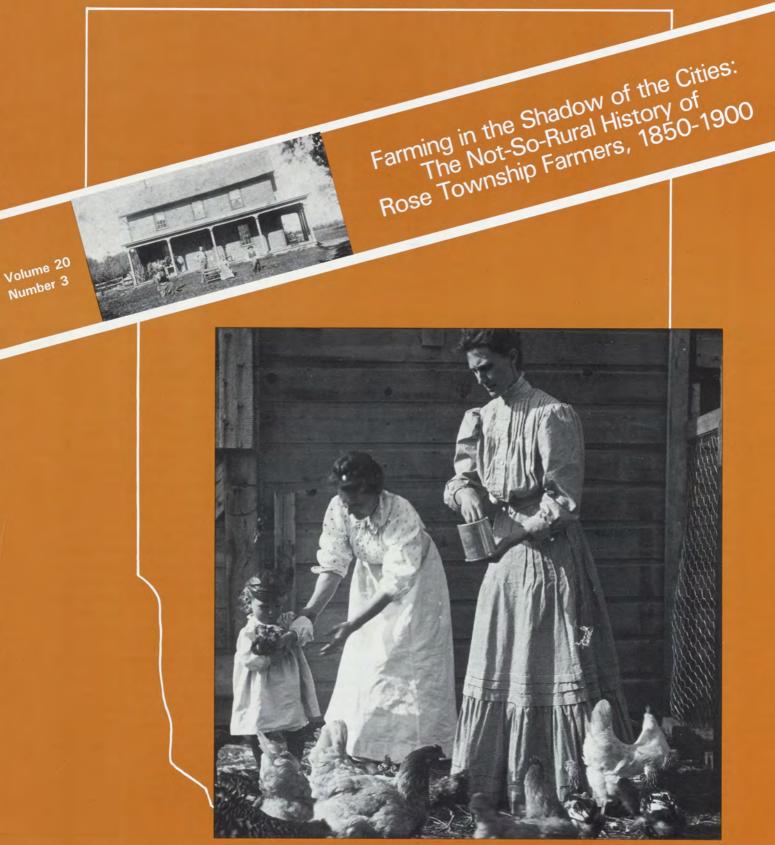
# RAMSEY COUNTY HISTORY

**Ramsey County Historical Society** 



# **Ramsey County History**

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# Farming in the Shadow of the Cities: The Not-So-Rural History of Rose Township Farmers, 1850-1900

Editor's Note: For almost thirty years the interpretation of the Gibbs Farm Museum, owned by the Ramsey County Historical Society, has focused on the late pioneer period of the 1870s and 1880s and the story of Heman and Jane Gibbs, who settled on their land in 1849. Although their lives — and particularly Jane's life — spanned much of Minnesota's 19th century history, the museum's emphasis was on the years the Gibbses lived first in a sod hut, later in a one-room frame cabin and finally as a prosperous Ramsey County farm family. Recent historical research, however, indicates there is more to the story than that. The following article describes that research, how it became a part of a re-examination of the museum programs, and how those programs were changed to tell us more about the world of the urban fringe farmer, of which the Gibbses were a part.

### By Kendra Dillard

When Heman Gibbs acquired his farm land in 1849, Minnesota had just become a territory, Ramsey County's northern boundary extended past Mille Lacs lake, and St. Paul was only a village of 1,000 settlers clustered around two steamboat landings on the Mississippi. The Gibbs Farm, now in Falcon Heights, was then miles out-of-town, in a rolling countryside where only seven other early settlers had filed for land.

Twenty years later, Gibbs was farming in the shadow of a growing city, his farming practices and family life transformed by a phenomenon that historians are only now beginning to examine — that after the 1870s farms located on the edge of expanding midwestern cities had begun to take on special characteristics that made these farm families more like their urban neighbors than their rural counterparts.

First of all, who were Heman and Jane Gibbs? Why and how did they come to Minnesota and establish a farm? How did their farming methods and family life change? Heman Rice Gibbs was born March 16, 1815, in Jericho, Chittenden County, Vermont. He was probably the second oldest of six children born to Zebulon Gibbs, III, and Marcia Skinner. Heman's father, Zebulon, was born in Litchfield, Connecticut, and died in Jericho in 1856.

HEMAN GIBBS CAME FROM a New England tradition that believed in public schooling. He was educated in Jericho, finishing common school and spending several terms at the academy there. As did many sons in New England at that time, Heman probably realized that his father's farm was neither large nor fer-

ABOUT THE AUTHOR: Kendra Dillard is manager of the Ramsey County Historical Society's Gibbs Farm Museum. She is a candidate for a master's degree in history and museum studies from the University of Minnesota where she received a Bush Foundation Fellowship. She also has served an internship at the Minnesota Historical Society where she developed an exhibit, "Farming by the Book," to be on display soon at the Gibbs Farm Museum. Research for this article is based on her master's thesis, a study of urban fringe farming in Ramsey County, 1860-1900.



#### Jane Gibbs' birthplace, 'The Checkered Tavern,' owned by her father, Peter DeBow, at Bethany, New York. This sketch was made by Lillie Gibbs LeVesconte during a visit made with her mother in 1890.

tile enough to be divided among three or four sons in the family. So, in 1837 at the age of 22, he left Vermont for La Porte County, Indiana, where he made his way as a farmer and teacher. While in Indiana Heman heard stories of work in the bustling lead mining towns in western Illinois and southern Wisconsin and he soon set out to try his hand at mining. He spent a total of six years in the lead mines of Grant County, Wisconsin.

In 1848 Heman visited his sister, Charlotte, who had married a doctor and settled in Elizabeth, Illinois, near Galena. Located on the Fever River, Galena was a major steamboat center for the upper Mississippi River and a shipping point for the lead trade. It was in Elizabeth that Heman met and married Jane DeBow Stevens.

Jane was born November 20, 1829, at the "Checkered Tavern" in the fertile Genessee Valley near Batavia, New York. In 1833, when she was 5 years old, her mother died. Jane was staying with neighbors while her father was away. When the Reverend Jedediah Stevens and his family passed through the area, Jane's guardians allowed the Stevens family to

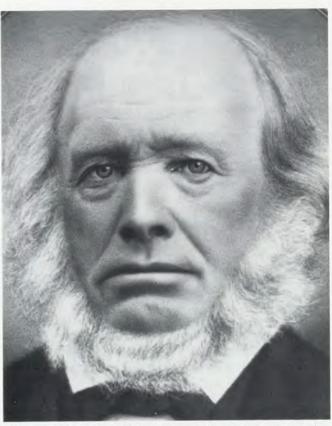


take her with them to help with their two boys. When Jane's father returned and discovered she was gone, he and some relatives set out to try and find her, but gave up somewhere in Ohio and returned home.

