# THE GROCERY STORE IN SIOUX FALLS 1900—1950



RICHARD JENSEN

# THE GROCERY STORE IN SIOUX FALLS 1900—1950

PREPARED FOR THE BOARD OF HISTORIC PRESERVATION, CITY OF SIOUX FALLS, MINNEHAHA COUNTY, SOUTH DAKOTA

PREPARED BY
DAKOTA
PRESERVATION
RICHARD
JENSEN
MAY 2, 2022



This activity has been financed with Federal funds from the National Park Service, Department of the Interior through the South Dakota State Historic Preservation Office. However, the contents and opinions do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Department of the Interior, nor does the mention of trade names or commercial products constitute endorsement or recommendation by the Department of the Interior.

This program receives federal financial assistance from the National Park Service. Under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, and the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, the U.S. Department of the Interior prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, national origin, disability, age, sex, or handicap in its federally assisted programs. If you believe that you have been discriminated against in any program, activity, or facility as described above, or if you desire further information, please write to

Office of Equal Opportunity, National Park Service 210 I Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20240

#### **CONTENTS**

#### **7 HISTORY**

- 8 DEVELOPMENT OF THE GROCERY STORE IN AMERICA
- **10 GROCERY STORES IN SIOUX FALLS**
- 10 **1900-1910**: **BEGINNINGS**
- **11 1910-1920: INNOVATION AND IMMIGRATION**
- 14 **1920-1930: CHAIN STORES ARRIVE**
- 16 1930-1940: THE GREAT DEPRESSION, TRANSPORTATION AND REFRIGERATION
- 19 **1940-1950: THE SUPERMARKET TAKES OVER**
- 21 1950 ONWARD: STORES GET LARGER—AND SMALLER
- **25 TABLES**
- **55 MAPS**

#### **TABLES AND FIGURES**

- 1 WILLIAM HEISS GROCERY STORE (p. 10)
- 2 WHAT FAMILIES WERE BUYING IN 1900 (p. 10)
- 3 UNKNOWN GROCERY STORE (p. 11)
- **4** SYRIAN/LEBANESE GROCERY STORES (p. 12)
- 5, 6 O.P. SKAGGS GROCERY STORES (p. 14)
- **7** WHAT FAMILIES WERE BUYING IN 1920 (p. 15)
- **8** WHAT FAMILIES WERE BUYING IN 1935 (p. 16)
- **9** SIOUX FALLS GROCERY STORE SALES, 1930 (p. 17)
- 10, 11 THE FIRST SHOPPING CARTS (p. 18)
- 12 WEST SIOUX GROCERY (p. 19)
- 13 1948 RED OWL GRAND OPENING (p. 20)
- 14 NIKKI'S LA MEXICANA (p. 22)
- **A1** CONSOLIDATED LIST OF GROCERY STORES, 1900-1950 (pp. 26-39)
- A2 GROCERY STORES IN 1900 (p. 40)
- A3 GROCERY STORES IN 1910 (p. 41)
- A4 GROCERY STORES IN 1921 (p. 42)
- A5 GROCERY STORES IN 1930 (p. 44)
- A6 GROCERY STORES IN 1940 (p. 47)
- A7 GROCERY STORES IN 1950 (p. 50)
- **A8** EXTANT GROCERY STORE STRUCTURES (p. 53)
- M1 GROCERY STORES IN 1900 (p. 56)
- M2 GROCERY STORES IN 1910 (p. 57)
- M3 GROCERY STORES IN 1921 (p. 58)
- M4 GROCERY STORES IN 1930 (p. 59)
- M5 GROCERY STORES IN 1940 (p. 60)
- M6 GROCERY STORES IN 1940 (p. 61)



# 1 HISTORY

#### **DEVELOPMENT OF THE GROCERY STORE IN AMERICA**

The sale or barter of food is one of the oldest, if not the oldest economic activity undertaken by man, it is also a universal practice—or if not as close to universal as any economic activity can be. Trading food for other goods or services was not a practice introduced to America by European immigrants; rather, there is ample evidence in the excavation of Indigenous settlements throughout the United States that food had long been traded for other goods, including early forms of currency.<sup>1</sup>

English colonists did not introduce the practice of selling or bartering food to America. Neither is it apparent that such English institutions as weekly market days and dedicated marketplaces were innovations on the American continent; too little is known of daily life in cities such as Cahokia which by its placement at the conflux of the Missouri, Ohio and Mississippi Rivers suggests a strong culture of trade in food and other goods.<sup>2</sup>

However, the earliest reliable records we have of the sale of food in the United States dates to the market days and marketplaces of Colonial settlements along the Atlantic coast. As settlements grew into cities, these marketplaces also grew. Eventually, large halls were constructed to house these marketplaces, where individual sellers rented stalls and sold a variety of goods. A notable surviving example is Faneuil Hall in Boston.

When marketplaces were first established, the majority of the stalls were typically rented out by local farmers. Overseas goods and goods which had to be shipped overland from some distance were also sold at these marketplaces by merchants who might have standalone stores elsewhere. These initial marketplaces were either open air or housed in relatively inexpensive structures.<sup>3</sup>

However, as cities grew, market halls became a source of civic pride. Older simple structures were replaced by more elaborate and more expensive facilities, with the cost of the new facility recovered primarily through stall rent. These higher rents tended to disadvantage farmers, who typically brought produce to market only on a seasonal basis, while market operators wanted year-round occupancy and priced their leases accordingly.

Farmers who could no longer afford the stall rent for market halls would occasionally sell to customers in open areas adjacent to the market hall. Where this was not a viable option, farmers were often forced to sell their goods to stall merchants whose stock included items that were not seasonal. The most successful merchants came to have a range of goods comparable to that of the earliest grocery stores.<sup>4</sup>

As cities grew, access to the central market hall became more and more difficult for residents, both due to distance and heavier traffic. Some cities responded by building additional market halls, or by moving the market hall out from the city center; however, both of these solutions were essentially stopgaps. Congestion around market halls quickly redeveloped. As the market hall distribution system became increasingly inefficient in larger cities, merchants who had the financial resources needed to meet the higher initial costs of opening a store either leased or constructed buildings near the city's market hall offering both products available in the market hall and some items that were not available there.

Over time, these merchants moved outwards, closer to centers of population in the expanding cities along the East Coast and in the trade centers between the Appalachians and the Mississippi. These were the nation's first true grocery stores.

Travel between cities had been greatly facilitated by the railroad; however, within cities, transportation in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century was by foot for

- <sup>1</sup>The preeminent example of pre-Columbian trade in food is the cultivation of corn throughout North America. Corn is not a wild plant. It is a domesticated cultivar that reflects the skill of Aztec agronomists in selective breeding. See "Archaeological evidence of teosinte domestication from Guilá Naquitz, Oaxaca", Bruce F. Benz, *Proceedings*
- February 13, 2001.

  <sup>2</sup> Garry Abrams, "A Sudden Awakening to the Gifts of Indians: Culture: A chance encounter in Europe led to an obsession with American Indians. Now, Jack Weatherford aims to promote their place in history," Los Angeles Times, November 18, 1991.

of the National Academy of Sciences.

- <sup>3</sup> James M. Mayo, The American Grocery Store (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1993), 1-11
- 4 Mayo, 18, 19, 23, 24
- <sup>5</sup> Mayo, 38
- <sup>6</sup> Mayo, 48

most people, supplemented by horse-drawn omnibuses. For this reason, the customers for a grocery store were largely drawn from a narrow radius around the store. Business growth was facilitated not by increasing the size of a store, but by opening up another store a suitable distance away. The availability of the telegraph, improved mail service over railroads, and eventually the telephone made it possible for merchants who had expanded as far as possible within one city to open stores in adjacent cities and towns. These stores tended to be opened one after another in adjacent cities along railroads, forming a chain; hence the term 'chain stores.'

While merchants were transitioning away from the market hall, steam powered trains, boats and ships were bringing a wider array of foods to consumers than ever before.

Canning had been developed by Nicolas Appert in 1804, as a means of provisioning Napoleon's army, <sup>8</sup> and early variations of the 'tin can' were manufactured in London in 1813<sup>9</sup> and in New York City in 1822; <sup>10</sup> however, these early products were expensive and sales were primarily to armed forces and the merchant navy. <sup>11</sup> Increased demand for canned goods during major wars in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century led to innovations in both the production of cans—which until this point had been wrought iron plated in tin—and the cooking of food in the cans. The cooking process that had once taken as long as six hours could now be completed in thirty minutes. <sup>12</sup>

The story of prepackaged baked goods is similar. Industrial production methods for hardtack, which had only a limited market outside of armed forces, were adapted to more palatable consumer products like crackers and cookies. Industrial bakeries initially sold crackers by the barrel, with little or no branding, the same way in which they sold hardtack. This distribution method had the advantage of being less expensive overall; however, it limited product turnover, which in turn meant slower product turnover and slower cash flow back to the company. It also implicitly accepted that crackers were a commodity item, with no appreciable difference between suppliers. Thus, the most successful company would be the company which was able to provide the cheapest acceptable product, creating a virtual race to the bottom both in terms of quality and profit. It didn't help matters that selling crackers in this manner was decidedly unsanitary, but that was not the primary motivator behind the push for new methods of distribution.

Advances in the production of paper provided an alternative packaging method: Instead of selling crackers by the barrel, crackers were packaged for individual consumption, with colorful branding on the box. Indeed, these advances in the production of paper and ink opened up the possibility not only for eye-catching packaging, but also for nationwide advertising focused on the product, as part of the rapidly growing magazine publishing industry. As a bonus, selling more and smaller packages of crackers improved cash flow for the manufacturer.

Spurred by the near simultaneous development of chain stores and modern packaging, the last few decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century marked a watershed change in the way food was bought and sold in the United States. While proponents of the chain industry would later claim that they were responsible for 'taking the cat out of the cracker barrel,'¹⁴ the reality is that the development of chain stores occurred in parallel with the development of modern packaging.

Food sales and distribution in the United States at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century would have been immediately recognizable both to Indigenous peoples as well as medieval Europeans and quite foreign to people today. However, by the close of the century, the situation had been reversed. A modern shopper might find it a bit unusual that most grocery items were

- <sup>7</sup> Mayo, p. 49
- 8 Rebeca Garcia, Jean Adrian, "Nicolas Appert: Inventor and Manufacturer", Food Reviews International 25, no. 2, 115–125
- <sup>9</sup> Tom Geoghegan, "The story of how the tin can nearly wasn't", BBC.com, April 21, 2013, Retrieved April 26, 2022, https://www.bbc.com/news/ magazine-21689069.
- <sup>10</sup> Ruth Levitt, "Tin Cans and Patents," *Prologue* Fall/Winter 2013, 60-65 <sup>11</sup> Levitt, 63, 64
- <sup>12</sup> Ricardo Simpson and Sergio Almonacid, Handbook of Water and Energy Management in Food Processing, eds. Jiri Klemes, Jin-Kuk Kim, Robin Smith, (Amsterdam: Elsevier Science, 2008), 523
- <sup>13</sup> The earliest example of this is most likely the "common cracker," invented in New England early in the 19th Century. Bakers added yeast to the hard tack recipe, yielding a product that was lighter and more palatable. See James L Woodward, "Cracking the History of the Uncommon Common Cracker," New England Historical Society, Retrieved April 26, 2022, https:// www.newenglandhistoricalsociety.co m/cracking-history-uncommoncommon-cracker/
- <sup>14</sup> National Association of Food Chains, The Chain Food Store (Washington: National Association of Food Chains, 1940), 2

#### The William Heiss Grocery Store,

225 S. Phillips Ave., opened August 22, 1895; closed or sold in 1909/10. Notice the stool in the lower left corner of the photograph; customers would have to wait while clerks assembled orders that they would be taking home themselves. An advertisement for Fenn's Chocolate is seen in the upper left; before widespread refrigeration made ice cream a staple treat, companies like Fenn's specialized in candy bars.

► AUGUST 21, 1895 EVENING ARGUS-LEADER, 1910 POLK'S CITY DIRECTORY. PHOTO COURTESY SIOUXLAND HERITAGE MUSFUMS

#### 1 WILLIAM HEISS GROCERY STORE



#### 2 WHAT FAMILIES WERE BUYING IN 1900

<b></b>	
FOOD	AMOUNT SPENT
Fresh Beef	\$46.06
Salt Beef	\$ 2.20
Fresh Pork	\$18.39
Salt Pork	\$11.25
Other meat	\$ 8.68
Poultry	\$ 9.34
Fish	\$ 5.67
Eggs	\$15.24
Milk	\$19.67
Butter	\$28.48
Cheese	\$ 2.87
Lard	\$10.34
Tea	\$ 4.22
Coffee	\$12.91
Sugar	\$14.63
Molasses	\$ 1.53
Flour and Meal	\$16.47
Bread	\$ 8.11
Rice	\$ 1.92
Potatoes	\$13.01
Other Vegetables	\$22.03
Fruit	\$15.22
Vinegar, pickles and	
condiments	\$ 3.21
Other food	\$19.13
TOTAL	\$310.58

► DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR, EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT, COST OF LIVING AND RETAIL PRICES OF FOOD. PRICES FOR NORTH CENTRAL REGION

behind counters, to be selected by clerks; but the range of goods and even many of the brand names would be instantly recognizable.

#### **GROCERY STORES IN SIOUX FALLS**

1900 - 1909: BEGINNINGS

This survey covers the period from 1900 to 1950. In 1900, Sioux Falls had a population of 10,266 and 26 grocery stores, a ratio of one store for every 395 residents. Two of these stores are still extant. One is a standalone structure at the southwest corner of Duluth Avenue and 21st Street, that is remarkably well preserved. The other is a small flat-roofed addition to the rear of a home at 901 N. Spring Avenue. These are the two oldest grocery store structures in the city.

During this period, grocery stores were concentrated in the city center. Of the 26 stores operating in 1900, 19 were located between 6<sup>th</sup> Street, the Big Sioux River, 11<sup>th</sup> Street and Dakota Avenue. The presence of this many stores within so close a radius did not create a healthy environment for individual business owners, and between 1900 and 1909 fifteen of these downtown grocery stores would either close or change hands. Overall, twelve of the 26 stores operating in 1900 closed during the decade, while six more changed hands. In keeping with the city's growth, twenty more grocery stores were opened between 1900 and 1909.

One national trend that appeared in Sioux Falls during this decade was a grocery department in the Bee Hive department store. National chains experimented with grocery departments off-and-on throughout the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The results were generally unfavorable. Department stores were unused to the low margins of the grocery business, and ultimately decided that the additional foot traffic that grocery departments brought in did not offset the loss of profit that came from dedicating space to a low-margin or at times even unprofitable range of goods. The profitable combination of department store merchandise and groceries did not occur until late in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when big box retailers took advantage of the low cost of expansion and construction in suburbs and

<sup>15</sup> Mayo, 72, 73

#### **3 UNKNOWN GROCERY STORE**



#### The inefficiencies of the early

grocery store can be seen here. This small store is staffed by seven individuals who would have been responsible for assisting customers and delivering orders. In addition to nonperishable items stocked behind counters, there is a small selection of produce in the lower right corner. Unlike prepackaged goods, customers preferred to select their own fruits and vegetables, even before self-service groceries became standard.

► PHOTO COURTESY SIOUXLAND HERITAGE MUSEUMS

exurbs.

The Bee Hive's experiment with the grocery business lasted until 1920, when the department's floor space was repurposed. Around the same time, the new Shriver-Johnson store opened with a grocery department. However, that department seems to have been run by independent operators; between the establishment of the department in 1919 and its closure in 1926, It was referred to not only as the Shriver-Johnson grocery, but also as the Wood Grocery. and the Golden Rule Grocery.

