Form No. 10-300 (Rev. 10-74)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM

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SEE INSTRUCTIONS IN *HOW TO COMPLETE NATIONAL REGISTER FORMS*
TYPE ALL ENTRIES -- COMPLETE APPLICABLE SECTIONS

1 NAME

HISTORIC
John A. Hartford House

AND/OR COMMON
John A. Hartford House; Hartford Hall

2 LOCATION

STREET & NUMBER Westchester Community College Campus
75 Grasslands Road (N.Y. 100), circa 1 mi. sw of downtown Valhalla — NOT FOR PUBLICATION

CITY, TOWN Valhalla — VICINITY OF

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT 23

STATE New York — CODE 36 — COUNTY Westchester — CODE 119

3 CLASSIFICATION

CATEGORY	OWNERSHIP	STATUS	PRESENT USE	
—DISTRICT	X PUBLIC	X OCCUPIED	—AGRICULTURE	—MUSEUM
X BUILDING(S)	—PRIVATE	—UNOCCUPIED	—COMMERCIAL	—PARK
—STRUCTURE	—BOTH	—WORK IN PROGRESS	X EDUCATIONAL	—PRIVATE RESIDENCE
—SITE	**PUBLIC ACQUISITION**	**ACCESSIBLE**	—ENTERTAINMENT	—RELIGIOUS
—OBJECT	—IN PROCESS	X YES: RESTRICTED	—GOVERNMENT	—SCIENTIFIC
	—BEING CONSIDERED	—YES: UNRESTRICTED	—INDUSTRIAL	—TRANSPORTATION
		—NO	—MILITARY	—OTHER:

4 OWNER OF PROPERTY

Contact: Joseph N. Hankin, Pres.
John Kager, Assoc. Dean, Instructional & Learning Resources Division

NAME
Westchester Community College

STREET & NUMBER
75 Grasslands Road

CITY, TOWN
Valhalla — VICINITY OF

STATE
New York

5 LOCATION OF LEGAL DESCRIPTION

COURTHOUSE, REGISTRY OF DEEDS, ETC Land Record Office

STREET & NUMBER
Westchester County Count Building, Maritime Avenue

CITY, TOWN
White Plains

STATE
New York

6 REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS

TITLE
None

DATE

—FEDERAL —STATE —COUNTY —LOCAL

DEPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS

CITY, TOWN

STATE

7 DESCRIPTION

CONDITION		CHECK ONE	CHECK ONE
X EXCELLENT	__DETERIORATED	__UNALTERED	X ORIGINAL SITE
__GOOD	__RUINS	X ALTERED	__MOVED DATE_____
__FAIR	__UNEXPOSED		

DESCRIBE THE PRESENT AND ORIGINAL (IF KNOWN) PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

The John A. Hartford House is an irregularly shaped, 2 1/2-story, hip-and-gable-roofed, Tudor style, fieldstone mansion of approximately 30 rooms. It is situated near the center of a wooded, hilly, 370-acre tract that once formed part of the Hartford estate but now makes up the campus of Westchester Community College. The school has erected various educational buildings on the tract, but the Hartford House, now known as Hartford Hall, still projects an image of grandeur from its original location atop a hill overlooking the rest of the campus. Like its immediately adjacent landscaping, the house is virtually unaltered and is in excellent condition. Currently it serves as the college adminstration building, but because school officials utilize some of the original Hartford furnishings and take pride in maintaining the structure's interior configuration and decor, it retains its residential character.

Apparently John Hartford purchased the land for the estate about 1930 from Joseph Daly, who had acquired it in 1910 and used it primarily for breeding horses. By 1932 Hartford had erected the mansion and moved into it. The relative isolation of the site from New York City suited him perfectly, for he and his brother had long shunned publicity and prized near-absolute privacy. Even Who's Who had never provided the public with more than the brothers' names, corporate titles, and business addresses. Initally the estate included a nine-hole golf course, a blacksmith shop, several barns and greenhouses, and a riding ring. Of these, only a stone-and-glass greenhouse remains. Little-altered externally, it sits a few yards northeast of the mansion and serves presently as an office complex. Following Hartford's death in 1951, the estate was used for a time by Yale University for forestry studies. Then in 1957, the John A. Hartford Foundation--which did not respond to requests for assistance with this survey--sold the estate to the county for $750,000, about one-fourth the property's value at the time.

