

South Dakota State University

## Open PRAIRIE: Open Public Research Access Institutional Repository and Information Exchange

---

Bulletins

South Dakota State University Agricultural  
Experiment Station

---

5-1-1955

# Growth and Decline of South Dakota Trade Centers, 1901-51

D. Chittick

Follow this and additional works at: [http://openprairie.sdstate.edu/agexperimentsta\\_bulletins](http://openprairie.sdstate.edu/agexperimentsta_bulletins)

---

### Recommended Citation

Chittick, D., "Growth and Decline of South Dakota Trade Centers, 1901-51" (1955). *Bulletins*. Paper 448.  
[http://openprairie.sdstate.edu/agexperimentsta\\_bulletins/448](http://openprairie.sdstate.edu/agexperimentsta_bulletins/448)

This Bulletin is brought to you for free and open access by the South Dakota State University Agricultural Experiment Station at Open PRAIRIE: Open Public Research Access Institutional Repository and Information Exchange. It has been accepted for inclusion in Bulletins by an authorized administrator of Open PRAIRIE: Open Public Research Access Institutional Repository and Information Exchange. For more information, please contact [michael.biondo@sdstate.edu](mailto:michael.biondo@sdstate.edu).

*File Copy*



# **GROWTH AND DECLINE of South Dakota Trade Centers 1901-51**



RURAL SOCIOLOGY DEPARTMENT  
**Agricultural Experiment Station**

SOUTH DAKOTA STATE COLLEGE, BROOKINGS

# Contents

Introduction .....	5
Purpose of the Study .....	5
Nature and Scope of the Study .....	6
Plan of presentation .....	6
Limitations of data .....	6
Definition of terms .....	6
Natural and Geographical Conditions .....	7
Population Changes .....	10
Distribution of Trade Centers .....	14
Early Settlement, 1851-1901 .....	14
West River Settlement, 1901-11 .....	15
Emerging Mechanization, 1911-21 .....	16
Increased Specialization, 1921-31 .....	17
Readjustment, 1931-41 .....	18
War and Post-War Period, 1941-51 .....	19
Trends in Growth and Decline of Trade Centers .....	20
Number of Trade Centers .....	20
Appearing and Disappearing Trade Centers .....	21
Rural-Nonfarm Population .....	22
Urban Growth .....	24
Interrelationship of the Rural-Farm, Rural-Nonfarm, and Urban Population .....	26
Size and Distribution of Trade Centers .....	27
Factors Related to Trends in Trade Centers .....	30
The Natural Environment .....	30
Agricultural Mechanization .....	31
Transportation .....	34
Merchandising .....	39
Specialization .....	47
Summary, Implications, and Conclusions .....	49
Appendix .....	52

## List of Tables

1. Total State Population and Total East and West River Population, South Dakota, at 5-Year Intervals, 1900-50 .....	10
2. Population Size and Number of South Dakota Trade Centers by 10-Year Intervals, 1901-51 .....	16
3. Appearing and Disappearing Trade Centers by 5-Year Intervals Showing Their Percentage Distribution East and West of the River, 1901-51 .....	21
4. Urban and Rural Population of South Dakota and Percent of Total Population from 1900 to 1950 Inclusive .....	22
5. Number and Population of Trade Centers in the Rural-Nonfarm and Urban Population by Population Class, 1940-50 .....	23
6. Number of South Dakota Trade Centers, by Population Class (1941), and Percent Moving to Lower or Higher Class by 1951 .....	25
7. Registration of Motor Vehicles and Trailers in South Dakota by 5-Year Intervals, 1906-51 .....	35
8. Relative Number of Disappearing and Appearing Trade Centers Located on Railroads by 5-Year Periods, 1901-51 .....	39
9. Total Number of Business Services, and Changes in the Number and Percent of People per Business Service Between 1901 and 1951 .....	41
10. Percent of Increase or Decrease in the Number of Trade Centers, Total Population, and Number of Business Services Between Dates Indicated .....	41
11. Distribution of South Dakota Trade Centers on Basis of the Number of Resident Business Units in Each Trade Center for Years Indicated .....	42
12. Percent of Town Centers in South Dakota Having Services and Retail Establishments Indicated, and Average Number of Services and Retail Establishments in the Towns Having these Services, 1951 .....	44
13. Retail Establishments Most Characteristics for Each Town Class Determined on Basis of Approximately 75 Percent of Each Town Class Having the Service, 1951 .....	45

A-1 Average Size of South Dakota Farms, State and Economic Areas, 1900-50 .....	52
A-2 Number of South Dakota Farms, State and Economic Areas, 1900-50 .....	52
A-3 Number of Inches of Precipitation Compared With a Selected Number of Factors Related to Rainfall by Economic Areas, 1951 ....	53
A-4 Summary of Mercantile Enterprises in South Dakota at 10-Year Intervals, 1901-51 .....	53

## List of Figures

1. Normal Annual Precipitation for Areas in South Dakota .....	8
2. Urban Counties, Urban Centers in Urban Counties, and Density of Population, in South Dakota in 1950 .....	9
3. Annual Precipitation for South Dakota, 1890—1950 .....	9
4. The Growth of Population in South Dakota with Percentage Distribution East and West of Missouri River, 1880—1950 .....	10
5. Distribution of South Dakota Trade Centers at 10-Year Intervals, 1901-51 .....	11
6. The Rural-Farm, Rural-Nonfarm, and Urban Percent of the Total Population in South Dakota, 1900-50 .....	26
7. Location of Railroads, Cities, County Seats With Less Than 2,500 Inhabitants in 1950, and Location of Trade Centers Which Have Disappeared in South Dakota Between 1930 and 1950 .....	28
8. Index Numbers of Total Farm Output, 1925-51 .....	33
9. State Trunk System of Highways for South Dakota as Recommended by the Interim Committee of the Legislature, 1951 .....	37

# GROWTH AND DECLINE of South Dakota Trade Centers 1901-51

DOUGLAS CHITTICK<sup>1</sup>

## Introduction

South Dakota is primarily an agricultural state consisting of approximately 76,536 square miles of land area. The state's villages, towns, and cities are largely dependent on the patronage of farm and ranch families living in their trade and service areas.

Changing social and economic relationships between farmers and those living in trade centers, over a half-century period, have influenced the size and shape of trade and service areas, effecting the growth and decline of trade centers. Over a 50-year period some trade centers have increased in size at the expense of others; some have disappeared while others have come into existence. All trade centers have made changes in the number and kinds of goods and services offered as adjustments were made to accommodate the farmers' changing needs.

In 1951, the state's farm and ranch land area was divided among and shared by 545 hamlets, villages, towns, and cities as their trade and service areas. An understanding of

the trends of these trade centers and their trade and service areas is possible through a consideration of the population, merchandising, transportation, and agricultural changes that have taken place during the period from 1901 to 1951.

### Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to attempt to find a pattern in the complex changes that have taken place in the trade centers and farm areas of South Dakota during the last 50 years. It is hoped that a knowledge of these trends will help farmers, businessmen, and civic leaders understand the limitations and possibilities of their communities, and

<sup>1</sup>Associate Rural Sociologist, South Dakota State College Agricultural Experiment Station. Acknowledgement is made to Marvin P. Riley, Rural Sociology Department, for making suggestions and reading the manuscript.

that this knowledge will encourage better relations between towns and their trade areas.

### **Nature and Scope of Study<sup>2</sup>**

**Plan of Presentation.** A consideration of the period from 1851 to 1901 includes some of the problems of early settlement in South Dakota and gives the general conditions existing in the state at the beginning of the half-century period analyzed in this study.

Beginning with 1901, trade centers in South Dakota are indicated on five maps—one for each 10-year period. Changes in these periods suggest certain trends in the growth and decline of trade centers. These trends are based upon the changing number of trade centers as related to the changing size of the rural-farm, rural-nonfarm, and urban population from 1901 to 1951.

The study assumes there is a reciprocal relationship between town centers and their trade and service areas; that, for example, changes in the rural-farm areas in an agricultural state are reflected in the number, size, and distribution of trade centers. Emphasis has been placed on adjustments made to natural environments as well as development of specialization in agriculture, transportation, and merchandising.

Town-country relations is a comprehensive concept for it includes many factors that cannot be included in this study. Therefore, the relationships between trade centers and their trade and service areas are limited in this bulletin to changes in population, transportation, merchandising, agricultural technology,

and a limited number of social services such as schools.

**Limitations of Data.** The number of trade centers in this study is based on the Dun and Bradstreet reference books. Generally, Dun and Bradstreet do not list as many trade centers as other sources. This is due in some cases to the discontinuance of post offices in hamlets and the consequent listing of their business units in neighboring town centers. Although the population figures for small unincorporated places are estimates, the total population for these places is small even though their number is relatively large.

Another limitation applies to the number of business units and mercantile services, for a complete listing is not given in Dun and Bradstreet. However, there has been consistency in the enumeration of the more important mercantile services in this source.

Data on the number of trade centers and mercantile services were obtained from Dun and Bradstreet for the first 30 years of the study, previously reported in the Station's bulletins 274<sup>3</sup> and 279<sup>4</sup>. To make the data comparable and consistent, the same source was used for the last 20 years of the study.

### **Definition of Terms**

**Trade Centers.** A trade center is any population center with at least one business unit. It includes any

<sup>2</sup>See the appendix for sources of data.

<sup>3</sup>Paul H. Landis, *South Dakota Town-Country Trade Relations 1901-1931*. Bulletin 274, South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station, Brookings, 1932.

<sup>4</sup>Paul H. Landis, *Growth and Decline of South Dakota Trade Centers 1901-1931*, Bulletin 279, South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station, Brookings, 1933.

hamlet, village, town, or city, and it may be incorporated or unincorporated. A hamlet is a trade center with not more than 49 people. Small and large villages have from 250 to 499 inhabitants.

Towns are also divided into two classifications: small towns have from 500 to 999 inhabitants; large towns have from 1,000 to 2,499 people. Trade centers with 2,500 or more inhabitants are referred to as cities. In some instances, however, the term "town center" or "population place" is used interchangeably with the term "trade center" when no specific size is involved in the communities under discussion.

Each trade center in this study has 1 to 500 or more business units.

**Trade Units.** A trade or business unit is a commercial establishment selling some kind of merchandise. The unit may be individually owned and locally managed or a branch of a chain store.<sup>5</sup> Some types of services such as those of barbers, dry cleaners, and produce station operators were not included unless they supplemented their services with the sale of merchandise.

An increasing number of service establishments are engaged in selling merchandise in conjunction with the services they offer. An example of this would be a contractor who operates a building supply business on the side. A number of special services, including railroads, local telephone companies, hotels, motels, telegraphy, express, and air line services, some of which were not listed in Dun and Bradstreet, are included in the study.

**Economic Areas.** Those counties in South Dakota having similar agricultural, population, climatic, cultural, and physiographic characteristics were grouped as economic areas by the Census Bureau in 1950. Figure 1 shows these seven areas.

**Urban.** For purposes of this study the urban population includes communities of 2,500 or more inhabitants irrespective of whether or not the trade centers are incorporated.<sup>6</sup>

**Rural-Nonfarm.** This population class includes all persons living in communities of less than 2,500 people. In addition it includes all persons living on farms who maintain a house and a yard and are not engaged in farming.

**Rural-Farm.** The rural-farm population includes those who live on farmsteads and are engaged in farming as an occupation.

### **Natural and Geographic Conditions**

The Missouri River divides South Dakota into two almost equal but distinct geographic areas.<sup>7</sup> These two sections of the state are popularly referred to as "East-River" and "West-River." The West-River area has a more distinct drainage pattern with the tributaries of the Missouri running from west to east. The soil is derived from residual underlying rocks acted upon over a long period

<sup>5</sup>With the exceptions noted, only mercantile establishments listed in Dun and Bradstreet are used regardless of whether or not they are chain stores.

<sup>6</sup>Dun and Bradstreet list the retail services of Sioux Falls and South Sioux Falls together as one trade center.

<sup>7</sup>The counties east of the river have approximately 35,014 square miles, whereas about 41,522 square miles lie west of the river.



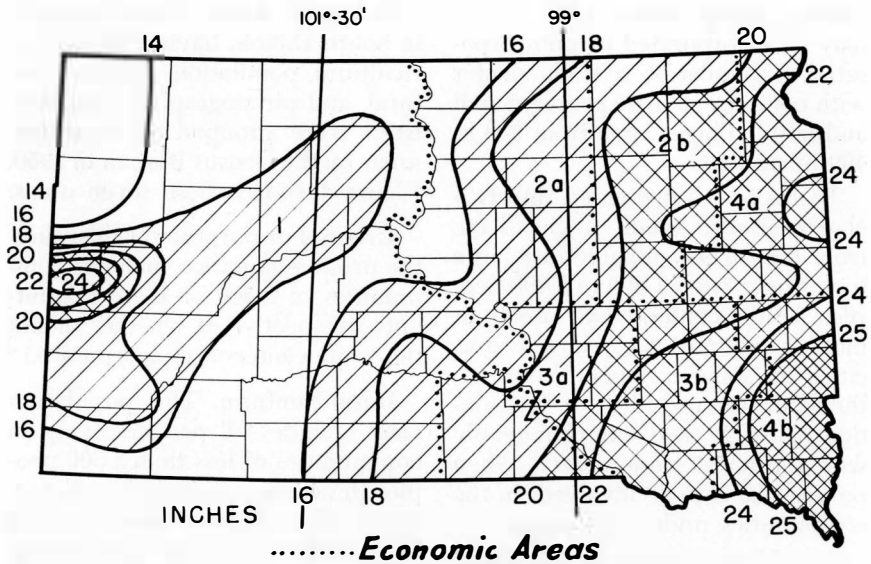


Figure 1. Normal annual precipitation for areas in South Dakota based on long time averages of weather records through the year 1944. Economic areas, 1950. (Precipitation data; U. S. Weather Bureau, Huron, South Dakota.)

of time by the agents of weathering. The East-River area is a glacial till plain of more or less unstratified glacial material of medium textured loams and silt loams with the drainage from north to south.

The annual precipitation differs between west and east river areas as does the topography. The amount of precipitation varies from 25 or more inches in southeast South Dakota to about 14 inches in the north-western part of the state, with the exception of the Black Hills area where it averages up to about 24 inches a year (figure 1).

Figure 1 was prepared on the basis of long-time weather records up to 1944. The various areas of differing precipitation show a close relationship to the seven economic

areas (figure 1), population density (figure 2), number and distance between town centers (figure 5), state primary roads (figure 9), and railroad systems (figure 7).

The average precipitation from 1890 to 1950 was 22 inches for eastern South Dakota, 17 inches in the middle division (between longitudes 101° 30' and 99°), and 18 inches in the western division (figure 1). The Black Hills area increases the average for the western division. From 1901 to 1909, from 1913 to 1923, and from 1941 to 1948 have been periods when the amount of precipitation was above the state average of 19 inches for the 61-year period, 1890 to 1950 (figure 3).

On the other hand, the periods from 1909 to 1913 and from 1923 to

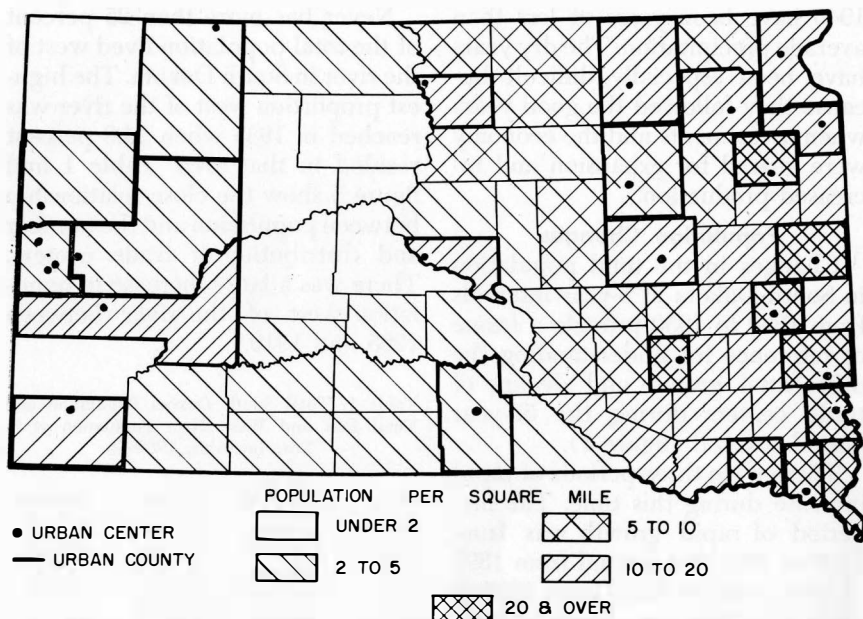


Figure 2. Urban counties, urban centers in urban counties, and population density in South Dakota in 1950.