The Stevens family was on its way to Minnesota, then in Wisconsin Territory. Stevens was a Presbyterian missionary who was to join Gideon and Samuel Pond at their Indian mission along the shores of Lake Calhoun and Lake Harriet in what is now south Minneapolis. The Stevens family arrived at the mission in 1835 and lived there until 1838. Jane grew up playing with the Indian children, learning their customs and their language and much about living off the land in the Minnesota wilderness.<sup>1</sup>

IN 1838 STEVENS moved the family to Wabasha Island, near Winona, to set up his own mission. They lived there for two years before moving again, this time to the lead mining regions of Wisconsin and Illinois. They finally settled in Elizabeth in 1847. It was Stevens' missionary work among the lead miners that led to Jane meeting Heman Gibbs at his sister's home in 1848.

Six months later Jane, 21, and Heman, 34, were married. Heman talked of joining the Gold Rush to California, but Jane's heart was in Minnesota. Possibly because they had friends, Mr. and Mrs. Lott Moffatt, who already were in St. Paul, Heman and Jane Gibbs set out for St. Paul, in the spring of 1849. When they



Charcoal portraits of Heman and Jane Gibbs drawn by daughter Lillie in the 1880s. Today the portraits hang in the parlor of the Gibbs farmhouse.

arrived aboard the "War Eagle," the Moffatts were at the steamboat landing in St. Paul to greet them. Jane went to work for them in their hotel, the Temperance House, so-named because it did not have a saloon attached, and Heman Gibbs set out to find some land.

After several months of searching he acquired a 160-acre tract of land in Rose Township, just northwest of what is now the University of Minnesota's St. Paul campus. He acquired his land through the purchase of a land warrant that had been issued to Henry Cosmitz, a member of the First Pennsylvania Regiment and a veteran of the Mexican War. An act of Congress, dated February 11, 1847, provided that Mexican War volunteers be given a choice of a warrant for 160 acres of public lands or treasury script for \$100, drawing 6 percent interest until such time as the script might be redeemed by the government. The warrants were transferable and the warrant issued to Cosmitz came into Heman Gibbs' possession.<sup>2</sup>

THERE IS NO RECORD now as to what Gibbs paid for the warrant but it likely was not more than \$1.25 per acre, since at that time any settler could buy up to 160 acres of government land under the Pre-emption Act for \$1.25 per acre. Gibbs was one of the first eight settlers in Rose Township. Others were Isaac Rose, for



Lillie sketched these buildings from memory during the 1890s. Above is the only surviving picture of the one-room farmhouse completed in 1854. It faced Cleveland Avenue. At upper right is the old schoolhouse on the southeast corner of Snelling and Larpenteur where the Gibbs children attended school in the 1870s. At right is the little schoolhouse that still stands, considerably altered, across Larpenteur from the museum.

whom the township is named; Stephen Desnoyer; L.S. Furnell; Lewis Bryson; S.P. Folson; Lorenzo Hoyt (for whom Hoyt Avenue is named); and W.B. Quinn.<sup>3</sup>

Heman and Jane Gibbs hoped to establish their farm and build a home quickly, but it took longer than they expected to clear the land, begin farming, and build a permanent home. For five long years they lived in a sod and frame cabin that was partially underground. For the first two years they had no neighbors. Then W.C. Hendrickson married Lott Moffatt's daughter, Melvina, and bought the land that is now the site of the Minnesota State Fairgrounds. Lorenzo and Sara Hoyt soon settled east of the Hendricksons. These pioneer families remained friends for many years.<sup>4</sup>

Heman and Jane Gibbs completed the first section of their permanent home in 1854. This was a oneroom house, with a sleeping loft upstairs, built partially of tamarack logs cut in a nearby swamp. They lived in this one room for thirteen years while their family grew to seven. During the first six years of their marriage, Heman and Jane had a daughter, Mae, who died in infancy, and possibly another child, who also died. In 1854 they adopted 2-year-old Ida Winona Smith. Little is known of her background, except that she was born in St. Anthony, now Minneapolis, on November 27, 1852. On March 10, 1855, Abigail Jane was born, followed by Willie Wallace on April 23, 1858; Frank Henry on December 14, 1862, and Lillie Belle on December 25, 1858. Abbie, Frank, and Lillie survived to adulthood, but Willie died on May 25, 1867, at the age of 9. He had helped fight a prairie fire on the farm several days earlier and succumbed to smoke inhalation and exhaustion.

IN 1867, TWO YEARS after their youngest child was born, the Gibbs family transformed their oneroom house into a farmhouse that would rival any of



their neighbors' homes, not to mention many city dwellings of the time. The one room in which they all had lived for so many years became the kitchen and dining room of their new house. A formal parlor and a small back bedroom were added on downstairs and a full second floor with four bedrooms replaced the sleeping loft. In 1873 the final addition to the house was completed when an ell was added to the back, with a summer kitchen and vegetable washroom on the first floor and an attic upstairs large enough to accommodate several seasonal hired men who boarded with the Gibbs family.

By this time Heman Gibbs was growing more market garden produce and less grain. Vegetables required constant attention, unlike field crops which called for extra laborers only during planting and harvesting seasons. After the 1870s, from three to fifteen seasonal workers were hired to help work the Gibbs farm.

In the past several years historians have come to recognize that market gardeners like Heman Gibbs and his family had begun to share some special characteristics with other farmers who lived on the outskirts of the midwestern cities. Dr. Russell Menard of the University of Minnesota's department of history and others have used computer-assisted analysis to study agriculture in Ramsey County in the last half of the 19th century. His research was part of a project conducted by the Ramsey County Historical Society



under a 1981 grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Among other sources, Dr. Menard used federal population and agricultural censuses for 1860, 1870, and 1880 to examine the distinctive characteristics of farming in the shadow of the city. Such farms are called "urban fringe farms."

The differences between farms in outlying regions and those close to cities were explored under a sixmonth self-study grant the Society received in 1983 from the National Endowment for the Humanities for the Gibbs Farm Museum. As part of the self-study project, how to re-program and re-interpret the museum in the light of recent historical scholarship was examined. The result was a change in the museum's interpretive time-frame. The focus was shifted from the pioneer period of the 1870s to the first decade of the 20th century, which was the heyday of Ramsey County's urban fringe farmers who grew vegetable and produced dairy products for city tables.

WITHIN THIS NEW time-frame the old Gibbs farm is seen as typical of other Ramsey County farms, with the Gibbs family illustrating a way of life that was shared by families outside of Minneapolis, St. Paul and other major population centers during this era. ReThe Gibbs farmhouse parlor as it looks today. Many turn-ofthe-century farm homes included a Victorian parlor, but it was unusual to find such an elegant room in 1867 when the first addition to the farmhouse was completed. The embellished parlor stove and the corner ''what-not'' shelf belonged to the Gibbses.

search indicated that by this time families like the Gibbses had been integrated into the world of their urban neighbors. Their household furnishings had not changed greatly, perhaps, although ice boxes and more modern stoves had been added to their kitchens. But bicycling, playing croquet, riding the streetcar into St. Paul for dinner at a restaurant, to see a play or attend the opera had become part of their leisure activities. In short, by the turn-of-the-century, urban and rural history had merged for farm families living on the urban fringe.

