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UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA
AT OMAHA

VINTON STREET: EVOLUTION OF AN ETHNIC RETAIL RIBBON,
1889 TO 1989

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE DEPARTMENT
OF GEOGRAPHY-GEOLOGY AND FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE COLLEGE IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT FOR THE DEGREE MASTER OF ARTS

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA AT OMAHA

BY

VAL J. GOODMAN

OMAHA, NEBRASKA

FEBRUARY 1993

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ABSTRACT

Geographers and others have researched the structure, functional relationships and ethnicity along a retail ribbon for a moment in time. Very little, if any attention has been given to their complex relationships over a period of time. Thus, the primary objectives of the study were to examine and determine if Vinton Street in Omaha, Nebraska, is a historic and present-day ethnic retail ribbon, and, furthermore, should time or the evolutionary process be considered as a significant and integral dimension for understanding the city's overall urban retail structure.

This study analyzed the historical development of Vinton Street and its adjacent area, land use classification, location and changes, the ethnic situation of the region and proprietors, plus the mean distance traveled to work by proprietors along Vinton Street for a one hundred year period (1889 to 1989). Each variable served as a chapter that was divided into five time-based stages, Infant through Post Maximal, so comparisons and transitions could be documented for each stage. Then, these stages served as a mechanism to combine this analysis in the final chapter for the conclusion.

The results of this geographical analysis indicate that Vinton Street was a historic, ethnic neighborhood retail ribbon that co-exists today as a principal urban arterial ribbon and an ethnic neighborhood retail ribbon. This conclusion

was based on such factors as: 1) the direct correlation between the ethnic composition of the study region and the proprietors who operated businesses on the ribbon; 2) the overall ethnic stability of the region and proprietors; 3) the rapid decrease in the number of work-residences found on the artery, as well as within the study region, after its first seventy-years; 4) the consistent increase in the mean distance the proprietor traveled to work; 5) the land use changes from "single-function" (food and barber/beauty) to urban arterial businesses (furniture, real estate and antique/variety stores) that are dependent on passing traffic; 6) a larger foreign-population as compared to Omaha throughout the study; and 7) the location and structure of businesses along the principal retail ribbon section of the artery.

As a result, the structure and function of an ethnic or urban retail artery evolves or changes through time. A temporal and ethnic focus is indeed a significant dimension that furthers the understanding of the city's overall urban retail structure. Thus, the evolutionary process should be considered an important and integral element in studying the urban retail ribbon, as clearly shown in the Vinton Street study in Omaha, Nebraska.

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VINTON STREET SIGNS



Chapter One **Introduction and Background**

Between 1850 and 1910, an estimated 21,973,870 European immigrants crossed the Atlantic Ocean to the United States (Bogue, 1969). Upon arriving, immigrants spent their first years with fellow countrymen in the older, decaying, unsanitary inner districts of eastern cities vacated by earlier inhabitants or beyond the city limits of expanding urban centers called "shanty-towns" (Ward, 1971). As a result, small concentrated ethnic communities developed where customs, languages, and religions reflected their homeland.

During this sixty-year period, thousands of immigrants left the overpopulated eastern cities to find unskilled employment in the midwestern industrial cities or to farm the Mississippi Lowlands and Great Plains regions. Many of these new immigrant farmers arrived too late to claim or were too destitute to purchase suitable agricultural land. Consequently, numerous immigrant farmers had little choice but to select midwestern industrial cities where unskilled labor opportunities were abundant such as Chicago, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, St. Louis, and Omaha to obtain employment. Unknowingly at the time, these immigrants added ethnic flavor to the nation's changing urban landscape.

Omaha, considered the major gateway city west of Chicago, began as a frontier village located on the west bank of the Missouri River across from Council Bluffs, Iowa, in 1854. In its early days Omaha prospered as a retail trade center, a principal steamboat destination, a major

outfitter, and launching place for settlers, miners, and traders migrating west along the Platte River to gold fields or agricultural lands (Chudacoff, 1972). As a result of these economic factors, Omaha officially became an incorporated city in 1857.

During the next decade Omaha's population grew from 4,000 inhabitants in 1860 to over 16,000 in 1870 as immigrants, Civil War veterans, farmers and others made Omaha and western farm lands their destination (Larsen, 1982). Omaha's employment attraction in this decade centered on railroad construction. The Union Pacific led the way when it announced in 1862 that it was constructing a transcontinental railroad and selected Omaha as the eastern terminus (Leighton, 1938). Besides railroad employment attractions, Omaha eventually offered labor opportunities at the Omaha and Grant Smelting Company, Paxton Iron Works, the developing wholesale trade and warehouse districts, and followed, of course, by the important packinghouses in the late 1880's (Armour, Cudahy, Hammond, Omaha, and Swift) located in South Omaha. The packing industry probably did more to encourage immigration to Omaha than any other industry (Omaha City Planning Department, 1980). These and several other unskilled labor attractions contributed to Omaha's large and diverse foreign population for years to come.

By 1880 Omaha's population exceeded 30,000. Over one-third of this population was foreign born and over fifty percent was of some foreign ancestry - similar to Cincinnati and Philadelphia in foreign population percentages

(Chudacoff, 1972). Most European foreigners settling in Omaha during its first thirty-five years, since 1854, were from the northwestern European countries of Germany, Sweden, Denmark (Scandinavian countries), Ireland, England, plus Austria-Bohemia. Germans were the largest ethnic group to settle in Omaha City, followed by the Scandinavians, and the Irish. Combined, these three nationalities in Omaha City accounted for over seventy percent of the total foreign population and nearly thirty percent of the total population (Table 1).

Immigrants arriving in Omaha tended to cluster in similar ethnic communities located in the older sections or in "shanty-towns" on the outskirts of the city similar to the immigrant settlement patterns found in the eastern cities (Ward, 1971). Importantly, immigrants also settled close to their work and developed small ethnic communities where churches, schools, associations, and shops reflected their native culture.

The ethnic concentrations found in Omaha City and in South Omaha City before 1900 are shown in Figure 1. This figure displays, for example, that the largest German settlement was centered east of Twelfth and Dodge, in what was essentially the old central core of the city.

At the same time, a second major German concentration was between Eighth and Sixteenth, along the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad tracks on Omaha's near south side and another pocket, although minor in comparison, was at Sixteenth and Center (Fimple, 1978). Despite this cluster-

TABLE 1
FOREIGN-BORN OMAHA 1860-1980

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>Total Foreign</u>	<u>Percent Foreign</u>
1854			
1860	4,000		
1870	16,083	6,300	39.17
1880	30,518	10,000	32.76
1890	102,430	25,607	25.00
	(140,452) ^a		
1900	102,555	25,639	25.00
1910	124,096	27,068	21.81
1920	191,601	35,381	18.47
1930	214,006	28,788	13.45
1940	223,884	22,311	9.97
1950	251,117	19,159	7.63
1960	301,598	16,175	5.36
1970	347,328	10,737	3.10
1980	313,939	10,060	3.20

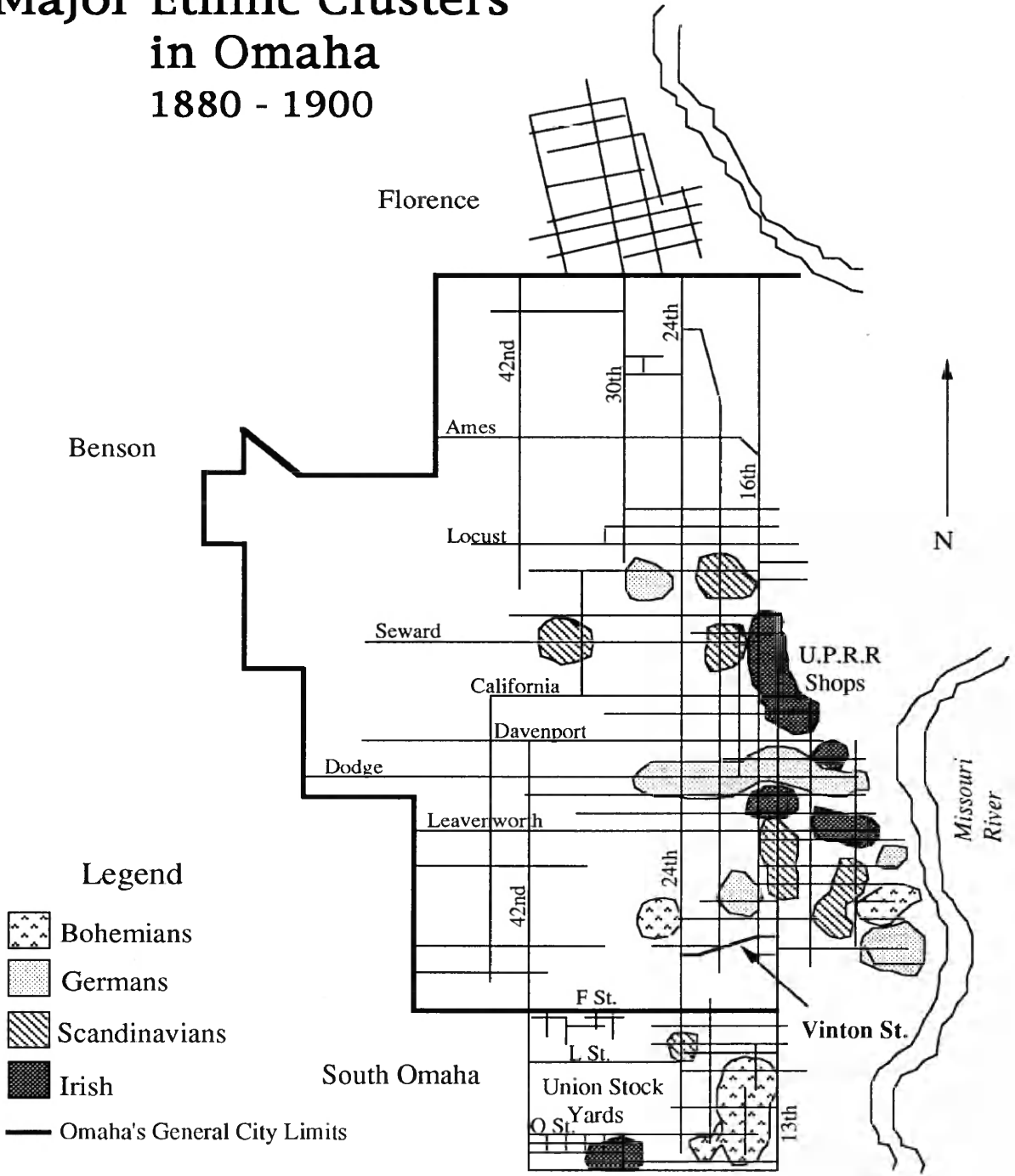
^a Incorrect population count in 1890 in parentheses. Edgar Z. Palmer, "The Correctness of the 1890 Census of Population for Nebraska Cities," Nebraska History 32 (1951): 259-67.
Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970 and 1980.

ing, Germans tended to be the most widely dispersed ethnic group in Omaha.

However, there were other important ethnic concentrations in Omaha during this period. For example, a predominantly Irish neighborhood on the southwest edge of the Union Pacific shops near Eighteenth and Iazard and another Irish pocket developed south of Howard Street from Eleventh to Fourteenth by the Union Pacific Depot. Swedish immigrants clustered north of Fifteenth and Dodge to about Cuming Street. Another Scandinavian group, the Danish, clustered near the Union Pacific Depot by the Irish area (Fimple,

Figure 1

Major Ethnic Clusters in Omaha 1880 - 1900



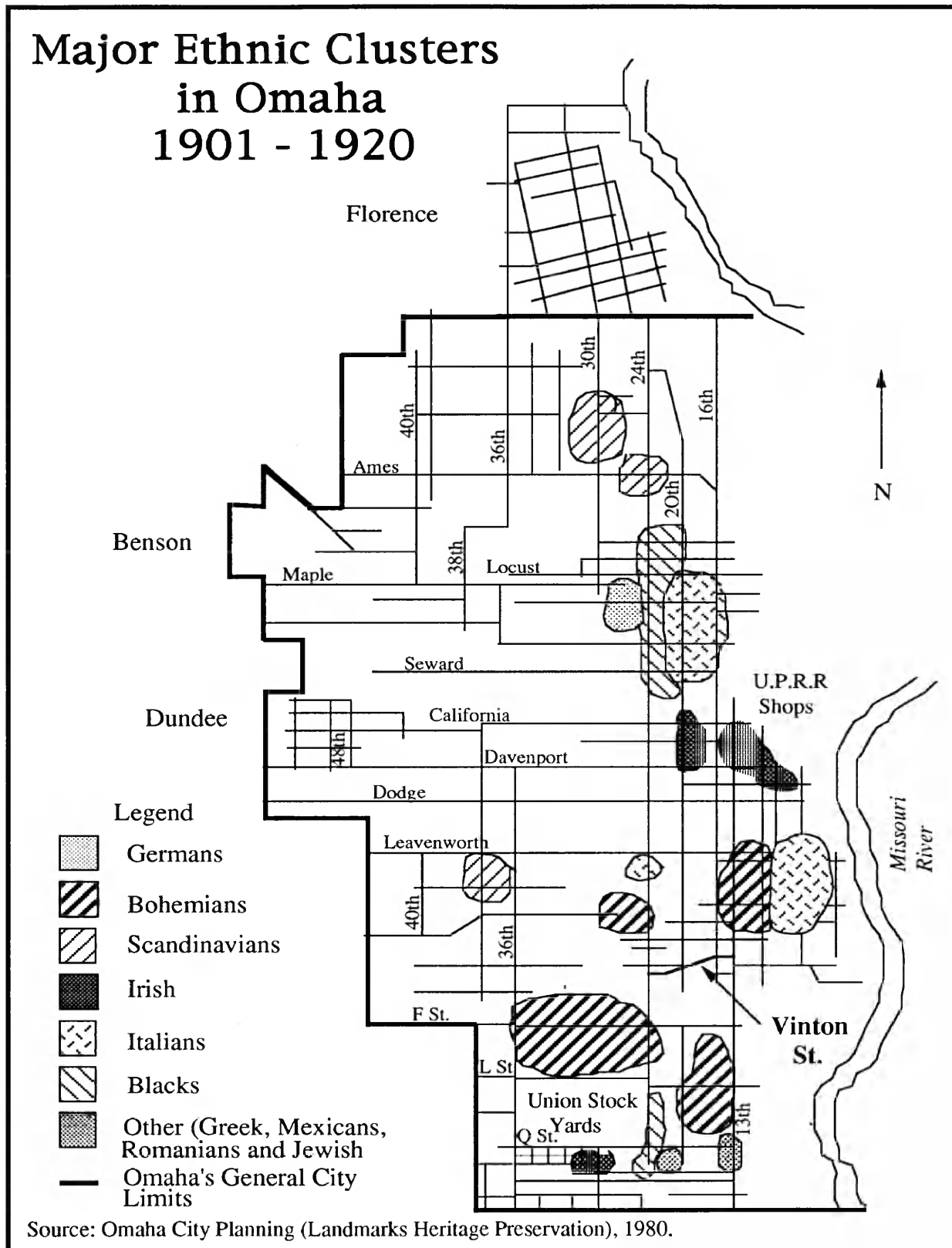
Source: Omaha City Planning (Landmarks Heritage Preservation), 1980.

1978). Besides these prominent ethnic pockets, a major yet mixed, cultural concentration composed of Irish, Czechs, Germans, and Poles developed near the Sheely Brothers Packing Plant at Twenty-sixth and Martha, commonly referred to as "Sheelytown"; Sheelytown was bounded by Martha, Vinton, Twenty-fourth and Thirty-fifth Streets (Omaha City Planning, 1980). Thus, by the late nineteenth century, Omaha had several small ethnic concentrations within its boundaries.

At the turn of the century, Omaha's population quadrupled to 124,000, compared with 30,000 in 1880, and maintained its ethnic flavor (Table 1). Similar immigration trends continued as northern Europeans accounted for nearly seventy percent of all the foreign residents, but only one-fourth of the city's population was foreign born; compared to thirty-three percent in 1880 and thirty-nine percent in 1870 (Chudacoff, 1972). Despite this decrease, foreign parentage remained constant at fifty percent. However, by 1910, a noticeable shift occurred. Fifty-eight percent of all immigrants arriving in Omaha were now from the eastern and southern European countries of Italy, Poland, Bohemia (Austro-Hungarian Empire), and Russia, instead of Germany, Ireland, Scandinavia, and England as in the earlier decades (Chudacoff, 1972).

As a result of this shift in immigrant source regions several new ethnic islands developed in Omaha and South Omaha after 1900 (Figure 2). Although they were new ethnic communities, many of these neighborhoods developed in the

Figure 2



older sections of Omaha or in areas once inhabited by the northern European immigrants of Omaha's earlier years. One ethnic concentration that displayed this tendency was the Italian neighborhood near Sixth and Pierce, often referred to as "Little Italy" (Writers Program, 1941). But, before it changed into a distinctive Italian region, it was an area dominated by Germans, Scandinavians, and Bohemians (Figures 1 and 2).

Besides the Italian core region, two other major nationalities from this period developed concentrated areas and contributed to Omaha's ethnic flavor - the Poles and Czechs. The most notable Polish neighborhood developed near the South Omaha packinghouses bounded by Twenty-fifth, Twenty-ninth, "F," and "L" streets, called "Little Poland." At the same time, Czech concentrations flourished southeast of "Little Poland." Another well-known Czech community evolved south of the Union Pacific mainline near Thirteenth and William, but most Czechs lived east of Twenty-fourth and south of "Q," near Brown Park (Rosicky, 1929). However, both groups, Poles and Czechs, also resided in the major mixed cultural area near Twenty-sixth and Martha, "Sheelytown" (Omaha City Planning Department, 1980).

Although these were the new major ethnic neighborhoods that developed in Omaha and South Omaha during this period, there were smaller ethnic pockets. For instance, the Lithuanians concentrated at Thirty-sixth and "Q," Greeks at Twenty-second and "P," and Rumanians near Thirty-fourth and "P" streets, among others (Omaha City Planning Department,

1980). Yet, each ethnic group added a unique ingredient to the flavor of Omaha's "Ethnic Mosaic."

As stated earlier, wherever particular ethnic groups clustered, they opened or built businesses, churches, general stores, restaurants, grocery stores, or taverns symbolizing their homeland and, also serving as a place to gather. Generally, most ethnic retail and service shops were not located in proximity to other, similar ethnic stores, but were somewhat isolated. For instance, the Budweiser Saloon at 1409 Douglas was of Irish origin; a Swede operated a grocery at Nineteenth and Charles, plus a sash and mill work company at Twenty-fourth and Grant; Germans owned restaurants at Thirteenth and Twenty-fifth and Farnam; Italians managed a shoe repair shop at Sixth and Pierce, and a secondhand clothing store at Tenth and Pierce to name a few (Omaha Planning Department, 1980).

Even though isolated businesses dominated ethnic communities, small ethnic retail and service clusters eventually developed within some ethnic neighborhoods. Usually small businesses clustered at adjacent street corners or at major intersections bordering ethnic neighborhoods enabling customers to easily access their shops. One excellent example of an ethnic business cluster along a retail ribbon during this period in Omaha was the Bohemian district located at Thirteenth and William. Within this cluster businesses such as the Prague Hotel, a general store, grocery, dry goods store, a bakery, dance hall and church were found (Rosicky, 1929). Although this small ethnic business district or

eventual ribbon spread north and south on Thirteenth Street, it was not as large as the less well known ethnic area surrounding the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon.

By 1910 the Vinton Street retail artery passed through an ethnically rich, yet until now an academically unexplored ethnic area of Omaha. Numerous businesses such as Clines Grocery, Fritz Woosley's Barber Shop, C.A. Peterson's Saloon, Mueller's Billiard Hall, Canigilia's Shoemaker Shop or Esther Terrell's Restaurant, to name a few, lined Vinton Street and served the immediate ethnic region (Polk, 1912). In fact, the top five ethnic groups in the study area surrounding the artery were Germans, English, Scandinavians, Czechs and Irish. These are the same ethnic groups that dominated Omaha during the late decades of the nineteenth century.

Further investigation shows the study area's ethnic or foreign-born population in 1910 was approximately 26.0 percent while 66.0 percent of the population, including the 26.0 percent foreign-born, were children of foreign-born parents. Both of these percentages are a bit more "ethnic" than Omaha as a whole when the city's population was about 21.0 percent foreign-born and a total of 54.0 percent of the city's population was either foreign-born or native born with one or both parents born outside the United States. Nevertheless, the Vinton Street retail artery, the surrounding population, and Omaha will be the focus of this study as it continues with Chapter Two, the literature review and statement of problem.

Chapter Two **Literature Review and Thesis Problem**

Literature examining ethnicity and commercial retail patterns within a city are scarce, to say the least, and only a few works even mention ethnic characteristics concerning a retail ribbon. Additionally, no study has taken it one step further and analyzed an ethnic retail ribbon through time. But, before examining the existing literature on ethnic retail ribbons some of the other landmark studies on commercial retail patterns and the functional dimensions of retail ribbons will be noted. In this way, the fundamental understanding of the city's overall retail structure, especially retail ribbons, could be examined and used to set the stage for the ethnic studies related to retail ribbons.

One of the first studies to examine retail trade patterns and retail location structure was I. K. Rolph's study conducted in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1929. Rolph concluded that there were five retail trade patterns evident in Baltimore: central business district, retail subcenters, string streets, neighborhood facility groups, and non-concentrated businesses (Rolph, 1929). Rolph provided detailed descriptions of the number of businesses and sales volume by the five patterns. This study is significant because it was one of the first to show that various types of business centers exist and that their functional make-up differs.

Another early study that examined retail strings or ribbon patterns in a city's overall structure was Malcolm Proudfoot's in 1937. Proudfoot identified five kinds of

commercial business centers: the central business district (CBD), the outlying business centers, the principal business thoroughfares, the neighborhood business street, and the isolated store cluster; similar to Rolph's study (Proudfoot, 1937). Of these, two generally dominate the city's overall commercial retail structure: "string or ribbon" and "nucleations." Proudfoot further observed that the neighborhood business street is characterized by dispersed rows of convenience stores along residentially undesirable streets within densely settled residential areas, and by having a customer tributary area restricted, for the most part, to within easy walking distance (Proudfoot, 1937).

Over a decade later, Ratcliff described string-streets in terms of businesses located along traffic arteries, but rarely down intersecting streets. He stated that the nature of these businesses depends upon the extent to which the street is a main traffic artery, the degree to which it is the core of a residential area, and residential areas appear as nucleated "beads" set within string-street developments (Ratcliff, 1949). Ratcliff also pointed out that there were factors determining retail space (certain store types for specific locations) and the fallacy of the common idea that most retail trade occurred in the central business district (Ratcliff, 1949).

In 1959, Garrison and Berry also empirically recognized two primary types of commercial land use: "string" and "nucleated." Garrison summarized the principal variables causing the observed commercial patterns as: 1) Demographics; 2)

Accessibility; 3) Minimum number of people needed to support a business and; 4) Site selection (Garrison, 1959).

Garrison likewise recognized that ribbon businesses frequently occupy expensive sites and do not rely upon comparison shopping as a prerequisite for sales. In the same year, Brian Berry's paper, "Ribbon Developments In the Urban Business Pattern," was concerned with functionally classifying business establishments located in ribbons along major arterial highways (Berry, 1959). Berry discovered four distinctive ribbon types: nucleated shopping centers, automobile rows, highway-oriented functions, and urban arterial districts (Berry, 1959).

In addition to their separate studies, Garrison, Berry, et al., combined to produce a scholarly text called, *Studies of Highway Development and Geographic Change* in 1959. It summarized previous empirical and theoretical works concerning the spatial organization of business land uses and structure with similar conclusions. The conclusions stated "string streets" (principal business thoroughfares) vary in size; serve passing automobile traffic; store types differ from nucleated centers; usually have low pedestrian traffic; and patronage derived from auto traffic rather than from nearby residents (Garrison, et al., 1956). This text also suggested that string street developments depend upon the importance of a street as a traffic artery, but there are beads of retail uses at major intersections that depend on the residential areas.

Over the years other studies have also isolated one

specific urban business ribbon or highway artery such as Davies' in Cape Town, Boal's and Johnson's in Calgary, Canada and the Grotewolds' along United States Highway 41, in Illinois and Wisconsin. For the most part, all these studies analyzed the functions and classified the retail and service establishments found along commercial or highway retail ribbons. Furthermore, Boal's also indicated that commercial ribbons are composed of a great variety of special single-stop establishments (i.e. furniture and appliance stores, automobile repair shops, radio and TV sales and service establishments), which function most efficiently outside the nucleated business center and are dependent upon passing traffic (Boal and Johnson, 1965). Despite the importance of these geographical studies, they did not attempt to develop or consider the concept of an ethnic retail ribbon.

By contrast, many ethnic studies have been devoted to analyzing ethnic business patterns or ethnic characteristics in a city. For example, a study by Keith Harries, Ethnic Variations In Los Angeles Business Patterns, compared three different ethnic business patterns according to income, physical facilities for shopping, consumer preferences and examined the functional differences. However, he did not relate the three through time or as a business retail ribbon (Harries, 1970). Another study, Mapping Cultural Groups in an American Industrial City, by Howard Creveling, focused on mapping ethnic neighborhoods in a city and attempted to state why immigrants lived in specific areas of a city

(Creveling, 1955).

Conversely, one of the few studies to combine a retail ribbon with a known ethnic region was Allen Pred's Business Thoroughfares as Expressions of Urban Negro Culture (Pred, 1963). Pred pointed out in this work that the principal business thoroughfare was the center of human activity in any residential area and established the notion that the retail business patterns and functions of ribbons vary within different culture regions of a city, such as black and white (Pred, 1963). But again, Pred's study, as with all the others, represented only a one-year period and through a well-known ethnic region. In other words, the literature establishes that ribbons have a functional structure and may pass through ethnic areas of a city. Likewise, some studies recognize an ethnic ribbon at one moment in time. However, no single study or group of studies has attempted to establish the concept of an ethnic ribbon through time, as a part of the city's overall structure. This shall be such an attempt.

Thesis Problem

In light of the above, the purpose of this thesis is not to separately explore the retail ribbon and the ethnic neighborhood for one specific moment in time as others have done, but to combine these topics and show the evolution of an ethnic retail ribbon through time. Therefore, the intention of this thesis is to determine if Vinton Street, in Omaha, Nebraska, was an ethnic retail ribbon beginning in 1889 and if Vinton Street could still be considered an eth-

nic retail ribbon into the 1980's. In other words, it is to be a historical geography study of Vinton Street, with the intent of documenting the existence, through time, of an ethnic business ribbon within the context of both a city's retail and ethnic structure. The following chapter provides the framework that examines the data sources and outlines the methodology of this thesis.

Chapter Three Data Sources and Methodology

Chapter Three introduces the data sources used to create a logical and workable methodology or research design. It begins by examining how the resources were used and what pertinent information the sources yielded. Then, the relevant information was used to create a practical method to analyze and answer the thesis problem.

Data Sources

Data for this study were extracted from three principal sources: 1) Census documents for the years of 1900, 1910, 1920, 1950, 1970 and 1980; 2) The Dictionary of Surnames reference book, by Hanks and Hodges for all stages; and 3) Wolfe's (1880-1899), McAvoy's (1900-1910), and Polk's Omaha City directories from (1912-1990). The first source, the census documents, included census manuscripts for 1900 and 1910 and the decennial census reports for 1950, 1970 and 1980. They were used to extract and show the ethnic changes from 1900 to 1980 within the study area described in Chapter Four.

Another significant source, Omaha's City directories, were employed from 1880 through 1990 to determine and map retail changes or developments, to record surnames of the proprietors, and home addresses of proprietors along Vinton Street. By recording the surnames from the Omaha City directories, the Dictionary of Surnames could be used to de-

termine the ethnicity of most business proprietors.

Besides the above sources, some additional resources included newspaper articles, building permit records, maps, and other pertinent documents to assist in the examination of Vinton Street and its region.

Methodology

The methodology for this thesis combines three important variables throughout its examination: retail or land uses, ethnicity of business owners, and time. However complex this may be, the design will be easier to follow if approached through four separate chapter topics: (1) Spatial and Historical Development of Vinton Street; (2) Classification and Location of Businesses Along Vinton Street; (3) Ethnic Characteristics of the Study area and the Vinton Street Business Owners including the examination and use of spatial statistics; and (4) A summary of the findings in the first three sections to answer the thesis problem: "Was Vinton Street an ethnic retail ribbon in 1889 and is it still an ethnic retail ribbon today?"

In addition to the breakdown of chapter topics, five stages or eras were perceived to assist and maintain consistency for analysis in all chapters of the study. These stages are: (1) Infant Stage 1880-1889; (2) Early Stage 1890-1900; (3) Pre-Maximal Stage 1901-1931; (4) Maximal Stage 1932-1951 and; (5) Post Maximal Stage 1952-Present. Therefore, by breaking the chapters down into five eras, each section maintained a consistent framework for analysis.

In the following paragraphs a more thorough examination

of the methodology is outlined. Each chapter is organized by its title or topic, followed by the primary sources used in analysis, its purpose, and finally the basic framework for each chapter.

In the first section, Chapter Four, of this study focuses on the spatial and historical development of Vinton Street. The principal sources employed to re-construct the area and historical development were the various Omaha City directories from 1880 to 1989. In addition, building permit records were used as a second valuable source when problems occurred with the building dates or locations extracted from the city directories.

The first step was to extract the relevant dates of businesses along the Vinton artery. A Vinton Street base map was created to map business growth at ten-year intervals and to compare the changes that occurred along Vinton Street over the years. The final step was to examine factors that contributed to the growth of Vinton Street in these specific periods (i.e. streetcars, automobiles, and location of businesses). This way, the spatial and historical growth assists in setting the scene for the next chapter, classification of businesses, as well as other chapters.

Chapter Five concentrates on classifying businesses according to a land use classification scheme, through the years by type (i.e. amusements, drinking establishments, food, etc.) and their location along the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon. Primary sources include Wolfe's, McAvoy's, and Polk's Omaha City directories. Information on kinds of

businesses was extracted and used in the classification of establishments along Vinton Street by land use type. The classification scheme used a combination of the tables found in the Census of Retail Trade and Census of Service Industries (Bureau of Census, 1989). Maps, tables, and graphs were also produced to show the spatial retail and classification changes along the artery. By combining chapters four and five, the evolution of a retail ribbon can be further analyzed and documented for use in Chapter Six.

The primary role of Chapter Six was to determine the ethnicity of the entire study area, but more importantly, the ethnicity of the proprietors along the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon. The initial step involved documenting the ethnicity of the region using the surnames found in the study area from the Omaha City directories for 1890, and later 1930, and matching them as accurately as possible with the surnames listed in the Dictionary of Surnames reference book, because the census manuscripts or decennial census reports were not available for those years. For 1900 and 1910 the ethnicity of the study area was extracted and recreated from the nativity columns found in the census manuscripts. For the remaining years, 1950, 1970 and 1980, the published decennial censuses were used to determine the foreign (ethnic) mosaic of the region by the nativity or the ancestry columns by census tracts that canvassed the study region.

After setting the ethnic background for the region, the next step involved determining the ethnicity of the proprietors along Vinton Street utilizing surnames listed in the

Omaha City directories. These surnames were matched to the Dictionary of Surnames reference book to determine the ethnicity of the proprietors. Then, for each stage, maps, graphs and tables were created to clearly show the ethnicity of businesses and spatial patterns, such as ethnic clustering at locations along Vinton Street; thus recreating the ethnic situation for the ribbon during each stage.

In addition, Chapter Six also used central tendency statistics or centographic measures to further understand the changing ethnic population of this region over the years. For this section the city directories were used because they listed addresses of businesses on Vinton Street, as well as the proprietors' residences, producing starting and ending points, so centographic measures could be applied.

Central measures were specifically incorporated to determine the distance a business owner traveled to work on Vinton Street. The measures used included mean distance, minimum distance, maximum distance, and ranges. As a result, such descriptive statistical applications were able to help determine if Vinton Street was an ethnic neighborhood retail artery, a neighborhood retail ribbon without ethnic tendencies, or a retail street that had neither ethnic nor neighborhood tendencies - a principal arterial thoroughfare.

In the final section of this study, Chapter Seven combines and compares the information from previous sections (development of Vinton Street; changes and developments of business types along the Vinton Street retail ribbon; ethnic

characteristics of the region, and spatial statistics) to recreate Vinton Street's ethnic and retail situation in 1889 through 1989. Simultaneously, a conclusion will be developed to answer the thesis question, "Was Vinton Street an Ethnic Neighborhood Retail Ribbon in 1889 and could it be considered one in 1989?" Finally a statement will be put forth concerning the importance of recognizing the ethnic retail ribbon, using Vinton Street as an example, as part of a city's overall business structure.

Chapter Four Study Area and Historical Development of Vinton Street

Previous chapters focused on the growth of Omaha, review of past literature, statement of problem, and methodology. These chapters assisted in setting the stage for further analysis that now starts with Chapter Four: Study Area and Historical Development of Vinton Street.

Chapter Four begins by describing the peripheral boundaries of the study area within the City of Omaha and the location of Vinton Street inside this region. It continues by reconstructing the historical development of Vinton Street from its infancy.

Study Area

Vinton Street, a diagonal retail artery that follows a 1,200 foot high ridge for much of its course, has served the large residential area on the near south-side of Omaha City since at least 1880 (Figure 3). Historically this area, specifically the retail ribbon, lies upon the highest hill between the main business districts of Omaha and South Omaha. Surrounded by various ethnic groups over the years, this region has enjoyed a unique social life-style of its own. Yet, by looking at Figures 1 and 2, no particular ethnic group has ever been spatially associated with the residential area encompassing Vinton Street.

The study area considered here is a concentrated 0.60 square mile area within a well known region of Omaha, cur-

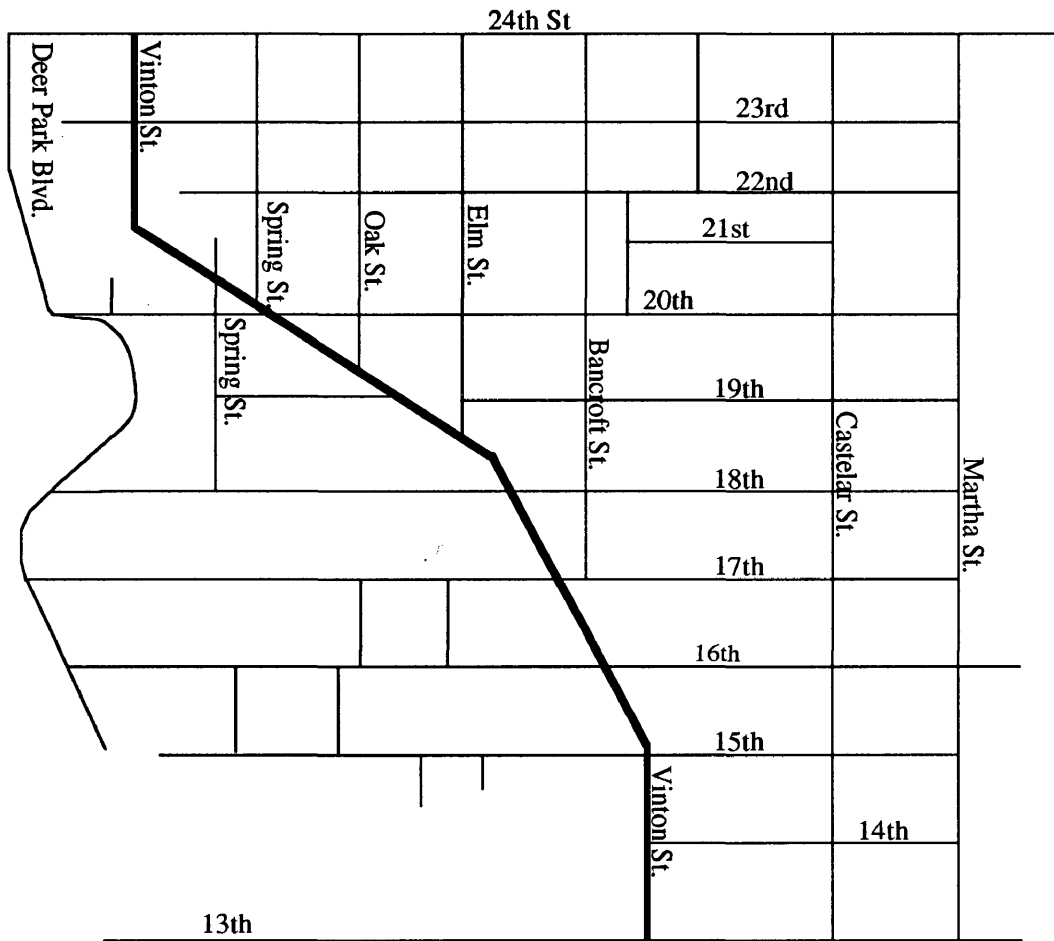
rently referred to as "South Omaha."*¹ Its eastern boundary is marked by Thirteenth Street and the western edge is Twenty-fourth Street. While these two north-south streets provide longitudinal boundaries, the latitudinal boundaries or east-west running streets are Martha Street to the north and winding Deer Park Boulevard to the south.

Within the described area lies the principal artery of the region, as well as the study area, Vinton Street. Vinton Street begins in the northern half of the study area at Thirteenth Street with an elevation of 1,180 feet. Vinton proceeds west and ascends approximately twenty feet by Fifteenth Street, to 1,200 feet where it remains throughout its course. At Fifteenth, Vinton deflects to the southwest at a twenty-five degree angle until Eighteenth Street. From Eighteenth, Vinton angles southwest again approximately thirty-five degrees until it nearly reaches Twenty-first Street. Along the diagonal between Eighteenth and Twenty-first, Vinton Street is intersected by three East-West streets; Elm between Eighteenth and Nineteenth, Oak at Nineteenth, and Spring, just south of Twentieth Street. Then, from Twenty-first Street, Vinton proceeds due west until it intersects Twenty-fourth Street at the southwest corner of the western boundary, completing the major business artery of the region (Figure 3).

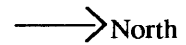
*1. The area is only partially within the pre-1915 incorporated City of South Omaha. As stated earlier, much of the area is really part of the near or simply south side of pre-1915 Omaha City.

Figure 3

Vinton Street Study Area



Source: Omaha City Planning, 1989.



Historical Development

In 1867, Isaac Skinner Hascall, a lawyer and millionaire from New York, purchased considerable forest land on Thirteenth Street, nearly a mile south of William Street in what would be the heart of the Czech community in about thirty years. His tract of land extended from Thirteenth to Fifteenth on Castelar and from Castelar to Vinton Street. He selected this choice piece of thirteen acres for an amusement center and built a costly stone retaining wall that encircled Hascall's Park (Omaha World-Herald, 3-30, 1986). Due to the heavy vine-like growth on the south side of the wall and the vines growing along the original Old Bellevue Trail, Hascall renamed the artery, Vinton Street^{*2} (J. Dynamo Dennison, 1965, Historical Society of Douglas County newspaper clipping file).

By 1880 Omaha City had three crooked streets: Ames, St. Marys and Vinton. Of these, Vinton is the only street that followed an irregular path for any considerable distance and was once regarded as Omaha's only true crooked street. Although the irregular course of Vinton Street has never been satisfactorily explained, engineers and sources credit the deviations to efforts to accommodate purchasers of building lots in a section that did not develop. In others words, the blame for Vinton's crooked path as suggested by the June 12, 1909 Sunday Edition of the Omaha Bee:

^{*2}. This citation was discovered in a letter from J. Dynamo Dennison, a former baseball player at Rourke Park, to George Sedlacek on April 18, 1965. The letter refers to a meeting that convened on April 22nd, at Jay-Kay's lounge at 18th and Vinton to discuss "The Phantom of Vinton Street."

. . . is placed on the original owners of the property in that part of Omaha . . . cut through by Vinton. The street was not laid out with the original plot of Omaha, but was put through in later years, after lots in the Vinton tract of land had been sold. Men bought lots in various parts . . . the street was allowed to curve . . . and to pass by these lots as they were purchased

(Omaha Bee D-1, June 27, 1909, Historical Society of Douglas County newspaper clipping file).

For example, lots were sold near Fifteenth and Vinton as Vinton Street passed them, but when lots were sold several hundred yards to the south and west of Fifteenth and Vinton, the artery became an irregular artery accommodating the purchasers (Omaha Bee, June 12, 1909, Historical Society of Douglas County newspaper clipping file). Such was the course of Vinton as determined by the purchases of off-set lots until it reached Twenty-first Street and proceeded straight west to the city limits.

However, on a lighter note, Vinton's crookedness is sometimes attributed to an old drunken surveyor. It was stated that the surveyor tried to make the lines for Vinton Street as he staggered along creating a twisted and irregular street (Omaha Bee: 8-B, July 7, 1912, Historical Society of Douglas County newspaper clipping file). With either explanation, Vinton Street became a crooked artery.

As mentioned earlier, in 1867, the first land purchaser in the vicinity of Vinton Street, near the first southwest bend, was Judge Isaac Hascall. Hascall purchased property near Thirteenth and Twentieth and Vinton. He envisioned turning his property into a thriving business district that

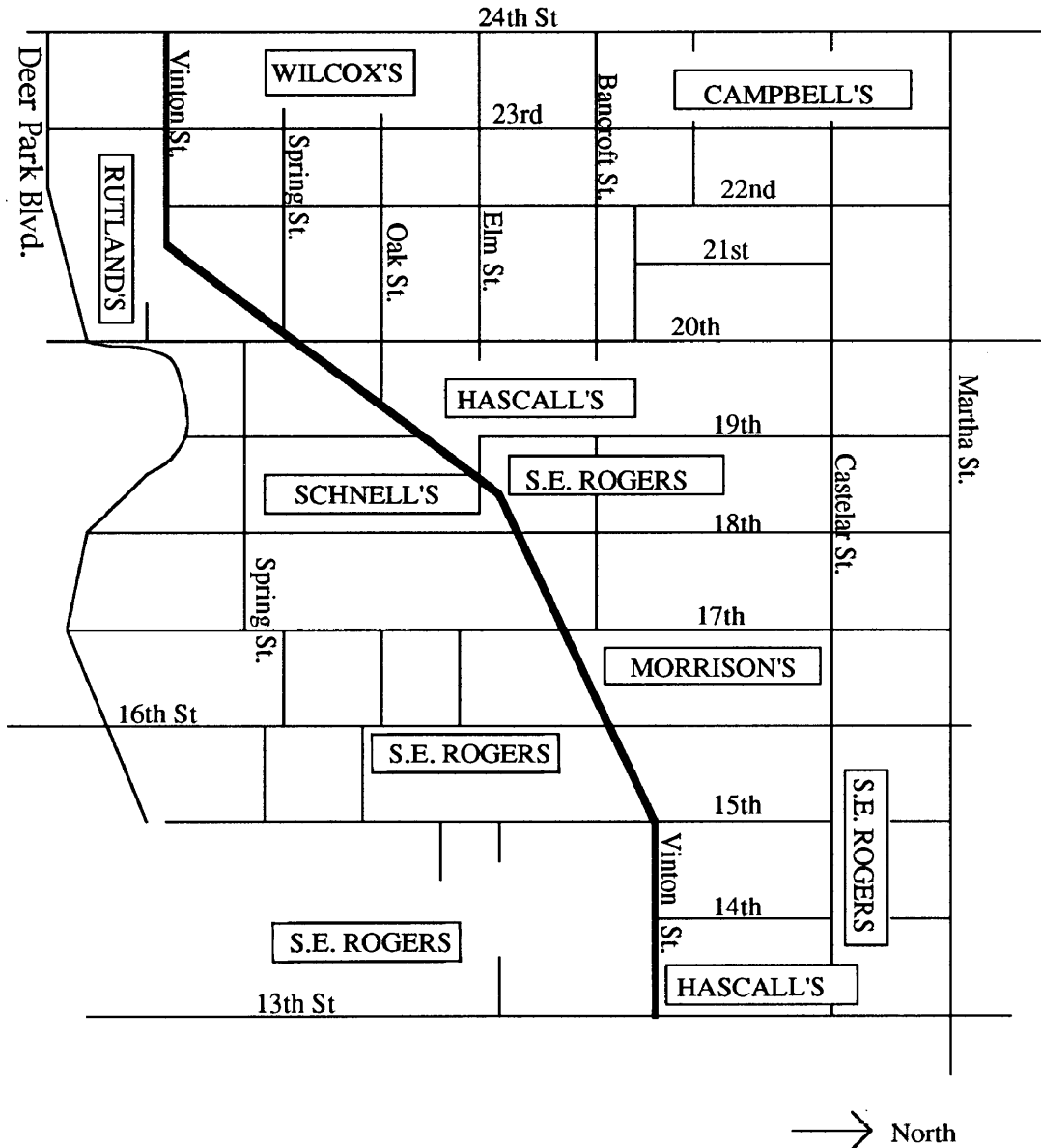
would rival Omaha's Central Business District to the north. With this preconceived idea he began erecting costly but beautiful buildings in the proximity of Vinton Street and, of course, the amusement center was one of the major structures. However, during the mid 1890's real estate values declined and Hascall could not keep the buildings rented. Consequently, financial difficulties forced Judge Hascall to sell his property and his dream project fell by the wayside (Omaha World-Herald, December 17, 1899, Historical Society of Douglas County newspaper clipping file).

