REDEVELOPMENT - INDIANAPOLIS CITY MARKET

Architectural Thesis

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William Cotterman

"The marketplace is historically the most fundamental, most civically important kind of urban space. It is a potent model of the planned and unplanned vitality that all public places and city streets must attain."

Ben Thompson, architect for the Boston Quincy Market Restoration
SHOP
YOUR CITY MARKET
fresher, better, more fun
DOWNTOWN INDIANAPOLIS
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My client is the City of Indianapolis represented by its agency the Department of Metropolitan Development. The Board of Public Works of Indianapolis is charged with controlling and supervising the operations of the City Market.

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SYNOPSIS

In 1971-72, several plans for the development of the Market Square in Indianapolis were drawn, none of which were implemented, and, as a result, the context for the design and planning of the Market Square has changed dramatically.

“The Market Square Development study by the Department of Metropolitan Development and Perry Associates has aimed at maintaining in a single context the diverse potentials for growth, change and additive development in the East Market sector of the core. This study is ongoing in response to the dynamics of the area.

“The Department of Metropolitan Development, Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill and Perry Associates executed a study of development relative to ground level pedestrian environment. In part it focused on the East Market corridor, Market Square Park, Tomlinson Cellar uses and arena development. Construction phasing and cost estimates were developed.

“Ball State University students have executed a series of development potential studies of downtown Indianapolis. J. Mynheir dealt innovatively with the problems of developing a multiple-use arena complex over Market Street. T. Pastorino explored in detail the environmental potentials of a Market Square Park-Rathskeller-Boutique development.”

The growth of the Market Square was intended to be a “planned-unit development in which all components and uses strongly relate, support, and compliment each other within a cohesive, intense, attractive, and pleasant environment.” Today, “the opportunities to create a cohesive complex have been lost. The buildings presently completed in no way compliment each other and seem to ignore each other’s presence. Each of the structures was designed by a different architectural firm, working independently, and each looks it. ... It is amazing that the City Market, which inspired the center’s name and contributes the greatest amount of color, sound, and continuous activity to the area, can be treated so flippantly by the new neighbors.”

With the encouragement of Mr. Don Perry, I selected the redevelopment of the City Market as my architectural thesis. I took a strongly historic approach toward an understanding of market development, function and character. Having been selected for participation in the College of Architecture and Planning’s London Polyark Program, I spent my first quarter of thesis conducting research and visiting the markets of England and France.

Having become familiar with the research that has been done in the markets, I came up with the following list of adjectives that have been used to describe the character of the markets in general:
open, free, historic, modest, working, popular, colorful, active, livin', vibrant, bustling, crowded, and surreal. I also asked several people familiar with the Indianapolis City Market to describe their impressions of it. The following is a list of adjectives that they used: ethnic, old-fashioned, informal, unique, interesting, and exciting.

In order to insure the future success of the City Market, an understanding of the mechanics of efficient and successful operation of a market is necessary. It is helpful to view the market's function as that of a supermarket, each department being individually owned and operated. A function of public markets is to make available to the consumer a wider selection of fresh foods at lower prices. Because of the centralization of a greater number of retailers, more variety and selection is possible. Tremendous volume of business and quick turn-over of stocks makes possible fresher foods. The active competition in such a market is a strong factor in maintaining low prices, along with reduced overhead costs. Such is not the case with the stale supermarket which relies on "loss leaders" in order to make a profit.

My analysis of the markets led to the formation of what I call the "market floor concept." It simply states that the area designated for the market stands must be perceived as a common, open space of intense retail selling. A market may include two or more market floors each with a different function, such as the meat trade, provided that a continuous circulation route can be established unifying the experience of the market. The market floor activity of retail selling should not be upstaged by any other supportive activity, such as storage needs, administrative functions, or dock facilities.

It is also necessary to understand why the prototype of the market has existed through the centuries in defiance to the more efficient means of goods distribution now in existence. It is due in part to a change in function of the market. Originally markets supplied a populace with its daily needs of food and goods. As today's supermarkets, department and discount stores have taken over this function, the markets have assumed a new role as a dealer in farm fresh foods and specialty goods. The markets today also supply something more. They provide a social environment with an exciting and festive atmosphere, a feeling of everything together at one place, that makes shopping an experience and an event. Lastly, a market also provides a city with a very powerful sense of identity and symbolic aura connected to the city's roots. This makes it invaluable to the revitalization of the downtown.

The intrusion of the automobile upon the downtown scene has not only destroyed the human scale of the environment, but also has prevented face-to-face social encounters that are at the heart of a city's existence. Automobiles represent "a wretcheding of affluent urban areas. Autos blight cities, overrun them. They smog them and deplete them, sucking the life out of the city and into vacuous suburbs." A market can give a sense of place, a meeting-place, to
the downtown providing social spaces for watching, enjoying, and participating in the activity of others in the spirit of trade, an activity which is the very reason for the emergence of the cities. Nathaniel Owings states the problem: "We must get together and figure out a way of returning the central part of downtown Indianapolis to what it originally was, the city's and the state's greatest 'shopping center.'"

I was motivated to pursue this project by my interest in historic preservation. Whereas economic incentives have sparked the current interest in historic preservation, it is the esthetic and cultural rewards which will be of greatest benefit to society. Architecture is not just an engineering science that requires a specialist to interpret and appreciate its merits. A program of historic preservation can expand our awareness of our architectural heritage and contribute to an understanding of what an architect does. It can provide unique and exciting spaces with historic charm adding to the architect's design vocabulary. Lastly, it makes maximum use of land, existing materials, and resources which are more precious today than ever before.

'Market Square Development (Indianapolis, Ind.: Department of Metropolitan Development, Division of Planning and Zoning, 1972).

Ibid.


Ball, p. 7.
RECYCLING: Is it worth it?

Attribute it to today's high cost of new construction, the energy crisis or the reawakening of the spirit of nostalgia and concern for our architectural heritage. Whatever the reason, the trend to recycle old buildings for new uses continues to grow.

Not long ago, when nothing was in short supply and the race was on to provide more (if not necessarily better) commercial and residential space, it was the vogue to bulldoze and build new. But now, many developers are turning to recycling as a way to cut costs while creating interesting, unique properties in the process.

Across the country, good, old buildings in varied condition are viewed as an untapped resource for residential, commercial and institutional use. Often, they represent materials, techniques of construction and styles that are long-gone and could not hope to be replaced at today's prices.

Estimates of the recycling market vary, with current figures fluctuating between $10-$12 billion for 1976. Project types range from lofts and piano factories recycled into apartment buildings, to railroad stations, historic old landmark markets and entire blocks converted into viable commercial and retail space.

Impetus for the movement

In general, it's a combination of economics coupled with an increased urban cultural force that places greater emphasis on the history and architectural heritage of our cities. Of the two explanations, the more significant is the economic.

"The difference in construction costs alone, is a major factor in the recycling movement," says Stephen B. Jacobs, New York City architect for the recent conversion of a shoe factory built of cast iron in Manhattan in the mid-1800's into 144 luxury apartments. "Our rule of thumb is that recycling this kind of loft building into apartments can be accomplished from 50 to 75% less than starting from scratch in building new."

Prior to the "discovery" of renovation, buildings such as these were generally purchased solely for their land value. "Now," Jacobs says, "people are realizing that there is a structure which can be altered to create units that are more liveable than new construction and much more acceptable in today's rental market because of their uniqueness."

J. Glenn Little of Turner Construction Company, national general contractors and construction managers who are emphasizing renovation as well as new construction, agrees: "It can be cheaper in many cases to recycle than to build new. Frequently, loft-type buildings can be bought for as little as $2.50/sq. ft., as was the Chickering Piano Factory in Boston, and recycled for $18.50/sq. ft. (vs. new construction costs of $30-$35/sq./ft.)."

Still another viewpoint on recycling economics comes from Roy E. Williams, development director of The Rouse Company, whose $18 million Fanueil Hall Market Redevelopment in Boston is giving new life to three
18th Century market buildings in the heart of the city.

"We're doing the project because we see it as a viable, profitable venture, due almost entirely to the ideal location of these historic buildings in this financial, civic and increasingly residential community," he says.

Williams points out that there is not always a money-saving advantage to recycling, and freely admits that in this case, despite the real quality of the buildings and the large sums of money put into them by the Boston Redevelopment Authority at the beginning of the project, costs will be as great, if not greater, than if starting with a clean slate.

"But there's no question that the end product is better," he says. "If we were spending equal money and starting with cleared land, we could not produce buildings of this quality.

"The prime location, and the fact that the buildings are old and attractive and full of history and romance, is very much a plus in marketing the space, and will contribute significantly to the success of the stores and offices coming in," Williams says.