The north-facing Hartford House displays an external facade of coursed brown fieldstone broken by irregularly placed brown-painted timbers and a combination of rectangular and rounded window openings. Crowning the edifice is a red tiled roof, above which rise five large, multiflued, corbeled, red brick chimneys. Several hipped dormers adorn both front and rear roof slopes, and the entire mass rests on a stone foundation. There is a partial basement. A single-story porte-cochère extends from the west end of the main block, while a two-story wing angles eastward from the opposite end. The front entrance, which is approachable via

(continued)

8 SIGNIFICANCE

PERIOD	AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE -- CHECK AND JUSTIFY BELOW				
__PREHISTORIC	__ARCHEOLOGY-PREHISTORIC	__COMMUNITY PLANNING	__LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE	__RELIGION
__1400-1499	__ARCHEOLOGY-HISTORIC	__CONSERVATION	__LAW	__SCIENCE
__1500-1599	__AGRICULTURE	__ECONOMICS	__LITERATURE	__SCULPTURE
__1600-1699	__ARCHITECTURE	__EDUCATION	__MILITARY	__SOCIAL/HUMANITARIAN
__1700-1799	__ART	__ENGINEERING	__MUSIC	__THEATER
X 1800-1899	X COMMERCE	__EXPLORATION/SETTLEMENT	__PHILOSOPHY	__TRANSPORTATION
X 1900-	__COMMUNICATIONS	__INDUSTRY	__POLITICS/GOVERNMENT	__OTHER (SPECIFY)
		__INVENTION		

SPECIFIC DATES Site: 1930-51 Subject: 1859-present BUILDER/ARCHITECT Unknown

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Writing in the Harvard Business Review in 1933, economic historian Roy J. Bullock observed perceptively that "to undertake a history of the chain grocery or even the chain-store movement in general without the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company would be like an attempt to produce Hamlet with Hamlet left out."[1] Examples of local chain store operations may be found in American history as early as the 1820's, but as business historian Alex Groner points out, "the first nationwide chain was the A. & P., the beginnings of which trace back to 1859," 20 years before Frank W. Woolworth founded his variety chain.[2] For this reason and because of A. & P.'s tremendously rapid expansion between 1912 and the mid-1930's, the unsurpassed number of stores it operated in those years, its unenviable position as the chief target of the anti-chain-store agitation in that same period, and its status as the Nation's largest retailer in the middle of this century, the company outstandingly symbolizes every major phase of chain-store history in America.

Although George Francis Gilman and George Huntington Hartford founded A. & P., most scholars agree with retailing historians Tom Mahoney and Leonard Sloane that "John Hartford," George Huntington's son, "was the merchandising genius" of the firm.[3] He joined the company in 1888, and it was under his leadership, says Daniel J. Boorstin, that "the great expansion of the A & P chain came in 1912."[4] Operating on a low-inventory, cut-price, strictly cash, no-delivery, economy-store concept, John Hartford

(continued)

[1]Roy J. Bullock, "The Early History of the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company," Harvard Business Review, XI (April, 1933), 289.

[2]Alex Groner, The American Heritage History of American Business and Industry (New York, 1972), 244.

[3]Tom Mahoney and Leonard Sloane, The Great Merchants: America's Foremost Retail Institutions and the People Who Make Them Great (New York, 1974), 184.

[4]Daniel J. Boorstin, The Americans: The Democratic Experience (New York, 1973), 110.

9 MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

(See continuation sheet.)

10 GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

ACREAGE OF NOMINATED PROPERTY circa 10 acres

UTM REFERENCES

	ZONE	EASTING	NORTHING
A	1 8	6 0 1 5 4 0	4 5 4 7 0 3 0
B	1 8	6 0 1 7 4 0	4 5 4 6 9 6 0
C	1 8	6 0 1 7 4 0	4 5 4 6 7 8 0
D	1 8	6 0 1 5 4 0	4 5 4 6 7 7 0

VERBAL BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION

(See last page of description.)