Much of Hascall's property was sold to three prominent business men, Frank Murphy, Ben Wood, and S. E. Rogers, who also had visions of Vinton Street becoming a flourishing business district (Omaha World-Herald, December 17, 1899, Historical Society of Douglas County newspaper clipping files). Some of these names are referenced on current plat maps indicating the locations of subdivisions or additions. For instance, S. E. Rogers, the most apparent name on the plat maps and a key land developer in the area, owned property from Deer Park Boulevard to Dorcas between Thirteenth and Fifteenth. Other residential additions in the vicinity of Vinton Street included Campbell's in the northwest corner of the study area, Schnell's along Seventeenth and Eighteenth and Vinton to Deer Park Boulevard, and Rutland's south of Twentieth and Vinton (Figure 4).

Another developer in the region was Major Wilcox who also saw Vinton Street as a future bustling business district thoroughfare. He purchased property from Twentieth to

Figure 4

Major Subdivisions Surrounding Vinton Street (Late 1880's)



Source: Hopkins, G.M. Survey and Plats of Properties in the
City of Omaha, NE., Philadelphia, (1887).

Twenty-fourth and Vinton, and south to Bancroft Street (Omaha World-Herald, December 17, 1899, Historical Society of Douglas County newspaper clipping file). Unfortunately, Wilcox did not live to see his dream of the crooked street becoming a main business artery as shown in Figure 4. There were other developers in the area, but none were as influential as Judge Isaac Hascall, S.E. Rogers and Major Wilcox during the early stages of Vinton Street's residential and business developments.

Infant Stage: 1880 - 1889

Retail and service businesses first appeared on Vinton Street in 1880. The first business, according to Wolfe's Omaha City Directory, was R. Herrick's Grocery Store located at 1524 Vinton Street, north of Hascall's Amusement Center (Table 2). Herrick's Grocery Store was followed by a Brick Manufacturing Company in 1883, at Fifteenth and Vinton. In the next year three new businesses developed, including F. Mueller's Saloon at 1724 Vinton, Tobacco and Cigar Sales at Eighteenth and Vinton, and J. Flannery & Collopy's Saloon at 1623 Vinton (Wolfe, 1884). So, by the end of 1884 four businesses were operating on Vinton Street in the early "Infant Stage."

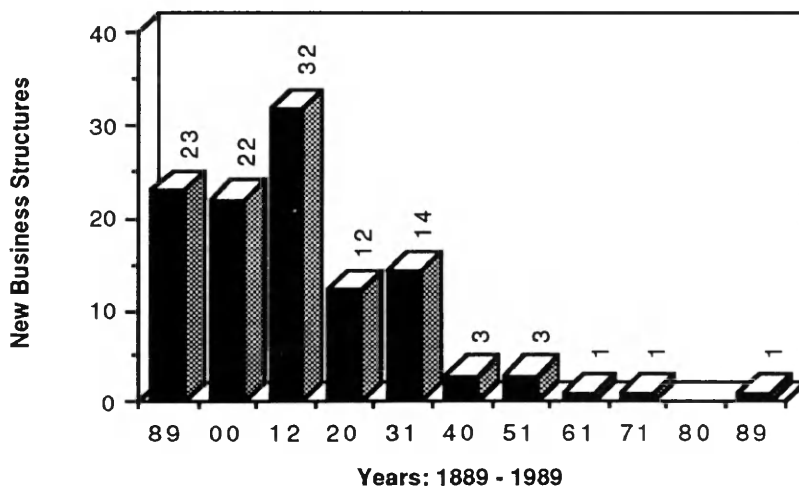
Business growth continued as developments doubled on Vinton Street over the next year. Five new businesses were created bringing the total to nine. These new business developments included a barber shop at 1722 Vinton, a brass & copper works at Eighteenth and Vinton, a drug store at 1501 Vinton, a florist at Fifteenth and Vinton, and J. Flannery's

TABLE 2
BUSINESS GROWTH ALONG VINTON STREET

<u>Year</u>	<u>New Business Structures</u>
1880 - 1889	23
1890 - 1900	22
1901 - 1912	32
1913 - 1920	12
1921 - 1931	14
1931 - 1940	3
1941 - 1951	3
1952 - 1961	1
1962 - 1971	1
1972 - 1980	-
1981 - 1989	1

Sources: Wolfe's Omaha City Directories, 1880 - 1890.
 McAvoy's Omaha City Directories, 1900-1907.
 Polk's Omaha City Directories, 1912, 1920, 1931, 1940, 1951, 1961, 1970, 1980 and 1989.

Figure 5
BUSINESS GROWTH ALONG VINTON STREET



Source: Wolfe's Omaha City Directories, 1880 - 1890.
 McAvoy's Omaha City Directories, 1900 - 1907.
 Polk's Omaha City Directories, 1912, 1920, 1931, 1940, 1951, 1961, 1970, 1980 and 1989.

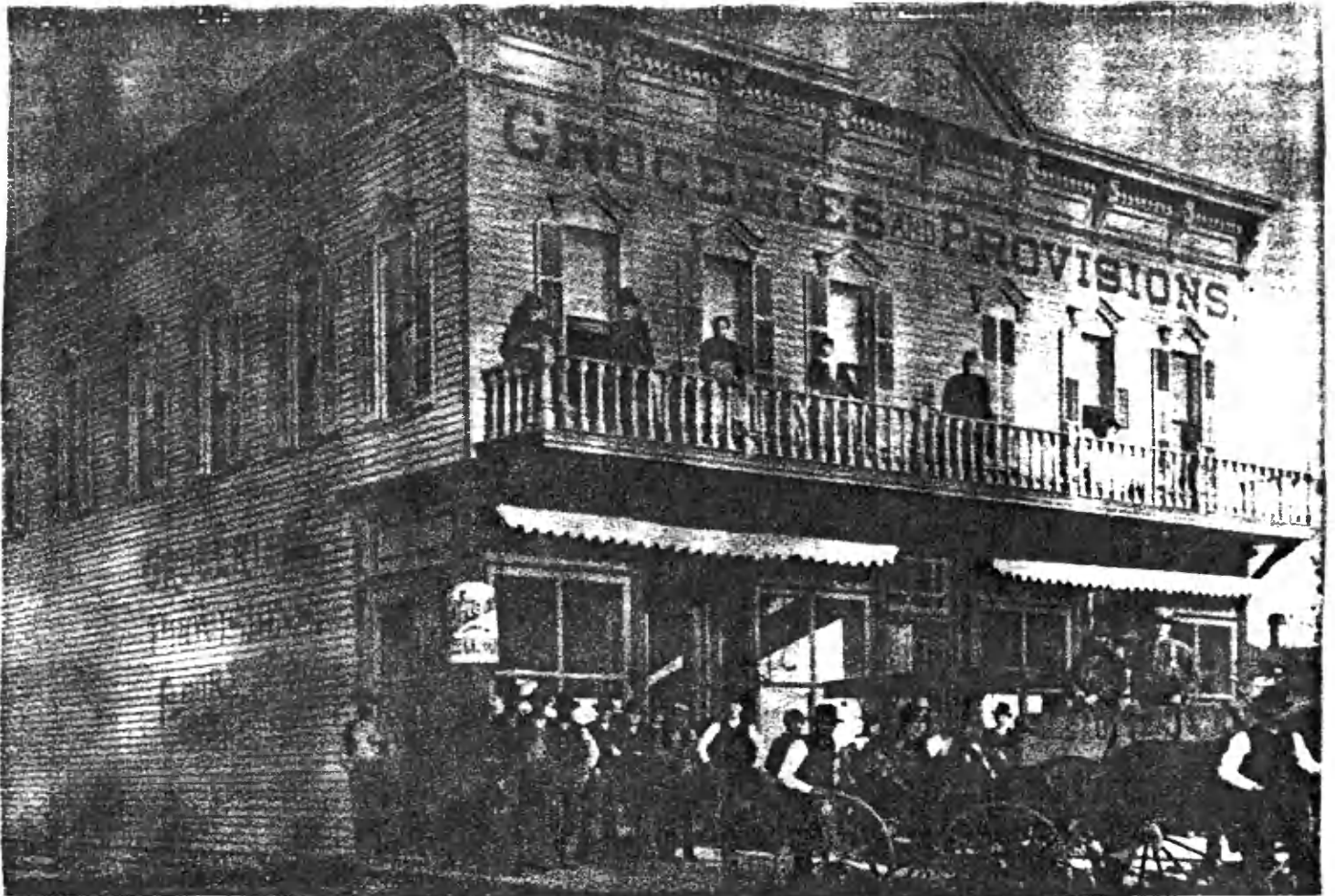
Livery & Stable at 1701 Vinton (Wolfe, 1886). However, in the same period the Brick Manufacturing Company and the Tobacco and Cigar Sales Store folded, leaving seven businesses operating along Vinton Street in 1885 (Wolfe, 1886).

Despite the fact that there were only seven businesses operating on Vinton Street, it is apparent by looking at Figure 6 that these establishments were scattered with two or three stores per cluster (Figure 6, Map Supplement in back inside cover). For example, three businesses were located at the corner of Eighteenth and two establishments were near Fifteenth and Vinton. Even though the retail ribbon is not apparent and developments continued, Vinton Street was on the verge of becoming an independent, isolated artery able to survive separated from the rest of Omaha City and South Omaha City.

During the next four years, or by 1889, the end of the "Infant Stage," sixteen new retail and service establishments began operating along Vinton Street increasing the total to twenty-three (Table 2 and Figure 6). A six-business cluster developed on the eastern portion of Vinton Street between Fifteenth and Sixteenth Streets. They included a drug store, meat market, the Washington Hotel, streetcar barn, a physician's office, and a grocery store (Figure 7).

Continuing west on Vinton Street, it is clear that business developments were fairly uniform, with three or four establishments per block. However, the businesses, for the most part, were located only on intersections. Also,

Figure 7



This illustration shows a grocery and provision store at Thirteenth and Vinton about 1886. Photograph from the Western Heritage Museum, Bostwick/Frohart Collection.

for the first time, three businesses started to operate beyond Twentieth and Vinton. They included a drug store at 2002 Vinton, a stove repair business across the street at 2003, and a blacksmith shop at 2323 Vinton (Wolfe, 1890). As a result, a retail and service artery, though spread out, was beginning to appear.

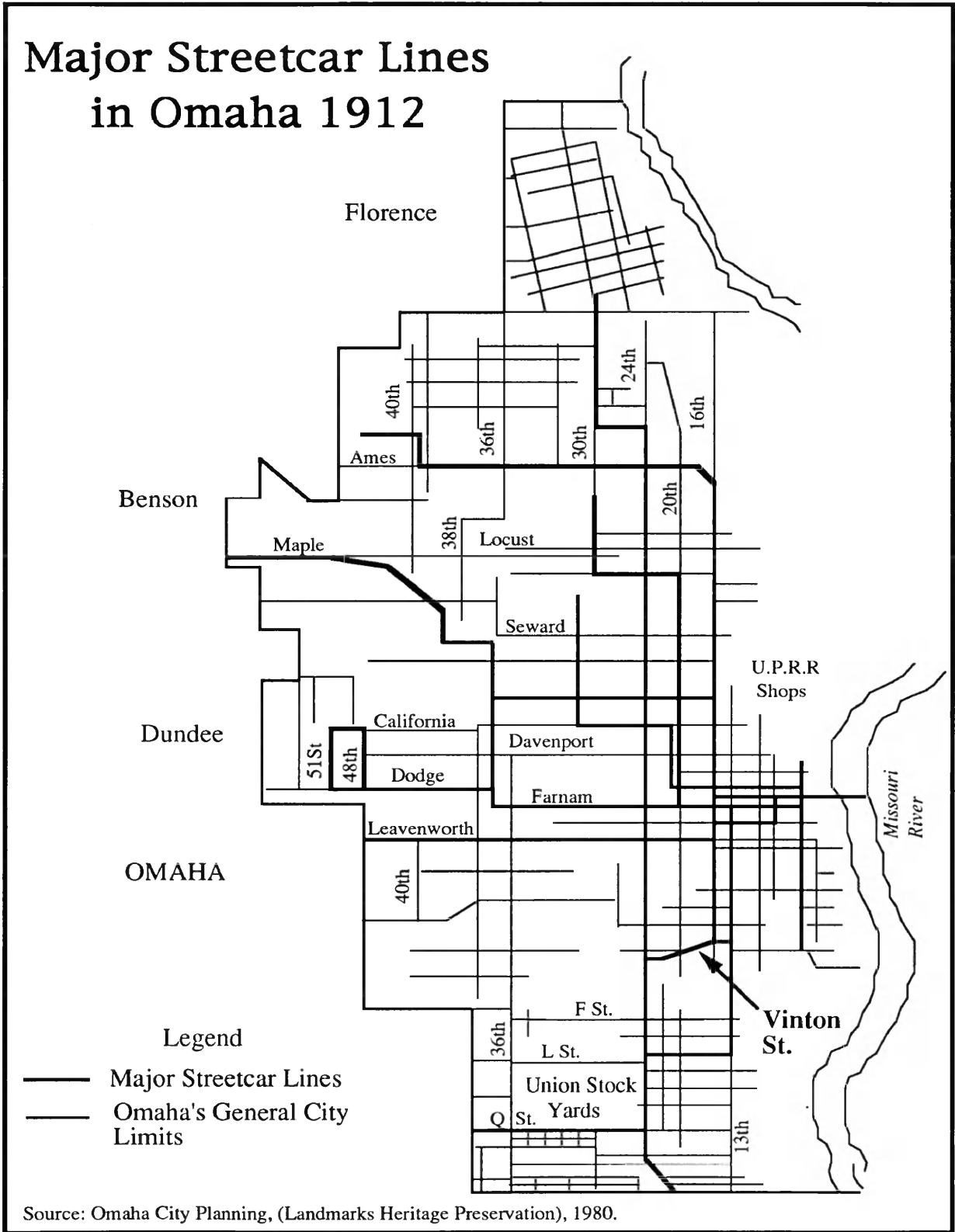
It was noted that all businesses were located at street intersections and only one establishment was actually located between intersections - the Washington Hotel. In fact, looking at Figure 6 in the back inside cover, it is apparent that growth started at intersections and forced new developments to the middle of the block. In addition, thirteen businesses developed on the south side, while nine were established on the north side of the artery. Such was the growth pattern of Vinton Street up to 1889, before the new and faster streetcar transportation system evolved in Omaha (Thavenet, 1960).

Early Stage: 1890 - 1900

Retail and service developments increased rapidly between 1890 and 1900 throughout Omaha City as numerous streetcar lines were constructed. The streetcar lines created a transportation network that connected the inner city as well as several smaller towns on Omaha's periphery such as Benson, Florence, Dundee, and South Omaha to Omaha City (Figure 8).

For example, by 1895 the southern part of Omaha City had three major arterial lines running north and south intersecting Vinton Street. One line, to the east of Vinton,

Figure 8



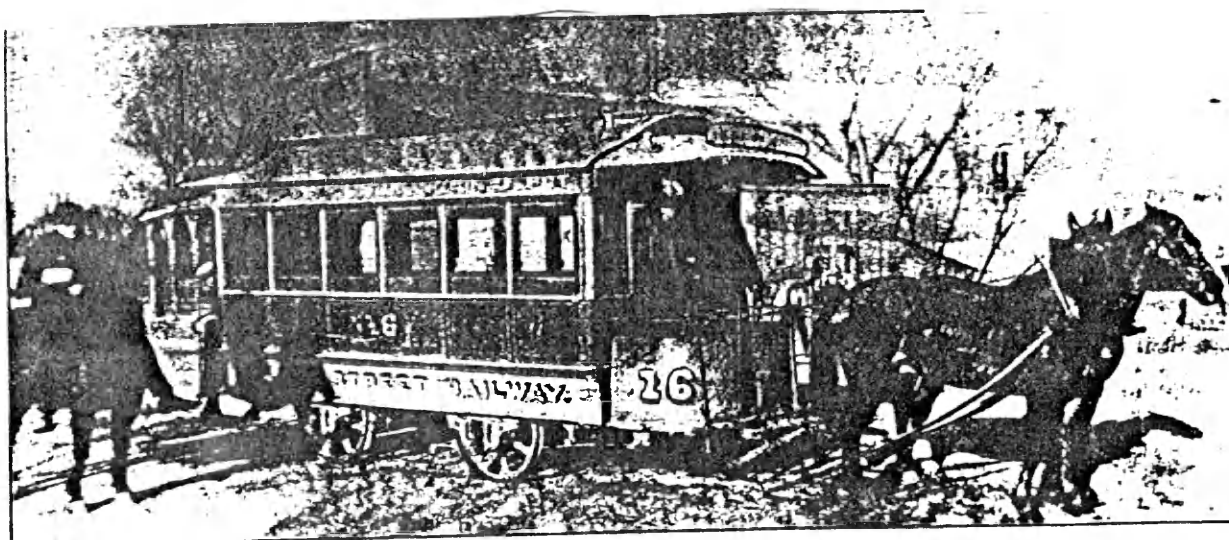
stretched south on Thirteenth to "D" Street and was eventually extended to Missouri Avenue (South Omaha Bridge Road) in South Omaha. Another line began at Twenty-fourth and Vinton and extended south on Twenty-fourth to the developing Union Stock Yards in South Omaha and beyond (Wolfe, 1897). Both lines bounded Vinton Street, but a third line ran from Sixteenth and Cass on the north side of Omaha to Vinton Street and ended at its Sixteenth Street intersection or the streetcar barn at 1523 Vinton (Figure 9).

More importantly, all three streetcar lines joined the "Vinton Street Line" or more commonly called the "South Omaha Line" that ran from Thirteenth to Twenty-fourth and Vinton. As a result, the "Vinton Street Line" linked the southernmost east-west lines in Omaha City, created numerous opportunities for new business growth along Vinton Street and provided easy accessibility to other parts of the city for employment or pleasure.

Retail and service developments continued to increase at a constant rate during the first part of this era, 1890-1899 (Figure 6, Map supplement in back inside cover). Twenty-two new businesses developed on the artery, only one fewer than Vinton's first ten years of existence. Wherever possible, growth developed on unclaimed street intersections, as intersections continued to be the principal sites for developments.

However, by 1899 several street intersections had businesses on all four corners, forcing new businesses to locate between intersections. For example, during this period only

Figure 9



This horse car ran in the late 1890's from Sixteenth and Cuming streets, past the railroad depot to Sixteenth and Vinton. Photograph taken by Bert Boone.

eight of the twenty-two businesses, 36.4 percent, located on unclaimed intersections while the remaining fourteen or 63.6 percent located between crossroads. As these new businesses began to fill in between intersections, the Vinton Street retail artery, although faint, started to emerge.

During 1890-1900, or the "Early Stage," the largest intra-block growth region on Vinton Street was from Eighteenth to Nineteenth. This area accounted for twelve or 54.5 percent of all new businesses. At the same time, six or 27.2 percent of the new establishments located between Seventeenth and Eighteenth, just one block east of the major growth region of this era. In addition, two blocks west of the core area, between Nineteenth and Twentieth, three new businesses were established, while the last new business in this period developed between Fifteenth and Sixteenth, at 1521 Vinton. Consequently, the region between Seventeenth and Nineteenth became the densest business district on the artery, containing over half, or twenty-four of the forty-five businesses and this area is still the heart of the Vinton Street Ribbon.

Other patterns became more noticeable as the decade passed. For instance, twenty-five of the forty-five businesses located on the south side of Vinton, while twenty establishments were located on the north side of the artery. For the first time in the history of Vinton Street, a business opened east of Fifteenth, at 1421 Vinton, yet, clustering continued on the retail artery between Sixteenth and Twentieth streets.

Pre-Maximal Stage: 1901 - 1931

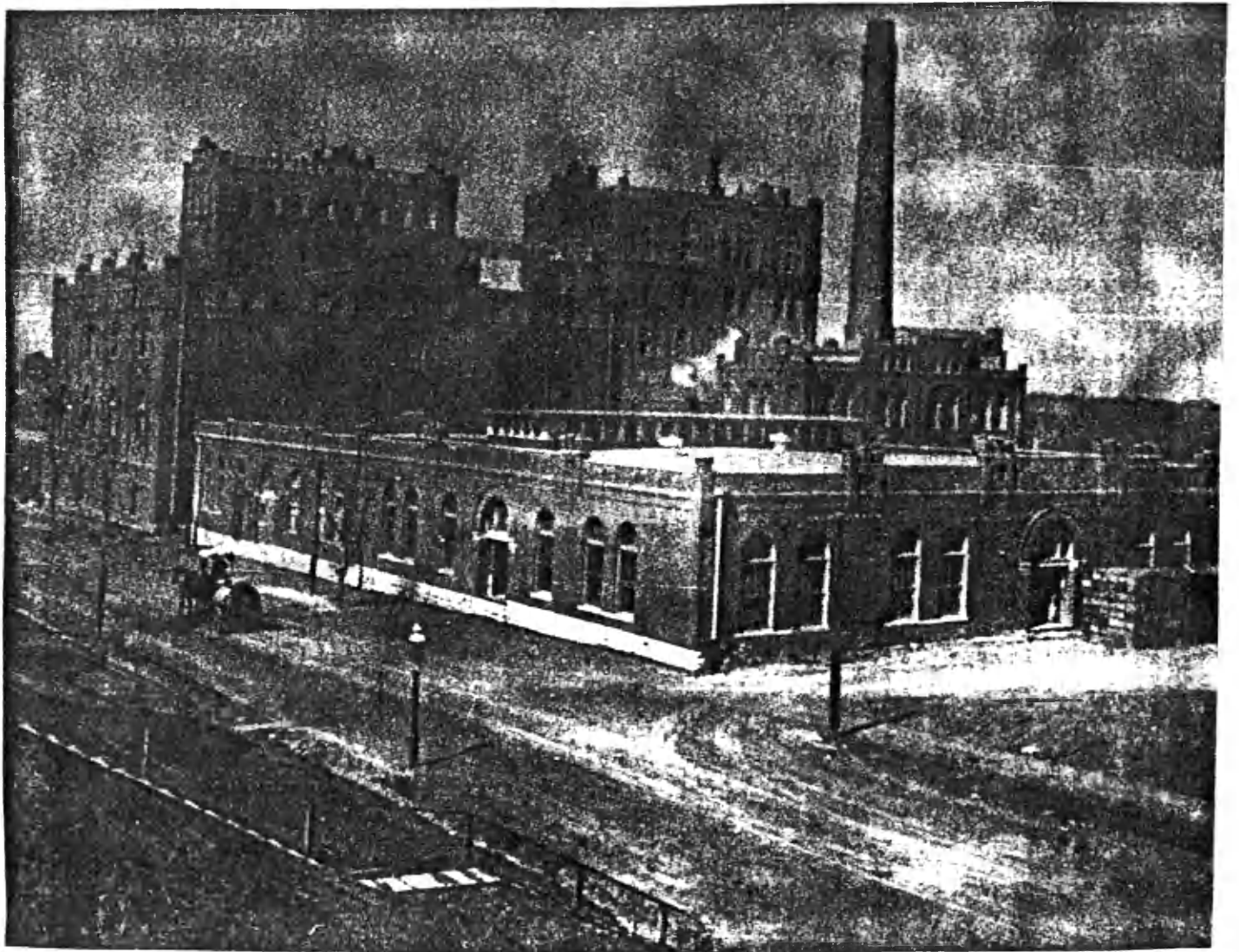
By the turn of the century, the elements of a community with a vibrant commercial and social life emerged along Vinton Street. At this time, the artery probably was the busiest street in the southern part of the Omaha City. It had manufacturing enterprises, a post office, bakeries, theaters, billiard parlors, grocery, drug and dry good stores, laundries, saloons, Fred Krug Brewery, and Rourke Baseball Stadium to complete the list of requirements an isolated community might need in this era to survive independently from the rest of the city (Figure 10).

As established before, there was little, if any, growth between Thirteenth and Fifteenth Streets, except at 1421 Vinton or along the Thirteenth Street artery. In fact, business growth was limited to the eastern half of Thirteenth across from the immediate study area because of the location of Hascall's Amusement Center and later, Rourke Baseball Park.

Rourke Park, home of Omaha's Western Baseball League team from 1899 to 1936, was located on the north side of Vinton (Freeland, 1964). It was composed of two blocks from Thirteenth to Fifteenth and Vinton. As expected, this tract of land deterred any other business developments.

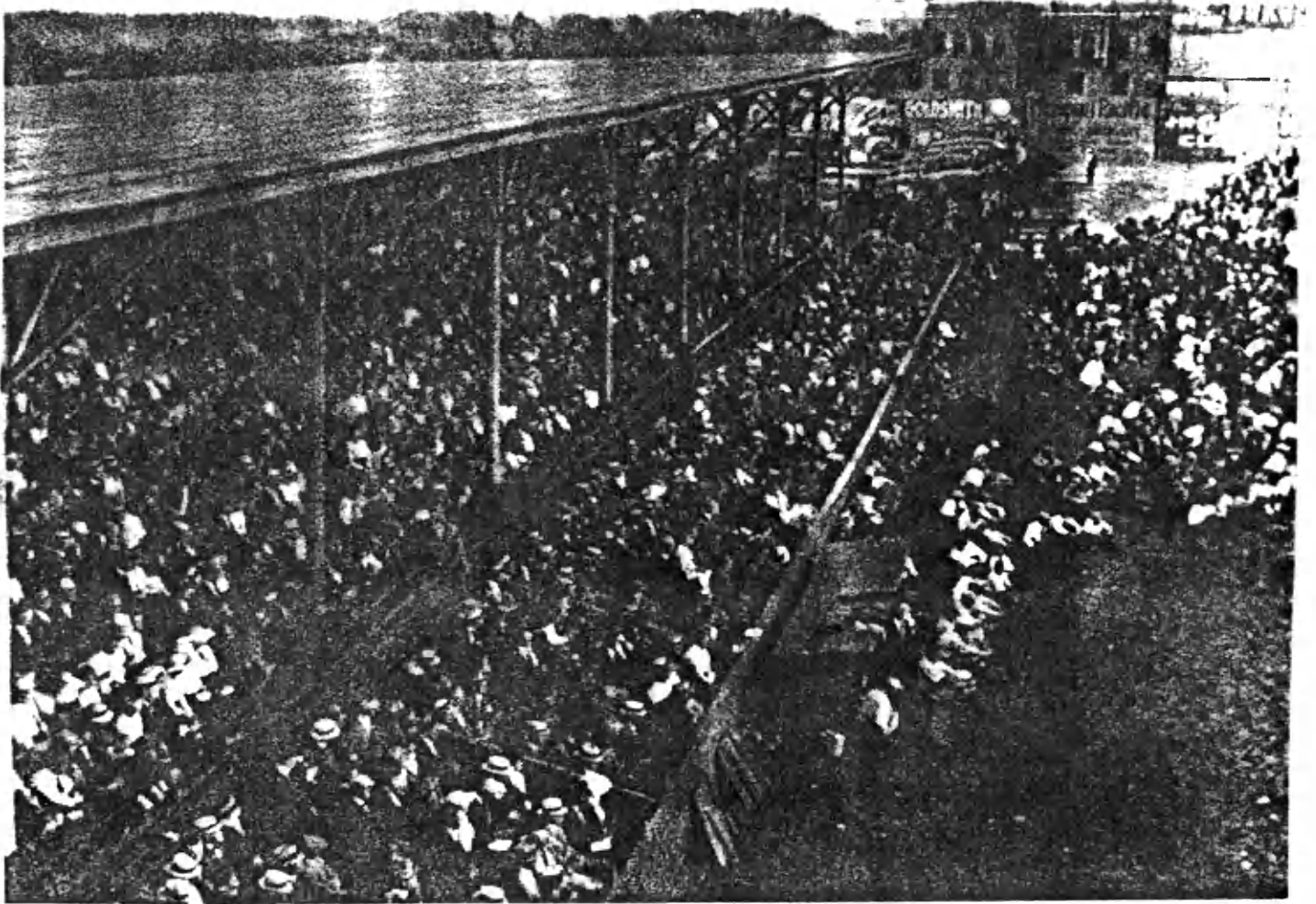
On the other hand, Rourke Park was a center of attraction in Omaha. During summer months, thousands of baseball fans rode streetcar lines throughout the Omaha area to attend baseball games at the stadium (Figure 11). The business climate thrived along Vinton as fans spent money at

Figure 10



Fred Krug Brewing Company about 1911 at Twenty-fifth and Vinton was a main employment attraction in the Vinton neighborhood and Omaha. Western Heritage Museum, Bostwick/Frohart Collection.

Figure 11



Rourke Baseball Park from Thirteenth to Fifteenth and Vinton attracted many Omahans in the first half of the twentieth century. Western Heritage Museum, Bostwick/Frohart Collection.

local saloons, confectioneries, soda shops, and ice cream parlors before and after they watched a game. During the 1920's a business called "The Baseball Exchange" opened at 1502 Vinton, just west of Rourke Park (Figure 12). However, thirty-seven years after it was constructed in 1899, on a hot summer day, August 13, 1936, it all ended when the stadium burned to the ground (Sun Newspaper, A-20, April 3, 1980).

Instead of rebuilding the stadium, businessmen and community leaders decided that new brick houses should be built on the old baseball diamond grounds to match the older residential area south across Vinton (Figure 13). Nevertheless, until the fire in 1936, Rourke Park was a social attraction on Vinton Street that brought added business and life to the artery.

Early Pre-Maximal Stage: 1901 - 1912

The greatest growth period on Vinton Street was from 1901 to 1912. During this period, thirty-two new businesses located on the artery, bringing the total to seventy-seven businesses which at one time or another had been established on the artery since 1880. However, according to Polk's 1912 Omaha City Directory there were only fifty-two of the seventy-seven businesses or 67.7 percent of the businesses functioning on Vinton Street in 1912 (Figure 6, Map supplement in the back inside cover).

There are many reasons for the discrepancy of twenty-five businesses. For example, many buildings were vacant in

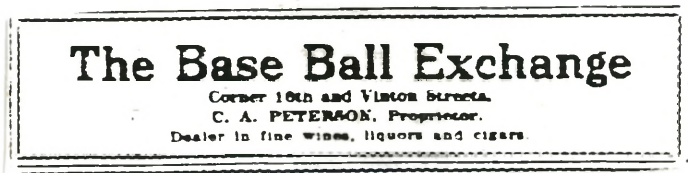
1912 that had housed businesses in prior years; addresses were not consistent for the same building, and several businesses operated in the front half of the building while the proprietor lived upstairs or in the back half. Among other possible causes for the differences were the expansion of businesses, the removal of buildings, closings, financial difficulties, business name changes, and the relocation of businesses. Despite these discrepancies, Vinton Street continued to grow.

By 1912, a definite clustering of businesses appeared between Fifteenth and Twentieth and Vinton. This cluster contained sixty-four of the seventy-seven or 83.0 percent of all establishments. However, none of the new businesses were able to locate at intersections because most corners were already developed. So, as a result, most new establishments developed between intersections.

The largest growth and densest clustering was found in the area from Sixteenth to Seventeenth where seven new businesses located in the middle of the block between 1901 and 1912. Not far behind were the areas from Seventeenth to Eighteenth and Nineteenth to Twentieth with six new businesses each. Other areas of growth included the intra-block region from Eighteenth to Nineteenth with four businesses, one business each at 1525, 2002 and 2025 Vinton.

Although growth was concentrated between Fifteenth and Twentieth, a new region of growth appeared at the western end of the artery between Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Streets. This new area attracted nine new businesses with

Figure 12



Source: Staff, "Where Good Goods Exist: What Vinton Streets Leading Merchants Have Brought." Omaha Bee:8-B, 7 July, 1912.

Figure 13



Brick residences located where Rourke Baseball Park used to stand near Fourteenth and Vinton.

eight of them located closer to Twenty-third on the north side and only one on the south side at the southeast corner.

As a result, growth peaked by 1912 with the addition of streetcar lines, Rourke Park, Falstaff (Krug) Brewery, and numerous other businesses. Although Vinton Street continued to grow from 1913 to 1920, expansion was considerably slower than in past years. This seven-year period produced twelve new businesses which increased the total to eighty-four establishments of which sixty-two or 73.8 percent were operating in 1920.

Mid Pre-Maximal Stage: 1913 - 1920

Growth during the second decade of the twentieth century was concentrated between Sixteenth and Seventeenth. Within this one block area, half of the new businesses opened. Interestingly, all six were on Vinton's north side. Also in this same period, two new businesses opened between Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth, creating a small concentrated business area at the western end of the artery. Other new businesses also opened at 1522, 1715, 1817, and 1914 Vinton. Thus, each and every new business contributed to the main cluster area from Fifteenth to Twentieth and the rest of the artery.

However, even though businesses began to locate near the Twenty-fourth and Vinton intersection, the heart of this region remained the area from Sixteenth to Twentieth and Vinton. Within this area, over sixty percent of all the businesses along the artery could be found.

Late Pre-Maximal Stage: 1921 - 1931

Moving into the late "Pre-Maximal Stage," 1921 to 1930, fourteen new businesses were added to Vinton Street. These fourteen developments on the artery boosted the total to ninety-eight businesses of which seventy-four or 75.5 percent were actually conducting business, the highest percentage since the artery's infant years. Of the fourteen businesses, only four were concentrated in an area at the northeast corner of Twenty-fourth and Vinton (Figure 6, Map supplement in back inside cover). Other than this clustering, the remaining businesses were scattered along Vinton Street and often located in the empty spaces between the older buildings in clustered areas of the block.

Maximal Stage: 1931 - 1951 to Post Maximal Stage: 1952 - Present

Over the next fifty-eight years, from 1931 to 1989, only nine new businesses developed on the artery. Businesses were scattered along the artery and even some of the them located where one or more businesses once operated. This decrease is attributed to the fact that Vinton Street was completely developed with businesses and homes along the artery. Consequently there was little or no room for developments. For example, the major business area between Sixteenth and Twentieth added only three new buildings, including two on the south side between Nineteenth and Twentieth and one new business at 1703 Vinton.

For the most part, this entire section has dealt with the growth and developments of establishments along Vinton

Street and very little attention has been paid to the removal of businesses. By looking at Figure 6, the numbers on the map show where two major regions and some isolated areas experienced a decrease in the number of buildings. For example, five buildings or businesses at Twenty-third and Vinton are now gone and have been replaced with one establishment; the business at Twenty-second and Vinton returned or reverted to a residence. The same is true for the building at the corner of Sixteenth and Vinton and several others. Likewise, two buildings were destroyed on the north side of Vinton between Nineteenth and Twentieth and replaced with a large supermarket and drug store. Another building, Mueller's, at 1706 to 1708 was destroyed in a fire in the early seventies, and yet another building was destroyed at 1914 Vinton. Thus, establishments on Vinton Street gradually increased during its first fifty years, yet, for the next fifty years a gradual decrease of businesses occurred.

Summary and Implications

An attempt has been made in this chapter to describe and analyze the specific developments and growth patterns of businesses along the Vinton Street artery. From the observations made it was noted that the greatest period of growth was from 1890 to 1912 when fifty-four new businesses opened on Vinton Street. Growth can be attributed to six significant factors: 1) the construction of streetcar lines that intersected Vinton, and specifically the "South Omaha Line" that ran the length of Vinton from Thirteenth to Twenty-

fourth; 2) its location between Omaha and South Omaha; 3) Rourke Baseball Park; 4) the physical location of Vinton Street on a ridge which facilitated ease of passage; 5) a major era of immigration to the United States, including Omaha; 6) employment opportunities; and 7) the availability of property for business sites were all primary factors that lured new businesses to Vinton Street in the early stages.

As stated previously, few studies, except for the Grotewolds', W. G. Faithful and some others, have examined the stages of development of a retail ribbon (Grotewold, 1958 and Faithful, 1964). However, these studies were more concerned with business developments along a new highway or a new commercial ribbon over a short period and not with the historic evolution of development along an established ribbon for an extended period of time, such as Vinton Street. The stages of evolution along the artery are summarized in the following paragraphs.

Infant Stage: 1880 - 1889

The first stage of development, or "Infant Stage" along the Vinton Retail Ribbon lasted ten years. During this stage, businesses randomly located along the retail ribbon with only a few isolated areas of clustering noticeable, if any. Several businesses were established at intersections to take advantage of the pedestrian and streetcar traffic. However, a few businesses located between intersections at this time.

Early Stage: 1890 - 1900

In the "Early Stage" of development, which lasted ten years, clustering along the Vinton Retail Ribbon became more apparent. Clustering first occurred at several intersections in the developing core region where three of the four street corners had businesses. Also in this stage, businesses tended to establish themselves adjacent to other activities near intersections, with a few located in the middle of a block. However, evidence of the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon emerged during this stage.

Pre-Maximal Stage: 1901 - 1931

In the "Pre-Maximal Stage," the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon is definitely visible. Developments were concentrated in the principal areas between intersections since most or all of the interchanges had functioning businesses by this era. Also, the core region became a compact businesses artery with little space for growth in the principal area, especially between intersections.

Maximal Stage: 1931 - 1951

During the "Maximal Stage," businesses filled in the few remaining gaps between intersections on the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon. In this phase, the retail artery was well defined with businesses that extended the length of the artery. Furthermore, business growth peaked along the ribbon as the total number of retail stores began to stabilize

in the "Maximal Stage."

Post Maximal Stage: 1952 - Present

During the "Post-Maximal Stage," business developments ceased and a decrease in the number of businesses along the artery occurred for the first time. This change occurred because old buildings that once housed profitable businesses were razed for new business facilities, and some businesses expanded or even relocated to other areas of Omaha. This decrease in businesses occurred on the fringes of the Vinton Ribbon Retail Ribbon. However, despite this new pattern of decline, the artery remained vibrant.

As Vinton Street evolved through these stages, a retail artery with two independent business ribbons was recognizable. The first, and lesser of the two, was more of a sub-cluster of the entire ribbon, covering one block from Twenty-third to Twenty-fourth and Vinton. In this area businesses concentrated at intersections, and decreased away from the intersections, specifically along Vinton and Twenty-fourth Street: This pattern is recognizable along many retail ribbon streets today. Nevertheless, at its peak, this western region of Vinton Street had sixteen thriving businesses, whereas today it only has eleven, not including the new shopping center located at the northwest corner of Twenty-fourth and Vinton.

However, the most important part of the entire ribbon began at Fifteenth and extended nearly to Twenty-first and Vinton. This clustered, commercial ribbon area encompassed

five and a half blocks and at its peak had eighty-seven operating businesses. At the same time, the area from Sixteenth to Nineteenth and Vinton had fifty-six businesses concentrated in this three-block area averaging at least eighteen businesses per block. Proceeding east, from the core area, nine more businesses were noted between Sixteenth and Fifteenth, but none beyond Fifteenth until reaching the Thirteenth Street artery. Beginning at Nineteenth and heading west along Vinton Street several businesses are noticeable. For instance, there were twelve establishments from Nineteenth to Twentieth and Vinton, and eight activities from Twentieth to Twenty-first and Vinton.

To sum up, the principal ribbon zone along the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon began developing in the early 1880's. It stretched eleven blocks at its peak and contained a core business region with a small mini-ribbon cluster at its western edge. Vinton's concentrated business area between Sixteenth and Twenty-first flourished as an independent business district that predominantly developed during its first fifty years of existence or through the "Maximal Stage," and remains vibrant today. If Hascall, Rogers and Wilcox could have seen Vinton Street during the "Maximal Stage," their dream of Vinton becoming a thriving business district would have come true! The study now continues with Chapter Five; Classification and Location of Businesses on Vinton Street.

Chapter Five
Classification and Location of Businesses
Along Vinton Street

Having determined the general spatial and historical development of the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon in Chapter Four, the study turns to the types, number, and location of operating businesses for each stage. Importance for each stage is given to the specific functional types of businesses, a count, and location with respect to other establishments on the artery; or in other words, land use. Thus, the purpose of Chapter Five is to classify and map the operating businesses, plus further analyze any apparent spatial patterns over time. The methodology first recognizes the data used and follows with an examination of land uses according to the various development stages, and ends with a summary of the spatial patterns for the entire time frame.

Data Used

Along the artery a complete census of businesses was undertaken for each period. The census was compiled by using Omaha city directories, newspaper advertisements, city planning records, interviews, and field checks for the last period. In addition, only businesses with Vinton Street addresses were used in the land use analysis.

In classifying the businesses, a combination of the Census Bureau's Retail Trade, Service Industries, and County Business Patterns Standardized Industrial Codes (SIC) were utilized. Of these three, the retail trade publication was

the most often referred to source. The two other sources were used for reference when problems occurred in determining the category for a particular land use. Specific business breakdowns by kind are listed in and the classification scheme used in this study can be found in Table 3.

Classifying most establishments was straightforward, but certain problems did surface at one time or another. One apparent problem in this study was the time frame. For example, throughout the one hundred years of analysis many transportation changes occurred; at first, horses were the primary mode of transportation, followed by horse-drawn and electric streetcars, and finally the automobile. So, does one classify a blacksmith shop as transportation repair similar to the streetcar maintenance barn and auto repair shops? Or is it classified with hardware or perhaps other retail services? In another example, how does one deal with businesses with dual functions such as a saloon and hall or restaurant and tavern. In resolving both issues, the blacksmith shops, restaurants and taverns were given their own categories, but if the establishment had a name such as saloon and billiard hall, half a business was counted for each. In this way, the total number of businesses did not exceed the actual count according to the addresses found in the Omaha city directories, unlike Berry's and Garrison's land use studies found in their book, ***Studies of Highway Development and Geographic Change in 1959*** (Garrison & Berry, et al., 1959).

TABLE 3
CLASSIFICATION OF BUSINESSES: 1880 - 1989

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| 1. Building Materials
a. Hardware
b. Paint, Glass
c. Wall Paper / Tile | 2. Household Furnishings
a. Radio, TV, Music
b. Appliance Repair
c. Upholstery | 3. Antique/Variety
a. Variety
b. Antique
c. Hobby |
| 4. Farm Supplies
a. Equipment/Harness Maker
b. Feed, Scales, Grain | 5. General Merchandise
a. Department
b. National Chain | 6. Automotive Dealers & Repair
a. Used Car Dealers
b. Automotive Repair |
| 7. Drinking / Beverages
a. Bars, Saloons, Taverns
b. Soft Drinks, Soda | 8. Barber / Beauty
a. Barber
b. Beauty | 9. Furniture
a. New and Used
b. Repair |
| 10. Contractors / Trades
a. Plumbing
b. Heating & Air Conditioning
c. Cabinet Maker
d. Electrician
e. Asbestos
f. Weatherproofing
g. Exterminators
h. Hydraulic Systems Service
i. Painter
j. Window Cleaner
k. Welding | 11. Office
a. Physician
b. Dentist
c. Post Office
d. Police Station
e. Newspaper
f. Power Station
g. Bank
h. Insurance
i. Business Machines
j. Land Surveyor | 12. Other Retail
a. Florist
b. Photography / Film
c. Pet Grooming
d. Printing / Bindery
e. Schools
f. Cigar
g. Advertising
h. Art Studio
i. Auction |
| 13. Food Stores
a. Grocery
b. Meat Markets
c. Bakeries
d. Fruit & Vegetable Markets
e. Candy & Confectioneries
f. Dry Goods
g. Tea | 14. Apparel
a. Men's & Boys Clothing
b. Women's Clothing
c. Shoes and Repair
d. Booteries | 15. Amusements
a. Theater
b. Billiards
c. Halls
d. Social Clubs
e. Video Rentals / Games |
| 16. Manufacturing
a. Food
b. Plastic
c. Chemicals | 17. Blacksmiths | 18. Streetcar Barn |
| 19. Drug | 20. Gasoline Station | 21. Restaurant |
| 22. Hotel | 23. Jewelry / Watch Repair | 24. Real Estate |
| 25. Laundry & Cleaners | | |

SOURCES: Wolfe's Omaha City Directories 1880 - 1889, McAvoy's Omaha City Directories 1890 - 1900, Polk's Omaha City Directories 1912 - 1989. Studies of Highway Development and Geographic Change, Chapters Four and Five, Garrison, Berry et al. Census of Retail Trade, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Census.