The premise has been born out in fact, thus far. Currently, the first of the three buildings in the project is nearing completion, and already is 90% leased.

Esthetics also a factor

"There has been a growing interest in buildings and an expanding awareness of our architectural heritage in recent years," says Paul J. McGinley, partner in Anderson Notter and Associates, Boston architectural firm specializing in renovations. "Increasingly, people are appreciating the detail, materials and texture of old buildings and their character, which is impossible to duplicate today at any price."

In response to these feelings, Anderson Notter takes the approach to renovation design of allowing the building itself to dictate design, based on inherent qualities (unique windows, ceilings and other details). "By following this approach, costs are generally lower," McGinley adds.

The cultural/architectural heritage attitude toward recycling is being expressed on the West Coast as well, as exemplified by the "Old Sacramento" project in California's capital. There, a National Registered Historical Landmark is being recreated by selecting significant phases of the past from the 1850's through the 1870's for restoration and recycling into restaurants, shops and business and professional offices.

The 28 acres which are part of the downtown business district, make Old Sacramento one of the largest historic preservation projects in the United States.

Two-thirds of the area is controlled by the city's Housing and Redevelopment Agency under a Federally-funded urban renewal program. The agency sells parcels to private investors who restore the historic structures according to specified requirements. The other one-third is under the jurisdiction of the State of California which will own, implement and occupy that portion. With a target completion date of July 4, 1976 for most of the private development, the area is attracting tourists for shopping and other leisure activity, as well as offices and businesses.

Related to both of these arguments for recycling — the economic and the esthetic — is the one for energy conservation. By starting with an existing building, there are significant savings of energy and resources since the steel, bricks and mortar are al-
ready there and are reused, rather than produced from scratch.

Difficulties, too

But the renovation/recycling picture is not all rosy, and a number of problem areas can make such projects both difficult and uneconomic. Among them are the necessity for meeting code requirements, financing, prior rehab construction experience and city bureaucracies.

“One of the difficult problems in recycling is understanding and being able to analyze the structural components of old buildings where few, if any original plans and drawings exist,” says Glenn Little. “You don’t always know what you’re going to find when you open up a wall, so you must be prepared to take immediate action based on previous experience. Because each situation is unique, you can’t use formulas or generalizations, as in building new.”

A similar viewpoint is expressed by Roy Williams of The Rouse Company regarding the unknown cost factors inherent in renovation projects. “Recycling takes far more pre-development investigative effort,” he explains. “For the Faneuil Hall market project, we spent a great deal of time, effort and money trying to determine what we were up against before making the decision to go ahead. That meant going through the building almost inch-by-inch, examining structural conditions and determining foundation and subsurface soil and water conditions,” Williams said.

As a result, most developers and architects stress the importance of working closely with a qualified contractor early in the process to uncover potential problems and plan for their solution throughout the renovation.

In the words of Ezra B. Ehrenkrantz, New York City architect and recycling expert: “One of the ways to help reduce the risks inherent in a rehab/recycling project is to work as early as possible with an experienced contractor, developing the interface between new and old throughout the project.

“The goal,” Ehrenkrantz explains, “is to determine what is needed to ‘normalize’ the construction process, using conventional methods and materials as much as possible, within the nature of the existing fabric of the building. Then, you can make allowances for special items which preserve and enhance the uniqueness of the building itself.” Ehrenkrantz also emphasizes the importance of an early architect/contractor involvement to develop the most cost-effective sequence of work. “The nature of what is designed is totally related to the order of activities and processing of the overall job,” he says. “Then the scheduling decisions can be made for the job to proceed as smoothly and economically as possible.”

Difficulties mean advantages?

But if recycling poses difficulties in certain aspects, many of those difficulties also account for the unique advantages of recycling. “Those problems pose the greatest opportunities for doing extraordinary things,” says Roy Williams. “The fact that you’re getting irregular, unusual space, rather than custom-made space, means you have to work with the building in adapting it to a new use. That is the very thing that creates its uniqueness and appeal in the market in the form of unusual shapes and sizes of space, architectural detail and possible cost advantages.”

And so, in a time of rising costs and a need to conserve, recycling of sound old structures to new uses presents the opportunity to save on materials,
trouble and, not infrequently, money. But something is also saved of the particular community and its unique character and spirit. Considered in terms of growing scarcities in many important areas, perhaps recycling is not the optional luxury it was only a few short years ago. Now it is a necessity.
Now It's Old Buildings That Are Recycled

IN SCORES OF CITIES across the U.S., decrepit factories, warehouses, schools, railway stations and other outmoded buildings are being recycled for new and often highly profitable uses.

As the photos on these pages show, urban planners and private investors are finding that sound structures, no matter how ancient, can be remodeled for new roles.

"If you'd asked someone four or five years ago whether he'd rent an apartment in an abandoned piano factory or clothing warehouse, he'd have thought you were crazy," says a New York architect. "Today, many people jump at an opportunity like that."

Changelings. The recycling may embrace such wide-ranging possibilities as a former city hall or courthouse converted into offices; a bank or church transformed into a restaurant; or, as in Plains, Ga., a railroad station used as headquarters for a presidential campaign.

Only a few decades ago, renovation was unpopular and generally far more costly than tearing down an abandoned structure and starting anew.

A turnaround began in the 1960s with a number of well-publicized projects. They included Ghirardelli Square in San Francisco, where an old chocolate factory was restored and made into shops and restaurants; Trolley Square in Salt Lake City, where abandoned car barns became a shopping mall; the Soho district of New York City, where unused warehouses were made into artists' studios and apartments.

What brought about the change?

"One reason is nostalgia," a San Francisco contractor declares. "Maybe old is better than new, many people are saying. Attitudes toward preserving attractive or historic buildings have shifted markedly."

Less expense. A second factor is economic. The cost of demolishing an old building and constructing a new one from scratch now has risen to the point where it is often less expensive to rehabilitate a sound older structure. Also, contractors are aware that fixing up an existing building often requires no new permits, zoning changes, sewer lines or water connections.

Even when the costs of restoration are the same as or a bit more than the costs of putting up a new building, recycling the older building may be better. Comments a Boston architect:

"The plus factor comes when you can develop a final project that is more desirable than a new building—one with the right location, more space in terms of height or volume, more floor area, a special character, materials of a particular quality."

Gradually, architects and builders are developing expertise in refurbishing and preservation, bringing imagination and ingenuity to the job.
INTRODUCTION

In recent months there have been three separate studies of the Market Square area. Each of these studies were initiated in order to seek solutions to some of the environmental and physical problems that prevail in the immediate vicinity of the City-County and City Market Complex.

The Market Square Development Study by the Department of Metropolitan Development and Perry Associates was aimed at maintaining in a single concept the diverse potentials for growth, control, and additive development in the East Market sector of the area. This study is oriented in response to dynamics of the area.

This Department, Skinmore, Swings, and Merrill and Perry Associates executed a study of development relative to ground level pedestrian environment. In part, it focused on the East Market corridor, Market Square Park, Tomlinson Hall uses and arena development. Construction phasing and cost estimates were developed.

Ball State University students have conducted a series of development potential studies of similar Indianapolis. "Urban Retail Innovations-I with the problems of developing a multi-use arena complex over Market Street." Further in exploration of retail and environmental potentials of Market Square Park-Pensioners-Arena development.
ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING

The Regional Center Core area associated with Market Square is the seat of local governmental facilities and services coupled with an historic City Market site - Map 1.

One of the most significant social concepts embodied in the early nineteenth century new-town plan for Indianapolis was the adjacency of a grand market with the seat of local government to the east and with state government on the west. The site of the West City Market is now an asphalt parking lot. The mix of City Market and city government on the east survives and is most vital.

On one and a half of the original city blocks are local governmental administrative offices, local legislative activity, civil courts, police functions and City Market. Undeveloped or under-used land surrounds this area on all sides.

Among the uses presently housed in the immediate peripheral areas to the city-county properties are surface parking and low development - obsolete buildings suffering from major visual and physical deficiencies with the exception of Inland Building and Union Title Building on the west; State Museum on the north.

Market Square is one of the most accessible areas in the Regional Center. It is surrounded by major thoroughfares - Delaware, Alabama, Washington and Ohio Streets. Market Street is one of the main entries into the Regional Center from the east. The Innerloop Freeway being developed five blocks away will have an on and off ramp to and from the south and Ohio Street will have an on and off ramp to and from the north and will contribute substantially to increased accessibility to the Market Square.
DEVELOPMENT CONCEPT

The growth of this section of the Regional Center will have strong impact on surrounding developments. Thus the development of a strong, sound concept for the entire Market Square is very vital.