LIST ALL STATES AND COUNTIES FOR PROPERTIES OVERLAPPING STATE OR COUNTY BOUNDARIES

STATE	CODE	COUNTY	CODE
STATE	CODE	COUNTY	CODE

11 FORM PREPARED BY

NAME / TITLE

George R. Adams, Director, Historic Landmarks Project

ORGANIZATION — DATE

American Association for State and Local History — March 1977

STREET & NUMBER — TELEPHONE

1400 Eighth Avenue South — 615-242-5583

CITY OR TOWN — STATE

Nashville, — Tennessee 37203

12 STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICER CERTIFICATION

THE EVALUATED SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS PROPERTY WITHIN THE STATE IS:

NATIONAL ___ STATE ___ LOCAL ___

As the designated State Historic Preservation Officer for the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (Public Law 89-665), I hereby nominate this property for inclusion in the National Register and certify that it has been evaluated according to the criteria and procedures set forth by the National Park Service.

FEDERAL REPRESENTATIVE SIGNATURE

TITLE — DATE

241

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I HEREBY CERTIFY THAT THIS PROPERTY IS INCLUDED IN THE NATIONAL REGISTER

DATE

DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF ARCHEOLOGY AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION

ATTEST: DATE

KEEPER OF THE NATIONAL REGISTER

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a circular drive, consists of a rather simple, wooden, rounded, double door situated under radiating stone voussoirs in the center of the north facade. The principal rear entrance consists of a set of three, wood-and-glass, double doors set in rounded arches directly opposite the front door and between two projecting pavilions, one gabled and one hipped.

Inside, the Hartford House displays a beautiful array of oak, walnut, and poplar paneling and other woodwork; embossed plaster ceilings; and original brass chandeliers and marble-walled baths. All original fireplaces and mantles are in place, as are the hidden storage cabinets situated in the walls of the main first-floor corridor and all paneled rooms.

The front door opens into an approximately 16-by-5-foot foyer with brick walls and coffered ceiling, and it leads into an approximately 15-by-30-foot entry hall that provides access to the remainer of the house. Right of the entry hall, a long, paneled corridor passes to the west end of the mansion and directly into the depressed living room, which now serves as the president's office. It is richly trimmed in carved oak paneling and features a vaulted, heavily embossed, white plaster ceiling. The room extends the width of the house, and multiple French doors, with flanking sidelights and fluted Ionic pilasters, open off the north, south, and west sides.

Along the north side of the first-floor corridor are an elaborately appointed guest bath, the main stairway to the second floor, and a film room, now used as an office. The latter features an exposed-beam ceiling, pegged floors, and a battery of sound equipment. South of the corridor is the library, also now an office. It displays poplar paneling and an especially distinctive fireplace with pink marble face and intricately carved poplar mantle and overmantle.

Across from, or south of, the entry hall is a depressed solarium with granite walls, vaulted ceiling, and triple doors leading to the south, or rear, lawn. Left of the entry hall is a fully paneled dining room. Now a board room, it has an embossed plaster ceiling, hidden closets, and a mantle with black marble facing. Adjacent to and south of the dining room is an oval-shaped conservatory with plaster and canvas decorated walls featuring

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scenes of flora and fauna rendered in pastel shades on a creamy yellow background. A gold-colored plaster ceiling with lime-green plaster cornice, a lime-green marble mantle, and a rounded south bay complete the elaborate decor. The entryway from the solarium is segmentally arched, as is the solarium entrance to the library. Most of the other principal doorways in the main part of the first floor are semi-elliptically arched. East of the dining room and conservatory are a pantry, kitchen, flower-arranging room, and various other service rooms, plus an enclosed stairway leading to the several rooms that make up the servants' quarters on the second floor.

The main stairway in the west corridor rises in a rounded bay topped by a conical roof with exposed interior ceiling beams. The well has paneled wainscoting and white plaster walls and is graced by a fixed window of four vertical rows of three lights. The central light in each row displays a round, stained-glass center with a medieval theme. The stair rail is wood and the balsuters cast iron.