Infant Stage: 1880-1889

Transportation along Vinton Street and Omaha as a whole was dominated by the horse and buggy and pedestrians in 1889. Several businesses across Omaha and Vinton Street reflected the main transportation modes in their location, distribution and type as shown in Table 4 and Figure 14. For example, the stores listed included blacksmith shops, shoemaker shops, meat markets, grocery stores, and saloons. Most were single-item stores located near each other in two or three-store clusters, suggesting market areas or perhaps ethnic business cores.

Functional Aspects

As established in Chapter Four, twenty-three businesses operated on the Vinton Street artery in 1889. During the "Infant Stage" (1880 - 1889) of development, twelve establishments were actually found on intersections and eleven operated between the intersections. Businesses were scattered along the length of the artery from Fifteenth to Twenty-fourth Streets and Vinton, with a slight clustering visible from Fifteenth to Twentieth. Evidence of this pattern is depicted in Figure 14.

Examination of Table 4 shows thirteen different retail classes out of a total of twenty-three businesses operating on Vinton Street. Six of the thirteen businesses listed had two or more facilities. Food stores accounted for the most with five, or 21.8 percent of all establishments, while blacksmiths accounted for three facilities or 13.1 percent

(Table 4). Four other land uses with more than one location were the drug stores, farm supplies, building materials, and drinking establishments. Each land use had two facilities at 8.7 percent apiece. The remaining stores listed -- hotel, streetcar barn, office, apparel, barber/beauty, amusement and "other" retail -- had just one representative at 4.3 percent each.

Spatial Aspects

As mentioned earlier, twelve stores were located at the corner of blocks and eleven between the blocks. The food (3), drug (2), blacksmith (2) and drinking (2) categories each had two or more activities at intersections. The only group to have more than one establishment within a block was the food group, with two stores. This tendency indicates that "personal" or "repair" businesses (florist, office, boot and shoemaker, and (barber/beauty) were more apt to locate "within" a block, while food, blacksmith, saloon, and drug or "one stop" stores located, if possible, at intersections.

Another aspect of location analyzed throughout this study was the relationship of the facilities along the ribbon. For instance, by looking at Figure 14, it spatially shows the two drug stores were not only located at street corners, but they were also at opposite ends of the retail artery - 1501 Vinton and 2002 Vinton.

Similar to the above pattern, grocery stores, meat markets, saloons, and building material stores were located at opposite ends of the retail ribbon, and at least two blocks

TABLE 4
LAND USES ON VINTON STREET: 1889

<u>Types</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Food Stores ^{a2,b2,c,}	5	21.8
Blacksmiths	3	13.2
Building Materials ^{c2}	2	8.7
Drug	2	8.7
Drinking ^{a2}	2	8.7
Farm Supplies ^{a,c}	2	8.7
Hotel	1	4.3
Streetcar Barn	1	4.3
Office	1	4.3
Barber/Beauty	1	4.3
Amusement	1	4.3
Apparel	1	4.3
<u>Other Retail</u> ^a	<u>1</u>	<u>4.3</u>
Total	23	99.9

Source: Wolfe's Omaha City Directory, 1889.

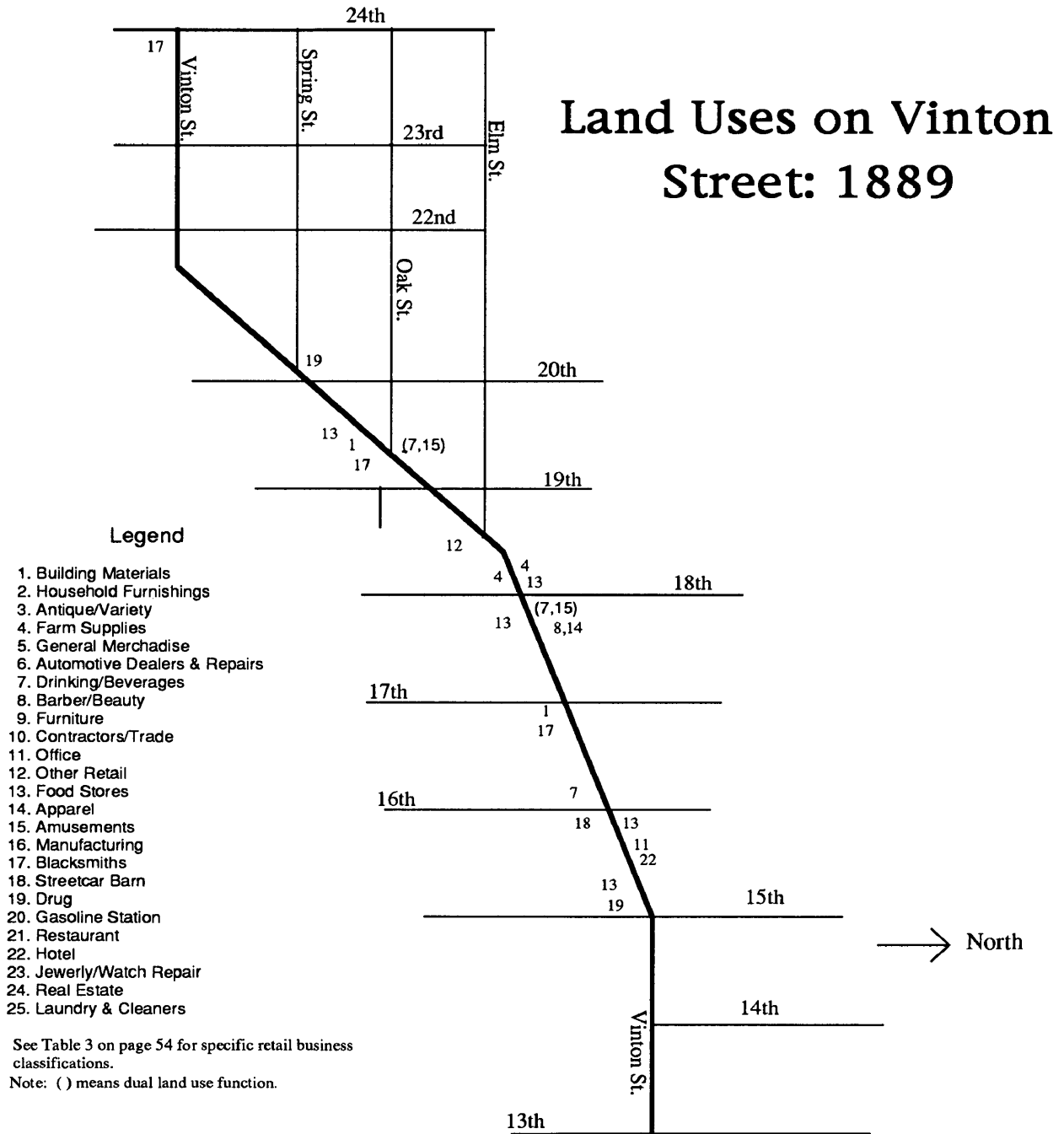
Note: Superscript refers to Table 3 on page 54 for further breakdowns.

* Number does not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

from another store. Further, the three blacksmith shops were nearly three blocks apart, possibly illustrating the origins of three ethnically different service market clusters. Some additional factors could include the proximity to transportation stops, or neighborhood developments.

Equally important in this study is the location of businesses and business clusters. A cluster herein is defined as two or more, similar or different, stores grouped together. Two good examples of clusters were the building material (hardware), blacksmith and saloon groupings found on the south side of Vinton from Sixteenth to Seventeenth and in the middle of Nineteenth Street. Although there were

Figure 14



Sources: Wolfe, J.M. Wolfe's Omaha City Directory 1889. Omaha: Herald Printing, Binding and Electrotyping, (1889).
 Omaha City Planning, 1989.

several two-business concentrations, none of the clusters contained the same type of businesses as found in the above example. Thus, as the "Infant Stage" of development ended, only small, two or three-store clusters were noticeable on Vinton Street.

Early Stage: 1890 - 1900

A major change in transportation occurred in Omaha by the turn of the century - Streetcars. Streetcar lines connected Omaha to neighboring areas and towns. These lines also linked the rest of the city to Rourke Park and businesses operating on Vinton Street. However, past transportation modes were still apparent as shown by the types of land uses documented on Vinton Street during this stage.

Functional Aspects

Business growth along Vinton Street was constant, but quite slow during the decade. Only ten new businesses opened on the retail artery for an average of less than two businesses per year; which increased the operating business total to thirty-three. Obvious clustering occurred within a one block region between Eighteenth and Nineteenth and Vinton where fourteen or 42.4 percent of all businesses could be found in 1900. Fifteen of these businesses were now located on street corners; an increase of three since 1889. Yet, in this same period, eighteen establishments were now located "within" blocks; an increase of seven since the "Infant Stage."

TABLE 5
LAND USES ON VINTON STREET: 1900

<u>Types</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Food Stores ^{a5,b2,c2,f}	10	30.3
Blacksmiths	3	9.1
Apparel ^{b,c2}	3	9.1
Drinking ^{a3}	3	9.1
Farm Supplies ^{b3}	3	9.1
Barber/Beauty ^{a2}	2	6.1
Building Materials ^{a2}	2	6.1
Office ^{a2}	2	6.1
Other Retail ^{a,f}	2	6.1
Contractor/Trade	1	3.0
Drug	1	3.0
<u>Laundry</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3.0</u>
Total	33	100.1*

Source: McAvoy's Omaha City Directory, 1900.

Note: Superscript refers to Table 3 on page 54 for further breakdowns.

* Number does not equal 100.0 percent due to rounding.

Analysis of Table 5 indicates there was an overall decline in the different types of businesses found along Vinton Street in this stage; from thirteen land uses in 1889 to twelve in 1900. The decrease is attributed to the loss of the streetcar barn at 1523 Vinton. Other than this change, the categories remained similar, except for the loss of the amusement class and the introduction of the new laundry category. Thus, the number of land uses decreased in this stage with very minor changes in order and mix.

Food stores remained the most popular business category in this stage by doubling their previous total of five establishments. These ten facilities equaled nearly one third or 30.3 percent of all businesses on the artery and account-

ed for 50.0 percent of the growth since 1889. Five of these stores were grocery stores, while two were meat markets, two were bakeries, and one was a confectionery. Although food stores dominated the distribution in the types of stores found along Vinton Street, a few other categories also increased in number (Table 5).

Generally all the stores with two or more facilities were similar to the types of businesses found in 1889. The businesses with three facilities or 9.1 percent included blacksmiths, apparel shops, farm supply stores, and drinking establishments. Further breakdown shows that the apparel and farm supply categories increased by two stores each, drinking facilities increased by one and the others remained constant. The other categories with two facilities were the barber/beauty, building materials, office, and "other" retail stores. Each of these business types increased by one, to two, or 6.1 percent of all businesses, except for building materials which remained the same as last period.

In 1900 only three land uses contained one business apiece and they were contractor/trade, a drug store and a laundry center. It was found that the drug stores and contractor/trade groups were new additions to the list, while the amusement category disappeared during this stage (Table 5).

Spatial Aspects

Spatially, the Vinton Street business ribbon decreased in length as businesses now stretched from 1421 Vinton (physician) to Twentieth and Vinton (a feed, hay, and grain

store), instead of from Fifteenth to Twenty-fourth and Vinton, as in 1889. The artery shrank because the blacksmith shop at Twenty-fourth and Vinton no longer operated in 1900. This suggests that this area of the Vinton Street had not yet developed as part of the overall retail ribbon as considered in 1889.

As previously noted, the densest block of the artery was from Eighteenth to Nineteenth and Vinton. Fourteen businesses located in this block, of which, five belonged to the food group, two were building material stores, and the rest were single facility stores. One block to the east, from Seventeenth to Eighteenth, the second densest block on the artery could be found. In this area there were eight businesses and the only duplication of establishments was noted in the food category. As a result, this two-block clustered core area contained 66.7 percent of all businesses along the retail ribbon and emerged as the dominant business area - as it remains today.

Another spatial characteristic in Figure 15 shows the types of land uses located at street corners. As expected, the food category had the most types listed with five. They were followed by farm supply and drinking establishments with three each, office services with two, and a blacksmith shop and drug store with one land use each. This retail distribution was consistent with the pattern in 1889. Both years supported the notion that "personal" or "repair" businesses tended to locate "within" blocks, and food, drinking, farm supply or "one stop" stores preferred to operate on

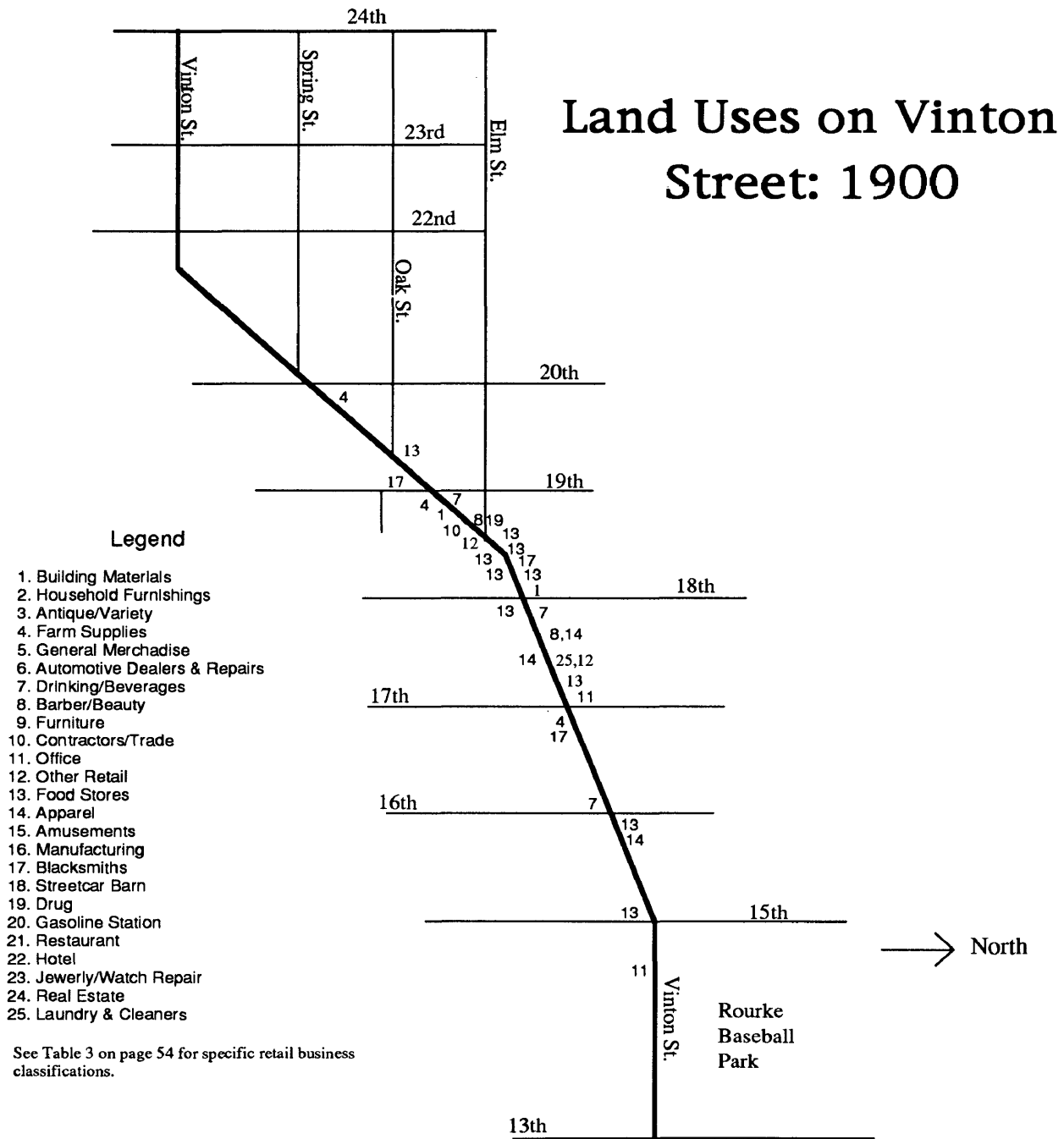
street corners.

In addition, there were three main concentrations of businesses along the retail ribbon at this time: (1) Seventeenth and Vinton, (2) Eighteenth and Vinton, and (3) the Vinton - Elm Street intersection. Each cluster had at least a food (grocery) store and a blacksmith shop. However, two of the clusters, the Eighteenth and Vinton and the Vinton - Elm Street intersection, exhibited another similarity, insomuch as each had a saloon, building material (hardware) store, and a meat market as a nucleus.

Another noteworthy observation concerns the spatial location of similar businesses. For instance, farm supply stores, drinking establishments, and blacksmith shops were separated from one another by at least one block. Conversely, the food (grocery), building material (hardware) and apparel stores were often located across the street from each other. These patterns might suggest three different transportation/service areas, ethnic regions, or perhaps, the slight possibility of dissimilar ethnic groups on opposite sides of the street.

As a result, in the "Early Stage" of development, definite clustering became apparent from Seventeenth to Nineteenth and Vinton. Growth continued from the street corners to the middle of the block and most intersections had at least two to three "gathering" or "one stop" stores. In addition, the food group remained the top category, followed by the building material stores, blacksmith shops and drinking establishments. Overall, the business types dis-

Figure 15



Sources: McAvoy's, Omaha City Directory 1900. Omaha: Omaha Printing Co., (1900).
Omaha City Planning, 1989.

covered in this stage were similar to the previous period and further business developments of the three noticeable service or ethnic regions along the ribbon evolved in this stage.

Pre-Maximal Stage: 1901 - 1931

Largest Growth Period: 1901 - 1912

As established in Chapter Four, one of the largest growth periods along the Vinton Street retail artery was from 1901 to 1912. Establishments in this period increased by nineteen bringing the total number of operating activities to fifty-two, an increase of 57.6 percent.

Functional Aspects

As indicated in Table 6 there were twelve different types of land uses found along the Vinton Street artery in 1912. In this stage, the food category led with eighteen establishments, or 34.6 percent. This proportion was nearly the same as in 1900, but it more than doubled the next highest category, amusements. Amusements became the second most popular business rising from zero to seven facilities, and accounting for 13.5 percent, while tied at third were the barber/beauty and apparel establishments with four each at 7.7 percent.

For the first time in the study the restaurant category was listed. The restaurant land use along with the blacksmith shops, drinking establishments and contractor/trade groups all had three facilities representing 5.8 percent

TABLE 6
LAND USES ON VINTON STREET: 1912

<u>Types</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Food Stores ^{a6,b4,c3,c2,f2,g1}	18	34.8
Amusements ^{a2,b3,c2}	7	13.5
Apparel ^{a2,c2}	4	7.7
Barber/Beauty ^{a4}	4	7.7
Restaurants	3	5.8
Blacksmiths	3	5.8
Drinking ^{a3}	3	5.8
Contractor/Trade ^{a2,c}	3	5.8
Farm Supplies ^{b2}	2	3.8
Drug	2	3.8
Office ^{a,c}	2	3.8
<u>Laundry</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1.9</u>
Total	52	100.2*

Source: Polk's Omaha City Directory, 1912.

Note: Superscript refers to Table 3 on page 54 for further breakdowns.

*Number does not equal 100.0 percent due to rounding.

apiece. The remaining business categories in Table 6 included drug stores and office services with two facilities each at 3.8 percent. Also, the farm supply land use had two outlets, although it was one less activity than noted in 1900. The only other business along the artery was a laundry facility with one location representing 1.9 percent (Figures 16, 17 and 18).

Spatial Aspects

In 1912, operating businesses extended from 1523 Vinton to Twenty-fourth and Vinton. Within this retail ribbon, business clusters were found at every intersection from

Sixteenth to Nineteenth where at least three of the four corners had a retail activity. On almost every intersection in the principal retail zone a food store could be found. Other stores noted at an intersection included two barber/beauty shops, a tavern, drug store, post office, blacksmith shop and a feed store (Figure 19).

The core area from Sixteenth to Nineteenth contained forty, or 76.0 percent of all businesses, and averaged ten stores per block. Further breakdown from Seventeenth to Nineteenth shows this dense two-block area contained twenty-six businesses or 52.0 percent. So, as in past periods, this main retail region continued to embrace the greatest clustering of establishments.

Businesses located on intersections only increased by two during this period, from fifteen to seventeen. Of these facilities, at least one food-type store operated at every interchange, except for the Sixteenth and Vinton intersection in the core area.

By looking at Figure 19, it becomes clear that the three retail islands noted in the earlier periods are fusing together into a larger region spanning four blocks. As a result, if these three business clusters were unique ethnic regions on the artery in 1900, then they possibly combined and created a mixed ethnic ribbon, serving a greater populated region surrounding Vinton Street.

At the same time, the western and isolated section of Vinton Street, from Twenty-third to Twenty-fourth and Vinton, finally emerged as a definite part of the entire re-

Figure 16

Biggest Mid-Summer CLEARANCE SALE

Ever known in the South End, will begin Monday morning, July 8th, and continue throughout the week.

We will sell our "gentle babies" and Children's Shoes, Pumps and Oxfords at less than factory prices.

All \$5.00 Station Hats at	\$3.50
\$4 Boy Sport Suits	\$2.00
\$2 Boy Sport Suits at	\$1.00


It will pay you to visit our store and see these and other wonderful bargains too numerous to mention.

All goods at this sale are taken from our regular stock and are of good reputation.

VINTON TOGGERY

N. C. Ellinghusen, Prop.

1714 Vinton Street. Phone D 2726
Store open from 7 A. M. to 5 P. M. Saturdays to 1 P. M.



**The Best
Bread
In Town**

W. L. ELSASSER BAKERY

1802 VINTON STREET

Established 28 Years


Oldest Bakery in Omaha

THE BEST AND FRESHEST BAKERY
GOODS AND BREAD AT ALL TIMES

TRY US AND SEE

Examples of Merchants on Vinton Street, 1912. Omaha Bee: 8-B, 7 July, 1912.

Figure 17

<p>STRAUSBAUGH'S Pharmacy 1816 VINTON STREET, OMAHA Established April 15, 1892.</p> <p>One fifth of century's successful business. Square dealing, careful handling and dispensing of drugs has always been our aim. Grateful for past favors and feeling assured we are better equipped to serve you in the future, we ask your continued confidence.</p> <p>Two Registered Pharmacists in charge. Try one of our Fresh Crushed Fruit Sodas or Sundae. None Better.</p> 	<p>H. C. HARM Cor. 18th and Vinton Sts.—Dealer in Fine Wines, Liquors and Cigars Wholesale and Retail Dealer in Schlitz Milwaukee Beer Tel. Douglas 6486. OMAHA, NEB.</p>	<p>The Luchette Restaurant 1818 Vinton Street. The place of good things to eat. Everything clean and the best of meals served. Stop here for your everyday lunch. Be cool and comfortable while you eat.</p>	<p>H. Topp & Co. 1704 Vinton Street Plumbing of All Kinds. Oils, Patent Valves, etc. We have a complete line of Gas Engines ready to set. Best prices are right.</p>
<p>For a Cool Delightful Dessert</p> <p>Order a quart of Krull's Ice cream. It's refreshing as well as cooling these hot days.</p> <p>Our confectionery department offers a wide range of candies and cakes delicious at every extremely reasonable. Visit our store and be convinced.</p> <p>Krull's Confectionery 1716 Vinton Street.</p>	<p>H. STICKLER & CO. (SUCCESSOR TO REYNOLDS & STICKLER.) 1808-8 VINTON STREET COMPLETE LINE OF THE BEST HAY, GRAIN, COAL ON THE MARKET SEE US BEFORE YOU BUY—OUR PRICES ARE THE LOWEST.</p>	<p>W. WETTENGEL & SON 1912-14 VINTON STREET— Builders of Foredoor Auto Bodies and all kinds of other Auto bodies. Bakery, Milk, Laundry and Light Delivery wagons built. All kinds of blacksmithing, carriage and auto painting and trimming. Give us a trial—Our prices are right. Phone Douglas 2280.</p>	<p>EXTRA SPECIAL SOAP BARGAIN FOR THIS WEEK</p> <p>We have just received a large shipment of fine quality scented toilet which regularly sells for \$1.50 per box but in advance sale and get the people acquainted with its high quality we offer it at 50c per box.</p> <p>Our large Tea and Coffee stock offers you excellent opportunities at all times to buy for less than elsewhere.</p> <p>Krull's Tea & Coffee Co. 1716 Vinton Street.</p>

Examples of Merchants on Vinton Street, 1912. Omaha Bee: 8-B, 7 July, 1912.

Figure 18

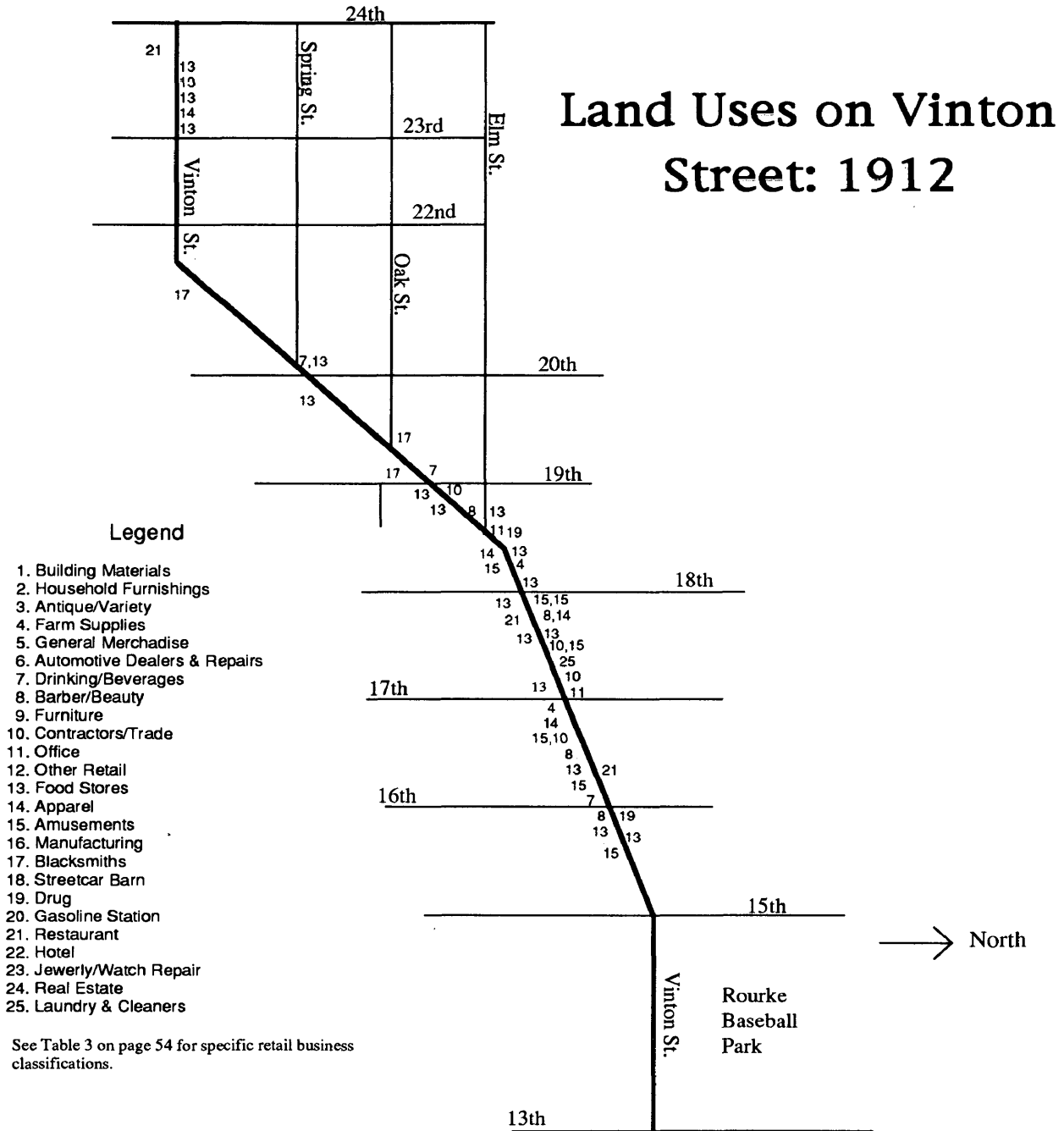


In 1912 Strausbaugh Pharmacy was located in the Strausbaugh building at 1816 Vinton. Note Figure 17 also advertises the Strausbaugh Pharmacy. Photograph taken October 1988.

tail ribbon with six stores. This mini-retail artery was composed of four food stores, a barber/beauty and a shoemaker shop. These were the same land uses noted in the three easterly concentrations in the main retail ribbon area in 1900.

As shown in the "Pre-Maximal Stage" of development, the retail artery is apparent and established. Business devel-

Figure 19



Sources: Polk, R.L. Polk's Omaha City Directory. Kansas City: R.L. Polk, (1912).
Omaha City Planning, 1989.

opments between intersections combined the three main business clusters into one, four-block long artery. The overall business types remained the same with food stores continuing to be the dominant business, followed by amusements, apparel, and barber/beauty shops. And, for the first time, the western area of the artery from Twenty-third to Twenty-fourth revealed a cluster of four food type stores out of a total of six establishments.

Late Pre-Maximal Stage: 1913 - 1931

Although most of the country and Omaha were in the midst of the "Great Depression" in the late twenties and early thirties, the Vinton Street land use patterns continued to evolve. An additional twenty-five businesses and eight new retail types were documented along the artery in 1931. With these new and different businesses, Vinton Street became a denser and more varied retail ribbon.

Functional Aspects

In 1931, operating businesses peaked in number with seventy-seven along Vinton Street. This number was twenty-five more than 1912 and amounted to a 48.0 percent increase since the past period. Further, this gain in operating businesses represented a 235.0 percent increase since 1889 or the "Infant Stage."

According to the classification scheme on page 54, twenty different business categories operated on Vinton Street. This was seven more land uses than any previous

stage. The eight new land uses in this stage included real estate, gas station, auto repair, jewelry/watch repair, manufacturing, household store, general merchandise, and antique/variety (Table 7).

A review of Table 7 notes the top land use category was once again the food group with sixteen establishments or 20.7 percent. The next four, in order, included the barber/beauty with nine (11.7 percent), apparel and laundry with six (7.8 percent), and the auto repair, restaurant and office services with five (6.5 percent) establishments. The top three percentage increases included auto repair with 6.5 percent, the laundry category at 5.8 percent and the barber/beauty shop with 3.8 percent.

Although the food category was the top group, both in number and percent, it decreased relatively the most since 1912 by 13.7 percent. Other big proportional losers in 1931 were amusements at 9.7 percent and blacksmith shops at 5.8 percent. Noteworthy, the blacksmith facilities were completely absent from the table because new and faster transportation services such as streetcars and automobiles became more readily available to the general public during this period (Table 7).

Spatial Aspects

Transportation change and lack of space for new business developments not only affected the business types, but also affected the length of the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon. In 1931 the business ribbon again spanned from Fourteenth to Twenty-fourth and Vinton. The eastern-most business housed

TABLE 7
LAND USES ON VINTON STREET: 1931

<u>Types</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Food Stores ^{a9, b1, c2, e3, f1}	16	20.7
Barber/Beauty ^{a8, b1}	9	11.7
Apparel ^{a5, d1}	6	7.8
Laundry	6	7.8
Office ^{a1, c1, d1, e1, f1}	5	6.5
Restaurant	5	6.5
Auto Repair ^{a5}	5	6.5
Amusements ^{a2, b1}	3	3.9
Real Estate	3	3.9
Building Materials ^{a3}	3	3.9
Contractor/Trade ^{d1, e1}	2	2.6
Drug	2	2.6
Jewelry/Watch Repair	2	2.6
Manufacturing	2	2.6
Other Retail	2	2.6
Gas Station	1	1.3
Farm Supplies	1	1.3
Household Furnishings	1	1.3
Drinking	1	1.3
General Merchandise	1	1.3
<u>Antique/Variety Store</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1.3</u>
Total	77	100.0

Source: Polk's Omaha City Directory, 1931.

Note: Superscript refers to Table 3 on page 54 for further breakdowns.

an office (police station) and the western-most establishment on the ribbon represented the food category - a grocery store (Figure 21).

In any block that contained at least five businesses a food, office, shoe repair and barber/beauty shop establishment could be found. Investigation shows the food class had two or more establishments in many of these clustered areas, even though in past stages the food stores were the main land use type located at an intersection. For instance, intersection locales had nineteen businesses in 1931, but only

Figure 20



Mueller Theatre at 1706 Vinton before 1938. Scotts Studio.

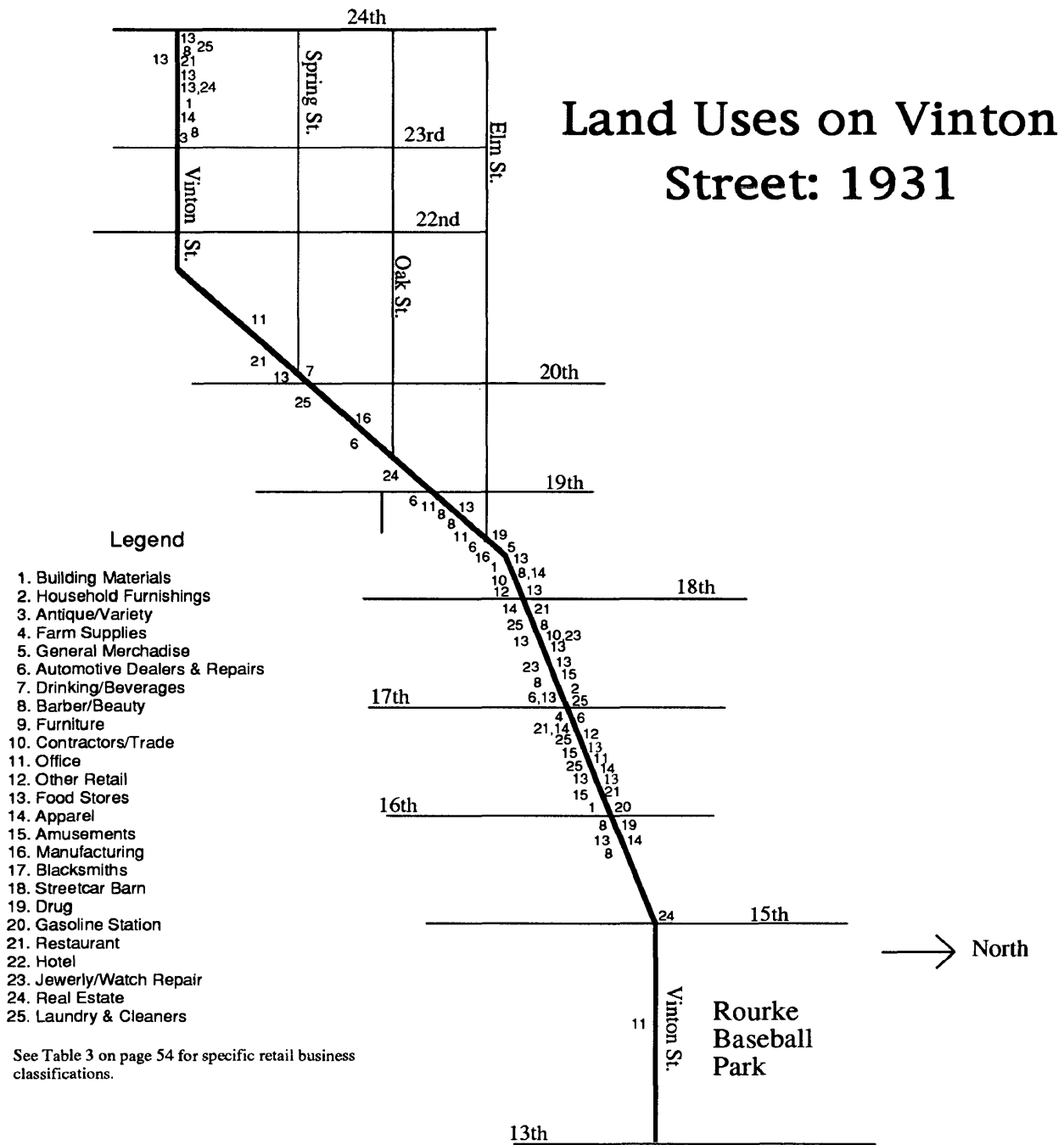
six, or 31.5 percent were from the food category. However, compared to 1900 this percentage represented a 10.0 percent proportional decline in the food category. The remaining land uses at interchanges included restaurants, general merchandise, offices, barber/beauty, auto, gas, building materials and "other" retail.

Several new businesses developed between the intersections along the ribbon. The largest business growth "between" interchanges, was seven facilities found from Sixteenth to Seventeenth and Vinton. In this same period, six new establishments opened at the western edge of the artery between Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth streets. And, the third largest growth area, with five, was from Eighteenth to Nineteenth and Vinton. Combined, these three blocks accounted for 72.0 percent of the total proportional business increase since 1912. The remaining new businesses were dispersed along the artery, yet interestingly enough, no blocks lost any business establishments. In other words, the types of businesses may have changed, but the total number of activities between intersections either increased or stayed the same, but did not decline.

The core region of the retail artery, from Sixteenth to Twentieth, contained fifty-four or 70.1 percent of all businesses. This four-block area averaged thirteen businesses per block on both sides of the artery (Figure 21).

Likewise, further analysis indicates that the three densest business blocks on the artery were located within this principal region. Those blocks were from Sixteenth to

Figure 21



Sources: Polk, R.L. Polk's Omaha City Directory, Kansas City: R.L. Polk, (1931).
 Omaha City Planning, 1989.

Seventeenth, Seventeenth to Eighteenth, and Eighteenth to Nineteenth. and Vinton and contained 17, 16 and 17 businesses respectively.

Furthermore, the only other block with ten or more establishments was found between Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Streets. This mini-ribbon zone doubled the total number of businesses it previously had in 1912, to twelve. It becomes apparent that the western part of the artery could be functionally different from the rest of the artery, although it was similar. As a result, the four main blocks on the artery accounted for sixty-two or 80.5 percent of all the businesses.

In sum, during the "Pre-Maximal Stage" of development, businesses on the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon not only increased numerically and in land use type, but also developed spatially along the length of the artery. The total number of businesses increased by twenty-five and eight new land use categories were introduced. Food stores remained the primary activity even though they decreased substantially in percentage, while the blacksmith shops exited from the land use list due to technological advances in transportation. Further, the main area continued to be from Sixteenth to Twentieth and Vinton, but with additional and larger scale development from Twenty-third to Twenty-fourth, the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon spatially expanded to resemble its current extent.

Maximal Stage: 1932 - 1951

Not surprisingly, after World War II many suburban and

major arteries in Omaha rapidly developed and expanded. An exception, though, was the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon, which for the first time recorded a decrease in the total number of establishments in 1951. The total number of businesses declined by eleven or 14.3 percent, leaving the artery with sixty-six businesses representing twenty different land uses. Thus, the business reduction ended over seventy years of business increases on Vinton Street.

Functional Aspects

In actuality, the types of land uses represented in 1951 remained the same at twenty (Table 8). However, two land use categories were removed from the list which included a farming supply store and a jewelry/watch repair shop. On the other hand the furniture category was added to the list of land uses. Other than these few changes, the land uses remained fairly similar to the previous stages.

Once again, as in all the previous years, the top land use category in number was the food group. As indicated in Table 8, the food group had nine activities and accounted for 13.7 percent of the total land uses. This amounts to a decline of seven businesses at 6.8 percent since 1931, and a decrease of 16.6 percent since its highest percentage in 1900. Other activities listed in the top five included beauty/barber with eight at 12.1 percent, contractor/trades with six and a half or 9.8 percent, restaurants at five for 7.5 percent, plus the apparel and drinking land use types with four facilities apiece, at 6.1 percent.

Only two types of businesses in 1951 had increases near

or over 5.0 percent and both ranked as one of the top five land uses on the artery. These two activities were contractor/trades with an 7.2 percent increase from 2.6 percent in 1931 to 9.8 percent in 1951, and the drinking category which increased from 1.3 in 1931 to 6.1 percent (Table 8). The only other significant increase in 1951 was in the gas station category which grew by two facilities or 3.2 percent.

On the other hand, numerous categories witnessed declines during this period. For instance, besides the food group mentioned above losing a total of seven facilities, the laundry classification declined by four establishments or 4.3 percent, while the apparel category declined by three activities or 3.2 percent. These categories ranked second only to the food group in decline. Categories losing two facilities or 1.9 percent included offices, real estate and jewelry/watch repair stores. Stores losing only facility each included amusements and a farm supply store. Also, the building material category lost two and a half businesses. Thus, ten different land use classes lost a total of nearly twenty-four stores along the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon between 1931 and 1951 (Figures 22, 23, 24, 25 and 26).

Spatial Aspects

The decline of businesses not only affected the number and types, but also affected the length and location of establishments along the artery. For example, in 1931 the retail ribbon covered ten blocks, from fourteenth to Twenty-fourth and Vinton with businesses in all but two blocks.

TABLE 8
LAND USES ON VINTON STREET: 1951

<u>Types</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Food Stores ^{a8,d1}	9	13.7
Barber/Beauty ^{a5.5,b2.5}	8	12.1
Contractor/Trade ^{a1.5,d2,e1,f1,g1}	6.5	9.8**
Restaurants	5	7.5
Drinking	4	6.1
Apparel ^{a1,b1,c2}	4	6.1
Auto Repair ^{a3}	3	4.5
Furniture ^{a3}	3	4.5
Gas Station	3	4.5
Manufacturing	3	4.5
Other Retail ^{a1,g1,h1}	3	4.5
Amusements ^{a1,c1}	2	3.0
Antique/Variety ^{a2}	2	3.0
Drug	2	3.0
General Merchandise ^{a2}	2	3.0
Laundry	2	3.0
Office ^{a1,c1}	2	3.0
Household Furnishings	1	1.5
Real Estate	1	1.5
<u>Building Materials</u>	<u>0.5</u>	<u>0.7</u>
Total	66	99.5*

Source: Polk's Omaha City Directory, 1951.

Note: Superscript refers to Table 3 on page 54 for further breakdowns.

* Number does not equal 100.0 percent due to rounding.

** Contractor was given as business name.

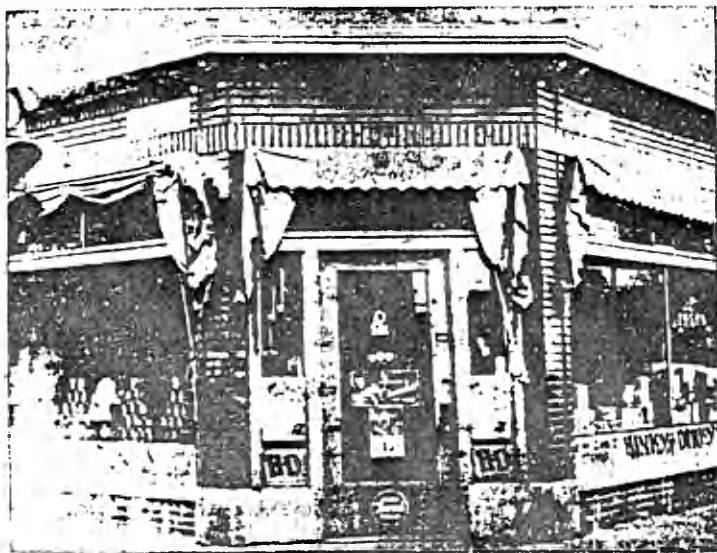
However, by 1951, the ribbon diminished by one block on its eastern edge, making Fifteenth and Vinton its new origin, instead of Fourteenth Street.