#### 1910 - 1919: INNOVATIONS AND IMMIGRATION

In 1893, John Kruger built a restaurant at the World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago. With little regard for geographical compatibility, he adapted the Swedish concept of a Smorgasbord in which diners helped themselves to a variety of foods set out on a table, and gave it the name 'Cafeteria', the Spanish word for 'coffee shop.' The concept would be refined over time, principally by the Childs restaurant chain, but its central feature was that patrons would select food themselves.<sup>20</sup>

By the middle of this decade, grocers had begun to experiment with a similar concept. Up to this time, individuals would place their orders with a clerk, who would either gather the items for the shopper to take home, or, more often, would arrange for delivery of the purchases. This arrangement was both expensive and inefficient. If the number of shoppers exceeded the number of clerks, then individuals had to wait to complete their shopping, and the shop owner was tasked not only with the wages of the clerks, but also a delivery staff. These self-service stores were often called 'Groceterias,' a nod to the name of their self-service inspiration.<sup>21</sup>

In 1916, Clarence Saunders opened the first Piggly Wiggly in Memphis, Tennessee. While this store was not the first self-service grocery, its configuration worked better than others that had been tried. To manage customer traffic and reduce the risk of theft, Shoppers entered through a one-way turnstile, and the only exit routes were through check-out lanes. Saunders patented several aspects of the 'Piggly Wiggly System,' although by the middle of the next decade nearly every large grocery store was self-

- <sup>16</sup> "The Facts About the Closing-Out Sale of the Bee-Hive Grocery Department," advertisement, *The Daily Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), January 3, 1920, 16
- <sup>17</sup> "City Briefs," *The Daily Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), June 29, 1926, 3
- <sup>18</sup> See, for example, advertisements on page 13 of the June 20, 1924, *Daily Argus-Leader*, and on page 13 of the July 25, 1924 *Daily Argus-Leader*.
- <sup>19</sup> See advertisement for dried apricots on p. 7 of the September 25, 1923 Daily Argus-Leader.
- <sup>20</sup> Amy Zuber, "William & Samuel Childs - pioneer cafeteria operators," Nation's Restaurant News, February 1996
- <sup>21</sup>See, for instance, "How the Groceteria Saves Your Money," in American Cookery 21, p. 387.
- <sup>22</sup> Mayo, 79, 81

#### **Syrian and Lebanese immigrants**

throughout the Midwest gravitated to the grocery business. Many immigrants initially worked as peddlers, carrying a stock in trade that included nonperishable food items. A peddler who established good relations with a small community, or within a neighborhood in a larger community had a customer base already established if and when he was able to save up enough to open a store, working as a peddler also gave him an established relationship with a wholesaler that could provide him with the stock needed to fill his shelves.

Although they rarely worked as peddlers, it was not uncommon for women to operate grocery stores. In Sioux Falls, a husband might manage one store while his wife managed another (e.g. Joe and Rozoclia Kush in the 1950 column)

► EDWARD CURTIS IV, MUSLIMS OF THE HEARTLAND, POLK CITY DIRECTORIES, U.S. CENSUS RECORDS

4 SYRIAN	/LEBANESE GROCERIES IN SIOUX FALLS
----------	------------------------------------

1910	1921	1930	1940	1950
K.A. Haggar &	Albert Mansor	Abraham Side	Albert Mansor	Albert Mosey
Brothers	Alex Hamod	Ahmond Alley	Albert Mosey	Ed Essem
Shen & Swiden	Assid Brothers	Albert & Hassen	Andrew Barbas	Hamad Assam
	George Abdallah	Albert A Mansar	Edwin Mosey	Hassan S Eidy
	George Haggar	Charles Haggar	George Abraham	Hassen Hammod
	Gerber Moses	Charles Hassan	Grocery	James Assid
	Hadley & Hessen	Emil Solomon	Hamad Assam	James Swiden
	Hessen Bellas	George Abdallah	Hassen & Salem	Joe Kush Grocery
	K.A. Haggar &	George Abraham	Joseph Alick	No. 2
	Brothers	Grocery	Joseph Kush	Joseph Alick
	Mary Moses	Hamad Assam	K.A. Haggar &	Kamel Z Assid
		Hassan Ballas	Brothers	N Dean Nasser
		Hassan Hammod	Nathan Haggar	Nathan J Haggar
		Joseph Aleck	Zine Assid	Omer's Market
		Joseph Mike		Rozoclia Kush
		Joseph Salem		Grocery
		K.A. Haggar &		Sam A Haggar
		Brothers		Samuel Hasson
		Mehmed Swiden		
		Mosey Brothers		
		Samuel Hammody		
		Samuel Swiden		
		Thomas Albert		

serve.

Self-serve grocery stores also tended to eliminate the need for delivery. A busy shopper in a traditional grocery store might hand a list of groceries to a clerk and arrange delivery rather than wait to take her order home. And, depending on how the shopper arrived at the store and the size of the order, delivery might be far more practical than leaving with the full order. However, the natural tendency for a shopper in a self-serve store was to leave with their order in hand.

During this period, many grocers also began to curtail or eliminate credit sales, at least on a national level. On a regional and state level, sales on credit remained an integral part of rural grocery retail. As late as 1930, when 47% of the nation's grocery stores were cash only, 68% of South Dakota grocery stores still sold on credit. <sup>23</sup> Farmers typically had to buy goods of all sorts on credit, as they were able to raise cash only when they sold crops or livestock. Within Sioux Falls, however, many neighborhood grocers were essentially isolated from the farm trade, and by eliminating credit they were able to lower their overhead.

The term 'cash and carry,' which seems obvious now, was originally a marketing tool. It implied lower prices because the grocer did not have to pay for delivery staff, nor did they have to carry the overhead of sales on credit.<sup>24</sup>

It is difficult to establish when grocery stores in Sioux Falls switched to self-service. However, one store can be identified directly by its name. In 1917 H. B. Nissly opened the Basket Groceteria at 115 S Main. This was also the year that grocery stores in Sioux Falls began to advertise themselves as cash stores, or as cash-and-carry stores.<sup>25</sup>

As during the previous decade, there was significant turnover among grocery operators. In 1910, there were 34 grocery stores in the city, one for every 427 residents. Between 1910 and 1921 (city directory data for 1920 was unavailable), 19 grocery stores closed, 9 changed hands and 36 were opened or relocated. Notably, this decade saw an influx of Syrian and Lebanese immigrants to the city, and several would go on to operate grocery stores in the following years.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Bureau of the Census, *Food Retailing* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1934),

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Mayo, 86, 87

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> See advertisement on p. 8, *The Daily Argus-Leader*, November 21, 1917.

#### SYRIAN/LEBANESE IMMIGRATION

The Ottoman Empire which had, in 1453, defeated the last surviving vestige of the Roman Empire, and had, at its peak, controlled the Eastern Mediterranean, as well as the Baltic peninsula and Greece, was in grave condition by the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. The empire had responded poorly to the rise of European nationalist movements, typically meeting them with brutality that occasionally rose to the level of genocide.<sup>26</sup>

The expense of suppressing this internal revolt as well as engaging in a succession of external wars led to a crippling level of public debt. In 1881, the empire's finances were essentially placed in receivership, under the Ottoman Public Debt Administration, an external agency that was essentially controlled by European administrators, who used this authority to advance their interests in the Empire at the expense of Ottoman businesses.<sup>27</sup> During this period of accelerated decline, a steady stream of Middle-easterners, principally from the area of modern-day Syria and Lebanon, migrated to the U.S. This immigration was all but completely halted by the Johnson-Reed Act, which closed the country's borders to immigrants from Asia in 1924.

While the majority of these immigrants were Christians, there were a significant number of Muslim immigrants as well. Many settled in midwestern cities, such as Detroit, Pittsburgh and the Chicago area; however, a small, but notable minority settled farther inland in the Dakotas.<sup>28</sup> A mosque built in Ross, North Dakota, in 1929, is the oldest surviving structure of its kind in the United States.<sup>29</sup>

Syrian and Lebanese immigrants and their descendants occupy a disproportionate share of the state's history. In 1930, the state had only 281 residents who had been born in the former Ottoman Empire, with 233 from Syria and Palestine.<sup>30</sup> Yet, from this population came U.S. Senators Jim Abdnor<sup>31</sup> and James Abourezk,<sup>32</sup> Gene Abdallah,<sup>33</sup> who served both as a U.S. Marshal and as head of the South Dakota highway patrol, Joe Robbie,<sup>34</sup> one of the original owners of the Miami Dolphins, and Aliya Hassen,<sup>35</sup> a prominent Arab-American activist.

These immigrants to Sioux Falls had a similarly outsize role in the grocery business. Although they never accounted for more than one percent of the city's population, they owned at least ten of the city's 51 grocery stores in 1921, 21 of 116 in 1930, 12 of 102 in 1940 and 16 of 85 in 1950. The first Syrian-American owned grocery store in the city seems to have belonged to the Haggar brothers, at the corner of 8<sup>th</sup> and Weber Avenue, which appears in Polk's 1909 city directory. The actual number of grocery stores owned may be even higher, as some grocery stores were not named after their proprietors.

Unlike immigrants from Western Europe, Syrian and Lebanese immigrants used an entirely different alphabet. Because of this, many immigrants were given English transliterations of their Arabic surnames, although the spelling of these transliterations varied considerably. Furthermore, immigrants did not always stick with the same transliteration. The 1930 city directory's Joseph Aleck reappears in the 1940 city directory as Joseph Alick. However, these individuals may be readily identified as Syrian—or Lebanese-American by their last names. In other instances, the last name adopted may have been an anglicized form of the immigrant's father's name, as Middle Eastern naming conventions differed from the English forename/surname structure.<sup>37</sup> In this case, census records provide the definitive identification.

- <sup>26</sup> E.g., the ethnic cleansing of the Circassians at the end of the Crimean War (1853-1856), the suppression of the Bulgarian uprising in 1876, the Hamidian massacres between 1894 and 1896.
- 27 "Ottoman Public Debt Administration," Wikipedia, March 27, 2022, retrieved April 26, 2022, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Ottoman\_Public\_Debt\_Administration
- <sup>28</sup> Alixa Naiff Becoming American: The Early Arab Immigrant Experience. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 1993), 97.
- <sup>29</sup> Ryan Schuessler, "Little mosque on the prairie reveals a century of religious coexistence," The Guardian, July 18, 2016, retrieved April 26, 2022, https:// www.theguardian.com/world/2016/ jul/18/north-dakota-mosque-islamhistory-united-states
- <sup>30</sup> Bureau of the Census 1940 Census of Population: Volume 1. Number of Inhabitants (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1942), 452
- 31 "James Abdnor Archives", South Dakota State Historical Society, retrieved April 26, 2022, https:// history.sd.gov/archives/abdnor.aspx
- 32 "Jim Abourezk—South Dakota Hall of Fame Programs", South Dakota Hall of Fame, retrieved April 26, 2022, https://sdexcellence.org/ James\_Abourezk\_2012
- 33 "Gene Abdallah—South Dakota Hall of Fame Programs", South Dakota Hall of Fame, retrieved April 26, 2022, https://sdexcellence.org/ Gene\_Abdallah\_2011
- <sup>34</sup> Ray Lynch, "A Man Of Perfection: Joe Robbie Had A Fire That Warmed Many And Burned A Few, Says Danny Thomas," Sun-Sentinel, January 9, 1990, retrieved April 26, 2022, https://www.sun-sentinel.com/news/ fl-xpm-1990-01-09-9001180251story.html
- 35 "BHL: Aliya Hassen Papers", University of Michigan Digital Library, retrieved April 26, 2022, https:// www.sun-sentinel.com/news/fl-xpm-1990-01-09-9001180251-story.html
- <sup>36</sup> See the list of grocery stores at the bottom of the "Great Baking Contest" advertisement on p. 7 of the June 9, 1911 Daily Argus-Leader.
- <sup>37</sup> Amy E. Rowe, "A Trace of Arabic in Granite: Lebanese Migration to the Green Mountains, 1890–1940," Vermont History 76, No. 2, 102, 103

#### These photos of two O.P. Skaggs

grocery stores in Sioux Falls show the emergence of modern layout and merchandising.

As in most grocery stores today, the produce section is configured differently than the rest of the store. While this store may have had a refrigerated produce section, it is not visible here. The produce available for sale in photo 5, while perishable, could be kept at room temperature within the store.

In photo 6 the store's meat department can be seen at the back of the store. From the 1930s on, as commercial refrigeration became more widespread grocery stores increasingly featured not only fresh meat, but a butcher department which could take customer orders as well as preparing packaged meat for sale in the department's refrigerated foods section. The 1930 census survey of the grocery business in Sioux Falls tallied 73 stores which included meat departments, as opposed to 33 which did not.

This photo also shows early variations of 'end cap' merchandising. Manufacturers and retailers realized, almost as soon as stores were divided into aisles, that the space at the end of each aisle was prime real estate. Here, the end cap on the left has been laid out by the grocery, and highlights a variety of health and beauty aids. The middle end cap features backer cards provided by the manufacturer, advertising their "Kitty Clover" brand popcorn. On the right, the entire end cap display has been furnished by the seed distributor. In the foreground right, there is a Coca-Cola sign that may highlight another merchandising method, the standalone display.

► PHOTOS COURTESY SIOUXLAND HERITAGE MUSEUMS

#### 5, 6 O.P. SKAGGS STORES





#### 1920-1929: CHAIN STORES ARRIVE

The 1920s saw the beginning of a sustained pushback against chain stores by independent merchants in many retail sectors; this was a reaction to the rapid growth of chain stores in the preceding decade. In 1910 there were only 1,127 chain stores operating in the United States. By 1920 that number had ballooned to 15,568.<sup>38</sup> In 1922, the National Association of Retail Grocers began openly advocating for legislation that would restrict the number of chain stores allowed in a community. A few starts were made at restrictive legislation in between 1923 and 1926, but the floodgates opened after 1927. Between that year and 1930, 169 bills were proposed in state legislatures that would restrict the reach of chain stores. However, these legislative proposals were more an indication of retailer sentiment than popular will;

<sup>38</sup> Federal Trade Commission, Chain Stores: Growth and Development of Chain Stores (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1932), 31

#### **7 WHAT FAMILIES WERE BUYING IN 1920**

FOOD	ANNUAL COST	FOOD	ANNUAL COST
Bacon	\$ 9.82	Hens	\$ 8.86
Baked beans	\$ 1.18	Lamb	\$ 0.72
Bananas	\$ 1.55	Lard	\$13.79
Bread	\$59.65	Macaroni	\$ 4.22
Butter	\$34.85	Margarine	\$12.92
Cabbage	\$ 8.33	Navy beans	\$ 2.93
Canned corn	\$ 2.35	Nut margarine	\$ 3.89
Canned peas	\$ 2.36	Onions	\$ 4.74
Canned salmon	\$ 3.61	Oranges	\$ 4.12
Canned tomatoes	\$ 1.55	Plate Beef	\$ 3.59
Cheese	\$ 4.90	Pork Chops	\$17.21
Chuck roast	\$ 7.87	Potatoes	\$47.79
Coffee	\$22.39	Prunes	\$ 3.28
Corn flakes	\$ 0.91	Raisins	\$ 3.26
Cornmeal	\$ 2.54	Rib roast	\$ 9.92
Cream of Wheat	\$ 1.87	Rolled oats	\$ 4.23
Crisco	\$ 1.90	Rice	\$ 4.72
Eggs	\$31.46	Round steak	\$12.53
Evaporated milk	\$ 7.63	Sirloin	\$13.97
Flour	\$20.65	Sugar	\$31.19
Fresh milk	\$52.78	Tea	\$ 3.79
Ham	\$ 8.09	TOTAL	\$499.87

The United States Government has tracked consumer food prices since 1890. Over time, the 'basket' of goods that prices have been collected on has grown and changed. In 1900, the prices for 24 goods were tracked. This was expanded to 43 items in 1913, and again to 84 items in 1934. At present, the Bureau of Labor Statistics tracks the prices of 74 items. including beer and wine.

