 she married George W. Baird, an industrious farmer who had settled at Edina Mills in the 1850s. She and George were charter members of the Minnehaha Grange and both were active in Grange work—he was the grange's business agent and steward for many years—until their deaths. One of a small handful of female Grange officers, Sarah held key leadership positions continuously from 1873 until 1912, serving as master of the home grange, state grange treasurer and master; she also held the offices of Ceres and Pomona in the National Grange. By all accounts, her long career was marked by distinguished ability and selfless commitment to the organization's ideals (Atkeson 1916:340-341; Morse-Kahn 1998:35-41).

The Feminization of Public Education

The one-room country schoolhouse and its schoolmarm are icons of rural America (Carney 1912; Folger 1976; Kaufman 1984). General public acceptance of women as public schoolteachers was well established by the time Edina was settled in the 1850s and a number of pioneer women worked as educators in public schools. Women also operated subscription schools where they taught music and other subjects not included in the standard curriculum. Among the most important advantages of women

¹¹ The Minnehaha Grange Hall was placed on the National Register in 1970 and designated an Edina Heritage Landmark in 2002; moved from its original location alongside Minnehaha Creek, it is now located in Frank Tupa Park.

schoolteachers was their cheapness, for until the late 1890s they could be employed for about twenty dollars per month, roughly half the normal salary commanded by male teachers. Local boards of education also sought out women teachers because of their perceived moral and maternal qualities—the conventional wisdom held that school teaching was to a great extent motherhood warmed over and spiced up. Most of the women hired during the late 1800s probably had little or no special preparation beyond an elementary knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Notwithstanding the poor pay and minimal training, teaching possessed attractions for women: it was more prestigious than most other occupations open to single women, offered a considerable degree of self-expression, and increased the prospects of finding a good husband (Willard 1897:262-268). Not surprisingly, school teaching ranked first in numerical importance among professional service occupations open to women until well into the twentieth century; indeed, women monopolized teaching in Edina's common schools and continued to make up the majority of elementary school teachers employed by the Edina public schools after the rural districts were consolidated.

Two common school districts were established in Edina during the settlement period, each with its own schoolhouse. District 17 opened in a one-room schoolhouse near the intersection of West 62nd Street and Highway 100 in 1859; it was later relocated to the present-day site of City Hall. The District 16 schoolhouse, commonly known as the Cahill School, opened in 1864 at what is now West 70th Street and Cahill Road; the one-room schoolhouse closed in the 1950s and was subsequently relocated to Frank Tupa Park where it has been preserved by the Edina Historical Society. The first suburban era public schools, Wooddale and Morningside, did not open until 1926 and there was no local high school until Edina-Morningside was built in 1949; all three historic buildings were razed between 1972 and 1980.

Public education was financed by a direct tax upon the property of each district; to encourage the establishment and maintenance of public schools, state law provided for additional financial support in the form of county and state property taxes; there were also small appropriations generated by the permanent school fund. There was no graded elementary school anywhere within the municipal limits until the early twentieth century and the first high school was not established until 1926. The common schools were governed by three-member elected boards of education and operated under the general supervision of the county superintendent of public instruction. Although state law allowed women to vote for and serve on local boards of education from 1869 onward, only a few women ever exercised any authority in school decision making before the 1900s. Each district hired its own teachers and by the end of the nineteenth century it was standard practice for county superintendents to license schoolteachers upon examination. It was not common for teachers in country schools to possess college diplomas, though after the 1880s many had attended one of the state's high schools, whose traditional core mission included providing training for teaching in the common schools. Over time, more teachers earned professional certificates from state normal schools, the first of which had been established in the 1850s, and other colleges (Kiehle 1905).