On the second floor a central hall extends the length of the house, displaying plain white plaster walls in the service end and richly papered gold-and-green walls in the family end. At the west end of the house, above the living room, is John Hartford's dressing room and bath, and east of it and south of the hall is the master bedroom. East of it is Mrs. Hartford's bath and dressing room. The baths continue to serve their original function, while the other rooms are used currently as offices. These retain their original mantles and most of their ornamental trim. Mrs. Hartford's dressing room, for example, features pink-painted, wood-paneled walls. Across the hall from it, on the north side of the house, is an alcove flanked by a walk-in clothes closet and a walk-in, cedar-lined storage closet.

Other extant Hartford and A. & P. properties include an altered, circa 1910, regional warehouse in Jersey City; former office suites in New York's Graybar building, where brothers John and George were almost unknown to other tenants; and the company's new corporate headquarters in Montvale, N.J. Neither George Huntington Hartford's Orange, N.J., home nor any of the early A. & P. stores in New York City and Jersey City have survived. (334)

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Boundary Justification. The boundary includes the house, adjacent greenhouse, original drive and landscaping on the north side of the house, and a reasonable portion of the landscaping and original vista on the east and south sides of the house. Additional area to the west is excluded because of modern intrusions.

Boundary Description. As indicated in red on the accompanying maps [(1) U.S.G.S. 7.5' Series, N.Y., White Plains Quad., 1967; and (2) Westchester Community College Map, circa 1976], a line beginning at the southwest corner of the intersection of an unnamed east-west access road (herein designated no. 1) north of the Hartford House and south of and parallel to Grasslands Road with the unnamed north-south access road (herein designated no. 2) that passes southward from Grasslands Road Guard House and Gate into the campus center between the Library and the Technologies Building, and extending southward approximately 500 feet along the western edge of road no. 2 to an unmarked point 100 feet north of the north facade of the Library; thence, due west approximately 700 feet to the eastern edge of an unnamed access road (herein designated no. 3) extending north to south between Knollwood Road and road no. 1; thence, northward approximately 700 feet along the eastern edge of road no. 3 to the southern edge of road no. 1; thence, eastward approximately 600 feet along the southern edge of road no. 1 to the point of beginning.

increased A. & P. outlets from 480 in 1912 to more than 4,500 in 1920 and more than 15,700 in 1930. Later, when other food chains began to erect supermarkets, he made A. & P., according to Mahoney and Sloane, "the leading proponent of this method of distribution."[5] Saturday Evening Post writer J. C. Furnas capsuled Hartford's contribution to retailing aptly in 1938: "John Hartford was no more the inventor of the cash-and-carry chain store than Henry Ford was the inventor of the automobile. But he made it go in mass production in exactly the same explosive fashion."[6]

The John A. Hartford House is an irregularly shaped, 2 1/2-story, fieldstone, hip-and-gable-roofed, Tudor style, approximately 30-room mansion that, despite its current use as a college administration building, survives virtually unaltered, remains in excellent condition, and retains its residential character. Although Hartford purchased this property apparently in 1930 and completed the house in 1932--just after he had passed the midpoint of an already successful career as A. & P.'s president--the site is related significantly to both his pre-1930 and post-1930 accomplishments. It was his principal place of residence after 1932, and because of its remoteness from New York City and its grandeur, it is also symbolic of both the Hartford family's long-held and unusually intense penchant for privacy and the tremendous economic success for the chain-store idea in both the late 19th and early 20th centuries. According to Fortune, by 1932 Hartford had led A. & P. already to several $1 billion plus years, "a volume greater than Henry Ford could boast at his peak, greater than Sears, Roebuck and Montgomery Ward and James Cash Penney combined, approximately equal to the entire automobile business" of that year.[7]

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[5]Mahoney and Sloane, The Great Merchants, 186.

[6]J. C. Furnas, "Mr. George & Mr. John," Saturday Evening Post (December 31, 1938), 55.

[7]"Biggest Family Business," Fortune (March 1933), 53.