Items such as apples that are not tracked directly are incorporated in the annual cost of related goods, such as bananas and oranges. Annual cost is calculated by using the BLS reported annual family consumption for the western north central region, with prices averaged between Omaha and St. Paul (data for Sioux Falls is not available).

► BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS, RETAIL PRICES 1913 TO DECEMBER 1920

only ten of the bills put forth were passed into law, and of those ten, six were invalidated on Constitutional grounds.

Laws that survived challenges in the courts did not prohibit the opening of new chain stores; rather they imposed a tax on that form of business. North Carolina's law, which imposed a flat tax on chain stores was upheld by the United States Supreme Court in 1930, and the following year, an Indiana law which imposed a graduated tax that increased as the number of chain stores increased was also upheld by that court.<sup>39</sup>

South Dakota was essentially a spectator for most of these battles. The Department of Commerce had undertaken several studies of chain store activity in the late 1920s, and these show that South Dakota had one of the lowest ratios of chain stores per capita in the country. In a 1928 study commissioned by the FTC, South Dakota had only 15.8 chain stores per 100,000 inhabitants. Only South Carolina, Arkansas, New Mexico and Mississippi had fewer chain stores per capita.<sup>40</sup>

At the time of the FTC study, only two grocery chains were operating in Sioux Falls, Red Owl Stores from Minneapolis, which had purchased R.C. Moore's In-Serve-Out stores in 1925,<sup>41</sup> and Council Oak Stores, which expanded north from a base in Sioux City, opening three new stores in 1927.<sup>42</sup>

While much of the national opposition to chain stores was grassroots, coming from independent retailers, manufacturers and wholesalers had their own reasons to push back against the dominance of retail chains. As chain stores absorbed more of the trade in manufactured goods, they acquired pricing leverage that could be exerted against manufacturers and wholesalers. Wholesalers especially felt the pinch, as chains that grew large enough inevitably began dealing directly with manufacturers, cutting them out entirely.<sup>43</sup>

In response to this, some wholesalers and manufacturers developed their own chain stores. <sup>44</sup> The Council Oak chain was started in 1916 by Tolerton and Warfield, a Sioux City firm that manufactured some goods and wholesaled others. <sup>45</sup> Council Oak Stores were present in South Dakota up until the company's acquisition by National Tea in 1956; <sup>46</sup> however, it had left the Sioux Falls market before 1950. Red Owl Stores were not owned

39 Mayo, 108, 109

- <sup>40</sup> Federal Trade Commission, Chain Stores: State Distribution of Chain Stores, 1913-1928 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1934), 17
- <sup>41</sup> "Sale of In-Serve-Out Stores by R.C. Moore to Red Owl Co. Made," *The Daily Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), September 29, 1925, 1
- 42 "City's Business Map Changes as Sioux Falls Goes Forward," The Daily Argus-Leader (Sioux Falls), August 20, 1927, 24
- <sup>43</sup> Mayo, 100
- <sup>44</sup> Mayo, 119
- 45 "Council Oak | virtualcollection," Sioux City Public Museum, retrieved April 26, 2022, https:// www.virtualcollections.siouxcitymus eum.org/council-oak
- <sup>46</sup> Federal Trade Commission, Federal Trade Commission Decisions: Findings Opinions and Orders, January 1, 1966 to June 30, 1966 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1970), 245

Changes in the basket of goods
tracked by the Department of Labor
have been small and large. Between
1920 and 1935, the BLS combined
'nut margarine' with 'oleo margarine',
changed 'baked beans' to 'canned
beans', 'hens' to 'roasting chicken',
'bread' to 'white bread', and replaced
brand name products 'Crisco' and
'Cream of Wheat' with 'shortening'
and 'wheat cereal.' An additional 42
products were added, but these
product totals were incorporated with
the products listed here to enable
comparisons to be made across time.
Average family consumption was
reported on a per city basis in this
report. Sioux Falls estimated totals
were calculated by averaging reported
Omaha and St. Paul totals. The same
process was used for prices.
► BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS,

RETAIL PRICES OF FOOD

1923-1936

#### **8 WHAT FAMILIES WERE BUYING IN 1935**

FOOD	ANNUAL COST	FOOD	ANNUAL COST
Bacon	\$12.08	Macaroni	\$ 3.86
Bananas	\$19.70	Margarine	\$ 9.76
Butter	\$21.64	Navy beans	\$ 1.76
Cabbage	\$ 4.58	Onions	\$ 5.67
Canned beans	\$ 0.58	Oranges	\$ 8.01
Canned corn	\$ 2.41	Plate beef	\$ 9.07
Canned peas	\$ 3.14	Pork chops	\$21.57
Canned salmon	\$ 7.69	Potatoes	\$29.02
Canned tomatoes	\$ 1.68	Prunes	\$ 1.97
Cheese	\$ 4.22	Raisins	\$ 1.75
Chuck roast	\$15.84	Rib roast	\$ 8.13
Coffee	\$13.42	Rice	\$ 2.01
Corn flakes	\$ 0.58	Roasting chicken	\$ 7.10
Cornmeal	\$ 2.30	Rolled Oats	\$ 4.02
Eggs	\$17.45	Round steak	\$16.42
Evaporated milk	\$ 4.79	Shortening	\$ 1.86
Flour	\$20.05	Sirloin steak	\$ 8.47
Fresh milk	\$41.38	Sugar	\$13.23
Ham	\$ 4.46	Tea	\$ 3.22
Lamb (leg)	\$ 1.73	Wheat cereal	\$ 2.08
Lard	\$ 9.31	White bread	\$40.45
		TOTAL	\$408.51

directly by General Mills, but the company was started in 1922 by individuals with close ties to the company, including Ford Bell, the son of General Mills founder James Ford Bell.  $^{47}$ 

The number of grocery stores operating in Sioux Falls more than doubled between 1920 and 1930. The 1921 city directory lists 51 grocery stores, which, along with the grocery department at Shriver-Johnson gives a total of 52. That number had increased to 116 by 1930. This represents a highwater period for the number of individual stores. Indeed, by 1930, there was one grocery store for every 287 residents, a ratio which was unsupportable, even if the Great Depression had not intervened. During the 1920s 18 stores closed (one fewer than during the decade prior), 19 changed hands and a staggering 82 stores either opened or relocated.

### 1930-1939: THE GREAT DEPRESSION, TRANSPORTATION AND REFRIGERATION

The Great Depression did not affect the grocery business to the same extent that other retail concerns were affected. While the purchase of other essentials such as clothing could be deferred, food was a daily necessity. Nevertheless, the Depression had a considerable impact on food purchases. This was especially evident in terms of beef consumption. In 1920, 23% of the average regional consumption of beef was lower cost chuck and plate cuts; however, by 1935, 83% of Omaha family beef purchases and 60% of St. Paul family beef purchases were chuck roasts and plate beef.

The impact of the Depression may have been more significant, if it had not been counteracted by major advances in refrigeration technology at every level of food production and consumption. Refrigerated transport had achieved widespread use by the early 1900s, 50 and mechanical refrigeration had been adopted by most Chicago packing plants by the same period; 11 however, neither of these methods were suitable for retailers. Early mechanical refrigeration systems were typically far too large for grocery store installation, and railcar refrigeration used closed containers and thick sidewalls packed with ice, an arrangement which did not lend itself to displays of chilled or frozen merchandise in a store.

On an industrial level, Clarence Birdseye's introduction of large-scale

- <sup>47</sup> John Ewoldt, "Gone 30 years, Red Owl supermarkets still live on in Minnesotans' memories," Star Tribune, January 31, 2018, retrieved April 26, 2022, https:// www.startribune.com/gone-30years-red-owl-supermarkets-still-live-on-in-its-employeesmemories/471333454/
- <sup>48</sup> Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Retail Prices*, 1890 to 1928 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1929), 13
- <sup>49</sup> Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Retail Prices of Food*, 1923-1936, *Bulletin* 635 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1938), 174
- 50 Census records show that railroads owned 310 refrigerator cars in 1880, 8,570 in 1890, 30,918 in 1910 and 60,768 in 1920 (numbers from 1880 and 1890 taken from Report on Transportation Business in the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890, p. 8; numbers from 1910 and 1920 take from Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1928, p. 384).
- <sup>51</sup> Jonathan Rees. Refrigeration Nation: A History of Ice, Appliances, and Enterprise in America. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016), 109

#### 9 SIOUX FALLS GROCERY STORE SALES, 1930

	WITH MEAT	WITHOUT MEAT
CATEGORY	<b>DEPARTMENTS</b>	DEPARTMENTS
Bakery goods	\$1,097.67	\$1,298.52
Bottled beverages	\$187.53	\$283.66
Butter and cheese	\$2,187.84	\$3,265.21
Canned goods and other groceries	\$7,996.23	\$13,218.43
Cigars, cigarettes and tobacco	\$330.05	\$438.09
Confectionery and nuts	\$672.60	\$397.12
Delicatessen, ready-to-serve foods	\$100.02	\$299.42
Eggs	\$1,067.66	\$1,771.28
Flour	\$707.61	\$1,241.79
Fresh fish and other sea foods	\$160.02	\$97.70
Fruits and vegetables	\$2,942.95	\$3,845.13
Household supplies, stationery and other nonfood products	\$857.63	\$910.86
Ice cream	\$45.01	\$37.82
Lard, cooking fats, etc.	\$597.59	\$1,181.91
Meat	\$4,183.14	\$444.40
Milk and Cream	\$385.06	\$601.98
Receipts from the sale of meals	\$62.51	\$148.13
Sugar	\$1,422.72	\$2,036.03
AVERAGE SALES PER STORE	\$25,003.84	\$31,517.48

In 1930 the U.S. Census closely surveyed the retail grocery business. Their report, published in 1934 counts a total of 106 grocery stores in Sioux Falls in 1930, an amount comparable to the 116 stores listed in the 1930 Polk's City Directory. Totals are given for both the 73 stores which included meat departments and the 33 stores which did not. Curiously, Sioux Falls grocery stores that did not have meat markets reported higher sales on average. This is contrary to the national trend, which saw combination stores averaging \$33,784 per year in sales, while stores without meat markets averaged only \$17.976 per store. Splits for individual categories are based on national averages.

► BUREAU OF THE CENSUS, CENSUS OF DISTRIBUTION, RETAIL DISTRIBUTION: FOOD RETAILING

freezers, some of which were able to freeze products while they were still on the production line, was initially a niche undertaking.<sup>52</sup> There was little need to freeze food products at the factory if they could not be kept frozen by retailers before being purchased. Consumers, too, needed the ability to keep factory frozen goods frozen until needed in order for frozen foods to be more appealing than fresh products.

However, the synthesis of Freon in 1928<sup>53</sup> by the Frigidaire corporation, made small-scale refrigeration affordable. Although now known to cause extensive damage to the ozone layer, Freon was in fact far less dangerous than the two chemicals that were then in use for small-scale refrigeration.<sup>54</sup> It was a slightly more effective refrigerant than methyl chlorate, without being flammable, and it was a significantly better refrigerant than sulfur dioxide, which was highly toxic.<sup>55</sup> This characteristic enabled manufacturers to reduce the size of the motor required to run the compressor, as well as the size of the evaporation coil which transfers heat from inside the refrigerator to the space outside it. These improved efficiencies dramatically reduced the cost of refrigerators. Only 8% of American households had mechanical refrigerators in 1930,<sup>56</sup> but by 1940 55.3% of Sioux Falls households had this type of refrigerator<sup>57</sup> and ten years later the number had risen to 87.7% of Sioux Falls homes.<sup>58</sup>

The impact of refrigeration on the demand side of the grocery business was two-fold. It enabled perishable items to be kept longer, thus allowing consumers to reduce the number of trips to the grocery store, and the ability to keep foods frozen allowed for a greater range of products to be consumed. Consumer demand for refrigerated and frozen products also required grocers to add commercial refrigeration equipment to their stores; in all cases on the sales floor, and often in the stockroom as well.

The expense of this equipment, as well as the space required put additional pressure on the smallest grocery stores, which did not always have the space or the profit margin required to take on these items.

Small stores had already been under pressure due to the narrow margins of the grocery business. As part of the 1930 census, the Department of Commerce undertook an extensive study of retail grocery stores. Detailed statistics were compiled from stores in a strip between Louisville, Kentucky, and Cincinnati, Ohio, which included parts of those states as well as Indiana. In this area, the operating expenses for stores that did less than \$10,000

- <sup>52</sup> Clarence Birdseye. Method of Preparing Frozen Food. US Patent 1,773,079, filed June 18, 1927 and issued August 12, 1930.
- <sup>53</sup> Carmen J. Giunta "Thomas Midgley, Jr., and the Invention of Chlorofluorocarbon Refrigerants: It Ain't Necessarily So" Bulletin for the History of Chemistry 31, no. 2, 69
- <sup>54</sup> Freon's inventor, Thomas Midgley demonstrated that the product was both nontoxic and nonflammable at a 1930 congress of the American Chemical Society by breathing in a lungful of the substance and then exhaling it over a candle, extinguishing it (Jonathan Edwards, "The Last Retort", Chemistry World, June 30, 2008, retrieved April 27, 2022, https://www.chemistryworld.com/opinion/the-last-retort/3005653.article)
- <sup>55</sup> L. A. Phillip, "The Thermo-Physics of Liquid Refrigerant Controls," Refrigeration Engineering 29, no. 6, 304
- <sup>56</sup> Stanley Lebergott, Pursuing Happiness: American Consumers in the Twentieth Century (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 113
- <sup>57</sup> Bureau of the Census, 1940 Census of Housing: Volume 2. General Characteristics (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1943), 135.
- <sup>58</sup> Bureau of the Census, 1950 Census of Housing: Volume 1. General Characteristics (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1943), 75.

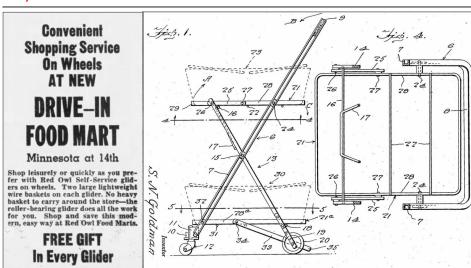
#### While Piggly Wiggly claims to have been the first grocery store to provide customers with grocery carts, the first grocery carts were widely adopted the first year that they were available.

The first carts, as seen in the patent application drawing to the right, were quite different from today's carts. The cart's inventor, Sylvan Goldman, was inspired by the design of folding chairs, and the first carts were essentially mobile platforms that held two shopping baskets. At first, customers were hesitant to use these carts. Goldman eventually hired actors to parade through his stores using the carts, as a demonstration.

The ad, from the December 8, 1938 *Daily Argus-Leader* shows that the term 'shopping cart' was not yet universal.

► U.S. PATENT NO. 2.196.914

#### **10, 11** THE FIRST SHOPPING CARTS



worth of business annually amounted to over 25% of revenue, including an allowance for owner salary. <sup>59</sup> This expense consumed nearly all the gross margin of smaller stores, leaving little profit that could be reinvested in the business.

In 1930, a little over half of all grocery stores without meat departments in the United States recorded less than \$10,000 in sales annually, and among these stores, average sales were only \$3,654.<sup>60</sup> The marginal nature of many of these small stores can be seen in the high rates of turnover and store closing which occurred in Sioux Falls during the survey period.

That so many stores failed, yet the number of stores increased during the 1920s and stayed relatively steady during the 1930s reflects the relative ease with which a small grocery store could be set up before costly refrigeration equipment became a necessary part of the store's furnishings. It also reflects a steady demand for grocery stores that were a short distance from residences. Consumers who did not wish to pay delivery fees and did not have either a car or access to public transportation would have to carry their purchases home, and for this reason, a steady, if relatively insubstantial amount of business could be counted on by small grocers catering to consumers within a narrow compass.