Despite all the decreases in 1951, the number of businesses located on intersections remained constant at nineteen. For the first time in seventy years the most popular category located on intersections, the food group, which dropped 20 percent since 1931, was surpassed by the drinking

Figure 22

Hinky Dinky

**One of the Fastest Growing Supermarket Chains in the
Midwest Started in South Omaha 46 Years Ago!**

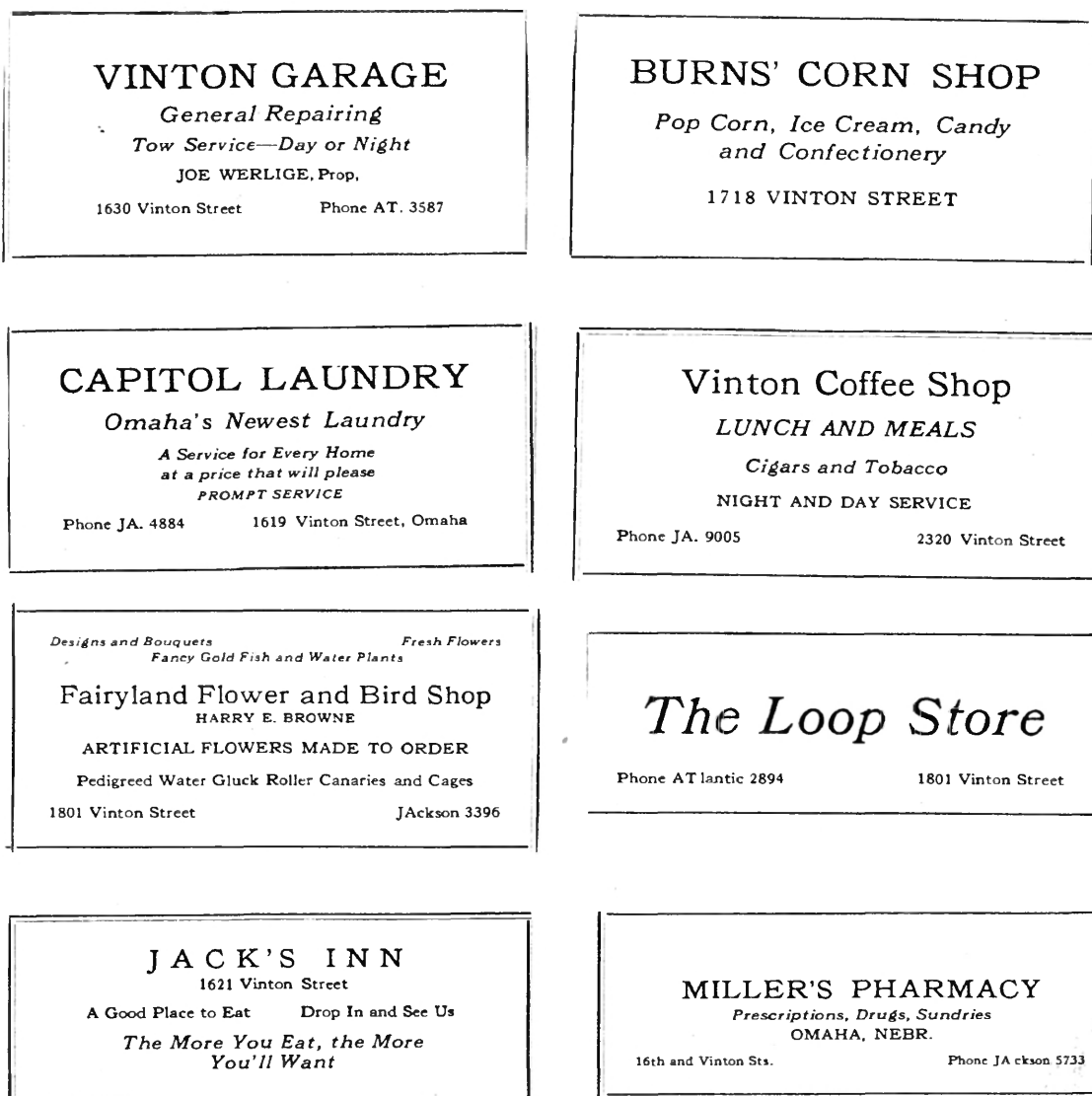


South Omaha . . . a Fertile Planting Ground

Things grow well in South Omaha! From Hinky Dinky's first store (pictured at the left) which opened in South Omaha at 24th and Vinton Street in August, 1925, Hinky Dinky has grown into one of the giants of food retailing. This South Omaha store was the beginning for a chain which now has 42 locations in Nebraska and Iowa. Hinky Dinky is proud to have such deep ties with the South Omaha community, and equally proud to be of service to its people as well as all the people of the great city of Omaha!

Newspaper advertisement of Hinky Dinky grocery store at Twenty-fourth and Vinton. Historical Society of Douglas County Clipping File.

Figure 23



Examples of merchants on Vinton Street in 1932. Metropolitan Police Book.

Figure 24

<p>Stanek's Place</p> <hr/> <p><i>A Good Place to Stop</i></p> <hr/> <p>SOFT DRINKS CIGARS CANDY</p> <hr/> <p>2002 Vinton Street</p>	<p><i>Compliments of</i></p> <p>COMFORT Ice Cream Parlor</p> <p>JIMMIE MARKER, Prop.</p> <p>2323 Vinton Street</p> <p>Phone JA. 9405</p>
<p>Omaha Laundry Company</p> <p>Sanitary Towel Company</p> <p>L. C. HEINE, President</p> <p>17th and Vinton Sts. Phone AT. 4687</p>	<p>Miller's Pharmacy</p> <p><i>Prescriptions, Drugs Sundries</i></p> <p><i>Fountain Service</i></p> <p>16th and Vinton Sts Phone JA. 5733</p>

Examples of merchants on Vinton Street in 1932. Metropolitan Police Book.

Figure 25



Muller Theatre at 1706 Vinton in 1938. Scotts Studio.

Figure 26



Omaha Towel and Laundry at 1702 Vinton in late 1930's.
Scotts Studio.

land use. All four drinking facilities were located on northwest street corners which equaled 21.0 percent of all the establishments at intersections. The drinking establishment category was twice as much as its closest competitors, apparel, food, gas, and restaurants, which had two facilities each at 10.5 percent. The remaining businesses on intersections with one facility each included the drug, amusements, antique/variety, auto, barber/beauty, contractor/trades, general merchandise, and "other" retail. Also in 1951, establishments on intersections accounted for 28.7 percent of all businesses located on the artery.

Unlike the stability of businesses on intersections over the years, a decline in facilities occurred between the four main crossroads along Vinton Street. The two largest decreases discovered were from Sixteenth to Seventeenth and from Twenty-third to Twenty-fourth and Vinton. Both blocks lost four establishments each, but the first amounted to a 23.5 decrease, while the latter declined by 33.3 percent, which reversed their large increases noted in 1931. Likewise, in this same period, the blocks from Seventeenth to Eighteenth and from Eighteenth to Nineteenth declined by three businesses each. In addition, the area between Fourteenth and Fifteenth lost its only business - the police station.

Besides these decreases, some blocks increased, or at the very least, remained stable. Those blocks showing increases "between" intersections included the area from Nineteenth to Twentieth with three new developments, and

Twentieth to Twenty-first and Vinton with one new business. The only stable block found was between Fifteenth and Sixteenth where six establishments operated. As a result, almost every block changed along the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon.

It must be noted that no area along the ribbon declined as much as the core region from Sixteenth to Twentieth and Vinton. This area lost a total of seven businesses, yet, surprisingly, it still contained 71.2 percent of all activities located on the artery for a 2.0 percent absolute increase over 1931. Further analysis of the principal zone indicates that proportionally the average number of businesses per block diminished from 13.1 to 11.6 percent, supporting the fact that the core region lost businesses.

Several establishments in the principal region and elsewhere along the artery changed land use categories at specific addresses, although they did not forfeit a business at that location. For example, the building at 1603 Vinton housed a billiard hall in 1931, but listed a furniture and supply store in 1951. Similar examples include the Omaha Towel and Laundry Company at 1702 Vinton which changed to a beverage (tavern) activity, and a tire repair shop at 1837 Vinton was converted into a grocery store. Hence, the core area lost businesses, but increased in its overall proportion of the Vinton ribbon enterprises, while several business outlets changed categories during this period.

Likewise, to the west, in the micro business cluster between Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth and Vinton, a similar

pattern appeared, but on a smaller scale. This miniature cluster lost four businesses which included a general merchandise store, a barber/beauty shop, a real estate office, and a meat market - the last of its kind on Vinton Street. The remaining outlets in the immediate area contained a shoe repair shop, a food store, furniture store, antique/variety shop, a real estate office, barber/beauty shop, contractor/trades facility, and a restaurant (Figure 27). This smorgasbord of current land uses was indicative of the entire ribbon as further analysis of the retail ribbon indicates.

Investigation of Figure 28 supports the fact that most blocks were represented by two or three, and sometimes four similar land uses, but also depicts the variety of activities found on the artery. Generally each block in the core area had at least one barber/beauty, food, gas station or auto repair, and drinking establishment within its bounds. Other than these four common land uses, the basic make-up of non-intersection or "between" block businesses varied from block to block.

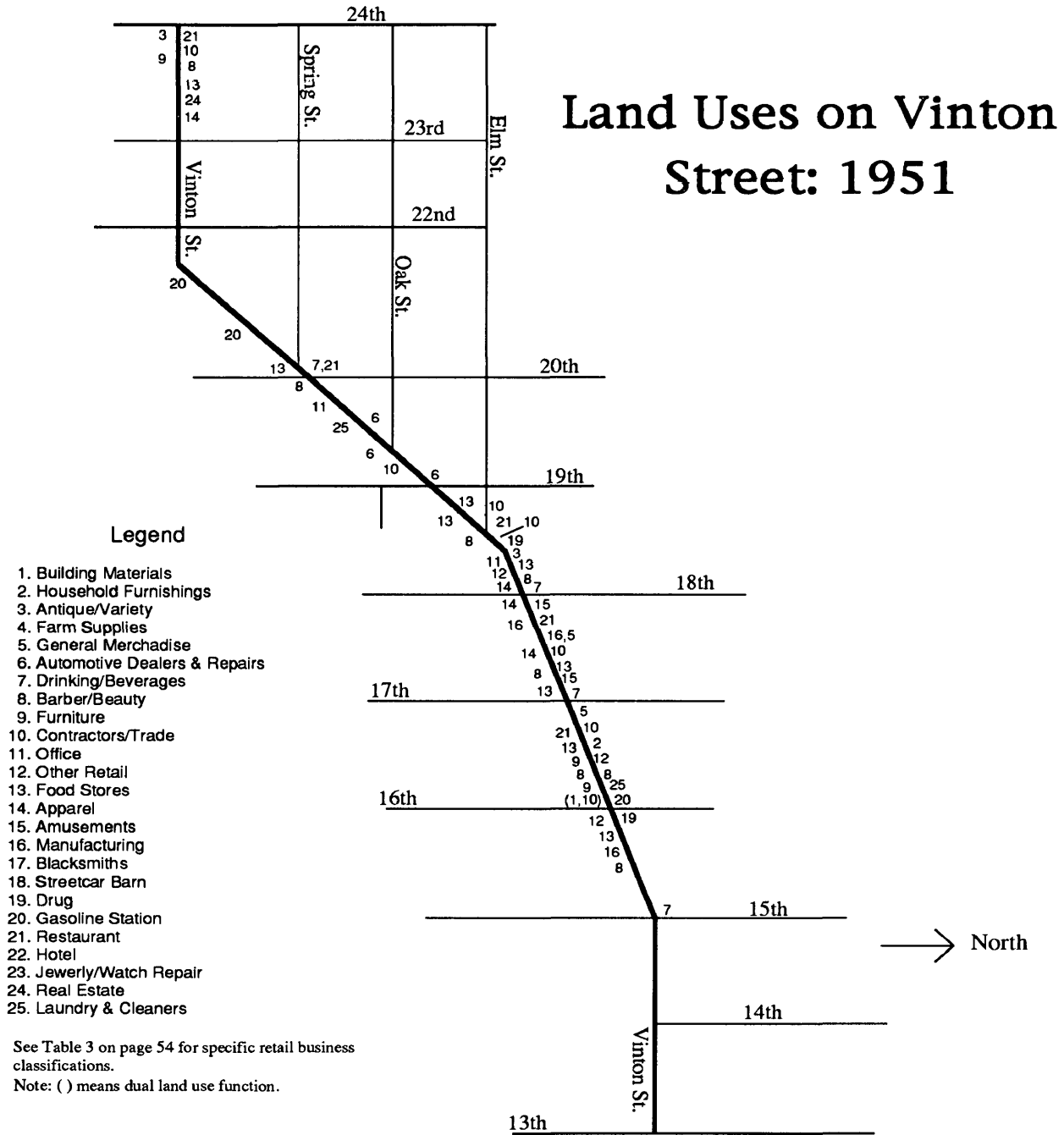
Business declines for the first time in seventy years highlighted the changes that occurred on the Vinton Retail Ribbon in 1951. By this year the ribbon had lost eleven businesses and two land uses. Those losses included a farm supply store and a jewelry/watch repair store. Also, the drinking category made a strong comeback with four facilities, all of which were located at the northwest corner of four different intersections, and became the most common

Figure 27



Twenty-fourth and Vinton in 1953. Western Heritage Museum, Bostwick/Frohart Collection.

Figure 28



Sources: Polk, R.L. Polk's Omaha City Directory. Kansas City: R.L. Polk, (1951).
 Omaha City Planning, 1989.

business located on intersections.

Conversely, contractor/trades made the biggest jump from two representatives to six and a half, and was the third most popular land use category, following the food and barber/beauty groups respectively. Other noticeable changes included the large decline by the food group, apparel and laundry stores within the principal region. Although the businesses in the core area decreased, they managed to contain a higher percentage than in previous years, which suggests more compactness in this area. Similarly, the four most common land uses, barber/beauty, drinking, auto or gas, and food (grocery) were the dominant land use types found in the core ribbon area.

Post Maximal Stage: 1952 - 1989

Mid Post Maximal Stage: 1952 - 1970

Omaha continued to grow in area and population through 1970. Within Omaha's city limits the population reached 347,328, a total it has not obtained since. Growth was concentrated in annexed suburban areas of the city where retail arteries further developed, such as Seventy-second, Dodge, and Center street ribbons. However, land uses continued to decline, both in the total number and types along the older sections of the retail ribbons in Omaha such as Twenty-fourth Street, Thirteenth Street, L Street, Q Street, and Vinton Street. The popularity and affordability of the automobile, the mobility of populations to new suburban housing developments, and the closing of businesses affected the

development or decline in retail ribbons across Omaha.

Functional Aspects

Land use numbers declined on the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon for the second consecutive period. Business activities on the Vinton artery dropped to sixty-two, a decrease of four businesses or 6.1 percent compared to 1951, and a decrease of sixteen businesses or 21.8 percent since the peak period of 1931. At the same time, a 10.0 percent decline in land uses was noted in this period. So, once again, the retail ribbon experienced a reduction in the number of establishments and land uses.

As previously stated, land use types continued to decline between 1951 and 1970. During this period land use categories declined by two, from twenty to eighteen, or at a 10.0 percent rate (Table 9). Absent from the list were the furniture and general merchandise land use types. Other than this change, the land use categories remained roughly the same as the past stage.

Although relatively minor changes occurred in the number and types of land uses, major shifts happened within the categories themselves. Most significantly, the contractor/trades and office land uses both replaced the food group as the most popular business activity on Vinton Street. Both types had eight establishments, or 12.9 percent in contrast to the declining food group with five activities at 8.1 percent. In addition, the barber/beauty shops also surpassed the food category as the third highest land use with six activities. At the same time, the auto

TABLE 9
LAND USES ON VINTON STREET: 1970

<u>Types</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Office ^{b1,c1,g1,i4,j1}	8	12.9
Contractor/Trades ^{a.5,b2.5,d1,g1,h1,i1,j1}	8	12.9
Barber/Beauty ^{a3.5,b2.5}	6	9.7
Auto Repair ^{b5}	5	8.1
Food Stores ^{a3,c1,d1}	5	8.1
Household Furnishing ^{a2,b1,c1}	4	6.5
Amusements ^{c2,d1.5}	3.5	5.6
Drinking ^{a3.5}	3.5	5.6
Laundry	3	4.8
Manufacturing ^{b2,c1}	3	4.8
Other Retail ^{b1,d1,e1}	3	4.8
Building Materials ^{a1,c1}	2	3.2
Gas Stations	2	3.2
Restaurants	2	3.2
Apparel ^{c1}	1	1.6
Antique/Variety ^{c1}	1	1.6
Drug Store	1	1.6
<u>Real Estate</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1.6</u>
Total	62	99.8*

Source: Polk's Omaha City Directory, 1970.

*Superscript refers to Table 3 on page 54 for further breakdowns.

* Number does not equal 100.0 percent due to rounding.

repair land uses were tied with the food type stores with five facilities each. As a result, the food category's reign as the top business function on Vinton Street, a status it held since 1889, finally ended in 1970.

Other businesses with three or more activities included household furnishings with four activities (6.5 percent), drinking establishments and amusements with three and a half

businesses (5.6 percent), and laundry, manufacturing, and the "other" category each had three businesses (4.8 percent). Thus, these eleven categories accounted for fifty-two businesses accounting for 83.9 percent of all the land uses.

In completing the list of establishments for 1970, the remaining seven land uses on the ribbon accounted for only ten business activities or 16.1 percent. The remaining land uses in descending order included building materials, gas stations, and restaurants with two activities each for 3.2 percent and apparel, real estate, and antique/variety stores with one business each at 1.6 percent.

Several business shifts occurred within the land use categories during this stage. For instance, nine establishments lost at least one business, eight groups increased by one or more activity and three classes were the same. Those stable land uses were the barber/beauty, laundry and real estate activities.

As pointed out, eight land uses displayed an increase in activities. The top gainer, for example, was the office facilities with five new establishments at 8.4 percent. Next, household furnishings increased by three or 5.0 percent, auto repair by two or 3.6 percent and amusements gained one and a half activities at 2.6 percent. The final four categories listed grew by only one establishment or 1.6 percent included building materials, contractor/trades, manufacturing, and "other" (Table 9).

However, during this period, nine land uses lost busi-

ness facilities. The food group dropped the most as it lost four businesses (5.6 percent), the apparel and restaurant categories declined by three (4.3 percent), furniture and general merchandise stores decreased by two (3.0 percent), and the drug, gas station, and the antique/variety categories lost one business each (1.6 percent). The only other decrease was found in the drinking category and it lost only half a businesses or 0.5 percent. Overall, when all the increases and decreases were analyzed, only four businesses were missing along the ribbon during the mid "Post Maximal Stage," yet several shifts occurred within the categories.

Increases and decreases of businesses along the artery did not influence the ribbon's extent in either direction. Vinton Street remained the same as it did in 1951, extending from 1502 Vinton to the Twenty-fourth and Vinton intersection. Thus, business losses only occurred within the confines of the retail ribbon itself and did not reflect a change in its overall physical extent as in past periods, possibly indicating the aging of an artery.

Spatial Aspects

Although businesses continued to decline, the number of establishments located on intersections increased by four, from nineteen to twenty-three. As in 1951, drinking establishments remained the most popular business found on an intersection with three and a half activities or 15.2 percent; however, it represents a 5.8 percent decline since 1951. By happenstance, all drinking establishments were located on the northwest corner of an intersection except for the

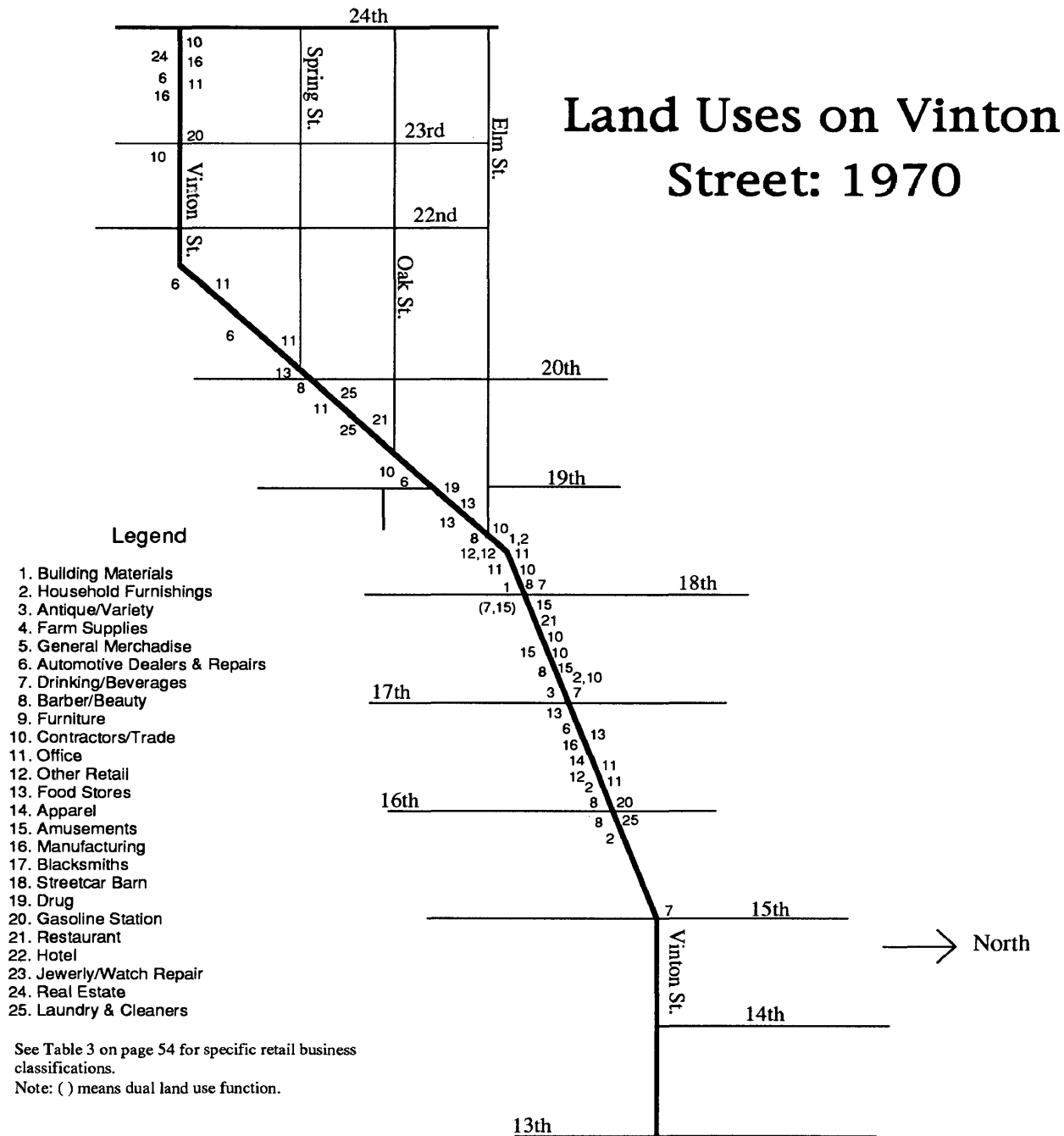
V.F.W. Club located at 1723 Vinton (Figure 29).

Drinking establishments were closely followed by contractor/trades, food and offices land uses. Each of these land uses had three activities located on intersections at 13.0 percent. Both the contractor/trades and office land uses gained one business, while the food category remained stable from the previous period. All these activities were scattered along the ribbon and no locational pattern was obvious. In total, these four land uses accounted for 54.2 percent of all businesses on intersections.

The other land use categories with more than one activity on an intersection were the barber/beauty and gas stations, with two each, and amusements with one and a half. Barber/beauty and gas stations were stable with two businesses apiece, while amusements increased by half a business. Noteworthy, both barber/beauty and gas station activities were on the periphery of the core area at opposite ends of the artery. All the remaining businesses on an intersection (building materials, drug, laundry, restaurant, and antique/variety stores) had just one business apiece. Thus, establishments on intersections accounted for 37.1 percent of all businesses along the Vinton Street retail artery, up 9.0 percent from 1951.

Conversely, business activities "between" intersections once again declined. This decrease was concentrated in the principal area and at the western edge of the artery, or, in other words, from Sixteenth to Twentieth, and between Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth and Vinton. Each area

Figure 29



Sources: Polk, R.L. Polk's Omaha City Directory, Kansas City: R.L. Polk, (1971).
 Omaha City Planning, 1989.

recorded a decline of two facilities apiece.

Besides these general decreases, two other blocks, from Sixteenth to Seventeenth, and from Seventeenth to Eighteenth in the core ribbon zone lost businesses. In both areas each block lost one activity apiece, decreasing from thirteen to twelve, and continued their pattern of decline first noted in 1931.

Despite the decreases discussed above, two blocks showed an increase in business activities, and two different blocks remained stable. The blocks with new businesses were between Eighteenth and Nineteenth, and Twenty-second and Twenty-third and Vinton. The latter block had its first business activity for the entire study, Jim's Window Cleaning Service at 2223 Vinton, outside of the core ribbon area. All the unnoted blocks with a business activity on the artery were stable. To briefly summarize the spatial patterns, there were four blocks that decreased by a total of six activities, two blocks that increased by a total of two businesses, and two blocks that remained stable, compared to 1951.

Even though the core ribbon area lost three businesses, it still maintained 71.0 percent of all activities. The block from Eighteenth to Nineteenth remained the densest with fifteen operating businesses. On a minor point, investigation showed the number of businesses per block remained nearly constant since the last stage. As a result, the core ribbon area did not change much numerically, but did change in specific land use types.

Numerous businesses and buildings within the principal area changed in their specific land use type. For instance, the business at 1612 Vinton was a laundromat in 1951, but became a bank by 1970; the food (grocery) store at 1701, changed into a hobby shop, and a gentlemen's apparel business switched to a hardware store, to list a few of the land use changes.

On the other hand, there were some businesses that remained the same over this period. For example, three establishments, the Bee Hive Cleaners at 1941 Vinton, the U.S. Post Office at 1945 Vinton, and a barber/beauty shop at 1953 Vinton, were the same business as in 1951. Other examples include the drinking establishments at 1702 Vinton and 1802 Vinton; however, the proprietors may have changed in this stage. So, although numerous establishments changed proprietors during this period, a few activities remained identical to the previous stage.

For the most part, the spatial patterns discussed above for the core zone were entirely different from those discovered in the western portion of the retail ribbon, or from Twenty-third to Twenty-fourth and Vinton. This mini-ribbon cluster lost two businesses in this period, yet, all the business activities in this area were completely different than those documented in 1951. To illustrate a few of these changes, the business at 2324 Vinton was a restaurant in 1951, but was converted into a plastic supply company and a weather proofing company at 2320 Vinton changed to a industrial distributor. Interestingly, these retail land use

changes in the western edge of the artery were surprisingly different than those reported in the core region.

During this period, the number of different and specialized land use types found along the artery increased since the last "Maximal Stage." This made it hard to distinguish between any obvious spatial business patterns. However, it was noted that some competing businesses were separated by at least a block, such as drinking establishments at 1502, 1702, or 1802 Vinton, gas stations at opposite ends of the ribbon, 1602 and 2302 Vinton, and restaurants at 1718 or 1920 Vinton. The spatial distance between these three land uses has been significant throughout this study.

In contrast, a few similar, yet competing activities were located across the street from each other. For example, two of the three laundry centers were located at 1932 and 1941 Vinton and grocery stores were situated across the street from each other at 1826 and 1837 Vinton. The grocery store at 1826 was the new Safeway Grocery supermarket, while Joe's Grocery store at 1837 Vinton, commonly referred to as a "ma" and "pa" or "neighborhood food mart," operated directly across the street.

Further analysis of the spatial patterns, in Figure 29 displays some other noticeable areal patterns. For instance, similar land use activities were clustered together on the ribbon, such as the row of offices from 1612 to 1616 Vinton, auto repair services through 2021 - 2025 Vinton, and manufactures from 2320 to 2324 Vinton. It also shows that

contractor/trades and barber/beauty activities were noted on most blocks. Other than these patterns, the general composition of land use activities among the blocks were random in location.

In summary, for the second consecutive period, the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon showed declines in both operating businesses and land uses in 1970. Operating businesses dropped by four activities and the land uses lost two establishments: the furniture and the general merchandise categories. The food group had the largest decline of a specific land use with four activities. However, contractor/trades surpassed the food category as the most popular land use type noted on the artery. The office land use increased the most with five new businesses and household furnishings added three more establishments to its total.

Likewise, some other important trends showed that businesses located on intersections increased by four activities. Once again, drinking facilities were the dominant land use found on intersections on Vinton Street.

On the other hand, activities located between intersections declined by four businesses with the blocks from Fifteenth to Sixteenth and Twenty-third to Twenty-fourth losing two businesses each. Also, numerous land use changes occurred, particularly between Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth and Vinton where all activities were completely different than the previous period. In addition, there were some small similar land use clusters, but, for the most

part, the land uses were not concentrated at a particular location along the retail ribbon.

Late Post Maximal Stage: 1971 - 1989

Omaha continued to grow spatially during the seventies and eighties as business developments and population growth followed interstate highways and other major traffic arteries. In many ways, the interstate system tends to function like a ribbon, but on a much larger scale, in that it draws people to specific land uses from a hinterland, has specific land uses at intersections (exit and entrance ramps), and effects growth within a region of a city or among states. Therefore, the function of the interstate highway is similar to a retail ribbons, such as Vinton Street, although the older artery is smaller in its extent of reaching beyond a community within a neighborhood and usually more diverse in retail options available.

Declines in the number of businesses and land use types along Vinton Street continued in 1989, like many inner older retail ribbons in Omaha. On Vinton Street, businesses activities decreased by four more establishments, dropping the total number of operating businesses to fifty-eight, or a 6.8 percent decline since 1970. More precisely, this continual decline of businesses equaled twenty-two activities and accounted for a 31.0 percent loss since the 1931 peak period. Also, the overall land use types declined by one, from eighteen to seventeen categories. Subsequently, the number of business activities and land use types declined along the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon.

Functional Aspects

As stated above, land use categories declined by one or 5.8 percent from eighteen to seventeen from 1970 to 1989. In this period, two land uses, the gas station and apparel shop, abandoned the list, while the furniture category returned from its one-period hiatus. All the other categories remained the same as shown in Table 10. As a result, two categories dropped from the list and one returned, which amounted to a net loss of just one land use type in 1989.

Unlike the above minor modifications in specific land uses, several major land use exchanges occurred within the categories during this period. As Table 10 indicates, the most popular land use category in 1989 became the antique/variety store with ten activities at 17.2 percent, typical of an aging inner-city ribbon (Berry, 1959). It replaced contractor/trades and offices as the most common activity found on the retail ribbon (Figure 30). The antique/variety land use was followed by "other" retail stores with seven activities or 12.1 percent, household furnishings with five establishments at 10.3 percent, and amusements, offices and contractor/trades with four businesses apiece at 6.9 percent. It should be mentioned that for the third consecutive period, a different land use category arose as the most common land use activity on Vinton Street (i.e., food from 1889 to 1951, offices and contractor/trades in 1970, and antique/variety in 1989).

At the same time, the land use categories with three activities on the ribbon included the auto repair shops,

TABLE 10
LAND USES ON VINTON STREET: 1989

<u>Types</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Antique/Variety ^{a5, b4, c1}	10	17.2
Other Retail ^{b1, c1, d2, g1, h1, i1}	7	12.1
Household Furnishing ^{a1, b3, c2}	6	10.3
Contractor/Trade ^{a.5, b2.5}	4	6.9
Amusement ^{c1, d1, e2}	4	6.9
Office ^{a1, b2, c1}	4	6.9
Auto Repair ^{b3}	3	5.2
Building Materials ^{a2, c1}	3	5.2
Drinking ^{a3}	3	5.2
Restaurant	3	5.2
Barber/Beauty ^{a1, b1}	2	3.4
Food ^{a1, c1}	2	3.4
Furniture ^{a1.5, b.5}	2	3.4
Real Estate	2	3.4
Drug	1	1.7
Laundry	1	1.7
<u>Manufacturing</u> ^{b1}	<u>1</u>	<u>1.7</u>
Total	58	99.8*

Source: Polk's Omaha City Directory, 1989.

*Superscript refers to Table 3 on page 54 for further breakdowns.

*Number does not equal 100.0 percent due to rounding.

building materials, drinking establishments and restaurants (Figures 31, 32, 33 and 34). These ten categories accounted for forty-seven establishments or 81.0 percent of all land uses. The remaining businesses with one or two activities accounted for eleven land uses or 19.0 percent. Those land uses with two establishments, or 3.4 percent each, were the barber/beauty, food, furniture, and real estate categories. The remaining land uses with one activity apiece, or 1.7

Figure 30



In 1989 the most common retail land use on Vinton Street was the antique/variety store. This antique store operates at 1601 Vinton.

percent, were the drug, laundry, and manufacturing activities.

Numerous shifts occurred within the land use categories between 1970 and 1989. By comparing the two periods, it was noted that eight categories gained activities, eight land use activities lost businesses, and one category remained stable. The stable land use category was a drug store.

As discussed above, eight land use categories showed an increase since 1970. The top land use gainer in this period was the antique/variety shops with nine new activities at 14.6 percent. Antique/variety was followed by the "other" retail category with four new establishments at 7.3 percent and furniture with two new business outlets at 3.4 percent. These three land uses were the only categories to gain more than one new establishment. Some other land uses that increased by one, or a half a land use, included the building material stores, household furnishing shops, real estate offices, restaurants, and amusements.

On the other hand, during this period eight land use categories declined in the number of activities functioning on the retail ribbon. The two categories losing the most activities were the barber/beauty and office operations land uses. Both land uses decreased by four establishments at 6.3 percent. They were followed by the contractor/trades and food categories that declined by three activities or 4.7 percent apiece. Also, three land use categories, auto repair, laundry, and manufacturing, each lost two activities at 3.1 percent, and the drinking category lost half a busi-

Figure 31



Looking west on Vinton Street from Seventeenth and Vinton in 1989.

Figure 32



Schnieder Hardware at Eighteenth and Vinton in 1989.

Figure 33



Looking east on Vinton Street from Nineteenth and Vinton in 1989.

Figure 34



Furniture Store at 1814 Vinton in 1989.

ness at 0.5 percent.

Spatial Aspects

Today, as in the previous two periods, the increases and decreases of businesses, and land use shifts did not effect the length of the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon. As usual, the retail ribbon started at 1502 Vinton (The Rendezvous Tavern) and continued to Twenty-fourth and Vinton (Rainbow Dental Center). However, although the retail portion of the artery remained similar in its extent, some locational changes did occur at intersections and "within" the blocks of the retail ribbon.

After one hundred years of constant gains on intersections, land use activities on street corners declined in number for the first time in 1989. Activities decreased from twenty-three to twenty, a 15.0 percent drop since 1970. This decline did not affect the drinking category as it continued to be the top land use category found on an intersection since 1951. However, the antique/variety shop also had three facilities located on intersections at 15.0 percent, even though this was the first stage this land use was documented on the ribbon. All the drinking establishments remained scattered along the ribbon at 1502, 1702, and 1802 Vinton, while two antique/variety stores were located across the street from each other at 1601 and 1602 Vinton.

Other land uses with more than one activity on an intersection were the office and "other" retail stores. Both categories had two facilities apiece, at 10.0 percent, and were located at least three blocks apart from each other.

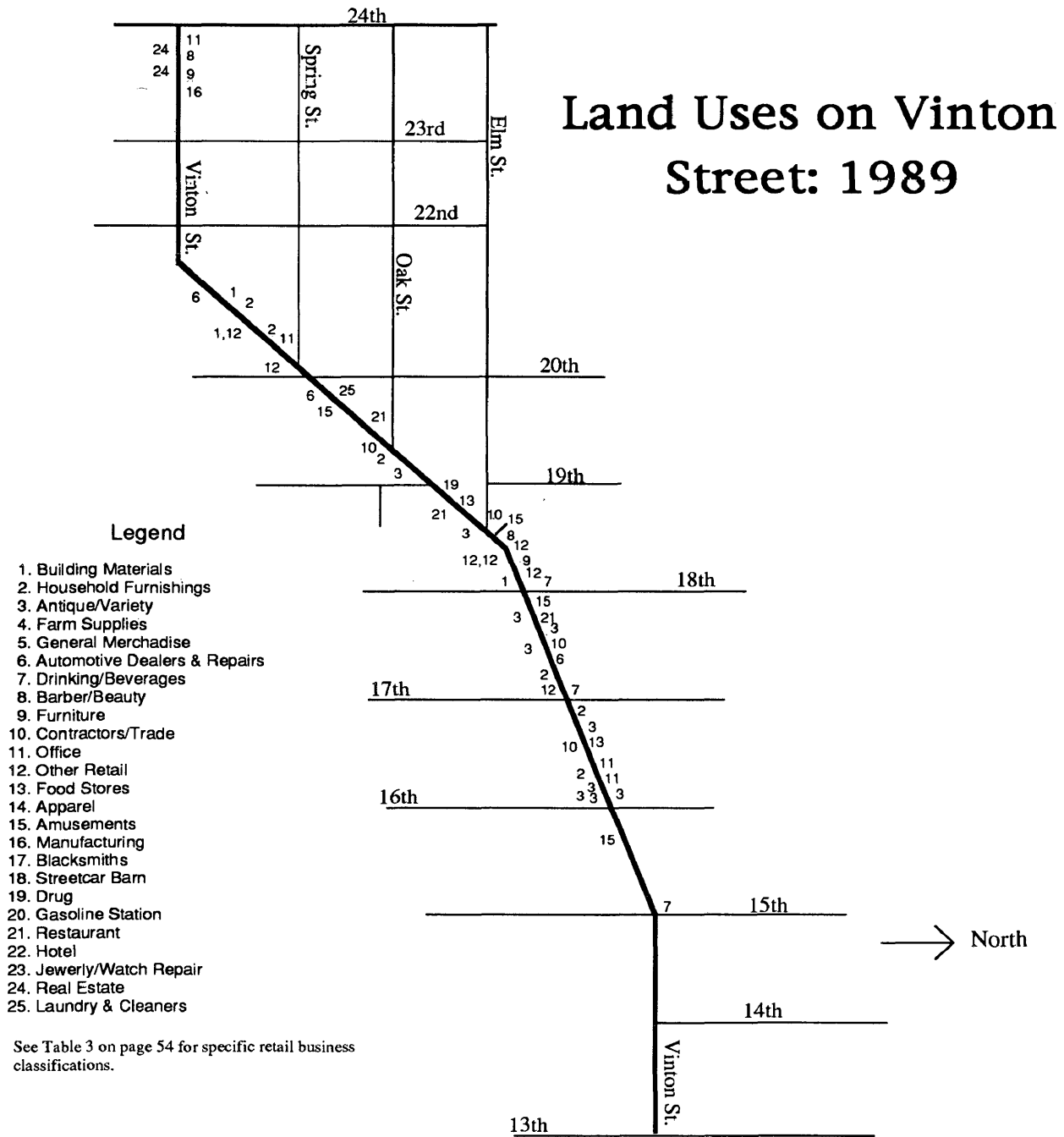
The remaining ten land uses with an activity on an intersection included the amusement, auto repair, building material, contractor/trade, drug, food, home furnishing, laundry, real estate, and restaurant facilities. In total, fourteen different land uses representing twenty businesses were located on intersections and accounted for 34.5 percent -- down 2.5 percent since the last period -- of all establishments on the retail ribbon. To summarize, activities at intersections declined by three; drinking and antique/variety had the most establishments on intersections, and there were fourteen different land uses (Figure 35).

In contrast, businesses located between intersections only decreased by one establishment and comprised 65.5 percent of the total land uses. A block-by-block comparison shows three blocks lost businesses, one gained an activity, and three were the same. The three stable blocks were from Eighteenth to Nineteenth, Nineteenth to Twentieth, and Twenty-third to Twenty-fourth and Vinton. Noticeably, all three blocks were in the western half of the retail ribbon.

Furthermore, the only block to gain an activity was in the western portion, between Twentieth and Twenty-first and Vinton. This block gained two business activities and accounted for a 40.0 percent increase since 1970. Every business activity but one within this block changed, so it is difficult to pinpoint new activities on this block using land uses.

Instead, addresses were used which showed the businesses located at 2004 (Moore's Upholstery) and 2021 1/2 Vinton

Figure 35



Sources: Polk, R.L. Polk's Omaha City Directory, Kansas City: R.L. Polk, (1989).
Omaha City Planning, 1989.

(Commander Board Sign Outdoor) had become different establishments. Also, there was one block, from Twenty-second to Twenty-third and Vinton, which lost its only activity for the entire study -- Jim's Window Cleaning Service located at 2223 Vinton -- during this period.

Unlike the western portion of the artery, the eastern part lost businesses on every block containing a business activity. Decreases on the eastern section included the loss of two businesses from Fifteenth to Sixteenth; one activity was lost between Sixteenth and Seventeenth, and two more establishments disappeared from Seventeenth to Eighteenth and Vinton. Thus, five businesses vanished from the artery and one new business appeared for a net decrease of four businesses on the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon in 1989.

Once again, as in past years, the principal ribbon area experienced a decline in the number of operating businesses throughout its extent. As determined, the heart of the retail ribbon decreased by three activities. The losses occurred in a two-block area from Sixteenth to Eighteenth and Vinton, yet the core zone still contained forty-three businesses at 74.1 percent; up 3.1 percent since 1970.

On the other hand, the mini-ribbon area from Twenty-third to Twenty-fourth and Vinton remained constant with six functioning activities. Two of the six activities, real estate and the plastic supply company, remained the same, while the other four changed land use activities. For example, the four new business activities included the Rainbow

Dental Center, J & J Garcia Furniture Shop, Leo's Barber Shop, and another realty office.

As indicated throughout this chapter, land use types at specific addresses changed through the periods. This period was no different. Some additional illustrations of this pattern between Sixteenth and Seventeenth include the addition of the antique/variety stores category at 1601, 1602, and 1603 Vinton, instead of a barber/beauty shop, gas station, and an upholstery store at those addresses respectively.

At the same time, a few businesses remained the same through this given period. For example, Goodman's Bar at 1702, Turner Hall at 1724 Vinton (no longer the German-American club, however), and Schneider Hardware at 1802 were the exact business functions as in 1970. Thus, most land use activities changed over a twenty-year period, but a small percentage remained the same.

In sum, the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon, during the "Post Maximal Stage," declined in the total number of operating businesses for the third consecutive period. It decreased by four activities at 6.8 percent and lost two land use types. The two land use categories that disappeared from Table 10 were the gas stations and apparel stores, while at the same time the furniture category was added. Also, the antique/variety shops gained nine stores or 14.6 percent and became the third different category, for the third consecutive period, to be listed as the most popular land use. On the other hand, both the barber/beauty and of-

face facilities experienced their greatest decline by losing four businesses apiece. In addition, this was the first stage in which businesses on intersections declined, dropping three activities. Overall, the "Post Maximal Era," 1952-1989, was an era that continued to represent functional decline and little spatial change.

Summary and Implications

The primary purpose of this chapter was to investigate land use tendencies, specific growth patterns, locations and spatial relationships of operating businesses along the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon for the five stages. Several significant observations were documented and summarized within the specific eras showing the evolution of Vinton Street as a business ribbon. The observations analyzed, for example, included the number of businesses, the number of different land use categories, leading land use types, establishments per block, and the frequency of land use changes at specific addresses, among others. The following pages will review and summarize some of the significant findings.

Beginning in the 1880's operating businesses increased substantially along the Vinton Street artery during its first fifty years or until the "Maximal Era" of ribbon development. As shown in Figure 36, twenty-three businesses operated along Vinton Street in 1889, thirty-three in 1900, fifty-two in 1912, and seventy-seven in the peak year of

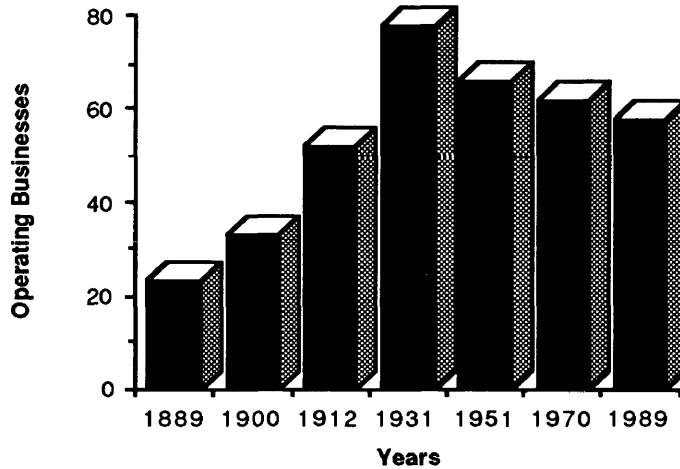
1931. Respectively, these equaled 43.5, 57.5, and 48.1 percent increases between periods. Interestingly, however, the greatest absolute increase of twenty-five occurred from 1912 to 1931 and it was not the same period as the largest relative increase of 57.5 percent that developed between 1900 and 1912.