OBJECTIVES

The recent studies by Perry Associates, Skidmore, Owings and Merrill, J. Mynhier and T. Pastorino are based on the following shared objectives:

1. conservation of land and space through multiple-use development.
2. intense activation of the Market Square area through balanced mixing of complementary activities.
3. optimizing livability and feasibility.
4. achieving maximum long-range development potential.
5. environment improvement.

APPROACH

The Market Square Development Study suggests an optimal phased development of the area jointly planned and executed by local government and private interests.

The study has rather clearly identified the type of growth, change and additive development potential in the area. To permit joint planning and development those dynamics must be quantified. Additional studies need to focus on:

1. local government complex space needs;
2. detailed historic preservation;
3. City Market management and development;
4. auto storage needs (short term, long term, day, night);
5. feasibility timing for development of office space, hotel, commercial and arena;
6. pedestrian environment;
7. implementation strategy (comprehensive and elemental).

IMPLEMENTATION

The developmental needs and opportunities in the Market Square area are, by nature, a mix of governmental and private. A number of clear examples are evident:

The studies on arenas have strongly indicated that government bonding and assembly powers may be needed to render such a development feasible. In turn, private development of multi-use parking structures would add to the feasibility of an arena and the efficiency of governmental services expansion.

A major growth to be accommodated by area development is government office space. Possibly such space needs could be met via private development. The downtown tax base might thus be increased, rather than diminished.

Private interests might best be able to develop and operate restaurants or shops on city-owned land such as the Rathskeller.
IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGY

Implementation of Market Square development requires a high level, long-term commitment by private and public interests to planning, construction, use and maintenance. A lesser effort will end in the squandering of the downtown's most valuable resource - space.

The fact that the City Market and the southern half of the square #45 as designated in the 1821 and 1831 plans for the city of Indianapolis, and the City-County complex and County Jail are all city-county owned and operated institutions and functions, makes the development of these superblocks as a total planning unit much easier. The impact of these functions and activities extends beyond the three blocks for considerations of future expansion or for effectively relating the character of existing and proposed development on the peripheral areas of the City-County functions.

Rarely in an urban setting, especially a downtown, are the potentials, elements, and tools for solution and achievement so identifiable. Seldom is there such a clear opportunity for local government and private interests to coordinate development and achieve so much within and beyond an area toward the vitality and identity of a city.

The Market Square sector of downtown Indianapolis offers government and private enterprise the opportunity to act out the high level of support and cooperation each desires from the other.

The area shown in Map 1 forms what is designated as Market Square Development District under a special ordinance of the Development Commission. This ordinance gives the Commission special review powers to improve the development of this area. Simultaneously the ordinance prohibits the development of certain activities and uses that would otherwise be detrimental to the future growth potential of this very vital segment of the Regional Center.

The ordinance envisions the growth of the Market Square as a planned-unit development in which all components and uses strongly relate, support and complement each other within a cohesive, intense, attractive and pleasant environment.

The Market Square Development District Ordinance along with the Regional Center Ordinance that supersedes and complements the former gives the Development Commission very significant tools to direct the planning, design and development of the Market Square. The Regional Center Ordinance essentially provides a very broad and comprehensive framework for the establishment of policy decisions affecting the future growth and development of the entire area inside the innerloop.

For further detail see:

REGIONAL CENTER-MARKET SQUARE DEVELOPMENT DISTRICT
ZONING ORDINANCE OF MARION COUNTY, INDIANA - DMV, 1970
Officially adopted 5/29/70

REGIONAL CENTER
ZONING ORDINANCE OF MARION COUNTY, INDIANA - DMV - 1970
Officially adopted 5/18/70
PHASE I - envisions the development of an urban park on the west side of the Market - the site of the present parking lot and creation of temporary surface parking on the east side of the main Market.

PHASE II - envisions the development of a parking garage on the north of the proposed urban park and expansion of City-County functions towards the west across Delaware Street.

PHASE III - envisions the development of a second parking garage on the northeast corner of City Market block, the street level of which will house expanded Market functions. This phase envisions the development of residential facilities in the Market Square.
PHASE IV - Envisions the development of additional residential facilities above the parking structure, expansion of the City-County functions towards the east across Alabama Street and development of another small park on the east of City Market.

PHASE V - PHASES I thru IV also envision the development of police/fire headquarters south of the City-County Building and north of the County jail. This phase envisions the development of a sports arena east of the City-County Building.

PHASE VI - PHASES IV thru VI envision the expansion and intense development east of the City Market across Delaware Street and an upper level walkway system connecting it to the Market Square area.

Page 8 presents an alternate scheme in which City-County expansion can take place across Market Street into the City Market block.
MARKET SQUARE DEVELOPMENT

NEED

The dynamics of the Market, the City-County Building complex, the downtown and imminent transportation systems offer great opportunity to marshal major renewal in this area. The inherent needs of the established activities demand it.

Market Square Development needs include:

1. accommodation of the new 29 seat City-County Council and associated activities;
2. expansion of civil courts as well as intensifying use of the existing facilities;
3. accommodation for growth in the executive branch of local government and extension of regional service nodes;
4. additional or new facilities allowing unification of law enforcement agencies;
5. expanded jail facilities;
6. preserving and stabilizing of historic market activities and the original structure;
7. accommodation of major vehicular traffic flow through the area to and from the interstates;
8. development of major garages to accommodate long-term, daily use and short-term, high turnover use oriented to Market House, government services and East Market offices;
9. accommodation of large pedestrian movement patterns across the area.

GOAL

The Market Square area will be consumed by growth and change. These studies aim at the necessary recognition, measuring and guiding of growth dynamics for the maximum advantage of Indianapolis.

OPPORTUNITY

Along with the needs previously enumerated, there is a great opportunity for conservation of land and capital improvement through multiple land use, multiple time usage and air-rights development.

Additional and complementary Market Square development potential includes:

1. activation of Tomlinson Hall Cellar with commercial activity in association with the Market;
2. continued reorganizing of market activities toward more diversity and efficiency;
3. conversion of Market parking lot to Market Square, an urban park center for this quarter;
4. hotel facilities;
5. permanent housing;
6. a multi-use arena in conjunction with access, parking, hotel, restaurants, open space and convention center.
MARKET SQUARE DEVELOPMENT
URBAN DESIGN PLAN    PHASE I
SCHEME II

PHASE I - envisions the development of an urban park, and underground restaurants and shops west of the main City Market structure. This phase envisions landscaping along Delaware and Market Streets and establishment of strong visual and physical ties between the City-County Building and the City Market.

PHASE III - envisions the development of a Sports Arena east of the City-County Building using air-rights over Market Street.

MARKET SQUARE DEVELOPMENT
URBAN DESIGN PLAN    PHASE II

PHASE II - envisions the expansion of the urban park on the west side of the Main Market through the elimination of the west wing of the City Market. Only the Central Shed is considered as an historic landmark. Special treatment of Market Street in front of the City-County Building is anticipated in this phase.

SCHEME III on the following page, prepared by Ball State University students, further confirms the development of an urban park, residential, sports arena, parking structures and offices in the Market Square.
RECOMMENDATIONS SUMMARY

MODERNIZATION OF MARKET HOUSE

Increased and modernized Market House activity can be coupled with historic preservation and reduction of land coverage. Activation of the historic Tomlinson Hall cellar with a rathskeller-boutique complex should make possible its preservation.

DEVELOPMENT OF INTERCEPT PARKING

Development of major parking facilities would serve a broad range of destinations over numerous time periods.

PARKING STRUCTURES

Parking structures, properly located and designed, would eliminate need for the present surface parking area at the Market. That half-acre would be freed for redevelopment into the central green space for this quarter of the city. This park over the top of the rathskeller would become The Market Square.

MULTIPLE USE DEVELOPMENT

By multiple use development, housing could be much more desirable and feasible. The expanding City-County Building marketing opportunities, more diverse marketing and shopping services, open space, restaurants, shops and adjacent downtown activities should make possible later development of transient or even permanent housing around and above the area.

DEVELOPMENT POTENTIAL

Development potential studies of this area done over the past two years have indicated the opportunity for night-time utilization of such access, parking, restaurants, entertainment and transient housing with the development of a multi-use arena. The land required for such a facility could thus be limited to only that required for an arena structure. By use of air rights, less than four acres would need be assembled for such a development. The J. Mynheir study suggests development of offices and a hotel in the great volume of space enclosed by the long span structure of an arena.

SPORTS ARENA DEVELOPMENT

Recent feasibility studies have given strong indication that an arena development may only be economically feasible in a multi-use, joint venture context.