Urban fringe farming refers to a unique set of circumstances and conditions which affected farms that surrounded growing urban markets in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Farming in the shadow of a growing city provided farmers with many opportunities not afforded farmers in outlying areas with no direct access to a growing urban market.

The concept of urban fringe farming is not unique to America. The first historian to study this phenomenon systematically was the early 19th century German economist and practicing farmer J. H. von Thunen. Von Thunen argued that in an area that has one central urban area, land value declines directly with distance from the city. In other words, land just outside the city limits is the most valuable because of competition with non-agricultural land use. The farther away from the city, the less the land is worth.<sup>5</sup>

Von Thunen also argued that farmers decide what and how much to produce on their farms based on the value of their land and, therefore, the distance to the city. He found that farmers nearest the city produced goods with the highest value per acre. These farmers were dairy farmers or grew fruits and vegetables because these products had a relatively high value due to their perishability in a time when transportation systems were not highly developed.

IN THE NEXT "RING" around the city were woodlands and grain farmers, growing mostly corn and wheat. Because timberlands and grain farms were farther from the city, both the land and the crops produced were less valuable per acre. They were suited to this "ring" because they were great in bulk and unlikely to deteriorate with storage. As one moved out further yet from the city, high transportation costs eliminated the profitability of wood and grain production. Farmers living farthest of all from the city produced and consumed much of what they needed, selling only goods that were relatively inexpensive to produce and easy to transport such as butter, cheese and beef cattle.

Von Thunen showed how farmers nearest the city spent more money on capital improvements (buildings, fences, etc.), on fertilizer, wages, and farm implements than did farmers in outlying areas. These expenditures show that urban fringe farms were more labor intensive (because they required more help) and more capital intensive (because their farming operations required a larger cash outlay) than farms in outlying regions. In turn, this need for capital investments meant that these farms tended to be smaller, since few farmers were able to afford these high costs when multiplied by a large acreage.<sup>6</sup>

VON THUNEN'S MODEL also predicted that farmers just outside the city would become more specialized, a growing phenomenon throughout most of Minnesota in the last half of the 19th century. Because

The farmhouse's summer kitchen as it looks today. Part of the 1870s addition, this room probably was less finished than the present restoration. In 1900 a family like the Gibbses very likely owned an ice box, a fancy enamelled-front wood cookstove, an indoor water pump and a dry sink.



they were tied into a cash economy through the urban market, urban fringe farmers tended to buy more of their basic requirements and sell more of their farm goods than farmers farther outside the city.

For market gardeners, however, the seasonal nature of their income kept them from becoming too specialized. Because they needed a year-round source of cash, many such farmers supplemented their income in winter with dairy and swine production. This particular combination of products held a number of advantages for market gardeners. Spoiled produce could be fed to swine, as could the by-products of butter and cheese production. And the summer vegetable delivery route set up by farmers usually could be utilized to sell butter, cheese and meat during the rest of the year.<sup>7</sup>

Farms and farmers like the Gibbses fit remarkably well into von Thunen's model. With the growth of the Twin Cities, farms around them began to take on the characteristics of the urban fringe farms that von Thunen described. The Gibbses, like other families just outside Minneapolis and St. Paul, soon found the value of their land rising as the cities grew. When Heman and Jane Gibbs arrived in 1849, St. Paul had a population of just over 1,000. Between 1858 and 1860, the population of St. Paul grew almost ten-fold, then doubled itself between 1860 and 1870, and doubled again by 1880. Table I shows the tremendous population growth that both Twin Cities experienced. By 1890 there were 297,894 people living in Minneapolis and St. Paul.

#### TABLE I.

Population of St. Paul and Minneapolis, 1850-1900. PERCENTAGE

DATE	ST. PAUL	MINNEA- POLIS	TOTAL	OF GROWTH SINCE LAST CENSUS
1850	1,112		1,112	
1860	10,401	2,564	12,965	166%
1870	20,030	13,066	33,096	255%
1880	41,473	46,887	88,360	681.5%
1890	133,156	164,738	297,894	337%
1900	163,065	202,718	365,783	123%
	and the second se			

Source: Seventh through Twelfth Censuses of the United States, 1850-1900.

Just as von Thunen's hypothesis had suggested, farmers like Gibbs, with their land values escalating, soon turned to dairying and market gardening to supply the growing city population. With the aid of the computer, census data as reported by the Gibbs family for the years 1860, 1870 and 1880 can be compared with the average for all farmers in Rose Township in those years.

(Historians working with 19th century census data allow for errors that might have been made, whether by the 19th century census taker or the 20th century computer keypuncher. The data is certainly reliable enough to use in research, however, especially on the township, county and state levels. Although there is no guarantee that what is listed for an individual family is absolutely correct, it does give us some means of comparison when no other methods are available.)

When the 1860 agricultural census was taken, Heman and Jane Gibbs reported that they owned eighty acres, only half of the original quarter-section they purchased in 1849. Of these eighty acres, half was tilled land and the other half was listed as unimproved, meaning it had not yet been cleared for farming. Gibbs reported the value of his eighty acres as \$1,516 or \$19 an acre. By any standards, this was a substantial increase from the \$1.25 an acre he had paid for it ten years earlier.

#### TABLE II.

Comparison of the Gibbs Farm and the average Rose Township farm, as reported in the agricultural census of 1860. (Standardized to 1879 dollars.)

	AVERAGE
GIBBS	ROSE TWP
80	65
40	30
40	35
1516	3346
298	301
189	125
2004	3772
24	36
0	182
2	1
	2 1 6
1	1
5	6
46	90
200	153
300	334
10	11
	GIBBS 80 40 1516 298 189 2004 24 0 2 2 4 1 5 46 200 300

Table II shows that in the 1860 agricultural census the Gibbs farm included \$189 in machinery, and two horses, four cows, and five pigs with a total value of \$298. In 1859 the farm produced forty-six bushels of wheat, 200 bushels of corn, 200 bushels of oats, 300 bushels of Irish potatoes and ten tons of hay. Compare these figures on the following table for the average of all seventy-one farmers in Rose Township in 1860. They show that the Gibbses still owned more acreage, both improved and unimproved, than did the average farmer. This can be explained in part by the fact that the Gibbses were among the first white settlers in the area and they bought a full quarter section at an extremely low price. For families who bought land just ten years later, it was neither affordable nor necessary to buy such a large farm. The value given for the Gibbs land, however, seems especially low, leading to suspicion that the figures might not be correct. The average price of land in Rose Township at this time was almost \$51 per acre.

Compare tables II and III to see how these categories changed between 1860 and 1870.