After 1951, or as the retail artery entered the "Post Maximal Stage," operating businesses along the ribbon began to decline consistently in this stage. For instance, in 1931 the Vinton artery contained seventy-seven businesses, but over the next fifty eight years a decrease of nineteen businesses was noted. Surprisingly, the greatest decline of eleven businesses or 14.3 percent, from 1931 to 1951, occurred immediately after the peak period, while the following two periods, 1971 and 1989, lost but four establishments each, at 6.1 and 6.5 percent respectively (Figure 36).

The number of land use categories on the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon did not parallel the growth of operating businesses as much as expected, especially prior 1931. As illustrated in Figure 37, the number of operating businesses increased for each era through 1931, but the number of land use types decreased slightly during these same stages until 1931, when it increased for the first time in the study. Like the operating businesses, the land use categories also peaked in the "Maximal Stage" of development. However, from 1931 on, both the operating businesses and the land use types followed a constant pattern of decline.

During the first ten years, or "Infant Stage," thirteen

Figure 36
NUMBER OF OPERATING BUSINESSES PER YEAR

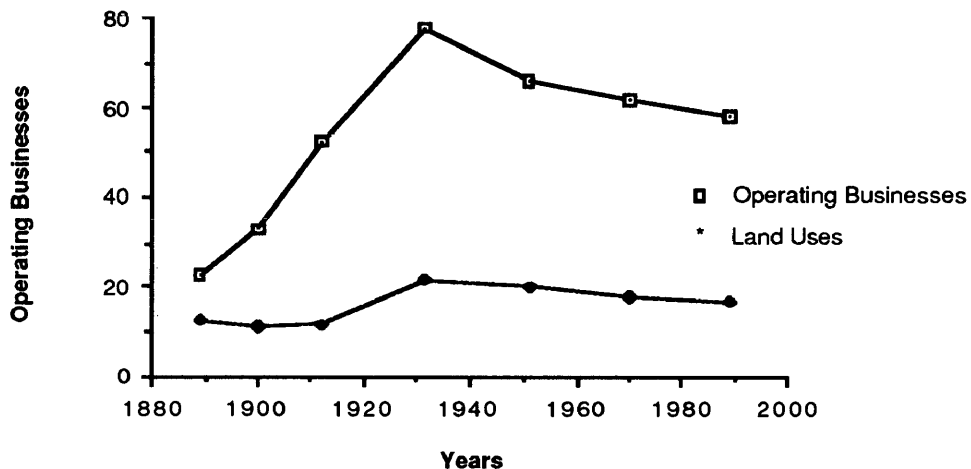


Source: Wolfe's Omaha City Directory, 1889.
 McAvoy's Omaha City Directory, 1900.
 Polk's Omaha City Directories, 1912, 1931, 1951, 1970 and
 1989.

different land uses were recorded. Over the next two stages, "Early" and "Pre-Maximal," the number of land uses declined slightly to twelve in 1900 and remained at twelve different land uses through 1912. However, the largest decrease of land uses occurred in the mid "Post Maximal Stage" from 1952 - 1970 when it declined by two.

Paralleling the expansion of operating businesses from 1912 to 1931, the land uses types increased by eight and reached their highest total of twenty; an increase of 60.0 percent during this stage. Similar to the decreases in the number of operating activities, land use types also declined gradually and consistently after 1931.

Figure 37
OPERATING BUSINESSES VS LAND USES



Source: Wolfe's Omaha City Directory, 1889.
 McAvoy's Omaha City Directory, 1900.
 Polk's Omaha City Directories, 1912, 1931, 1951, 1970 and 1989.

From 1931 to 1951 the number of different land uses remained the same at twenty. However, from 1951 to 1970, the land use categories declined by two during the stage, and in the final period they dropped, by one, to seventeen. Thus, land use frequencies declined for two eras, increased by eight land use categories, and then, after 1931 began a trend of gradual decline even evident today.

Overall, twenty-five different land use categories were represented in this study. Only five or 20.0 percent of the twenty-five land uses were present for all periods. They were barber/beauty shops, drinking establishments, drug stores, food stores, and offices (Table 11). Further investigation found that amusements, apparel, building materials,

contractor/trade, laundry facilities and "other" retail land uses were present in every period but one. Not surprisingly, all eleven of these land uses cited above were listed as part of the original categories found along Vinton Street in 1889, except laundry and contractor/trade, which were first mentioned in 1900, one stage later.

By way of contrast, two of the initial thirteen land uses did not survive past the "Infant Stage." These two land use categories were the hotel and the streetcar barn. However, these two were not the only categories listed for just one period. The hotel and streetcar barn types were joined by a jewelry/watch store (Table 11). Thus, there were three categories or 12.0 percent of all land uses that were recorded for only one stage during the entire study along Vinton Street.

On only three occasions throughout the entire study did the leading land use category change. It is interesting to note that these changes occurred during the last three periods from 1951 to 1989, in what is referred to as the "Post Maximal Stage."

The food category was by far the most common and dominant land use documented on the ribbon from 1889 to 1931. This land use peaked with eighteen stores representing 34.6 percent of all the land uses in 1912. Both frequency and percentage values mark the highest-ranking land use totals recorded for any land use type noted on the ribbon from 1889 to 1931.

As noted, after 1951 the most popular land use type

TABLE 11
LAND USES ON VINTON STREET: 1889 - 1989

<u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>1889</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1912</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1989</u>
Food Stores	5	10	18	16	9	5	2
Blacksmiths	3	3	3	-	-	-	-
Building							
Materials	2	2	-	3	0.5	2	3
Drug	2	1	2	2	2	1	1
Drinking	2	3	3	1	4	3.5	3
Farm Supplies	2	3	2	1	-	-	-
Hotel	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Streetcar Barn	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Office	1	2	2	5	2	8	4
Barber/Beauty	1	2	4	9	8	6	2
Amusements	1	-	7	3	2	3.5	4
Apparel	1	3	4	6	4	1	-
Other Retail	1	2	-	2	3	3	7
Laundry	-	1	1	6	2	3	1
Restaurants	-	-	3	5	5	2	3
Contractors/							
Trade	-	1	3	2	6.5	8	4
Auto Repair	-	-	-	5	3	5	3
Real Estate	-	-	-	3	1	1	2
Jewelry/Watch	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Manufacturing	-	-	-	2	3	3	1
Gas Station	-	-	-	1	3	2	-
Household							
Furnishing	-	-	-	1	1	4	6
General							
Merchandise	-	-	-	1	2	-	-
Antique/							
Variety	-	-	-	1	2	1	10
<u>Furniture</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>2</u>
Totals	23	33	52	77	66	62	58

Source: Wolfe's Omaha City Directory, 1889.

McAvoy's Omaha City Directory, 1900.

Polk's Omaha City Directories, 1912, 1931, 1951, 1970 and 1989.

changed for each of the next two periods. In 1970, two land uses, office and contractor/trades, topped the list with eight activities each. This total was the lowest value to represent the most common land use for a specific period, except for the five food land use types in the "Infant

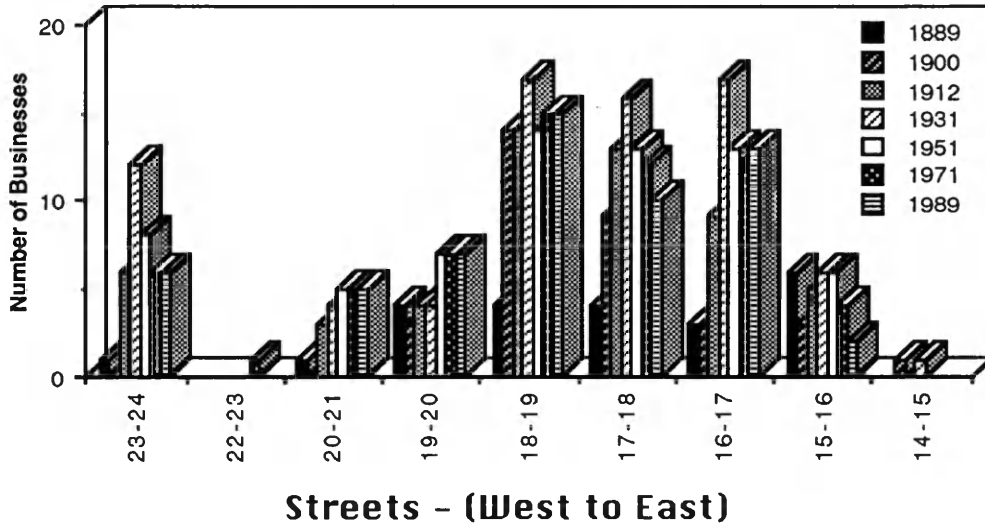
Stage" or 1889 at the outset of this study.

Once again, in 1989, the leading land use category changed types for the third consecutive period. The most common land use became the antique/variety stores with ten representatives. The antique/variety category also holds the distinction of being the land use which experienced the greatest business increase between two periods, with nine new activities, from 1970 to 1989. As a result, the leading land uses located along the Vinton Street artery only changed three times during its one hundred years of existence, but all those changes occurred in the final three periods of the "Post Maximal Stage."

Of more particular interest to geographers is a summary of the location of businesses along the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon. Except for 1900 and 1931 when some businesses were found at the 1400 block of Vinton Street, the Vinton retail artery constantly extended from Fifteenth to Twenty-first and Vinton, or the core business region, with a mini-ribbon zone from Twenty-third to Twenty-fourth and Vinton. These ribbon areas contained the principal business concentrations analyzed in the block-area examination.

As previously indicated, the primary area of the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon extended from Fifteenth to Twenty-first and Vinton. This core consistently contained an overwhelming majority of the operating businesses on Vinton Street insomuch as throughout the study this portion of the ribbon contributed at least 83.1 percent of all businesses found along Vinton Street since development began (Figure 38).

Figure 38
NUMBER OF BUSINESSES PER BLOCK



Source: Wolfe's Omaha City Directory, 1889.
 McAvoy's Omaha City Directory, 1900.
 Polk's Omaha City Directories, 1912, 1931, 1951, 1970 and 1989.

Within the core ribbon region, as well as the entire artery, the main blocks were from Sixteenth to Nineteenth and Vinton. All three of these blocks peaked in the number of operating businesses in 1931. Two blocks, from Sixteenth to Seventeenth and Eighteen to Nineteenth, each contributed 17 businesses to the ribbon, the most for any period of the study in 1931. In fact, during the "Maximal Stage" each block-area reached or tied its highest number, except for the block-area from Twenty-second to Twenty-third when it housed its only operating business in 1971. In other words, for the most part, as illustrated in Figure 38, each block-area depicts a bell-like curve with the maximum number of

businesses represented in the middle, or "Maximal Stage" of the graph.

Businesses or land use types constantly changed over the hundred years of this study. Rarely, if ever, did a similar land use at the same address span two or more periods, especially through the "Maximal Stage" of ribbon development. It was noted that only ten to fifteen percent of the establishments lasted longer than one period from the previous period, and this mostly occurred from the "Maximal Stage" through the "Post Maximal Stage" or 1931 to 1989. These changes suggest that businesses on a retail artery experienced rapid turnover, about the length of a generation, and may relate to the changing ethnic ownership of an establishment along the retail ribbon. With this, the study turns its attention to Chapter Six, The Ethnic Characteristics of the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon.

Chapter Six:
Ethnicity of Study Area and Proprietors
Along the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon

The emphasis in Chapters Four and Five was based on the historical development and classification of land uses along Vinton Street for each study period. The focus of the past chapters should not be overlooked as each served as a valuable foundation to the understanding of a retail ribbon through time. But now, the study turns its attention to ethnicity, and particularly to determining "If Vinton Street was an Ethnic Retail Ribbon in 1889 and could it be considered one today?"

In addition, this chapter will examine centographic measures of the proprietor, such as the mean distance traveled to work. The purpose for the descriptive statistical application is to provide a clearer determination and definition of the boundaries or distances of the Vinton Street proprietors' journey to work. In other words, can the distance a business owner journeys to work help measure the "neighborhoodness" or extent of the community surrounding the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon? Further, can this statistic assist in establishing Vinton Street as an ethnic neighborhood retail artery, a neighborhood ribbon or a retail street with neither ethnic nor neighborhood tendencies?

Once again, this section models the methodology implemented in the previous chapters to analyze information. It proceeds with the introduction of data used in this chapter, analysis of the ethnicity for the region and proprietors for each stage, (Infant through Post Maximal), and a summary of

the findings.

Data

In this chapter, three main sources were employed to examine the ethnicity of the study area and business proprietors. These sources included: (1) the 1900 and 1910 census manuscripts and decennial censuses for 1950, 1970 and 1980, and census tract maps that covered the study region, (2) the reference book titled Dictionary of Surnames, compiled by Hanks and Hodges, and (3) the Omaha City directories. In addition, telephone interviews were conducted in the last stage of the study (1989) to ascertain the ethnicity and residential addresses of proprietors along the ribbon. This was done because Polk's Omaha City directories no longer listed the business proprietors or their residential address.

As stated above, the first source in this chapter was the census bureau documents. More precisely, this includes the 1900 and 1910 census manuscripts, the decennial censuses for 1950, 1970 and 1980, and census tract maps. (The study went to twenty year periods after 1910 because the census manuscripts for 1920 were not available at the start of the study, and to avoid further nativity or (ethnicity) confusion by introducing and using different decennial census categories for 1940 and 1960). From the first census source, the census manuscripts, nativity was extracted for all persons residing in the study region in 1900 and 1910 from either the nativity columns for that specific individual or their parents. It was extracted to determine the for-

foreign-born population (ethnicity) of the region and to provide a comparison base for future stages (Appendix A). Importantly, it also helped identify any parallels between the ethnicity of the neighborhood and the ribbon.

The second group of census bureau publications, the decennial censuses of 1950, 1970 and 1980, were employed to record the ethnicity of the study area from the nativity, country of birth or ancestry columns, depending on the year. The purpose for the census tracts was to establish consistent, practical geographic boundaries for the most recent years of the study that matched as close as possible to the defined study area. Similar to the census manuscripts, the main role of these documents was to help re-create the ethnic situation for each year, and assist in establishing the concept of an "Ethnic Retail Ribbon."

However, there were problems in acquiring census information for 1890 and 1930. First, for the 1890 census, as stated in Palmer's article, the population in Omaha was fraudulently and admittedly inflated by the officers in charge for more political power. In addition, the 1890 manuscripts burned in a fire at the Commerce Department (Palmer, 1951). Thus, determining nativity from 1890 census manuscripts would have been unreliable and questionable, even if they did exist.

As for 1930, the Omaha area had not yet been defined by census tracts by the Department of Commerce, and the 1930 census manuscripts are not yet available to the public, as stated in Title 13, Section 9 of the United States Code, until seventy two years have passed. Consequently, an al-

ternative method, perhaps not as accurate as the census material, had to be developed to determine the ethnicity or foreign population for the study area for these two years.

Instead, for both, 1890 and 1930, the ethnicity of the study area was determined using two sources: the Dictionary of Surnames reference book written by Hanks and Hodges and the Omaha city directories. To complete these two years, all the surnames of the people residing in the study area were extracted from the city directories. These surnames were matched as closely as possible to surnames recorded in the reference book that listed the foreign country it most likely derived from to recreate a sense of ethnicity for the area. However, by using this method, there tended to be an extreme inflation in the English and Jewish ethnic groups for 1890 and 1930. This exaggeration might suggest that many of the surnames could have been Anglo-Americans. Thus, when reviewing the English and Jewish, a word of caution should be given, especially for the totals in 1890 and 1930.

Another problem in determining foreign stock for a one hundred-year study dealt with the ever-changing political boundaries of countries, particularly in Europe. As the boundaries changed, the nativity or ethnicity of several groups overlapped or became non-existent throughout the stages of the study. For example, in the 1880's Austria-Hungary covered an area that by the 1920's included parts of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Austria and Rumania. Thus, the political boundary changes are significant in determining the ethnicity or nativity over time.

Ethnicity data for the Vinton Street business propri-

etors were extracted from Hanks and Hodges, Dictionary of Surnames. This valuable resource cataloged over 96.0 percent of Vinton Street proprietors' surnames from the "Infant Stage" to the "Maximal Stage." However, for the late "Post-Maximal Stage," telephone interviews were conducted to determine the ethnicity of the business proprietors along the artery. Again, it should be reiterated that only businesses with Vinton Street addresses between Thirteenth and Twenty-fourth streets were analyzed.

Although the Dictionary of Surnames reference book was efficient for determining ethnicity, a few problems occurred. For example, approximately four percent of the surnames were not listed in the reference book. Thus, alternate methods were devised to establish the ethnicity of the missing surnames such as contacting personal at the State Genealogical Society and a linguistics professor for their best hypotheses as to the ethnicity of a surname.

Another problem that occurred infrequently was matching the exact surname spelling listed in the Omaha City directories to the reference book. For example, the Kahny surname, as spelled in the city directories, was spelled "Kahnay" in the reference book. In these situations, the closest surname spelling listed was used to determine the ethnicity. As explained in the source, the omission of letters in surnames or different spellings for the same surname were probably inaccuracies due to the language barrier or translators.

As in past chapters, McAvoy's, Wolfe's and Polk's Omaha City directories were vital sources. These directories were

incorporated for each period because they listed the business address, the proprietor on Vinton Street and, for most stages, the proprietor's residence. Since both the proprietors' home and business addresses were listed, they could be plotted on a map to accurately measure the distances between the two addresses. Then, this distance was employed to develop centographic statistics and establish the mean distance a proprietor traveled to work for all stages. In other words, this centographic measure helped to determine if Vinton Street was an ethnic retail artery, a neighborhood retail ribbon with little ethnic tendencies, a retail street with neither ethnic or neighborhood tendencies or perhaps a combination of these structures.

Although the Omaha City directories proved to be an integral part of this study, there were some slight inconsistencies with the directories in this section. The most significant problem focused on the lack of consistency for the later years of the study, specifically 1970 and 1989. In both years, neither the proprietor of the business nor the residence of the business owner were listed in the directory. Thus, because 1970 was more or less a transition year used within the "Post-Maximal Stage," the proprietor analysis was omitted. However, in 1989, to say the very least, was an important year for the study because it finalizes the thesis statement for a one-hundred year period.

Thus, to overcome this problem for 1989, telephone interviews were conducted to determine the ethnic background and residences of the proprietors for use in the analysis of the ethnicity of the retail ribbon and centographic statis-

tics. Next, is the ethnicity analysis of the region and the Vinton Street proprietors, through time, by the stages used in the past chapters.

Infant Stage: 1880 - 1889

At the time of the emergence of the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon in the early 1880's, numerous western European immigrants representing England, Germany, Ireland and the Scandinavian region dominated immigration into the United States. An interior destination, Omaha, had an immigrant population of 25,600 in 1890, similar to many other Midwest or Northeast U.S. cities (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1890). Not surprisingly, the ethnicity of the study area in the "Infant Stage" echoed this immigration pattern.

Before proceeding with the ethnicity analysis, it seems appropriate to further explain some slight inconsistencies with the data derived from the Dictionary of Surnames. First, for 1890 and also for 1930, the ethnic totals, especially for the English, tended to be inflated on the high side. These figures most likely over-estimated the English because of Anglo-American similarities in many surnames of the United States-born. In other words, these figures probably do not truly reflect the population from England or United States-born persons whose parents were born in England. Moreover, the "English" undoubtedly included many persons of English extraction whose ancestors had resided in the United States for many generations, but also contained surnames that may have been anglicized.

Secondly, the Jewish ethnic label was only noted in 1890

and 1930, the years the Dictionary of Surnames was used. But because they were only noted in these two years, it seems possible the ethnicity may have been based on religion and it ("Jewish") is not a consistent label as its use may create distortions. Thus, the ethnicity for 1890 and 1930 were interpreted from surnames and are probably not as accurate as the census documents for recreating ethnicity through foreign stock. However, using surnames and this reference book were the only quantifiable options available to recreate the sense of ethnicity for the area.

Within the boundaries of the study region in the "Infant Stage," the ethnicity was determined to be predominantly English, German, Irish and Swedish (See pages 23 - 25 in Chapter Four for a description of the study region). The English, by far, had the largest percentage with 44.5 percent, but not without speculation. The English were followed by Germans (21.4), Irish (11.6), and Swedish (6.3) as the only groups exceeding 5.0 percent. These four groups accounted for over 83.0 percent of the total ethnic composition. Other groups in this region, comprising about 17.0 percent, included the Scottish, Jewish, Czechs, Danish, French, Italians, Welsh, Polish, Dutch, Flemish, Norwegians, Russians and Hungarians (Table 12). In all, this region had a diverse composition of seventeen ethnic labels, but the ethnic characteristics were similar to Omaha's totals, with the possible distortion in the "English" category.

Ethnic Composition of Proprietors Along
the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon

By 1889 the ethnic composition of the "Infant Stage" for the study area reflected Omaha's overall make-up; however, the ancestry of the proprietors along Vinton Street was somewhat different. For instance, of the nine proprietor ethnic groups documented among the twenty-three operating businesses, the largest single group noted was the Germans with 47.8 percent. They were followed by the English and Jewish at 17.4 and 8.7 percent, respectively. The five other groups with one proprietor each at 4.3 percent were of Czech, French, Norwegian, Scottish, and Swedish ancestry. Also, the streetcar barn at Sixteenth and Vinton was owned by the Omaha & Council Bluffs Streetcar Company, and its proprietor was recorded as unknown (Table 13).

It should be mentioned that the proprietors' ethnicity for the entire study area was determined from the surnames text. Thus, as a result, the ethnic indicators for the English and Jewish are most likely inflated or distorted and probably reflect anglicized surnames or long time family residence in the United States.

As a result, by comparing the ethnicity of the area to the proprietors, four differences were noted. First, the English dominated the entire study area with 44.5 percent, but the Germans were the largest proprietor group recorded along the ribbon at 47.8 percent. This suggests that Germans operated businesses in an English-dominated area. However, it should be cautioned that the English category likely contained Anglo-Americans and their totals were per-

TABLE 12
ETHNICITY OF THE STUDY REGION: 1889

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Ethnic Total</u>	<u>Percent Ethnicity</u>
1. English**	204	44.5
2. German	98	21.4
3. Irish	53	11.6
4. Swedish	29	6.3
5. Scottish	15	3.3
6. Jewish**	13	2.8
7. Czech	12	2.6
8. Danish	9	2.0
9. French	8	1.7
10. Italian	5	1.1
11. Polish	3	0.7
12. Welsh	3	0.7
13. Dutch	2	0.4
14. Flemish	1	0.2
15. Hungarian	1	0.2
16. Norwegian	1	0.2
17. <u>Russian</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.2</u>
Total	458	99.9*

Source: Wolfe's 1889 Omaha City Directory.

Hanks and Hodges, Dictionary of Surnames, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.

* Number does not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

** Figures are based on surnames that may be inconsistent as ethnic indicators and anglicized, especially for English and Jewish. Also, by using surnames as ethnic indicators, no U.S.-born statistics could be compiled.

haps inflated or distorted.

Second, only three (German, English, and Swedish) of the four largest ethnic groups in the study region (English, German, Irish, and Swedish) had a business on the artery. Although there were no Irish business proprietors noted along Vinton Street, the Irish accounted for 11.6 percent of the people in the study area. Third, the four largest ethnic labels in the study area combined for over 87.0 percent,

TABLE 13
ETHNICITY OF PROPRIETORS ALONG
VINTON STREET RETAIL RIBBON: 1889

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Number of</u> <u>Proprietors</u>	<u>Percent</u> <u>Proprietors</u>
1. German	11	47.8
2. English**	4	17.4
3. Jewish**	2	8.7
4. Czech	1	4.3
5. French	1	4.3
6. Norwegian	1	4.3
7. Scottish	1	4.3
8. Swedish	1	4.3
9. <u>N/A</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4.3</u>
Total	23	99.7*

Source: Wolfe's 1889 Omaha City Directory.

Patrick Hanks and Flavia Hodges, Dictionary of Surnames, Oxford:
 Oxford University Press, 1988.

* Number does not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

** Figures are based on surnames that may be inconsistent as ethnic indicators and may be anglicized, especially for English and Jewish. Also, by using surnames as ethnic indicators, no U.S.-born or persons of U.S. parentage could be compiled.

while these same four accounted for only 69.5 percent of the proprietors. And fourth, there were seventeen different nationalities documented in the study area and nine distinct proprietor groups were recorded along the ribbon.

Ethnic Concentrations of Proprietors Along the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon

Before analyzing the ethnic concentrations along the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon, it is necessary for a brief discussion of what constitutes a primary or secondary proprietor ethnic concentration. For this study, a primary ethnic cluster is an area where over thirty percent of all

proprietors belong to a specific ancestry group. "Area" in this study is a broad term referring to a block, an intersection, or the large part of the Vinton Street Ribbon. Likewise, the definition of a secondary ethnic concentration is described as having at least twenty percent, but not more than thirty percent of a specific ethnic group.

In addition, to be considered an ethnic concentration with primary or secondary clusters, the area being examined must contain at least six establishments. Also, an ethnic concentration can contain both primary and secondary clusters within one specific area along the ribbon. Hence, these values were developed as a workable and consistent classification plan to better describe ethnicity along the ribbon.

During the "Infant Stage," only one primary concentration of a specific ethnic proprietor was noted along the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon. The cluster was recorded at the intersection of Eighteenth and Vinton where eight businesses operated and five or over 65.0 percent of these establishments located contiguous to the intersection were German (Figure 39). Without exception, this was the only location with six or more businesses with a distinct ethnic character.

However, further evaluation of the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon showed two smaller concentrations containing less than the required six establishments. These two small sites were located between Fifteenth and Sixteenth and Vinton and at the Oak and Vinton intersection near Nineteenth Street. Both intersections had a dominant group representing them.

For instance, the former intersection was mostly English, while the latter was German.

As the data show, the ribbon was dominated by the German ethnic group with eleven proprietors at 47.8 percent. Also, the Germans were the only group to have a primary concentration along the artery. As a result, the ethnicity of the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon proprietors based on surnames as ethnic indicators was German in the "Infant Stage."

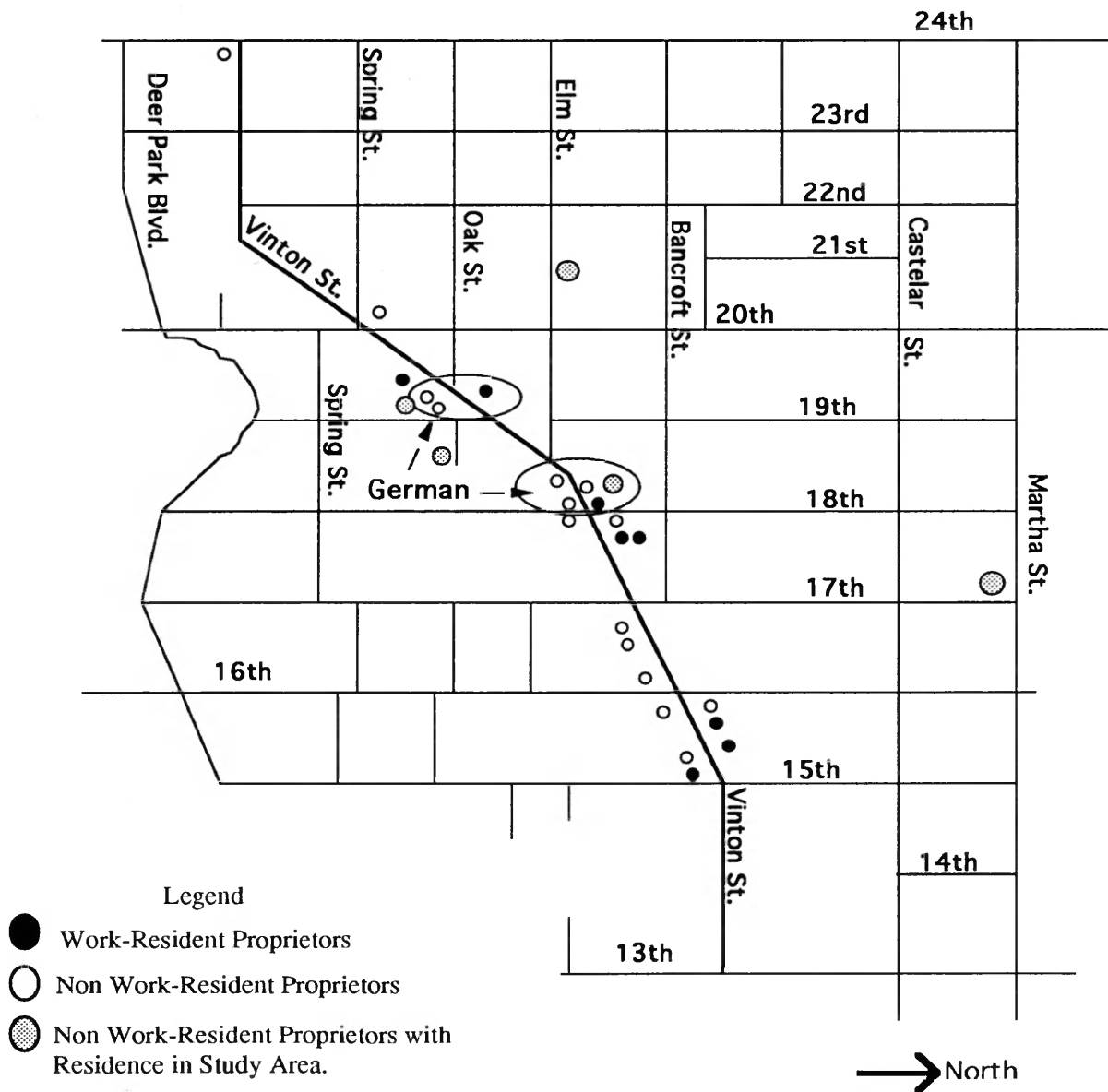
Centrographic Measures

To further the spatial understanding of ethnic retail ribbons and proprietors along Vinton Street, several general central tendency descriptive statistics were used. These measures, (Mean Distance, Maximum Distance and Minimum Distance), were employed to analyze the distances proprietors traveled from their residences to their businesses on the retail artery (See Appendix B for statistical formula). More importantly, these centrographic measures were utilized (as indicators) to establish whether the ribbon over time passed through and/or served an ethnic neighborhood, a non-ethnic neighborhood, a principal urban thoroughfare artery, or any combination of the three as the it evolved.

With the primary modes of transportation during the "Infant Stage" being either streetcar, horse or foot, it was not surprising to find the mean distance traveled to work by the twenty-two proprietors to be only 0.41 of a mile. This short distance, less than half a mile, not only takes into consideration the transportation modes of the late 1880's, but also implies the ribbon's proprietors, on average, lived

Figure 39

Ethnic Clusters and Location of Proprietors on Vinton Street and Study Area: 1889



Sources: Wolfe, J.M. Wolfe's Omaha City Directory 1889. Omaha: Herald Printing, Binding and Electrotyping., (1889).
Omaha City Planning, 1989.

within the study area surrounding the ribbon. In fact, fourteen of the proprietors lived within a half mile of their business, and if it was not for the German hardware store (building material) owner at 1623 Vinton, who traveled over 2.84 miles, the mean distance would have been considerably less.

Although the maximum distance traveled to work was 2.84 miles, eight proprietors lived on the premises of their establishments. All eight of the proprietors were concentrated between Fifteenth and Twentieth and Vinton. Moreover, five of these eight proprietors were German, increasing the evidence that Vinton Street was predominantly a German retail ribbon during the "Infant Stage."

To sum up, in the "Infant Stage" the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon passed through a study area containing seventeen different ethnic groups. The English, German, Irish and Swedish accounted for 83.9 percent of the ethnicity in this region. However, analysis of the ethnicity of business proprietors found the Vinton artery and the business clusters along it to be largely German at 47.8 percent. Also, fourteen proprietors traveled less than half a mile to work, and eight lived on the Vinton Street - five being German. Thus, the ethnicity of the Vinton Street Ribbon in its infancy was predominantly German and served an area where the English and Germans were the principal groups.

Early Stage: 1890 - 1900

As businesses continued to develop along the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon during this "Early Stage," the immigra-

tion pattern into the United States remained similar to that of the 1880's in the "Infant Stage." Most immigrants continued to arrive from the western European countries of Germany, Ireland, England and Scandinavia. The immigration pattern into Omaha was no different as immigrants accounted for 25,639 or 25.0 percent of the city's total population (Figure 1, page 4). Likewise, the study region was found to have a foreign-born or parents of foreign-born (nativity) population of 72.73 percent.

It should be clarified that from this point on the terms "ethnicity" and "nativity" are used interchangeably to represent the foreign or possibly sense of foreign-born population or persons of foreign-born parents. These terms were used because of the problem in obtaining accurate foreign stock population data in 1890 and 1930. Information for these years was not derived from census material, but from the Dictionary of Surnames.

The nativity (ethnicity) for the "Early Stage" was extracted from the 1900 Census Manuscripts. Data from the manuscripts showed that the Germans, Irish, Swedish, Danish, Bohemians and English were the most apparent nationalities. (English for this stage only includes persons from England or parents of persons born in England). Together, these six combined for over 85.0 percent of the total foreign-born or parents of foreign-born population in the area. Alone, the Germans accounted for nearly 40.0 percent and tripled the Irish, the second largest group, at 12.85 percent. This represents a change from the previous stage when the English were the major group and the Germans were the second most

TABLE 14
ETHNICITY OF THE STUDY REGION: 1900

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Ethnic Total</u>	<u>Percent Ethnicity</u>
1. German	1,148	39.75
2. Irish	371	12.85
3. Swedish	312	10.80
4. Danish	276	9.56
5. Bohemian	229	7.93
6. ^a English	145	5.02
7. Austrian	78	2.70
8. French and English Canadian	78	2.70
9. Polish	57	1.97
10. Hungarian	52	1.80
11. Norwegian	44	1.52
12. Scottish	26	0.91
13. Swiss	24	0.83
14. Dutch	23	0.80
15. Russian	12	0.41
16. French	9	0.31
17. <u>Welsh</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0.14</u>
^bTotal	2,888	100.0
 ^cU.S.-born	 1,108	 27.73
Foreign Stock	2,888	72.27

Source: U.S Bureau of Census, 1900 United States Census Bureau Schedules.

^a English represents English-born or U.S.-born with parents born in England.

^b Figures reflect foreign stock of study area and does not include U.S. Born.

^c Figure represents population that is U.S.-born or persons with parents born in the U.S..

important group. However, this discrepancy is probably attributed to the differences in two dissimilar sources.

In addition to the Germans and Irish, the Swedish (10.8), Danish (9.56), Bohemians (7.93) and English (5.02) each represented more than 5.0 percent of the total foreign stock

(Table 14). By way of contrast, the remaining groups in the area accounted for less than 15.0 percent, and included Austrian (2.7), French and English Canadians (2.7), Polish (1.97), Hungarian (1.8), Norwegians (1.52), Scottish (0.91), Swiss (0.83), Dutch (0.80), Russian (0.41), French (0.31), and Welsh (0.14) respectively. So, as a result, seventeen different ethnic groups were again documented in the "Early Stage," maintaining its diverse ethnic composition through the first two stages.

Even though the ethnicity totals were similar, there were some notable differences in the overall composition between the two stages. For example, the Jewish, Czech (Bohemian), Italian, Welsh, and Flemish ethnic groups were recorded in the "Infant Stage," but by the "Early Stage," they had disappeared, and five different nationalities were documented in their place. These new additions included the Austrians, Bohemians, French and English Canadians, Swiss and Welsh.

As expected, when the overall ethnic composition changed for the area, the percentages followed suit. The largest percentage growth was by the Germans. They increased by 18.35 percent from 21.4 percent in the "Infant Stage" to 39.75 percent. In fact, all the ethnic groups listed in both stages increased, except for the English, whose number decreased by over 39.0 percent from 44.5 percent in the "Infant Stage" to 5.02 percent in the "Early Stage." Therefore, the substantial decrease in the English is at least partly the reason other groups increased their representation. The significant changes in these two, especially the English, likely reflect research methodology differences

in the two sources.

Despite the noted differences between the two stages, there were some obvious similarities. For instance, both periods were represented by the German, Irish, Swedish, Danish, English, Polish, Czech, Hungarian, Norwegian, Scottish, Dutch, Russian and French. Of these, the first five remained the most apparent nativity groups in the study area. Thus, the region's total composition changed, as did the percentage representation of the main ethnic groups from the "Infant Stage" through the "Early Stage" within the study area.

Ethnic Composition of Proprietors Along the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon

Unlike the "Infant Stage," the ethnicity of the proprietors during the "Early Stage" along the Vinton Retail Ribbon reflected the overall ethnic composition of Omaha and the study area. Of the nine groups noted, the Germans were found in fifteen or 45.4 percent of the thirty-three establishments operating along the ribbon. They were followed by the English (24.2), Norwegians (6.1) and Swedish (6.1) as the only ancestry groups with two or more proprietors operating a business. The five remaining groups each had one proprietor at 3.0 percent and included the Danish, Dutch, Irish, Jewish, and Scottish (Table 15). In addition, the Nonpareil Laundry Company at 1706-08 Vinton was the only business without a proprietor of any nationality listed in McAvoy's Omaha City directory in 1900, and was categorized as an unknown proprietor in Table 15.

TABLE 15
ETHNICITY OF PROPRIETORS ALONG
VINTON STREET RETAIL RIBBON: 1900

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Number of Proprietors</u>	<u>Percent Proprietors</u>
1. German	15	45.4
2. English**	8	24.2
3. Norwegian	2	6.1
4. Swedish	2	6.1
5. Dutch	1	3.0
6. Danish	1	3.0
7. Irish	1	3.0
8. Jewish**	1	3.0
9. Scottish	1	3.0
10. <u>N/A</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3.0</u>
Total	33	99.8*

Source: McAvoy's 1900 Omaha City Directory.

Patrick Hanks and Flavia Hodges, Dictionary of Surnames, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.

* Number does not equal 100 percent due to rounding

** Figures are based on surnames that may be inconsistent as ethnic indicators and may be anglicized, especially for the English and Jewish ethnic groups. Also, by using surnames, no U.S.-born or persons of U.S.-Born parentage could be compiled.

Overall, by comparing the "Infant Stage" to the "Early Stage," only a few differences were noted in the ethnicity of the proprietors. As in 1889, for example, the Germans and English ethnicity dominated Vinton Street representing about 69.9 percent, four percentage points more than in the last stage. During this time the Germans decreased by 2.4 percent, while the English increased by 6.8 percent.

Secondly, the ethnic composition of the ribbon changed with the addition of the Irish, Danish and Dutch, and with the loss of the Czech and French proprietors. This change increased the ethnic composition in the "Early Stage" by one

group (Table 15). Thus, comparatively speaking, the changes noted between the two stages were minor, with Germans and English enduring as the major nationalities recorded along Vinton Street.

Generally, the ethnicity of the study area and the retail ribbon were identical in the "Early Stage," except for a few minor differences. For example, the entire region was 39.75 percent German, yet they accounted for 45.4 percent of the business owners on the ribbon. Secondly, every group documented along the ribbon was also documented among the region's seventeen ancestral groups. Thirdly, the four largest groups in the area, (Germans, Irish, Swedish and Danish), represented 72.96 percent, but along the ribbon they accounted for only 57.6 percent. And lastly, within the study area, the English ethnic group decreased approximately 40.0 percent, yet its proprietor representation of 24.2 percent along the ribbon remained proportionally large. Again, it must be noted that the ethnic differences between the region and the ribbon might reflect the inconsistencies when comparing two different sources.

Ethnic Concentrations of Proprietors Along the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon

The concentration of businesses along Vinton Street became more visible during the "Early Stage." Establishments were clustered at intersections in an area from roughly Seventeenth to Nineteenth and Vinton. This concentration of businesses comprised twenty-five or 75.8 percent of all establishments. As a result, the principal business area of

the ribbon produced the only primary ethnic cluster for this stage.

Within this two-block concentration of twenty-five businesses, the cluster was determined to be German. The German proprietors accounted for fourteen or 56.0 percent of all businesses within the core region of the retail ribbon. By looking at Figure 40, it shows the Germans operated businesses from the middle of Seventeenth Street to Nineteenth Street and Vinton. This concentration built and expanded on the German cluster first indicated at Eighteenth and Vinton in the "Infant Stage."

However, there was a secondary ethnic concentration of proprietors within this same core area. Not surprisingly, the ethnicity of these proprietors was English. These English proprietors operated seven businesses or 28.0 percent of all establishments clustered around the Seventeenth and Vinton intersection.

As indicated, this two-block stretch contained both primary and secondary ethnic proprietor clusters. This marked the first time both types of concentrations appeared on the ribbon. Also, it is interesting to note that neither ethnic concentration was located at the intersection of a principal north-south transportation interchange. Instead, they concentrated between the Sixteenth Street and Twentieth Street stops along the east-west "South Omaha" streetcar line.

In conclusion, the proprietors along the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon during the "Early Stage" were mainly German. In addition, for the first time a secondary cluster of English ethnicity was noted along the ribbon. Therefore,

Vinton Street could be summarized as a dominant German ethnic retail ribbon with English influence.

Centrographic Measures

In the "Early Stage" the primary modes of transportation remained the streetcar, horse and foot for proprietors. The mean distance proprietors journeyed to work in this stage was only 0.07 of a mile, or about a block. This short distance is supported by the fact that approximately half of the proprietors lived within one-tenth of a mile of the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon and did not rely upon the streetcar to travel relatively long distances to work. Instead, a major portion of the proprietors most likely walked to work and lived within the neighborhood surrounding Vinton Street.

Further analysis of the centrographic measures indicate that the maximum distance any proprietor journeyed to work was only 0.40 a mile. This proprietor who traveled less than half a mile to work was German and operated a blacksmith shop at 1806 Vinton in the middle of the primary German ethnic concentration.

As already mentioned, most proprietors along Vinton Street traveled a very short distance to work. In fact, nineteen of the thirty-two or 59.3 percent of all the proprietors lived and operated a business on the premises of their residence on Vinton Street. Germans operated twelve of these nineteen or 63.0 percent of the establishments within the major concentration along Vinton Street. Also, four English proprietors lived and operated a business on

the ribbon. As a result, the centrographic statistics point out that Vinton Street was a German retail ribbon crossing a German neighborhood with English influence and all the proprietors journeyed less than a half mile to work.