DEVELOPMENT OF PEDESTRIAN SYSTEM

Finally, studies by Perry Associates have recommended the development of an upper level pedestrian system which would free by separation, people and vehicle movement in the area. Such a system should be established as any planned thoroughfare system so that each development phase in the area can respond architecturally as it must to other easements and rights-of-way, pedestrian system which would free by separation people and vehicle movement in the area. Such a system should be established as any planned thoroughfare system so that each development phase in the area can respond architecturally as it must to other easements and rights-of-way.
MARKET SQUARE - SPORTS ARENA COMPLEX • DEVELOPMENTAL CHARACTER
SCHEME III
Administration and Policy Direction

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Market Square Development - Sports Arena

Fourth Year Design Studio
Ball State University-School of Architecture

Market Square Development

Perry Associates
Indianapolis, Indiana

Skidmore, Owings & Merrill
Washington, D.C.
I. MARKET SQUARE DEVELOPMENT PLAN RECOMMENDATIONS:

A. The Division of Planning and Zoning will prepare a detailed development plan including:

1. Pedestrian-way locations and system type
2. Massing and location of structures
3. Vehicular access and storage systems
4. Future expansion accommodations
5. The character of materials, lighting and street furnishings
6. Utilities and service access to buildings
7. Phasing of the construction sequences for the sub-elements
8. We recommend the following sequence of the major sub-elements:
   a. demolish east shed (parking)
   b. construct phase one park
   c. demolish rear half of east produce shed
   d. begin construction of new meat market
   e. complete Alabama Street pedestrian crosswalk
   f. complete new meat market
   g. restore east exterior wall of market center shed
   h. complete park phase two
   i. remove west shed
   j. construct restaurant and support retail
   k. complete Wabash Street pedestrian mall and vertical circulation connections to restaurant, market, meat market, parking structures, both parks and commercial development on the north half of the block
   l. restore exterior and interior of market
   m. construct west park

OBJECTIVES OF THE MARKET SQUARE DEVELOPMENT PLAN:

A. Provide the capital development and infra-structure to insure the economic and functional success of the Indiana Sports Arena and the Market Square Subelement of the Regional Center.

B. Support and reinforce the Regional Center Plan

C. Provide the physical elements necessary to enable the Market, the rathskeller, the arena, and the Market Square Associates project to generate mutual support by generation of interrelated activities in close proximity.
D. Provide a climate-controlled shopping, commercial, office, restaurant, entertainment and parking complex with convenience and services competitive with shopping centers in Indianapolis.

E. Provide a government/private enterprise led development of outstanding quality economically, functionally and architecturally to serve as an example of quality urban development for the rest of the Regional Center, and as an example of the quality of life and urban activity now being generated by Indianapolis.

F. Provide governmental leadership for development and, thus, guidance by example instead of guidance by review; as we have become accustomed to now.

II. DEVELOPMENT AND DESIGN DETERMINANTS: The following physical, functional, economic and environmental factors will be the determinants that form the Market Square Development Program, its solution and final configuration and thus are the methods of achieving the above objectives.

A. Pedestrian traffic and automobile traffic must be separate and mutually supporting.

B. Parking must be easily accessible from the Innerloop and provide efficient access to all of the subelements; the intercept concept can still work here.

C. Climate controlled vertical pedestrian circulation (elevators, escalators, stairs and ramps) and horizontal pedestrian walkways should link the Indianapolis Indoor Sports Arena, the Market Square Development and its parking facilities, and adjacent parking facilities to encourage convenient access and around-the-clock use.

D. Building, massing, scale, texture, and physical configuration should be utilized to reinforce functional systems thereby encouraging pedestrians to feel comfortable with the relationships between historic and modern functions.

E. Second level retail, commercial, office and entertainment facilities should be developed to capitalize on the economic incentive of the two level circulation system.

F. The pedestrian flow and quantity by type must be analyzed to predict capacities of related activity areas and potential economic impact.

G. Preservation of the original city market and the market function must be preserved.
Introduction

In the Spring of 1976, I participated in the College of Architecture and Planning's London Polyark Program which sent twenty-three architecture students to England, France, and Scotland for the academic quarter. I completed individual independent study in several areas including the markets. The results of my research into market towns, street markets, and market halls is a slide presentation, the text of which is presented here.
I. Market Towns
   A. Neutral Ground
   B. Distinction between Fairs and Markets
   C. Effect upon Street Layout and Town Development
   D. Expansion of Trade in 14th Century
   E. Country-wide Marketing System Develops in 16th Century

II. Street Markets
   A. Economic Need for Markets during the Industrial Revolution
   B. Impressions of the London Street Markets
   C. The Appeal of the Markets

III. Market Halls
   A. Crowded Unsanitary Conditions in the 19th Century
   B. Cast Iron Technology
   C. Warehousing
   D. The Halls, Paris
   E. Covent Garden Markets
I. Market Towns

In Saxon times in England, small autonomous communities lived at constant war with their neighbors and always in fear of attack. In such a society places for trade were established, which, in the course of time, came to be regarded as neutral ground, and thus suitable points for barter and the proclamation of intertribal law. The practice of proclaiming new law at fairs was the Roman custom.

In the Middle Ages, fairs and markets were frequently granted together by a royal charter. They were usually granted to the Lord of the manor, whether lay or clerical, and they have always had much in common. With both there is a concourse of buyers and sellers at a given time and place.

Fairs, however, usually possessed a festive element which was lacking in the markets. Even to this day, the village fair is the social event of the year, rivaling Christmas. As it is said, the seasons themselves seem to wait on the fairs. Actually it is the seasons which are the cause of the fairs as celebration for harvest, in particular, and Christian holidays.

The market as an institution is entirely the product of economic need. A market was chartered depending upon its distance from other markets. Markets were spaced by the distance one man could walk in one day. Thus a person living between two markets could walk to one and back in a day's time. Sunday was the most popular day for the markets in the Middle Ages. Just as fairs were linked with the annual celebrations of the Church, markets were linked with the ordinary weekly assemblies for worship.

Fairs and markets are distinguished from each other by their timing and their sitting. Fairs have a yearly rhythm, while markets a weekly rhythm. Fairs were sited outside towns, near boundaries, on hilltops, or superimposed on the town to the suspension of the daily routine of town life. Markets were always contained by the towns and regulated by the town's needs. Fairs were originally for the exchange of commodities on the grand scale and flourished in a society in which the people were largely self-supporting by their day to day needs - a society in which the buyers and sellers were not small householders, as they became for the most part at markers. Rather fairs were for the princes, nobles, and heads of monastic houses, while the markets were for the common man.

The chartered market has conditioned the growth and development of the English town. Not only did it cause a uniform development of the countryside by the fixed spacing between them, but also the market place was the growing point of most towns. Their street layouts have taken on the characteristics of the market which once was there.
For example, a market would naturally form around the church steps or entrance gate since the market was associated with weekly worship. This location also represented protection. Later people would set up their stalls along the broad way which led to the church, thinning out quickly as one went out towards the open country, representing danger to the peaceful trader. This triangular shape is common, starting with a broad base, narrowing steadily as one goes away from it for ½ to ¾ mile until one reaches the outlet in a main road of normal width. This is Keswick, an old market town in the Lake District of England.

St. Albans is another good example. About the year 950, the Abbot Wulsin laid out the rudiments of a town outside the north gate of St. Albans Abbey. It took the form of a triangular open space tapering from a broad base outside the abbey walls, northward to a point at which he built St. Peter's Church. Facing this space, the abbot divided up the land on either side into narrow plots on which the traders were encouraged to settle permanently, building their houses with timber and other materials supplied by him.

At Marborough and Thame, both ancient Saxon towns, the present-day main street, of immense width and length, once served as the open-air market. Stalls were set up to a considerable depth on either side of the main road, which swelled out like a sausage-shaped balloon for half a mile and then closed again. Probably they owe their exceptional size to the fact that Marborough was a great sheep market from the earliest times, and Thame a great cattle market. Space on this scale would be needed to herd the animals into market.

Originally the market place was covered with single room sheds or stalls, of which the upper half would let down to form an open-air counter and display. The market stalls spread out as they increased in number to form groups with similar trading interest. These were known as the Fish Shambles, Flesh Shambles, and Leather Shambles among others. The name "shambles" probably was derived from the old German word meaning "stalls" or "benches". Traces of these old names occur occasionally in the names of the narrow passageways between the backs of shops and houses, sometimes roofed over, that now replace the old market divisions. In York, one of the best preserved medieval streets in Europe, called the Shambles once consisted of butcher shops. The shelves in front of the shop windows and the hooks above were for the displaying of meat, and the east-west line of the street and overhanging second floor meant the meat was in cool shape for most of the day.

The building over of the market places was the result of the great expansion of trade and population in the 14th century. By the 16th century, marketing was run by the freemen of the town, and the mayor of the town was the Clerk of the Market. The mayor fixed the prices of ale, bread, and other goods together with the standards to which they must conform. This led eventually to the development of a countrywide system of weights and measures which were usually
kept in the Town Hall often located where the old church once stood. The Moot Hall of Keswick which had a foundation dating to the 16th century is an example, along with the Town Hall of St. Albans.