Formal education for girls was historically secondary to that for boys, although common schools were coeducational and females had unrestricted access to the state's public high schools. Some local data suggest that the scholastic achievement of girls in Edina's two country schools may have been higher than average. Young women from rural communities found their opportunities for higher education significantly broadened opportunities by the late 1800s with the rise of women's colleges and the admission of women to public colleges and universities. By the early 1900s, it was estimated that females made up approximately one-fifth of Minnesota's college students. Census data for the early decades of the twentieth century show that roughly six out of ten college-educated women in the Twin Cities area were engaged in gainful employment at some time after graduating, mostly as school teachers or social workers. At the same time, growing numbers of women were entering the workforce after taking vocational training in nursing or secretarial work.

SUBURBAN WOMEN

Until fairly recently history writers have devoted themselves mainly to narrative accounts and biographies and the scarcity of information about women contained in most of the published histories is very revealing. Within the past two decades the trend has been toward social history, more particularly to local histories with a broader focus encompassing women's history themes. The influence of the women's history movement among academic historians has been very marked (see Banner 1994; Evans 1997; Spain 2001; Weatherford 1994).

The Growth of Suburban Middle Class Culture

Since the late Victorian era, the suburban ideal has centered on a single-family dwelling owned by those who lived in it (see Gowans 1986). In Edina, low-density suburban residential development first appeared along the village's border with West Minneapolis (Hopkins) in the late 1880s and followed the expansion of the regional street railway system west of Lake Harriet after 1905. When the booming economy of the 1910s-1920s made home ownership possible for many Twin Citians, they leapt at the chance to move out into the country and take up new homes in Morningside and Country Club.

Suburban development in Edina was broadly associated with the growth of the urban middle class, i.e., families headed by workers who held white- or blue-collar jobs and earned sufficient income to afford the housing. Class distinctions probably tended to blur somewhat in prewar Edina and Morningside, where the inhabitants of the two core suburban neighborhoods seem to have shared many of the same basic world views. Class distinctions were reduced by the rapid growth of the government and service sectors of the Twin Cities economy, which created a vast number of new, good paying jobs of indeterminate status. Ethnic lifestyles were also less pronounced than in the older urban and rural communities and the restrictive foreign immigration policies enacted in the 1920s significantly reduced the number of foreign-born suburbanites. Religious identity never seems to have been an important dividing factor between any of the neighborhoods.

Gendered Space in Suburban Development

Culture historians generally agree that houses belong to women, an idea that was firmly planted by the end of the Victorian era. In suburbia, as on the farm, women ruled inside the house because they made it theirs (Spain 1992). But home life in the suburbs had to adapt to new economic and social realities. The early twentieth century saw increasing numbers of women stepping outside the home to work and for social activities; often this was only part-time employment or transporting children to their social activities, but these new responsibilities constrained the time available for traditional household chores. The suburban kitchen quickly became less a center of women's authority, though it remained nonetheless an important place for women's

work and an integral part of the house. Kitchen work was aided by the changes in house design and domestic technology which transformed the kitchen from a separate room used almost exclusively for food preparation. Modern appliances and processed foods helped suburban women catch up on the time lost to outside activities, but the demands of housekeeping still consumed much of the average housewife's time and energy.

Nationwide, suburban house forms and styles underwent a tremendous change between the 1880s and the 1930s and the architectural transformation was no less great in the Edina area than in the rest of the country. Rapid change was encouraged, not only by the rapid expansion of the suburban built environment into previously rural areas, but also by the constellation of technological advances and cultural processes that reshaped home design and construction (see Volz 1992). The two classic suburban house forms in Edina—the bungalow and the period revival house—both demonstrate the changing roles of women in the design and function of domestic spaces. Between 1910 and 1930, local developers built scores of one and one-and-one-half-story bungalows in Morningside and on unplatted lots previously occupied by farms. The bungalow represented a major innovation in suburban housing. A new house form, unprecedented in the previous century, the bungalow provided homeowners of moderate means with extraordinary levels of domestic comfort made possible through innovative systems of heating, plumbing, and electricity. The bungalow also incorporated a number of features which reflected important changes in the lifeways of middle and working class women. Popular magazines like *Ladies Home Journal* and *Good Housekeeping*, as well as architectural pattern books and builders' catalogs, enthusiastically promoted the bungalow as the ideal house for the twentieth century woman.