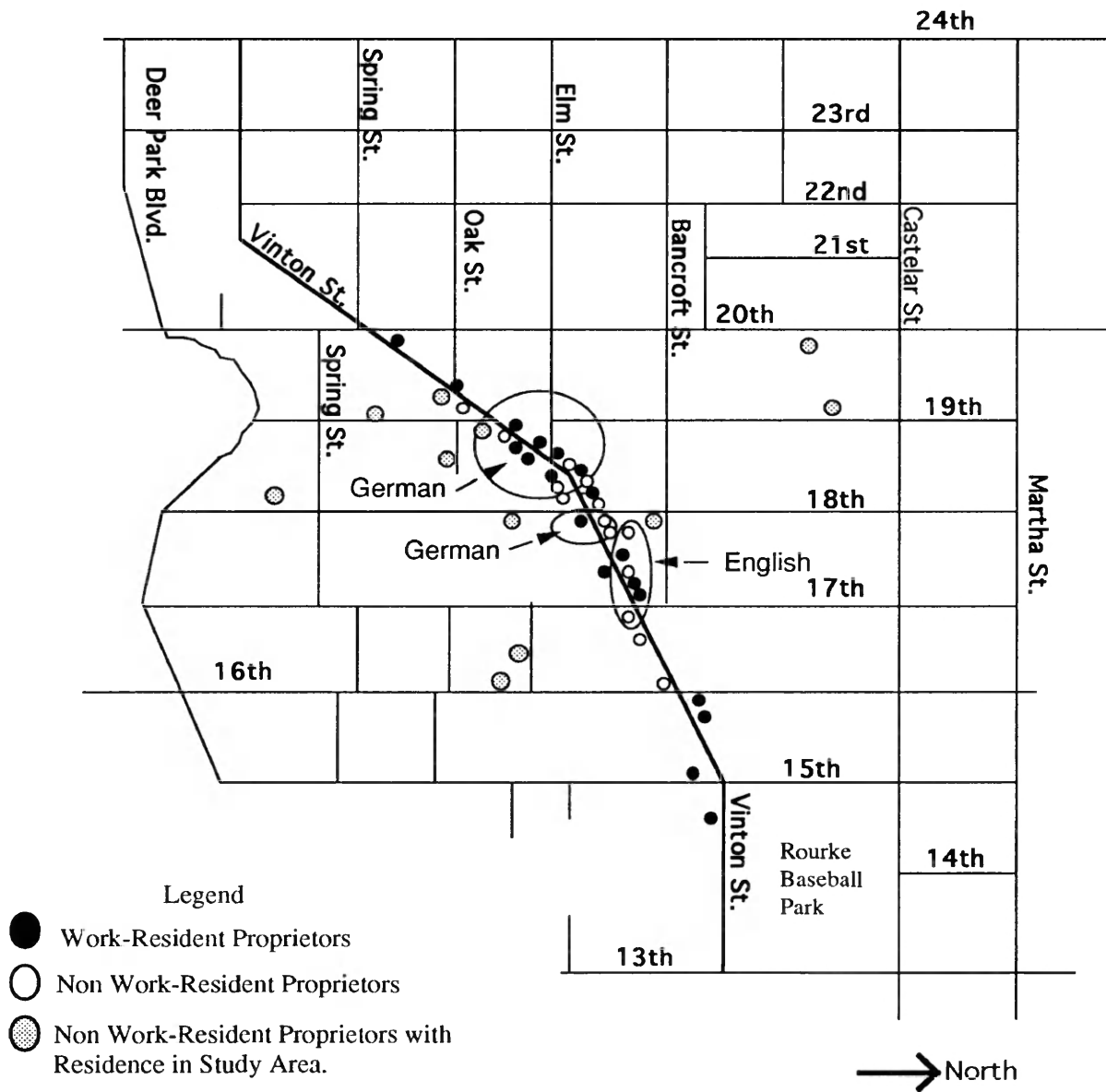
Although the primary modes of transportation remained similar in both the "Infant" and "Early" stages, some differences were recorded. In the "Infant Stage," for example, the mean distance traveled to work by proprietors was 0.40 of a mile, but in the "Early Stage," the journey decreased to less than one tenth of a mile. This drop of over three tenths of a mile in the mean distance to work, increased the likelihood that the ribbon served the neighborhood adjacent to it.

Some other centrographic measure changes between the first two stages showed the maximum distance traveled to work in the "Infant Stage" was 2.84 miles, while the maximum distance was only 0.40 miles to work in the "Early Stage," a decrease of over two miles. On the contrary, eight proprietors in the "Infant Stage" and nineteen proprietors in the "Early Stage" worked and lived at the same address and traveled no distance at all to work. This increase of eleven work-residences on Vinton Street, and the decreases in the mean and maximum distances traveled to work suggest the proprietors lived and served the surrounding study area.

In summary, during the "Early Stage" the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon passed through an area with seventeen different ethnic groups. The primary nativity groups in the study area were the Germans, followed by the Irish, Swedish, and Danish. These four groups accounted for 72.96 percent of

Figure 40

Ethnic Clusters and Location of Proprietors on Vinton Street and Study Area: 1900



Source: McAvoy, *Omaha City Directory 1900*. Omaha: Omaha Printing Co., 1900.
Omaha City Planning, 1989.

the region, but only 60.5 percent of the ribbon total. In addition, analysis of the nativity of the proprietors along the ribbon indicated that the artery was primarily German, and followed by the English. Germans accounted for over 47.0 percent of the ethnicity and twelve of the German proprietors, out of a total of nineteen work-resident proprietors lived on Vinton Street. It was also noted that the mean distance traveled to work was about a block in comparison to the "Infant Stage" of nearly half a mile. Thus, the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon was largely German and had strong ties to the neighborhood it crossed.

Pre-Maximal Stage: 1901 - 1931

Early Pre-Maximal Stage: 1901 - 1912

During the first decade of the twentieth century the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon became a vibrant commercial and social neighborhood to the residents of Omaha. Business growth continued in the early "Pre-Maximal Stage," at the same time a noticeable shift in the ethnicity of immigrants arriving to Omaha (excluding South Omaha) occurred. Over 58.0 percent of the immigrants now came from the eastern and southern European countries of Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia (Austria-Bohemia), and Russia, instead of Germany, Ireland, Scandinavia, and England as in the previous stages (Chudacoff, 1972). As a result, Omaha experienced several new ethnic islands within its boundaries, but, as the data show, this was not the ethnic situation for the established Vinton neighborhood and ribbon in 1912.

In the early part of the "Pre-Maximal Stage" the nativity data extracted from the 1910 census manuscripts maintained that the neighborhood remained over 73.0 percent foreign-born or parents of foreign-born. Similar to past stages, the main foreign group continued to be German. Germans dominated the area with 39.72 percent of all the ethnicity. The Germans were followed by the Austrian-Bohemians (17.26), Danish (10.99), Irish (10.57), and Swedish (5.96) as ancestry groups with percentages larger than 5.0 percent. These five groups accounted for 84.36 percent of the nationalities recorded in the region (Table 16).

The remaining groups in the area equaled 15.64 percent. They included the English, Norwegian, Canadian, Hungarian, Russian, Italian, French, Scottish, Dutch, Greek, Swiss, Polish, Australian and Mexican (Table 16). In all, the total number of groups represented in the study area increased by two over the past stage to nineteen. Thus, the foreign stock still reflected the immigration patterns of the late nineteenth century, except for the 10.0 percent increase of Austrian-Bohemians into the area by 1912.

However, the Austrian-Bohemians change was not the only one noted between the "Early" and "Pre-Maximal" stages. For example, the composition of the early "Pre-Maximal Stage" added the Greek, Italian, Mexican and Australian groups and dropped the Welsh group recorded in the "Early Stage." Other reported changes included small percentage variations between similar groups and relatively minor immigration influences from the southern European countries of Italy and Greece.

TABLE 16
ETHNICITY OF THE STUDY REGION: 1910

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Ethnic Total</u>	<u>Percent Ethnic</u>
1. German	1,202	39.58
2. Austrian-Bohemian	524	17.26
3. Danish	334	10.99
4. Irish	321	10.57
5. Swedish	181	5.96
6. ^a English	121	3.99
7. Norwegian	91	3.00
8. Canadian	62	2.03
9. Hungarian	51	1.67
10. Russian	50	1.64
11. Italian	31	1.04
12. French	15	0.50
13. Scottish	12	0.40
14. Dutch	10	0.35
15. Greek	9	0.30
16. Polish	9	0.30
17. Swiss	9	0.30
18. Australian	3	0.10
19. <u>Mexican</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0.05</u>
^bTotal	3,037	100.03*
^cU.S.-born	1,070	26.05
Foreign Stock	3,037	73.95

Source: U.S Bureau of Census, 1910 United States Census Bureau Schedules.

* Number does not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

^a English represents foreign-born or U.S.-born with parents born in England.

^b Figures reflect only ethnicity (foreign stock) of study area and does not include U.S.-Born.

^c Figures represent population that is only U.S-born or persons of U.S. parentage.

Ethnic Composition of Proprietors Along the
Vinton Street Retail Ribbon

Although the nativity of the immigrant population began shifting in the early "Pre-Maximal Stage" across Omaha, the

ethnicity of the proprietors along Vinton Street still echoed the immigration patterns of prior decades. Again, the German and English groups accounted for the major percentage of proprietors, but instead, in this stage the English replaced the Germans as the main group; although English probably contained anglicized surnames and long-established Anglo-Americans. Of the nine ethnic groups, the English represented twenty-two or 44.0 percent of the fifty establishments. They were followed by the Germans with 24.0 percent, and the Danish, Italian and "Not Applicable" groups at 6.0 percent each. Other groups included the Dutch and the Jewish at 2.0 percent and Irish, Swedish and Scots at 1.0 percent. Out of these nine ethnic groups, the only southern European proprietor on the ribbon was from Italy.

Ethnic representation of proprietors along Vinton Street for this period paralleled the ethnicity recorded in the previous two stages. To illustrate, the English, German, Jewish, Scottish and Swedish proprietors have been noted in every stage thus far, and remained the main proprietor nationalities on the artery. Likewise, the Norwegian, Irish, Danish and Dutch were documented in at least two of the past periods, while the Czech and Italian were only recorded once.

Even though the ethnicity of the proprietors on the ribbon remained fairly consistent throughout this study, there were some changes between the "Early Stage" and this early "Pre-Maximal Stage." First, the English became the major proprietor group along Vinton Street, previously headed by Germans. Secondly, the Italians were added to the ethnic

TABLE 17
ETHNICITY OF PROPRIETORS ALONG
VINTON STREET RETAIL RIBBON: 1912

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Number of Proprietors</u>	<u>Percent Proprietors</u>
1. English	22	44.0
2. German	12	24.0
3. Danish	3	6.0
4. Italian	3	6.0
5. N/A	3	6.0
6. Dutch	2	4.0
7. Jewish	2	4.0
8. Irish	1	2.0
9. Scottish	1	2.0
10. <u>Swedish</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2.0</u>
Total	50	100.0

Source: Polk's 1912 Omaha City Directory.

Patrick Hanks and Flavia Hodges, Dictionary of Surnames, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.

** Figures are based on surnames that may be inconsistent as ethnic indicators and may be anglicized, especially for English and Jewish. Also by using surnames, no U.S.-born or persons of U.S.-born parentage could be compiled.

*** Note two businesses were not included because Polk's Omaha City directory did not list the proprietor.

representation while the Norwegians vanished from the list along Vinton Street. Also, the Italians became the only representative of the immigration shift of the last decade.

In all, the ethnic composition of the business owners along the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon remained constant, except for the fact there was no longer a Norwegian proprietor. In addition, the Italians were the only representative of the 1910 immigration shift. So, the ethnic composition of the proprietors remained similar to past periods.

Ethnic Concentrations of Proprietors Along the
Vinton Street Retail Ribbon

During the early part of the "Pre-Maximal Stage" the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon became a main and visible artery not only serving the immediate neighborhood, but also the cities of Omaha and South Omaha. The largest percentage growth of businesses noted in the study occurred in this period and created a more compact retail ribbon in the principal area from Fifteenth to Twentieth and Vinton.

In this core business area, two ethnic clusters became apparent. The first cluster was English which dominated the main business area on Vinton Street. They were nineteen English proprietors that formed the only primary ethnic business cluster from Fifteenth to Twentieth and Vinton. These nineteen proprietors accounted for 43.2 percent of all businesses in the region. It should be reiterated that many of these English may have been Anglo-Americans (Figure 41). In this same area, a secondary ethnic business cluster was found with nine German business owners, at 20.45 percent. Although there were four other nationalities represented in this core region, none of them created a primary or secondary ethnic business cluster like the English and Germans.

Farther west on Vinton Street, in the area from Twenty-third to Twenty-fourth and Vinton, two primary ethnic clusters were recorded. In this area of six businesses, two groups, the Germans and Italians, operated two business apiece at 33.3 percent. These groups formed smaller and concentrated, but also primary ethnic clusters in this mini-ribbon zone.

However, the overall ethnicity showed that there was only one primary and one secondary cluster throughout Vinton Street's entirety. Those ethnic groups were English and German. In other words, the ribbon proprietors during the early part of the "Pre-Maximal Stage" were characterized as a primarily English ethnic retail ribbon with strong German representation.

Centrographic Measures

In the early "Pre-Maximal Stage," the transportation modes continued to be the streetcar, horse and foot. Generally, because of these transportation modes, the mean distance a proprietor traveled to work remained a low 0.36 miles, or about one third a mile. This short distance is supported by the fact that twenty owners resided in the building in which they conducted business and another eighteen traveled less than a half a mile to work, perhaps by foot. Consequently, over 70.0 percent of the proprietors lived within the neighborhood adjacent to the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon.

Further examination of the centrographic measures indicate the maximum distance any proprietor traveled to work was 6.38 miles. This maximum distance was traveled by an English proprietor who lived at 3814 Mary in North Omaha and operated the Nonpareil Laundry Company at 1706 Vinton within the primary English cluster of the ribbon.

As earlier indicated, over 70.0 percent of the proprietors along Vinton Street journeyed less than a half mile to work. Of these, twenty worked and lived at the same ad-

dress. English proprietors operated nine or 45.0 percent of the twenty work-resident establishments on the ribbon, while Germans constituted five or 25.0 percent of the proprietors who made their homes at their place of business. Further breakdown shows eighteen English and eleven German proprietors lived within a half mile of their work. Thus, the centrographic statistics illustrate the wholeness of the community and the dominance of the English and German proprietors in the neighborhood who lived and worked on Vinton Street.

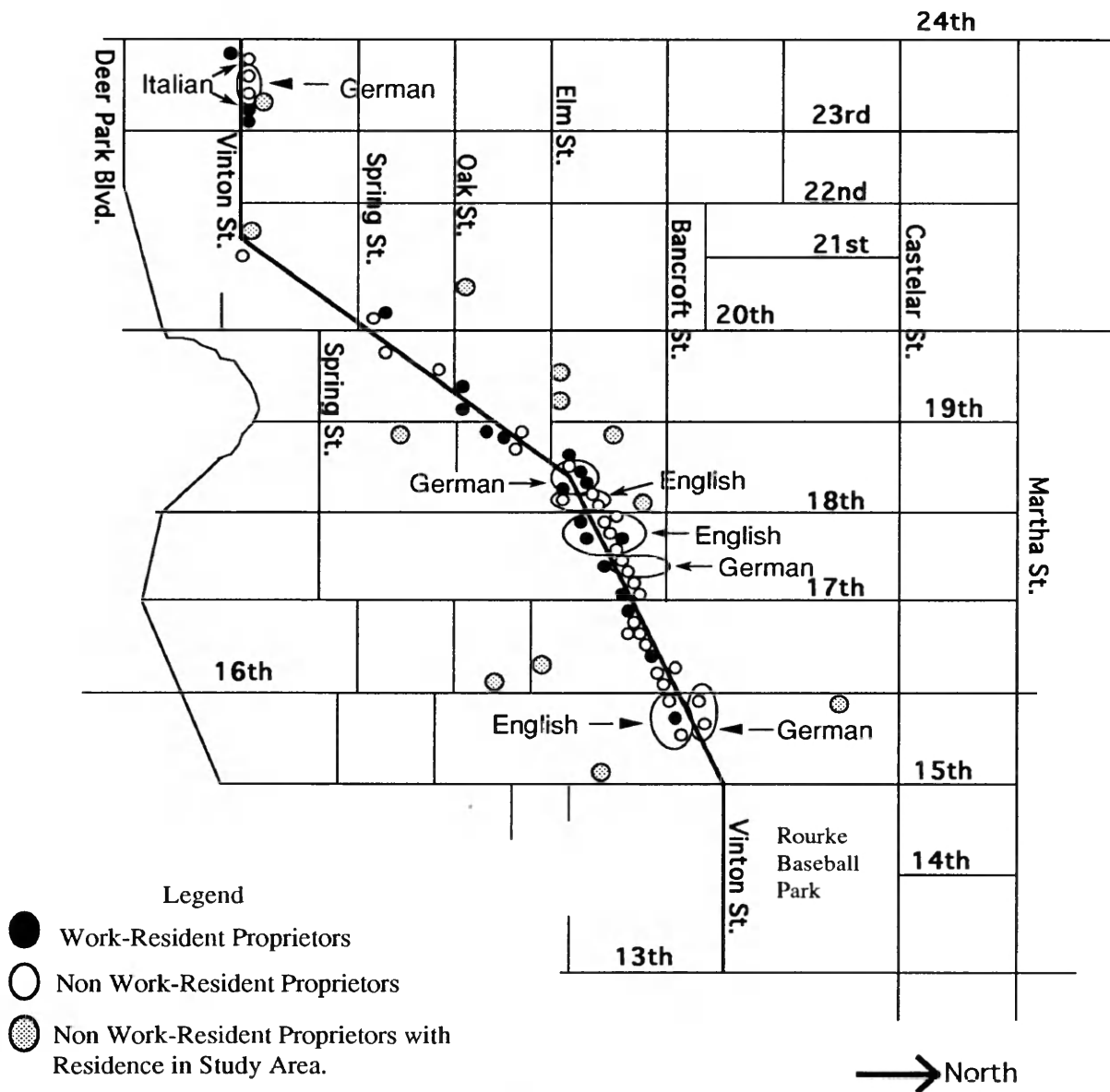
Even though the primary modes of transportation were constant over the past stages, some differences in the mean distance journeyed to work were reported. For instance, the mean distance traveled in this stage was 0.36 of a mile compared to 0.07 of a mile in the "Early Stage" and 0.40 in the "Infant Stage." This increase of about a third of a mile is due to the fact that one proprietor traveled more than six miles to work and also the possibility that more proprietors were inclined to ride the streetcars to work. Nevertheless, these minor changes did not decrease the likelihood that the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon served the neighborhood it crossed.

Some other minor centrographic statistical changes noted between these three stages showed that the maximum distance traveled to work was at its farthest in the "Pre-Maximal Stage" at 6.38 miles. This distance was over two times greater than the "Infant Stage's" 2.84 miles and over sixteen times the "Early Stage's" low of 0.40 miles.

Similarly, as the number of proprietors on the Vinton

Figure 41

Ethnic Clusters and Location of Proprietors on Vinton Street and Study Area: 1912



Source: Polk, R.L. Polk's Omaha City Directory 1912. Kansas City: R.L. Polk, 1912. Omaha City Planning, 1989.

Street increased, the number of work-resident business owners on Vinton Street also increased. The number of work-resident proprietors in this stage increased by one to twenty since the "Early Stage" and increased by twelve since the "Infant Stage." Thus, although one proprietor traveled over six miles to work and six others journeyed over a half mile to work, there were still a large number of owners who traveled a half mile or less to work. Therefore, these statistics continue to support the fact that many proprietors still lived within and served the neighborhood near Vinton Street.

In conclusion, in the early "Pre-Maximal Stage" the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon passed through an area with nineteen distinct nationalities. Once again, the primary ethnic group in the neighborhood was the Germans, followed by the Austrian-Bohemians, Danish, Irish and Swedish. However, the most documented ethnic group on the ribbon was not the Germans, but the English. The English proprietors accounted for twenty-two or 44.0 percent of the proprietor's total, but only 3.99 percent of the total ethnicity of the region (These totals may have contained Anglo-Americans). Again, these English percentage totals reflect the differences in sources used; whereas the study area was from the census manuscripts, the proprietors' total was from the Dictionary of Surnames. They were followed by Germans with twelve or 24.0 percent of the ribbon's ethnic total and an overwhelming 39.58 percent of the ethnicity in the study area. Secondly, of all the proprietors, twenty lived and worked on the ribbon, of which nine were English and five

were German. Lastly, the mean distance traveled to work increased almost a third of a mile to 0.36. Thus, the ethnicity of the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon was primarily English, but the ribbon also had strong German ties to the neighborhood it served.

Late Pre-Maximal Stage: 1913-1931

By 1931, the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon had established itself as a major commercial artery through the immediate neighborhood it served, southern Omaha, and all of Omaha as well. Many attractions drew people from throughout the city such as Rourke Baseball Park or Falstaff Brewery to play or work as businesses continued to develop along the artery. The proprietors who lived along the ribbon, or in the neighborhood surrounding Vinton Street as well as all of Omaha, made up the most diverse ethnicity yet with twenty-two different nationalities.

In the late part of the "Pre-Maximal Stage," the primary ethnic group in the neighborhood continued to be the Germans. However, in this stage, the Germans did not dominate by as large a margin as in the previous periods. For example, in this stage, Germans represented 24.9 percent or almost one-fourth of the total population. They were closely followed by the English with 22.4 percent. However, the English total may contain surnames that were anglicized. Other ethnic groups with five or more percent included the Czechs (7.4), Irish (7.1), and Polish (5.8). These five groups accounted for 67.6 percent of the total ethnicity in the study region as indicated in Table 18.

TABLE 18
ETHNICITY OF THE STUDY REGION: 1931

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Ethnic Total</u>	<u>Percent Ethnic</u>
1. German	408	24.9
2. English*	367	22.4
3. Unknown**	141	8.6
4. Czech	122	7.4
5. Irish	117	7.1
6. Polish	95	5.8
7. Swedish	82	4.9
8. Italian	78	4.8
9. Norwegian	71	4.4
10. Jewish*	67	4.1
11. French	24	1.5
12. Scottish	18	1.1
13. Spanish	9	0.5
14. Dutch	8	0.5
15. Russian	8	0.5
16. Frisian	7	0.4
17. Greek	5	0.3
18. Welsh	5	0.3
19. Danish	4	0.2
20. Flemish	1	0.1
21. Portuguese	1	0.1
22. <u>Swiss</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.1</u>
Total	1,639	100.0

Source: Polk's 1931 Omaha City Directory.

Patrick Hanks and Flavia Hodges, Dictionary of Surnames, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988

* Figures are based on surnames that may be inconsistent as ethnic indicators and may be anglicized, especially for the English and Jewish. Also, by using surnames no U.S.-born or persons of U.S. parentage could be compiled.

** "Unknown" refers to surnames not found in the Dictionary of Surnames reference book and does not include churches, businesses and vacant houses or buildings.

Conversely, there were seventeen other nationalities representing 23.8 percent of the population. These groups included Swedish, Italians, Norwegians, Jewish, French, Scots, Spanish, Dutch, Russian, Frisian, Greek, Welsh, Danish, Flemish, Portuguese, Swiss, and Welsh (Table 18). As a re-

sult, there was a total of twenty-two ethnic groups in the study area which equals an increase of three since the early "Pre-Maximal Stage," and five since the "Infant Stage." Once again, the overall ethnic dominance of the region reflected immigration patterns in the years prior to 1910 with some minor differences.

Between the early part and the late part of the "Pre-Maximal Stage" numerous shifts occurred in the overall composition of the ethnic groups. First, the German, Danish, and Irish decreased by 14.6, 10.7, and 3.4 percentage points respectively. At the same time, the ethnic groups from Austria-Bohemia, Canada, Hungary, Australia and Mexico vanished from the list in Table 18. Probably the disappearance of particular groups is based upon the fact that the data is derived from two different sources in two different eras.

On the other hand, seven different nationalities were added to the list by the late "Pre-Maximal Stage." These groups included the Czechs, Spanish, Frisian, Welsh, Flemish, Portuguese and "unknown." Of these, the Czechs made the most significant impact, ranking third with 7.4 percent, while all the remaining ethnic groups added one percent or less to the ethnicity of the area.

The English had the largest percentage growth at 18.4 percent between the early and late "Pre-Maximal Stages." (This large increase in English ethnicity probably reflected the differences between the two sources - the 1910 Census Schedules and the Dictionary of Surnames reference book rather than a large English migration to Omaha.) Other ethnic groups with large percentage increases included the

Czechs at 7.4 percent, Polish at 5.5 percent and the Italians at 3.8 percent. Besides these significant percentage changes, the general ethnicity of the groups changed slightly.

Ethnic Composition of Proprietors Along the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon

Generally, the ethnicity of the proprietors along the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon in the late "Pre-Maximal Stage" represented immigration patterns recorded in previous stages. These past stages revealed the ribbon to be German and English and this period of investigation proved to be the same.

In this stage the Germans replaced the English as the most noteworthy group found along the ribbon with fifteen proprietors at 20.3 percent. They were followed by the English with fourteen proprietors at 18.9 percent and the "Non-Applicable" category with eleven unknown proprietors at 14.9 percent. Other groups on Vinton Street included the Czech and Irish with six proprietors each at 8.1 percent, Jewish and Scottish with five apiece at 6.8 percent, the Swedish with four or 5.5 percent, the Italians and Polish with three each at 4.2 percent and the French and Welsh with one each at 1.3 percent (Table 19).

As previously documented, the ethnicity of the retail ribbon proprietors was still largely dominated by the first immigration wave from western Europe. This flood brought immigrants from England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, Scandinavia, Poland and Czechoslovakia to the United States.

Although the proprietors on Vinton Street were dominated by western European immigration patterns, one group from southern Europe, the Italians, recorded three owners at 3.9 percent, similar to the early "Pre-Maximal Stage." As a result, the overall ethnicity of the proprietors continued to show western European traits with a trace of southern Europeans.

Similarly, the ethnic composition of the proprietors resembled those of prior stages with eleven different nationalities. Once again, the primary groups forming the bulk of the ethnicity were the Germans, English, Irish, Swedish, Scottish and Jewish.

Conversely, some changes were noted in the ethnic composition of the business owners along Vinton Street in the late "Pre-Maximal Stage." For instance, the Czech, Polish, Welsh and French were added to the list while the Dutch and Danish proprietors disappeared. This change increased the composition of business owners by one since the previous stage. More importantly, the numeric dominance of the Germans and English over the other groups was not as pronounced as in past periods. In other words, the total number of proprietors for each ethnic group was more evenly distributed among the owners than noted in any previous stage.

To sum up, the ethnic composition of the proprietors along the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon remained consistent as in all the previous stages, except for the fact that the German proprietors regained their dominance over the English owners in this period. At the same time, the numeric compo-

TABLE 19
ETHNICITY OF PROPRIETORS ALONG
VINTON STREET RETAIL RIBBON: 1931

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Number of Proprietors</u>	<u>Percent Proprietors</u>
1. German	15	20.3
2. English**	14	18.9
3. N/A	11	14.9
4. Czech	6	8.1
5. Irish	6	8.1
6. Jewish**	5	6.8
7. Scots	5	6.8
8. Swedish	4	5.5
9. Italian	3	4.2
10. Polish	3	4.2
11. French	1	1.3
12. <u>Welsh</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1.3</u>
Total	74	100.4*

Source: Polk's 1931 Omaha City Directory.

Patrick Hanks and Flavia Hodges, Dictionary of Surnames, Oxford:
 Oxford University Press, 1988.

* Number does not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

** Figures are based on surnames that may be inconsistent as ethnic indicators and may be anglicized, especially for the English and Jewish. Also, by using surnames no U.S.-born or persons of U.S. parentage could be compiled.

*** Note three businesses were not included because Polk's Omaha City directory did not list proprietor.

sition of all the different ethnic proprietors became more evenly distributed.

Ethnic Concentrations of Proprietors Along the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon

By the late "Pre-Maximal Stage" the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon had evolved into an established, compact and diverse business artery. Most businesses were clustered in the core area from Fifteenth to Twentieth and Vinton in an area where the largest ethnic diversity was noted.

The principal area along the Vinton Street Ribbon was represented by all twelve groups in Table 19. As expected, the ethnicity of the proprietors in the core ribbon area portrayed those of past periods with the German and English remaining the influential groups. For example, the Germans numbered thirteen proprietors at 20.3 percent while the English had eleven business owners at 18.9 percent. (Other ethnic groups found in this area included the Irish, Czech, Jewish, Scots, Polish, Italians, Swedes, Spanish, French, and Welsh.) Hence, these percentages indicate that at this time the main artery of the ribbon had only a secondary ethnic cluster of Germans and no primary cluster of any group. Therefore, with more ethnic groups being represented in this core region and business growth peaking, the dominance of one or two ethnic groups was found to be gradually deteriorating.

On the contrary, the distribution of ethnic groups in this core ribbon area also revealed a few strong intra-ribbon clusters. For instance, within the ribbon there were German and English clusters from the western half of Eighteenth and Vinton to the Vinton and Oak Street intersection. Likewise, in the region between Sixteenth and Seventeenth and Vinton many small ethnic clusters of Czech, Polish, Scottish and Irish were documented. Thus, even though the core area of the artery was only a secondary ethnic retail ribbon, many smaller ethnic islands were found within (Figure 42).

Furthermore, in the minor ribbon area from Twenty-third to Twenty-fourth and Vinton, a primary and two secondary

ethnic ribbons were noted. In this section of nine establishments, the major group was English with three business operators at 33.3 percent. This area also revealed two secondary ethnic ribbons comprised of German and Swedish with two proprietors, each at 22.2 percent. Thus, this mini-ribbon area was largely English with strong German and Swedish traits.

Overall, the ethnicity of proprietors along the entire retail ribbon was found to be more randomly located, with some smaller clusters. In addition, for the first time in this study the ribbon was not represented by a primary ethnic group with more than thirty percent. In fact, in the late "Pre-Maximal Stage," the ribbon was a secondary German ethnic retail ribbon with English influences.

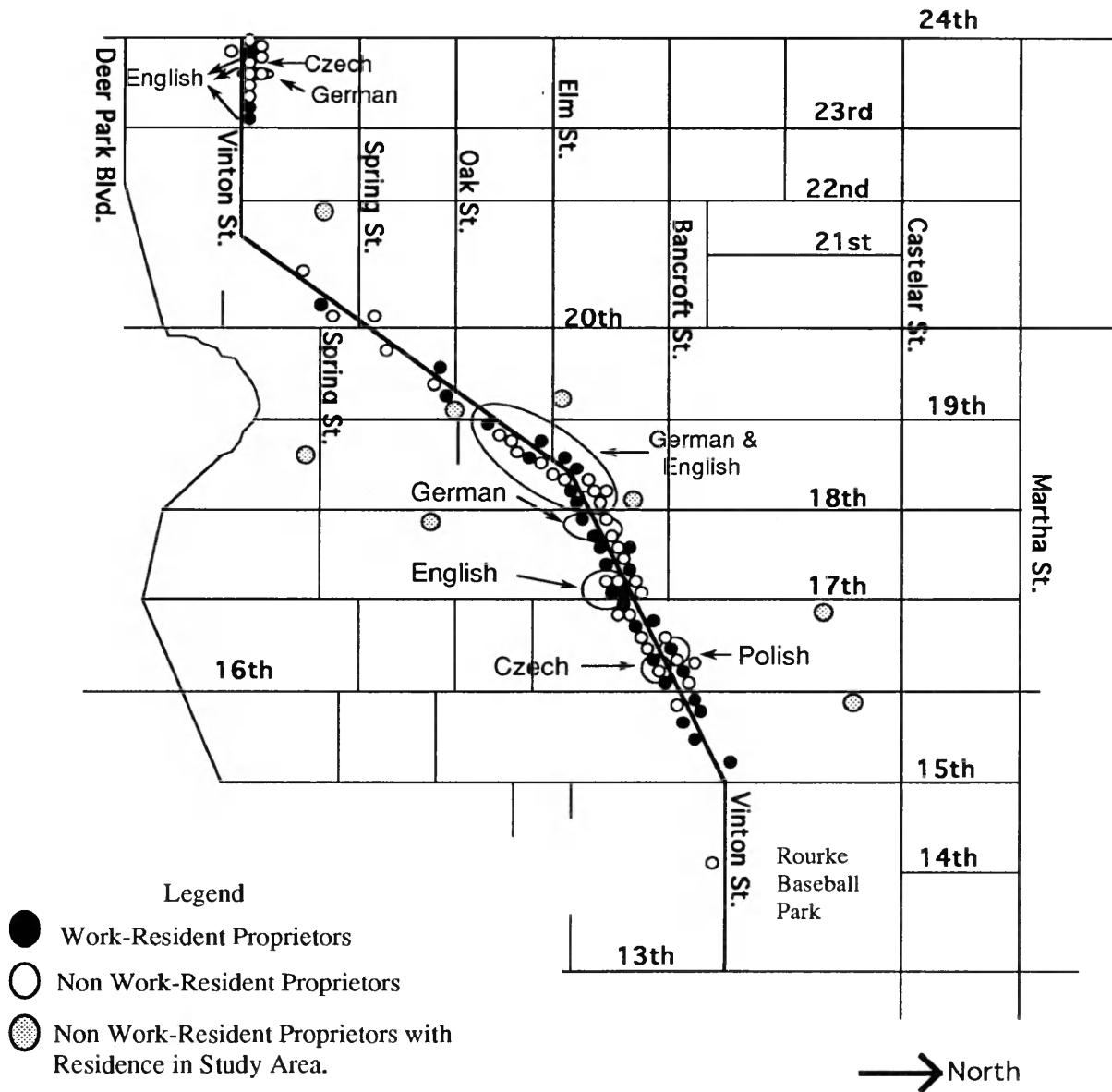
Centrographic Measures

Unlike the past stages, major transportation changes took place between the early "Pre-Maximal Stage" and the late "Pre-Maximal Stage," with the introduction of the automobile and expansion of streetcar routes. In spite of having the possibility for more transportation mobility, the mean distance proprietors traveled to work along Vinton Street was 0.48 of a mile. This distance, almost half a mile, was slightly more than any past period, and suggests that a majority of the proprietors still lived and worked at the same address or walked a short distance to work from within the local neighborhood.

As previously assumed, many proprietors lived and worked at the same address. In fact, in this period thirty-three

Figure 42

Ethnic Clusters and Location of Proprietors on Vinton Street and Study Area: 1931



Source: Polk, R.L. Polk's Omaha City Directory 1931. Kansas City: R.L. Polk, 1931. Omaha City Planning, 1989.

or 42.8 percent of all business owners lived and worked at the same address. This was an increase of thirteen work-resident proprietors since the early part of the "Pre-Maximal Stage" and a gain of twenty-five since the "Infant Stage." Thus, even though faster and more mobile transportation means were available to business owners, many remained in the neighborhood area, near their workplace, on Vinton Street.

Ethnicity of these work-resident proprietors was fairly evenly distributed among the nationalities represented in Table 19. For example, there were eight English work-resident proprietors, four Scottish, German and unknown groups and three Jewish work-resident business owners. The remaining ethnic proprietors who lived and worked on Vinton Street were Italians, Czech, Polish, Irish, French and Welsh. So, the overall ethnic dominance of the work-resident proprietors along the ribbon paralleled the ethnicity of the neighborhood.

In this same period, forty-six or 59.7 percent of all the proprietors journeyed less than a half mile to work on Vinton Street. This was an increase of eight proprietors who lived within a half mile of work; however, the ratio of work-residents on Vinton Street dropped by over ten percentage points. In other words, the relative importance of the work-residents on Vinton Street declined, even though the absolute number of work-residents increased.

In contrast, further investigation of the centographic measures revealed that the farthest distance a proprietor traveled to work was 3.96 miles. This proprietor was of

Italian ethnicity who lived at 1908 Corby in North Omaha and was the owner of a shoe repair shop at 2306 Vinton in the western mini-ribbon cluster. Compared to the other farthest distances traveled to work, the 3.96 miles in the late "Pre-Maximal Stage" ranked second overall to the 6.38 miles in the early "Pre-Maximal Stage."

Equally important, the mean distance journeyed to work in the "Pre-Maximal Stage" increased to from 0.36 to 0.48 of a mile. This distance of about a half mile increased approximately one block since the early "Pre-Maximal Stage" and was the largest mean distance traveled to work recorded in any stage. Thus, as the study proceeded, the centographic measures, such as the mean and maximum distances gradually increased, indicating the proprietors were becoming more geographical mobile. Yet, these statistics continued to support the fact that many proprietors still lived and served the neighborhood surrounding Vinton Street.

To sum up, in the late "Pre-Maximal Stage" the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon passed through a study area with twenty-two different nationalities including the "unknown" category. This total represented the most numerous and diverse ethnic groups in the region to date. However, the ethnicity of the neighborhood surrounding Vinton Street in late "Pre-Maximal Stage" remained predominantly German and English. Likewise, the Vinton Street artery was considered a secondary German ribbon with several minor ethnic influences and thirty-three work-residents. On average, the proprietors traveled 0.48 of a mile to work and this distance was the largest mean distance recorded for any stage thus far.

As a result, Vinton Street was a secondary German ethnic retail ribbon crossing a German neighborhood where many proprietors worked and lived.

Maximal Stage: 1932 - 1951

By the middle of the twentieth century, 1951, the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon had established itself as an important commercial artery serving the surrounding neighborhood and Omaha. Even though business growth had declined for the first time in its seventy-plus-years of existence, smaller, one-item specialized service stores continued to thrive in areas where 11.71 percent of its population was from foreign countries as published by the Bureau of Census. Comparatively, this 11.71 percent was over four percent more than Omaha's total foreign population of 7.63 percent, suggesting that the study region was more ethnic than other parts of Omaha. (It should be noted that the remaining stages make use of the decennial censuses and census tract maps to determine the foreign stock of the study area in comparison to the Dictionary of Surnames used in 1890 and 1930).

In this "Maximal Stage" the foreign stock situation for the area surrounding Vinton Street underwent some changes likely attributed to immigration patterns after World War II and perhaps were due to the changes in sources. For instance, the main groups in this period were the Czechs with 24.2 percent and the Italians with 22.2 percent of the study region, the highest percentages either group reached during the study. In fact, this marked the first time neither the

English nor the Germans were the major ethnic groups in the region. These groups were followed by Germans at 15.4, Polish at 6.5 and Austrians at 6.2 percent as the only groups representing more than five percent. In total, these five groups combined for 74.5 percent of the ethnicity found in the study area (Table 20). Besides these five, other foreign groups representing the remaining 25.5 percent included the Danish, Swedish, Hungarian, Russian, ("Other" Canadians), English and Welsh, Yugoslavians, Irish, Mexican, Asians, Greeks, Dutch, Norwegians, Finnish, Lithuanians, Rumanians, French Canadians and Scottish.

As indicated by the 1950 Census, the area surrounding Vinton Street had twenty-three different foreign groups in the "Maximal Stage." This total does not include, for example, the nationalities found, in the "Other Europe" or "Canadian (Other)" categories. Compared to past periods, these twenty-three groups were three more than in the late "Pre-Maximal Stage," and six more than the "Infant Stage." As a result, the foreign composition in the "Maximal Stage" continued its gradual increase in ethnic diversity by reporting three more groups than in the previous period (Table 20).

Further examination of the foreign composition found major differences between the late "Pre-Maximal" and the "Maximal" stages. In fact, the composition differed by approximately 33.0 percent or one-third. For example, there were eight ethnic groups from the late "Pre-Maximal Stage" that were not in the "Maximal Stage." These seven groups included the Jewish, French, Spanish, Frisian, Flemish,

TABLE 20
ETHNICITY OF THE STUDY REGION: 1951

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Ethnic Total</u>	<u>Percent Ethnic</u>
1. Czech	230	24.2
2. Italian	210	22.2
3. German	146	15.4
4. Polish	62	6.5
5. Austrian	59	6.2
6. Danish	34	3.6
7. Swedish	29	3.1
8. Hungarian	27	2.8
9. Other Europe	26	2.7
10. Mexican	16	1.7
11. U.S.S.R.	16	1.7
12. Canadian (other)	15	1.6
13. ^a English & Welsh	14	1.5
14. Yugoslavian	13	1.4
15. Irish	12	1.3
16. Not Reported	8	0.8
17. Asian	7	0.7
18. Greek	5	0.5
19. Dutch	4	0.4
20. Norwegian	4	0.4
21. Finnish	3	0.3
22. Other American	3	0.3
23. Lithuanian	2	0.2
24. Rumanian	2	0.2
25. Canadian (French)	1	0.1
26. <u>Scottish</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.1</u>
^bTotal	949	99.9*
^cU.S.-born	8,099	88.29
Foreign-born	949	10.23

Source: 1950 United States Census of Population, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, G.P.O., Washington D.C., 1952.

* Number does not equal 100.0 percent due to rounding.

^a English represents foreign-born or U.S.-born with parents born in England.

^b Figures reflect only ethnicity (foreign stock) of study area and does not include U.S.-born.

^c Figures represent population that is only U.S.-born or persons of U.S. parentage.

Portuguese and Swiss. Again, some of these differences are probably related to the fact that two different sources were used in these stages.

On the other hand, ten different nationalities were added

to the "Maximal Stage" that were not apparent in the "Pre-Maximal Stage." These ten were the Austrian, Hungarian, Canadian (French and Other), Yugoslavians, Mexican, Asian, Finnish, Lithuanians and Rumanians. Out of these ten, the Yugoslavians, Lithuanians and the Rumanians were not mentioned in any of the past stages. Thus, some substantial changes in the foreign composition between the late "Pre-Maximal" and the "Maximal" stages occurred.

Other changes saw the Czechs and Italians increase their representation by 16.8 and 17.4 percent respectively. Of course, these were the largest increases documented from the late "Pre-Maximal Stage" to the "Maximal Stage," possibly because of the differences in sources. Interestingly, the Italians finally made an impact on the region, although it was thirty years later than the immigration shift from western Europe to southern Europe in the early 1900's. Likewise, this could be said for those ethnic groups found in the ever-changing boundaries of eastern Europe where the Czech, Polish, Hungarians and Austrians increased and decreased periodically throughout all stages.

Conversely, several ethnic groups lost part of their representation in the region. The English, German and Irish groups declined significantly by 20.9, 9.5 and 5.8 percent between the late "Pre-Maximal" and the "Maximal" stages. As for the remaining nationalities, their changes did not impact the region as much as those mentioned above. Thus, the ethnic "mosaic" of the "Maximal Stage" changed considerably from the past periods, but still reflected the main composition found in Vinton Street's "Early Stage."

Ethnic Composition of Proprietors Along the
Vinton Street Retail Ribbon

Nationalities of the proprietors along the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon in the "Maximal Stage" characterized the patterns documented in the past stages. As typically reported, the English and German groups dominated the ethnicity of the business owners on the artery, and this stage revealed the same.

During the twenty-year period between the late "Pre-Maximal Stage" and the "Maximal Stage" the English superseded the Germans with the most proprietors found on the ribbon. The English had thirteen business operators at 19.6 percent compared to the Germans with ten proprietors at 15.2 percent. These thirteen proprietors represented the least number of owners for a top group besides the totals in the first two stages. However, an exception should be noted, in that the unknown category actually had the largest total with fifteen "unknown" proprietors for 22.7 percent (Table 21). Such may be a result from the decline of immigrants and an increase in Anglo-American owners on the ribbon.

Additionally, other ethnic proprietors noted along the retail ribbon included the Czech with six at 9.1 percent, the Irish, Norwegian and Swedish with four each at 6.1 percent, the Jewish and Polish with three or 4.5 percent apiece, the Italians with two at 3.0 percent and the Danish and Frisian with one each at 1.5 percent (Table 21). Hence, the top three or four ethnic proprietor groups maintained their similarities to those noted in the past several stages, except, of course, for the "unknown" category.

As previously noted, the nationalities of the retail ribbon proprietors for the "Maximal Stage" still reflected the immigration pattern from western Europe with some eastern and southern European influences. So, even though the ethnic composition of the study area changed substantially compared to past periods, the proprietors' ethnicity on Vinton Street continued to be from the western European countries of England and Germany.

Consistent with the late "Pre-Maximal Stage," the ethnic "mosaic" of the proprietors in this "Maximal Stage" contained eleven groups. The principal groups along Vinton Street for proprietors were the English and German. These two combined for 34.8 percent, which was the lowest consolidated total for the two groups thus far. The ethnic composition of the remaining proprietors on Vinton Street included the Czech, Irish, Norwegian, Swedish, Jewish, Polish, Italian, Danish and Frisian.

At the same time, there were some changes in the ethnic proprietors along the retail ribbon. For instance, the "Maximal Stage" gained ethnic proprietors representing Norwegians, Danish and Frisian and lost the Scottish, French and Welsh ethnic business owners. So, in summary, like past stages, the English and German proprietors maintained their dominance, although their importance began to diminish.

Ethnic Concentrations Along the Vinton Street Ribbon

By the "Maximal Stage," the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon had become an established and visible artery serving those

TABLE 21
ETHNICITY OF PROPRIETORS ALONG
VINTON STREET RETAIL RIBBON: 1951

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Number of Proprietors</u>	<u>Percent Proprietors</u>
1. N/A	15	22.7
2. English**	13	19.6
3. German	10	15.2
4. Czech	6	9.1
5. Irish	4	6.1
6. Norwegian	4	6.1
7. Swedish	4	6.1
8. Jewish**	3	4.5
9. Polish	3	4.5
10. Italian	2	3.0
11. Danish	1	1.5
12. <u>Frisian</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1.5</u>
Total	66	99.9*

Source: Polk's 1951 Omaha City Directory.

Patrick Hanks and Flavia Hodges, Dictionary of Surnames, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.

* Number does not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

** Figures are based on surnames that may be inconsistent as ethnic indicators and may be anglicized, especially for the English and Jewish. Also, by using surnames no U.S.-born or persons of U.S. parentage could be compiled.

in the immediate neighborhood and Omaha. However, for the first time in the study, business growth declined along the ribbon as Omaha expanded along major arteries such as Dodge, Center and Seventy-second streets, to name a few. The largest business declines were located in the core area from Sixteenth to Twentieth and Vinton, yet this region still embraced over 70.0 percent of all operating businesses, and remained a compact and ethnically diverse ribbon.