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History

According to Godfrey M. Lebhar, a leading authority on the history of chain stores in America, this unique form of retailing has passed through three distinct periods of development. In the first, 1859-1900, says Lebhar, "pioneers in several important chain-store fields got their start and had their early development." Next, between 1900 and 1930 "the chain-store idea captured the imagination of many alert retailers, brought hundreds of new chains into existence, and witnessed the expansion of the system." Finally, in the years after 1930 "the system had to fight for its very existence" against anti-chain-store legislation and charges of unfair competition but "emerged the stronger for its experience."[8] More than any other firm, the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company symbolizes these three stages. In addition to being, as Lebhar notes, "the biggest chain in the country today, and . . . the oldest," it is known for having been one of the most frequent targets of anti-chain agitation, as evidenced by the impetus that its business practices gave to passage of both the Robinson-Patman Act of 1936 and the Miller-Tydings Act of 1937.[9]

There is some disagreement among historians about the year of A. & P.'s beginning, but the most commonly accepted date is 1859. In either that or the previous year, George Francis Gilman, son of a wealthy shipowner, opened a hide and leather importing business in New York City. Among his employees was 26-year-old George Huntington Hartford, with whom Gilman eventually formed a partnership. It is unclear which man suggested undertaking trade in tea, but by the end of 1859 the two had begun buying that popular and expensive product directly off clipper ships and retailing it along with their leather goods. By bypassing wholesalers or middlemen and getting their tea directly from suppliers, Gilman and Hartford found themselves able to reduce prices by 50 percent and more. In 1860 they opened a tea store on Front Street in Manhattan, and in 1862 they abandoned their trade in hides and leather. By 1864 they had formed the Great American Tea Company, opened their now legendary discount tea and grocery

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[8]Godfrey M. Lebhar, Chain Stores in America, 1859-1962, 3d ed. (New York, 1963), 24.

[9]Ibid., 10.

store on Vesey Street, started advertising widely with circulars, and begun to sell by mail order.[10]

Along with tea, the Great American Tea Company's shelves offered coffee, spices, flavoring extracts, condensed milk, baking powder, and other staples, and the low prices on these items attracted New Yorkers in ever increasing numbers. Gilman and Hartford wasted little time taking advantage of their initial success and expanding. They had five stores in the New York area by 1865, and in the next 4 years, they added six more and adopted a new name, the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company. According to Mahoney and Sloane, this title reflected Hartford's vision of "a chain of stores that would reach from coast to coast, as the Union Pacific Railroad linked the two seaboards."[11] For whatever reason the partners chose this particular new name, the old one was preserved until 1964 in an A. & P. subsidiary that peddled tea and coffee first on a successful mail-order "club plan" and then across the country along regular wagon and truck routes. In keeping with the grandiose name of their retail store operation, by 1876 Gilman and Hartford had opened stores as far west as St. Paul, Minn. By then the chain totaled 67 outlets, all of which were painted in the now-familiar red-and-gold facade that Frank W. Woolworth copied eventually for his variety chain.

In 1878 Gilman retired from active participation in company affairs, made Hartford a full partner with responsibility for general management, and thus opened the way for his family's rise to a preeminent position in American retailing history. As soon as they were old enough, two of Hartford's sons joined him in running the firm. George L. came aboard in 1880, and John followed in 1888. Under the Hartfords' direction A. & P. continued to grow, reaching 100 stores by 1880 and 200 by 1900. Meanwhile, in addition to Woolworth in 1879, other entrepreneurs entered the chain-store field and founded, among other firms, the predecessor of the Grand Union Company in 1872, Kroger in 1882,

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[10]Although most sources state that Gilman and Hartford had an outlet on Vesey Street in 1859, Bullock's search of the New York City Business Directory for those years revealed no Vesey Street listing before 1864. See "Early History of the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company," 290-91.

[11]Mahoney and Sloane, The Great Merchants, 180.

and Jewell Tea Company in 1899. "None of the competition seemed to hurt A. & P.," says Groner, for besides being soundly established already as "the first national chain," it "built up its product lines along with its outlets and sales volume."[12] Then in 1901 Gilman died without leaving a will or a written record of his co-ownership agreement with George H. Hartford. A year of litigation ensued, but when the court fight ended, the Hartfords had all the company's common stock.