Where refrigeration made it possible for consumers to reduce the number of trips to the store, motorized transport enabled consumers to carry more groceries a greater distance. The most obvious example, the automobile, was not the earliest way in which motor vehicles impacted the grocery business.

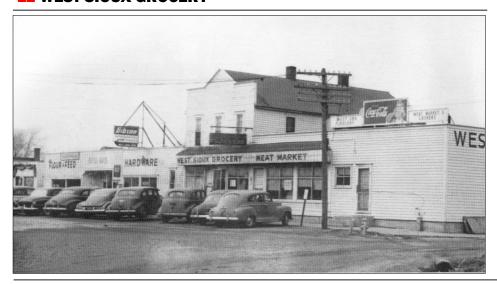
While the replacement of streetcars with buses has been the subject of any number of conspiracy theories involving General Motors, <sup>61</sup> the reality is that bus routes were both cheaper and far more flexible than streetcar lines. In 1929, the Sioux Transit Company replaced 17 miles of streetcar track and 12 street cars with 11 buses that operated over routes more than 21 miles long at a faster overall pace. <sup>62</sup>

The expansion of mass transit affected the distribution of grocery stores in Sioux Falls during the 1930s. Of 35 grocery stores that either opened or relocated during the decade, only six were established more than a block from a bus line.

Automobiles were beginning to influence the size and placement of grocery stores in the 1930s, but major changes driven by automobile ownership would not begin to appear until the following decade.

- <sup>59</sup> Bureau of the Census, 1950 Retail Distribution: Food Retailing (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1934), 79
- 60 Bureau of the Census, 1950 Retail Distribution: Food Retailing (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1934), 8
- 61 Edwin Quinby and Bradford Snell were the earliest proponents of the notion that GM conspired to replace streetcars with buses. However, as may be seen by the switch made in Sioux Falls, it is by no means evident that the outgoing streetcar transit system was as flexible, cheap or efficient as the incoming bus system.
- <sup>62</sup> "Motor Coaches to Replace Sioux Falls Street Cars," *The Daily Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), July 26, 1929, 1

#### **12 WEST SIOUX GROCERY**



#### **West Sioux Grocery and Hardware**

was a longtime landmark at the intersection of Burnside (then Northwest Avenue) and Madison Street. This photograph shows the expansion of West Sioux Grocery from its original two story structure to a larger supermarket sized business. The number of cars parked out front reflect the increasing importance of personal vehicle ownership in the grocery shopping experience. With mechanical refrigeration in the home and more than one car per household, Sioux Falls customers could reduce the number of trips to the grocery store.

► PHOTO COURTESY SIOUXLAND HERITAGE MUSEUMS

The 1930s also saw the emergence of Sunshine Food Markets as a key player in the grocery business. In 1931 George Sercl opened his first Sunshine grocery store at 202 S. Phillips Avenue, in a building that is still standing. Three years later, he opened the city's first supermarket, a 6,700 square foot store at the corner of 26th and Minnesota, three years after that, in 1937, he opened an even larger store, over 9,000 square feet, at 12th and 1st. A key feature of theses store were large parking lots, anticiptaing a shift in how consumers traveled to stores. In 1938 Sunshine became a franchisee of the Piggly Wiggly system; however, they continued to emphasize the Sunshine brand name. Sunshine gave up their Piggly Wiggly franchise in 1951, and the company awarded it to other grocers a few years later.

Another notable entrant to the Sioux Falls market during the decade was O.P. Skaggs. "O.P." Skaggs had been born Pepper Oscar Skaggs; he was part of a large Idaho family that had a significant impact on the retail drug and grocery business. <sup>69</sup> O.P and his brother Marion Barton Skaggs each owned sizable grocery chains in the western United States. M.B. Skaggs' stores were eventually merged with the Safeway chain. <sup>70</sup> Skaggs' brother L.L. started Osco Drug in Rochester, Minnesota in 1937. <sup>71</sup> Another brother, L.S. Skaggs became a co-founder of the Albertson grocery chain in 1938. <sup>72</sup> Albertsons would eventually acquire both Safeway and Jewel/Osco. <sup>73</sup>

Overall, the 1930s were a tumultuous decade for Sioux Falls grocery stores. Of the 116 stores operating in 1930, 49 would be closed during the decade and another 44 would change hands; additionally, 36 stores opened or relocated during the period.

#### 1940-1950: THE SUPERMARKET TAKES OVER

The supermarket's origins can be traced to the West Coast. Unlike most grocery store innovations, which gradually worked their way from the east coast to the west, the supermarket had its origins in the southwest, where a rapidly growing population and an abundance of cheap land enabled entrepreneurs to experiment with larger format grocery stores. Early examples included Ralph's Grocery Company and Alpha Beta Food Markets in southern California and Henke and Pillot in Houston; all three were building supermarkets before 1925. Some operators built new structures, while others leased or purchased existing buildings. The size of these stores earned their 'super' sobriquet. At a time when chain stores were often less

- <sup>63</sup> Year opened from advertisement on page 9 of *The Daily Argus-Leader*, July 14, 1931; owner information from "New Food Store Will Open Here Thursday," in the August 17, 1932 *Daily Argus-Leader*, page 3.
- 64 "New Sunshine Store Opened at 26th St," The Daily Argus-Leader (Sioux Falls), October 19, 1934, 10
- 65 "New Sunshine Market Will Open Saturday," The Daily Argus-Leader (Sioux Falls), November 26, 1937, 3
- 66 "Sunshine Food Markets Adopt New Franchise," *The Daily Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), September 18, 1938, 19
- <sup>67</sup> Beginning on July 1, 1951, Sunshine's ads in the *Daily Argus-Leader* no longer carried the Piggly-Wiggly name. Compare the ad on pages19 of the June 27 paper with the ad on page 13 of the July 1 paper.
- 68 "Ground Broken for New S.F. Park Ridge Shopping Center," The Daily Argus-Leader (Sioux Falls), July 1, 1954 7
- <sup>69</sup> John Burns, "It's Your Business: Jewel for Pay Less", The Sacramento Bee, November 14, 1979, D11
- 70 "About Us | Safeway," Safeway, retrieved April 27, 2022, https:// www.safeway.com/about-us.html
- <sup>71</sup> James Janega, "Former Chief of Osco Drug," Chicago Tribune, September 15, 2001, Section 1, p. 21
- 72 "About Us | Albertsons," Albertsons, retrieved April 27, 2022, https:// www.albertsons.com/about-us.html
- 73 "About Us | Jewel-Osco," Jewel-Osco, retrieved April 27, 2022, https:// www.jewelosco.com/about-us.html

Grocery store openings were still a big deal in 1948. This photo, from the 1948 Red Owl Annual Report shows a large crowd of well-dressed customers at the Red Owl store which opened on North Main and Brookings Street in May of 1948.

#### **13** 1948 RED OWL GRAND OPENING



than 1,000 square feet, Alpha Beta opened a 12,000 square foot store in a former Buick garage in Pomona, California. By 1937, the 260 supermarkets in Los Angeles accounted for 35% of all grocery sales in the metropolitan area.  $^{74}$ 

In 1930, Michael Cullen opened the East Coast's first supermarket, and his business model highlighted the advantages of the supermarket configuration. While the initial costs of constructing a supermarket might seem daunting, Cullen realized that the area of a rectangle increases geometrically, while the perimeter increases linearly. Put another way, the area of a rectangular store is calculated by multiplying length times width, while the perimeter is calculated by adding length and width. Thus the expense of the wall, foundation and footing are reduced when costs are calculated on a per square foot basis. Provided he could generate enough traffic in his larger store, he would be able to recover his upfront costs quicker.

Cullen also realized that if he made the store large enough, he could eliminate the need for a separate warehouse and reduce the size of the stockroom as a percentage of overall floor space. In essence, the grocery store itself became the warehouse. Eliminating the need for warehouse space and placing as much stock on shelves as possible reduced the requirement for stockers, thus lowering the store's operating expense. He opened his first King Kullen store in New York, on Long Island, in 1930.<sup>75</sup>

By themselves, the economies of scale introduced by supermarkets were not sufficient to make this store format a success. Supermarkets were farther apart than earlier grocery stores, and customers had to travel greater distances to shop there. An implicit assumption of this store format was ready access to personal transportation. In order to cater to households with one car, these supermarkets were open later in the evening and for longer weekend hours. <sup>76</sup>

South Dakota was an early adopter of the automobile. By 1930, the state averaged more than one car per household, when the national average was only .78 cars per household. Although the Depression affected vehicle ownership in South Dakota disproportionately, South Dakota still had a higher ownership rate than the nation as a whole in 1940. During the postwar recovery boom, vehicle ownership in South Dakota remained ahead of the national average and by 1950, the ownership rate had exceeded the rate recorded in 1930.<sup>77</sup>

For this reason, it is not particularly surprising that the supermarket arrived in Sioux Falls at a relatively early date. In addition to George Sercl's Sunshine supermarkets, Red Owl built a 5,000 square foot

<sup>74</sup> Mayo, 138

75 Mayo, 140, 141

<sup>76</sup> In 1946, Sunshine Food Markets ran a poll asking consumers to choose which night of the week they would be open for extended hours. See ad on page 7 of the May 24, 1946 Daily Argus-Leader.

77 "Motor Vehicle Registrations by States, 1900-1995." Bureau of Transportation Statistics, April 1997, retrieved April 27, 2022, https:// www.fhwa.dot.gov/ohim/ summary95/section2.html

78 "Sioux Falls' Finest Modern Self Service Food Mart," advertisement, The Daily Argus-Leader (Sioux Falls), December 8, 1938, 17 supermarket at the corner of 14<sup>th</sup> and Minnesota in 1938.<sup>78</sup> Shortly after the end of World War II, Economy Center Foods, a local chain started by M. K. Gibson, built supermarkets at the corner of 6<sup>th</sup> and West and 8<sup>th</sup> and Indiana. While both of these stores were on the small side as far as supermarkets go, they had off-street parking and were significantly larger than other grocery stores in the city, apart from the Sunshine and Red Owl supermarkets. A smaller market, constructed at 701 N Cliff Avenue, also had off-street parking.

In 1947, Red Owl Stores purchased the Economy Center chain, greatly expanding its footprint in the city. <sup>79</sup> In addition to the supermarket they had built at 14<sup>th</sup> and Minnesota, the two built by Economy Center gave Red Owl three supermarkets in the city at the start of 1948. During that year, they completed a large addition to the rear of their store at 416 S. Phillips which brought this store into the supermarket category as well, with over 7,500 square feet of floor space. <sup>80</sup> They also completed a store of roughly the same size on North Main, bringing the total number of Red Owl supermarkets to five. <sup>81</sup>

However, neither Red Owl nor Sunshine shifted exclusively to the supermarket format. Both companies maintained a range of smaller stores as well.

At the close of the decade, Sioux Falls had seven supermarkets. Seventeen years had elapsed since the city's first supermarket had been opened at the corner of 26<sup>th</sup> and Minnesota, and the gradual shift in shopping patterns was beginning to affect the distribution of grocery stores in the city. There were 103 grocery stores in Sioux Falls in 1940, but by 1950, that number had dwindled to 85, despite a significant increase in population from 40,832 in 1940 to 52, 969 in 1950.

In all, 44 grocery stores closed during the 1940s. Ten were located more than a block from a bus route, and nineteen were located within a five block radius of one of the city's new supermarkets, including nine storefront groceries in downtown Sioux Falls. Of the nineteen stores located near supermarkets, six were in the vicinity of the new Red Owl store at North Main and Brookings Street. This store seems to have had the greatest impact on the adjacent grocery business.

During the decade 34 stores changed hands and 27 were opened or relocated. By 1950, Sioux Falls had one grocery store for every 623 residents. This was a landmark shift from the ratio of one to 396 in 1940, as well as marking the beginning of a trend that continued well into the  $21^{\rm st}$  century. From 1950 to 1960, the number of stores dropped from 85 to 52 while the city's population grew to 65,466, reducing the number of stores to one per 1,259 residents.

#### 1950 ONWARD: STORES GET LARGER—AND SMALLER

Eventually, supermarkets fell prey to the same economies of scale that enabled them to displace neighborhood groceries. Further increases in vehicle ownership, plus the improved quality of vehicles, including such amenities as air conditioning, made consumers more comfortable with even greater travel distances to grocery stores than the nearest supermarket. Grocery store chains took advantage of this to reduce the number of stores while increasing the size of each store. In Sioux Falls, a relative newcomer to the scene, Hy-Vee, proved more adept at adjusting to this new larger grocery format. Despite arriving on the scene over forty years after Sunshine opened the city's first supermarket, <sup>82</sup> Hy-Vee rapidly eclipsed Sunshine and its then parent company Nash-Finch in the development of large-scale supermarkets, to the extent that they currently

<sup>79</sup> Minneapolis Firm Adds 12 Food Stores," *The Daily Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), January 2, 1947, 1

80 'Red Owl Store to Hold Open House on Monday," The Daily Argus-Leader (Sioux Falls), February 15, 1948, 9

81 "New Red Owl on No. Main Set to Open," *The Daily Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), May 5, 1948, 2

82"Hy-Vee Foods To Build Two Sioux Falls Stores," Sioux Falls Argus-Leader, August 15, 1974, 1

# Nikki's La Mexicana, located at the intersection of 8th Street and Indiana Avenue is an excellent example of the new neighborhood grocery stores which primarily serve the city's immigrant communities. This store, which includes a small restaurant, is noteworthy because it is located in a former grocery store. This building was original an Economy Center supermarket constructed shortly after World War II.

► GOOGLE STREET VIEW

#### **14 NIKKI'S LA MEXICANA**



have an effective monopoly in that sector; Hy-Vee now operates six stores, concentrated in the southern half of the city.

At present, there are no grocery stores in Sioux Falls which date back to the survey period, although 79 structures remain which contained grocery stores at one time or another between 1900 and 1950. The two oldest grocery stores in Sioux Falls are the Sunshine located at  $14^{\rm th}$  and  $2^{\rm nd}$ , constructed in 1957, and Franklin's Food Market, just north of the intersection of Cliff and  $3^{\rm rd}$ , constructed in 1959.

"Big box" retailers, which began as discount department stores in the 1960s, <sup>83</sup> expanded into the grocery business in the 1990s. <sup>84</sup> In 2002, Walmart built a new store with a grocery department on the city's east side and expanded their west side store to include groceries. <sup>85</sup> Since then, two more Walmarts have been built in the city. The city's west side Target has been expanded to include a grocery department, and the east side Target was constructed with a grocery department.

While these large scale supermarkets and big box stores remain profitable, they are so large that a niche for smaller grocery and discount department stores has reopened.

Aldi, a German discount chain with a longstanding presence in the eastern United States expanded to Sioux Falls in 2015. The chain, which tends to locate near Walmart stores, employs a variety of tactics to trim the already narrow margins of the grocery business, thus lowering prices. Its stores are small by today's standards, and do not always carry the variety of brands that consumers expect. The company pads its slim margins by heavily weighting its stock with private label items that carry a higher markup than brand name products. From the company pads its slim margins by the carry and the car

While Aldi has some of the characteristics of a neighborhood supermarket, their stores are typically located in heavily developed commercial districts. Fareway, a regional chain based in Boone, Iowa, has opened two stores in Sioux Falls. These stores are perhaps the best example of a renewal of the mid-century supermarket format. They are significantly smaller than Hy-Vee groceries and carry a commensurately limited stock with an emphasis on price.

A different example of the rebirth of the neighborhood grocery or supermarket is the Family Dollar and Dollar General chains. These are small discount department stores which have a limited grocery section.