Analysis in the principal ribbon area, from Sixteenth to Twentieth and Vinton, found all eleven ethnic groups listed in Table 21. As noted in past periods, the prevailing pro-

prietors were of English and German ancestry. For instance, the English had eleven proprietors at 19.0 percent and the Germans had eight business owners at 13.8 percent. The other ethnic proprietors along the ribbon included the Czech, Swedish and Irish with four at 6.9 percent, the Jewish and Norwegians with three for 5.1 percent, and the Danish, Frisian, and Italians with one apiece at 1.7 percent. So, like the late "Pre-Maximal Stage," no ethnic group in the core ribbon area represented a percentage over 30.0 to establish this zone as a specific primary ethnic ribbon.

Moreover, and unexpectedly, no ethnic group in this area contained enough single representation of over twenty percent to consider this artery as a specific secondary ethnic ribbon. In other words, in the principal region along Vinton Street no definite ethnic group of proprietors clustered enough to represent a primary or secondary ethnic ribbon. Thus, the main ribbon area, although influenced by the English and Germans, became ethnically diverse in terms of the equalization of numbers and groups.

In spite of this gradual decline in specific ethnic dominance, several minor intra-ribbon ethnic clusters were discovered in the principal business region on Vinton Street. This area, for example, was represented by five English proprietors between Eighteenth and Nineteenth and Vinton, three Norwegians clustered near Seventeenth and Vinton and three German business owners between Seventeenth and Eighteenth and Vinton.

To the west, in the mini-ribbon area from Twenty-third to

Twenty-fourth and Vinton, three secondary ethnic ribbon clusters were noted. In this small zone of eight operating businesses, the secondary ethnic clusters were the Czech, English, and German proprietors with two stores each at 25.0 percent. The remaining ethnic proprietors with one establishment each were Norwegian and Italian. Thus, this mini-ribbon area in this "Maximal Stage" was comprised of small secondary Czech, English and German clusters, unlike the late "Pre-Maximal Stage" with its primary English prominence (Figure 43).

At the same time, the ethnicity patterns of the proprietors on the entire artery paralleled the core area. For example, the most noteworthy ethnic groups for both regions were the English and Germans. However, neither group of proprietors totaled enough representation to be considered a specific ethnic primary, nor a distinct ethnic secondary ribbon for the entire ribbon. As a result, the ethnicity patterns of the proprietors along the entire length of Vinton Street in this "Maximal Stage" were more dispersed and diverse than in any previous stage.

In conclusion, the gradual decline of the previously dominant ethnic groups along the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon was repeated in this "Maximal Stage." In fact, this was the first time in the study that the entire ribbon did not contain sufficient percentages to represent a primary or secondary ethnic clusters along the ribbon, even though there were some strong English and German influences. Thus, in the "Maximal Stage," the ethnic groups on the ribbon continued to stabilize in number and groups, and the ethnic con-

centrations were not as apparent.

Centrographic Measures

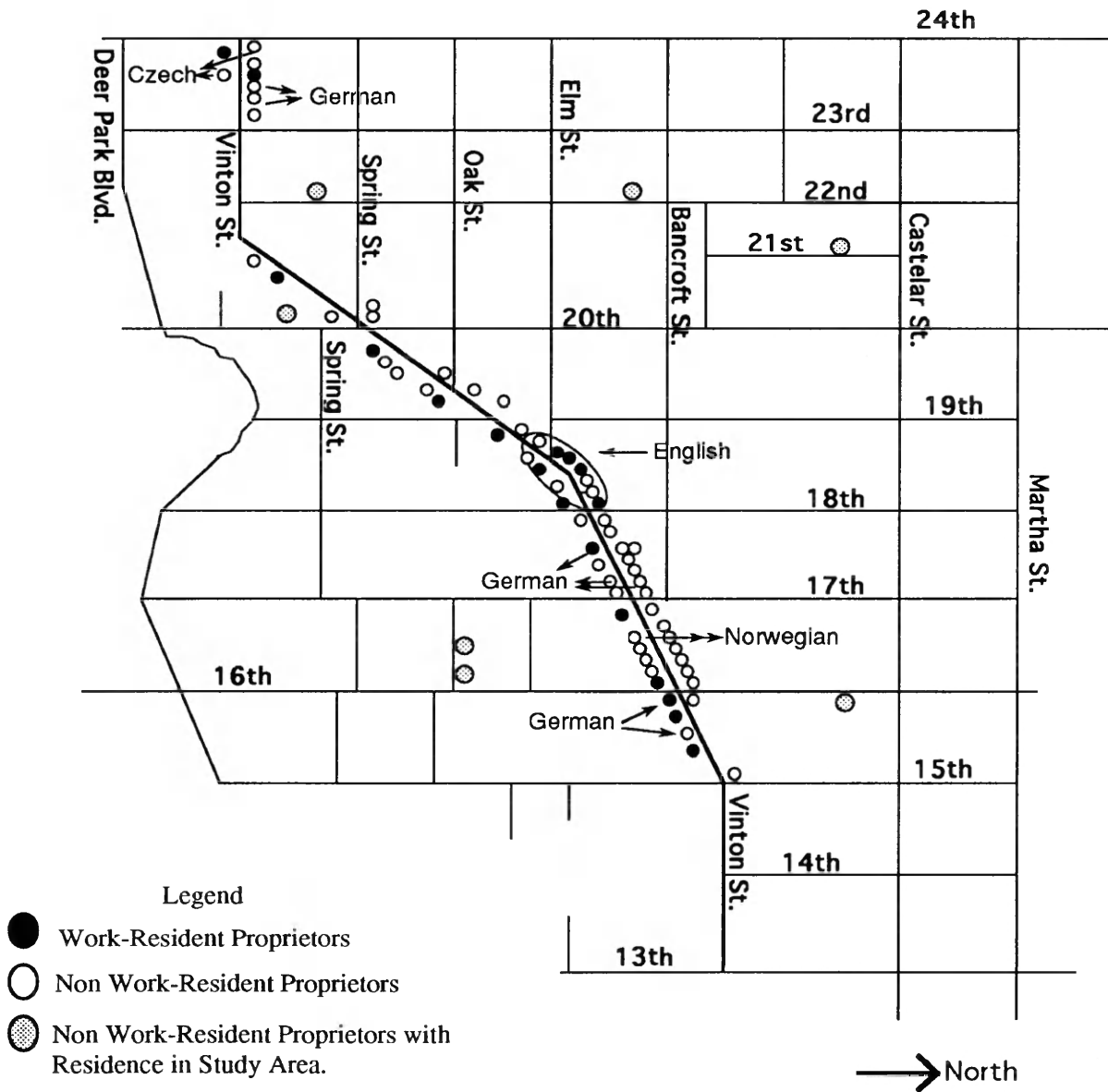
In earlier stages, the principal transportation types were the foot, horse and streetcar, but by the "Maximal Stage" the primary mode of transportation became the automobile. The automobile, because of the affordability, mobility and independence it gave the operator, ultimately affected the mean distance proprietors journeyed to work from their residences. As a consequence, the mean distance a business owner traveled to work on the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon increased to 2.94 miles; a distance five times more than any past period.

While this is true, eighteen proprietors still lived on the Vinton artery. These eighteen accounted for 27.1 percent of all business owners who lived and operated a business at the same address (Figure 43). Yet this total marked a substantial decrease of fifteen work-resident proprietors since the late "Pre-Maximal Stage." More than likely this decrease in the number of work-resident proprietors can be attributed to the accessibility of the automobile.

Further analysis of the centrographic statistics indicated that the maximum distance a proprietor journeyed to work in this stage was 5.41 miles. This was an English proprietor who lived at 115 North 54th Street and traveled 5.41 miles to operate the Nelsie Topp's Shop. This distance was approximately one and a half miles more than in the late "Pre-Maximal Stage," and about mile less than in the early "Pre-Maximal Stage."

Figure 43

Ethnic Clusters and Location of Proprietors on Vinton Street and Study Area: 1951



Source: Polk, R.L. Polk's Omaha City Directory 1951. Kansas City: R.L. Polk, 1951.
Omaha City Planning, 1989.

For the most part, the ethnicity of the work-resident proprietors on Vinton Street in the "Maximal Stage" was similar to the previous sections of this study. For example, the English had six, the Germans had four and the Jewish had three work-resident proprietors located on the ribbon. All the other nationalities with only one work resident proprietor were the Czech, Irish, Italian, Norwegian, Polish and Swedish. In addition, all the Jewish and almost half of the English business owners lived and worked on the artery.

Not surprisingly, the number of proprietors traveling less than half a mile to work along the Vinton Street artery also decreased substantially since the late "Pre-Maximal Stage." In the "Maximal Stage" twenty-six or 39.4 percent of the proprietors journeyed less than a half mile to work, down more than 20.0 percent from the late "Pre-Maximal Stage." Over 60.0 percent of the business owners traveled more than a half mile to work. Thus, for the first time, a majority of the proprietors traveled more than a half mile to work, reversing all patterns reported in the first three stages, when nearly all the proprietors lived within a half a mile of their businesses.

To sum up, in the "Maximal Stage" Vinton Street passed through a more ethnically diverse neighborhood with twenty-two groups. For the first time, the principal group for the region was not the Germans or English, but the Czechs and Italians. However, this change was not prominent among the eleven ethnic group proprietors located on the ribbon as the English and Germans continued their business dominance with 19.6 and 15.2 percent respectively. (The former figure may

indicate Anglo-American influence.) Likewise, there was not enough single proprietor ethnic representation to consider Vinton Street a primary or secondary ethnic retail ribbon. Additionally, eighteen or 27.1 percent of the proprietors worked and lived on the ribbon. Furthermore, the mean distance a proprietor traveled to work was 2.94 miles, approximately five times greater than any other period and 60.6 percent of these journeyed over a half a mile to work along Vinton Street.

As a result, Vinton Street passed through a Czech-Italian area where the proprietors continued to be English and German despite their gradual decline in importance along the artery, and the mean distance a business operator traveled to work in this stage increased beyond the boundaries of the study area and neighborhood.

Post Maximal Stage: 1952 - 1989

Mid Post Maximal Stage: 1970

In 1970, the established, older Vinton Street Retail Ribbon continued its operating business decline like several other intra-city retail ribbons in Omaha. Many businesses such as Joe's Grocery store still reflected the older "ma-pa store," while at the same time national store chains like Safeway supermarkets, Century hardware stores and Standard gas stations entered the ribbon. During this time, the foreign population of Omaha declined to 3.1 percent, although census tracts 20 and 24 that crossed the study area reported the foreign-born population of the area to be 7.4 percent

TABLE 22
ETHNICITY OF THE STUDY REGION: 1970

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Ethnic Total</u>	<u>Percent Ethnic</u>
1. German	450	26.1
2. Italian	339	19.6
3. Polish	282	16.3
4. Czech	240	13.9
5. Austria	133	7.7
6. Other American	118	6.8
7. ^a English (United Kingdom)	52	3.1
8. Irish	26	1.5
9. Canadian	25	1.5
10. Swedish	23	1.3
11. Mexican	22	1.3
12. Hungarian	11	0.6
13. <u>Russian</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>0.3</u>
^bTotal	1,727	100.0
^cU.S.-born	5,057	74.6
Foreign Stock	1,727	25.4

Source: 1970 United States Census of Population, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, G.P.O., Washington D.C., 1971.

^a English represents foreign-born or U.S.-born with parents born in England.

^b Figures reflect only ethnicity (foreign stock) of study area and does not include U.S.-born.

^c Figures represent population that is only U.S.-born or persons of U.S. parentage.

and a foreign stock population of 25.4 percent (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1970). In addition, 25.4 percent of the population was either native-foreign, mixed-parentage or foreign-born (U.S. Census Bureau, 1970). Thus, the study area remained more ethnic than Omaha as a whole.

The principal foreign group in the mid "Post-Maximal Stage" in the study area was German. Germans accounted for 26.1 percent of the foreign population. They were followed

by the Italians with 19.6 percent, the Polish at 16.3 percent and the Czechs with 13.9 percent. Combined, these four nationalities represented more than 74.0 percent of the ethnicity in the area. Conversely, the remaining eight groups represented 24.1 percent of the foreign population. These groups included the Austrians, "Other Americans (Central and South American countries)," English (United Kingdom), Irish, Canadians, Swedish, Mexicans, Hungarians and Russians (Table 20).

In total, there were thirteen distinct foreign groups recorded in 1970. This represented a decrease of nine groups since the "Maximal Stage," and a decline of four from the "Infant Stage" or 1889. Thus, in the mid "Post-Maximal Stage" the foreign population of the region represented the lowest number of different foreign groups in the study thus far.

The remaining sections of the mid "Post-Maximal Stage" which includes the Ethnicity of the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon, Ethnic Concentrations Along the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon and Centrographic Measures were excluded by uncontrollable circumstances. These sections were not included because the proprietor surnames were not listed in the 1971 Polk's Omaha City Directory as in the previous years. As a result, there was no means to find the proprietors' surnames to determine the ethnicity of the business owners using Hanks and Hodges Dictionary of Surnames, or determine the residence of the proprietors for centrographic measures. Thus, these parts were bypassed as the study continues with the late "Post Maximal Stage."

Late Post Maximal Stage: 1989

Over one hundred years since its beginning, the Vinton Street artery has endured as a significant commercial and social ribbon for the people in the surrounding neighborhood and Omaha. At the same time, the operating businesses in the late "Post Maximal Stage" along the ribbon continued their gradual decline since peaking in the "Maximal Stage." Likewise, specialized smaller businesses continued to cover the older ribbons in Omaha. Many mall or multi-store squares with chain stores like Baker's Supermarkets, Hallmark Cards, Walgreens and others evolved along major arteries in new housing areas or along older arteries of Omaha where land was available such as Twenty-fourth and Vinton. However, in the neighborhoods surrounding the established intra-city arteries, such as Vinton Street, the ethnic "mosaic" of the population continued to be more ethnically rooted and an important factor than in the suburban areas.

For example, as shown in census tracts 20 and 24, the Vinton Street neighborhood had a foreign-born population of 5.9 percent while Omaha as a whole was only 3.2 percent (U.S. Census, 1980). In this area twelve distinct nationalities were represented, not including the catch-all category, "other." Compared to previous periods, these twelve groups were twelve fewer than the "Maximal Stage" and represented the smallest total of foreign population along the ribbon for the entire study. In other words, the foreign composition in the late "Post Maximal Stage" surrounding the

Vinton Street was not as diverse as past stages.

Ethnically speaking, the composition differed significantly between the "Maximal Stage" or 1951 and the late "Post Maximal Stage." Within this thirty-eight year period over 50.0 percent of the ethnic diversity integrated into the population. For example, there were only two new nationalities that were not documented in the "Post Maximal Stage," and they were the French and Ukrainians.

On the other hand, twelve foreign groups reported in 1951 were not found in the 1980 census. Those twelve groups included the Czechs, Austrians, Russians, Canadians, Yugoslavians, Mexicans, Asians, Greeks, Finns, Lithuanians, Rumanians, and French Canadians. However, many of these differences occurred because the census bureau questions and categories on the census forms were altered and changed between these decades. Thus, the variations between the two stages were attributed to the documenting procedures used by the census bureau, and not to actual nativity changes.

Nevertheless, in the late "Post Maximal Stage" the most popular nationality, besides the "Other" category with 29.6, percent was the Germans. Germans represented 23.6 percent of the total population covered by the census tracts. Following the Germans were the Italians at 10.9 percent, Polish at 10.6 percent, Irish at 9.6 percent and English at 9.3 percent. As in past stages, these top five groups dominated the region, something they have done since this study commenced (Table 23). Other ethnic groups included the Swedish with 2.4 percent, French at 1.8 percent, Ukrainians with 0.7 percent, Hungarians with 0.6 percent, Norwegians at

TABLE 23
ETHNICITY OF THE STUDY REGION: 1980

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Ethnic Total</u>	<u>Percent Ethnic</u>
1. "Other"	843	29.6
2. German	671	23.6
3. Italian	310	10.9
4. Polish	302	10.6
5. Irish	274	9.6
6. ^a English	266	9.3
7. Swedish	68	2.4
8. French	50	1.8
9. Ukrainian	19	0.7
10. Hungarian	18	0.6
11. Norwegian	12	0.4
12. Dutch	8	0.3
13. <u>Scottish</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>0.2</u>
^bTotal	2,846	100.0
^cU.S.-born	5,490	94.1
Foreign-born	339	5.9

Source: 1980 United States Census of Population, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, G.P.O., Washington D.C., 1981.

^a English represents English foreign-born or U.S.-born persons with parents born in England.

^b Figures only reflect single ancestry (foreign stock) of study area.

^c Figures represent population that is only U.S.-born or persons of U.S.-born parents.

0.4 percent, Dutch at 0.3 percent and the Scottish at 0.2 percent (Table 23).

The largest increases between the mid "Post Maximal Stage" and the late "Post Maximal Stage" occurred in the the Irish and German ethnic groups. These groups increased their representation by 8.4 percent and 7.9 percent, respectively. Besides these two groups, the Polish and English also increased their noteworthiness in the study area.

Conversely, several ancestry groups decreased in their representation within the area surrounding Vinton Street. Those nationalities that lost more than 5.0 percent included the Czechs, Italians and Austrians. Other than these significant changes, the ethnicity of the region remained similar to the previous stages. In fact, for the most part, the five or six principal groups of the study area (Germans, English, Polish, Czech and Austrian-Bohemians, Swedish and Italians) in the "Infant Stage" persevered to play a significant role in the Vinton Street neighborhood into the late "Post Maximal Stage." Thus, several ethnic population changes occurred within the study region over the years, but the principal nationalities or ethnic groups of the 1880's endured as the main groups into the 1980's.

Ethnic Composition of Proprietors Along the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon

Similar to all the previous stages, the leading ethnic proprietors along Vinton Street in 1989 or the late "Post Maximal Stage" were defined as Germans and English. The German proprietors had nine or 24.3 percent, and surpassed the English business owners with five or 13.5 percent as the principal group on Vinton Street (Table 24). Also, the ethnic diversity of proprietors only numbered ten, the smallest total since 1889 or the "Infant Stage." (It should be noted that nineteen businesses listed in the Polk's Omaha City Directory did not respond to the telephone interview because the business was no longer operating or the person was unable to answer the question.)

TABLE 24
ETHNICITY OF PROPRIETORS ALONG
VINTON STREET RETAIL RIBBON: 1989

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Number of</u> <u>Proprietors</u>	<u>Percent</u> <u>Proprietors</u>
1. German	9	24.3
2. English	5	13.5
3. Czech	4	10.8
4. Polish	4	10.8
5. Irish	3	8.1
6. Italian	3	8.1
7. Swedish	3	8.1
8. Danish	2	5.4
9. French	2	5.4
10. <u>Mexican</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5.4</u>
Total	37	99.9*

Source: Polk's 1989 Omaha City Directory.

* Number does not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

** Telephone interviews were conducted to determine the ethnicity of the proprietors on Vinton Street. In most instances, the English proprietors represented Anglo-Americans and there were twenty-one non responses.

Besides the Germans and English, there were several other ethnic groups on the Vinton Street Ribbon. Those groups included the Czechs and Polish with four business owners each at 10.8 percent, the Irish, Italian and Swedish with three each at 8.1 percent, and the Danish, French and Mexicans with two each at 5.4 percent (Table 24). As a result, the principal ethnic groups in this era reflected observations of past periods, especially for the Germans and English who were the foremost ethnic proprietor groups for all stages.

Equally important, the ethnicity of retail ribbon proprietors for the late "Post Maximal Stage" reflected earlier immigration patterns from western Europe and Scandinavia prevailing prior to 1910. Only a few nationalities from southern or eastern Europe made an impact on the ribbon.

Those few groups included the Czechs, Italians and Polish. Hence, the ribbon proprietors, and to a further extent, the study area, were predominantly influenced by the western European countries with minor notability from the Scandinavian countries and eastern and southern Europe.

The ethnic composition of the proprietors along Vinton Street totaled ten groups in the late "Post Maximal Stage." These ten different ethnic groups were the smallest total since the "Infant Stage" or 1889 and only one new group was documented since 1951 or the "Post Maximal Stage." This new ethnic group was the Mexicans. In addition, the French ethnic group gained representation on the artery for the first time since the "Pre-Maximal Stage" or 1931.

On the other hand, three proprietor nationalities along the ribbon lost representation during this stage. Those three groups included the Frisian, Jewish and Norwegian business owners. Interestingly, this was the first time in the entire study that a Jewish proprietor was not found on Vinton Street.

Ethnic Concentrations Along the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon

The established Vinton Street Retail Ribbon continued to be a viable and visible commercial retail artery not only serving those in the adjacent area, but Omaha as well. In the late "Post Maximal Stage" business activities declined for the third straight period, yet the core retail area between Sixteenth and Twentieth and Vinton remained important to the adjacent neighborhood. Even though this cluster of

establishments survived during the periods of decline, a secondary ethnic retail ribbon of German and English ethnicity emerged along the ribbon.

More in depth analysis of the principal ribbon area from Sixteenth to Twentieth and Vinton found all ten ethnic groups in Table 24 along it. The most influential proprietors remained the German and English ancestry groups. For example, the German proprietors numbered nine or 24.3 percent and the English totaled five for 13.5 percent. Other notable ethnic proprietors along the ribbon included the Czech and Polish with four or 10.8 percent, the Irish, Italian and Swedish with three at 8.1 percent, and the Danish, French and Mexicans with two proprietors each at 5.4 percent. Thus, in the late "Post Maximal Stage" no proprietor group contained enough representation in the core ribbon area to classify it as a primary ethnic ribbon, although it could be considered a multi-ethnic ribbon with strong German and English influences.

Unlike the "Maximal Stage" when the ethnicity of the ribbon proprietors did not constitute enough representation to be considered a primary or secondary ethnic proprietor ribbon, the late "Post Maximal Stage" did have enough representation to be regarded as a secondary ethnic ribbon. Not surprisingly, this ethnic group was the Germans with 24.3 percent, but the overall clustering was limited to no more than three business activities. Thus, the principal ribbon region was a secondary German proprietor ribbon with a diverse number of ethnic groups in an ethnically established region.

Further analysis of the main ribbon area uncovered no specific minor intra-ribbon ethnic business owner clusters with three or more businesses. However, there were several two-store ethnic proprietor concentrations found in the heart of the artery. Those two-store clusters were German at Sixteenth and Vinton, between Seventeenth and Eighteenth and Vinton, and at Eighteenth and Vinton and an English pocket at the Vinton and Oak Street intersection. All these locations are in the old German clusters of earlier stages. Hence, there were only a few small ethnic group clusters in this stage (Figure 44).

In the western portion of the study area, from Twenty-third to Twenty-fourth and Vinton, no ethnic proprietor clusters were noted. This small area had six operating businesses and only four answered the questions on ethnicity when interviewed. Despite this limitation, the area had four different ethnic proprietors which included the Czech, German, Mexican, and Polish groups. Therefore, this mini-ribbon portion in the late "Post Maximal Stage" did not have any ethnic concentrations, unlike the "Maximal Stage" with its small secondary Czech, English and German centers.

True to form, the ethnicity patterns of the proprietors for the entire retail ribbon matched the principal artery section. Both cases, for example, were characterized as German secondary ethnic retail ribbons with English ties. As a result, Vinton Street in the late "Post Maximal Stage" was a German secondary ethnic ribbon with ten different ethnic proprietors scattered upon it.

To sum up, the ten different ethnic groups in the late

"Post Maximal Stage" were more scattered in location than in any of the past stages on Vinton Street. All similar ethnic groups clusters were found in the core area and were small two-store German concentrations. These German pockets were located in the larger, old German ethnic clusters noted in the earlier stages. Importantly, the artery re-emerged in the late "Post Maximal Stage" as a secondary German retail ribbon with English, Czech, and Polish influences.

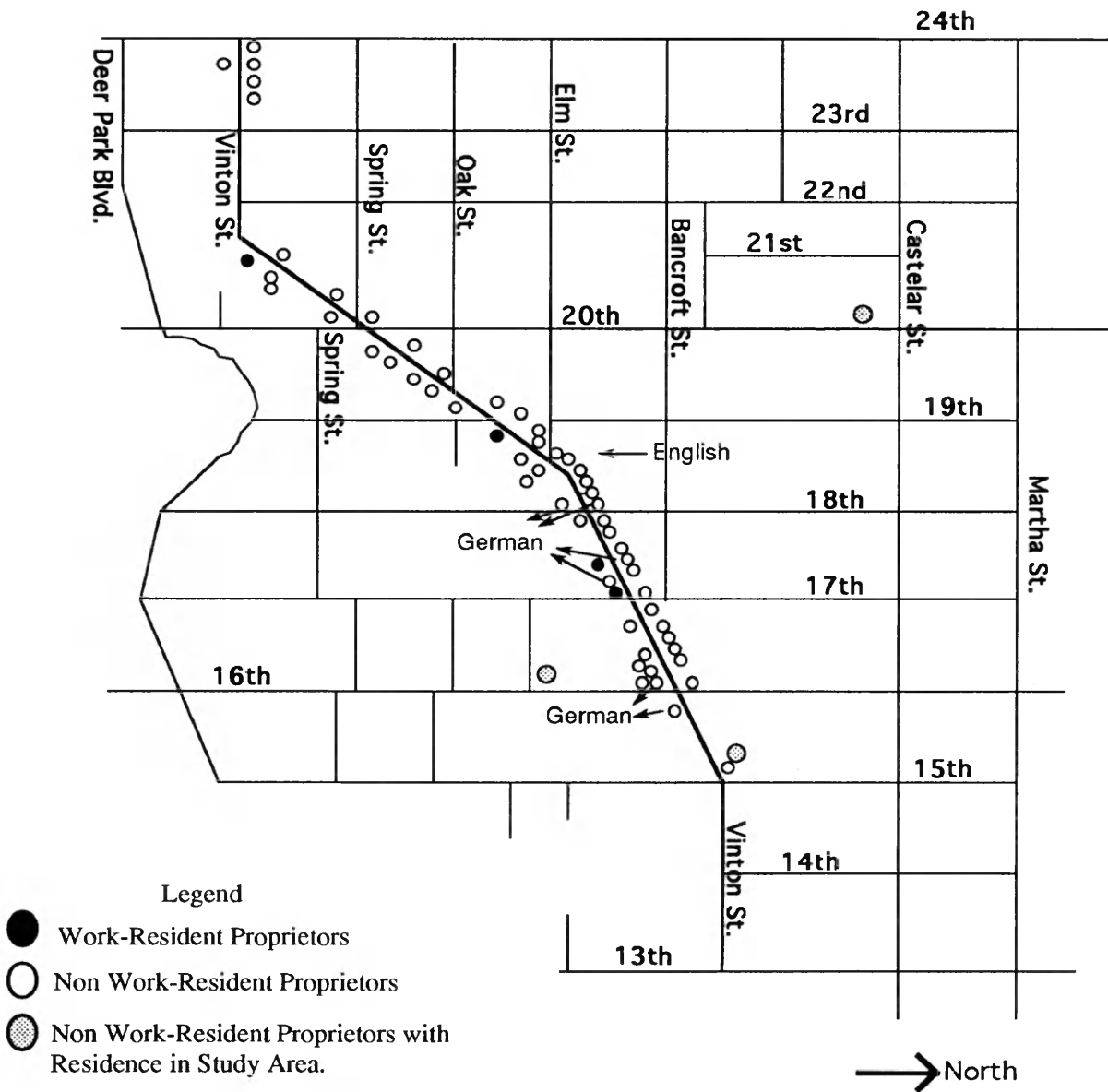
Centographic Measures

By the late "Post Maximal Stage," the primary mode of transportation was without doubt the automobile, except in intra-city areas where work was close, and bus and foot remained viable options. The automobile, with the development of the interstate system and major arteries in the Omaha Metropolitan Area, made it feasible to travel large distances to work in a short period of time. As a consequence, the mean distance a proprietor traveled to work along Vinton Street increased to 5.39 miles, almost double the "Maximal Stage." In fact, this distance equaled the distance the farthest proprietor traveled in the "Maximal Stage" to work at 5.41 miles.

At the same time, the number of proprietors residing and operating a business on Vinton Street declined to just four. These four proprietors represented the smallest total of work-resident proprietors reported for the entire study (Figure 44). It also represented a reduction of fourteen since the "Maximal Stage," a drop of twenty-nine since the

Figure 44

Ethnic Clusters and Location of Proprietors on Vinton Street and Study Area: 1989



Source: Polk, R.L. Polk's Omaha City Directory 1989. Kansas City: R.L. Polk., 1989.
Omaha City Planning, 1989.

"Pre-Maximal Stage" or 1931, and, four less than in the "Infant Stage" or 1889. As a result, this decrease in work-resident proprietors indicates the disappearing of the neighborhood artery over time.

The analysis indicates, the maximum distance any proprietor traveled to work on Vinton Street was 19.0 miles. This maximum distance the business owner journeyed was approximately three times greater than the "Maximal Stage's" greatest distance of 5.41 miles. In addition, it was a Danish proprietor who traveled the farthest distance from east of Council Bluffs on Rural Route 1 to operate the Nelson Crankshaft shop at 1945 Vinton.

Ethnicity of the four work-resident proprietors in the late "Post Maximal Stage" represented the English, Mexican and Swedish. Of these, the English had two work-resident proprietors and the others each had one. The two closest work-residents were an English proprietor and a Swedish business owner between Seventeenth and Eighteenth and Vinton. The two other work-resident proprietors lived in the western half of the ribbon and were separated by about two blocks. Thus, no ethnic, or even clustering of work-residents occurred along the artery in this period.

Furthermore, the number of proprietors traveling less than a half mile to work in the late "Post Maximal Stage" decreased to nine or 28.5 percent. Compared to the "Maximal Stage," this was a decline of nineteen neighborhood proprietors over the last thirty-eight years. On the other hand, in late "Post Maximal Stage" nine or 37.5 percent of the proprietors traveled more than five miles to work. Hence,

as the distribution of the dispersion statistic shows, there was a definite decline in the compactness or "neighborhoodness" of proprietors along Vinton Street in the late "Post Maximal Stage," or 1989.

In conclusion, the Vinton Street artery in the late "Post Maximal Stage" passed through a neighborhood with eleven ethnic groups which represented the smallest total for any stage of this study. Once again, the primary ancestry group for the study area was the Germans followed by the Italians, Polish, Irish and English. For the most part, these are the same groups that represented the proprietors which included the Germans, English, Czech, Polish, Irish, Swedish, Danish, French and Italians. Of these, the Germans represented 24.3 percent and constituted a secondary ethnic ribbon. Moreover, just four proprietors worked and lived on the ribbon and two of these were English. Further analysis of the statistics revealed that the mean distance traveled to work by a proprietor was 5.39 miles, almost twice the previous period. At the same time, only nine business owners journeyed less than half a mile, while twelve traveled over five miles to work. Thus, Vinton Street was a secondary German ribbon passing through a German area where proprietors traveled the farthest mean distance to work for any period. This travel pattern indicates that the "neighborhoodness" of proprietors declined inside the confines of the Vinton Street community.

Summary and Implications

The intent of Chapter Six was to investigate and determine the ethnicity of the study area, ethnicity of the pro-

prietors, any ethnic clustering along Vinton Street, and examine the spatiality of proprietors to attempt to delimit a practical neighborhood boundary for each of the five stages. In the following pages a review of the significant observations documented in the analysis will be summarized.

Ethnicity of Study Area

Overall, ethnicity remained noticeably consistent within the boundaries of the study area for the duration of the study as shown in Table 25. Examination of this table points out that the region began as an English and German area. As the immigration patterns changed over the decades, the area did not follow suit, but stabilized as a German ethnic region, until the "Maximal Stage" when the Czech became the most notable ethnic group in the region. However, by the late "Post Maximal Stage" the region reverted to a German-dominated area with Italian influence.

As further analysis of this table indicates, the most prominent and consistent ethnic group was the Germans. For example, the Germans endured as one of the top three ethnic groups spanning all stages and represented at least 20.0 percent of the population in all but the "Maximal Stage." Furthermore, the Germans led in ethnic representation in five of the seven periods during the years of 1900 to 1931 or "Early Stage to "Pre-Maximal Stage" with almost 40.0 percent and 1952 to 1980 or the mid "Post-Maximal Stage" to the present stage with approximately 25.0 percent.

Equally important, in 1889 or the "Infant Stage" and 1951 or the "Maximal Stage," the English and Czechs respectively

were the most documented groups in the region. As a matter of fact, the English represented 44.5 percent of the population in the study area in 1889. This percentage was recorded in the "Infant Stage" and stood as the highest reported total for the entire study. This "English" total most likely includes some anglicized surnames from the Dictionary of Surnames, and the names of many persons of English ancestry whose families had long been in America.

Although the English represented the highest percentage for any given stage, they also had the distinction of being the group that had the largest percentage decline between two stages. Not surprisingly, the decrease of 39.5 percent occurred between the "Infant Stage," when they represented the most for any particular stage at 44.5 percent, and the "Early Stage" at 5.0 percent. However, this significant decline probably occurred because two different sources were used to determine the ethnicity of the study area in these two periods.

On the other hand, during these same two stages, the largest percentage increase belonged to the Germans. Germans increased 18.4 percent between the "Infant Stage," when they represented 21.4 percent of the population, to 39.8 percent in the "Early Stage." Again, this large increase is probably attributed to the problem of using two different sources to determine ethnicity rather than the changing foreign population in the area.

In total, thirty-three different nationalities or ancestry groups were found in the study region, not including the catch-all categories such as "Other Europe," "Unknown" and

TABLE 25
ETHNICITY OF STUDY AREA: 1889 TO 1980
IN PERCENT

Ethnic							
Groups	^a1889	1900	1910	^a1931	1951	1971	1980
1.English	44.5	5.0	4.0	22.4	1.5	3.1	9.3
2.German	21.4	39.8	39.6	24.9	15.4	26.1	23.6
3.Irish	11.6	12.9	10.6	7.1	1.3	1.5	9.6
4.Swedish	6.3	10.8	6.0	4.9	3.1	1.3	2.4
5.Scottish	3.3	0.9	0.4	1.1	0.1	-	0.2
6.Jewish	2.8	-	-	4.1	-	-	-
7.Czech	2.6	-	-	7.4	24.2	13.9	-
8.Danish	2.0	9.5	11.0	0.2	3.6	-	-
9.French	1.7	0.3	0.5	1.5	-	-	1.8
10.Italian	1.1	-	1.0	4.8	22.2	19.6	10.9
11.Polish	0.7	2.0	0.3	5.8	6.5	16.3	10.6
12.Welsh	0.7	0.1	-	0.4	-	-	-
13.Dutch	0.4	0.8	0.4	0.5	0.4	-	0.3
14.Flemish	0.2	-	-	0.1	-	-	-
15.Hungarian	0.2	1.8	1.7	-	2.8	0.6	0.6
16.Norwegian	0.2	1.5	3.0	4.4	0.4	-	0.4
17.Russian	0.2	0.3	1.6	0.5	1.7	0.3	-
18.Bohemian	-	7.9	*17.6	-	-	-	-
19.Austrian	-	2.7	*17.6	-	6.2	7.7	-
20.Canadian	-	2.7	2.0	-	1.7	1.5	-
21.Swiss	-	0.8	0.3	0.1	-	-	-
22.Greek	-	-	0.3	0.5	-	-	-
23.Australian	-	-	0.1	-	-	-	-
24.Mexican	-	-	0.1	-	1.7	1.3	-
25.Spanish	-	-	-	0.5	-	-	-
26.Frisian	-	-	-	0.4	-	-	-
27.Portuguese	-	-	-	0.1	-	-	-
28.Other Europe	-	-	-	-	2.7	-	-
29.Yugoslavian	-	-	-	-	1.4	-	-
30.Asian	-	-	-	-	0.7	-	-
31.Finnish	-	-	-	-	0.3	-	-
32.Lithuanian	-	-	-	-	0.2	-	-
33.Rumanian	-	-	-	-	0.2	-	-
34.Other Americans	-	-	-	-	0.3	-	-
35.Ukrainian	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.7
36.Unknown	-	-	-	8.6	0.8	-	29.6
^bU.S.-born	-	27.3	26.1	-	88.3	74.9	94.1

Sources: 1900, 1910, 1950, 1970, and 1980 United States Census of Population, U.S.

Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, G.P.O., Washington D.C..

Hanks, Patrick and Flavia Hodges, Dictionary of Surnames. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

* Austrians and Bohemians were a combined ethnic group in 1910.

^a For 1890 and 1930 surnames were used to determine ethnicity. Thus, these percentages do not reflect anglicized surnames or U.S.-born or persons having U.S.-born parents.

^b Figures represent U.S.-born or persons having U.S.-born parents.

"Other American." Of these thirty-three, only five were noted in every stage and they represented immigration from the northern and western European countries in most instances and included the English, German, Irish, Polish and Swedish groups (Table 25).

At the same time, six ethnic groups out of the thirty-three were in all but one period. Half, or three of these groups, were from northern and western Europe which included the Dutch, Norwegian and Scots. The three other groups were from eastern and southern Europe and represented the Hungarians, Italians and Russians.

As mentioned earlier, the ethnic composition in the study area was represented by thirty-three groups. As shown in Figure 45, and Table 25, the most ethnically diverse period was the "Maximal Stage" in 1951 with twenty-four groups. In contrast to this, the least amount of diversity occurred in the late "Post Maximal Stage" or 1989 when only eleven different groups were noted.

In sum, based on the consistently large representation of the Germans in all stages, the study area was determined to be predominantly German. Of course, other ethnic groups such as the English, Irish, Swedish, Italian, Polish and Czech made an impact in the region, but not as consistently as the Germans.

Ethnicity of Proprietors

Similar to the ethnicity of the study area, the ethnicity of the proprietors along Vinton Street remained consistent throughout the thesis. For example, as shown in Table 26,

the German proprietors were the most significant group in four of the six periods, while in the other two periods the English were the most dominant group. In other words, the Germans and English were the principal groups for every stage. So, throughout the ethnicity examination of proprietors, the ribbon business owners were ascertained to be primarily German and English. However, since the ethnicity of the proprietor was determined by surnames from the Dictionary of Surnames, there tended to be a distortion in many ethnicity totals, especially in the case of the English.

Further analysis of the ribbon's ethnicity found the Germans as the most noteworthy group in the "Infant" and "Early" stages. In these first two periods the Germans represented over forty-five percent of the proprietors. Then, after the "Early Stage," the principal group became the English with 44.0 percent of the proprietor population. In each of these three stages, the percentage difference recorded between the first and second ethnic groups was at least 20.0 percent. Likewise, the percentage disparity between the second and third groups was at least 9.0 percent and reached 18.0 percent in the "Early" and "Pre-Maximal" stages. Thus, the ethnic dominance of the German and English proprietor population in the first twenty-five years along the ribbon was overwhelming (Table 26).

Since the beginning of the "Pre-Maximal Stage" and through the late "Post-Maximal Stage," the Germans and English altered as the leading proprietor group on the artery. In other words, the English were the main ethnic

TABLE 26
PROPRIETORS' ETHNICITY IN PERCENT ALONG
THE VINTON STREET RETAIL RIBBON: 1889 - 1989

Proprietors' <u>Ethnicity</u>	<u>1889</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1912</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1989</u>
Germans	47.8	45.4	24.0	18.2	15.2	24.3
English	17.4	24.2	44.0	17.5	19.6	13.5
Jewish	8.7	3.0	4.0	6.5	4.5	-
Czechs	4.3	-	-	7.8	9.1	10.8
Swedish	4.3	6.1	2.0	5.2	6.1	8.1
Norwegians	4.3	6.1	-	-	6.1	-
Scottish	4.3	3.0	2.0	6.5	-	-
French	4.3	-	-	1.3	-	5.4
Irish	-	3.0	2.0	7.8	6.1	8.1
Danish	-	3.0	6.0	-	1.5	5.4
Dutch	-	3.0	4.0	-	-	-
Italians	-	-	6.0	3.9	3.0	8.1
Polish	-	-	-	3.9	4.5	10.8
Welsh	-	-	-	1.3	-	-
Frisians	-	-	-	-	1.5	-
Mexicans	-	-	-	-	-	5.4
Not Applicable	4.3	3.0	6.0	13.0	22.7	* -

Source: Hanks and Hodges, Dictionary of Surnames. New York: Oxford
 Oxford University Press, 1988.

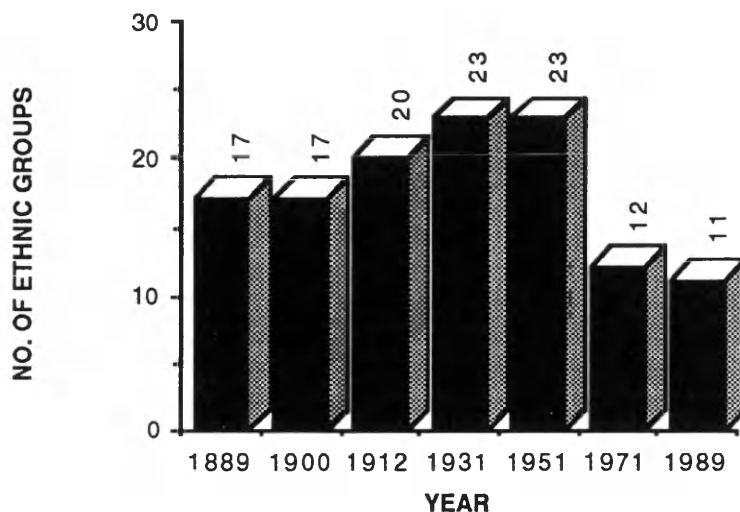
* Telephone interviews were conducted to determine ethnicity of the 1989 proprietors. However, several telephones were disconnected and a few proprietors were unwilling to participate.

** Figures are based on surnames that may be inconsistent as ethnic indicators and may be anglicized, especially for English and Jewish groups. Also, by using surnames, no U.S.-born or persons with U.S.-born parents could be compiled.

group among the business owners in the "Pre-Maximal Stage" or 1912, the Germans in the "Maximal Stage" or 1931, the English in the "Post-Maximal Stage" in 1951, and the Germans in the late "Post-Maximal Stage" or 1989.

At the same time this alternating pattern started, declines in the percentage differences between the Germans and English, and especially between the other ethnic proprietors were reported. For example, as shown in Table 26, the diff-

Figure 45
NUMBER OF ETHNIC GROUPS
IN STUDY REGION



Sources: Wolfe's Omaha City Directory 1889.

Polk's Omaha City Directories, 1931 and 1989.

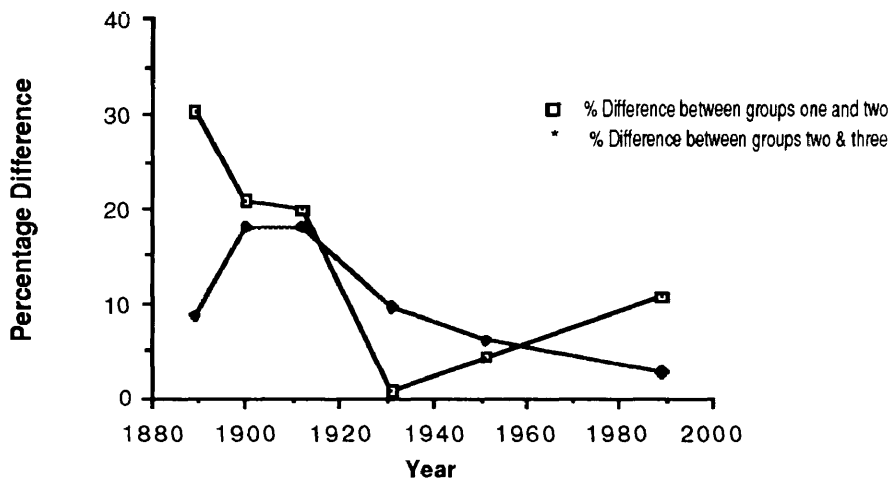
U.S. Bureau Census, 1900, 1910, 1950, 1970 and 1980 United States Census of Population, U.S. Department of Commerce, G.P.O., Washington D.C..

Hanks, Patrick and Flavia Hodges, Dictionary of Surnames. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

erence between the Germans and English was less than 10.0 percent, and the largest percentage disparity between the second and third ethnic groups was 10.5 percent.