#### TABLE III.

Comparison of Gibbs Farm and the average Rose Township farm, as reported in the Federal Agricultural Census of 1870. (Standardized to 1879 dollars.)

	CIPPC	AVERAGE
CATEGORY	GIBBS	ROSE TWP
Total acres of land	72	78
Acres of improved land	25	43
Acres of unimproved land	0	11
Acres of woodland	47	24
Cash value of land	2384	3140
Cash value of livestock	268	387
Cash value of implements &		
machinery	0	69
Cash value of all farm		
products including		
betterments & additions to		
livestock	876	1506
Cash value of animals		
slaughtered	30	92
Cash value of market garden		
produce	179	135
Cash value of total wages		
paid including board	15	153
Bushels of wheat produced		
in 1869	80	299
Bushels of corn produced in		
1869	200	235
Bushels of Irish potatoes		
prod. in 1869	200	154
Bushels of dry Canada peas		
prod. in 1869	25	3
Pounds of butter produced		
in 1869	200	358
Gallons of milk sold in 1869	0	1
Number of milk cows	3	3
Number of other cattle	0	2
Number of swine	3	2 7
Number of horses	2	2

The Gibbses remained near the average of the eighty Rose Township farmers in some categories of the 1870 census, but significant differences in other areas were becoming apparent by this time. The Gibbses were growing less corn (200 bushels versus the township average of 235 bushels) and much less wheat (eighty bushels versus the average of 299 bushels). But the Gibbses have gone into market gardening (growing fruits and vegetables for the city market) in



Picking raspberries at another urban fringe farm, Briar Field Farms, Bloomington, Minnesota, about 1900. Frank Gibbs specialized in onions and cabbages.

a big way, with their total income from sales of produce at \$179, versus the township average of \$135. The Gibbses grew more potatoes than the average Rose Township farmer and also produced 200 pounds of butter when ten years earlier they had produced none.

Other Rose Township farmers were beginning to turn to dairying by 1870 to supplement their farming income, and many were producing meat for the market year-round. In fact, the average Rose Township farmer sold \$92 worth of meat in 1869, more than three times the amount sold by the Gibbs family.

Notice, also, the size of the Gibbs farm as compared to the Rose Township average. Heman Gibbs' seventy-two acres were slightly below the average of seventy-eight, yet only thirty-five acres of the Gibbs land were listed as improved, versus forty-three acres on the average. Already the use of the Gibbs land had shifted because their market gardening operation was more land- and labor-intensive. It took less land and more labor to grow vegetable crops that required almost daily attention, than to grow wheat or corn that took up many acres, but required little labor except for planting and harvesting.

By the time the 1880 census was taken there is undisputed evidence that both the Gibbs family and the ninety Rose Township farmers in general were shifting their production to meet the ever increasing demands of the nearby urban market.

#### TABLE IV

Comparison of Gibbs Farm and the average Rose Township farm, as reported in the Federal Agriculture Census of 1880. (Standardized to 1879 dollars.)

Contraction of the Contraction o	GIBBS	AVERAGE ROSE TWP
CATEGORY		RUSE TWP
Total acres of land	59	
Acres of tilled land	35	46
Acres of woodland	24	23
Cash value of farm, fences and building	6000	6412
Cash value of tools and machinery	100	89
Cash value of livestock	200	369
Cash value of market garden produce		
in 1879	500	1023
Cash value of total wages paid		
including board	20	223
Cost of fertilizer in 1879	0	0
Pounds of butter produced in 1879	400	500
Number of barnyard poultry owned	45	32
Dozens of eggs produced in 1879	270	188
Bushels of Indian corn produced in		
1879	250	162
Bushels of oats produced in 1879	0	230
Acres planted in wheat in 1879	2	2
Bushels of wheat produced in 1879	22	34
Bushels of dry Canada peas produced		
in 1879	700	105
Acres planted in Irish potatoes	2	2
Bushels of Irish potatoes produced in		
1879	500	318
Gallons of milk sold in 1879	0	73
Number of milk cows	2	3
Number of swine	0	3

A comparison of table III with table IV shows that in ten short years the value of market garden produce had jumped from \$135 to \$1,023 for the average Rose Township farmer, and from \$179 to \$500 for the Gibbs farm. Again, following von Thunen's prediction, the size of the average farm was decreasing, from seventy-eight acres in 1870 to seventy-two in 1880 for the average Rose Township farmer and from seventy-two to fifty-nine acres for Gibbs.

At the same time that farms were becoming smaller, they also were becoming more valuable because land prices continued to rise. The average total value of farms in Rose Township was \$89 per acre and for the Gibbs family it was \$102 per acre. These figures are especially remarkable when it is considered that only thirty-five of Gibbs' fifty-nine acres, and forty-six of the township's average of seventy-two acres, were listed as tilled farmland.

Butter and egg production also had increased dramatically between the 1870 and 1880 censuses. The Gibbses produced 400 pounds of butter and 270 dozen eggs with forty-five chickens in 1880, while the average Rose Township farmer produced 500 pounds of butter and 188 dozen eggs with thirty-two chickens. Milk and swine production also increased, helping to assure farmers of the year-round income on which they were dependent. Farm families were becoming more and more tied to a money economy, increasingly preferring to purchase rather than make their household and farm needs.

On the other hand, between 1870 and 1880 wheat production in Rose Township dropped from an average of 299 bushels to thirty-four bushels, and the Gibbs family's production decreased from eighty to twenty-two bushels. Just as von Thunen's model had predicted, market gardening and dairying were becoming the most important farming activities in the township closest to the city and grains were becoming less important as their production was pushed further away from the city.

ALSO CONTRIBUTING to an overall decline in wheat production in all of eastern Minnesota at this time was the development of gigantic "bonanza" wheat farms to the west in the Red River Valley of Minnesota and the Dakotas. Corn, however, remained an important crop for farmers surrounding the Twin Cities because it was an important source of food for both animal and human consumption.

Unfortunately, the close scrutiny of census data ends in 1880. Neither the agriculture nor population census schedules (the handwritten forms listing individuals) for 1890 have survived and the 1900 agriculture census schedules also were inadvertantly destroyed. Aggregate numbers are available, however, at the county and state levels, and individual population census schedules for 1900 are still in existence. There are a few other sources of information to be looked at, such as state censuses, the Minnesota Bureau of Statistics, and records of the county assessor, and research is continuing. For now it is possible to learn only what happened to farming in Ramsey County as a whole after 1880 and we have no way of comparing the Gibbs family to the average urban fringe farm family after this time.