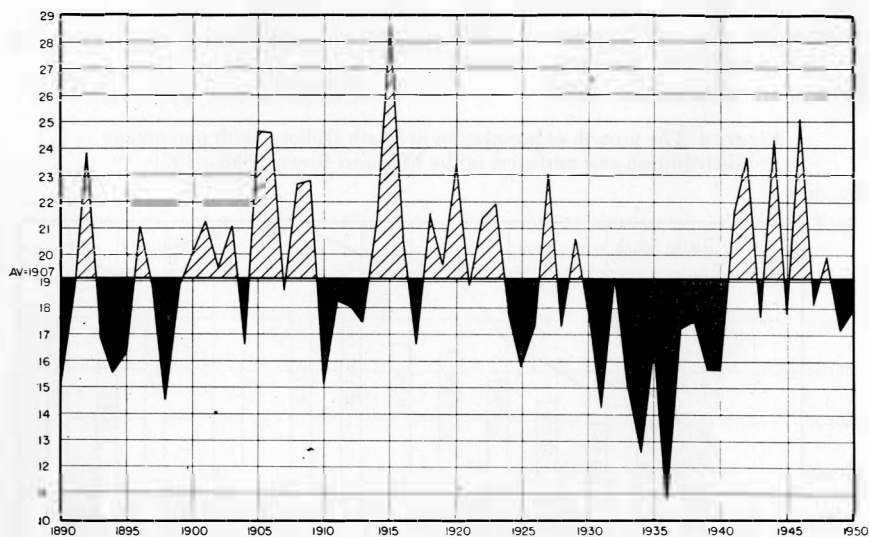


Figure 3. Annual precipitation for South Dakota, 1890—1950 (based on climatological data, U. S. Weather Bureau, Huron, South Dakota).

1940 have been years of less than average precipitation. The dry years have been especially difficult because they followed the good years when investments and the economy were geared for expansion and increased production.

### Population Changes

Changes in the total population in South Dakota at 5-year intervals from 1880 to 1950 provide a frame of reference for understanding the differential growth and decline of trade centers during the 50-year period covered (figure 4).

There were three periods of rapid increase during this time. The first period of rapid growth was from 1880 to 1890; the second from 1895 to 1910; and the third from 1915 to 1930, at which time South Dakota had more inhabitants than at any other time. There was little change from 1890 to 1895 and from 1910 to 1915. The total population decreased for the first time from 1930 to 1945, but the Federal census showed an increase in 1950.

Never has more than 25 percent of the total population lived west of the river in South Dakota. The highest proportion west of the river was reached in 1935 when 24.8 percent resided in that area. Table 1 and figure 5 show the close relationship between population and the number and distribution of trade centers. There was a large increase in population west of the river between 1905 and 1910.

Table 1. Total South Dakota Population and Total East and West River Population at 5-Year Intervals, 1900-50

Year	State Population	East River	West River
1900 .....	401,570	343,403	58,167
1905 .....	455,185	381,848	73,337
1910 .....	583,888	443,272	140,616
1915 .....	583,747	459,342	124,405
1920 .....	636,547	498,516	138,031
1925 .....	681,260	526,575	154,685
1930 .....	692,849	524,769	168,080
1935 .....	675,082	507,506	167,576
1940 .....	642,961	485,828	157,133
1945 .....	589,920	453,200	136,720
1950 .....	652,740	493,641	159,099

Sources: Data for 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940, and 1950 from U. S. Census of Population. Data for 1905, 1915, 1925, 1935, 1945 from South Dakota Census of Population.

Figure 4. The growth of population in South Dakota, with percentage distribution east and west of the Missouri River, 1880-1950.

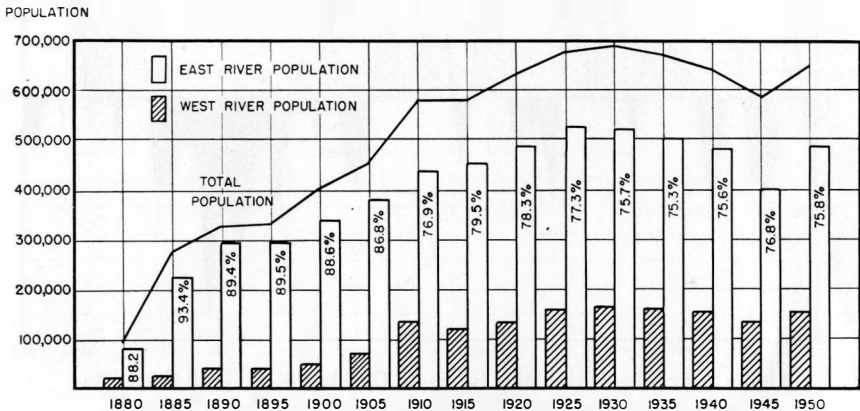
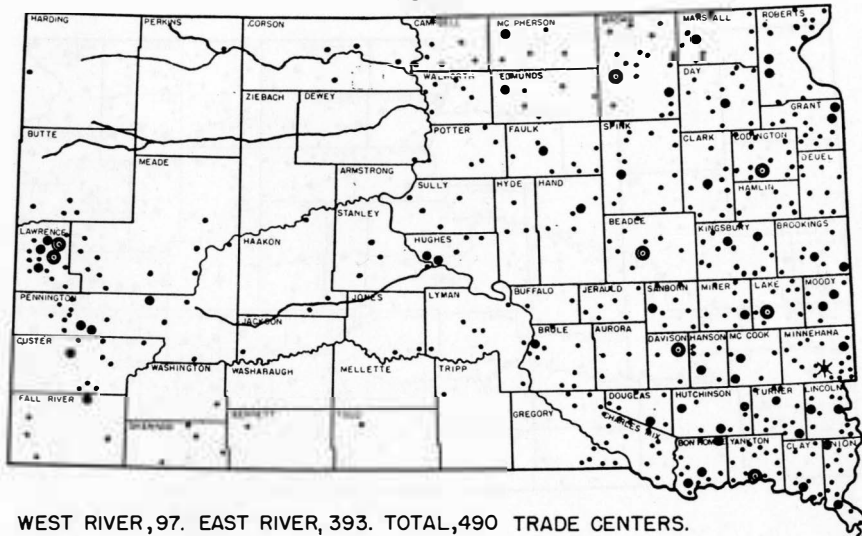


Figure 5. Distribution of South Dakota trade centers at 10-year intervals, 1901-51.

1901



1911

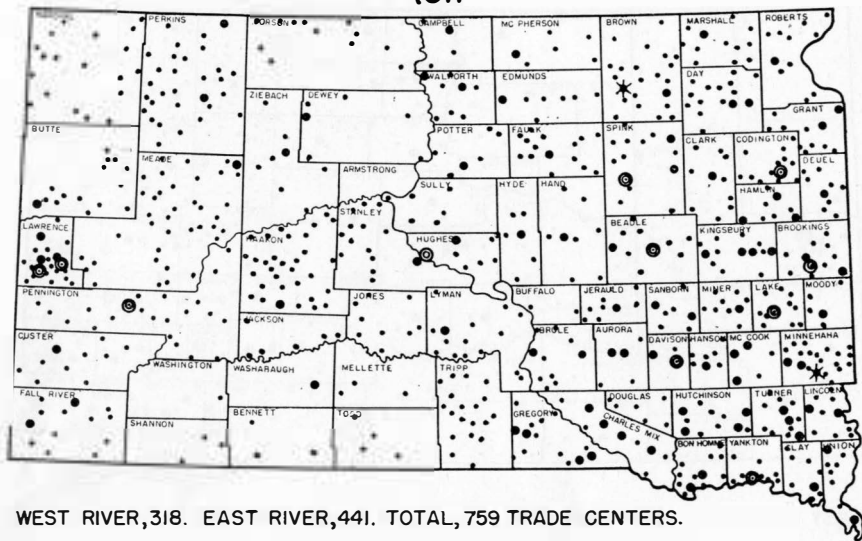
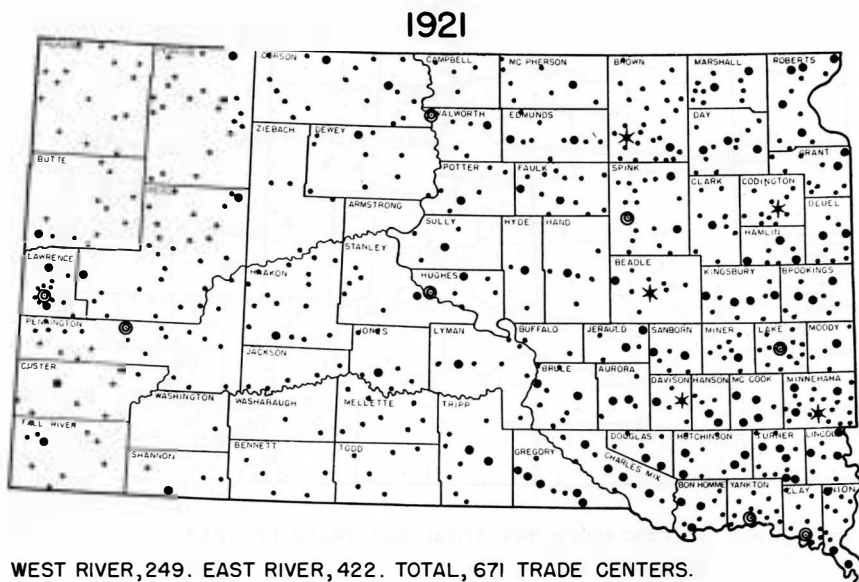
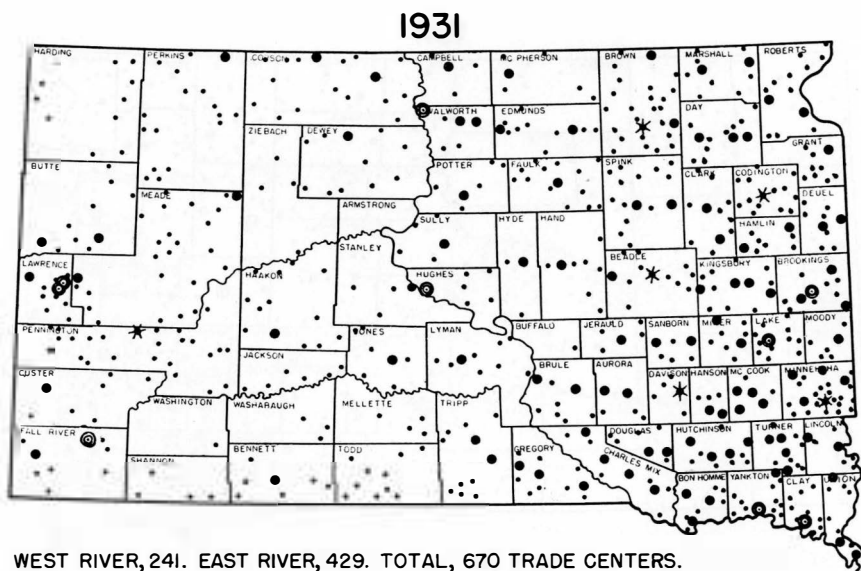


Figure 5. Distribution of South Dakota trade centers at 10-year intervals, 1901-51.  
(Continued)



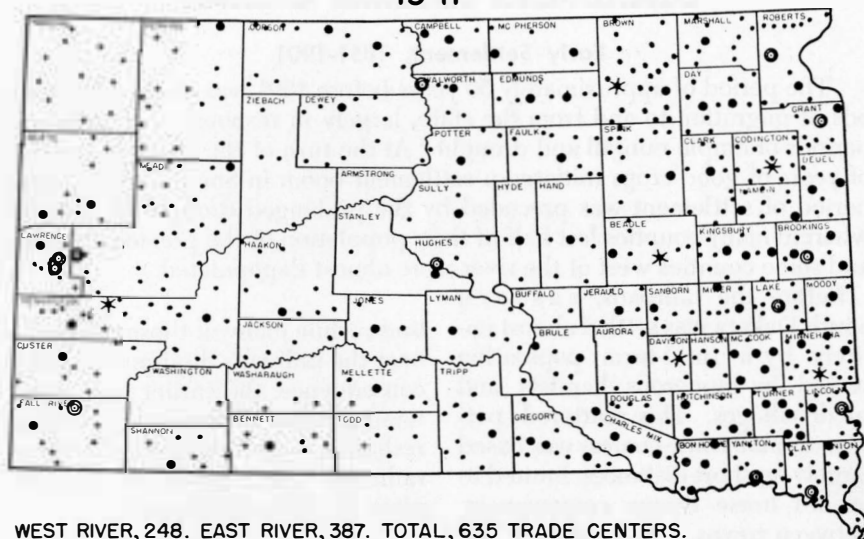
KEY: ★ 10,000 POPULATION & UP. ● 2500 TO 9999. ● 500 TO 2499. • UNDER 500.



KEY: ★ 10,000 POPULATION & UP. ● 2500 TO 9999. ● 500 TO 2499. • UNDER 500.

Figure 5. Distribution of South Dakota trade centers at 10-year intervals, 1901-51.  
(Continued)

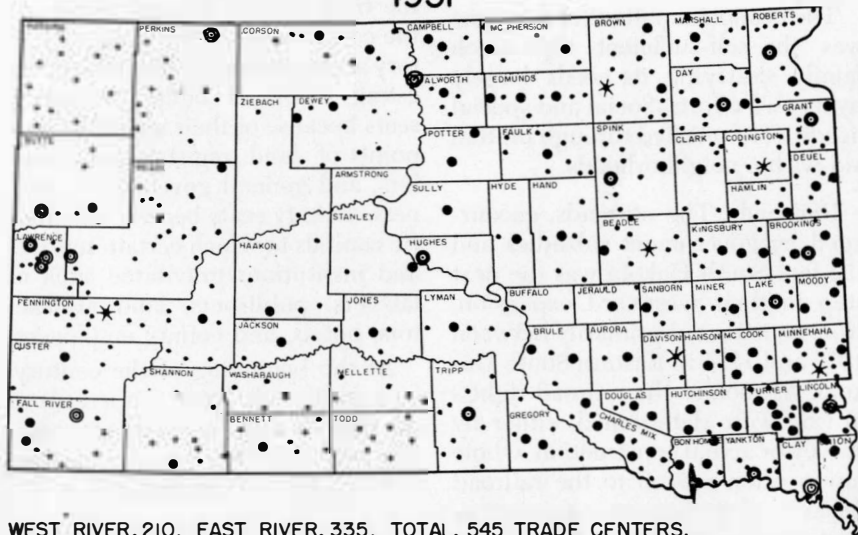
1941



WEST RIVER, 248. EAST RIVER, 387. TOTAL, 635 TRADE CENTERS.

KEY: ★ 10,000 POPULATION & UP. ● 2500 TO 9999. • 500 TO 2499. • UNDER 500.

1951



WEST RIVER, 210. EAST RIVER, 335. TOTAL, 545 TRADE CENTERS.

KEY: ★ 10,000 POPULATION & UP. ● 2500 TO 9999. • 500 TO 2499. • UNDER 500.

## Distribution of Trade Centers

### Early Settlement, 1851-1901

The period of approximately 50 years before 1901 was marked by periods of migration to and from the state, largely in response to alternating periods of ample rainfall and drought.<sup>8</sup> At the turn of the century, a series of years of good crops initiated a settlement boom in South Dakota. This period of settlement was preceded by the prolonged drought of 1889-97 wherein many counties lost half of their population of the previous decade and some counties west of the river were almost depopulated.

Before the railroads, eastern South Dakota was settled almost entirely by a rural-farm population served by numerous hamlets and small villages. This scattered pattern of small trade centers was based largely on short distances, limited to ox and horse drawn conveyances, between towns. Trails crossed the prairie at points of high and level topography that avoided trespassing notices of homesteaded claims in cropland.

The economic pattern at this time was the self-sufficient type—each family satisfying its needs largely by its own efforts. Social and special needs were satisfied through mutual aid within neighborhoods.

**Railroads.** The railroads, encouraged by government subsidies and the fact South Dakota was the next step in their westward expansion, were constructed primarily between 1873 and 1885 in Eastern South Dakota. As soon as the railroad rights-of-way were determined, either by survey or actual construction, whole towns often moved to the railroad because of its importance in transportation. In other cases new towns were established along the railroad

lines, while many of those relatively near the railroads disappeared. As a consequence, the earlier more scattered pattern of trade centers was reshaped according to a network of railroads that was almost as complete in 1890 as it is today.

**County Seats.** Another factor operating before 1910 to shape the pattern of trade centers still more definitely was the selection of one of the trade centers in each county as the county seat. South Dakota's history at this time is replete with interesting stories of fights for county seats because of their importance as points of land registrations, transfers, and general government business. County seats became the prairie capitals to which certain services and institutions gravitated such as lawyers, publishers, land abstractors, hotels, and county employees.

At the beginning of the century, on a state-wide basis, 23 percent of the trade centers had only one business unit and 51 percent had as few as five retail establishments.

<sup>8</sup>S. S. Visher, *The Geography of South Dakota: Report of the State Geologist 1916-1918*, Bulletin 8, University of South Dakota Geological and Natural History Survey, Pierre: State Publishing Co., 1918, pp. 137-162.

**West-River Settlement, 1901-11**

The 1901-11 decade may be considered as the period of West-River settlement. There was more than a 141 percent increase in the population of this section of the state between 1900 and 1910. Practically all of the white population west of the river was located in the Black Hills area prior to 1900. After 1900 and to 1909, the largest proportion of the newcomers (homesteaders) settled on the plains between the Missouri River and the Black Hills.

Construction of railroad bridges across the Missouri River and the extension of railroads into the western part of the state stimulated settlement in the area. Railroad bridges were built at Pierre and Chamberlain in 1907 and at Mobridge in 1909. A limited number of miles of railroad was constructed west of the river for the first time during this period.