- 83 K-mart, Target and Walmart all opened their first stores in 1962.
- 84 In fact, Walmart had begun to experiment with its "Supercenters" in the 1980s. However, there were only ten of these combination grocery and discount department stores in 1991; by 2001 this number had increased to over 1,000 (see "Wal-Mart Supercenter Market Share of Grocery Retailing in U.S. Metropolitan Areas," by J. Dennis Lord in Wal-Mart World, edited by Stanley D Brunn).
- 85 Rob Swenson, "Wal-Mart Starts Construction," Argus Leader (Sioux Falls), November 27, 2001, 6C
- 86 "Aldi plans to open grocery store on Louise," Sioux Falls Business Journal, August 12-18, 2015, 6
- 87 Nathaniel Meyersohn, "How a cheap, brutally efficient grocery chain is upending America's supermarkets," CNN, May 17, 2019, retrieved April 27, 2022, https://www.cnn.com/ interactive/2019/05/business/aldiwalmart-low-food-prices/index.html

Nonetheless, their selection is comprehensive enough that they are able to accept SNAP (Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program) and WIC (Women and Infant Children) benefits. These stores tend to be located in neighborhood commercial strips and are roughly the size of mid-century grocery and variety stores.<sup>88</sup>

Convenience stores have also filled in some of the demand for smaller grocery stores. Margins on gasoline have never been high, thus service stations have long relied on other sales and services for the majority of their profits. In the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, service stations took their margins from the sale of vehicle accessories such as motor oil, tires and batteries, as well as vehicle service. As vehicles and parts such as tires and batteries improved in quality and as vehicles became more fuel efficient, demand for parts, service and gasoline decreased and service stations gradually transitioned into convenience stores. Over time, these stores have steadily increased the variety and quantity of groceries they carry.<sup>89</sup>

Within Sioux Falls, neighborhood groceries have come back via another route. The city has been a hub for refugee settlement since the late 1990s, and entrepreneurial individuals in these communities have opened a wide range of stores that resemble the neighborhood groceries of the 1920s and 1930s in size and often in location as well. As with the first neighborhood groceries, these stores tend to be owner-operated, drawing off a small but loyal clientele. At this time, there are 35 of these stores in the city. 90

While big box retailers continue to draw the lion's share of grocery purchases in the city, their size and their distance from population centers have opened up an opportunity for smaller grocery stores to once again obtain a foothold in Sioux Falls.

- <sup>88</sup> Typical Dollar General stores are about 7,400 square feet. See page 5, Dollar General Corporation, Form 10-K, Fiscal year ended January 31, 2014, SEC, retrieved April 27, 2022, https://www.sec.gov/ Archives/edgar/ data/29534/0001047469140027 21/a2218572z10-k.htm
- 89 The definitive study of the history of service stations is The Gas Station in America by John A Jakle and Keith A Sculle (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002)
- <sup>90</sup> Total compiled from the USDA's SNAP Retailer Locator: https://usda-fns.maps.arcgis.com/apps/ webappviewer/index.html

SIOUX FALLS' FINEST MODERN SELF SERVICE

# FOOD MART

Opens Friday Morning at 8A.M.

IN THE NEW BUILDING CONSTRUCTED BY OLE MYKLEMYRE

At Minnesota Ave. & 14th St.

FREE
PARKING
In Large Graveled Parking

Celebrating With Grand Opening
Sensational Low Prices at All Stores
519 MINNESOTA AVENUE SOUTH

328 NORTH MAIN

125 WEST TENTI

FLOUR 49 lb. bag 79c lakeland self-rising Pancake Flour 4 Bag 19c

Lot — Convenient entrances

from both 14th St. and Minne-

sota Ave.-DRIVE IN.

Penick's Syrup 10 Lb. 45c

CRACKERS Sun Ray 2 Lb. 14c

SUNSHINE MIXED

COOKIES Dixie Lass and Four Stars 2 Lbs. 23c

Sterling .....

DEPENDON-Always Good

COFFEE Dependable Quality Lb. 150

COCOA HERSHEY'S ......Can 12c

MATCHES HEADLIGHT ... Bxs. 150

CAMAY The Soap of Beautiful Women 3 Cakes 15

XYDOL Fastest Washing 24-oz. 19 Laundry Soap .. Pkg. 19

Golden Bantam

CORN

Or Wizdom Crosby

20 oz.

Fresh . . .

EDIUTS I VECET

FRUITS and VEGETABLES

Wood

TTUCE Fresh Solid Heads

You are invited to visit our large, new, completely modern Red Owl Self-Service Food Mart opening Friday in the fine new brick building constructed for us at the corner of Minnesota Avenue and 14th Street by Mr. Ole Myklemyre. Here you will find all the newest improvements and conveniences that combine to make your food shopping a happy and satisfying daily venture. Not only will the money-saving low prices throughout all departments of the store amaze you but the thrill of serving yourself with your entire food needs so easily will make your food buying a daily pleasure trip.

Strictly Fresh Pure

GROUND BEEF, Ib. . . . . . Pacific Ocean

SALMON & BLACK COD, Ib.

Genuine Viking Brand

LUDEFISK . . . . . . Ib.

Fresh Maryland Standard

OYSTERS . . . . . pt.

EACH 5c

CHICKENS 16. 1

Morrell's Snow Cap Carton

LARD . . . . . 4 lbs. 3

AMERICAN or BRICK Tenderized - Genuine - Smoked

HAMS 1 7 1/2

Whole or Half LB.

All Advertised Qualtiy Brands of

## 2 TABLES

STATUS	ADDRESS	1900	1910
D	211 S Phillips	D.B. Durant	Victor Grocery
D	832 W 11th	Edward G. Burdett	
D	207 S Phillips (?)	Edwin L Perkins	
D	421 E 14th	F A Krause	Krause & Son
D	206-208 W 7th	Garret H Barry	Soo Grocery
D	203 N Phillips	Georgie A Kintner	
D	121 W 9th	Golden Rule	
D	102 S Main	Golden Rule	
D	111 S Main	Gunderson and Larson	Olson Brothers
D	323 S Phillips	H.C. Aldrich	
D	205 S Phillips	H.C. Byington	
D	115 N Main	Jacob T Gilbert	W.B. Day
D	933 N Main	John O Johnson	Mary E Dailey
D	215 S Main	John Olson	John Olson
Е	514 W 1st St (attached to 901 N Spring)	Julius Pfeiffer	
E	1303 S Peck, 1405 S Duluth (1301 S Duluth)	Knut Anderson	K.N. Anderson
D	401 N Weber	Lewis B Griffith	
D	610 N Main	M. M. Flaskey	M. M. Flaskey
D	101-103 S Main	Opera House Grocery	
D	117 E 10th	Peter F Thompson	Peter F Thompson
D	141 N Main Ave	Ransom and Newell	
D	115 S Phillips	Red Front Grocery	
D	107-109 S Phillips	The Bee Hive	
D	233 S Main	Warren B Howe	Warren B Howe
D	225 S Phillips	William H Heiss	H.C. Schlosser & Co.
D	113 W 8th	William Van Eps	William Van Eps
Е	1000 W 6th St		A F Oaks
Е	901 N Duluth Ave		Bessler Brothers
D	412 S Main		C.E. Fickes
Е	826 W 11th		C.T. Egan
D	321 N Main		E.F. Loneus & Co
Е	1017 W 9th St		Effting & Co
D	536 E 6th		F.J. Watson
D	302 S Phillips Ave		Golden Rule Grocery
Е	315 N Main		H.A. Homan
D	520 E 6th		H.C. Fjerestad
E	1206 E 6th		Herbert Holmes

(E: Existing, D: Demolished)

1921	1930	1940	1950
Central Grocery Co	Central Grocery Co		
Roney & McDonald			
Main Avenue Grocery	United Grocery		
Lewis Millman	Williams Brothers	A B C Food Shop	
LIW Flookov	Bernhardt & Olson		
H.W. Flaskey	Bernhardt & Olson		
Thompson Grocery Co.	Thompson and Loman		
A.F. Oaks	Oaks Grocery	Edmund's Grocery	E Everett Calahan
Bessler Brothers	Edith H Bessler	Thomas Matthews	Leslie Jarentowski
G A Benson	Owl Grocery & Meats	Economy Center Market	Food Town Market
Mamie E Healy	Nilsson Mercantile Co	Nilsson Mercantile	
Efting & Co	Effting & Co	Josiah B Hurley	Emma B Doering
A.K. Indseth	James B Geuseubroek	James Geusebroek	David A Bard
Dahla 9 Duhla -			
Pohle & Dubbe	Labor E Oals 19	Inha E Onha II	
Helen Holmes	John F Schultz	John F Schultz	

CURRENT STATUS	ADDRESS 1900	1910
D	111 W 10th	J.E. Barwin & Co
D	208 N Weber Ave	K.A. Haggar and Brothers
D	710 N Main	Mrs Ollie Kagrice
D	202 N Weber Ave	P.J. Harmison
D	419 S 4th Ave	S.F. Dickey
D	327 N Phillips	Shen & Swiden
D	129 N Main	Swift Grocery Co
D	927 S Minnesota	W.E. Peterson
D	720 E 14th	William Wirzbach
D	1201 E North (1201 E Rice)	
E	332 N Blauvelt	
D	1427 E 3rd	
D	1502 W 10th	
D	802 W 11th/800 W 11th	
Е	120 S Phillips	
Е	324 S Phillips	
D	330-332 S Main	
D	301 N Main	
E	317 N Main Ave	
D	214 W 14th	
D	410-414 S Main	
D	703/701 N Main	
Е	701 N Cliff Ave	
Е	1309 E 3rd	
D	302-304 S Phillips	
D	108 S Main	
E	1101 N Dakota Ave	
D	1337 N Main	
D	325 S Phillips	
D	608 E 8th	
D	229 N Main	
D	1211 E North (1211 E Rice)	
D	307 S Phillips Ave	
E	1302 E 4th/700 N Sherman/1304 E 4th	
D	115 S Main	
Е	2304 W Madison	

(E: Existing, D: Demolished)

1921	1930	1940	1950
Gottfried Gustafson	Bessler Bros	Andy's Food Store	Samuel Hasson
	Merton E Chamberlain	Merton E Chamberlain	Beadle Grocery
Albert Mansor	- Welton L Ghambenain	- Werton E Ghambehain	
Alex Hamod	East Side Cash Store	Harry Downs	Orvel Swenson
Assid Brothers	Highland Grocery	Zine Assid	James Assid
Biebach & Willging	Fitzgerald & Aulner	Darrell E Schumaker	N Dean Nasser
C.T. Egan	Phil L Mader	Harvey Grocery	Glen R Zea
C.W. Noble	THE MODE	Tidivey diocely	GIOTI N 200
C.W. Noble			
Consumers Food Co			
D.M. McDonald			
Ellenbecker & Klaeser, Royal Grocers			
F.A. Hayes			
Fickes & Wilson			
George Abdallah	Albert & Hassen	Hassen & Salem	
George Haggar	Samuel Hammody	Economy Center Market	Franklin Food Market
Gerber Moses	Albert T Berven		
Golden Rule Grocery	Golden Rule Grocery		
H.H. Stressman			
Hadley & Hessen	Charles Hassan	Dakota Grocery	
Hessen Bellas	Hassan Ballas	Edward Crowley	
Joseph Ross			
K.A. Haggar & Brothers	K.A. Haggar & Brothers	K.A. Haggar & Brothers	
Kinsella & Malone	F.W. Fenske & Son		
L.D. Capps	Riverside Grocery		
Little Soo Grocery	Robert Ingram		
Mary Moses	Emil Solomon		
Nissly Basket Groceteria			
R. F. Brockhouse	West Soo Falls Grocery	West Sioux Falls Grocery & Filling Station	West Sioux Falls Grocery

CURRENT STATUS	ADDRESS	1900	1910
D	101 N Main		
D	401 S Main		
D	117 W 8th		
D	231 W 7th		
D	113 W 10th		
D	720 W 15th		
D	702 N Fairfax		
D	515 W 18th		
E	1012 E 8th St (combined with 1010 E 8th)		
Е	230 S Phillips Ave		
E	914 W 14th		
D	319 N West		
D	1517 N Blauvelt/1519 N Blauvelt		
Е	1321 S Summit Ave		
Е	535 S Summit		
D	233 N Main		
Е	702 W 2nd St		
D	134 W 12th		
Е	1511 E 5th		
Е	1001 N Summit Ave		
D	908 E 26th		
D	330 S Main		
D	133 N Phillips		
D	219 N Main		
D	200 N Phillips		
E	738 S 1st Ave		
D	1800 W 12th		
E	329 S Chicago		
D	655 S Main		
D	511 S Phillips Ave		
D	203 N Main		
D	234 W 8th		
D	410 S Main		
D	1411 N Dakota		
D	600 S Minnesota		
D	629 N Main		
(E: Evicting [	D: Demolished)		

(E: Existing, D: Demolished)

1921	1930	1940	1950
S.J.Hollier			
Saywer Brothers			
Smith Grocery Co		Star Market	Star Market
The Hub Grocery	M Kenneth Gibson/Hub Grocery		
The In Serve Out Store			
W.C. Bessler	Bessler Bros	Bessler Brothers	Vernon L Lein
W.F. Mason			
William E. Peterson	William E Peterson	William E Peterson	Adam's Super Market
William Rennie & Son	Paramount Grocery	William E Thorpe	
Shriver-Johnson Grocery			
	Abraham Side	Kurtz Food Market	Lawrence Loomis
	Ahmond Alley		John P Reif
	Albert A Mansar	Albert Mansor	
	Anna Sorenson	Erling Stone	M & M Food Store
	Archie L Peck	Olive L Searles	Orville T Killalea
	Barbas & Vossos	Andrew Barbas	
	Benjamin J Engler	Summit Grocery	
	C & A Grocery		
	Charles Haggar	Nathan Haggar	Nathan J Haggar
	Charles M O'Connor		
	Charles Wendell	Gust's Grocery	
	Consumers Food Co		
	Consumers Food Co		
	Council Oak Stores		
	Council Oak Stores		
	Douglas & Lucy Deremore	Fred Hiatt	Fred Hiatt
	E & A Hein		
	Edmund Vincent		
	Edward Dolan	Lewis W Unzelman	Lew Unzelman
	Edward Rosen		
	Edward Trout		
	F.W. Fenske & Son		
	Fickes & Wilson		
	Frank A Raw	Bi-Rite Grocery	
	Fred T Keenan	Fred Keenan	Alice Keenan
	George Abdallah		