In the county as a whole, von Thunen's model continued to operate at the turn-of-the-century. By then the two townships in Ramsey County located farthest from St. Paul, Moundsview and White Bear, were being drawn increasingly into the urban market, much as Rose and New Canada townships had been some twenty years earlier. Moundsview and White Bear farmers were beginning to turn to market gardening to supply the ever-increasing urban population. Grain farmers were being pushed to outlying regions as land prices in these two townships increased. The von Thunen model continued to apply to Ramsey County until well into the 20th century.<sup>8</sup>

WHILE EVENTS IN the lives of the Gibbs family members are certainly specific to them as individuals, they are also illustrative of how many farm families' lives were affected by their closeness to the city. It is apparent that the Gibbses' lives, in many ways, were shaped by the economic market in which they operated, but that, in some cases, they differed from the average market garden farmer in Ramsey County.

Documentation of the lives of the Gibbs family is somewhat sketchy, although Lillie Gibbs LeVesconte described Jane Gibbs' early years in her book, *The Little Bird That Was Caught*, published in the 1960s by the Ramsey County Historical Society. It also is possible to piece together some facts from letters, and account books left by family members, from obituary notices, and from several taped interviews with Frank Gibbs conducted in the 1940s by Mrs. Ethel Stewart, one of the founders of the Ramsey County Historical Society. These written sources are in addition to several surviving photographs and portraits, as well as the farmstead itself, which is one of the most tangible pieces of evidence.

The stairway leading to the bedrooms of the 1867 addition to the farmhouse was exceptionally wide for a farmhome of the period, indicating that the Gibbs family had attained a comfortable level of wealth. But it was the inclusion of the formal Victorian parlor at this time that disclosed their social values. Such parlors were common in affluent neighborhoods in the city, but scarcely found in farmhouses of the period. This is one clue that being so near a growing city was making farm families like the Gibbses somehow different from their more rural counterparts.

THE NEW SUMMER KITCHEN, completed between 1873 and 1874, must have been a blessing to Jane and daughters, Abbie and Lillie, with its good cross ventilation. During the warm summer months they cooked lunch for all the seasonal farm workers

Both Minneapolis and St. Paul had thriving outdoor farmers' markets as early as the 1850s. This probably is the Minneapolis market around 1900. St. Paul's first public market house was built in 1853 at Seventh and Wabasha.



## Of Myth and Memory

".... there was one profound similarity between urban fringe farmers and their country cousins, a similarity of myth and memory. In the late 1940s, Frank Gibbs . . . described his early years on Gibbs Farm. He invoked the myths of frontier isolation, rural self-sufficiency, and yeoman independence, powerful images of the American past. Frank told of an isolated life, said his family produced most of what it consumed and consumed most of what it produced, went for a year without seeing cash or visiting a store. Nothing could be further from the truth. The family was thoroughly integrated into St. Paul's metropolitan net, so far removed from self-sufficiency, isolation, and independence that Heman Gibbs, Frank's father, regularly visited a barber for a shave and a haircut, made weekly trips to St. Paul to shop, dine, and be entertained, earned his income by producing crops for urban customers, and so on. Frank Gibbs remembered otherwise, powerful testimony to the hold of the pioneering myth on the American imagination.

Russell R. Menard, "Urban Fringe Farmers: Agriculture in Ramsey County, Minnesota, 1860-1900." Unpublished report submitted to the National Endowment for the Humanities, February 1982.

and breakfast and dinner for up to six men who boarded with them. Above the summer kitchen was a large room where the boarders could sleep. This addition, too, points to the increasing prosperity of the Gibbs family and to the growth of their market garden operation.

One of the most significant events in the lives of the Gibbs family occurred in about 1873 when Heman Gibbs suffered a stroke which left him partially paralyzed. While he remained mentally alert and active in decision-making where the farm was concerned, he was no longer able to perform the demanding physical work of market gardening. Most of this responsibility fell to his wife, Jane, then 45, daughter Abbie, 18, and son Frank, 11. While there is no evidence that the family worked in the fields, they probably performed many of the farm chores themselves with the help of hired men.

While women's work was becoming relegated increasingly to housework in the last half of the 19th century, many women always had served as workers on family farms, especially in taking over tasks related to dairying and egg production. In fact, just as modern families are becoming increasingly dependent on both the husband and wife working, many families on the frontier were dependent on every member contributing to the never-ending work of farm building.

Although Heman Gibbs was physically handicapped, he apparently was able to walk with the aid of a cane and he certainly was able to write. According to one of his account books, he served as clerk for Rose Township from 1880 through 1882. Among the various duties and the payment he received for each were:

June 28, 1881	
Meeting with the Board of Supervisors	\$2.00
August 19, 1881	
Serving two notices upon R.R. company	.30
August 19, 1881	
Notice Board of Control	.25
August 19, 1881	
Notice Board of Health	.25
August 19, 1881	
Posting fire notices	1.25
August 19, 1881	
Recording minutes of meeting Aug. 17	.25
October 27, 1881	
Meeting with Judges of Election correction	g
roll lists	2.00
November 2, 1881	
Clerk of Annual Election	2.00

We also know that Heman was an active and staunch Republication, and that he held other county and township offices. He was a member of the first grand jury for Ramsey County and he served for a time as a writer and editor of an agricultural weekly published in St. Anthony Park.

In addition to Heman's account book listing his functions as town clerk, the Gibbs papers in the Ramsey County Historical Society collection also contain a personal account book listing household and farm expenses from approximately 1878 to 1886. While the listings do not permit a systematic analysis of Gibbs' farming operation, it is possible to glean significant data proving the Gibbs family's social ties to the city.

In an age when agricultural journals were paving the way for the scientific farming of the future by urging farmers to keep accurate and detailed records of every aspect of their operations, Heman's account book seems like little more than a grocery list. Making no distinctions between household expenditures and money spent on seeds, capital improvements, farm wages and investment in livestock, the book indicates that farming was still more a way of life than a business, at least for Heman. The following excerpt for the month of June, 1881, illustrates the point:

1st	Expenses at St. Paul	.40
5th	Expenses at Minneapolis	.50
7th	Nails	.28
	Chicken feed	.30
	Lillie's hat and c.	1.50
12th	Corned beef	.75
	Postage stamps	.06
	Barbershop (Heman's shave)	.10
	At hardware	.10



At hardware	.25
Groceries	1.35
Ham	.10
16th Extracting tooth	.50
Grinding corn	.30
Bran (for cattle feed)	.30
Chicken feed	.35
17th Waggon (sic)	.55
23rd Groceries	2.25
Chicken feed	.35
Cash for Lillie	2.00

However, there is much to be learned from Heman's account books, both about the farming operation and about the life of the Gibbs family in the 1880s. What is most striking about the expenditures, and what seems to set urban fringe farmers apart from their more rural cousins, was the frequency of trips into the city. Obviously, from the dates of purchases. listed above, Heman made trips into St. Paul twice weekly and sometimes more often. He went to town, as the account books show, to purchase household goods, from groceries to shoes, and to buy farm supplies. Although it is more difficult to tell from his accounts of money received, on nearly every trip he almost certainly took farm goods with him to sell, whether at the St. Paul Farmer's Market or on a regular delivery route.