Indian reservations were opened for settlement at the same time railroads were extended westward. When the Rosebud Reservation lands were opened to white settlement, 106,000 persons applied for

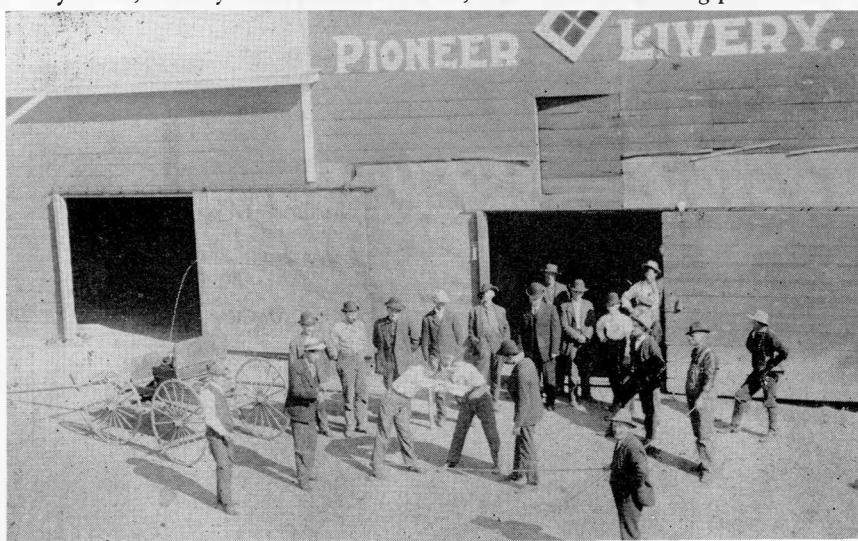
the right to homestead. In 1900 approximately 80,142 persons registered for land on the Cheyenne and Standing Rock reservations.<sup>9</sup> Claims were taken up by settlers in advance of railroad construction in anticipation of later extensions of railroad lines.

Another factor that encouraged settlement west of the river still more was a series of years of more than average rainfall from 1906 to 1909. Homesteaders were able to produce bountiful crops by using the same agricultural practices they knew in eastern states where the average rainfall was higher and more dependable.

Agricultural methods and transportation facilities at the time required numerous small trade centers to service the unprecedented number of homesteaders. Transportation was limited to horse-drawn vehicles, so many hamlets were established and spaced on the basis of the "team-haul." Automobiles were beginning to appear, although there were only about 7,050 in the state in

<sup>9</sup>Department of Finance, State of South Dakota, *South Dakota Legislative Manual*, Pierre: State Publishing Co., 1939, p. 440.

Livery stable, an early communications center, was a common meeting place for men.





1911. They were not equipped for winter driving nor were the cross-country prairie roads suitable to their use. Farms were small and numerous since they were not highly mechanized—the tractor had not yet been introduced.

The number of town centers in the state reached a high of 759 by 1911 (table 2). More than 50 percent were hamlets with less than 50 people. Of these trade centers 318 were located west of the river, an increase of 221 over 1901.

### Emerging Mechanization, 1911-21

This decade is characterized as "emerging mechanization" because the tractor and motor vehicles made their appearance and were in quite general use by the end of this period.

Population of the state remained about the same from 1910 to 1915. A series of dry years from 1909 through 1912 discouraged continued settlement west of the river. However, the increased rainfall from 1914 to 1923, with the exception of 1917, and the increased demand for agricultural products caused by World War I produced an increase

in the agricultural production and population of the state.

The increase in population of the state between 1910 and 1920 was 52,659 or more than 9 percent over the previous decade. However, in the West River area there was a decline of 2,585 inhabitants and a 20 percent decrease in the number of trade centers during this decade. Most of the trade centers that disappeared were hamlets. For the state as a whole, there was an increase in the number of centers in the 500 to 999 and 1,000 to 2,499 population classes. There was also considerable growth in the urban centers which accounted for about one-half of the population growth of the state during the 1910-20 decade.

Railroad construction was discontinued west of the river where many homesteaders had settled in anticipation of rail connections with the east. The introduction and use of motor transportation instead of railroads in this recently homesteaded area is no doubt related to a decrease of 69 trade centers west of the river during this period.

Table 2. Population Size and Number of South Dakota Trade Centers by 10-Year Intervals, 1901-51

Type of Community	Population Size	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
Hamlet .....	0-49	240	377	268	245	213	148
Small Village .....	50-249	148	188	192	202	214	191
Large Village .....	250-499	40	91	81	104	88	86
Small Town .....	500-999	37	58	76	62	63	60
Large Town .....	1,000-2499	16	32	40	41	38	35
Urban (2,500 and Over) .....	2,500-4999	7	7	6	8	9	12
	5,000-7499	1	3	3	2	3	5
	7,500-9999	0	1	3	0	1	2
	10,000-Up	1	2	2	6	6	6
<b>Total</b> .....		<b>490</b>	<b>759</b>	<b>671</b>	<b>670</b>	<b>635</b>	<b>545</b>

Sources: Number of trade centers from *Dun and Bradstreet Reports of Commercial Ratings* for 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1941, and 1951. Size of incorporated trade centers from *U. S. Census of Population*, decennial years 1900-50.

Another factor in the disappearance of trade centers was the increase in the average farm size. Increased mechanization made possible the operation of larger farms by fewer farmers. Consequently, with fewer farms and fewer farm people, fewer small trade centers could be supported. The average farm size increased from 335 acres in 1910 to 464 acres in 1920 (table A-1). This was due largely to increased farm size in area I, west of the river, where the greatest decline in total population took place. The population loss in this area was accompanied by the disappearance of a larger number of towns than in any other area of the state.

### **Increased Specialization, 1921-31**

The accelerated change from a self-sufficient to a more commercial form of agriculture characterizes this as a period of increased specialization.

**Tractors.** Although the rural-farm population remained about the same throughout the period, the number of tractors almost tripled between 1920 and 1930. More mechanization and the application of a growing stockpile of knowledge in scientific agriculture made farming more efficient.

**Cars and Trucks.** The number of automobiles increased more than 60,000 and the number of trucks, largely farm trucks, increased from 8,277 in 1921 to 24,041 in 1931. The increased use of motor transportation made it possible for farmers to travel further to market their commodities and purchase the goods

and supplies needed for specialization in agriculture.

**Retail and Service Units.** Even though there was a slight decrease in the total number of retail and service units during the period, changes within the total number suggest specialization. The number of grocery stores increased while general stores decreased. The largest increase was in the number of transportation units and women's ready-to-wear establishments. The latter suggests a decrease in home-made garments. There was also an increase in the number of bakeries and restaurants, suggesting less food preparation in the home. The blacksmith, whose versatility had met a wide range of needs and emergencies, was finding his services replaced by machine parts available in the increasing number of farm implement stores.

The population of the state reached its highest point, 692,849, in 1930, an increase of 8.8 percent over 1920. However, there was only one less town center in 1931 than there had been in 1921. The most significant change was the growth and decline in the size of centers in various population classes. Hamlets continued to decline in number as small villages increased. There was an increase from two to six trade centers with 10,000 or more inhabitants.

Changes in merchandising and the increased number of automobiles and trucks suggest specialization among trade centers and an increasing division of work between those working on farms and those employed in trade centers.

**Readjustment, 1931-41**

Readjustment during this decade has reference to some of the changes that took place between trade centers and the rural-farm, or trade and service areas of these centers. These changes, accelerated by the depression, were influenced by mechanization in agriculture and increasing specialization in both rural and town areas.

**Depression.** The primary cause of the depression in South Dakota, in addition to adverse economic conditions throughout the country, was the drought—the longest period of dry years since weather records had been kept. Although the stock market crash did not come until 1929, many farmers had used their reserves and “stretched” their credit during the twenties and post-war depression years. Thus the thirties was a time of farm foreclosures, bank failures, evictions, and the Farmers’ Holiday Movement.

Many farmers were forced to sell their basic livestock herds to buy feed and seed, meet mortgage payments, and pay operating expenses. Lack of feed for livestock accelerated the decrease in the number of horses and mules used on farms so that a return of better agricultural conditions about 1937 prompted a 30 percent increase in the number of tractors for the decade.

**Population Losses.** An unprecedented exodus from the rural population began shortly after 1930. Fewer farmers, increased agricultural mechanization, government programs reducing the acreage of certain crops, and the retirement of

submarginal land from cultivation is related to a significant decrease in the number of farms in all economic areas. This, in turn, accounts in part for an increase in the average size of farms from 438.6 acres in 1930 to 544.8 acres in 1940 (table A-1). There were, therefore, fewer people to support the smaller trade centers.

The total population of the state decreased by almost 50,000 people, or 7.2 percent, between 1930 and 1940. At the same time the rural-nonfarm and urban populations increased in size. Their increase did not, however, absorb the total migration from rural areas as many migrated from the state. The urban population increased as many farmers who could not continue farming moved to the county seat towns to be near federal work projects. A 21 percent decrease of rural-farm population during the decade is closely related to a net loss of 35 trade centers, the closing of rural schools and the assignment of rural pupils to town schools, and the closing of many rural churches.

**Work Programs.** Government-sponsored work programs improved many of the farm to market (county) roads. This provided easier access to the larger, more distant towns for those who remained on farms. The principal highways continued to improve the connections between the larger places. The first oil-topped highway was completed across the state to the Black Hills in 1938.

As urban places increased in size at the expense of rural population

losses which were sometimes fatal to smaller trade centers, changes in railroad shipping took place. There was a decrease in railroad shipments of less-than-carload-lots, and many railroad stations were abandoned between 1932 and 1938. Railroad stockyards and loading platforms were closed a few years later in the small places located between the larger population centers on the railroad lines.

#### **War and Postwar Period, 1941-51**

The trend toward a decreased rural-farm population continued during this decade.

**Conditions Improve.** Economic conditions began to improve in the nation after 1937. An increase in rainfall about 1940 and the World War II boom ushered in a period of prosperity. Agricultural programs that had limited production during the previous decade were abandoned, and as a result, there was a phenomenal increase in agricultural production from 1942 to 1944. Increased purchasing power at home and the demand from foreign markets stimulated production in spite of a continued decrease in the rural-farm population.

The number of tractors more than doubled during this decade. There was a continued decrease in the number of farms in all areas with the average size of farms increasing from 544.8 to 674 acres.

The total population of all town centers increased from 1941 to 1951, due to increases in the larger places, especially cities over 10,000. Even though the total population in-

creased 9,779 during this decade, it was still 40,109 less than it was in 1930. The rural-farm population decreased 53,125 or 17 percent for the 10-year period, making a 35 percent decrease since 1930. The rural-farm population in 1950 was a smaller proportion of the total population and was smaller in number than in 1920.

In the first part of this period, during World War II, most road building had been suspended. During the latter part of the period, following the war, there was a campaign by national as well as state interests for better highways to take care of the increasing use of trucks, busses, and automobiles. The number of trucks in South Dakota increased from 35,144 in 1941 to 74,725 in 1951. The number of automobiles increased from 167,590 to 219,233 during the same period. New roads and highways, therefore, did not keep pace with the tremendously increased transportation needs.

A continued decrease in the rural-farm population and the greatly improved transportation facilities are closely related to a net loss of 90 trade centers, 65 of which were hamlets, during the 10-year period. Thirty-eight of these trade centers were west of the river and 52 east of the river.

**Merchandising Changes.** Changes in merchandising were evidences of specialization. There was a decrease in the total number of mercantile units, no doubt related to the decreased number of trade centers, and to business consolidations. However, building contrac-

tors and electrical supply stores increased in number. The increased number of food locker plants, restaurants, cleaning and pressing units, and women's ready-to-wear establishments indicate less work was done in the home. There was a decrease of 67 blacksmith shops but

an increase of 152 farm implement stores, another indication of specialization. It was evident from the merchantile changes in trade centers that farmers were patronizing larger towns and cities which had a greater variety of retail and service units.

## **Trends In Growth and Decline of Trade Centers**

### **Number of Trade Centers**

The total number of trade centers in South Dakota has been decreasing since their peak in 1911. This decrease is due primarily to a decline in the number of hamlets. Within this over-all decline there has been a relatively small increase in the number of urban places (table 2). The number of villages and towns have remained practically the same since 1911.

Of the 377 hamlets in 1911, only 148 existed in 1951, a decrease of about 61 percent. The large decrease during the 1911-21 decade may be associated with the increased use of the automobile and an exodus of population from the West River area. This exodus of population was an adjustment to excessive immigration into the West River section of the state between 1905 and 1912.

Small villages, 50 to 249 inhabitants, increased slightly in number from 1911 to 1941. This is accounted for in part in that the population of some hamlets increased until it reached 50 or more and, therefore, met the population requirements of the small village classification. A larger percentage of the hamlets, however, declined in population until they disappeared. These two trends account for the fact small villages were more numerous than hamlets for the first time in 1941 (table 2). There was a large de-

crease in both hamlets and small villages between 1941 and 1951.

Although the total number of small villages, large villages, and small towns was the same in 1911 (337) as it was in 1951, there was a considerable amount of exchange from one classification to another during the 40-year period. A change from one classification to another was often compensated for by an opposite change.

Whether or not an individual trade center of this group is declining or increasing in population, with the possibility of changing its classification or remaining more or less stationary, depends upon changes that may occur in its locale. The construction and change of a new road, changes in train schedules, the introduction of irrigation, location with respect to competing trade centers, and other cultural changes have influenced the number and size of these trade centers.



The controversy over which was most efficient, tractor or horse power, continued into the early thirties.

The number of large towns has increased little since 1911. A few moved to the urban classification when they reached 2,500 or more inhabitants. All trade centers below the urban class have declined in number since 1931.

The total number of urban places has increased each decade since 1901. This increase in number is small but important in view of their increasing growth in population and in the increasing number and variety of services they offer. The number of large villages remained practically the same, but the number of small villages and hamlets declined.

### Appearing and Disappearing Trade Centers

There have been many changes in the number of trade centers in South Dakota during the 50-year period covered in this study. Of the 545 trade centers in South Dakota in 1951, 311 had been in existence since 1901; 234 appeared during the half-century period. However, dur-

ing the same period a total of 621 centers appeared. Thus, 387 of the 621 centers that appeared from 1901-51 disappeared during the same period. Hence, it may be inferred (table 3) that the permanency of a large number of trade centers was determined soon after their establishment.

Table 3. Appearing and Disappearing Trade Centers by 5-Year Intervals Showing Their Percentage Distribution East and West of the River, 1901-51

Period	Total Trade Centers		Percent Appearing		Percent Disappearing	
	Ap- pearing	Disap- pearing	East	West	East	West
1901-06 ..	118	42	49	51	69	31
1906-11 ..	267	69	23	77	65	35
1911-16 ..	84	102	32	68	27	73
1916-21 ..	31	101	52	48	30	70
1921-26 ..	36	37	39	61	38	62
1926-31 ..	29	28	45	55	39	61
1931-36 ..	25	42	20	80	79	21
1936-41 ..	11	29	46	54	41	59
1941-46 ..	4	85	25	75	58	42
1946-51 ..	16	25	38	62	40	60
Totals ..	621	560				

Source: *Dun and Bradstreet Reports of Commercial Ratings.*

### Rural-Nonfarm Population

All trade centers that do not exceed 2,499 inhabitants are included in the rural-nonfarm segment of the population. Although the total number of these trade centers has been decreasing, as table 2 shows, their total population has made up about the same proportion of the total population in the state since 1920, the first time a separate census was made for the rural-nonfarm population (table 4).

**Population Trend.** In the 30 years 1920-50, the rural-nonfarm proportion of the total population was the smallest (24.9 percent) in 1930 when the state had its highest population. In 1940 the total population decreased, but the proportion of rural-nonfarm increased to 27.6 percent of the total state population. The trend continued for the next decade when 27.8 percent of the total population was rural-nonfarm. This small increase in the proportion of the total population that was rural-nonfarm between 1930 and 1950 may be accounted for by the increasing number of people in this segment of the population who do not live in trade centers. People living in the "fringe" areas of both urban and rural-nonfarm places not directly engaged in agriculture are

included in the rural-nonfarm population.

**Fringe Areas.** The largest number of inhabitants in these fringe areas live in the unincorporated suburbs of cities and other trade centers in South Dakota. However, for the purposes of this study, it also includes those who live in the open country or near small villages and towns if they are not directly engaged in agriculture. An example of those included in this group are proprietors and their families operating small business units such as gas stations at the crossroads on main highways, if such families make these sites their homes. The business enterprise in such cases is often included with the nearest trade center in Dun and Bradstreet, but the people who live there are included in the rural-nonfarm segment of the population.