One of the major voices of the bungalow movement in America was Gustav Stickley, furniture maker, architect, and editor of the influential magazine, *The Craftsman* (1901-1916). Stickley ardently promoted the idea of giving women a more prominent role in home building as well as home making: ideally, the female owner-occupant of a Craftsman bungalow was expected to participate personally in every stage of home design and construction, and she was primarily responsible for making the home furnishings conform to her family's needs. Some of the popular bungalows and other small houses featured in *The Craftsman* and similar publications were actually designed by female architects, but most of the common designs were male architects' visions of what the "modern woman" needed and wanted.

From the late 1940s through the early 1960s, the dominant housing type constructed in Edina was the single-story Ranch house or "rambler". The market for Ranch type houses consisted of the burgeoning, up-and-coming postwar middleclass population. The design of Ranch styled homes evolved from the bungalow movement, the main differences being they were more streamlined and lacked the picturesque detailing common to Arts and Crafts period houses. They could be affordably mass-produced because of increased standardization in plumbing, electricity, materials, and construction techniques. Innovations in home financing, such as FHA and VA loans,

also greatly increased the pool of potential suburban home buyers in the postwar period. Entire neighborhoods were built with the same basic house form.

Suburban women, who were often on their own during the day as their husbands worked away from home, played a crucial role in landscape gardening. The popular press relentlessly emphasized the housewife's outdoor responsibilities and encouraged the notion that gardening was a feminine sphere of activity. Middleclass wives, increasingly affluent and freed from some of the traditional household chores that had occupied their mothers and grandmothers, were now supposed to fulfill themselves and strengthen society by creating cultivated and individualized home environments. At the same time, they were expected to devote greater personal attention to children. Popular magazines showed lavishly landscaped backyards with flower beds and patios, carefully placed playground apparatus.

Cultural Impact of the Automobile

From about 1905 down to the present day, Edina's built environment has been dominated by automobiles and the culture of mobility. Almost every aspect of suburban life in the twentieth century—work, family, and leisure—centered on the automobile, which had a transformative impact on the lives of women. For women as well as men, cars became both a status symbol and a necessity, and their transformative power changed the way women organized their personal lives and the space in which they lived (see Wachs 1996). At the turn of the century, restrictive Victorian ideas still prevailed and women were viewed as too fragile to operate complex machinery such as automobiles. However, some bold women defied social conventions and learned to drive. Females in Hennepin County began registering private cars at a very early date and several hundred applied for driving licenses within a year or two after the state began to require them in 1903; by 1910 it was estimated that 5% of all licensed drivers were women. The invention of the self-starter in 1912, which eliminated the arduous and often dangerous task of crank-starting, removed the last physical deterrent to women motorists and the woman's suffrage movement sponsored a campaign of auto tours which crisscrossed the nation to generate support for the constitutional amendment giving women the right to vote. According to the census taken in 1920, more than one-half of the families living in Edina owned a private car; by the time of the 1940 census, nine out of ten households owned a car and one out of five owned two or more. Almost all suburban activities depended on the availability of personal automobiles and accessible roadways. Neighborhood shopping centers and retail strip development initially clustered around streetcar stops but quickly moved to the arterial commuter routes. By 1960 Edina had more land area in off-street parking lots than in schools, parks, gas stations, shopping centers, and office buildings combined.