It was not until 1891, the year of Heman's death, that the streetcar line reached the St. Paul campus of the University via Como Avenue. In the 1880s Heman Streetcar at Rice and University about 1900. Frank Gibbs and other market gardeners could take produce to town by trolley, even though this advanced mode of travel had not replaced the horse and wagon.

would have had to travel by horseback or wagon to the nearest trolley stop, either at the corner of Selby and Chatsworth Avenues or Dale and University. This was a distance of at least five miles. Many things about the family's consumption patterns can be gleaned from Heman's account books. Between 1878 and 1886, the records show, the Gibbs family had substantial expendable income which was spent on a wide variety of consumer goods and services not ordinarily associated with 19th century farm families.

From the articles included in the accounts it is obvious that the family relied on the market for almost all of their consumable goods rather than producing what they needed themselves. Dozens of pairs of shoes, boots and rubber overshoes are listed throughout this seven-year period and the prices paid for some of them, especially for Lillie's and Abbie's shoes, compare with the top-of-the-line women's shoes offered through the 1897 Sears and Roebuck Catalog.

The only articles the Gibbs family evidently did not buy ready-made were their clothes because Abbie was a seamstress. There are numerous listings for dry goods, buttons, dress lining, thread, paper patterns and stocking (sock) yarn, in addition to \$4.50 worth of sewing machine attachments which were bought in 1885. They did purchase several coats and cloaks, however, paying as much as \$16.50 for a buffalo coat in 1886.

ALTHOUGH THE GIBBS FARM was producing a vast array of market garden produce for sale, including apples, parsnips, squash, pumpkins, strawberries, tomatos, carrots, potatos, onions, turnips, cabbage, rutabagas and radishes, plus butter and eggs, the family spent substantial sums of money on groceries to supplement their own produce. Listing lemons and oysters, cheese and crackers, coffee and tea, the account books reveal that the Gibbs family and their hired workers ate well. The family bought large guantities of beef from the butcher, and there are listings for sugar, molasses, flour, spices, raisins, hops, yeast, beer, soap, lard, flavoring extracts and smoked halibut. These individual listings are in addition to numerous entries labeled simply "groceries." Following is a sampling of commonly recorded expenditures:

#### 1881 April

	2nd	At the feed store	1.20
		Gallon kerosene	.25
	1.0.0	Street car	.10
	14th	For grubbing land	29.00
		Beef at butcher's	.65
1881			
	2nd	Frank's overalls	.75
		Newspapers	.10
		Lemons	.35
1881	July		
	15th	Breaking team	63.50
		(hired to break up previous land)	ly untilled
	16th	Dry goods	3.18
	23rd	Coffee pot	.50
	26rd	Tea pot	.50
1881	Augu		
	11th	Newspapers	.05
1881		ember	
	1st	Rubber shoes	.50
1881	Octo	ber	
	18th	Cash for reapers	45.80
1881	Nove		
	14th	Sage and pepper	.35
		Dinner at St. Paul	.25
1881	Dece	mber	
	1st	Pair of shoes	2.50
		Clothes wringer	4.00
	24th	Frank's hat	2.00
	24th	Dinner	.25

Access to the streetcar tied the Gibbs family to more than just the market in St. Paul. For almost every streetcar ticket listed in the account books there is also a dinner, or sometimes a noon meal, purchased at a St. Paul restaurant. And almost invariably Heman visited the barber for a shave and bought one or more newspapers on his trip into town. He normally spent 5 to 10 cents on newspapers, the same amount on the streetcar, 10 to 15 cents at the barber and 20 to 50 cents on his meal. It is not clear whether these expenditures are for one or two people, but it is assumed that Heman must have had someone accompany him to market. He probably could not carry the produce alone because of his partial paralysis.

In addition to his dinner, Heman occasionally lists the price of a concert, or a visit to a soda fountain. But it is also not clear how often the entire family traveled together into the city for a restaurant meal or to attend a play or concert. It seems more likely, from the account books, that Heman, and perhaps Frank, ate in the city and attended events after spending the day at the Farmer's Market or delivering produce to customers on their route.

In an updated interview conducted at a meeting of the St. Anthony Park "Historians," Frank Gibbs is quoted as saying, "My father was not a very good farmer. If any interesting people came to town he took the whole family and went into town, too, and let his work go."<sup>9</sup> There is another entry where it is clear that several family members attended. Heman spent \$1.50 in February of 1886 for tickets to the "Ice Palace" created for the first St. Paul Winter Carnival which was held at Lake Como.

HEMAN'S ACCOUNTS REFER to other activities of family members. Tradition has it that Abbie was the musician in the family and there are monthly listings over a two-year period for music lessons at \$5 per month. This seems like an exceptional amount of money for something that was not essential. There is no reference to what kind of lessons they were, but there is an entry for "repairing organ" in 1885 at a cost of 60 cents.

Although there is no evidence that she took art lessons, daughter Lillie was a talented portraitist, earning as much as \$15 for some of her charcoal renditions, usually drawn from photographs. Her charcoal portraits of Heman and Jane Gibbs now hang over the melodeon in the parlor of the farmhouse. They are almost indistinguishable from a photograph. Such cultural activities were rare among more rural farmers but were accepted social pursuits for urban fringe farm families.

There are many indications of just how much cash income the Gibbs family had to spend on nonessential items. From "Rose Queen Soap" at 25 cents, Valentine pictures at 36 cents, photographs at \$2, an autograph album for 53 cents, Lillie's breastpin for 25 cents, and leather slippers for \$1, it is obvious that family members indulged in a few luxuries.

Household furnishings purchased during this period



Abbie Gibbs, seated left, Lillie<sup>1</sup>, Frank, Jane and Heman in front of their neat farmhouse, its uncluttered yard reflecting urban values rather than rural priorities. The farmstead at right near Glencoe, Minnesota, indicates that for rural homes during the 1890s beautification was not an issue.

also substantiate the notion that the Gibbses, and probably many of their neighboring farm families, took on the social tastes of up-and-coming city dwellers rather than those traditionally associated with the rural population in the 19th century. During the six-year period of 1880 to 1886, the Gibbses purchased the following items to furnish their house and to assist them with household chores:

wash bowl and pitcher	\$.40
carpet warp	1.50
weaving carpet	.50
bed springs	2.50
canning corks	.50
wash boards (2)	.80
stove	23.50
bedstead	5.10
parlor stove	15.00
washing machine	9.00
looking glasses (mirrors)	1.65
window shades	1.85
for furniture	52.50
oil cloth for table	.85
attachments for sewing machine	4.50
washing machine	9.00

A picture of the buying power and practices of this farm family grows clearer. One group of related items in the account books indicates that an inordinate amount of money was spent on reading and writing materials, including newspapers, books, writing paper,



ink, postage stamps and cards. These purchases reveal the values of a farm family with a father who had been a school teacher, and a mother whose adopted family had established one of the first mission schools in Minnesota. Listed are regular subscription payments for *The Pioneer Press, The Tribune, The Union,* and *Youth's Companion,* in addition to scores of individual newspapers. Other entries include a book of poems for \$1.50, \$6.50 for other books, \$1 for books at an auction, and a curious \$5 for "Fool Killer's History."