The number of inhabitants in these fringe areas for 1940 and 1950 was determined by subtracting the total population of trade centers with less than 2,500 people from the total number of inhabitants in the rural-nonfarm segment of the population as given by the U. S. Census. Estimates of the number of inhabitants for unincorporated trade centers, largely hamlets and villages,

Table 4. Urban and Rural Population of South Dakota and Percent of Total Population from 1900 to 1950 Inclusive

	1900		1910		1920		1930		1940		1950	
	Popu- lation	Per- cent	Popu- lation	Per- cent	Popu- lation	Per- cent	Popu- lation	Per- cent	Popu- lation	Per- cent	Popu- lation	Per- cent
Total Population .....	401,570		583,888		636,547		692,849		642,961		652,740	
Urban .....	40,936	10.2	76,673	13.1	101,872	16	130,907	18.9	158,678*	24.7	217,743*	33.4
Rural .....	360,634	89.8	507,215	86.9	534,675	84	561,942	81.1	484,283	75.3	434,997	66.6
Rural-nonfarm .....					172,789	27.1	172,511	24.9	177,613	27.6	181,452	27.8
Rural-farm .....					361,886	56.9	389,431	56.2	306,670	47.7	253,545	38.8

Source: U. S. Census of Population.

\*Includes a population of 591 in 1940 and 1,586 in 1950 for South Sioux Falls, S. Dak.

were added to the U. S. Census population totals of incorporated places under 2,500 to determine the number of people in these rural-nonfarm trade centers. The method of calculation was the same for 1940 as it was for 1950; so the relative error is approximately the same for both years.

The difference between 16,502 inhabitants in 1940 and 30,983 inhabitants in 1950 (table 5) indicates the number of people in fringe areas almost doubled during the decade. This increase grows in dimension when one considers that a considerable number of suburbs were annexed by and incorporated into Sioux Falls, Rapid City, Aberdeen, and other cities in South Dakota between 1940 and 1950. Part of the increase in 1950 over 1940 is due to changes in census definitions, one of which included in 1950 some rural-nonfarm residents that would

have been classified as rural-farm in 1940.

Since there was a decrease in the number of rural-nonfarm trade centers between 1940 and 1950, as well as a decrease in the aggregate population of these trade centers, the small increase in the total rural-nonfarm population since 1930 may be attributed to the increase in the population of fringe areas (table 5).

**Important Changes.** The population changes for each class of trade center in the rural-nonfarm segment of the population between 1940 and 1950 may seem small, but they are important because they took place during 10 years only and represent the most recent change. An examination of the population changes of those trade centers confirms Kinne-  
man's statement about the agricultural "village" when he says: "... Ordinarily, a village cannot rely for its growth and expansion merely upon

Table 5. Number and Population of Trade Centers in the Rural-Nonfarm and Urban Population by Population Class, 1940-50

Class*	Population Size	Number of Centers		Total Population		Percent of Total Population	
		1941	1951	1940	1950	1940	1950
Rural-Nonfarm							
0	Fringe Areas .....	0	0	16,502	30,983	4.91	7.76
1	Hamlets .....	213	148	3,588	2,653	1.06	.66
2	Small Villages .....	214	191	28,379	25,059	8.44	6.28
3	Large Villages .....	88	86	31,520	30,691	9.37	7.69
4	Small Towns .....	63	60	42,182	41,482	12.54	10.39
5	Large Towns .....	38	35	55,442	50,584	16.49	12.67
	<b>Total Rural-Nonfarm ..</b>	<b>616</b>	<b>520</b>	<b>177,613</b>	<b>181,452</b>		
Urban							
6	2500-4999 .....	9	12	29,621	36,360	8.81	9.11
7	5000-7499 .....	3	5	17,162	27,657	5.10	6.93
8	7500-9999 .....	1	2	7,520	15,473	2.24	3.88
9	10,000 and up .....	6	6	104,375	138,253	31.04	34.63
	<b>Total, Urban .....</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>158,678</b>	<b>217,743</b>		
	<b>Total .....</b>	<b>635</b>	<b>545</b>	<b>336,291</b>	<b>399,195</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Sources: Number of trade centers from *Dun and Bradstreet Reports of Commercial Ratings* for 1941 and 1951. Size of incorporated trade centers from *U. S. Census of Population*, 1940 and 1950.

\*Population classes correspond with those in table 2.



the servicing of the agricultural community. As it approaches one thousand in population it is likely to have, and by the time it reaches two thousand, the village is certain to have some industrial enterprise not directly connected with processing agricultural produce or in providing services for farmers. . ."<sup>10</sup>

Trade centers, not county seats, with populations between 500 and 999 decreased .5 percent in population between 1940 and 1950 (table 6). Twenty-four percent of the trade centers in this class were county seats which showed an increase in population of 19 percent. This accounts for the small over-all population increase of 4 percent for this size trade center. It appears then, with the exception of county seats, that trade centers in South Dakota with from 500 to 999 people represent a marginal area—a breaking point. There has been a general decrease for those centers with less than 500 people and an increase of population in centers over 1,000, while those with from 500 to 999 have remained relatively stable.

### Urban Growth

The urban population of South Dakota has been growing since 1900, with a pronounced increase since 1930, particularly after 1940. Only 10.2 percent of the state's total population was urban in 1900. This proportion increased to 18.9 percent in 1930 (table 4). After 1930, accelerated gains resulted in the urban population increasing to 24.7 percent of the total population in 1940 and 33.4 percent by 1950, despite declines in total population.

**General Increase.** All four size classes of urban centers increased in population from 1940 to 1950 (table 5). The total increase in urban population during the decade was 59,065 or 36.7 percent. Part of this increase was from the six trade centers (Belle Fourche, Lemmon, Redfield, Spearfish, Webster, Winner) that moved into the urban class from the rural-nonfarm segment of the population.

The greatest increase, however, was made in six urban centers (Aberdeen, Huron, Mitchell, Rapid City, Sioux Falls, Watertown) with 10,000 or more people. No new trade centers grew to this size from 1940 to 1950, so no population gains in trade centers of this size were due to additional population centers moving into this class. The population increase, 33,878 people, of the six cities with 10,000 or more population was larger than the total population of the 191 trade centers in South Dakota with 50 to 249 inhabitants. These six of the 25 cities in South Dakota contained 63 percent of the total urban population in 1950.

**Urban Centers Grow Most.** When South Dakota's trade centers in 1940 are considered exclusive of their movement into higher or lower population classes by 1950, urban places show far greater rates of growth during the decade than centers of any other size (table 6). The greatest population gain in towns during the decade was an increase of 11 percent in centers with from 1,000 to 2,499 people (class 5).

<sup>10</sup>John A. Kinneman, *The Community in American Society*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1947, p. 93.

Table 6. Number of South Dakota Trade Centers by Population Class (1941) and Percent Moving to Lower or Higher Class by 1951

		Percent*			
Class	Size	Total Trade Centers (1941)	Moved to Class		Pop. Increase or Decrease (-)
			Lower	Higher	
2	50-249	214	16	4	-11
3	250-499	88	17	7	-4
4†	500-999	63	13	5	4
5	1000-2499	38	5	16	11
Urban					
6	2500-4999	9	0	33	23
7	5000-Up	10	0	0	28

Sources: Number of trade centers from *Dun and Bradstreet Reports of Commercial Ratings* for 1941 and 1951. Size of incorporated trade centers from *U. S. Census of Population*, 1940 and 1950.

\*1940 and 1950 decennial U. S. Census figures used.

†The population of 24 percent of these trade centers, which were county seats, increased 19 percent; the remaining 76 percent of these trade centers lost .5 percent of their population.

In contrast, the population of urban places with from 2,500 to 4,999 inhabitants (class 6) increased 23 percent during the decade, and those of 5,000 or more population (class 7) increased 28 percent. Thus, evidence from table 6 indicates that among South Dakota's growing trade centers, the rate of growth was progressively greater for each larger classification of trade center from 1940 to 1950. Conversely, trade centers in South Dakota with less than 500 people in 1950 suffered an over-all decline in population during the decade. Their rate of decline was progressively greater for each smaller classification.

As is indicated by table 6, South Dakota's trade centers with 1,000 or more inhabitants in 1940 exhibited general population growth during the 1940-50 decade. However, in table 5, it will be noted that only the urban class shows an aggregate population gain when its total population for 1940 and 1950 is compared. This apparent contradiction is explained in that the growth of the larger centers in classes below

the urban class caused many of South Dakota's trade centers to move into higher classifications during the decade.

**Move to Next Class.** The population increase of 11 percent in centers with from 1,000 to 2,499 people (class 5) during the 1940-50 decade allowed six of the centers in this class to move up to the urban class by 1950. The number of people involved in this change was so great that centers below class 5, moving into class 5, could not offset the loss. Similarly, class 4 suffered a population loss since a greater population was represented by those towns moving out of class 4 into 5 than by those moving from class 3 into class 4. Thus, net population gains did not occur in any of the classes of trade centers except the urban classes. The urban classification benefited both from absorbing the growth of trade centers in lower classes, and from the fact that the 1940 urban centers in themselves showed far greater rates of growth than centers of any other size during the 1940-50 decade.

### Interrelationship of the Rural-Farm, Rural-Nonfarm, and Urban Population

The total population in the state was 583,888 in 1910 when it was estimated<sup>11</sup> that more than 60 percent of the people lived on isolated farmsteads. At this time South Dakota had its largest number of hamlets. The proportion of the total population that was rural-farm decreased little between 1900 and 1930. However, a significant decrease in the proportion of the total population that was rural-farm took place during the next two decades. The proportion that was rural-farm dropped from 56.2 percent in 1930 to 38.8 percent in 1950 (table 4 and figure 6). The total number of people in the rural-farm population decreased almost 35 percent between 1930 and 1950. During the same time the total population in the state decreased only 5.8 percent.

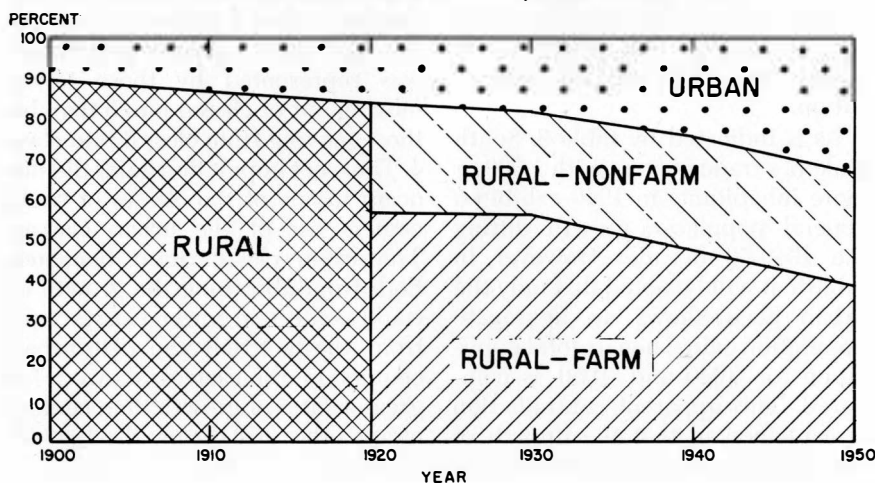
### Urban Population on Increase.

In contrast to the rural-farm population, the urban population in South Dakota has been increasing. From a total of 130,907 people in cities in 1930, the urban population increased to 217,743 in 1950, representing an increase of 66 percent over 1930. During the same time the rural-farm population decreased about 35 percent. Part of the urban increase is due to trade centers under 2,500 in 1930 moving into the urban classification by 1950.

Reference to figure 6 suggests the increase in the urban population is at the expense of the rural-farm population. This is true to the extent that the rural population in South Dakota migrates to urban places in the state. Between 1940 and 1950 a total of 94,165 people moved from rural-farm areas of South Dakota to cities in the state as well as to other

<sup>11</sup>Visher, *op. cit.*, p. 110

Figure 6. Percent of the total population in South Dakota that was rural-farm, rural-nonfarm, and urban at 10-year intervals.



states. The cities in South Dakota absorbed only 15,130 people, a small part of the population that left rural areas in the state; 77,035 inhabitants migrated to other states during this decade alone.<sup>12</sup>

**Small Trade Centers Decline.** The number of trade centers with less than 2,500 inhabitants in the rural-nonfarm segment of the population decreased from 746 in 1911 to 520 in 1951. However, their total population, including fringe areas, has constituted about the same proportion of the total state population since 1920. This has been true irrespective of the changes in the rural-farm, urban, and the total state population.

Although the trade centers in the rural-nonfarm population constitute the smallest proportion of the three segments of the state's total population, they play an important role in the social and economic life of all of the people in South Dakota. Not only do these trade centers represent points for trade and the marketing of agricultural commodities, but they may also be thought of as "processing" points for human resources. Almost 50 percent of the young people born and reared in rural and rural-nonfarm areas eventually go to the city.

**High Schools.** High Schools are located in fewer but larger trade centers and an increasing number of farm boys and girls are attending them. The trend has been for an increasing number of rural elementary pupils to attend town schools as the number of closed rural schools will indicate. An increasing number of

rural young people attend church and obtain their religious backgrounds in trade centers. The increased number of contacts farm people have with government agencies in county seats is giving rural young people experiences in government.

**Young People.** Attitudes and concepts of right and wrong are developed in young people during their early and most formative years in both rural and small town areas through close primary relations within the family and the rural community. Young people take these attitudes and concepts with them when they go to the city; others perpetuate them in the rural communities where they reside. It may be assumed then that the attitudes of many people in the city have been influenced by the kinds of trade centers with which they have had frequent contact.

#### **Size and Distribution of Trade Centers**

Certain historical events have tended to influence the distribution as well as the growth and decline of trade centers in South Dakota. Primary among these influences has been railroad construction followed by intertown conflict within counties for determining the location of many county seats. These two early influences were largely responsible for establishing the general outlines

<sup>12</sup>The total urban increase in South Dakota between 1940 and 1950 was 58,623 (new urban definition). The increase due to migration from rural areas in South Dakota was 15,130. (The additional 43,493 increase may be accounted for by an unprecedented increase in urban births and in migration from other states.) Based on data from John P. Johansen, *The Influence of Migration Upon South Dakota's Population 1930-1950*, Bulletin 431, South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station, Brookings, 1954, pp. 10-13.

for the distribution of trade centers around which later influences were limited or modified.

**Influences.** Influences such as agricultural mechanization, merchandising, and transportation during the 50-year period have made modifications in the relative size of trade centers within and according to their early railroad and county seat distribution.

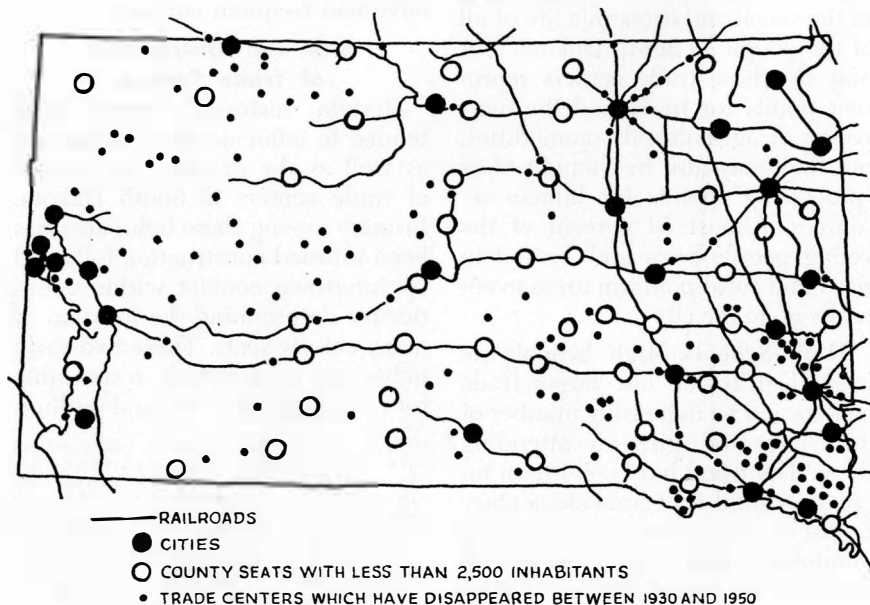
Mechanization, to be discussed later, was related to larger but fewer farms and a smaller rural-farm population in the trade and service areas of small trade centers. Because of this change many of these small trade areas became incorporated with the larger trade centers, usually county seats and cities, to

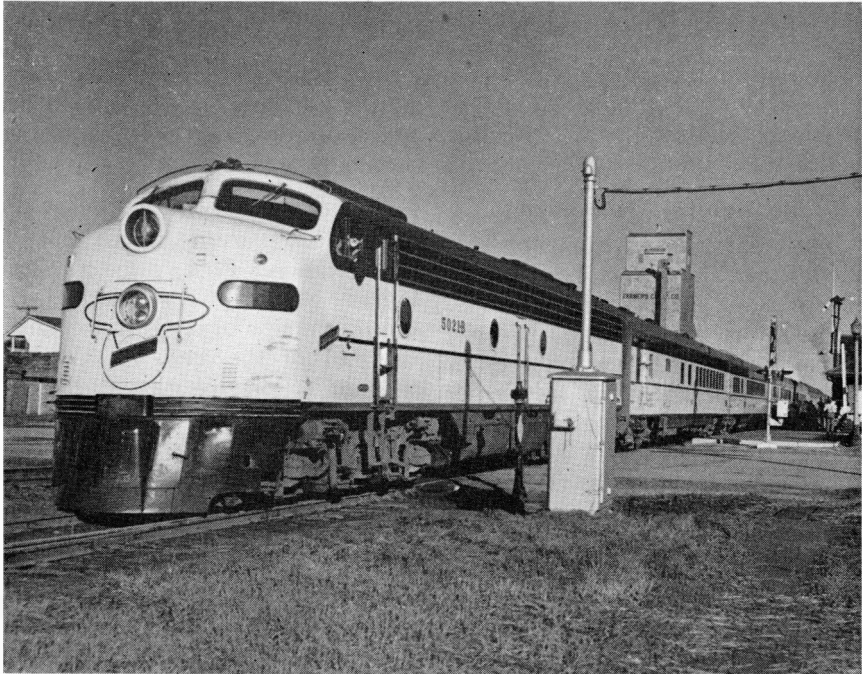
provide a large enough clientele to support certain kinds of specialized merchandising. Improved transportation facilitated this change by making it possible to travel greater distances.