Many of the open-air markets which were established in the Middle Ages still survive today. In fact they are quite prosperous and popular. Why haven't they been built over? Perhaps because of the symbolic aura and sense of identity that they give the residents of the towns. So successful is the Chesterfield market that it is recognized as the regional market for all of North Derbyshire. It boasts continuous existence on the same site since the 13th century. When threatened with replacement by a mega-shopping complex, nearly the entire town signed a petition to preserve the market.
II. Street Markets

In later times it was more often that the town produced the market rather than the market producing the town, particularly at the time of the Industrial Revolution. Communities of people engaged in industry, and no longer self-supporting, required a regular supply of food, which had to be brought in from the country. And this regular supply of food has become the heart and soul of marketing ever since.

The street markets had their origin as the traders first spread out their goods on the pavements of the rapidly expanding industrial towns. There were no street trading licences, anybody being at liberty to stand with his goods. To select a good location, the traders would usually arrive at four in the afternoon, and leave their goods in the custody of a boy until the market would begin at six. When the traders began putting up stalls instead of just spreading out their goods, they became subject to rules concerning the size of their stalls. In the Liber Albus of London, these rules were referred to under the old laws of "the cleansing of the streets and lanes." This is significant in that the streets are the basis for building regulations rather than the streets being considered void space between the buildings.

By 1936 over 100 street markets were functioning in London. After pay time on Saturday night or on Sunday became the most popular time for the market day. Remember in medieval times the popular day for the market was Sunday because of its association with weekly worship. On market days the crowds would become impassible. The riot and struggle and scramble for making a living was often compared to the wild scene of the London docks in their climax. It is this excitement that is the basis for the present-day street markets.

My impressions of some of the London street markets were recorded as follows:

The Portobello Road street market stretches along for maybe a mile in the northwest London suburb of Notting Hill. Upon approaching I was surprised to see the great number of people who had come so early. People and stalls filled the street so much that you could not see the pavement. The stalls were wooden frames sitting just off the sidewalk and, in general, were facing the store fronts. The street was filled with carts, boxes, wagons, and autos that transported the goods to the stalls.

Upon passing under what is called a fly-over for the subway, I was struck by a scene that could've been straight from Main Street in Disneyland. Tube trains, like the monorail, passed overhead. A girl with a slick dress and blue hair looks over some furs and dresses. Political graffiti covers an area under the concrete bridge.
Old gramophones provide music to the scene. At one stall, cheap radios of every description and bandwave were for sale. Second-hand books are available at another, and old postcards. The amount of junk is incredible.

The people create the environment as much as anything else. A small boy asks how much the penknives are under a glass case. The reply from the stall-keeper is the inflated price of 5 pounds. The boy walks away discouraged. Two very obviously friendly dogs in a van with a sign on the door that reads "Mind the dogs; they bite." Another sign reads "Get smashed on 30p - homemade beer." "Try this beer. We're not allowed to sell it but we can sure give it away. You can't buy beer cheaper than you can make it." A Barker attracts a large crowd offering cameras for sale, two for 50p. A bearded white-haired man wearing a red bandana, blue sweater, and red skirt stands in the doorway of an elaborately decorated van. The words read: "Here he is - Prince Gypsy Petulengro Lee - The world famous palmist and astrologer."

The Camden Passage street market in Islington is predominantly an antique and furniture market. By appearance it seems to be more established than the other markets with its shops and small covered arcades. The goods include: jewelry, silver items, antique cameras, scientific instruments, clocks and watches, records, porcelain and pottery. A painted ceramic tile from an old wash basin makes a good souvenir. I pick up a cloth banner at one stand, "I'll let you have that for a quid fifty." I open it up and ask what the figure is in the center. "Why that's a Welsh lion." And she seemingly consults with some other stall-keepers as if for verification.

The Petticoat Lane street market was by far the most popular with the tourists. The crowd was shoulder to shoulder. The stall-keepers were quite a bit more shrewder today. You should have a sound knowledge of what to look for in the goods you want. I have become more aware of the surrealistic quality of the markets. Church bells rang out as I walked and at first I couldn't tell whether they were real or a recording. A porter carts hot coals through the crowds shouting "Mind yer legs." He deposits them at a stall selling hot chestnuts.

The confusion, the noise, the trash, the congestion. It seems that this is almost the purpose of the market: for people to run into one another. There's no hurry. The street market, as an architectural space, did not evolve so much to display merchandise in the best way, or to handle the circulation of people, carts and animals in the most efficient manner. But rather it evolved with the idea of maximizing interaction. You must make your way through the crowds, bargain with the stall-keepers, and carry away your treasures in your arms for others to see. The process of buying is just as important as what is bought.
Originally the market came about as an economic necessity—the distribution of food and goods to the working class of an industrialized nation. Today more efficient means of distribution handle the growing demand for more diversified products. Well-stocked shops have become regarded as essential. Transportation technology has allowed these shops to be located miles apart. Yet the street markets have endured as an alternative to the supermarkets and department stores of the 20th century. One reason for this is the social environment they provide the people of the market. It is the weekly event, a place of real distinction where people can find identity as characters. Another reason is the excitement it generates. The variety of antiques, people and junk, color and noise, music and smells, and sensory variety that attracts the outsider to become involved in the market scene.
III. Market Halls

In the 1800's the condition of the markets was rapidly becoming intolerable and unmanageable. The problem of removal of refuse, which can be imagined to be pretty plentiful after a market day, contributed to the extremely unsanitary conditions. London's population was increasing rapidly during this period. The markets spread out uncontrolled like urban sprawl. More market space only encouraged more people, more stalls, and more congestion. The answer was to lie in the better organization of the market to function efficiently.

The schemes for enclosed market halls developed in the 19th century were to be among the most imaginative architectural structures ever. The City Corporation of London in 1893 envisioned the street markets "to be replaced by covered markets erected on the site of slum clearances, centring around a band-stand with playgrounds on the roof." Originally built of wood, the market halls were frequently merely a roofing over of existing market areas. Thus the roof structure would become the dominant architectural element. This is the market hall at Oxford. Frequently the roof would consist of two pitched sections and a raised center section separated by clerestory windows for light and ventilation. Later the architectural emphasis shifted to classical facade treatment. As iron technology took hold in the mid-1800's, the wood structures were replaced by cast iron trusses and columns since wood retained fish odors and harbored bacteria and disease organisms. On the right is the future market hall in Leeds being built now with a steel space frame structure. Warehousing was also very much a part of the design for the market hall.

In Paris, ten halls of iron girder and skylighted roofs were erected between 1854 and 1866 designed by Victor Baltard. The halls, complete with vast underground storehouses and linked by roofed passages and alleys, became the model for covered markets throughout Europe and even abroad. The scene of nightmarish congestion of food-laden trucks, of rich variety of color and smell, and of overbearing market porters and loiterers, was summed up by Emile Zola when he described the Halls as "Paris's stomach." The market space having become totally inadequate has since moved to Rungis outside Paris.

The market at Covent Garden in London was chartered to the Earl of Bedford in 1670 for the buying and selling of all manner of fruit, flowers, roots, and herbs. Trading flourished and the market spread quickly. On the left is a view of the market as it was in 1660. On the right is the scene in 1812. By the 19th century the arrangement for the display and sale of produce had become extremely unsatisfactory. People had begun to complain about the noise and congestion caused by the market. The need for improvements to the overloaded conditions became so pressing that the proprietor of the market, the Duke of Bedford, obtained an Act of Parliament enabling him to replace the existing shops and stalls with a market building.
The so-called Dedicated Market was built between 1828 and 1830 based on the design of architect Charles Fowler. The resulting market was both efficient and popular. A contemporary account describes its arrangement:

"Approaching from the east, the chief feature is the quadruple colonnade with the conservatories (greenhouses) over. In the central building is a passage 16 ft. wide, open to the roof, and on each side a range of fruit-shops, forced articles, and the more choice culinary vegetables and herbs. Each shop has a cellar under and a room over it, with a trap door to the former and a small staircase to the latter. There are two exterior colonnades on the north and south sides which serve as passages in front of the shops. . . . The half of one of the areas is covered with a roof in three parts, open at the sides for ventilation and light; the roof is supported by cast iron pillars, from which spring circular ribs, instead of horizontal tie-beams; and the result is a very light appearance. Under it is held the wholesale fruit market, and below the surface are fruit cellars. The open space under the quadruple colonnade is occupied at one end as a fruit market, and at the other with stands for fruits and vegetables."

An interesting aspect of the design was the accommodation of temporary stalls as well as permanent shops, the walkways between the shops being wide enough for the stalls to be set up in the space.