The family's attention to education did not end with reading materials. Included in a listing of boarders at the Gibbs farm was an entry for Mary Lake, the school teacher who lived with the Gibbs family for a number of years. In fact, one of the bedrooms in the farmhouse is interpreted today as the school teacher's bedroom. It was Heman Gibbs who was largely responsible for



Although not so identified, it is highly probable that this is a photograph of Frank Gibbs watering his hot bed sashes around 1910.

establishing school district 17 in Rose Township in 1871 and he became the district's first director. Previously, Frank and Abbie Gibbs had to walk to a school in district 10 located near the present corner of Snelling and Larpenteur Avenues. In 1871 Heman donated land directly across Larpenteur from the Gibbs farmhouse and helped build a one-room schoolhouse. This schoolhouse was used until the early 1960s and the building still stands. It is presently owned by the University of Minnesota who uses it for storage.

A final bit of evidence that the Gibbses, and presumably other urban fringe farmers, were closer to their urban counterparts in social values and tastes is a photograph of the Gibbs family taken in the 1870s. The picture now hangs in the farmhouse parlor and shows the family in front of the house, much as it looks today. What is striking about the image, when compared to surviving photographs of Minnesota farm scenes of the period, is the neat and tidy appearance of the yard surrounding the house. Typical photographs of 19th century rural Minnesota farmsteads show them cluttered with high weeds and abandoned, rusting farm equipment. It was not uncommon for these rural families to be photographed with all their prized possessions. Sometimes farm animals, clothes wringers, butter churns and plows were lined up with family members to show the material possessions they had been able to accumulate.

THE PHOTOGRAPH OF the Gibbs family on their front lawn provides a stark contrast to that of a family in front of their frontier shanty. In the Gibbs photograph, the only other possessions besides their house and their clothes that are shown is a wooden "mammy bench" (still in the museum's collection) on which Jane Gibbs is seated. Heman Gibbs is sitting on a wooden ladderback porch chair. The yard is neatly mowed and free of debris. There is a fence to the left of the house that appears to have been white washed, and flowers are planted along the edge of the porch. Clearly the Gibbs family and probably many of their neighboring farmers saw themselves as equals, socially, economically, culturally and educationally, with the families in the growing city which they helped feed.

IT WASN'T UNTIL 1888 that the first of Heman and Jane's children left home. When he was 25, Frank married Effie Ovitt, a Vermont native, on January 25, 1888. At that time Jane and Heman gave Frank and his bride twenty-five acres of land located south of Larpenteur Avenue, and Frank built a house just across the road from the Gibbs farmhouse.

Heman died on November 19, 1891, leaving his remaining land to Jane and their three daughters, Abbie, Lillie and Ida. Frank took over the market garden operation and prospered. It appears that he was a progressive and innovative farmer who kept a close eye on the latest scientific farming methods being developed at the University of Minnesota's agricultural campus nearby.

Frank conducted experiments on his farm and reported his findings to the University. As the latest scholarship is now beginning to suggest, by the 1890s Frank was beginning to specialize his market garden operation. Instead of growing the vast array of vegetables and fruits that his parents did, he concentrated on onions and cabbage. In a taped interview with Frank Gibbs, conducted by Ethel Stewart in 1946, he talked about his farming operation:

"I did market gardening for twenty-four years. Would get up at three o'clock in the morning. The garden was mostly on the north side of the road. I retailed; raised about everything. I had four or five men working for me then. We boarded them. This was after I married. We would have 5,000 bushels of onions and for fourteen years shipped onions and cabbage wholesale from Canada to Texas."<sup>10</sup>

Frank became a nationally-known expert on onion cultivation. By 1910, however, the market gardening business was feeling the effects of depleted soil and the consequences of the automobile. With livery stables in the city declining, Frank could no longer find manure to purchase at a reasonable price. He felt he had no choice but to abandon market gardening and build a greenhouse to grow flowers and ornamentals, which required less fertilizer. In the same interview in 1946, Frank discussed his decision:

"I started the greenhouse when I had to — about 1910, about two or three years before Alice (Frank's daughter) was married. There was no fertilizer to be had, and flowers didn't take so much fertilizer."<sup>11</sup>

Going into partnership with his son-in-law, George Nelson (Alice Gibbs Nelson's husband), Frank remained in this business for almost forty years. The Gibbs-Nelson Nursery became a cornerstone of the community. Frank also was active in various associations related to his business. He travelled extensively throughout Minnesota performing extension work for the University of Minnesota and speaking at institutes on vegetable growing. He served as vice president of the Minneapolis Market Gardener's Association, first president of the Ramsey County Agricultural Society, president of the Ramsey County Fair, and president and life member of the Minnesota Horticulture Society. In addition, he served as justice of the peace for twenty years and was a judge of the police court at the Minnesota State Fairgrounds for an equal number of years. He was a Ramsey County commissioner for seven years.<sup>12</sup>

LILLIE GIBBS LIVED at home until her marriage in 1893. For a while she worked as a portraitist for a company in St. Paul, creating charcoal portraits of people from photographs, and was paid well. She seems to have been quite independent as a young woman. Three months before her wedding she and her sister, Ida, traveled alone by train to the great 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago.<sup>13</sup> After her marriage, on September 6, 1893, she and her husband,

Georg Pabst's Meat Market, 790 Margaret Street, St. Paul, around 1895. Heman Gibbs' account books indicate that he purchased substantial amounts of meat from city butchers such as Pabst. Gibbs might also have bartered produce for meat from local businesses.





John LeVesconte, moved to Webster, Minnesota, where John was employed as a butter maker at the Webster Co-operative Dairy Association. In 1895 they moved to Prior Lake and John became manager of the Hastings Creamery Company. Around 1900, he switched professions when he opened the Prior Lake Feed and Saw Mill.<sup>14</sup>

Lillie maintained her interest in art throughout her life and was active in church work and with the Red Cross. She died on April 5, 1945, in Prior Lake at the age of 79.<sup>15</sup> In the collection of the Gibbs papers at the Ramsey County Historical Society are approximately 200 letters written by Lillie to her sister Abbie. The letters, dated between 1893 and 1914, describe many details of her daily life.

After Heman Gibbs' death, Abbie and Jane lived on in the Gibbs farmhouse and Frank took over the farm operations. In 1905, at the age of 50, Abbie married Rudolph Fischer, known simply as Fischer, who had been a hired man on the Gibbs farm. Jane died on May 30, 1910, at the age of 81. Abbie and Rudolph Fischer lived in the farmhouse until Abbie's death at 86 on November 20, 1941. Fischer sold the house to the University of Minnesota in 1943 and died in 1944.