These influences have effected a thinning-out of many of the smaller trade centers, largely west of the river and in the southeastern corner of the state (figure 7). The result has been a definite trend toward the development of "constellations" of trade centers made up of hamlets, villages, and towns as satellites around larger places, especially county seats as centers.

**Location.** Most of the 25 cities in 1950 were located in the areas of greater rainfall and population den-

Figure 7. Location of railroads, cities, county seats with less than 2,500 inhabitants in 1950, and location of trade centers which have disappeared in South Dakota between 1930 and 1950.





Long, heavy hauls of freight and faster passenger service are provided today with the diesel-powered locomotive.

sity. Those few cities located in areas of low population density were widely separated, serving relatively large areas (figure 7). All cities were county seats with the exception of Lead, Lemmon, Mobridge, and Spearfish. No more than one city was located in each of the 23 counties that had urban places except Lawrence County which included three cities. All cities were located on railroads with the exception of Spearfish where railroad service was discontinued when the tracks were washed out in 1933.

County seats with less than 2,500 inhabitants were located largely in

central South Dakota and in those areas in the eastern part of the state between cities. In most cases, the county seat was the largest trade center in the county. The 11 counties having trade centers larger than their county seats were located primarily in the central part of the state, and, in most cases, the county seat challenged the largest trade center for size. Only three of the ten small county seats not on a railroad were located east of the river. Each county in South Dakota had at least one dominant trade center in 1950, usually the county seat, served in most cases by at least one railroad.

## Factors Related to Trends in Trade Centers

Trends in the growth and decline of trade centers are related to a complex of interrelated factors. Chief among these factors has been the trend toward specialization in agriculture, transportation, and merchandising within the limitations of the natural environment.

### The Natural Environment

The natural environment includes many such factors as differences in soil, topography, altitude, temperature, sunlight, and precipitation. There are an unlimited number of interrelationships in varying degrees among these factors which influence the kinds of vegetation found in different areas. However, the amount of moisture available to plants seems to be the most common single measure of the kinds and yields of crops raised. Some authorities state frankly that varying amounts of water in the soil and air account for the greatest differences in vegetation.

**Adaptations.** Crop adaptations have been made over a 50-year period in South Dakota to differences in soil, temperature, length of growing season, and certain technologies such as drought and rust resistant plants. Nor does this preclude such cultural adjustments as government programs and the changing demands for certain crops. However, the amount of precipitation seems to be more closely related to the kinds of agriculture found in the seven economic areas (table A-3) in South Dakota than any other single factor.

**Precipitation.** One of the greatest limitations for the production of certain crops in South Dakota may be

understood in terms of three characteristics regarding its amount of precipitation. First, the average amount of moisture is marginal for the production of crops in the largest part of the state. Second, the amount of precipitation fluctuates in periods of years when it is sufficient for abundant crops and periods of years wherein it is not sufficient for a profitable agriculture. Third, the seasonal amount of precipitation varies. Often the annual amount is sufficient but not enough of this total comes during the growing season.

The people who settled South Dakota tried to establish the same kind of agriculture here as they knew in the states farther east where rainfall was more abundant and dependable. Thus, at the time of early settlement the virgin prairie was taken over by numerous small farms during years of ample rainfall. However, when a consecutive number of dry years came, settlers were not prepared by experience or equipment to make good adjustments. The response to the drought was the immediate out-migration of a significant number of farm people.<sup>13</sup>

In degrees, varying in each economic area, the influences of the natural environment have contributed to the trend in the growth and

<sup>13</sup>Visher, *loc. cit.*

decline of trade centers in at least three ways. Times of drought have effected an immediate out-migration from the rural-farm population. This out-migration in turn effected a sudden and high mortality rate among small trade centers whose existence depended upon their small rural trade and service areas. Surviving small trade centers decreased in size. Many of the out-migrants from the rural-farm and decreasing village and hamlet population found their way to cities in South Dakota and other states. In this manner the natural environment hastened a trend already in process because of other factors such as agricultural mechanization.

**Adjustments.** The marginal amount of precipitation has taught the South Dakota farmer to make adjustments such as farming on a larger scale or diversifying his farm operations to insure a margin of profit over operating costs. This particular response to the environment has been manifest in varying degrees in every economic area in the state. For example, west of the river where the average yearly rainfall is low, the average size of farms increased from 769 acres in 1930 to 1,271 acres in 1940 (table A-1). Conversely, the number of farms (table A-2) and consequently the farm population decreased. The decline in rural-farm population was in turn reflected in a decrease of 35 trade centers in the state for this decade.

Limitations of the natural environment have been an incentive for some farmers to make adjustments

to the land rather than migrate. During the time of the drought, suggestions made by agricultural colleges received wider recognition. The programs and services of experiment stations and extension departments of agricultural colleges were accepted and put into practice by an increasing number of farmers. Through these programs the farmer was introduced to such things as soil conservation, rust and drought resistant crops, a wider variety of more adaptable crops, insect control, and the use of commercial fertilizers.

The location of the agencies sponsoring these helpful programs was usually in a county seat town. This is a related factor to our trends for it meant farmers over a county-wide area were brought into a more frequent and vital contact with the one trade center that was already, in most cases, the largest in the area. Thus, the "central city" prospered at the expense of many of the smaller trade centers whose services became tributary.

Results of 100 years of population adjustment to precipitation in South Dakota by economic areas are presented in the appendix (table A-3).

### **Agricultural Mechanization**

Mechanization in agriculture has influenced the growth and decline of trade centers in South Dakota because of the pronounced changes it has made in their trade and service areas. As mechanization proceeded, farms decreased in number and increased in size. Accordingly the rural-farm population decreased.



The smaller farm population could not continue to support as many trade centers as formerly. Consequently many of them decreased in size or disappeared.

**More Acres.** The large exodus of the rural-farm population during the drought years of the thirties made many acres of farmland available to those farmers who remained. Mechanization made it possible for those remaining farmers to farm the abandoned land in addition to that which they farmed previously. The nature of this new adjustment meant that a smaller farm population lent itself to a more stable settlement pattern in that succeeding periods of greater or lesser precipitation did not result in alternating farm settlement booms and exoduses of population. However, the smaller farm population continues to influence the trend toward fewer small trade centers.

Mechanization has developed considerably during and since the drought years of the thirties. However, the cost of mechanization (tractors and power driven machi-

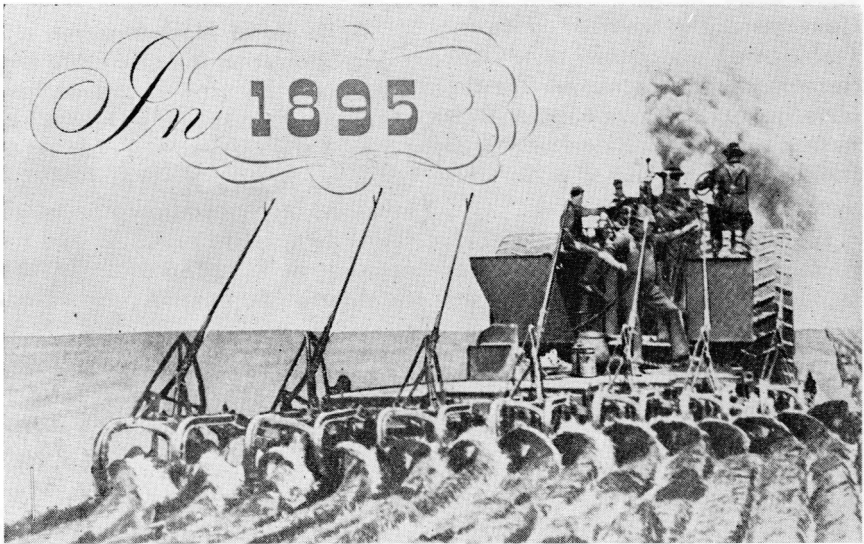
ery) made it necessary to farm additional acres. Thus, larger farms became both a cause and an effect of mechanization.

There is still another aspect of mechanization and technology that has contributed to the trend toward fewer but larger farms. That is the fact we are producing more agricultural products with a smaller population than when the farm population was at its peak in 1930 (figure 8).

Such mechanical devices as four-row cultivators, corn pickers, and combine harvesters were not the only factors contributing to more production. In addition, the knowledge of new crop and livestock practices increased production still more. Better breeds of livestock and improved grain varieties which are drought, disease, and insect resistant accelerated production, especially between 1945 and 1950.

Mechanization has also increased production in an indirect manner. The land formerly needed to produce feed crops for horses and mules was released, with the use of the tractor, for the production of

Custom plowing with steam power and numerous homesteaders with walking plows broke the virgin sod.



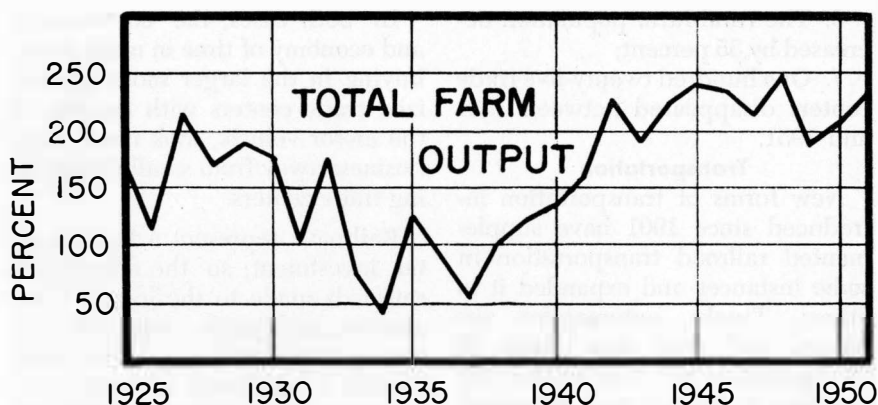


Figure 8. Index numbers of total farm output,\* 1925-51 (1935-39=100). Source: Antonidies, Robert J., *Agricultural Production Trends in South Dakota*, Agricultural Economics Pamphlet No. 50, South Dakota State College, January 1954, Page 13.

\*Includes the production of corn, oats, barley, grain, sorghums, hay, pasture, wheat, rye, soybeans (1940 to date), flaxseed, buckwheat, potatoes, sweet corn, cucumbers, sugar beets, apples, and livestock.

marketable crops or crops used to feed marketable livestock.

**Electrification.** The electrification of farms has been a convenience for both men and women. But more than a convenience, it has cut down much of the needed help for chores, releasing at the same time many man-hours to be devoted to field work. Electrically driven separators, milking machines, feed grinders, and other machines have replaced the man-hours previously supplied either by the aged or young on the farm.

The ability of fewer farm workers to produce a larger amount of farm products is a factor contributing to a smaller farm population. Since fewer farmers are able to both farm the acreage and produce the needed products, there is no "on the farm" demand for the natural increase in farm population. Hence, the growing number of jobs in more indus-

trialized areas has constantly absorbed the surplus rural-farm population. For this reason there is little prospect for the growth of the small trade center.

The following changes between 1930 and 1950 illustrate how agricultural mechanization is related to changes in the number and size of farms, the rural-farm population, and the number of trade centers which disappeared:

1. The number of farm tractors increased from 33,837 to 88,541, or 162 percent;
2. The percentage of farms having trucks increased from 17 to 48 percent;
3. The percentage of farms electrified increased from 11 to 69 percent;
4. The average size of farms increased by 54 percent;
5. The number of farms decreased by 20 percent;

6. The rural-farm population decreased by 35 percent;

7. One hundred twenty-five trade centers disappeared between 1931 and 1951.

### Transportation

New forms of transportation introduced since 1901 have supplemented railroad transportation in some instances and expanded it in others. Trucks, automobiles, airplanes, and other new forms of transportation which came after the railroads, facilitated such influences as agricultural mechanization, population changes, and merchandising developments, causing definite changes in the relationships among trade centers during this half-century period. All of these factors, operating together, are related to the disappearance of many trade centers and population losses in others located between the larger trade centers. These influences are also related to the growth of urban places, especially cities over 10,000.

**Railroads.** The railroads were forced to make adjustments to agricultural mechanization and the increasing number and use of motor vehicles. In most areas, agricultural mechanization and technology contributed to the decline of the rural-farm population in the trade and service areas of trade centers on railroad lines. In other cases, such as in economic area 4b in the southeastern corner of South Dakota, where there has been less change in the number and size of farms than in the northern and western sections of the state, agricultural technology is related to certain types of intensified agriculture.

In both cases, the convenience and economy of time in more direct buying in the larger more specialized trade centers with the use of the motor vehicle, took much farm business away from small neighboring trade centers.

Railroads represent a large capital investment; so the adjustment railroads made to the loss of business in small trade centers was to change the kinds of service they offered. Curtailment of train service was evident about 1930 by the number of trains discontinued per week. The railroad business resolved itself more and more to long distance, heavy carload hauls between the larger towns and cities. Another adjustment was made by reducing the number of stops at small stations to weekly, bi-weekly, or tri-weekly stops for carload lots of grain, lumber, and coal. It is estimated that 11,490 miles of weekly train service were discontinued between 1931 and 1951.<sup>14</sup>

Disappearance of 125 trade centers and the decline in size of others between 1931 and 1951 came after curtailment of train service and the abandonment of depots in many small trade centers between the larger places on railroad lines.<sup>15</sup> These small places became less important as points for marketing agricultural commodities. Another evidence was a decrease of 82 percent in the number of tons of less than carload lots of express and small

<sup>14</sup>The discontinuance of 11,490 miles of train service was authorized between 1931 and 1951, about 7,100 of which was discontinued in 1950 and 1951. Based on a special tabulation from the Public Utilities Commission, State of South Dakota, *Annual Reports of the Public Utilities Commission 1931-51*, Pierre, South Dakota.

freight shipped to and from South Dakota railroad stations between 1928 and 1951.<sup>16</sup> Some of this loss of business was no doubt taken by commercial trucks servicing small trade centers.

**Motor Vehicles.** The use of automobiles, trucks, and buses increased as railroad service dropped off in many of the small trade centers. The automobile permitted the farmer to go greater distances to take advantage of competitive prices and differences in the variety of goods and services among towns. When the motor truck came into more general use, larger trade centers became marketing points as well as points of trade. Both automobiles and trucks increased in number to a point where they were in quite general use by 1931 (table 7). Their combined influence has undoubtedly facilitated the changes that took place in the rural-farm population, size and number of farms, and the growth and decline of trade centers during the 20-year period between 1931 and 1951.

That there is a change in town-country relations as a result of the use of the automobile is pointed out by Kinneman who says: ". . . People in the open country do not have the same attachments to a particular trading center as they had a few decades ago. The general use of automobiles has played havoc with the identification which farmers once held to an agricultural center. As a result, community boundaries are constantly shifting and com-

<sup>15</sup>The sequence of adjustments the railroads made to increased trucking from 1931 to 1951 with respect to the small trade centers was first, the discontinuance of station agents and the employment of custodians to take care of business at train time; then the closing of many of the depots and the discontinuance of the custodians, followed by the closing out of railroad stockyards and loading platforms. This pattern continues. Agents in 65 stations were discontinued between 1931 and 1941; 8 more were discontinued in the next 10 years. Fifteen depots were closed between 1931 and 1941 while 30 more were closed during the next 10-year period. The closing out of railroad stockyards and loading platforms followed the closing of depots, for 3 were closed during the 1931-41 decade and 36 more were discontinued the next decade, 1941-51. *Loc. cit.*

<sup>16</sup>A total of 484,977 tons of less than carload lots of express and small freight handled in 1928 fell to a total of 89,894 tons in 1951 (tonage not available from the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy, and Great Northern railroads). Public Utilities Commission, State of South Dakota, "Statement Showing the Number of Carloads and Tons of Revenue Freight Originating Within South Dakota During 1928, and 1951" (mimeographed). Pierre, 1928.

Table 7. Registration of Motor Vehicles and Trailers in South Dakota by 5-Year Intervals, 1906-51

Year	Number					Total
	Autos	Trucks	Buses	Motorcycles	Trailers	
1906*	480†	‡				480
1911§	7,050†	‡				7,050
1916	44,257	†		1,817		46,074
1921	110,997	8,277	#	682		119,956
1926	153,948	14,445	#	246		168,639
1931	170,782	24,041	93	271	4,985**	200,172
1936	158,192	28,172	72	409	19,349	206,194
1941	167,590	35,144	141	444	25,782	229,101
1946	150,471	42,041	233	994	27,214	220,953
1951	219,233	74,725	319	1,672	30,750	326,699

Source: Reports of the South Dakota Motor Vehicle Department.

\*To June 30, 1906.

†License perpetual. This represents number of new licenses issued during that period.

‡Trucks included with auto registrations.