After further expansion of trade, the Duke of Bedford opened up another market building, called the Flower Market in 1860, and subsequently the Russell Street Market, the Jubilee Market, and the Floral Hall which looks like a giant greenhouse with its domed glass roof. It is believed to have been built with materials left over when the Crystal Palace was moved from Hyde Park.

By 1880, however, the extensive use of the market had again overreached its facilities and a prolonged attack was mounted by Punch magazine under the heading "Mud Salad Market." The market was described as "a disgrace to London, a special disgrace to his Grace of Mudsford, and about the greatest nuisance ever permitted in a great City of Nuisance."

This pattern seems typical of market development. Left unchecked, the growth and expansion of the market tends toward greater and greater disorder and congestion which eventually would choke the market's existence. Social forces demand the need for more and more interaction which only hampers the smooth functioning of the market. Planning steps in as a counterforce in this development, and, through carefully designed circulation routes, separation of incompatible activities, and the display of merchandise in an appealing and efficient manner, the social function of the market becomes compatible with its function of the distribution of goods. These two forces can be seen as counterbalancing one another and preserving the character of the market along with insuring its continued existence.
Even with all the new buildings, the Covent Garden Market was busting at the seams, and the traders leased premises in the streets surrounding the markets. By the mid-20th century the market traders not only occupied the five market buildings which covered six acres of Covent Garden, but also some 25 acres around the markets as well. In 1964 the Market Authority recommended that a new market hall be built in Battersea approximately 2½ miles away from the Covent Garden site replacing the old market location.

In 1974 the Covent Garden Market moved to Vauxhall. The out-of-date buildings in congested streets involving inefficient handling techniques have been replaced by modern methods of wholesale distribution. The new Covent Garden Market is already proving that its historic move was more than worthwhile: turn-round times for vehicles are much faster; there has been a substantial reduction in wasteage; and the consumer is being supplied with fresher produce. The new market has a reputation for quality and service. Perhaps, though, all this at the expense of alienating the public from its activity. Do the characters of the old market still exist behind the closed doors of the new and efficient market? Has the planning force become so strong now that it now longer allows social interaction to occur? A small but historically significant district of London is also undergoing a total change of character. This planning decision, the relocation of a market, affects quite a bit more than the mere efficient handling of goods. The result is the alienation of people from the functioning of the market, and the loss of identity to the area around the old market site.
A List of Examples Used During Presentation
(in sequential order)

Keswick-on-Derwentwater, Market Place, Lake District, England
St. Albans, Market Place, Herts., England
Marlborough, Market Place, Wilts., England
York, The Shambles (medieval street), England
Leeds, open-air market, Yorks., England
Cambridge, open-air market, England
Chesterfield, open-air market; Derbys., England
Birmingham, open-air market, England
York, open-air market, England
Portobello Road, street market, London
Petticoat Lane, street market, London
Camden Passage, antique market, Islington, London
Chapel Street Market, Islington, London
Oxford, market hall, England
Covent Garden Markets, London
Dedicated Market, 1828-1830, Charles Fowler
Flower Market, 1860
Floral Hall, c. 1860
Russell Street Market, c. 1860
Jubilee Market, 1904

Les Halles, 1854-1866, Paris
Bibliography


Covent Garden Information Centre (GLC). 1-4 King Street, London. (permanent exhibition and information on restoration)


The Central Market Building

Dedicated Market, Covent Garden, London
Conclusions:

1. Street layout, town growth and development has been conditioned by the arrangement of the market stalls in the early market towns. Symbolically, as well as physically, the market is the growing point of the market towns.

2. The market has traditionally been associated with the common working man and his day to day needs.

3. The open-air markets survive today because of the symbolic aura and sense of identity that they give the residents of the market towns.

4. Markets and street activity are inseparable and are mutually supportive.

5. The market as an institution evolved with the idea of maximizing social interaction. The process of buying is just as important as what is bought.

6. The street markets survive today because of (a) the social environment they provide the people of the market, and (b) the excitement it generates and sensory variety that attracts the outsider to become involved in the market scene. The surreal or fantasy aspect of the market is related to this last point.

7. More market space only encourages more people, more stalls, and more congestion. The answer to congestion lies in the better organization of the market to function efficiently.

8. Left unchecked, the growth and expansion of the market tends toward greater and greater disorder and congestion which eventually would choke its existence. Social forces demand the need for more interaction which only hampers the smooth functioning of the market. Planning steps in as a counter-force to this development and through carefully designed circulation routes, separation of incompatible activities, and the display of merchandise in an appealing and efficient manner, the social function of the market becomes compatible with its function of the distribution of goods. These two forces can be seen as counterbalancing one another insuring the market's continued existence along with preserving its character.

9. The relocation of a market results in the alienation of people from the functioning of the market and the loss of identity to the area around the old market site.

12 Sept. 76
The Street Markets of London

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Senior Honors Thesis
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Preface

The Industrial Revolution heralded the advent of street markets in England as traders brought their goods to towns whose inhabitants were no longer self-supporting. At first, anyone was welcome to ply his wares on the town pavements. Then, as the sellers began to construct stalls to hold and display their goods, they became subject to license and size regulations.

By 1936, London supported over 100 street markets of varying size and content. The more popular markets included Portobello Road, Petticoat Lane and Leather Lane.

Each of these three markets assumes a different atmosphere. Leather Lane remains closest to the concept of the neighborhood market. Tucked behind a narrow alley off a main thoroughfare, this market is frequented by local inhabitants browsing and doing daily shopping. Fortunately, the area has not yet become an integral part of the London tourist business.

Portobello Road and Petticoat Lane receive the largest influx of tourists of all the London markets, but each has its own distinctions. Portobello Road still retains somewhat of an artsy, avant garde flavor and a diminished reputation as an antique market. Petticoat Lane caters almost exclusively to the tourist trade, supplying general merchandise with a heavy emphasis on clothing.
The excitement, the novelty and the individuality of these three markets comprise the subject of the following essay, expressed in words and photographs. The words are for explanation, color and dialogue; the pictures for illustration, mood and atmosphere. Most of the content deals with people—the people who buy, the people who sell, the interaction of the crowd, the variety of personalities and archetypes, the vast numbers of humanity who trample the streets.
Introduction

The crowd jousts like a herd of amiable cows down the narrow street, lined on both sides with an architectural variety of homemade wooden stalls. Drawn by a promising sign, attractive display or persuasive seller, they ramble from one booth to another, examining quantities of clothing, food, household items and other guaranteed bargains. At one stall, a Frenchman tries to argue down the price of a leather jacket with its uncompromising Indian owner; at another, an indignant housewife demands a refund for a faulty kitchen gadget; at yet another, an American tourist happily shells out pounds and pence for a statue of Big Ben to the stall-keeper with the charming Cockney accent.

No better place in London offers a more comprehensive interaction with its inhabitants and visitors than the street markets located in various areas throughout the city. Within a few blocks, the English, the growing international population and the continual influx of tourists congeal into a mass united by density and a common quest for the increasingly elusive bargain. And the stall-keepers, ranging from Eliza Doolittles and colorful remnants of the '60s to experienced, hard-nosed sellers and jowial crowdpleasers, manage to supply almost anything outside of the Holy Grail.

Housewives search for household goods, inspect the numerous fruit and vegetable booths and buy shampoo and toothpaste at
discount prices. Young people compare merchandise at competing blue jeans stalls, look for bargain record albums and comb through piles of cheap jewelry. Businessmen pause at stands featuring belts and shoes, ponder over the authenticity of a leather coat and watch a demonstration at the hardware booth. Children stare in fascination as the toy salesman produces his wares. Tourists, hungry for souvenirs, gaze eagerly at stalls rimmed with the Union Jack, offering the usual array of ashtrays, tea towels and mugs depicting Westminster Abbey, St. Paul's and Tower Bridge. Innumerable booths display books, flowers, clothing, novelty items, suitcases, authentic and not-so-authentic antiques, furniture, umbrellas, radios and tape recorders, fast foods and other miscellaneous items.

"Genuine leather!" booms a voice at one end of the street. "Get yer fresh vegetables here!" chimes in another. "Come and look at these bargains!" adds a third voice. Together they blend into a sort of salesman's symphony. From pianissimo to fortissimo, the blend of sales pitches sometimes rises into an unimaginable harmony, whether the staccato "farm eggs!" of the dairyman's wife or the legato "Try this soap and you'll be making the wisest buy of the day" from the dealer of sundries.