Little is known of Ida's life except that she was always treated as a true member of the Gibbs family. She inherited a portion of land after Heman died, accompanied Lillie to the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, and visited Lillie and John several times after they moved to Prior Lake. It is believed that Ida never married. She wrote letters to Abbie describing her life on a farm in Northfield, Minnesota. She died on October 9, 1922, in St. Anthony Park at the age of 70.<sup>16</sup> Red River harvest scene, above, about 1900. Thirteen reaperbinders and ten field workers illustrate the point that grain production was capital-intensive. Market gardening required no great investment in machinery but it was labor-intensive. Below is Brill Produce, Ninth and Wacouta, in 1883, with R. H. Patterson's Dental Parlors upstairs—establishments •Gibbs might have patronized.



By 1910 many Ramsey County farmers were faced with the same dilemma that faced Frank Gibbs. Some of Ramsey County's land had been farmed intensively for nearly fifty years. Without fertilizer to replenish the soil, farmers on these lands faced poor yields. They could not hope to compete with farmers on more fertile land and those in outlying areas who could ship their products to the city on the ever increasing network of railroads. They made choices based on the economic realities. Many, like Frank Gibbs, decided to go into the nursery business. Others grew ornamental plants or even market garden crops in greenhouses. And still others made the switch to dairy farming, supplying local creameries with milk for processing.

By 1900, the agricultural records show, Ramsey County farmers owned fewer draft animals, cattle, sheep, swine and poultry than the average Minnesota farmer. They produced fewer eggs, less butter, cheese and wool and they earned less from the slaughter of animals. But Ramsey County farmers produced twice as much milk and much more honey than the average for the state. However, by 1900 the Gibbs family was no longer typical of other urban fringe farmers in Ramsey County in some respects. By this time the average Ramsey County farmer no longer lived on or near the land he farmed. Instead, most of these farmers lived in the city and simply rented a few acres of land on which they grew a single crop. Typically, they worked at other jobs themselves, instead of farming, and used their farm produce to supplement their cash income. A few had year-round occupations in the city but most worked other jobs on a daily or seasonal basis. And they worked their farm acres not with family members but with hired help which they supervised.<sup>17</sup>

While much of this article has been devoted to the story of Heman and Jane Gibbs and their family, we are not interested in their story because they were unique. The Gibbs farmstead has not survived for 136 years because it became a tribute to an important family who had a profound effect on the history of Ramsey County, or because the Gibbses were wealthy or famous. The old Gibbs farm is a museum today because the house was well-built, it was preserved by the family who lived there for more than ninety years, and it was saved from destruction by the work of citizens with an interest in local history.

WHY, THEN, IS IT an important resource in the community? Why should local residents and tourists visit the museum? There are many reasons, chief among them the fact that the Gibbs family was in many ways a typical pioneer family who moved to the frontier, established a farm from virgin land and made a go of it. They lived and prospered like millions of pioneers and they were spared failure, unlike many others. The Gibbses succeeded, as we have seen, because they had a growing and easily accessible market that was hungry for their crops. The growth of the Twin Cities brought them success.

Today the Gibbs Farm Museum and the Gibbs family also are important because historians of agriculture are just beginning to study urban fringe farming in a systematic way. Although von Thunen's theory has been around since the early 19th century, only now are historians able to use efficiently the kinds of historical sources that can tell us how and why farming in the shadow of the city was different. The application of computer technology to quantifiable data like the census schedules has given new significance to the lives of the Gibbs family. Somewhere between the two generations of Gibbses, farming ceased being a way of life and became a business.

After World War II urban fringe farms began to disappear in the United States. They were a casualty of high speed rail transportation that made possible the development of national markets for all sorts of goods and produce. As a result, city dwellers no longer depended on farms close to urban areas to provide fresh fruits and vegetables. Whatever was needed could be delivered in a matter of days from anywhere in the country.

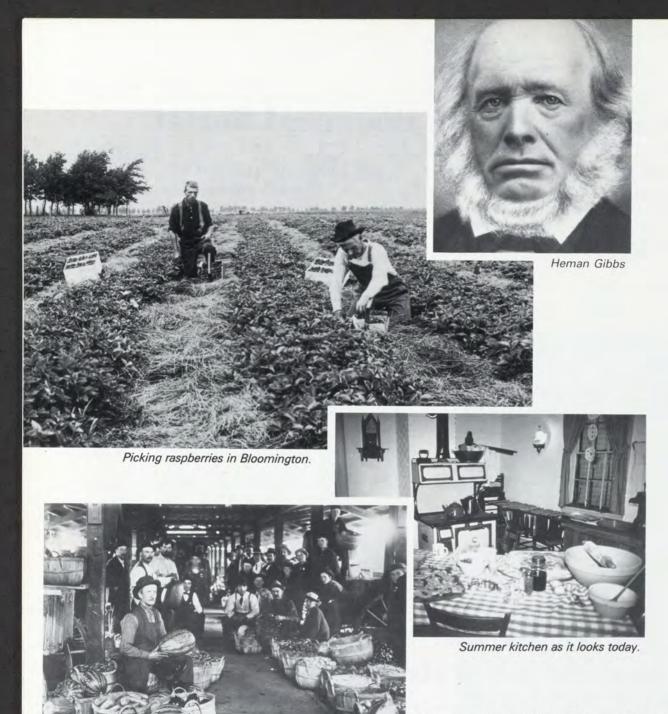
Although most urban fringe farms have disappeared, there are remnants of this life even today around the Twin Cities, where dairy farms, nurseries and orchards still operate. When these farms began to vanish, they became a part of American history often overlooked, despite the contributions to the nation's development made by the urban fringe farmers. The Ramsey County Historical Society is working to preserve that history as it focuses on Gibbs farm as a museum recreating the urban fringe farm story.

#### FOOTNOTES

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- "Mr. Frank Gibbs, Rosetown Pioneer, Feted on Birthday," <u>St. Paul</u> Dispatch, December 13, 1942.
- Postcard from Lillie Gibbs to Abbie Gibbs, June 1893. In the private collection of Karen Bluhm, great granddaughter of Lillie Gibbs Le-Vesconte.
- Gibbs Family Papers. Letters from Lillie Gibbs LeVesconte to Abbie Gibbs, Ramsey County Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.
- Obtituary for Lillie Gibbs LeVesconte, Shakopee Minnesota Argus, April 19, 1945.
- Gibbs Family Papers. Letters from Ida Gibbs to Abbie Gibbs, Ramsey County Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.
- 17. Menard, pp. 26-32.

<sup>3.</sup> Ibid., pp 3-4.



Farmers market, probably in Minneapolis, ca. 1900.

The Gibbs Farm Museum, owned by the Ramsey County Historical Society, at Cleveland and Larpenteur in Falcon Heights.

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