§From July 1, 1910 to June 30, 1912.

||Calendar year from here on.

#Buses included with truck registrations.

\*\*Last 6 months only. ‡Not required to register prior thereto.

munity loyalties are in a state of flux. . .”<sup>17</sup>

This no doubt accounts for the fact some centers are increasing in size at the expense of others. The use of the automobile has changed the pattern of farmer's relationships with town centers, especially since roads have been improved and the automobile was winterized permitting year-round driving. He is no longer dependent upon the neighborhood center for all of his services. He has learned to “shop around” among a number of towns because of their increasing accessibility.

**Highways.** Motor vehicles are of value only in so far as roads and highways permit their use. There is a close relationship between the increasing number of motor vehicles and improved roads. However, the miles of improved road has tended to lag behind the increasing use of motor vehicles. In the early days of settlement, when South Dakota had numerous towns and a large proportion of the total population on farms there was, at least theoretically, the need for a road around each section of land. Transportation was slow but wagons, stage coaches, and buggies could get through.

With the decrease in the rural-farm population, fewer rural roads were necessary to connect the reduced number of farms with the main highways between cities and towns. The need was for more miles of better all-weather hard surfaced roads, rather than more miles of road. Road mileage decreased from 96,306 in 1910 to 93,403 in 1950. The number of miles of unsurfaced roads

decreased in all classifications except for the county secondary roads. Graveled roads, especially county and township roads, increased in mileage from 1936 to 1950. The decrease was in the state gravelled roads due to an increased number of them being hard surfaced. Bituminous surfacing increased by more than 2,000 miles between 1936 and 1950, according to the State Highway Department.

The need for better roads for the economy in the state may be realized from the increasing proportion of the tax dollar being spent for new construction and the maintenance of all roads. According to the state auditor's annual reports, approximately 33 percent of the total state expenditures were spent for roads in 1931-32; 16.5 percent in 1941-42; and 29 percent in 1951-52.

The Interim Committee on highways in 1951 recommended that an official state trunk system of roads be completed in 10 years (figure 9). This proposed network of primary roads sets the framework for the development of secondary, county, and township roads that will give the farmer good routes to the larger communities.

**Auction Barns.** The trend for more direct buying and selling of livestock, which began in the early twenties, was hastened by such factors as improved roads, motor trucks, the depression, and a wider use of an increased number of livestock auction sales barns. Dowell and Bjorka recognized the importance of a local auction barn to busi-

<sup>17</sup>Kinneman, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

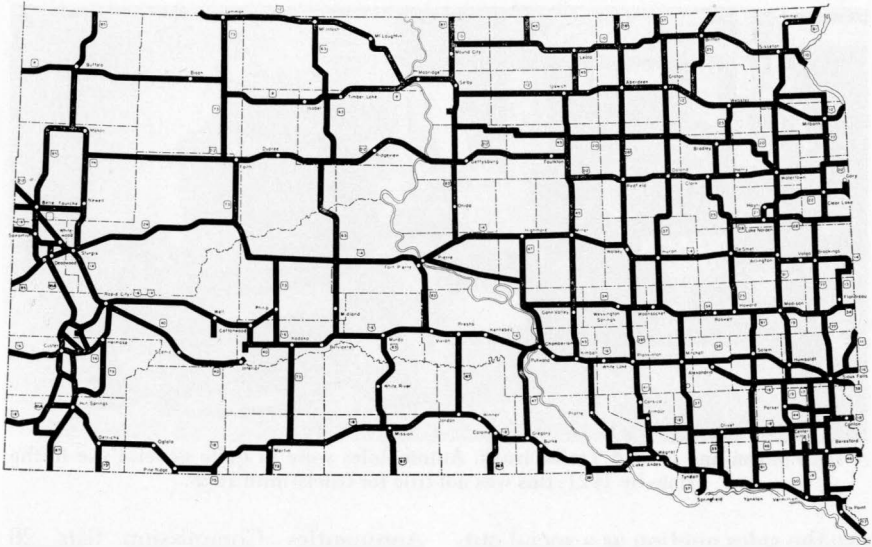


Figure 9. State trunk system of highways for South Dakota as recommended by the Interim Committee of the Legislature on highways, 1948. Source: A report of the Interim Committee on Highways, December 1948.

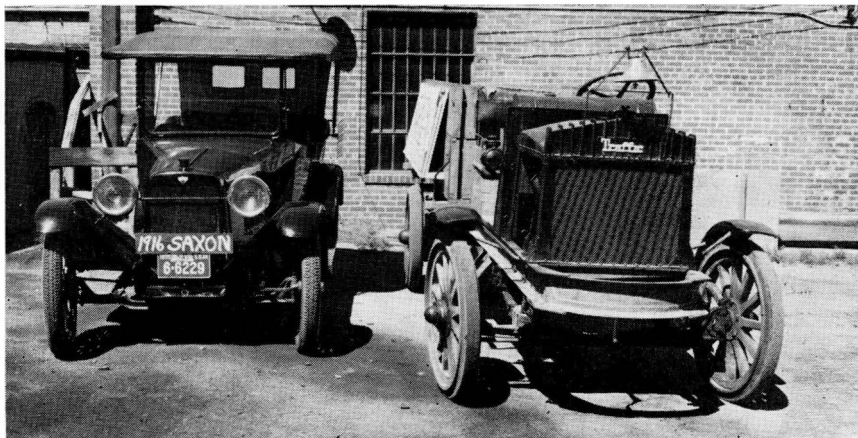
ness in general when they said, "Local merchants and organizations of businessmen in towns and cities have played a considerable part in the development of livestock auctions. Hard-surfaced roads, automobiles, and trucks had been responsible for much of the farmers' trade being shifted from the smaller neighboring towns to the larger towns and cities. Businessmen in the smaller communities, in attempting to regain some of this business, encouraged the establishment of auction barns where sales were held at regular intervals. Towns where sales were operating regularly attracted farmers from outside their normal trade area. . ."<sup>18</sup>

The sales barns gave the farmer an advantage as a convenient buying and selling or exchange oppor-

tunity for small numbers of livestock. It gave rise to a more or less local speculator demand among farmers, especially for feeder and breeder livestock for small operators, although some of the feeder stock is sold directly to individual buyers in the Corn Belt area.

In addition, the decentralized packing plants in the state offer an outlet for slaughter livestock direct from farmers even though some are sold at sales auctions to packer buyers. These two outlets for livestock, which have developed largely during the last 20 years (1930 to 1950) have taken another contact away from the small neighboring trade centers. The fact that the sales are held regularly and many farmers

<sup>18</sup>Austin Dowell and Knute Bjorka, *Livestock Marketing*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1941, p. 200.



A 1916 Saxon and a 1916 Traffic truck. Automobiles were in quite general use in the state by 1921; this was not true for trucks until 1926.

use the sales auction as a social outlet as well as a place to sense market trends means an increased number of contacts farmers have with the larger trade centers in South Dakota.

Of the 54 livestock auction agencies in the state for the fiscal year ending in 1949, 32 were located in county seats. The remainder were located in the relatively larger places in other livestock areas in the state.

**Airplanes.** Air service is becoming more important as a factor in both commercial and passenger transportation. Comparative data to show trends is not available; however, at present there are a number of commercial airlines operating in the state with regular east-west and north-south service. The Public Utilities Commission states that large amounts of freight are being carried by air.

An airport facilities map prepared in 1951 by the South Dakota

Aeronautics Commission lists 26 civil commercial airfields, 39 airfields with no regular attendant, and 150 personal landing strips. Many of the personal landing strips are located in the western ranching area of South Dakota where there are greater distances between towns.

Privately owned airplanes are put to practical use in several ways in the West River section of the state. Livestock checking, which normally requires a week on horseback, can be accomplished in a matter of hours by plane. In the case of a breakdown with a combine or other complicated machinery during harvest season, an airplane can be used to rush the broken part to Rapid City, Sioux Falls, or even Denver for replacement, and work is resumed with a minimum of delay.

**Appearing and Disappearing Trade Centers.** Between 1906 and 1911 a large number of trade centers appeared in South Dakota espe-

cially west of the river, in anticipation of railroad construction (table 3). However, many of these trade centers disappeared between 1911 and 1916 and from 1916 to 1921 because the railroads were not extended (table 8). The number of appearing and disappearing trade centers did not change much between 1921 and 1931. Many more trade centers disappeared than appeared from 1931 to 1951. These disappearing trade centers were quite evenly distributed over the state. Small centers over the state underwent a "thinning out" adjustment as improved roads and the more general use of the automobile and motor truck had the effect of bringing the farmer closer to larger trade centers.

Most of the 181 trade centers that have disappeared since 1931 have been located on county roads. Fewer of them were located on federal and state highways. Of the 56 trade centers that appeared during this period, about half appeared on federal and state highways, the other half on county roads.

As each new type of vehicle was introduced and improved, it was utilized to meet the needs of increased specialization in agriculture. The farmer is not limited to the nearest trade center today. He patronizes more than one center since different trade centers specialize in their goods and services. Farmers have found specialized products available, and have been able to purchase these products as a result of their own specialized activities in agriculture. This interrelationship of specialized activities has been made possible through improved transportation and has had important implications in merchandising and consequently in trade center growth and decline.

### Merchandising

Merchandising, for the purposes of this study, refers to the number and variety of goods and services available in trade centers.<sup>19</sup> Changes in merchandising, besides being factors related to the differ-

<sup>19</sup>Other aspects of merchandising, such as the influence of advertising, credit, insurance, and corporations as chain stores are not included although their importance is recognized.

Table 8. Relative Number of Disappearing and Appearing Trade Centers Located on Railroads by 5-Year Periods, 1901-51

	Disappearing Trade Centers			Appearing Trade Centers		
	Total Centers	Number	Percent	Total Centers	Number	Percent
1901-06	42	3	7	118	39	33
1906-11	69	3	4	267	92	35
1911-16	102	7	7	84	22	26
1916-21	101	5	5	31	10	32
1921-26	37	2	5	36	5	14
1926-31	28	3	11	29	1	3
1931-36	42	8	19	25	1	4
1936-41	29	9	31	11	2	18
1941-46	85	20	24	4	1	25
1946-51	25	9	36	16	5	31
1901-51	560	69	12	621	178	28

Source: *Dun and Bradstreet Reports of Commercial Ratings.*



ential growth and decline of trade centers, serve as general indexes of social change (table A-4). Thus, a consideration of changes in merchandising over a period of 50 years gives historical perspective to both the growth and decline of trade centers and the life habits of people living in South Dakota.

**Specialized Activities.** Changes in merchandising reflect an increasing number of specialized activities which have been made possible largely through expanded transportation facilities. During the settlement of South Dakota, the general stores of numerous small villages served the limited commercial needs of the largely self-sufficient population. "Store" goods were limited to bare essentials as farmers raised and preserved most of their own food supplies.

However, as the farmer turned toward concentrating on the production of commodities which were hauled to markets and sold rather than consumed on the farm, he naturally could not supply so many of his own needs. As mass production brought the automobile within the means of most families, farmers found it both necessary and convenient to make regular trips to trade centers to buy such things as prepared foods, ready-made clothing, and furniture so there could be more time to concentrate on agricultural production. Moreover, specialized agriculture in itself called for the increasing utilization of specialized seeds, feeds, machinery, and services that were obtainable only in town centers.

Many of the hamlets, villages, and other small trade centers did not have enough farms and farmers in their trade and service areas to warrant providing all of the specialized goods and services farmers required. Consequently, goods and services became concentrated in larger centers. These centers were spaced in such a way that their trade and service areas were large enough to include a sufficient clientele to support businesses that could supply a large number and variety of goods and services. Small trade centers surrounding these larger ones became "satellites" with their respective trade and service areas, gradually becoming nearly or entirely absorbed in the trade and service areas of the larger places.

The number of business units in South Dakota increased from 9,216 in 1901 to 18,750 in 1951 (table 9). This is a greater proportional rate of increase than that of the state's population or of the number of trade centers (table 10).

**Transportation Services.** Typical of the vast growth in the number of business units are increases in the number of transportation services such as filling stations, trucking services, and garages. The number of transportation services increased from 817 in 1901 to 4,364 in 1951. Since the population did not increase nearly as much during this time, there were 342 fewer people in the state for each transportation service, on the average, in 1951 than in 1901 (table 9). This is partly due to the invention and increasing utilization of the automobile, which

Table 9. Total Number of Business Services and Changes in the Number and Percent of People per Business Service Between 1901 and 1951

	Total Number of Business Services		Increase or Decrease (50 Years, 1901-51)	
	1901	1951	Number of People Per Service	Percent of People Per Service
State Total of all Business Services* ----	9,216	18,750	-9	-20
(Two selected services included in totals above.)				
Finance .....	812	736	392	79
Transportation .....	817	4,364	-342	-70

Source: *Dun and Bradstreet Reports of Commercial Ratings*.

\*Totals are given for all types of business services in the appendix, table A-4.

Table 10. Percent of Increase or Decrease in the Number of Trade Centers, Total Population, and Number of Business Services Between Dates Indicated  
(- indicates a decrease)

Period	Number of Trade Centers	Total Population	Total Number Business Services
1901-11 .....	55	45	61
1911-21 .....	-12	9	11
1921-31 .....	0	9	0
1931-41 .....	-5	-7	16
1941-51 .....	-14	2	-2
1901-51 .....	11	63	101

Sources: Number of trade centers and number of business services from *Dun and Bradstreet Reports of Commercial Ratings* for 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1941, and 1951. Size of incorporated trade centers from *U. S. Census of Population*, decennial years, 1900-50.

brought an increased number of facilities connected with its sale and maintenance. In addition, commercial transportation services such as trucks and busses have increased in number and capacity in order to supply the growing demand for goods and services. Thus, a growing, general dependence on transportation services has allowed the number of these services to increase vastly more (proportionately) than population numbers during the 50 years from 1901 to 1951.

**Food Services.** Restaurants and grocery stores are additional examples of business units that have in-

creased in number out of proportion to population growth during the 1901-51 period. Grocery stores flourished as town and country people alike have come to rely increasingly on the factory prepared and packaged foods found on the grocer's shelves. Restaurants, similarly, have made great increases in number (table A-4) as people traveling or seeking specialized goods and services away from their homes have created a widespread, growing demand for prepared meals.

**Finance Units.** In contrast, specialization in merchandising has led to a decline in a number of other types of business units. Finance units, including banks, for instance, decreased in number from 1901 to 1951. This occurred despite the fact that in relation to the population increase during this time there were 392 more potential customers for each finance unit in 1951 than there were in 1901 (table 9). The services of many small banks in numerous small towns have been replaced by the services of fewer but larger banks in larger, more centrally located trade centers.

Largely through the use of the automobile, people have access to

larger trade centers where banks have centralized and consolidated. Laundries and produce stations are further examples of business units, which, like banks, have centralized in larger places, decreasing in number, but increasing in size and business capacity.

Paradoxically, the trend for fewer banks and other centralized services, as well as the increased number of such services as grocery stores and restaurants, have been effected directly by improved transportation facilities. Another significant change related to transportation, especially between 1931 and 1951, was not so much the increased number of business services as it was their concentration in fewer but larger trade centers (table 11).

**Increase in Size or Number.** While the number of business units in South Dakota has increased proportionately more than the state's population between 1901 and 1951, this fact alone does not indicate the full extent of the growing depend-

**Table 11. Distribution of South Dakota Trade Centers on Basis of the Number of Resident Business Units in Each Trade Center for Years Indicated**

No. Units	1901	1931	1941	1951
Under 5 .....	252	276	267	199
5-9 .....	59	101	100	100
10-14 .....	27	68	76	52
15-19 .....	25	49	35	30
20-24 .....	31	38	25	31
24-49 .....	63	90	78	66
50-74 .....	21	27	25	31
75 and Above ...	12	21	29	36
<b>Number Trade Centers .....</b>	<b>490</b>	<b>670</b>	<b>635</b>	<b>545</b>

Source: *Dun and Bradstreet Reports of Commercial Ratings.*

**The limited commercial needs of the homesteaders were satisfied in general stores located in numerous small trade centers.**





The self-service grocery store in the larger trade center is one of the specialized services which has been replacing the general store. Wholesalers provide fresh meats, fruits, and vegetables daily in refrigerated trucks.

ence on the specialized goods and services provided by these business units. It must be remembered the over-all increase from 9,216 business units in 1901 to 18,750 in 1951 took place despite a declining number of some types of business units such as banks, laundries, and produce stations. These businesses, although declining in number, increased in size and were able to sell more goods and services; others increased in number and size both as the demand for their goods and services grew in larger as well as smaller places. Thus, most business units in South Dakota have grown in size or number or both. They are patronized by more, regularly dependent, customers and are selling more goods and services than even their great increase in number would indicate.

**Characteristic Businesses.** A consideration of the number and type of business units characteristically found in various size trade centers is a meaningful index of merchandising changes. Forty-one types of business units and services were selected and classified according to the number of services and amount of competition<sup>20</sup> for each service by town size in 1951 (table 12). For purposes of this study, a particular service is considered characteristic of a certain size trade center if at least 75 percent of the total number of trade centers in a town class have the service or a combination of similar services (table 13). Seventy-five percent is an arbitrary figure, but less than 100 percent would have to

<sup>20</sup>The use of the word "competition" in this study has reference to the number of business units or services found in those trade centers having the service. It has no reference to the volume of business done except, perhaps, by implication.