E 518 W Balley D 1000 E 21st D 1017 E 17th D 1909 S Minnesota D 114 E 12th D 323 N Main D 910 S 7th Ave E 901 E 6th D 1336 E 4th D 1336 E 4th D 215 N Van Eps  E 1024 W 7th (300 N Euclid) E 411 W 18th (now 415 W 18th) E 620 W 18th D 321 W 12th E 327 1/2 N Wayland D 2615 W 12th D 311 N Main D 310 W 5th D 1100 W 18th E 112 S Van Eps D 302 E 12th D 1035 N Main D 800 E 3rd E 2101 S Duluth D 1015 S Summit E 121 N Covell E 121 N Covell E 121 N Covell E 121 N Weber E 1401 W 10th St E 619 N Watts D 701 S Minnesota D 1104 W 12th St D 701 S Minnesota D 1326 1/2 N Dakota Ave D 532 E 6th D 423 E 14th E 2005 S Minnesota Ave D 532 E 6th D 423 E 14th E 2005 S Minnesota Ave D 1220 N Main	CURRENT STATUS	ADDRESS	1900	1910
D 1117 E 17th D 1909 S Minnesota D 114 E 12th D 323 N Main D 910 S 7th Ave E 901 E 6th D 1336 E 4th D 1336 E 4th D 215 N Van Eps  E 1024 W 7th (300 N Euclid) E 411 W 18th (now 415 W 18th) E 620 W 18th D 321 W 12th E 327 1/2 N Wayland D 2615 W 12th D 311 N Main D 310 W 5th D 1100 W 18th E 112 S Van Eps D 302 E 12th D 1035 N Main D 800 E 3rd E 2101 S Duluth D 214 W 1th E 1101 E 8th E 112 T N Covell E 1215 S Summit D 431 N Weber E 1401 W 10th St E 619 N Walts D 701 S Minnesota D 104 W 12th St D 1104 W 12th St D 701 S Minnesota D 1104 W 12th St D 1326 E 1/2 N D Bakota Ave D 532 E 6th D 423 E 14th E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	E	518 W Bailey		
D 1999 S Minnesota D 114 E 12th D 323 N Main D 910 S 7th Ave E 901 E 6th D 1336 E 4th D 1336 E 4th D 215 N Van Eps E 1024 W 7th (300 N Euclid) E 411 W 18th (now 415 W 18th) E 620 W 18th D 321 W 12th E 327 1/2 N Wayland D 2615 W 12th D 311 N Main D 310 W 5th D 1100 W 18th E 112 S Van Eps D 302 E 12th D 1035 N Main D 800 E 3rd E 2101 S Duluth D 214 W 11th E 1101 E 8th E 112 T N Covell E 1215 S Summit D 431 N Weber E 1401 W 10th St E 619 N Walts D 701 S Minnesota D 1104 W 12th St D 1326 E/2 N D Bkota Ave D 532 E 6th D 1326 E/2th D 1336 L/2 N D Bkota Ave D 532 E 6th D 423 E 14th E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	D	1000 E 21st		
D 114 E 12th D 323 N Main D 910 S 7th Ave E 901 E 6th D 1336 E 4th D 215 N Van Eps  E 1024 W 7th (300 N Euclid) E 411 W 18th (now 415 W 18th) E 620 W 18th D 321 W 12th E 327 1/2 N Wayland D 2615 W 12th D 311 N Main D 310 W 5th D 1100 W 18th E 112 S Van Eps D 302 E 12th D 1035 N Main D 800 E 3rd E 2101 S Duluth D 214 W 11th E 1101 E 8th E 112 T N Covell E 1215 S Summit D 431 N Weber E 1401 W 10th St E 619 N Walts D 701 S Minnesota D 1326 1/2 N Dakota Ave D 532 E 6th D 1326 1/2 N Dakota Ave	D	1117 E 17th		
D 323 N Main D 910 S 7th Ave E 901 E 6th D 1336 F 4th D 1336 F 4th D 215 N Van Eps  E 1024 W 7th (300 N Euclid) E 411 W 18th (now 415 W 18th) E 620 W 18th D 321 W 12th E 327 1/2 N Wayland D 2615 W 12th D 311 N Main D 310 W 5th D 1100 W 18th E 112 S Van Eps D 302 E 12th D 1035 N Main D 800 E 3rd E 2101 S Duluth D 214 W 11th E 1101 E 8th E 112 T N Covell E 127 N Covell E 1215 S Summit D 431 N Weber E 1401 W 10th St E 619 N Walts D 701 S Minnesota D 1326 1/2 N Dakota Ave D 532 E 6th D 423 E 14th E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	D	1909 S Minnesota		
D 910 S 7th Ave E 901 E 6th D 1336 E 4th D 215 N Van Eps  E 1024 W 7th (300 N Euclid) E 411 W 18th (now 415 W 18th) E 620 W 18th D 321 W 12th E 327 1/2 N Wayland D 2615 W 12th D 311 N Main D 310 W 5th D 1100 W 18th E 112 S Van Eps D 302 E 12th D 1035 N Main D 800 E 3rd E 2101 S Duluth D 214 W 11th E 1101 E 8th E 127 N Covell E 1215 S Summit D 431 N Weber E 1410 W 10th St E 619 N Walts D 701 S Minnesota D 1326 1/2 N Dakota Ave D 532 E 6th D 433 E 14th E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	D	114 E 12th		
E 901 E 6th  D 1336 E 4th  D 215 N Van Eps  E 1024 W 7th (300 N Euclid)  E 411 W 18th (now 415 W 18th)  E 620 W 18th  D 321 W 12th  E 327 1/2 N Wayland  D 2615 W 12th  D 311 N Main  D 310 W 5th  D 1100 W 18th  E 112 S Van Eps  D 302 E 12th  D 1035 N Main  D 800 E 3rd  E 2101 S Duluth  D 214 W 11th  E 1101 E 8th  E 127 N Covell  E 1215 S Summit  D 431 N Weber  E 1401 W 10th St  E 619 N Waits  D 1042 E 6th  D 1326 1/2 N Dakota Ave  D 532 E 6th  D 423 E 14th  E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	D	323 N Main		
D 1336 E 4th D 215 N Van Eps  E 1024 W 7th (300 N Euclid) E 411 W 18th (now 415 W 18th) E 620 W 18th D 321 W 12th E 327 1/2 N Wayland D 2615 W 12th D 311 N Main D 310 W 5th D 1100 W 18th E 112 S Van Eps D 302 E 12th D 1035 N Main D 800 E 3rd E 2101 S Duluth E 1101 E 8th E 112 I S Summit D 214 W 11th E 1101 E 8th E 1215 S Summit D 431 N Weber E 1401 W 10th St E 619 N Waits D 701 S Minnesota D 1042 E 6th D 1326 1/2 N Dakota Ave D 532 E 6th D 423 E 14th E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	D	910 S 7th Ave		
E 1024 W 7th (300 N Euclid) E 411 W 18th (now 415 W 18th) E 620 W 18th D 321 W 12th E 327 1/2 N Wayland D 2615 W 12th D 311 N Main D 310 W 5th D 1100 W 18th E 112 S Van Eps D 302 E 12th D 1035 N Main D 800 E 3rd E 2101 S Duluth D 214 W 11th E 1101 E 8th E 127 N Covell E 1215 S Summit D 431 N Weber E 1401 W 10th St E 619 N Walts D 701 S Minnesota D 1036 S Minnesota Ave	E	901 E 6th		
E 1024 W 7th (300 N Euclid) E 411 W 18th (now 415 W 18th) E 620 W 18th D 321 W 12th E 327 1/2 N Wayland D 2615 W 12th D 311 N Main D 310 W 5th D 1100 W 18th E 112 S Van Eps D 302 E 12th D 1035 N Main D 800 E 3rd E 2101 S Duluth D 214 W 11th E 1101 E 8th E 1127 N Covell E 127 N Covell E 1401 W 10th St E 619 N Walts D 701 S Minnesota D 701 S Minnesota D 1326 E 1/2 N Dakota Ave D 532 E 6th D 433 E 14th E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	D	1336 E 4th		
E 411 W 18th (now 415 W 18th)  E 620 W 18th  D 321 W 12th  E 327 1/2 N Wayland  D 2615 W 12th  D 311 N Main  D 310 W 5th  D 1100 W 18th  E 112 S Van Eps  D 302 E 12th  D 1035 N Main  D 800 E 3rd  E 2101 S Duluth  D 214 W 11th  E 1101 E 8th  E 127 N Covell  E 1215 S Summit  D 431 N Weber  E 1401 W 10th St  E 619 N Waits  D 701 S Minnesota  D 1336 1/2 N Dakota Ave  D 532 E 6th  D 433 E 14th  E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	D	215 N Van Eps		
E 620 W 18th D 321 W 12th E 327 1/2 N Wayland D 2615 W 12th D 311 N Main D 310 W 5th D 1100 W 18th E 112 S Van Eps D 302 E 12th D 1035 N Main D 800 E 3rd E 2101 S Duluth D 214 W 11th E 1101 E 8th E 127 N Covell E 1215 S Summit D 431 N Weber E 1401 W 10th St E 619 N Walts D 701 S Minnesota D 1036 L/2 N Dakota Ave D 532 E 6th D 423 E 14th E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	E	1024 W 7th (300 N Euclid)		
D 321 W 12th E 327 1/2 N Wayland D 2615 W 12th D 311 N Main D 310 W 5th D 1100 W 18th E 112 S Van Eps D 302 E 12th D 1035 N Main D 800 E 3rd E 2101 S Duluth D 214 W 11th E 1101 E 8th E 127 N Covell E 1215 S Summit D 431 N Weber E 1401 W 10th St E 619 N Walts D 701 S Minnesota D 1326 1/2 N Dakota Ave D 532 E 6th D 423 E 14th E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	Е	411 W 18th (now 415 W 18th)		
E 327 1/2 N Wayland  D 2615 W 12th  D 311 N Main  D 310 W 5th  D 1100 W 18th  E 112 S Van Eps  D 302 E 12th  D 1035 N Main  D 800 E 3rd  E 2101 S Duluth  D 214 W 11th  E 1101 E 8th  E 127 N Covell  E 1215 S Summit  D 431 N Weber  E 1401 W 10th St  E 619 N Walts  D 701 S Minnesota  D 1326 1/2 N Dakota Ave  D 532 E 6th  D 423 E 14th  E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	Е	620 W 18th		
D 2615 W 12th D 311 N Main D 310 W 5th D 1100 W 18th E 112 S Van Eps D 302 E 12th D 1035 N Main D 800 E 3rd E 2101 S Duluth D 214 W 11th E 1101 E 8th E 127 N Covell E 1215 S Summit D 431 N Weber E 1401 W 10th St E 619 N Walts D 701 S Minnesota D 1326 1/2 N Dakota Ave D 532 E 6th D 423 E 14th E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	D	321 W 12th		
D 311 N Main D 310 W 5th D 1100 W 18th E 112 S Van Eps D 302 E 12th D 1035 N Main D 800 E 3rd E 2101 S Duluth D 214 W 11th E 1101 E 8th E 127 N Covell E 1215 S Summit D 431 N Weber E 1401 W 10th St E 619 N Walts D 701 S Minnesota D 1326 1/2 N Dakota Ave D 532 E 6th D 423 E 14th E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	E	327 1/2 N Wayland		
D 310 W 5th D 1100 W 18th E 112 S Van Eps D 302 E 12th D 1035 N Main D 800 E 3rd E 2101 S Duluth D 214 W 11th E 1101 E 8th E 127 N Covell E 1215 S Summit D 431 N Weber E 1401 W 10th St E 619 N Walts D 701 S Minnesota D 1326 1/2 N Dakota Ave D 532 E 6th D 423 E 14th E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	D	2615 W 12th		
D 1100 W 18th  E 112 S Van Eps  D 302 E 12th  D 1035 N Main  D 800 E 3rd  E 2101 S Duluth  D 214 W 11th  E 1101 E 8th  E 127 N Covell  E 1215 S Summit  D 431 N Weber  E 1401 W 10th St  E 619 N Walts  D 701 S Minnesota  D 1326 1/2 N Dakota Ave  D 532 E 6th  D 423 E 14th  E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	D	311 N Main		
E 112 S Van Eps D 302 E 12th D 1035 N Main D 800 E 3rd E 2101 S Duluth D 214 W 11th E 1101 E 8th E 127 N Covell E 1215 S Summit D 431 N Weber E 1401 W 10th St E 619 N Walts D 701 S Minnesota D 1104 W 12th St D 1326 1/2 N Dakota Ave D 532 E 6th D 423 E 14th E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	D	310 W 5th		
D 302 E 12th D 1035 N Main D 800 E 3rd E 2101 S Duluth D 214 W 11th E 1101 E 8th E 127 N Covell E 1215 S Summit D 431 N Weber E 1401 W 10th St E 619 N Walts D 701 S Minnesota D 1104 W 12th St D 1326 1/2 N Dakota Ave D 532 E 6th D 423 E 14th E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	D	1100 W 18th		
D 1035 N Main D 800 E 3rd E 2101 S Duluth D 214 W 11th E 1101 E 8th E 127 N Covell E 1215 S Summit D 431 N Weber E 1401 W 10th St E 619 N Walts D 701 S Minnesota D 1104 W 12th St D 1326 1/2 N Dakota Ave D 532 E 6th D 423 E 14th E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	Е	112 S Van Eps		
D 800 E 3rd  E 2101 S Duluth  D 214 W 11th  E 1101 E 8th  E 127 N Covell  E 1215 S Summit  D 431 N Weber  E 1401 W 10th St  E 619 N Walts  D 701 S Minnesota  D 1104 W 12th St  D 1326 1/2 N Dakota Ave  D 532 E 6th  D 423 E 14th  E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	D	302 E 12th		
E 2101 S Duluth  D 214 W 11th  E 1101 E 8th  E 127 N Covell  E 1215 S Summit  D 431 N Weber  E 1401 W 10th St  E 619 N Walts  D 701 S Minnesota  D 1104 W 12th St  D 1326 1/2 N Dakota Ave  D 532 E 6th  D 423 E 14th  E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	D	1035 N Main		
D 214 W 11th E 1101 E 8th E 127 N Covell E 1215 S Summit D 431 N Weber E 1401 W 10th St E 619 N Walts D 701 S Minnesota D 1104 W 12th St D 1326 1/2 N Dakota Ave D 433 E 14th E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	D	800 E 3rd		
E 1101 E 8th E 127 N Covell E 1215 S Summit D 431 N Weber E 1401 W 10th St E 619 N Walts D 701 S Minnesota D 1104 W 12th St D 1326 1/2 N Dakota Ave D 532 E 6th D 423 E 14th E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	Е	2101 S Duluth		
E 1215 S Summit  D 431 N Weber  E 1401 W 10th St  E 619 N Walts  D 701 S Minnesota  D 1104 W 12th St  D 1326 1/2 N Dakota Ave  D 423 E 14th  E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	D	214 W 11th		
E 1215 S Summit  D 431 N Weber  E 1401 W 10th St  E 619 N Walts  D 701 S Minnesota  D 1104 W 12th St  D 1326 1/2 N Dakota Ave  D 532 E 6th  D 423 E 14th  E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	E	1101 E 8th		
D 431 N Weber  E 1401 W 10th St  E 619 N Walts  D 701 S Minnesota  D 1104 W 12th St  D 1326 1/2 N Dakota Ave  D 532 E 6th  D 423 E 14th  E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	E	127 N Covell		
E 1401 W 10th St  E 619 N Walts  D 701 S Minnesota  D 1104 W 12th St  D 1326 1/2 N Dakota Ave  D 532 E 6th  D 423 E 14th  E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	E	1215 S Summit		
E 619 N Walts D 701 S Minnesota D 1104 W 12th St D 1326 1/2 N Dakota Ave D 532 E 6th D 423 E 14th E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	D	431 N Weber		
D 701 S Minnesota  D 1104 W 12th St  D 1326 1/2 N Dakota Ave  D 532 E 6th  D 423 E 14th  E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	E	1401 W 10th St		
D 1104 W 12th St  D 1326 1/2 N Dakota Ave  D 532 E 6th  D 423 E 14th  E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	E	619 N Walts		
D 1326 1/2 N Dakota Ave D 532 E 6th D 423 E 14th E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	D	701 S Minnesota		
D 532 E 6th D 423 E 14th E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	D	1104 W 12th St		
D 423 E 14th E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	D	1326 1/2 N Dakota Ave		
E 2005 S Minnesota Ave	D	532 E 6th		
	D	423 E 14th		
D 1220 N Main	E	2005 S Minnesota Ave		
	D	1220 N Main		

(E: Existing, D: Demolished)