The family's acquisition of full control of A. & P. concided with the start of the second or expansionist phase of chain-store history. Although the eldest Hartford remained active in company affairs until a year before his death in 1917, his sons played increasing managerial roles in the early 1900's. John Hartford was "the merchandising genius of the A & P," according to Mahoney and Sloane, "while his brother George looked after the financial end."[13] Having gone to work for his father immediately after finishing high school at age 16, John had started his career cleaning inkwells and sweeping floors. By 1912, says Furnas, he was about "to make commercial history."[14] With America in the middle of the so-called "Progressive Era," muckraking journalists and politicians were calling attention to the fact that food prices had jumped 35 percent since 1900, and government agencies were beginning to investigate the rapidly rising cost of living. As a result John became concerned about both A. & P.'s prices and costs. He worried particularly about the cost of keeping delivery fleets, giving away premiums, and maintaining credit accounts for customers. With the consent of his father and brother, he opened a small experimental store a few doors away from a major A. & P. outlet in Jersey City. The new "A. & P. Economy Store" maintained a low inventory, offered cut prices, and provided no credit and no deliveries, but within a few months it drove the larger "frill-oriented" store out of business. In response the Hartfords began opening economy stores throughout the country at

(continued)

[12]Groner, American Business and Industry, 244-45.

[13]Mahoney and Sloane, The Great Merchants, 184.

[14]Furnas, "Mr. George & Mr. John," 55.

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the rate of one every 3 days. In 1912 A. & P. had 480 outlets, in 1915 almost 2,000, in 1920 more than 4,500, and in 1930 more than 15,700. Most were laid out exactly alike so that customers could find things in the same location in each store. Although no other single chain grew so fast or so large, A. & P.'s growth paralleled a chain-store boom in nearly every area of retailing. According to Groner, "almost 30 per cent of the national retail volume was being done by chains by the end of the 1920's."[15]

A. & P. reached an all-time high of 15,737 stores by the end of 1930, but this did not mark the pinnacle of the firm's success or of John Hartford's career. While he was making A. & P. the largest chain in the country, several other food chains were turning to still another new kind of store, the supermarket. Introduced by Clarence Saunders of Memphis in 1916, the supermarket was no bigger than an ordinary store, but it featured two important retailing innovations, self-service and use of turnstiles. The former cut down overhead, while the latter boosted sales by directing customers through a maze of displays and past virtually every product the store offered. Because Hartford's economy stores were returning good profits and because he was leading the company successfully through the early depression years by decentralizing and expanding warehousing and manufacturing facilities--he organized Quaker Maid Company (later Ann Page), Nakat Packing Corporation, White House Milk Company, and American Coffee Corporation--he rejected the supermarket concept until the late 1930's. In 1937, however, he adopted the idea, soon improved it by introducing cellophane-wrapped meats and popularizing packaged produce, and eventually made it the primary basis for future A. & P. operations. In fact, say Mahoney and Sloane, before he died in 1951, Hartford made A. & P. the country's "leading proponent of this method of distribution."[16] By 1959 supermarkets accounted for 69 percent of all food store sales in the United States, and A. & P. alone, having consolidated its over 15,000 economy stores into some 4,500 supermarkets, accounted for almost 10 percent of that total.[17]

(continued)

[15]Groner, American Business and Industry, 244.
[16]Mahoney and Sloane, The Great Merchants, 186.
[17]Groner, American Business and Industry, 246.

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As chain stores grew larger and more successful, they came under increasing attack, especially in the mid-1930's, from government officials, independent merchants, and organizations of wholesalers and retailers who feared that the chains' size, manufacturing capabilities, and expanded buying and selling capacities, threatened the entire wholesaler-retailer system. Those groups tried a number of strategies to counteract the trend they saw developing. Several States enacted "fair trade" laws, and Congress, in 1937, passed the Miller-Tydings Act, to sanction price maintenance agreements and thus protect the independents from chain competition. In 1936, following revealing testimony by A. & P. officials in a congressional hearing, Congress enacted the Robinson-Patman bill to prevent manufacturers from rebating to chains "advertising allowances" based on volume purchasing. Two years later Representative Wright Patman introduced legislation to place a special Federal tax on all chain stores, but A. & P. led a successful fight to defeat the measure.

Opposition to chain stores did not end with this episode, but after 1940 the chains continued to grow and establish for themselves an ever stronger and more generally accepted role in American retailing. A. & P. encountered economic problems in the early 1970's, but it remained the Nation's largest food chain.

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