Generally, both percentages decreased in the relative differences between the first and second, and second and third ethnic groups. To illustrate, over half the groups noted in 1989, the Czech, Swedish, Irish, Italian, Polish and Mexican, reached their highest percentage total for the study. In other words, Figure 46 indicates, as the ethnic dominance of the first and second proprietor groups de-

Figure 46
PERCENTAGE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS
ALONG VINTON STREET:
ONE AND TWO, AND, TWO AND THREE



Sources: Wolfe's Omaha City Directory 1889.
 Polk's Omaha City Directories, 1931 and 1989.
 U.S. Bureau of Census, 1900, 1910, 1950, 1970 and 1980 United States Census of Population, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, G.P.O., Washington D.C..
 Hanks, Patrick and Flavia Hodges, Dictionary of Surnames. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

creased, the other ethnic proprietor groups increased and created ethnic proprietor balance or multi-ethnicism along the ribbon.

Basically, the ethnic diversity or composition of proprietors along the ribbon was consistent from period to period. The lowest ethnic diversity of proprietors recorded for the entire study was eight in the "Infant Stage" or 1889, while the highest number for one stage was eleven in both the "Maximal Stage" or 1931 and "Post Maximal Stage" or 1951.

Hence, the difference between ethnic group proprietors from period to period along Vinton Street varied by only three (Figure 47).

Further examination of the ethnic composition of the proprietors indicates there were sixteen different ethnic business owners along the artery at one time or another. Of these sixteen groups, three, the Germans, English, and Swedish, were found along Vinton Street in every stage and in every period of the study area. Furthermore, the Irish and Jewish proprietor groups were in all but one period. Conversely, three ethnic proprietor groups were in only one period and these groups were the Frisian, Mexican and Welsh.

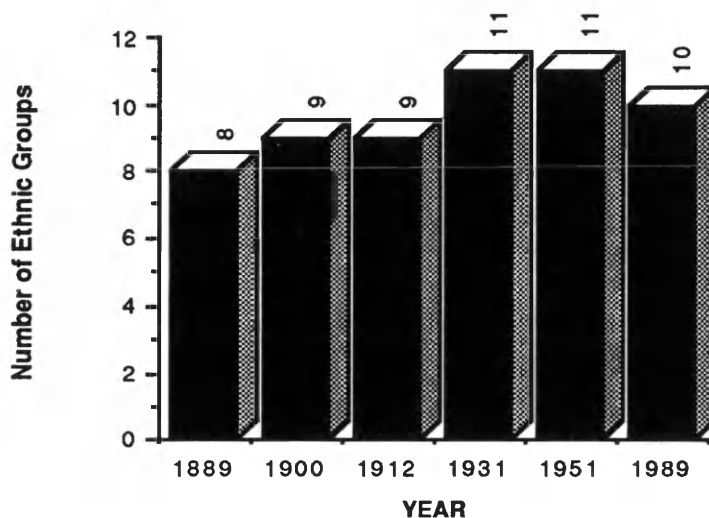
To sum up, sixteen different proprietor groups worked along the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon throughout this study. The principal groups of German and English paralleled the findings in the study region. However, the importance of the two gradually decreased over time as ethnic representation resembled a balanced or multi-ethnic mosaic.

Ethnic Concentrations Along the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon

Now that the ethnicity of the area and ribbon have been determined, it is time to summarize significant ethnic group concentrations found along Vinton Street. In addition, the classification of the ribbon as a primary or secondary ethnic ribbon will be reviewed.

Within the core area of the retail ribbon, Fifteenth to Twenty-first and Vinton or so, several important clusters were reported throughout the study. As recorded in the

Figure 47
NUMBER OF ETHNIC PROPRIETOR GROUPS
ALONG VINTON STREET



Source: Hanks, Patrick and Flavia Hodges, Dictionary of Surnames. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Wolfe's Omaha City Directory, 1889.

McAvoy's Omaha City Directories, 1900 and 1912.

Polk's Omaha City Directories, 1930, 1950, 1970 and 1989.

* Telephone interviews were conducted to determine ethnicity of the 1989 proprietors.

"Infant" and "Early" stages, the core area and the entire ribbon were considered to be mainly German with strong English influences. Furthermore, by the "Early Stage" or 1900, the English were represented by enough business owners to consider the core area, and Vinton Street, as both a primary German artery and a secondary English ribbon.

During this twenty-year period, German concentrations along Vinton Street were noted in the core area around Eighteenth and Vinton. This German area expanded from five stores in the "Infant Stage" to fourteen by the "Early

Stage." Besides this primary cluster, the Germans represented a small island at the Oak and Vinton intersection, just north of Eighteenth and Vinton. At the same time, the English clustered at Fifteenth and Sixteenth and Vinton in the "Infant Stage" and Seventeenth and Vinton during the "Early Stage."

By the early "Pre-Maximal Stage" the classification of Vinton Street and its core area changed. Instead of being categorized as primary German, the principal zone and Vinton Street changed to an English primary ribbon with secondary German influence.

Likewise, businesses started to cluster between Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth and Vinton. In this mini-ribbon area of just a block, two primary clusters representing Germans and Italians were documented. However, overall the ribbon and main business region remained English with strong German representation.

Once again, by the "Pre-Maximal Stage" or 1931, the principal ethnic clustering on the ribbon changed. In this period there was not enough ethnic representation to classify the entire ribbon as either a primary or secondary ribbon. However, within the core area, the Germans contained enough business owners to consider this region as a secondary German area. Moreover, two intra-ribbon clusters of Germans and English were noted near Eighteenth and Vinton to Oak Street, while smaller ethnic islands of two or three store clusters were located between Sixteenth and Seventeenth and Vinton. In addition, the mini-ribbon area revealed one primary and two secondary clusters of English,

Germans and Swedish. Consequently, only when Vinton Street was divided into its principal and mini-ribbon areas could Vinton Street be classified as a primary or secondary ethnic ribbon.

For the most part, the "Maximal Stage" continued the gradual decline of the primary and secondary ribbon classifications. For example, along the entire ribbon and core region not one ethnic proprietor group represented more than 20.0 percent of the total number of ethnic groups present.

Likewise, the only noteworthy clustering documented in the core zone were the English between Eighteenth and Nineteenth, the Norwegians near Seventeenth and the Germans between Eighteenth and Nineteen and Vinton. Yet, in the mini-ribbon area, from Twenty-third to Twenty-fourth and Vinton, three secondary concentrations of Czechs, English and Germans were documented. Thus, the ethnicity patterns portrayed Vinton Street as a multi-ethnic and numerically stable ribbon compared to the earlier stages of the study.

In the final or late "Post-Maximal Stage," Vinton Street re-emerged as a secondary German ethnic ribbon. This was the first time in over seventy years, or since the early "Pre-Maximal Stage," that an ethnic group represented more than 20.0 percent of the general population along the ribbon or core area. However, few ethnic concentrations were recorded along the ribbon, or in the mini-ribbon area to the west. Thus, although the ribbon re-emerged as a secondary German ethnic ribbon, the ribbon continued to stabilize as a multi-ethnic artery with less ethnic clustering.

To sum up, ethnicity of the ribbon proprietors paralleled

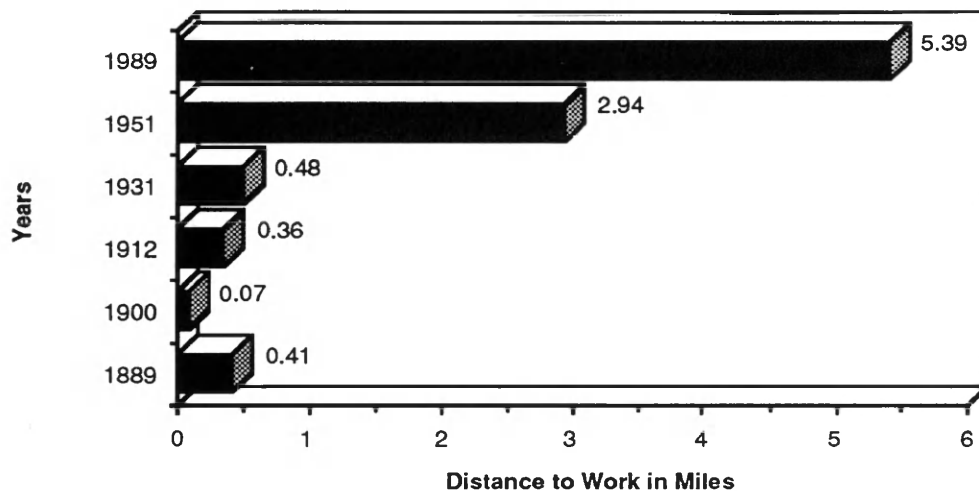
the ethnicity of the region. Similar ethnicity patterns were documented between the two sections such as the ribbon being classified as a German primary artery for two periods, then English for one period and then no ethnic group for the remainder of the study, except for the re-emergence of the Germans as a secondary ethnic ribbon in the late "Post-Maximal Stage." Thus, as the study proceeded, the strong German and English influences documented along the Vinton Street ribbon gradually transformed into more of a multi-ethnic artery with long-lasting, strong influences from the German and English groups.

Centographic Statistics

During the one-hundred plus years of this study the main modes of transportation changed dramatically from the horse, foot or streetcar to the automobile, bus and foot. This evolution of transportation is a significant factor in determining the average extent or boundaries of neighborhoods. In this section the transportation factor should be noted as the centographic statistics of the proprietors are summarized.

Except in a rare instance, the mean distance a proprietor traveled to work gradually increased over the one hundred years of this study (Figure 48). The largest increase, approximately 2.5 miles, occurred between the "Pre-Maximal Stage" and the "Post Maximal Stage." At the same time, the only decrease of 0.34 percent happened between the "Infant" and "Early" stages was when one business owner traveled a distance of 2.84 miles for that period, and skewed the re-

Figure 48
MEAN DISTANCE TRAVELED TO WORK
BY PROPRIETORS



Source: Wolfe's 1889 Omaha City Directory.

McAvoy's Omaha City Directories, 1900 and 1912.

Polk's Omaha City Directories, 1930, 1950, 1970 and 1989.

* Telephone interviews were conducted to determine ethnicity and residence of the 1989 proprietors.

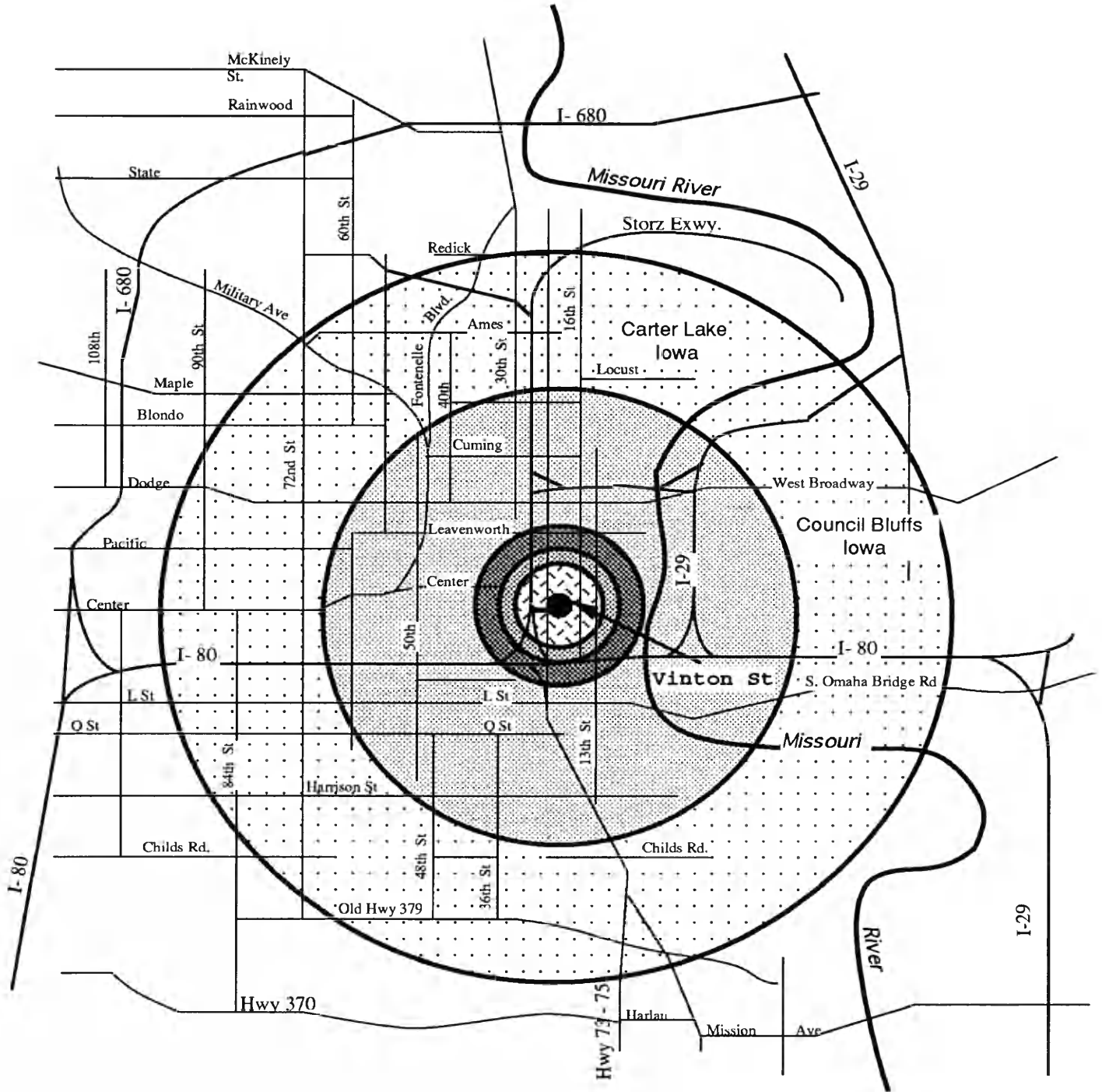
ults.

The mean distances a proprietor journeyed to work on Vinton Street during the first four periods, "Infant" to the "Pre-Maximal," were all less than a half mile. This short journey to work by the proprietors helps to show the average boundary limits of the neighborhood, its compactness and the immediate region served by Vinton Street (Figure 49). Of these four periods, the most compact stage was the "Early Stage" at 0.07 of a mile.

However, in the "Post-Maximal Stage" the mean distance a proprietor traveled to work increased to 2.94 miles. This distance was more than five times the length of the "Pre-

Figure 49

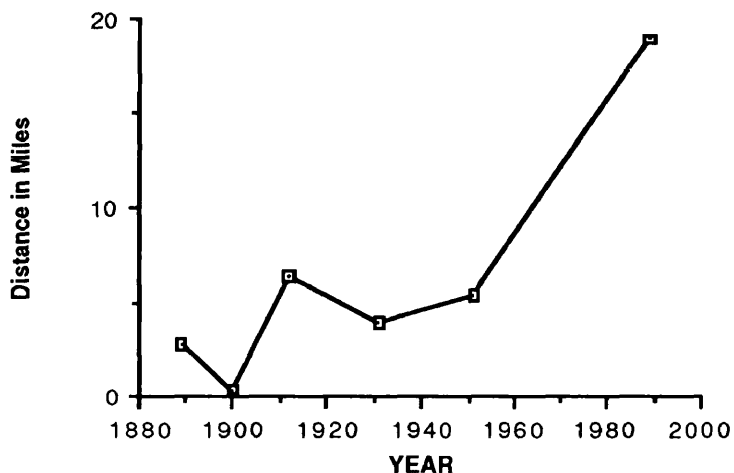
Mean Distance Traveled to Work by Proprietors: 1889 to 1989



Distance in Miles
From Eighteenth and Vinton

	1889		1900		1912		1931		1951		1989
	0.41		0.07		0.36		0.48		2.94		5.39

Figure 50
GREATEST DISTANCE TO WORK BY PROPRIETORS
1889 TO 1989



Source: Hanks, Patrick and Flavia Hodges, Dictionary of Surnames. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

* Telephone interviews were conducted to determine ethnicity and residence of the 1989 proprietors.

Maximal Stage" or any earlier period. Then, by the last period, the late "Post Maximal Stage," the mean distance a proprietor traveled to work almost doubled to 5.39 miles since 1951. So, once again, this statistic helps to show how the neighborhood expanded and disappeared as the distance the proprietor traveled to work increased beyond the boundary limits of the study area and the region served.

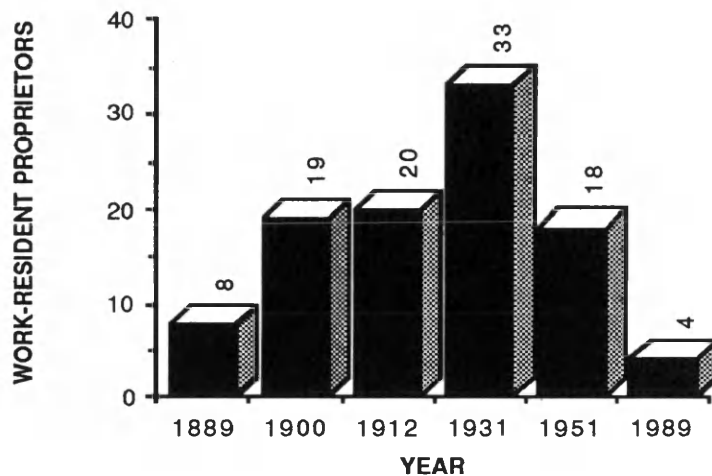
Obviously, as the mean distance rose, many proprietors traveled great distances to work, especially after 1970. The maximum distance a proprietor journeyed to work in any period was approximately 19.0 miles and this occurred in the

late "Post-Maximal Stage" or 1989. As Figure 49 indicates, with the exception of 1900, the fluctuations from 1889 - 1931 are minor, but after 1931 the mean distance jumped to almost three miles by 1951. The shortest, farthest distance of 0.40 miles was in the "Early Stage" or 1900, which also happens to be the same period in which the mean distance traveled to work by a proprietor was at its lowest or 0.07 miles (Figure 50).

In contrast to this, several proprietors for each period worked and lived at the same residence or traveled no distance at all to work. The pattern in Figure 51 displays the continual increase in the number of work-resident business owners until it peaked with thirty-three in 1931. After this peak, the pattern shows the number of work-resident proprietors declined to just four work-resident business owners by the late "Post Maximal Stage" or 1989. As a result, this pattern shows the compactness of the area in the first fifty years and the gradually dispersion in the sixty years to follow.

Furthermore, the ethnicity of the work-resident proprietors followed the ethnic patterns analyzed in the study region and ribbon sections. For example, in the first two periods the work-resident business owners were typically German; then they became English over the next twenty years, and finally changed to a pattern of multi-ethnic work-resident proprietors. Thus, the work-resident proprietors and their ethnicity are significant elements in portraying the overall development of the artery and its environs. (Figure 51). Nevertheless, with the ethnicity and statistical anal-

Figure 51

NUMBER OF WORK-RESIDENT PROPRIETORS
ALONG VINTON STREET: 1889 TO 1989

Source: Hanks, Patrick and Flavia Hodges, Dictionary of Surnames. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

* Telephone interviews were conducted to determine ethnicity and residence of 1989 proprietors.

ysis completed, this study turns its attention to Chapter Seven -- Summary, Conclusion and Implications.

Chapter Seven **Summary, Conclusion and Implications**

Analysis in this thesis focused on re-creating the historical evolution of the study area and Vinton Street, land use classification, location and changes on the artery, the ethnic situation for the study area, and, especially proprietors and the "neighborhoodness" of business owners on Vinton Street, through time. The objective was to combine these indicators and determine if Vinton Street was an Ethnic Retail Ribbon in 1889 and could it be considered one in 1989? Furthermore, if Vinton Street was and is an ethnic ribbon, should this type be added to the literature of urban retail structure in the United States? Accordingly, this final chapter summarizes the perspectives of each stage, states conclusions regarding specific objectives and proposes possible future ethnic ribbon studies within the structure of the American city.

Summary of Stages

Infant Stage: 1880 - 1889

Vinton Street initially developed within Omaha in the early 1880's along a 1200 foot ridge in an area between the central business districts of Omaha city and South Omaha city. In its infancy, this crooked artery spanned about a mile with twenty-three businesses scattered along it as isolated store clusters. These few business concentrations were found at intersections representing "single-function" land uses such as food stores and blacksmith shops that served nearby residential areas and the study region.

In this residential study area surrounding Vinton Street were seventeen different ethnic groups, mainly represented by the English, Germans, Irish and Scandinavians. This pattern was similar to greater Omaha's. However, unlike Omaha's mostly English group, the ethnicity of the Vinton Street proprietors was determined to be German. The Germans occupied small, three and four-store concentrations at Eighteenth and Vinton and at the Oak and Vinton Street intersection. On average, all proprietors traveled only 0.41 miles to work, while eight lived and worked at the same address, fourteen were within a half mile of the artery and twenty-two of the twenty-three were less than a mile away.

The Vinton Street Retail Ribbon started as small isolated "single-function" store clusters that passed through an English study area where Germans were the primary ethnic ribbon proprietors and, on average, lived less than a half mile from their businesses. Based on these factors, Vinton Street was considered to be an emerging ethnic neighborhood retail ribbon with isolated retail stores.

Early Stage: 1890 - 1900

During the "Early Stage," Vinton Street began playing a more significant role in the commercial, social and residential growth in southern Omaha. New residential subdivisions adjacent to Vinton Street were linked by three streetcar lines to labor opportunities in Omaha and other communities as businesses along the artery increased. These new establishments located next to other stores at intersections and developed, "within," or towards the middle of the block and produced "nucleated beads" in the developing core retail

area between Seventeenth and Nineteenth and Vinton. Within these distinguishable clusters in the principal arterial area similar land uses representing "single-function" stores were documented.

Likewise, in this concentrated business region, Germans again tended to be the primary ethnic proprietor group. They expanded on their business cluster noted a decade earlier from the middle of Seventeenth to Nineteenth and Vinton. Also, several English proprietors clustered at the eastern edge of the core area near Seventeenth and Vinton producing a secondary ethnic influence. Of those proprietors clustered in this area, seventeen out of a total of nineteen worked and lived at the same address. Such a concentration of proprietor-residents in the clustered area, as well as all other business owners, is apparent in the mean distance of 0.07 miles they journeyed to operate a business. As they traveled to and from work, the business owners crossed a newly established German ethnic area that revealed a "neighborhoodness" for the region.

As the decade passed, the Vinton Street artery evolved from small isolated "single-function" stores to a string of "nucleated beads" with an emerging compact retail area between Seventeenth and Nineteenth and Vinton where primarily German and secondarily English proprietors were closely related to the German study area. Thus, in this stage Vinton Street was determined to be an ethnic neighborhood retail ribbon with stores sited as "nucleated beads" along the retail artery.

Pre-Maximal Stage: 1901 - 1931

Throughout the "Pre-Maximal Stage," Vinton Street evolved into an established commercial and social life-line that served the densely populated neighborhood it crossed. Accessible by foot, streetcar and later by automobile, attractions to this vibrant ribbon and community included Rourke Baseball Park, theaters, and employment opportunities that contributed to the rapid business growth on the artery.

The early years of this stage saw businesses fill in several gaps and expand on the outer edges of the core section of the retail ribbon zone that extended from Fifteenth to Twenty-first and Vinton, while, to the west, a mini-ribbon cluster emerged and developed between Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth and Vinton. In either situation, land uses continued to be "single-function" and service-oriented to the surrounding neighborhood disclosed by a few aggregations of specific islands of land use types found on Vinton Street.

Encompassed by the density of the ribbon businesses, these concentrations revealed specific islands of English, German, Czech, Scottish and Swedish ethnic proprietor store clusters at several locations up and down the artery. Both the German and English clusters remained in the established core area from Seventeenth to Nineteenth and Vinton, plus in the mini-ribbon zone, while the other clustered ethnic groups and businesses developed on the newer, outer stretches of Vinton Street. These new clusters were represented by the Czechs at the Sixteenth and Vinton intersection, the Swedish between Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth, and the

Scots at Seventeenth and Vinton. In addition, the total number of work-resident proprietors increased and expanded spatially on Vinton Street as the mean distance all proprietors traveled to and from work remained less than a half mile. This contributed to the compactness or "neighborhoodness" of the German ethnic region they served.

During this thirty-year period, the Vinton Street artery evolved from a string of "nucleated beads" to a densely packed retail ribbon with pockets of "single-function" convenience and service stores from Fifteenth to Twenty-first and Vinton, and also between Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth and Vinton. In both areas, several islands of clustered ethnic work-resident proprietors were found along Vinton Street abutting the overall German study region. Therefore, Vinton Street was considered an established ethnic neighborhood retail ribbon during the "Pre-Maximal Stage."

Maximal Stage: 1932 - 1951

By the end of this twenty-year stage, Vinton Street's role as a vital social and retail life-line to its densely populated neighborhood stabilized and then slightly declined. This evolutionary pattern of stabilization and decline is exhibited in several of the characteristics examined along the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon and the residential area it served.

In this stage, business developments continued to fill in any remaining street frontage gaps between stores in the established or stabilized core ribbon area. However, by the end, the number of operating businesses began to decline at intersections within the principal area from Fifteenth to

Twenty-first and Vinton, and the mini-ribbon zone from Twenty-third to Twenty-fourth and Vinton.

Similarly, land uses along the Vinton Street retail artery reflected this pattern of establishment and decline in both number and types. Generally, the land uses located on the ribbon remained "single-function" service and pleasure businesses such as food, drinking and barber/beauty, but there were some land uses specifically directed at automobile traffic such as gas stations, automobile repair stores and contractor/trades, located at intersections, that reached beyond the neighborhood for business. In most instances, however, it was the "single-function" service stores that combined to form small three or four-store land use clusters, between intersections, predominantly in the main sections of the retail artery.

Within a few of these land use clusters, ethnic pockets of German, English, Czech and Norwegian proprietors were documented. Both the Germans and English remained the most common ethnic influences on Vinton Street with their clusters located in the original German-English concentration from Seventeenth to Nineteenth and Vinton and from Twenty-third to Twenty-fourth and Vinton. Other ethnic clusters included the Czechs in the mini-ribbon zone from Twenty-third to Twenty-fourth and Vinton, and the Norwegians, in the core area, at Eighteenth and Vinton. Except for these few ethnic proprietor pockets, the Vinton Street business owners were more ethnically diverse and less concentrated.

As the established ethnic Vinton Street ribbon evolved, the number of work-resident proprietors declined along the

artery because of the automobile. The only work-resident clusters noted were at Sixteenth and Vinton and between Eighteenth and Nineteenth and Vinton, of which neither concentration revealed any ethnic tendencies. Consequently, as the number of work-residents and clustering decreased, the mean distance a business owner traveled to work increased to 2.94 miles, five times farther than any mean distance recorded in any previous stage. Most proprietors journeyed more than half a mile to work and traveled through an ethnically changed study region now recorded as Czech and Italian. As a result, the "neighborhoodness" associated with the work-resident proprietors was disappearing into greater Omaha.

In this stage of stabilization and decline, Vinton Street remained an important compact "single-function" service and vehicular traffic oriented retail ribbon. It was influenced by several ethnic groups where proprietors journeyed in automobiles approximately three miles to work in a Czech-Italian region. Thus, Vinton Street endured as an established ethnic retail ribbon with urban arterial characteristics and diminishing neighborhood ties to the region it crossed.

Post Maximal Stage: 1952 - 1989

During this last stage, Vinton Street endured as an established commercial and social retail ribbon serving the densely populated region it traversed. Businesses continued to decrease in the established core and mini-ribbon sections of the artery as old buildings became apartments, vacant or decayed, until they were razed for parking lots. Land uses

represented "single-function" service stores that served the neighborhood and stores that attempted to attract vehicular traffic such as the antique/variety stores, a book binding company, supermarkets and a photography laboratory. With these urban arterial retail developments, the clustering of analogous land uses was not as apparent. So, in this "Post Maximal Stage" there was a pattern of co-existence between the neighborhood retail and community function stores that attracted from within the neighborhood, as well as passing traffic, consistent with little clustering of similar land uses found.

The ethnic representation of proprietors along the Vinton Street ribbon remained consistent to past periods with Germans being the principal ethnic force. A few German pockets of two to three-store clusters were found in the original German concentration at Eighteenth and Vinton and another at Sixteenth and Vinton. At the same time, an island of English proprietors was documented at the Nineteenth and Oak intersection. Despite these few clusters, the remaining ethnic proprietors were spatially scattered along the ribbon.

Likewise, the importance of the work-residents continued to decline as the ethnic and business clustering diminished with the affordability of the automobile. In this stage, there were only four work-residents and none of them were clustered along the Vinton Street artery. In fact, the mean distance a proprietor traveled to work in this period was 5.39 miles. Significantly, this continual increase in the mean distance pattern shows the neighborhood identity of the proprietors was weakened as residential mobility took them

farther away from Vinton Street.

As the artery evolved through this last stage, Vinton Street endured, as it always has, to play a vital role in the region. Its service and arterial traffic oriented businesses were owned by multi-ethnic proprietors who traveled at least five miles to work across a German region. As a consequence, Vinton Street co-existed as an ethnic neighborhood retail ribbon and urban arterial ribbon serving the neighborhood and beyond.

Significant Findings

As in most geographical studies that step through time, an evolutionary structure develops exhibiting an overall pattern in an idea, such as the evolution of an ethnic retail ribbon. In other words, the classification of an ethnic retail ribbon or retail ribbon evolves and fluctuates between the relationship of the ethnicity of the region, ethnicity and location of the proprietors, retail structure and time.

First of all, the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon began as scattered isolated stores located at intersections. As it evolved, the isolated businesses formed small clusters or "nucleated beads" inward from the intersections as a core neighborhood retail ribbon district emerged. Retail establishments filled in remaining gaps as the dense principal business area fused together and created a "string" or neighborhood retail ribbon (Ratcliff, 1939). After the Vinton Street retail ribbon peaked in business growth, the ribbon stabilized and began a period of retail business and spatial decline, but endured as a principal neighborhood

business thoroughfare in Omaha (Berry, 1959).

Originally Vinton Street spatially developed between two central business districts connected by two major streetcar lines and later principal automobile arteries: Thirteenth, and Twenty-fourth Streets (Yeates, 1980). Business nucleations developed at these two interchanges, but the establishments were predominantly limited to growth along Thirteenth and Twenty-fourth Streets because residential areas deterred any business growth beyond a one-block area on Vinton Street from the nucleations (Ratcliff, 1949). In fact, after the clustered intersections there is a residential buffer zone of two or three blocks on Vinton Street before the core business region is encountered. All businesses in this core ribbon area are located on Vinton Street and few establishments are found down intersecting streets that empty into the adjacent neighborhood (Ratcliff, 1949). As a result, Vinton Street evolved through various ribbon development stages, but by viewing Vinton Street today, it functions and resembles both a neighborhood business street and a principal urban business thoroughfare (Yeates, 1980).

Relatively few changes in the kinds of land uses occurred along the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon throughout this study. For example, the "single-function" service stores, such as the food stores or barber/beauty shops were the principal land uses serving the neighborhood in the first seventy years, until automobile traffic activities became an agent of change in the 1950's. From this point on, the importance of the "single-function" service land uses began to decline, but continued to co-exist with arterial traffic businesses such as the gasoline station, antique/variety,

home furnishing and hardware stores dependent on passing traffic for business (First National Bank of Phoenix, 1957). Thus, the relationship between land uses and the neighborhood surrounding Vinton Street showed that the neighborhood was more attached to the ribbon during its first seventy years than in the later years, when businesses required patronage from outside the neighborhood to prosper.

The spatial arrangement of land uses through time exhibited some noteworthy, but consistent, location patterns. First, transportation-dependent activities such as blacksmith shops and automobile services, or mobility establishments in most instances located on intersections at the outer edges of the core ribbon area and evolved to serve the surrounding neighborhood, but also to attract passing customers (Merry, 1955). Secondly, land use activities within the principal ribbon area reflected basic "need" or "single-function" services such as food, drinking, barber/beauty, apparel, halls, feed and hardware stores that functioned more to serve the neighborhood than arterial traffic (Berry, 1959).

As the retail and ethnic proprietor data show, rarely did a business owner function on the ribbon for more than one stage (twenty years) or generation, until the final two stages when the residential area and Vinton Street were considered established. In the early years, the turnover and consistent German-English ethnicity of the region and proprietors suggests the area may have been a German-English gathering location for immigrants arriving in Omaha to settle and work with similar cultures, before moving on (Ward, 1971). In addition, these data also point out the residen-

tial mobility of the proprietors of business owners over a period of time, and that residential change is usually highly voluntary (Chudacoff, 1972).

Little variation in the ethnicity of the proprietors was noted along Vinton Street. The ethnicity of business owners, for example, on the artery started as English-German in the "Infant Stage" or 1889, and persevered as an English or German ribbon through the "Post Maximal Stage" or 1989. However, as the study proceeded the ethnicity of the proprietors became ethnically balanced or multi-ethnic by the end of the study.

Spatial arrangements of ethnic and retail establishments along the Vinton Street ribbon revealed several clusters of similar retail or "need" service stores at intersections (Ratcliff, 1949). For example, the most relevant and persistent ethnic retail cluster in this study was located in the major business area at the Eighteenth and Vinton intersection. Since this intersection developed, Germans have operated neighborhood service stores such as food, drinking, barber/apparel and amusement types. Likewise, other intersections in the principal retail ribbon portion displayed similar land use activities, but the ethnicity noted in these clusters were not as constant over time.

Ethnically the neighborhood surrounding Vinton Street, for the most part, represented Germans throughout the study, except for the "Early Stage" when the English were the main ethnic group and the "Maximal Stage" when the area was represented by Czechs and Italians. This trend parallels the ethnic representation portrayed by the proprietors where Germans were the principal ethnic group during the study.

Thus, there was and is a direct relationship between the ethnicity of the study area and the proprietors on the Vinton Street Retail Ribbon.

Finally, another component in this study employed to help develop a sense of neighborhood were the centographic statistics such as mean distance, maximum distance and minimum distance or work-residents status. These statistics essentially revealed the relationship that as the mean distance a proprietor travels to work increases, the ties to the neighborhood by the proprietor decrease. For example, for the first fifty years, the mean distance journeyed by a proprietor was less than half a mile and the number of work-residents was approximately 50.0 percent. However, since the automobile, the mean distance increased to approximately six miles and the proprietor-residents decreased to four. Therefore, the dispersion from Vinton Street helps to show how, at first, the proprietors were directly associated to the Vinton Street neighborhood by their location and this relationship decreased over time and space.

Conclusion

The summaries mentioned above are important to underscoring the conceptual and spatial evolution of an ethnic retail ribbon through time. However, they do not address, specifically, the question regarding the major objective of this study - Is Vinton Street a historic and present-day ethnic retail ribbon?

The results of this investigation conclude that Vinton Street in 1889 was an emerging neighborhood ethnic retail ribbon because it passed through an ethnic area where pro-

prietors on the artery resembled the ethnicity of the study region. Over 60.0 percent of the business owners journeyed less than a half mile to work at scattered clustered businesses on intersections with neighborhood "single-function" convenience stores.

Over one hundred years later, in 1989, the results of the research concluded that Vinton Street persevered as an ethnic neighborhood retail ribbon because it still traversed a consistently ethnic region that ethnic proprietors resembled. However, diminishing neighborhood traits were found as proprietors traveled over five miles to work on the ribbon and the retail structure served beyond the neighborhood. Thus, based on these factors it was determined that Vinton Street was an emerging ethnic neighborhood retail ribbon in 1889 and co-existed as an ethnic neighborhood retail ribbon and an urban arterial ribbon in 1989.

The second and most relevant issue of this thesis focuses on ethnic ribbons as an integral part of the development of the retail structure of the city. Past literature such as Rolph's, Proudfoot's, Ratcliff's, Berry's, Harries' and others have spatially examined and classified the urban retail structure of a city by such characteristics as retail trade patterns, commercial business centers, string-streets, physical location, income, store frontage by retail types, and traffic patterns. Likewise, Pred, Creveling and Harries, researched the ethnicity of an area and ribbon but, once again, it was just for one year. Therefore, the past literature concerned with the retail structure and ethnicity of an area or ribbon was for one particular moment in time, and did not consider the complex evolutionary process of an

ethnic ribbon crossing an ethnic region of a city, over time, as this study accomplished.

As a result, the research of this geographical study indicates temporal focus is an important part of the development of a city's retail structure. The conclusions show the ethnic retail structure changes at different stages of time. Ethnicity of the neighborhood and proprietors remained fairly similar throughout the study and the mean distance the proprietors traveled to work increased while the number of proprietor-residents decreased over time. Additionally, business owners only lasted one stage or generation, the social attractions to the ribbon decreased, and the retail types changed with time. Thus, based on these findings the evolutionary process of an ethnic retail ribbon must be recognized as an important and integral dimension of the city's overall urban retail structure as much as any other function in the understanding of the city.

Certainly, at least until 1950, Vinton Street passed through an ethnic area dominated by persons from another part of the world seeking opportunity in Omaha, Nebraska. Likewise, many proprietors were foreign-born or at least of foreign-born parentage who lived within the area, many at their business locations. By several measures, these proprietors reflected the ethnic makeup of the neighborhood in which they operated businesses. It is likely that before the automobile era, these proprietors were serving their ethnic neighbors as the commercial ribbon evolved. Thus, in two ways one could justify Vinton Street as an ethnic business ribbon -- one of flowing through an ethnic region, and one of ethnic proprietors who identified in some ways with a

group as well as the area itself.

Clearly, based upon ethnic ribbon studies focusing on proprietors alone, this is an ethnic ribbon throughout a major portion of the one hundred year study period. Vinton Street also depended upon the area around it which was ethnic, and often matched proprietors' ethnicity backgrounds. In two ways, then, this ethnic ribbon contributed to the evolution of the city, ways that need to be recognized for many cities like Omaha in terms of evolution and development of city retail structures. Only when other forces of change became dominant, did Vinton Street take on the character of most ribbons discussed in the literature of urban geography.

Future Avenues of Study

In this pioneering effort, various methods and techniques have been utilized in an attempt to understand the importance of an ethnic retail ribbon within the structure of urban retail ribbons in American cities, through time. Bringing in the dimension, time, exploits limitations and problems in this study that could be used to help further the understanding of an ethnic retail ribbon, not only for one time period, but over time.

First of all, one future avenue of research should explore creating a more precise procedure for documenting affinity. This study did not address, in full, the relationship between the ethnic ribbon and an ethnic neighborhood. Developing a method to further understand this interaction along a ribbon could incorporate any old merchant invoice data, past church records for the specific residential region, school records, traffic patterns or employee ad-

resses. Acquiring this information for different periods of time for a particular study area could be extremely difficult, but certainly worth the effort.

Another avenue to pursue in furthering the development of an retail ribbon should focus on developing an historical retail classification scheme that is structured over time, instead of a particular moment in time. For example, classify blacksmith shops, automobile-oriented stores, and streetcar barns as transportation retail types. In this way, the retail structure can be analyzed across several time periods.

APPENDIX A

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR—BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
THIRTEENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES: 1910 POPULATION

WARD 14 CITY OF NEW YORK

Enumeration District No. 9715

NAME	SEX	AGE	RACE		MARRIAGE	INDUSTRY	EDUCATION	RELIGION	PROPERTY	MOTHER'S BIRTHPLACE	FATHER'S BIRTHPLACE	MOTHER'S NATIVITY	FATHER'S NATIVITY	MOTHER'S YEAR OF BIRTH	FATHER'S YEAR OF BIRTH
			WHITE	OTHER											
John Smith	M	45	White		Married	Teacher	High School	Protestant	\$500	England	Germany	White	White	1865	1865
Mary Smith	F	42	White		Married	Homemaker	High School	Catholic	\$500	Germany	Germany	White	White	1868	1868
James Smith	M	40	White		Married	Merchant	High School	Protestant	\$1000	England	England	White	White	1870	1870
Elizabeth Smith	F	38	White		Married	Homemaker	High School	Catholic	\$1000	Germany	Germany	White	White	1872	1872

APPENDIX B**Statistical Measurements**

1. Mean Distance = $\frac{\sum (\text{Measured distance between home and} \\ \text{Work (in miles)})}{n \text{ (observations)}}$

Source: Taylor, Peter, J. Quantitative Methods in Geography: An Introduction to Spatial Analysis. Prospect Heights: Waveland Press, Inc., 1983.

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Omaha City Planning, Quarter Section Map, S. W. 1/4 Sec. 27
T. 33. R. 13.

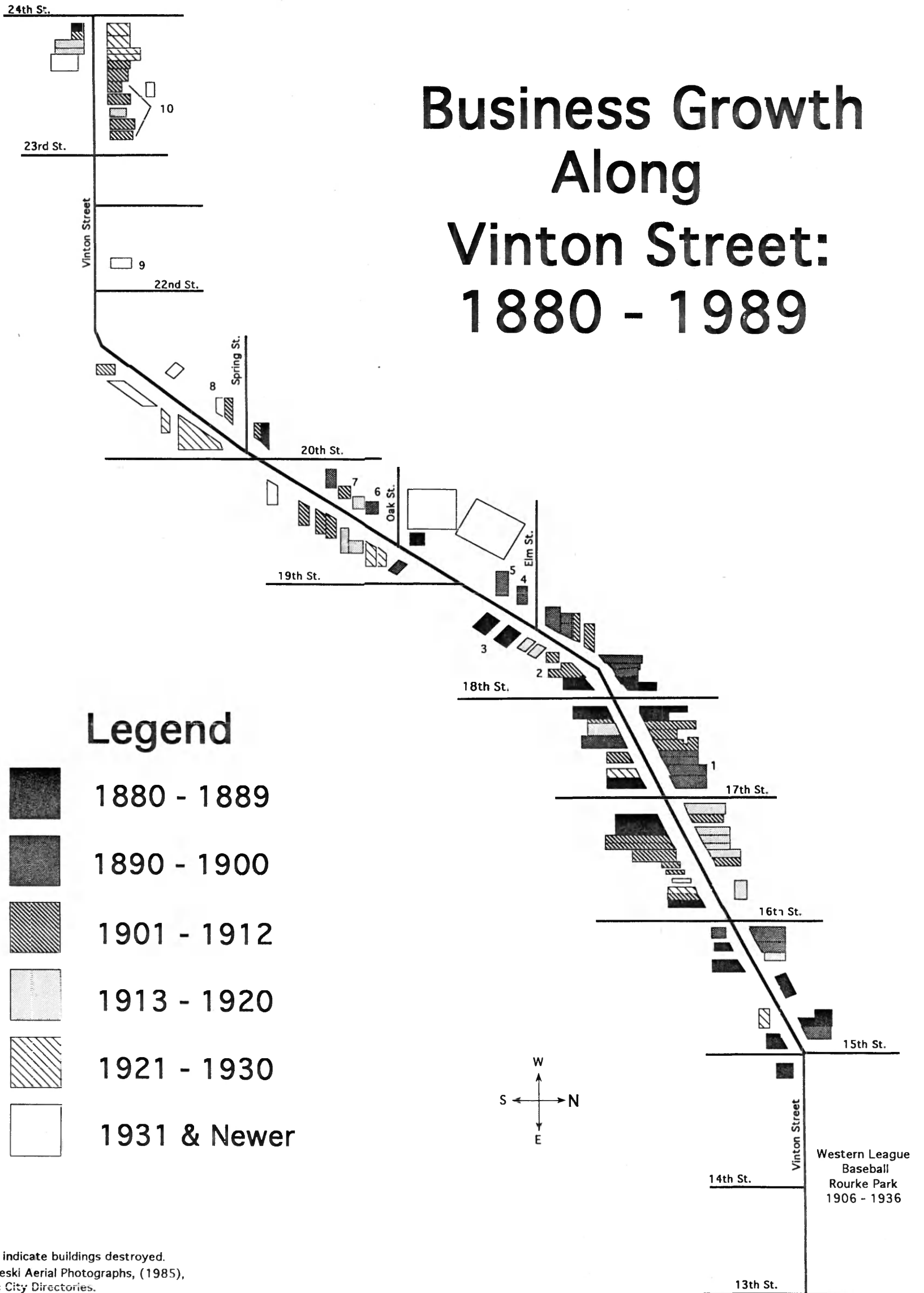
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




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Business Growth Along Vinton Street: 1880 - 1989



Legend

-  1880 - 1889
-  1890 - 1900
-  1901 - 1912
-  1913 - 1920
-  1921 - 1930
-  1931 & Newer

* Numbers indicate buildings destroyed.
Source: Hileski Aerial Photographs, (1985),
and Omaha City Directories.

Western League
Baseball
Rourke Park
1906 - 1936