Women's Work Outside the Home

Historically, wifedom and motherhood were regarded as women's most significant professions. Edina women have always worked outside their homes, however, whether it was paid or unpaid labor. By the end of the nineteenth century there was broad public

acceptance of women as teachers, nurses, artists, and sales clerks, though most of the women who were gainfully employed worked as domestic or farm help. By the 1920s women were becoming more visible in the public sphere as more educational opportunities opened for them. City directories and newspapers show rural and suburban women taking advantage of the growing number and variety of employment options, including some occupations previously denied to females; nevertheless, housework remained the primary occupation of the majority of Edina women until the 1950s. The federal census taken in 1930 was the first to designate one member of a household as the “homemaker,” a term which had already taken on a new meaning. By the 1920s, local girls attending high school took mandatory courses in home economics that reflected a re-valuation of household chores as a “domestic science”—the new emphasis on homemaking as a science was also reflected in the emerging consumer culture where advertisers portrayed housewives as professionals, and therefore more highly valued customers.

In Edina as elsewhere, the growth of suburban culture revealed a contraction in the lives of middleclass women: while their traditional roles as housewives and others remained central, more women than ever before were joining the work force outside the home. For housewives, the single-family suburban home required more labor to keep clean, while stay-at-home mothers were left to attend to the needs of small children with little or no help from relatives and grandparents who no longer lived nearby. Increased dependence on automobiles transformed suburban housewives into chauffeurs for their families. Until the 1950s, groceries, dairies, and other retail and service enterprises which served the home market based much of their routine business on door-to-door sales or home deliveries. Eventually these home delivery operations were replaced by supermarkets and shopping centers, which added to the number of daily errands required by homemakers.

Female Professionals and Entrepreneurs

Women began to enter the professional fields of law, medicine, dentistry, and finance in significant numbers during the last decades of the nineteenth century (Perkins ed. 1910; Willard 1897). According to business directories and newspaper accounts, the suburban enclaves of Morningside and Country Club both had sizeable populations of women employed in both traditional and nontraditional work outside their homes; the leading occupations for females were sales woman, hairdresser, laundress, teacher, nurse, stenographer, seamstress, dressmaker, and waitress. There were increasing numbers of women employed in professional and managerial jobs after 1920, with a large increase after 1950. Although married women were discouraged from taking full-time jobs in many industries, employment of women in all lines of work skyrocketed during the First and Second World Wars. After both conflicts ended, public opinion (and public policy) suggested that women return to the home so that former soldiers could have the jobs; however, by the 1950s it was becoming common for married women to re-enter the job market after their children had started school. Census data indicate that by the 1950s Edina and Morningside women were employed primarily in teaching, nursing, secretarial, and retailing jobs, occupations that have been historically

considered women's work. It was not until the 1960s, however, that over one-half of the adult female population was gainfully employed in the work force.

There is scanty evidence of women-owned businesses in Morningside and Edina prior to 1920; however, the number of women-owned businesses increased steadily. Traditionally, women have tended to own retail trade and service establishments, rather than manufacturing or wholesaling enterprises. Among the factors influencing the increased number of female-owned and managed enterprises are ambition and access to investment capital.

While women without formal training have always been active in planning domestic environments for their own families since the early settlement period, the names of individual women whose professional lives encompassed designing and building houses in Edina are not recorded in existing community histories. Women began to take architectural degrees from American and European schools in the late nineteenth century,¹² but women architects and builders were practically invisible in Minnesota before World War II (Allaback 2008; Torre ed. 1977). There were female architects and designers working in the Twin Cities in the early 1900s but their work is obscure and seldom mentioned in the standard architectural guides. Many of the pioneering "lady architects" saw their careers obstructed by gender prejudice or sidetracked by marriage. It is likely that if any pre-1960 buildings in Edina were designed by women architects, they practiced alone or in small offices.

A few of the early homes in Morningside appear to have been built by husband-and-wife teams of contractor-developers (see Scott and Hess 1981:57); given the prevailing role-models of the first half of the twentieth century, the lack of well-known female developers is not altogether surprising. Selling real estate seems to have become an acceptable profession for women during the 1920s, but judging from contemporary newspapers and business directories it was not until the 1950s that the first women realtors opened their own offices in the Twin Cities suburbs.