1921	1930	1940	1950
	George Abraham Grocery	George Abraham Grocery	Amundson Grocery
	George Edmunds		
	Gordon Smith		
	Hamad Assam	Matt Puhl	Hugh Pratt
	Hassan Hammod		
	Hayes Market		
	Henry Bainkmeyer		
	Henry J Hamilton	Whittier Grocery	Rudolph Glorfield
	Henry Rosenboom		
	Herbert C Aldrich	Earl B Swarthout	Handy Pantry Grocery/Earl B Swarthout
	Home Grocery	Gerald G Goodroad	Gerald G Goodroad
	James Dovolas		
	James O Sweeney	Economy Center Market	Red Owl
	James T Gillespie		
	Jiffy Trading Post	Harlan B Davis	Leonard Plucker
	John Foss	Traveler's Inn	
	John G Fosmoe		
	John M O'Neill		
	Joseph Aleck	Joseph Alick	
	Joseph G Irving	Cross Grocery	
	Joseph Mike		
	Joseph Salem	Economy Center Market	
	Joseph Satlak		
	Louis Millman	Albert Mosey	Albert Mosey
	Loyal T Nilsson		
	Maier's Grocery	Community Grocery	Charles M O'Neill
	Marvin Stich	Marvin Stich	
	Mary Knox	Henry J Overseth	Kilian Grocery
	Mehmed Swiden		
	Michael P Brende	Henry F Maaskant	
	Mosey Brothers	Edwin Mosey	
	Mrs Jessie M Tennant	Ray J Madell	
	Olin Crowell		
	Ollis B Bratager	Ollis B Bratager	
	Olson's Cash Grocery		
	Orel J Seely	George H Zimmerman	O & A Grocery
	Otto C Gabel	Otto C Gabel	Hassen Hammod
	Otto F Kull	Otto F Kull	

CURRENT STATUS	ADDRESS	1900	1910	
Е	1412 W 12th			
D	145 N Phillips			
D	722 E 6th			
Е	125 W 10th			
Е	331 S Minnesota			
E	323 S Phillips Ave			
D	206 W 7th			
D	1800 S Summit			
Е	900 E 3rd			
E	727 S 2nd Ave			
E	121 S Main			
E	1801 S Walts			
Е	214 W 10th			
D	220 E 12th			
D	319 N Phillips			
D	1103 W 18th			
E	1223 E Rice (Now 1323 E Rice	)		
D	524 E 13th			
D	801 N Cliff			
E	731 N Cliff Ave			
E	921 S Sherman			
Е	434 W 5th			
D	414 S Phillips			
Е	300 N Phillips			
D	1820 W 12th			
D	2107 W 12th			
D	1001 E 21st			
Е	1510 E 10th			
D	427 W 10th			
E	311 S Phillips			
D	719 N Spring			
D	2417 S Grange			
D	421 W 26th			
E	516 N Walts			
D	900 N Cliff			
D	210 N Phillips			

(E: Existing, D: Demolished)

1921	1930	1940	1950
	Prosper Grocery	Howard J Snyder	Howard Snyder
	Red Owl		
	Red Owl		
	Red Owl Grocery	Red Owl Stores	
	Red Owl Grocery		
	Red Owl Grocery Store No. 3		
	Roger Kinsella	Council Oak Stores	
	Rudolph Prang	Ed Stark	
	Samuel Swiden		James Swiden
	Second Avenue Grocery	Loomis Market	Loomis Market
	Sioux Falls Public Market		
	Thomas Albert	Edwin Prill	Ideal Grocery
	W B Steer & Son		
	William A Mills	Charles H Wright	Kamel Z Assid
	William B Holbrook		
	William C Josten	Ralph W Christopher	
	Wood Grocery	Rice Street Grocery	
		Ace Food Mart	
		Anton D Peterson	
		Anton T Peterson	
		Chester G Williams	Sylvester Starnes
		Cogan & Petrick Grocery	Frahm's Food Center
		Economy Center Market	
		Economy Center Markets (office)	Red Owl
		Edwin H Polreis	Hassan S Eidy
		G.F. Buche & Co	
		George V Edmunds	Edmunds Food Stores
		Hamad Assam	Hamad Assam
		Herbert K Mork	Strange Grocery
		Home Market	
		Ida Bernhardt	
		James DeZotell	Schuck's Grocery
		James O Stockstad	Stockstad Grocery
		John G Gustafson	•
		Joseph Kush	Rozoclia Kush Grocery
		K & K Co.	,

CURRENT STATUS	ADDRESS	1900	1910
E	1500 E 6th		
E	608 W 11th		
D	513 S Phillips		
E	418 W 19th		
D	329 N Main		
E	1401 N Main Ave		
D	314 N Phillips		
E	328 N Main		
E	329 S Minnesota		
D	203 S Main		
E	202 S Phillips		
E	1716 S Minnesota		
D	230 W 8th		
D	706 W 28th		
E	801 N Blauvelt		
E	1010 E 8th		
D	201 N Main		
D	2420 S Minnesota		
D	211 W Russell		
E	421 N Lewis		
D	2223 W 12th		
D	922 E 26th		
D	1301 W 18th		
E	1520 N Cliff		
E	1107 N Duluth		
D	1809 E 10th		
E	218 W 3rd St		
E	517 N Nesmith		
E	701 S Glendale		
Е	905 E 8th		
E	1101 N Main (now 1103)		
E	515 S Minnesota		
E	330 N West Ave		
D	416 S Phillips		
D	1209 E Rice		
D	2135 S Minnesota		
D	431 W 10th		
/E: Evicting F	). Demolished)		

(E: Existing, D: Demolished)

# **A1** CONSOLIDATED LIST OF GROCERY STORES

1921	1930	1940	1950
		Lewis Griffith	J Walters Hammers
		Marie L Heisler	J & J Grocery
		O.P. Skaggs System	O.P. Skaggs
		O.P. Skaggs System	
		O.P. Skaggs System	
		Omer's Market	Omer's Market
		Radio John's Country Sto	re
		Red Owl Stores	
		Slip's Market	Slip's Market
		Spic & Span	Spic & Span
		Sunshine	Sunshine
		Sunshine	Sunshine
		Tennessee Grocery	Tennessee Grocery
		Valdine M Slocum	
		Violet G McCaw	
		William W Thorpe	
			Charles L Look
			Down's Market
			Earl J Nichols
			Ed Essem
			G.F. Bauche & Co.
			Gladys Gustafson
			Joseph Alick
			Justin Forseth
			Lastrico Grocery & Meats
			Lyle R Boyd
			Meister Grocery
			Patrick Bates
			Ralph S Rohlfsen
			Red Owl
			Riverside Grocery
			Sam A Haggar
			Superior Market

# **A1** CONSOLIDATED LIST OF GROCERY STORES

CURRENT STATUS	ADDRESS	1900	1910	
D	2210 W Madison			
Е	1700 W 33rd			
D	401 N Nesmith			
D	528 S Cliff			
D	2810 North Drive			

(E: Existing, D: Demolished)

# **A1** CONSOLIDATED LIST OF GROCERY STORES

1921	1930	1940	1950
			Thomas Market
			Trade Wind Grocery
			Walter Weber
			Wayne C Thurman
			Joe Kush Grocery No. 2

ADDRESS	NAME	STATUS	STRUCTURE CATEGORY
514 W 1st St (attached to 901 N Spring)	Julius Pfeiffer	Existing	А
1303 S Peck, 1405 S Duluth (1301 S Duluth)	Knut Anderson		В
211 S Phillips	D.B. Durant	Demolished	
832 W 11th	Edward G. Burdett		
207 S Phillips (?)	Edwin L Perkins		
421 E 14th	F A Krause		
206-208 W 7th	Garret H Barry		
203 N Phillips	Georgie A Kintner		
121 W 9th	Golden Rule		
102 S Main	Golden Rule		
111 S Main	Gunderson and Larson		
323 S Phillips	H.C. Aldrich		
205 S Phillips	H.C. Byington		
115 N Main	Jacob T Gilbert		
933 N Main	John O Johnson		
215 S Main	John Olson		
401 N Weber	Lewis B Griffith		
610 N Main	M. M. Flaskey		
101-103 S Main	Opera House Grocery		
117 E 10th	Peter F Thompson		
141 N Main Ave	Ransom and Newell		
115 S Phillips	Red Front Grocery		
107-109 S Phillips	The Bee Hive		
233 S Main	Warren B Howe		
225 S Phillips	William H Heiss		
113 W 8th	William Van Eps		

ADDRESS	NAME	STATUS	STRUCTURE CATEGORY
1000 W 6th St	A F Oaks	Existing	R
901 N Duluth Ave	Bessler Brothers		R
826 W 11th	C.T. Egan		R
1017 W 9th St	Effting & Co		В
315 N Main	H.A. Homan		S
1206 E 6th	Herbert Holmes		В
1303 S Peck, 1405 S Duluth (1301 S Duluth)	K.N. Anderson		В
412 S Main	C.E. Fickes	Demolished	
321 N Main	E.F. Loneus & Co		
536 E 6th	F.J. Watson		
302 S Phillips Ave	Golden Rule Grocery		
520 E 6th	H.C. Fjerestad		
225 S Phillips	H.C. Schlosser & Co.		
111 W 10th	J.E. Barwin & Co		
215 S Main	John Olson		
208 N Weber Ave	K.A. Haggar and Brothers		
421 E 14th	Krause & Son		
610 N Main	M. M. Flaskey		
933 N Main	Mary E Dailey		
710 N Main	Mrs Ollie Kagrice		
111 S Main	Olson Brothers		
202 N Weber Ave	P.J. Harmison		
117 E 10th	Peter F Thompson		
419 S 4th Ave	S.F. Dickey		
327 N Phillips	Shen & Swiden		
206-208 W 7th	Soo Grocery		
129 N Main	Swift Grocery Co		
211 S Phillips	Victor Grocery		
115 N Main	W.B. Day		
927 S Minnesota	W.E. Peterson		
233 S Main	Warren B Howe		
113 W 8th	William Van Eps		
720 E 14th	William Wirzbach		
107-109 S Phillips	The Bee Hive		

ADDRESS	NAME	STATUS	STRUCTURE CATEGORY
1000 W 6th St	A.F. Oaks	Existing	R
332 N Blauvelt	Alex Hamod		В
901 N Duluth Ave	Bessler Brothers		R
120 S Phillips	C.W. Noble		S
324 S Phillips	C.W. Noble		S
1017 W 9th St	Efting & Co		В
317 N Main Ave	Ellenbecker & Klaeser, Royal Grocers		S
826 W 11th	G A Benson		R
701 N Cliff Ave	George Haggar		В
1309 E 3rd	Gerber Moses		В
1101 N Dakota Ave	Hadley & Hessen		В
1206 E 6th	Helen Holmes		В
1303 S Peck, 1405 S Duluth (1301 S	Lewis Millman		Б
Duluth)	ManaMana		В
1302 E 4th/700 N Sherman/1304 E 4th	Mary Moses		A
2304 W Madison	R. F. Brockhouse		В
1012 E 8th St (combined with 1010 E 8th)	William Rennie & Son		В
230 S Phillips Ave	Shriver-Johnson Grocery	5 "	В
536 E 6th	A.K. Indseth	Demolished	
1201 E North (1201 E Rice)	Albert Mansor		
1427 E 3rd	Assid Brothers		
1502 W 10th	Biebach & Willging		
802 W 11th/800 W 11th	C.T. Egan		
211 S Phillips	Central Grocery Co		
330-332 S Main	Consumers Food Co		
301 N Main	D.M. McDonald		
214 W 14th	F.A. Hayes		
410-414 S Main	Fickes & Wilson		
703/701 N Main	George Abdallah		
302-304 S Phillips	Golden Rule Grocery		
419 S 4th Ave	Gottfried Gustafson		
108 S Main	H.H. Stressman		
610 N Main	H.W. Flaskey		
1337 N Main	Hessen Bellas		
325 S Phillips	Joseph Ross		
608 E 8th	K.A. Haggar & Brothers		
229 N Main	Kinsella & Malone		
1211 E North (1211 E Rice)	L.D. Capps		
307 S Phillips Ave	Little Soo Grocery		
933 N Main Structure category key: A = Addition to reside	Main Avenue Grocery		

ADDRESS	NAME	STATUS	STRUCTURE CATEGORY
321 N Main	Mamie E Healy	Demolished	
115 S Main	Nissly Basket Groceteria		
520 E 6th	Pohle & Dubbe		
206-208 W 7th	Roney & McDonald		
101 N Main	S.J.Hollier		
401 S Main	Saywer Brothers		
117 W 8th	Smith Grocery Co		
231 W 7th	The Hub Grocery		
113 W 10th	The In Serve Out Store		
117 E 10th	Thompson Grocery Co.		
720 W 15th	W.C. Bessler		
702 N Fairfax	W.F. Mason		
515 W 18th	William E. Peterson		

ADDRESS	NAME	STATUS	STRUCTURE CATEGORY
914 W 14th	Abraham Side	Existing	В
1309 E 3rd	Albert T Berven		В
1321 S Summit Ave	Anna Sorenson		В
535 S Summit	Archie L Peck		В
702 W 2nd St	Benjamin J Engler		Α
1511 E 5th	Charles Haggar		R
1101 N Dakota Ave	Charles Hassan		В
1001 N Summit Ave	Charles M O'Connor		Α
738 S 1st Ave	Douglas & Lucy Deremore		В
332 N Blauvelt	East Side Cash Store		В
901 N Duluth Ave	Edith H Bessler		R
329 S Chicago	Edmund Vincent		В
1017 W 9th St	Effting & Co		В
1302 E 4th/700 N Sherman/1304 E 4th	Emil Solomon		Α
518 W Bailey	George Abraham Grocery		В
901 E 6th	Henry J Hamilton		В
1024 W 7th (300 N Euclid)	Home Grocery		В
411 W 18th (now 415 W 18th)	James Dovolas		В
620 W 18th	James O Sweeney		В
327 1/2 N Wayland	Jiffy Trading Post		Α
1206 E 6th	John F Schultz		В
112 S Van Eps	Joseph G Irving		В
2101 S Duluth	Louis Millman		В
1101 E 8th	Maier's Grocery		R
127 N Covell	Marvin Stich		В
1215 S Summit	Mary Knox		В
1401 W 10th St	Michael P Brende		В
619 N Walts	Mosey Brothers		В
1000 W 6th St	Oaks Grocery		R
2005 S Minnesota Ave	Otto C Gabel		В
826 W 11th	Owl Grocery & Meats		R
1012 E 8th St (combined with 1010 E 8th)	Paramount Grocery		В
1412 W 12th	Prosper Grocery		В
125 W 10th	Red Owl Grocery		В
331 S Minnesota	Red Owl Grocery		S
323 S Phillips Ave	Red Owl Grocery Store No. 3		S
701 N Cliff Ave	Samuel Hammody		В
900 E 3rd	Samuel Swiden		В

ADDRESS	NAME	STATUS	STRUCTURE CATEGORY
727 S 2nd Ave	Second Avenue Grocery	Existing	В
121 S Main	Sioux Falls Public Market		S
1801 S Walts	Thomas Albert		В
214 W 10th	W B Steer & Son		S
2304 W Madison	West Soo Falls Grocery		В
1303 S Peck, 1405 S Duluth (1301 S Duluth)	Williams Brothers		В
1223 E Rice (Now 1323 E Rice)	Wood Grocery		R
319 N West	Ahmond Alley	Demolished	
703/701 N Main	Albert & Hassen		
1517 N Blauvelt/1519 N Blauvelt	Albert A Mansar		
233 N Main	Barbas & Vossos		
610 N Main	Bernhardt & Olson		
419 S 4th Ave	Bessler Bros		
720 W 15th	Bessler Bros		
134 W 12th	C & A Grocery		
211 S Phillips	Central Grocery Co		
908 E 26th	Charles Wendell		
330 S Main	Consumers Food Co		
133 N Phillips	Consumers Food Co		
219 N Main	Council Oak Stores		
200 N Phillips	Council Oak Stores		
1800 W 12th	E & A Hein		
655 S Main	Edward Dolan		
511 S Phillips Ave	Edward Rosen		
203 N Main	Edward Trout		
229 N Main	F.W. Fenske & Son		
234 W 8th	F.W. Fenske & Son		
410 S Main	Fickes & Wilson		
1502 W 10th	Fitzgerald & Aulner		
1411 N Dakota	Frank A Raw		
600 S Minnesota	Fred T Keenan		
629 N Main	George Abdallah		
1000 E 21st	George Edmunds		
302-304 S Phillips	Golden Rule Grocery		
1117 E 17th	Gordon Smith		
1909 S Minnesota	Hamad Assam		
1337 N Main	Hassan Ballas		
114 E 12th	Hassan Hammod		
323 N Main	Hayes Market		