Trying to please the disgruntled and persuade the miserly is part of the stall-keeper's art. Often a seller will draw a small crowd while elaborately expounding upon the virtues of a certain product. The real crowdpleasers are those with an air of showmanship, making their sales pitch an amusing entertainment.
Leather Lane

While the bigger markets are often overrun with tourists, Leather Lane patrons are usually the working class inhabitants of the city. Here, the casual shopper is more likely to encounter the British housewife chatting cheerfully with a bespectacled vegetable man as she selects carrots for stew, the shop girl wistfully speculating over the dress racks, the tradesman carefully examining a selection as he listens to the seller's anxious guarantees and the vagrant, cautiously eyeing the abandoned stalls and searching empty boxes. It is not the merchandise that is of interest in Leather Lane, but the people who buy and sell it.

The entrance is as inconspicuous as the market itself. A narrow alley off Holborn appears to be deserted except for a young man standing near a rack of ties. But a couple of blocks down, the cries of the vendors become audible and the main stalls appear, rimming a thoroughfare of shoppers.

The traffic begins. "They show a lot of rubbish down 'ere," says one man to another as he surveys the long rows of merchandise. "Nothing's cheap."

"Unless you're really lucky," the other replies.

But they do buy, despite the cost, despite the bargain basement quality. They buy out of necessity. And even some necessities are luxuries.
"This is a nice stall," remarks a young woman to her friend as they approach racks of clothes. "I like the dresses here."

Her friend is bitter. "It's so expensive here, it's criminal."

Dreaming of a new addition to her wardrobe, the young woman does not hear her friend's reply. "I like this one," she says softly, giving the material a loving caress. But her friend is right, the dress is too expensive for her budget. They reluctantly move to the next booth as the stall-keeper, wearing a tape measure around his neck, calls after them, "Anybody else want serving here, girls?"

"These styles are £4.50, luv," a salesman tells the woman whose attention is focused upon a green sweater. "These are £3.90," he adds encouragingly, pointing to an adjacent rack.

Another vendor attempts to be more persuasive. Catching the eye of a young passerby, the old man pleads, "Come up here, luv. Come up here, my darling." Evidently uninterested in his merchandise, she chooses to walk away instead.

Near the front of the market, a stall-keeper sells his miscellaneous junk with the finesse of an experienced auctioneer, maintaining a rather large audience around him, much to the dismay of his neighbors, whose own stalls are blocked from view. If he can't sell one item, he quickly moves to the next, insuring continual consumer interest and steady profits.

Down the street, a salesman personally demonstrates the efficiency of his ironing pads to curious customers. English eggs, "fresh from the farm," are given prominent display at
a neighboring booth. Another stall-keeper launches into his well-versed "you can't get a better deal anywhere" speech.

Satisfaction is not guaranteed. An angry woman berates a very short old man in a brown suit at the curtain stall. "I just bought this curtain and find it is eight inches shorter than the other," she complains loudly.

This is not a fair weather crowd. As persistent as the postman making his appointed rounds, the stall-keepers subject themselves to the whims of the weather in order to realize a livelihood. They stamp their feet, bounce around briskly and rub numbed hands together to counteract the damp, chill wind. Not everyone manages to maintain a brave front. One long-haired clerk in jeans and a brown coat is frankly miserable as she shivers amid the sweaters of her stall.

Vagrants are not well tolerated; perhaps because so many of these people are barely able to scrape out an existence themselves. Upon seeing a shabbily-dressed man hesitantly scooping up a few rotten vegetables from a deserted booth, a nearby stall-keeper chases the startled bum away, his insults pursuing the man down the street.

"Ten each, large cues," shouts the vegetable man.
Portobello Road

In the '60s, Portobello Road and Carnaby Street gained world recognition through the youth who thronged their shops and walkways, parading in miniskirts and other bizarre fashions, emulating Twiggy and the Beatles. Today, Carnaby Street is a garish ghost, a middle-aged prostitute whose caked makeup and bright clothes cannot disguise the fact that she is a has-been. But Portobello Road still supports a thriving Saturday market and offers an occasional glimpse of the unusual inhabitants who produced its colorful past.

Under the tube embankment, a number of merchants have gathered in a shaded square. Surrounded by cement walls brightly displaying unusual graphics and political graffiti, vendors offer curio-seekers frayed sheet music, decades-old postcards written to someone's Aunt Ginny, books of the third and twenty-third editions, replicas worn by Queen Victoria and other assorted memorabilia from earlier days. Some call it nostalgia, some call it junk, but whatever the aesthetic opinion of the buyer or seller, there is plenty of it here.

A young woman sorts through racks of used clothing that might suit a flapper of the '20s or a flower child of the '60s. Her decidedly blue hair places her in the latter category.

Near the square, two dogs watch the crowd from the window.
of a van situated across from their masters' stall. The large sign warning, "Notice, these dogs bite!" denies them any friendly attention from passersby. However, one old man, oblivious to the sign, decides to pet them. The owners are immediately outraged. "Mind the dogs, Sir!" they cry out in irritable voices. The old man, possibly deaf, pays no heed to their words. Thoroughly convinced this old codger is a senile runaway from some home for the aged, the couple resorts to name-calling. But their crassness has no affect on an ear accustomed to the world's insensitivity. A few minutes later, the man strolls leisurely away as the dogs watch him leave, still wagging their tails.

Spawning from both ends of the square is a long row of stalls, which spill onto an occasional side street. Enticing signs lead shoppers to various stalls.

Two young men offer advice on "How to make your own beer for 5p," or "Get smashed out of your skull for 20p."

"Try this beer. We're not allowed to sell it, but we can sure give it away. You can't buy beer cheaper than you can make it," the salesman remarks while generously distributing free samples. The kit sells for £4.82.

A few enterprising souls buy the kit, but many others choose to invade the pubs of the area. Their efforts to rest tired feet, bruised shoulders and jarred eardrums are in vain. Instead of finding a quiet corner to sip a pint of lager and mull about whether a recently purchased radio was really the bargain it seemed at the time, they discover the pub to
be more jammed than the street outside. The thirsty shopper has no choice but to stand on the corner, mug in hand and listen to the sounds of radios, records, sales pitches and passersby mingle into a melodic roar.

Not too far from the pub, the showman at the toy stall is giving a command performance, judging from the crowd gathered around him. "Look a that," he says, showing them a rather unreliable-looking camera. Some shoppers gaze up in amazement, as if he had just invented the instrument himself. With a flourish, he sings "Smile, though your heart is breaking," as he aims the camera at a face.

Then the hard sell begins. "The same as you saw on TV for £2.51, but I'll sell for 50p. When you come to the market you expect a bargain and by golly, I'm going to give you one," he shouts.

His stall is located directly across from a Dominican convent.

One end of Portobello Road is the antique market or what passes for antiques. The sophisticated collector might take one surveying glance, lift a haughty eyebrow and immediately hail a taxi for Sotheby's auction house, but an amateur enthusiast could discover something of interest. Authentic or not authentic? That is the question. Perhaps Prince Gypsy Petulengro Lee has the answer.

"He is here. Prince Gypsy Petulengro Lee. The world famous palmist and astrologist," is the inscription on a van replacing the traditional gypsy caravan. An elaborately lettered copy of the Desdirada is inscribed on the opposite
side. The back door opens and outwalks the palmist himself, fully living up to expectations. His flowing white hair and beard, pulled tight at the crown with a scarf, blue sweater and wide red pants immediately cast him into his self-appointed role. Disdainfully, the Prince surveys the crowd, as if daring them to test his powers. Most people are too concerned with the present to do more than throw a curious glance in his direction.
Petticoat Lane

The mass of humanity crammed into the narrow streets of the Petticoat Lane market is reminiscent of a crowd scene from a Cecil B. DeMille film epic. Struggling to get from one booth to another without being swept past by the undercurrent of shuffling feet is barely worth the energy expended.

Customers who arrive early enough at this Sunday morning market have a chance to explore the small network of streets of which it is composed, the chief one being Bishopsgate, before being assaulted by a multitude of foreign visitors. Petticoat Lane is a tourist market. No sane Englishman or woman would disturb their Sunday peace to be jostled by a Pakistani, trampled upon by an Italian or berated by a Frenchman. The density of the crowd increases in proportion to the height of the sun; by mid-morning, the streets have reached squeezing capacity.

A spectrum of underwear boldly adorns one stall. Checked, flowered, polka-dotted, paisley, cartoon; satin, lace, cotton; bikini, boxer; ladies, men's, boys, girls—the variety is mind-boggling. Few of the curious, however, are willing to risk embarrassment by visiting the gauche display. The stall-keeper stands sternly nearby, his expression daring anyone to laugh at his wares.
Inexpensive clothes abound. A partially enclosed square house bargains in jeans, cheesecloth shirts and other apparel, constituting one of Petticoat Lane's most attractive qualities. In the absence of dressing rooms, girls slip on skirts over jeans and sweaters over shirts, comparing sizes. A quick flick of the ever-present measuring tape allows the vendor to swiftly assess the waist measurements of a slim teenager or buxom matron.