Women in Community Affairs

Throughout much of American history women generally had enjoyed fewer legal rights and career opportunities than men. The stereotype that "a woman's place is in the home" determined to a large extent the ways in which women could express themselves in community affairs. In the twentieth century, however, women won the right to vote and increased their educational and job opportunities, which paved the way for their

¹² Sophia Hayden was the first American woman to receive a four-year degree in architecture; she graduated with honors from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1890. Over the next two decades, less than forty architecture degrees were awarded to women in the United States. Marion Alice Parker (1875-1936), who has employed as a draftsman by the Minneapolis firm of Purcell and Elmslie, was probably the first "lady architect" in Minnesota, though she was apparently never licensed (Allaback 2008:165-166). The architecture program at the University of Minnesota was established in 1913 and admitted its first female student in 1917; a trickle of female graduates matriculated over the next four decades. According to one source, there were only 320 registered female architects in the United States in 1958, of which only a small handful were practicing in the Twin Cities.

increased participation in civic life. The attitude toward women's role in community affairs in Edina was perhaps more favorable than in other places. Under state law, women had been eligible to vote in school board elections and hold office on local boards of education since 1875, though female names cannot be found on election ballots for districts 16 and 17 until the early 1900s.¹³

Work on woman's suffrage was spearheaded by the Grange and other rural organizations (Bauer 1999). The names of Edina's earliest female agitators for social and political reform have been lost to history; it can be assumed that Edina had its share of female abolitionists, temperance activists, and suffragists. Nationally, the first woman suffrage amendment to the Constitution was presented to Congress in 1878, but women did not win the right to vote until 1920. While their political roles on the national stage were minimal, state and local government attracted women in increasing numbers. In Edina and Morningside, women first began to hold non-elective offices and paid staff positions at the village council and school district levels during the 1930s and they acquitted themselves of their duties creditably. Judging from newspaper stories, the interest of women in local politics seems to have generally increased from that time onward, although not without some opposition and disapproval.

Women had already been leaders in the area of community affairs long before they could vote in state and federal elections. Rural and suburban women were among the most avid social reformers statewide and in the Twin Cities metropolitan area, and local civic organizations admitted women to membership and occasionally chose women to serve as officers. By the 1920s it was considered respectable for suburban housewives to speak up at village council meetings on matters that had not been traditionally regarded as "women's" issues. The first woman's voice recorded in the minutes of the Edina village council was that of a "Miss Hayes" who appeared before the council in 1926 to ask "if anything could be done about securing the northeast 40 acres of the Baird estate for park purposes"; the matter was tabled. The term "new woman" came into popular use during the early decades of the twentieth century, prompting some social critics to express fear that the increasing number of politically active women foretold the triumph of radical feminism over tradition American values. As the Great Depression gripped the country in 1929-1941, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal programs helped bring significant numbers of females into government service. An unknown number of Edina women were employed in various social and industrial projects carried out under the auspices of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and other federal relief agencies.

Women's Organizations

A number of volunteer membership organizations which combined civic, cultural, and educational purposes emerged early in the suburban era. Some of the older, rural groups, such as the Grange and church societies, also attracted suburban women, but the principal membership groups were the neighborhood women's clubs, parent-teacher

¹³ Minnesota women had also been granted the right to vote in library board elections and could serve on local public library boards; unfortunately, Edina had neither until the 1950s.

associations, garden clubs, and local improvement organizations. Federated women's clubs formed in both Morningside and Country Club during and took part in a wide range of home and community development projects through sponsorship of lectures, public meetings, and various educational endeavors. The Morningside club traced its origins to the Morningside Social Club, which formed in 1909; there was also a Morningside Literary Club, organized in 1920; the two groups merged in 1937 as the Morningside Women's Club. The Edina Women of the Country Club was founded in 1925 by Mrs. W. E. Wilder; it opened its membership to all Edina women in 1948. These clubs were social and charitable organizations; during World War II their members formed the nucleus of the community service organizations. At their peak, the Edina and Morningside women's clubs each had several hundred enrolled members and met at least once a month.