Table 12. Percent of Town Centers in South Dakota Having Services and Retail Establishments Indicated, and Average Number of Services and Retail Establishments in the Towns Having These Services by Town Size, 1951

Population Class .....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Population Size .....	0-49	50-249	250-499	500-999	1000-2499	2500-4999	5000 & Above
Total Number of Towns .....	148	191	86	60	35	12	13
SERVICE OR RETAIL UNIT .....	%*Av.†	% Av.	% Av.	% Av.	% Av.	% Av.	% Av.
1. Filling Stations .....	40-1	81-2	92-3	100-5	100-7	100-13	100-30
2. Grocery Stores—Without Meat ....	25-1	29-1	34-1	45-1	46-2	67-2	100-7
3. Grocery Stores—With Meat .....	14-1	41-1	71-2	93-2	91-3	100-6	100-20
4. Eating Places .....	6-1	50-1	78-2	97-3	100-5	100-8	100-27
5. Drinking Places .....	9-1	48-1	66-2	78-2	94-3	100-5	100-17
6. Drug Stores .....		10-1	50-1	93-1	100-2	100-3	100-6
7. Confectionery .....	2-1	6-1	19-1	17-1	43-1	58-2	92-5
8. Meat and Fish .....		2-1	6-1	18-1	28-1	8-2	38-3
9. Fuel, Ice, & Fuel Oil Dealers .....	3-1	31-1	48-2	67-2	80-2	100-2	100-5
10. General Stores .....	52-1	71-1	79-2	82-2	80-2	42-1	62-2
11. Motor Vehicle Dealers .....	1-2	7-1	44-1	88-2	91-5	100-8	100-14
12. Hardware Stores .....	6-1	50-1	78-2	100-2	100-4	100-4	100-7
13. Fruit and Vegetable Markets .....					1-1		31-2
14. Women's Ready-to-Wear .....		1-1	13-1	33-1	3-2	100-2	100-5
15. Lumber and Building Materials ....	1-1	31-1	50-1	65-1	74-1	92-2	100-6
16. Second Hand Stores .....		1-1	1-1		11-1	25-1	77-3
17. Men's & Boys' Furnishings .....		2-1	8-1	17-1	60-1	75-2	100-4
18. Household Appliances; Radios ....	1-1	9-1	49-1	75-2	80-3	100-4	100-9
19. Shoe Stores .....		1-1	2-1	17-1	54-2	83-2	100-4
20. Furniture Stores .....		2-1	16-1	50-1	74-2	100-2	100-4
21. Liquor Stores .....	1-1	18-1	27-1	13-2	31-2	58-3	77-8
22. Accessories, Tires, & Batteries ....	1-1	6-1	20-1	37-1	71-2	92-3	92-5
23. Cigar Stores; Cigar Stands .....		1-1	3-1			33-2	62-2
24. Bakeries .....		1-1	3-1	27-1	83-1	83-1	92-3
25. Variety Stores .....		2-1	14-1	27-1	77-1	92-2	62-2
26. Dairy Products & Milk Dealers ..		1-1	1-1	20-1	37-1	75-1	100-2
27. Hay, Grain, and Feed .....	1-1	20-1	29-1	60-2	68-2	75-3	77-3
28. Florists .....					8-1	50-1	85-2
29. Dry Goods & General Merchandise	3-1	4-1	10-1	20-1	37-2	67-1	69-2
30. Heating, Plumbing, Paint, & Electrical Supplies .....		4-1	23-1	68-2	77-2	92-3	100-8
31. Jewelry .....		1-1	5-1	38-1	74-2	100-2	100-5
32. Millinery .....				8-1	11-1	17-2	77-2
33. Farm Implements .....	5-1	39-1	71-2	97-3	89-5	92-6	92-8
34. Family Clothing Store .....		1-1	1-1	11-1	26-1	50-1	31-1
35. Tailors (Custom) .....							8-4
36. Department Stores .....				3-1		17-1	46-1
37. Banks .....		13-1	59-1	85-1	91-1	100-1	100-2
38. Hotels .....		4-1	19-1	47-1	74-1	100-2	100-3
39. Cleaning and Dyeing .....			3-1	32-1	86-1	100-2	100-5
40. Blacksmith Shops .....	3-1	29-1	52-1	73-1	74-2	92-2	77-2
41. Bowling, Billiards, and Pool .....	1-1	10-1	44-1	73-1	77-2	92-2	100-3

Source: *Dun and Bradstreet Reports of Commercial Ratings* for 1951.

\*% or percent is the proportion of centers in the town class which have the retail establishments named.

†Av. or average is the average number of the various retail establishments found in centers in the class having the service.

be used to make allowances for different combinations and variations in business services.

**Hamlets.** Under this definition the characteristic services of town class 1 would be filling stations and food stores (table 12). Only 40 percent have filling stations but it is common that grocery stores and general stores have gasoline pumps. The number of grocery stores, those with meat and those without meat, plus the number of general stores would total more than 75 percent; so only the two services would be characteristic of this size center.

There are a very limited number of towns in this population class that have such services as blacksmith shops, farm implement stores,

hardware stores, and lumberyards. Some of these service and retail units, which are small in number, no doubt continue because an aging proprietor may be liquidating the establishment during his remaining years rather than making some other adjustment. In other cases such as eating and drinking places as well as fuel oil dealers, the establishment may be strategically located.

During the time of self-sufficient agriculture, the hamlets would normally have had grain buyers, fuel and lumber dealers, blacksmith shops, and harness repair shops. As early as 1901 there was competition in food stores, grain elevators, and blacksmith shops. Many of the centers in this class also had hotels,

Table 13. Retail Establishments Most Characteristic for Each Town Class Determined on Basis of Approximately 75 Percent of Each Town Class Having the Service, 1951

TOWN CLASS AND POPULATION SIZE						
1 0-49	2 50-249	3 250-499	4 500-999	5 1000-2499	6 2500-4999	7 5000-Up
Filling-Station Food Stores	Filling-Station Food Stores Eat & Drink	Filling-Station Food Stores Eat & Drink Hardware	Filling-Station Food Stores Eat & Drink Hardware Farm Implement Drug Store Motor Vehicles House- Appliances Banks Blacksmith Billiards	Filling-Station Food Stores Eat & Drink Hardware Farm Implement Drug Store Motor Vehicles Banks House- Appliances Blacksmith Billiards Bakeries Fuel Oil Variety Electric Furniture Millinery Jewelry Lumber Hotels Auto- Accessories	Filling-Station Food Stores Eat & Drink Hardware Farm Implement Drug Store Motor Vehicles Banks House- Appliances Blacksmith Billiards Bakeries Fuel Oil Variety Electric Furniture Millinery Jewelry Lumber Hotels Auto- Accessories Women's Ready- to-Wear Hay, Grain, Feed Men's & Boys'- Clothing Dairy & Milk- Products	Filling-Station Food Stores Eat & Drink Hardware Farm Implement Drug Store Motor Vehicles Banks House-Appliances Blacksmith Billiards Bakeries Fuel Oil Variety Electric Furniture Millinery Jewelry Lumber Hotels Auto- Accessories Women's Ready- to-Wear Hay, Grain, Feed Men's & Boys'- Clothing Dairy & Milk- Products Confectionery Florists Second Hand Stores

Source: *Dun and Bradstreet Reports of Commercial Ratings* for 1951.

lumberyards, and billiard parlors.<sup>21</sup>

**Small Villages.** Using the same criteria, the characteristic services of towns in class 2 are filling stations, food stores, and eating and drinking places. Almost 75 percent of the trade centers in this class had hardware stores. Other services that are quite numerous are lumberyards, feedstores, farm implements, and blacksmith shops. Under the self-sufficient economy these places would normally have had blacksmith shops, lumberyards, livery service, hotels, drugstores, furniture stores, grain buyers, coal dealers, a publisher, and implement, flour, feed, and confectionary stores as well as a shoemaker and a bank, with some competition among many of these services. This size trade center would, with respect to the variety of services it had, compare with a trade center twice its size today, town class 4.

**Large Villages.** In town class 3, with from 250 to 499 inhabitants, are two or more of each of the services characteristic of the two smaller

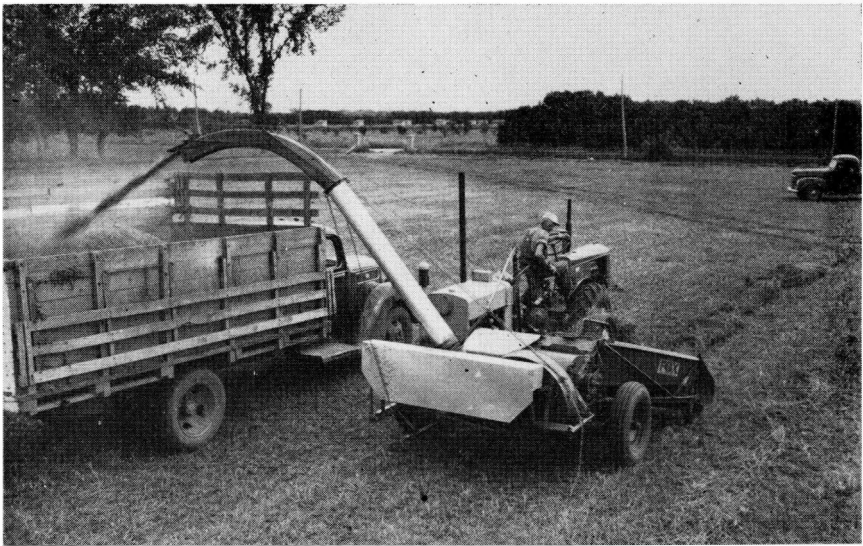
classes of trade centers. An increasing number of additional services was found in almost 75 percent of the trade centers of this class. Those services characteristic of these towns are: filling stations, food stores, eating places, and hardware stores. About 50 percent of these centers have fuel and oil dealers, motor vehicle dealers, lumber and building stores, household appliance stores, banks, blacksmith shops, billiard parlors, and bowling alleys.

Under the earlier and more self-sufficient economy these centers would also have included banks, furniture stores, drugstores, grain dealers, undertakers, restaurants, and implement, millinery, and jewelry stores, as well as lumberyards, publishers, and contractors with some competition in most of these services.

**Small Towns.** Town class 4, with from 500 to 999 inhabitants, has the following characteristic retail business services in addition to those

<sup>21</sup>Dun and Bradstreet Report of Commercial Ratings, Brooklyn: Dun and Bradstreet, 1901.

This power-driven field forage harvester increases production with less manpower and releases many acres of land for crop production which were formerly used to raise feed for horses.



listed as being characteristic in the three smaller trade center classes: drugstores, motor vehicle dealers, household appliances, farm implements, banks, blacksmiths, and billiard parlors.

There were 60 of these trade centers in 1951 and practically all of the 41 selected services considered in table 12 are represented to some extent in these towns.

**Large Towns.** Town class 5 has the following characteristic services in addition to those services characteristic of the centers already discussed: fuel and oil dealers, lumber, furniture stores, auto accessories, bakeries, variety stores, electrical supplies, millinery stores, and hotels.

**Cities.** The 25 cities in classes 6 and 7 have all of the 41 selected services in a large percentage of the places with considerable competition. Little or no competition exists except in cities for such services and business units as banks, millinery stores, florists, dairy products and milk dealers, variety stores, cigar stores, and fruit and vegetable markets. Women's ready-to-wear and men's and boys' clothing stores are found almost exclusively in cities.

A list of the most characteristic services from the selected 41 business units are listed in table 13 by town class. This list gives some idea of the availability of certain services to farmers by trade center size. Ordinarily, of the 41 selected services, filling stations will be nearer most farmers than any other service whereas department stores are the most distant.

A review of mercantile services characteristic of various sizes of trade centers reveals the tendency for more specialized services to appear in progressively larger trade centers. However, some forms of specialized service are occasionally found in smaller trade centers. Some small communities have hatcheries, buying and selling co-operatives, and produce dealers. The latter often operate large rural routes collecting cream, eggs, and poultry directly from farmers.

Another example of specialization is the restaurant in small trade centers on main highways. Reputations for special dishes and well-prepared meals at reasonable prices attract customers who regularly travel the route.

It has been this changing relationship in merchandising among trade centers, influenced by agricultural technology and transportation, which has effected their growth and decline. It has not been possible for all trade centers to meet all of the specialized needs of agriculture. As discussed under the previous sections, certain trade centers were destined to grow; others remained stationary or declined in population. However, all trade centers have been experiencing changes in their functions.

### **Specialization**

An outstanding characteristic associated with the growth and decline of trade centers may be summarized in the word, "specialization," for there has been specialization in all of the factors considered in their growth and decline during



the half-century period. Agriculture has become more specialized, more competitive, more efficient. The same may be said for merchandising, transportation, and professional services. This specialization, which has developed in a parallel and interdependent way has converged and influenced urban growth at the expense, in part, of small trade centers and the rural-farm population. Trade centers themselves have become specialized in the services they offer. It would seem that specialization begets specialization.

**Individuals Specialize.** Farmers, merchants, craftsmen, professional people, and others have become increasingly more specialized. As each individual specializes there is a tendency for those dependent in related fields to specialize also. This helps to complement and supplement their work. This has been true for institutions as well as for individuals. In both cases efficiency has been increased through specialization which has helped them to compete for a profit.

Profits in a money economy are needed by each specialist to buy the goods and services he does not have time to provide for himself. Each specialized activity is dependent upon related specialized activities for the profitable and necessary exchange of goods and services. These relationships in specialization exist among trade centers as each trade center competes and endeavors to

become increasingly more efficient in providing the retail goods and services for farmers and themselves. In doing this trade centers complement and supplement their services.

**Specialization and Growth.** Urban growth and specialization seem to be closely related in our society. Increased specialization in agricultural production has influenced urban growth through a complex of related factors. Through increased mechanization and technology, farmers gave more and more time to their respective specialized pursuits and less time in providing numerous articles and supplies which were formerly home-grown and home-made. Increasingly, as more time was given to specialized agriculture, "store" goods and supplies, which in turn were manufactured through specialization, were purchased by farmers in various sized "specialized" trade centers. Improved and specialized transportation facilitated the exchange of these specialized goods and services.

Recognizing the interdependence between agriculture and the goods and services available in trade centers, it has been said that, "the town needs the farmer and the farmer needs his town." In view of increased specialization during the 50-year period this interrelationship may be more aptly expressed: *towns* need farmers and farmers need their *towns*.

## Summary, Implications, and Conclusions

**1. Trade and Service Areas of Trade Centers.** The growth and decline of trade centers in South Dakota have been closely related to changes in their surrounding farm areas. The most significant of these changes have been agricultural mechanization, transportation, and merchandising. These influences have contributed to a decline in the rural-farm population.

As the rural-farm population declined there was a corresponding decrease in the number of trade centers but, at the same time, an increase in the number and population of cities. Some of the urban growth in South Dakota has been at the expense of the population in the rural-farm trade and service areas of trade centers. The rural-nonfarm population including trade centers under 2,500 has represented approximately the same proportion of the total population since 1920.

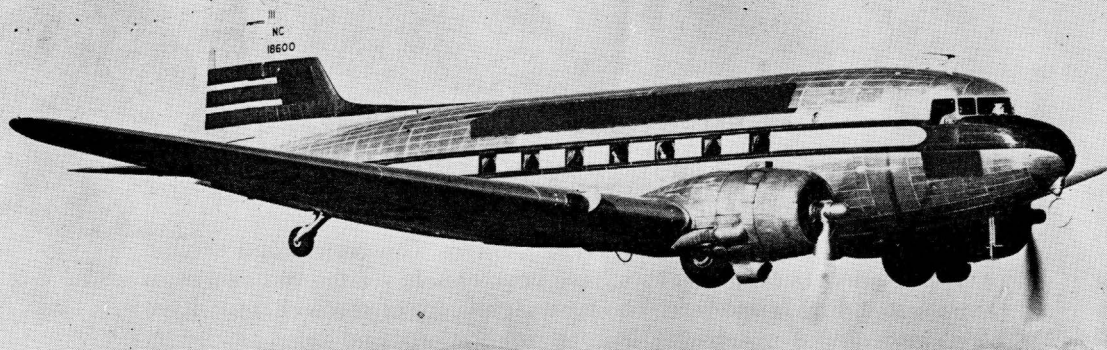
**2. Number of Trade Centers.** Trade centers in South Dakota increased by 269 during the first decade (1901-11) of the half-century period, making a total of 759, the largest number in the history of the state. This was during the early period of settlement. By 1951 they had decreased to 545, a decrease of 28 percent.

The decrease since 1911 is due largely to the loss of hamlets, trade centers with less than 50 inhabitants. The number of cities, trade centers with 2,500 or more inhabitants, increased from 9 in 1901 to 25 in 1951. The two greatest decreases in the total number of trade centers was 88 between 1911 and 1921, which may be related among other things to the first general use

of the automobile, and the loss of 90 trade centers between 1941 and 1951. The latter loss may be attributed to the trend toward specialization in the complex of interrelated factors such as agricultural mechanization, transportation, and merchandising.