ADDRESS	NAME	STATUS	STRUCTURE CATEGORY
910 S 7th Ave	Henry Bainkmeyer	Demolished	
1336 E 4th	Henry Rosenboom		
215 N Van Eps	Herbert C Aldrich		
1427 E 3rd	Highland Grocery		
536 E 6th	James B Geuseubroek		
321 W 12th	James T Gillespie		
2615 W 12th	John Foss		
311 N Main	John G Fosmoe		
310 W 5th	John M O'Neill		
1100 W 18th	Joseph Aleck		
302 E 12th	Joseph Mike		
1035 N Main	Joseph Salem		
800 E 3rd	Joseph Satlak		
608 E 8th	K.A. Haggar & Brothers		
214 W 11th	Loyal T Nilsson		
231 W 7th	M Kenneth Gibson/Hub Grocery		
431 N Weber	Mehmed Swiden		
720 E 14th	Merton E Chamberlain		
701 S Minnesota	Mrs Jessie M Tennant		
321 N Main	Nilsson Mercantile Co		
1104 W 12th St	Olin Crowell		
1326 1/2 N Dakota Ave	Ollis B Bratager		
532 E 6th	Olson's Cash Grocery		
423 E 14th	Orel J Seely		
1220 N Main	Otto F Kull		
802 W 11th/800 W 11th	Phil L Mader		
145 N Phillips	Red Owl		
722 E 6th	Red Owl		
1211 E North (1211 E Rice)	Riverside Grocery		
307 S Phillips Ave	Robert Ingram		
206 W 7th	Roger Kinsella		
1800 S Summit	Rudolph Prang		
117 E 10th	Thompson and Loman		
933 N Main	United Grocery		
220 E 12th	William A Mills		
319 N Phillips	William B Holbrook		
1103 W 18th	William C Josten		
515 W 18th	William E Peterson		

ADDRESS	NAME	STATUS	STRUCTURE CATEGORY
1303 S Peck, 1405 S Duluth (1301 S	A B C Food Shop	Existing	В
Duluth)			
2101 S Duluth	Albert Mosey		В
731 N Cliff Ave	Anton T Peterson		В
921 S Sherman	Chester G Williams		Α
434 W 5th	Cogan & Petrick Grocery		R
1101 E 8th	Community Grocery		R
112 S Van Eps	Cross Grocery		В
1101 N Dakota Ave	Dakota Grocery		В
620 W 18th	Economy Center Market		В
826 W 11th	Economy Center Market		R
701 N Cliff Ave	Economy Center Market		В
300 N Phillips	Economy Center Markets (office)		В
1000 W 6th St	Edmund's Grocery		R
619 N Walts	Edwin Mosey		В
1801 S Walts	Edwin Prill		В
1321 S Summit Ave	Erling Stone		В
738 S 1st Ave	Fred Hiatt		В
518 W Bailey	George Abraham Grocery		В
1024 W 7th (300 N Euclid)	Gerald G Goodroad		В
1510 E 10th	Hamad Assam		В
327 1/2 N Wayland	Harlan B Davis		Α
332 N Blauvelt	Harry Downs		В
1401 W 10th St	Henry F Maaskant		В
1215 S Summit	Henry J Overseth		В
311 S Phillips	Home Market		В
1412 W 12th	Howard J Snyder		В
1206 E 6th	John F Schultz		В
516 N Walts	John G Gustafson		R
1017 W 9th St	Josiah B Hurley		В
914 W 14th	Kurtz Food Market		В
1500 E 6th	Lewis Griffith		В
727 S 2nd Ave	Loomis Market		В
608 W 11th	Marie L Heisler		Α
127 N Covell	Marvin Stich		В
1511 E 5th	Nathan Haggar		R
418 W 19th	O.P. Skaggs System		В
535 S Summit	Olive L Searles		В
1401 N Main Ave	Omer's Market		В
2005 S Minnesota Ave	Otto C Gabel		В

ADDRESS	NAME	STATUS	STRUCTURE CATEGORY
125 W 10th	Red Owl Stores	Existing	В
328 N Main	Red Owl Stores		В
515 S Minnesota	Red Owl		В
1223 E Rice (Now 1323 E Rice)	Rice Street Grocery		R
329 S Minnesota	Slip's Market		S
702 W 2nd St	Summit Grocery		Α
202 S Phillips	Sunshine		В
1716 S Minnesota	Sunshine		В
901 N Duluth Ave	Thomas Matthews		R
801 N Blauvelt	Violet G McCaw		Α
2304 W Madison	West Sioux Falls Grocery & Filling Station		В
901 E 6th 1012 E 8th St (combined with 1010 E 8th)	Whittier Grocery William E Thorpe		В В
1010 E 8th	William W Thorpe		В
524 E 13th	Ace Food Mart	Demolished	
1517 N Blauvelt/1519 N Blauvelt	Albert Mansor		
233 N Main	Andrew Barbas		
419 S 4th Ave	Andy's Food Store		
801 N Cliff	Anton D Peterson		
720 W 15th	Bessler Brothers		
1411 N Dakota	Bi-Rite Grocery		
220 E 12th	Charles H Wright		
206 W 7th	Council Oak Stores		
1502 W 10th	Darrell E Schumaker		
215 N Van Eps	Earl B Swarthout		
1035 N Main	Economy Center Market		
414 S Phillips	Economy Center Market		
1800 S Summit	Ed Stark		
1337 N Main	Edward Crowley		
1820 W 12th	Edwin H Polreis		
600 S Minnesota	Fred Keenan		
2107 W 12th	G.F. Buche & Co		
423 E 14th	George H Zimmerman		
1001 E 21st	George V Edmunds		
908 E 26th	Gust's Grocery		
802 W 11th/800 W 11th	Harvey Grocery		
703/701 N Main	Hassen & Salem		
427 W 10th	Herbert K Mork		
719 N Spring	Ida Bernhardt esidential structure, B = standalone building, \$		

ADDRESS	NAME	STATUS	STRUCTURE CATEGORY
2417 S Grange	James DeZotell	Demolished	
536 E 6th	James Geusebroek		
421 W 26th	James O Stockstad		
1100 W 18th	Joseph Alick		
900 N Cliff	Joseph Kush		
210 N Phillips	K & K Co.		
608 E 8th	K.A. Haggar & Brothers		
655 S Main	Lewis W Unzelman		
1909 S Minnesota	Matt Puhl		
720 E 14th	Merton E Chamberlain		
321 N Main	Nilsson Mercantile		
329 N Main	O.P. Skaggs System		
513 S Phillips	O.P. Skaggs System		
1326 1/2 N Dakota Ave	Ollis B Bratager		
1220 N Main	Otto F Kull		
314 N Phillips	Radio John's Country Store		
1103 W 18th	Ralph W Christopher		
701 S Minnesota	Ray J Madell		
203 S Main	Spic & Span		
117 W 8th	Star Market		
230 W 8th	Tennessee Grocery		
2615 W 12th	Traveler's Inn		
706 W 28th	Valdine M Slocum		
515 W 18th	William E Peterson		
1427 E 3rd	Zine Assid		

ADDRESS	NAME	STATUS	STRUCTURE CATEGORY
2101 S Duluth	Albert Mosey	Existing	В
518 W Bailey	Amundson Grocery		В
1101 E 8th	Charles M O'Neill		R
1000 W 6th St	E Everett Calahan		R
421 N Lewis	Ed Essem		Α
1017 W 9th St	Emma B Doering		В
826 W 11th	Food Town Market		R
434 W 5th	Frahm's Food Center		R
701 N Cliff Ave	Franklin Food Market		В
738 S 1st Ave	Fred Hiatt		В
1024 W 7th (300 N Euclid)	Gerald G Goodroad		В
1510 E 10th	Hamad Assam		В
2005 S Minnesota Ave	Hassen Hammod		В
1412 W 12th	Howard Snyder		В
1801 S Walts	Ideal Grocery		В
608 W 11th	J & J Grocery		Α
1500 E 6th	J Walters Hammers		В
900 E 3rd	James Swiden		В
1520 N Cliff	Justin Forseth		В
1215 S Summit	Kilian Grocery		В
1107 N Duluth	Lastrico Grocery & Meats		Α
914 W 14th	Lawrence Loomis		В
327 1/2 N Wayland	Leonard Plucker		Α
901 N Duluth Ave	Leslie Jarentowski		R
727 S 2nd Ave	Loomis Market		В
1321 S Summit Ave	M & M Food Store		В
218 W 3rd St	Meister Grocery		В
1511 E 5th	Nathan J Haggar		R
1401 N Main Ave	Omer's Market		В
332 N Blauvelt	Orvel Swenson		В
535 S Summit	Orville T Killalea		В
517 N Nesmith	Patrick Bates		Α
701 S Glendale	Ralph S Rohlfsen		В
620 W 18th	Red Owl		В
300 N Phillips	Red Owl		В
905 E 8th	Red Owl		В
1101 N Main (now 1103)	Red Owl		В
515 S Minnesota	Red Owl		В
330 N West Ave	Red Owl		В

ADDRESS	NAME	STATUS	STRUCTURE CATEGORY
901 E 6th	Rudolph Glorfield	Existing	В
329 S Minnesota	Slip's Market		S
202 S Phillips	Sunshine		В
1716 S Minnesota	Sunshine		В
921 S Sherman	Sylvester Starnes		Α
1700 W 33rd	Trade Wind Grocery		В
2304 W Madison	West Sioux Falls Grocery		В
416 S Phillips	Red Owl		В
515 W 18th	Adam's Super Market	Demolished	
600 S Minnesota	Alice Keenan		
720 E 14th	Beadle Grocery		
201 N Main	Charles L Look		
536 E 6th	David A Bard		
2420 S Minnesota	Down's Market		
211 W Russell	Earl J Nichols		
1001 E 21st	Edmunds Food Stores		
2223 W 12th	G.F. Bauche & Co.		
922 E 26th	Gladys Gustafson		
802 W 11th/800 W 11th	Glen R Zea		
215 N Van Eps	Handy Pantry Grocery/Earl B Swarthout		
1820 W 12th	Hassan S Eidy		
1909 S Minnesota	Hugh Pratt		
1427 E 3rd	James Assid		
900 N Cliff	Rozoclia Kush Grocery		
319 N West	John P Reif		
1301 W 18th	Joseph Alick		
220 E 12th	Kamel Z Assid		
655 S Main	Lew Unzelman		
1809 E 10th	Lyle R Boyd		
1502 W 10th	N Dean Nasser		
423 E 14th	O & A Grocery		
513 S Phillips	O.P. Skaggs		
1209 E Rice	Riverside Grocery		
2135 S Minnesota	Sam A Haggar		
419 S 4th Ave	Samuel Hasson		
2417 S Grange	Schuck's Grocery		
203 S Main	Spic & Span		
117 W 8th	Star Market		
421 W 26th	Stockstad Grocery		

<u> </u>			STRUCTURE
ADDRESS	NAME	STATUS	CATEGORY
427 W 10th	Strange Grocery		
431 W 10th	Superior Market		
230 W 8th	Tennessee Grocery		
2210 W Madison	Thomas Market		
720 W 15th	Vernon L Lein		
401 N Nesmith	Walter Weber		
528 S Cliff	Wayne C Thurman		
2810 North Dr	Joe Kush Grocery No. 2		

#### **A8 EXTANT GROCERY STORE STRUCTURES**

ADDRESS	PRELIMINARY NRHP DETERMINATION	CURRENT USE
514 W 1st St (attached to 901 N Spring)	Р	Residence
1303 S Peck, 1405 S Duluth (1301 S Duluth)	Р	Vacant
1000 W 6th St	Р	Grocery/Residence
901 N Duluth Ave	N	Residence
826 W 11th	Р	Office/Residence
1017 W 9th St	Р	Restaurant/Office
315 N Main	L	Office
1206 E 6th	N	Residence
332 N Blauvelt	Р	Residence
120 S Phillips	L	Retail/Office
324 S Phillips	L	Retail/Restaurant/Residence
317 N Main Ave	L	Office
701 N Cliff Ave	N	Laundromat
1309 E 3rd	N	Residence
1101 N Dakota Ave	Р	Residence
1302 E 4th/700 N Sherman/1304 E 4th	N	Residence
2304 W Madison	Р	Retail
1012 E 8th St (combined with 1010 E 8th)	N	Retail
230 S Phillips Ave	L	Restaurant/Office/Residence
914 W 14th	Р	Residence
1321 S Summit Ave	N	Medical
535 S Summit	N	Residence
702 W 2nd St	Р	Residence
1511 E 5th	Р	Residence
1001 N Summit Ave	N	Residence
738 S 1st Ave	Р	Tattoo Parlor
329 S Chicago	Р	Residence(?)
518 W Bailey	Р	Residence
901 E 6th	N	Residence
1024 W 7th (300 N Euclid)	N	Professional
411 W 18th (now 415 W 18th)	L	Retail
620 W 18th	Р	Vacant
327 1/2 N Wayland	Р	Residence
112 S Van Eps	N	Residence
2101 S Duluth	Р	Unknown
1101 E 8th	Р	Church
127 N Covell	Р	Professional
1215 S Summit	Р	Unknown
1401 W 10th St	Р	Barber shop
619 N Walts	N	Residence

#### **A8 EXTANT GROCERY STORE STRUCTURES**

ADDRESS	PRELIMINARY NRHP DETERMINATION	CURRENT USE
2005 S Minnesota Ave	P	Tattoo Parlor
1412 W 12th	P	Car Detailing
125 W 10th	L	Book store
331 S Minnesota	N	Vacant
323 S Phillips Ave	L	Restaurant/Residence
900 E 3rd	P	Residence
727 S 2nd Ave	Р	Industrial
121 S Main	L	Professional/Office
1801 S Walts	Р	Laundromat
214 W 10th	L	Restaurant
1223 E Rice (Now 1323 E Rice)	N	Retail
731 N Cliff Ave	Р	Professional
921 S Sherman	N	Residence
434 W 5th	N	Residence
300 N Phillips	L	Office/Residence
1510 E 10th	Р	Grocery
311 S Phillips	L	Restaurant/Office
516 N Walts	Р	Residence
1500 E 6th	N	Residence
608 W 11th	N	Vacant/Residence
418 W 19th	N	Vacant
1401 N Main Ave	N	Vacant
328 N Main	Р	Restaurant
329 S Minnesota	N	Vacant
202 S Phillips	L	Tattoo Parlor
1716 S Minnesota	Р	Restaurant
801 N Blauvelt	Р	Residence
421 N Lewis	N	Residence
1520 N Cliff	N	Commercial
1107 N Duluth	N	Residence
218 W 3rd St	N	Vacant
517 N Nesmith	N	Residence
701 S Glendale	N	Residence
905 E 8th	Р	Grocery/Restaurant
1101 N Main (now 1103)	Р	Retail
515 S Minnesota	N	Bank
330 N West Ave	Р	Laundromat
1700 W 33rd	Р	Retail
416 S Phillips	N	Radio Station

Preliminary NRHP Determination Key: L = Listed on the Register, P = Potentially eligible, N = Not eligible

# 3 MAPS