Garden clubs and garden sections of women's clubs were formed at an early date to provide helpful information and inspiration through lectures, exhibitions, and contests. Parent-teacher associations were organized at Wooddale and Morningside schools shortly after the buildings opened their doors; while they were concerned primarily with school projects, these organizations also played active roles in community development campaigns. Individual women also assumed pivotal roles in the local chapters of youth membership groups such as the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Campfire Girls, 4-H Clubs, Future Homemakers of America, and similar organizations.

ASSOCIATED HERITAGE RESOURCE TYPES

For a property to qualify for designation as an Edina Heritage Landmark on the basis of its association with women's history themes, it would need to meet at least one of the heritage landmark eligibility criteria by being associated with a Tier 1 or Tier 2 historic context and retain historic integrity of those physical features necessary to convey its significance. Mere association with women is not enough, in and of itself, to qualify: a property's specific association must be considered important as well. In other words, gender should not be a factor in the identification of heritage resources and the evaluation of their historical significance and places associated with Edina women should be designated as heritage landmarks solely on the basis of their historic significance and integrity, not because of the gender of the individuals or groups associated with them.

Resource Types

Background knowledge indicates that heritage preservation resources associated with women's history probably encompass most of the historic property types known to occur in Edina. Within the general category of buildings and structures, the following resource types stand out:

- Notable examples of domestic architectural styles and vernacular house types that reflect gendered spaces
- Buildings that show the history and development of institutions, organizations, and other entities where women played predominant roles
- Schools and meeting halls that provide a physical record of the experience of women
- Houses and domestic interiors where the direct involvement of women in the design and construction can be documented
- Buildings owned or occupied by prominent or influential women
- Commercial buildings where women made up a significant proportion of the workforce
- Buildings and structures designed by female architects and engineers
- Buildings containing the offices or studios of women artists, writers, or musicians

The concept of gendered space is also applicable to historic landscapes, both designed and vernacular, as well as archaeological resources. Groups of buildings and structures that physically and spatially comprise a specific environment often reflect women's history themes. Twentieth century suburban home grounds and gardens, for example, have potentially significant gendered associations. Archaeological sites associated with Native American cultural traditions often contain information that relates directly to the lifeways of women in prehistoric and historic times.

Significance

The contributions of Edina women to the broad patterns of rural settlement and agricultural development seem obvious and the associative value of preserved farmhouses with the lives and labor of individual women underpins their resource value. Therefore, all of the city's preserved historic farmhouses need to be considered women's heritage resources, even when the specific association is not particularly well documented.

The recently completed multiple property study of bungalow architecture in the Morningside neighborhood touched on the issues of gendered space and women's influence on the design of bungalows (Vogel 2010). One would expect other twentieth century suburban house types to reflect the direct involvement of individual women in planning their own homes. There is abundant evidence in the literature to suggest that women generally played a pivotal role in the arrangement of home interiors and grounds; however, the construction histories of only a very small number of historic buildings in Edina have been documented in sufficient detail to allow this kind of analysis.

In most cases, historical associations with women's history or the lives of individual women will be a contributing factor in evaluating the significance of heritage resources, but it will not be the primary justification for designation. Many properties will have links to one or more aspects of women's history, but relatively few will achieve significance primarily as landmarks of women's history.

Integrity Considerations

Buildings, structures, sites, and objects that possess well documented and historically important associations with women's history themes should be considered eligible for heritage landmark designation whenever they reflected established historic contexts and represent intact examples of identified heritage resource types. Integrity of historical association is probably the most important aspect to be considered when evaluating a property's eligibility. In general, heritage resources that are being evaluated on the basis of their historical association with specific events or patterns of events should retain integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The integrity of their association with women's history themes should be bolstered by direct links between the historic property and an important event or pattern of events, substantiated by primary historical documentation. Mere association with gender is never sufficient to support eligibility of a property for heritage landmark designation—the association must be shown to be important within a specific historic context.