**3. Size and Distribution of Trade Centers.** The construction of railroads and the location of county seats early in the state's history established the general framework for the distribution of trade centers during the 50-year period. This resulted in quite definite "constellations" of trade centers (a distribution according to relative size). These constellations are made up of a larger central (hub), growing trade center, usually a county seat, surrounded by any number of smaller trade centers, many of which are declining in population with some of the smallest hamlets disappearing.

The more recent trend has been for trade centers under 500 inhabitants to decrease in size; and for trade centers with more than 1,000 inhabitants to gain population. The greater the size over 1,000 the greater the increase. This trend has been more or less consistent irre-



The airplane offers one of the newer forms of transportation. It has supplemented and extended other modes of transportation.

spective of an increase or decrease in the total state population, or good or bad crop years.

**4. Social and Business Implications.** The fact that the rural-farm population in South Dakota declined 35 percent between 1930 and 1950 means a smaller proportion of the people are engaged in farming. As late as 1920 agriculture did not require as many social contacts as it does today. Since that time an increasing proportion of the state's total population has been employed in business, industry, and professions. These are occupations that now include many relationships with those engaged in agriculture. Therefore, the success of an increasing number of people in the state depends upon the kinds of relationships they have with others.

The businessman has become sensitive to the number of social services his community offers because he knows trade centers are increasingly becoming social centers. High schools, churches, and various associations have become town-centered with the declining rural-farm population and the discontinuation of these institutions and associations in rural-farm areas.

An increasing number of rural youth have been enrolling in both elementary and secondary schools in trade centers. Attitudes of right and wrong are being formed for a larger percentage of farm youth through increased contacts during their formative years in town-centered schools and other institutions. This fact is especially significant when it is considered that approximately 50 percent of rural youth eventually go to the city.

Farmers and businessmen are becoming more cognizant of the limitations and possibilities of their respective communities in regard to economic and social services.

**5. Future Trends of Trade Centers.** Present trends in the growth and decline of trade centers in South Dakota are likely to continue in the immediate future. There may not be as large a decline in the number of trade centers though, and there is likely to be a still greater concentration of population in the larger cities, their fringe areas, and the small towns on all-weather roads within commuting distances to these cities.

The small trade center will not disappear entirely. There will be a

minimum of small trade centers for they play a vital role in the social and economic life of town and country residents. Rather, the greatest change will come in their functions as they adjust to accommodate the changing life habits of the people they serve.

Two possibilities directly related to agriculture, either one or both of which may influence an increase in the number and size of trade centers soon, are irrigation and weather modification. The proposed Oahe Irrigation Unit which would put 750,000 acres of land more or less into intensive cultivation would mean an increase in the rural-farm population in the area affected. An increased number of industries and an increase in the volume of business may be made possible by elec-

trical energy from Missouri River hydro-electric plants. As a result, the Oahe project and others would affect the size if not the number of trade centers in the area.

Modification of the weather through cloud seeding is a less established possibility. But it is significant since the wide differences in the rural-farm population and the number and size of trade centers in the seven economic areas in South Dakota may be accounted for largely by differences of only a few inches of annual precipitation. To these potentialities must be added the fact many resources are still undeveloped in the state. The realization of any or all these possibilities in the future would make significant changes in the size and activity of many trade centers.

Automobiles have become a necessity. In 1950 there were 1.18 automobiles for each household in South Dakota.



# Appendix

## Sources of Data

The sources of data for the period 1901 to 1931 are South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station bulletins 274<sup>1</sup> and 279.<sup>2</sup> Another principal source of data was the Dun and Bradstreet reference books. Volumes used were the October ratings for 1901, 1906, 1911, 1916, 1921, 1926, and the January ratings for 1931. The volumes used for extending the study 20 years were the July issues for 1936, 1941, 1946, and 1951, continuing the pattern of 5-year intervals.

The United States Census includes the population of unincorporated places with the population of the political subdivisions in which they are located; therefore, the population for these unincorporated trade centers were taken from the Rand McNally Atlases. Because of the large number of small incorporated places in South Dakota, estimates for unincorporated places apply largely to hamlets and to some extent to small villages.

The population for all incorporated trade centers was taken from the decennial U.S. Census Reports.

Much of the information used on transportation and taxation was obtained through reports from and correspondence with the state auditor, State Highway Department, Department of Taxation, and the State Utilities Commission.

<sup>1</sup>Landis, *South Dakota Town-County Trade Relations*, 1932, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup>Landis, *Growth and Decline of Trade Centers*, 1901-33, 1933, *op. cit.*

Table A-1. Average Acreage of South Dakota Farms, State and Economic Areas, 1900-50

	1900	1910	1920	1925	1930	1935	1940	1945	1950
<b>State Total</b> .....	<b>363.1</b>	<b>335.1</b>	<b>464.1</b>	<b>402.6</b>	<b>438.6</b>	<b>445.4</b>	<b>544.8</b>	<b>626.3</b>	<b>674.0</b>
Area 1 .....	450.0	328.2	882.6	711.8	769.3	848.5	1271.3	1638.9	1962.4
2A .....	547.5	518.5	653.8	542.1	590.4	558.0	697.2	793.0	828.9
2B .....	447.8	420.5	396.7	368.7	385.4	364.9	419.7	452.6	470.5
3A .....	465.9	301.5	413.8	385.4	424.5	437.7	535.9	626.5	665.9
3B .....	330.8	303.2	292.5	266.5	275.7	271.6	299.4	320.7	324.0
4A .....	291.3	313.1	289.2	272.1	280.1	270.2	293.3	309.2	309.2
4B .....	230.4	228.6	211.3	196.7	204.6	199.9	210.2	214.3	214.3

Source: Ray F. Pengra and Gabriel Lundy, *Fifty Years of South Dakota Agriculture*, Pamphlet 56, South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station, Brookings, 1954, p. 21.

Table A-2. Number of South Dakota Farms, State and Economic Area, 1900-50

	1900	1910	1920	1925	1930	1935	1940	1945	1950
<b>State Total</b> .....	<b>52,622</b>	<b>77,644</b>	<b>74,637</b>	<b>79,537</b>	<b>83,157</b>	<b>83,303</b>	<b>72,454</b>	<b>68,705</b>	<b>66,452</b>
Area 1 .....	4,800	21,960	15,717	16,528	18,781	18,465	13,697	12,216	11,061
2A .....	5,961	7,267	7,431	8,599	9,156	9,200	7,897	7,431	7,185
2B .....	8,576	9,884	10,678	10,899	11,382	11,544	10,352	9,822	9,541
3A .....	2,628	6,824	6,530	7,198	7,053	6,709	5,569	5,197	4,874
3B .....	9,396	10,455	11,242	11,276	12,270	12,287	11,243	10,782	10,576
4A .....	9,419	9,455	10,420	10,615	11,065	11,342	10,572	10,272	10,404
4B .....	11,842	11,799	12,619	13,422	13,450	13,756	13,124	12,985	12,811

Source: Ray F. Pengra and Gabriel Lundy, *Fifty Years of South Dakota Agriculture*, Pamphlet 56, South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station, Brookings, 1954, p. 19.

Table A-3. Number of Inches of Precipitation Compared With a Selected Number of Factors Related to Rainfall by Economic Areas, 1951

Rainfall in Inches	Economic Areas*							Total
	1 0-16	2a 16-20	2b 20-22	3a 18-20	3b 20-24	4a 22-24	4b 24-26	
Type of Farming Area*	RANCH: Cattle and Sheep	TRANSI- TION AREA: Wheat and Grazing	WHEAT, CASH GRAIN AREA: Livestock, Dairying and Poultry	VARI- ED FARMING: Beef Major Livestock	LIVESTOCK GRAIN FARMS: Feed Crops Marketed thru Livestock	DIVERSI- FIED: Grains, Flax, and Potatoes	INTENSIVE LIVESTOCK FEEDING: Corn, Oats, and Soybeans	
Average Acreage Per Farm .....	1,962	828.9	470.5	665.9	324	309.2	214.3	674
Average Population Per Square Mile .....	3.6	5.7	12.8	6.7	15.1	16.5	34.7	8.5
Average Number Square Miles Per Town Center ..	204.6	169.2	99.4	162.7	100.8	72.1	71.1	140.4
Average Number Inhabitants Per Town Center ..	744.2	970.1	1,275.7	1,090.1	1,522.1	1,187.2	2,466.8	1,197.7
Average Number Square Miles for Each 4-Year H.S. ....	762	327	144	274	135	125	102	

Source: C. R. Hoglund, *Facts for Prospective Farmers and Ranchers in South Dakota*, Circular 59, South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station, Brookings, 1945, pp. 8-9.

\*See figure 1, page 8, for the location of economic areas.

Table A-4. Summary of Mercantile\* Enterprises in South Dakota at 10-Year Intervals, 1901-51

	Number of Merchandising Services					
	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
<b>TOTAL TRADE CENTERS</b> .....	<b>490</b>	<b>759</b>	<b>671</b>	<b>670</b>	<b>635</b>	<b>545</b>
Finance and Exchange, Total .....	812	1,517	1,599	1,298	750	736
Banks and Trust Companies .....	259	613	694	365	190	210
Express Money Order .....	265	394	384	387	4	3
Money Order: Post Office .....	281	507	518	542	552	518
Others .....	7	3	3	4	4	5
<b>Communication, Total</b> .....	<b>824</b>	<b>1,346</b>	<b>1,403</b>	<b>1,368</b>	<b>1,277</b>	<b>1,235</b>
Post Office .....	288	507	518	542	552	518
Publisher .....	256	305	306	289	217	184
Commercial Printing† .....					43	47
Stationery Store .....	28	25	21	11	57	55
Telegraph .....	236	342	372	385	323	326
Telephone .....	15	165	181	139	64	79
Typewriter Company .....	1	1	2	2	3	3
Radio Broadcasting† .....					10	15
Others .....		1	2		8	8
<b>Transportation, Total</b> .....	<b>817</b>	<b>1,314</b>	<b>2,657</b>	<b>2,924</b>	<b>4,766</b>	<b>4,364</b>
Auto Industries .....		216	1,678	2,065	3,782	3,269
(Gasoline Service Stations) .....					( 1,929)	( 1,710)
(Motor Vehicle Dealers) .....					( 488)	( 604)
(Specialized Auto Services) .....					( 410)	( 349)
(Garages) .....					( 955)	( 606)
Bicycle .....	17	9	3	2	12	4
Motorcycle .....			4	2		
Railroad .....	303	467	490	437	478	434
Express Company .....	266	394	384	387	324	312
Livery (Horse) .....	224	220	82	13		

Table A-4. Summary of Mercantile\* Enterprises in South Dakota at 10-Year Intervals, 1901-51  
(Continued)

	Number of Merchandising Services					
	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
Local Trucking and Draying† .....					22	83
Trucking, except local† .....					72	91
Taxicabs† .....					5	14
Local Bus Lines† .....					4	2
Bus Lines, except local† .....					4	7
Air Ports and Flying† .....					25	76
Air Carriage, Except common carriers† .....					1	6
Airlines Service, Certified Carriers† .....					9	14
Electric Light and Power† .....					26	42
Others .....	7	8	16	18	2	10
<b>Clothing, Total .....</b>	<b>576</b>	<b>799</b>	<b>930</b>	<b>886</b>	<b>1,130</b>	<b>998</b>
Boots, and Shoes .....	139	157	248	292	170	115
Shoe Repair Shops, and Shoe Shining Parlors† .....					243	160
Dry Goods .....	53	73	53	55	54	92
Furs .....	8	25	54	35	13	10
Laundry, Cleaning, Etc. ....	28	43	58	64	178	195
Pressing, Alteration, and Clo. Repair† .....					101	27
Men's Clothing .....	63	159	186	148	101	118
Millinery .....	206	262	217	134	68	32
Tailor (Haberdasher)† .....	73	71	86	74	3	4
Washing Machines .....			1	17		
Women's Clothing .....	2	6	21	67	153	167
Family Clothing† .....					44	76
Others .....	4	3	6		2	2
<b>Shelter and Building, Total .....</b>	<b>1,390</b>	<b>2,436</b>	<b>2,447</b>	<b>2,295</b>	<b>2,753</b>	<b>3,731</b>
Building Materials .....	320	690	568	516	329	292
Contractor .....	25	124	130	133	533	1,148
(Building Contractors) .....					446	976
(Highway-Street Contractors) .....					87	172
Electrical Supplies .....	4	19	113	127	119	261
Fuel (Coal) .....	111	227	300	286	536	343
(Fuel-Oil Dealers) .....					9	10
Furniture .....	173	222	194	194	140	172
Hardware .....	319	554	515	487	583	611
Farm and Garden Supply† .....					7	30
Household Appliance Stores† .....					135	374
Hotel .....	297	413	347	288	182	154
Auto Courts—Motels† .....					1	85
Paint, Paper, and (Glass) .....	71	51	46	60	43	61
Plumbing and Heating .....	24	72	163	129	74	115
Rugs, Draperies .....	3	4	1	3	16	45
Second Hand Furniture .....	13	13	16	20	43	20
Tinware .....	22	39	30	23		
Others .....	8	8	24	29	3	10
<b>Food, Total .....</b>	<b>857</b>	<b>1,462</b>	<b>1,695</b>	<b>2,081</b>	<b>2,486</b>	<b>2,520</b>
Bakery .....	41	77	98	157	130	96
Flour .....	60	83	64	69	14	
Fruit (and Vegetable Markets) .....	16	30	33	28	18	8
Groceries .....	275	321	529	847	1,134	1,083
(Groceries, Without Meat) .....					668	316
(Groceries, With Meat) .....					466	767
Ice .....	10	15	27	26	28	4
Meats .....	228	449	343	291	167	48
Food Lockers† .....					64	240

Table A-4. Summary of Mercantile\* Enterprises in South Dakota at 10-Year Intervals, 1901-51  
(Continued)

	Number of Merchandising Services					
	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
Restaurant and Lunch .....	227	478	572	658	931	1,041
Others .....		9	29	5		
<b>Medicine, Health (Mercantile), Total</b> ....	<b>345</b>	<b>585</b>	<b>559</b>	<b>569</b>	<b>546</b>	<b>468</b>
Drugs .....	308	446	412	376	338	297
Optician .....		10	14	15	32	23
Undertaker .....	37	129	133	178	174	143
Others .....					2	5
<b>Decorative and Luxury, Total</b> .....	<b>965</b>	<b>1,554</b>	<b>1,337</b>	<b>1,370</b>	<b>2,634</b>	<b>2,093</b>
Art Goods, Antiques .....	4	8	11	36		
Billiards and Pool Halls (Bowling) ....	98	428	536	377	308	220
Books .....	9	11	7	8	5	7
Gift, Novelty, and Souvenir† .....					24	85
News Stands and News Dealers† .....					17	18
Variety Stores† .....					140	151
Cigar Stores .....	44	58	32	23	27	22
Confectionery, Candy, Ice Cream .....	166	222	298	382	393	140
Jewelry .....	142	231	187	173	175	180
Music .....	33	48	56	40	32	32
Monuments .....	2	6	9	17	15	17
Nursery and Florist .....	5	16	29	31	47	58
Photography .....	73	96	85	76	70	94
Radio .....				132	110	45
Saloon (Drinking Places—Alcohol) ....	376	421	2		400	620
Liquor Stores† .....					139	207
Soft Drinks .....	4	1	75	64	707	67
Sporting Goods .....	2	2	1	4	10	70
Vending Machine Operators† .....					6	25
Others .....	7	6	9	7	9	33
<b>Produce Stations (Mercantile), Total</b> ....	<b>86</b>	<b>196</b>	<b>258</b>	<b>312</b>	<b>582</b>	<b>528</b>
Elevator .....	11	128	108	86	345	282
Produce, Cream Stations (Eggs, Poultry) .....	33	32	94	190	163	163
Dairy Products† .....					34	60
Milk Dealers† .....					40	23
Others .....	42	36	56	36		
<b>Farm Supplies, Total</b> .....	<b>1,383</b>	<b>1,913</b>	<b>1,962</b>	<b>1,818</b>	<b>1,383</b>	<b>1,479</b>
Blacksmith .....	478	557	474	385	318	251
Machine Shops† .....					53	57
Repair Shops—Welding† .....					62	124
Feed, Grain, Seed, and (Hay) .....	334	513	696	631	221	269
Harness, (Luggage) and Leather Goods .....	188	264	218	186	160	57
Implements .....	369	575	555	576	569	721
Lighting Plants .....	14	4	19	40		
<b>Unclassified Retail, Total</b> .....	<b>1,161</b>	<b>1,707</b>	<b>1,649</b>	<b>1,531</b>	<b>811</b>	<b>859</b>
General Stores .....	1,055	1,452	1,279	1,130	782	541
Department Store .....	1	4	18	71	17	12
All Others .....	105	251	352	330	12	45
<b>TOTAL RETAIL TRADE SERVICES</b> ....	<b>9,216</b>	<b>14,829</b>	<b>16,496</b>	<b>16,452</b>	<b>19,118</b>	<b>18,750</b>

Source: *Dun and Bradstreet Reports of Commercial Ratings*.

\*Some of the non-mercantile services included are: banks, post offices, telegraphy and telephone companies, and railroads. Not all such enterprises are included. The list given in the table has been determined by the Dun and Bradstreet listings.

†These services either increased in importance and number or came into existence during the 30 years from 1901-31 so they were added as separate categories in 1941.