Most properties considered eligible on the basis of their linkage to the lives of individual women significant in local history will meet the same criteria for significance as properties associated with individually significant males. Each property associated with an important individual woman or group of women should be compared to other, similar

properties to ensure that the resource being considered for heritage landmark designation best represents the person or group's contributions to Edina history.

Parts of buildings, such as kitchens and other gendered spaces, are not eligible for heritage landmark designation independent of the rest of the building. Sites where the location itself possesses historical value because of its association with women's history may be considered for landmark status even if no standing structures survive from the period of historical significance. If the association with women's history is sufficiently well documented, the site should be evaluated for landmark eligibility.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The thematic study produced the following important findings:

- Women's history themes are underrepresented in the inventory of properties designated or determined eligible for designation as Edina Heritage Landmarks.
- Heritage resource surveys and historical research already done in Edina are inadequate for identifying and evaluating heritage landmarks that preserve significant aspects of women's history.
- There is considerable potential for designating heritage landmarks that reflect the important contributions of women in Edina where the primary historical significance is gender-themed.
- The existing outline of local historic contexts that is incorporated in the city's comprehensive plan provides a workable framework for conducting future surveys and thematic studies.

Examples of historic buildings which derive their primary historical significance from well-documented associations with Edina women's history themes include:

- George W. and Sarah G. Baird House, 4400 West 50th Street; listed in the National Register in 1980, locally designated in 1978 and 2002. Historically significant for its association with Granger movement leader Sarah Baird.
- Minnehaha Grange Hall, Frank Tupa Park; listed in the National Register in 1970 and designated an Edina Heritage Landmark. Historically and architecturally significant for its association with the history of the Minnehaha Grange and its activities focused on women's issues.
- Cahill School, co-located with the Minnehaha Grange Hall in Frank Tupa Park; listed in the National Register in 1970 and designated an Edina Heritage Landmark. Historically and architecturally significant for its association with the feminization of public education and the development of the local school district.

The study identified a number of critical information gaps that will need to be addressed by future surveys. The following recommendations are intended to guide the Heritage Preservation Board in setting survey goals and priorities:

- 1) When documenting individual residential properties for nomination as Heritage Landmarks, background research should focus on describing any gendered spaces present and on identification of individual women connected to the property; archival study should attempt to reconstruct the physical history of the subject property, with particular emphasis on the planning, design, and original

construction phases, to gain an understanding of the role of women in its development.

- 2) Conduct a systematic, intensive survey of local newspapers, business directories, and trade publications to identify potential heritage preservation resources associated with female architects, builders, realtors, designers, developers, and trades people.
- 3) Assemble information on local organizations involved with women's civic and political activities, including but not limited to the Morningside and Edina women's clubs and the League of Women Voters.
- 4) Identify information needs relating to women's history themes in Edina's postwar history (circa 1945-1974) to be addressed by future surveys.
- 5) Conduct archaeological surveys in areas predicted to contain intact prehistoric and post-contact period sites and determine how each type of site is likely to be associated with women's history themes. Predictive models should establish the likely presence of sites reflecting gendered spaces and activities.
- 6) Undertake intensive archival research to refine, modify, and elaborate on the following Tier 2 local historic contexts with respect to women's history themes and associated resource types: "Edina Mills: Agriculture and Rural Life," "The Cahill Settlement: Edina's Irish Heritage," "Morningside: Edina's Streetcar Suburb," "Country Club: Edina's First Planned Community," "Southdale: Shopping Mall Culture," and "Country Clubs and Parks: The Heritage of Recreation, Leisure and Sport."

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