Across the road, an argument between a woman and the bearded seller of coats for £12.99 elicits mild attention from nearby shoppers. But they soon return to their own deliberations. Some try on the gaudy necklaces hanging in strands from stall rafters; some sort through quantities of folding umbrellas, a London necessity; others investigate guaranteed Swiss watches for £3.95.

The stall-keepers assume a slightly different attitude here. Shrewdly sizing up gullible customers, the innocents abroad, they badger, coo and cajole their way to successful sales. Sooner or later, someone will find that garish ashtray depicting Queen Elizabeth II irresistible.

"Mind yer legs!" shouts an old man who deftly weaves a cart of hot coals through the crowd to a chestnut stand. Onlookers watch him quickly transfer the coals under the grill supporting the roasting nuts.

The constant pressure of the crowd prohibits any hopes of lingering long. After selecting a few bargains, the average shopper is quite happy to fight to an exit, embracing the emptiness of the outside streets with package-laden arms.
UPDATING MARKET HALLS

By BARRIE AND HELEN SHELTON

There are more than 100 towns in England with market halls, largely a product of nineteenth century industrialisation. Several have been redeveloped in recent years and many more are considered ripe for redevelopment. Isn't it time to think again about a form that has been inherited and which is irrelevant to the present-day needs of most cities?

There are over 100 towns in England with market halls, largely a product of nineteenth century industrialisation. Several have been redeveloped in recent years—for instance at Sheffield, Liverpool, Burnley, Wakefield, Blackburn and Exeter—while many more are considered ripe for redevelopment. It is an appropriate time to look critically at developments in the field.

On the basis of those new developments which have taken place, it is clear that the market hall has been misunderstood in a number of ways. The market's general development has not been analysed and, as a result, specific market developments have proceeded in a vacuum. This article is an attempt to explain in what ways the market hall has been misunderstood and in order to do this, it is necessary to look at its evolution.

With the industrial revolution, towns had to contend with rapid population expansion, dirty factories, more and flatter traffic, plus an increase in the inadequate sanitary facilities that had existed long beforehand. These new conditions determined fundamental changes in the form of the urban environment.

Old town centres were razed and redeveloped. The scale of action which proceeded had not previously been necessary or indeed possible. To cope with the new “hostile” elements in the environment, a new townscape emerged—a series of great introverted humps, each islanded by wide traffic routes which often conformed to a grid-iron network.

One of these humps was the market hall—a fully enclosed market place, usually with a classical exterior or at least facade and an ornate and spacious inside. This represented a change in the form of the covered version of the general retail market (although the bazaar, which may be considered to have been an exclusive type of market, did previously adopt a similar form in certain instances—see below). However, generally speaking, the most protection the general market had received previously was in the open-sided market shelters or on the ground level of the two-storey market houses or guildhalls, as still exist in many towns (e.g., market shelters at Salisbury and Malmesbury; market houses at Ledbury, Chippenham, Amersham and Faversham).

The first halls were built when conditions were at their worst. Not surprisingly, Liverpool was one of the first towns to build one, St John’s Market Hall being opened in 1822. It served initially a population of 150 000 and was fitted with hitherto unknown amenities such as fresh water and gaslight.

Conditions being similar in all the large industrial centres, the trend snow-balled to include Birmingham 1834, Newcastle upon Tyne 1835, Blackburn 1846, Sheffield 1850, and Bolton 1855, among many others. With music halls, theatres, gin palaces, arcades, bazaars, etc. market halls became introverted oases in a harsh industrial townscape.

Reaction to environment

Today, many halls are fringed by a series of lock-up shops which the shopper can enter from the street outside or from the market area within. But at first, halls were even more introverted than we now know them, for perimeter shops would often open and have display only to the inside. For instance, an 1855 engraving of Bolton Market Hall shows just one entrance on each of the hall's sides, while today perimeter shops provide entrances from all points around. It is relatively recently that the shell has been pierced, emphasising that their form was a reaction to a particular set of environmental circumstances.

That the hall was such a reaction, there can be no doubt. Climatic differences between north and south are marginal and although the slight difference
may be sufficient to accentuate the effects of industry, it is not an adequate explanation taken just by itself.

In the south of England, market halls are rarer since grimy conditions and large-scale demolition and rebuilding were uncommon. Consequently market halls retained their traditional sites and form for longer—in most instances, until well into the present century when competition for town space from the motor car ousted many to less central sites but where they have retained their outdoor character—the worst environmental conditions having passed—by that time. In any case, it was London in the south that first acquired the introvert building form prior to other cities—at least for the wealthy. It was London, of course, that expanded earlier and so developed the insanitary conditions which were later experienced elsewhere in the north. Consequently in 1568, Sir Thomas Gresham built the first of the famous exchanges—the Royal Exchange—a classical building with a series of small shopping booths at two levels, centred upon an open court and thus looking into itself. Following these, but before market halls, were the bazaars which catered for a slightly wider public, but were still very exclusive. These operated on a similar basis to the market whereby individual sales benches were hired out to different sellers on a daily rent.

The form of London’s Pantheon bazaar, at least, was that which many market halls later adopted—one huge ornately decorated space with a balcony running around the perimeter.

But it was not until the new industrial techniques had been developed that the widespread building of large span structures became financially feasible: then the introvert shopping form became everyone’s retreat and not just that of a privileged minority. Thus, the industrial conditions which created the need for the introvert building form, also provided the solutions.

The building of market halls was encouraged by the great industrialists who wielded power on local councils—and who also had to sell their cast iron! Externally, these halls were rarely outstanding: but inside, they were decorative and their spaces overpowering. This was a reaction to and compensation for a degenerating outdoor urban environment. It was an attempt to create indoor market places as spacious as those they had replaced which had been open to the sky.

A series of lock-up shops around the perimeter was a common feature of most halls, and above these there was usually a balcony which supported stalls and often a café: there were waist height trestle-type stalls over the enclosed ground space. Thus, whether at balcony or ground level, shopping or taking refreshment, the shopper could witness the total activity of the hall.

**Need for permanence**

Having been built simply as a protective shell for an existing market, the halls were designed to house temporary markets, opening for only part of the week and including the traditional market day(s). With rapid town growth, the number of market days increased until the market hall opened on more or less every weekday. Then, an entirely new need arose—for a more permanent form of stall with a storage space. Trestle tables were replaced by more solid counters and gradually the individual box-type lock-up stall developed, with storage below counter and, in some cases, in the individual roof structures to each stall.

This change destroyed the essential internal character of the halls. The qualities of a lofty spacious structure were lost. Narrow passages between high, closely spaced boxes meant that any views upwards and across the hall were severely restricted and the total activity could no longer be viewed from either ground or balcony levels.

In many instances, the balcony, being unsuitable for box-type stalls, was no longer used at all. The magnificent top half of the hall, then defunct and unseen, was inevitably neglected; and since Victorian halls were, in most cases, externally mediocre, there was little of value left. Complete redevelopment became necessary very quickly.

Thus two fundamental points concerning market halls emerge. On the one hand those people concerned with their present-day redevelopment must realise, for their implications are profound. First, market halls were a product of a particularly poor set of environmental conditions. And secondly, the box-type lock-up stalls, although common today, were not part of the original conception of a spacious but halls have developed since, in contradiction to it: they are not in spatial or structural harmony with their enclosure.

There is no longer need for the extreme protective measures which earlier prevailed for the outdoor environment has improved very greatly in cities subsequent to the time of the first halls. Neither is there a case for perpetuating the arrangement of box-type stalls in a high, spacious interior. In other words, there is every reason to re-think the form of the market hall on redevelopment.

**Repetition of old forms**

However, redevelopments have tended to be as follows. New market halls are built in their previous form, repeating blindly all the undesirable characteristics of their modified predecessors—high spaciousness with box-type stalls and balconies without clear views across the hall. So commonly is this form accepted, that halls have been built in the same manner, even where no indoor market existed before, but replacing an open market. Further, all sections of all markets held indoors are automatically retained indoors on redevelopment. And, as inferred above, many open markets, having survived the worst of urban conditions, are being put indoors “as part of the process of change” in the belief that indoors is better and has more status.

The new market hall at Wakefield serves as an excellent example to illustrate the repetition of old form. The photos (left) show very clearly the disharmony between the form of the stalls and of the hall: there is little more to see from the gallery around the perimeter than a sea of stall roofs.
While from the avenues between stalls at ground level, there is only a very restricted view out. The individual stall roofs could, in fact, be easily removed since in most cases they do not appear to be used for storage or display. This would result in a far more exciting and intriguing view from the gallery, which would be an added attraction for its use—it is always difficult to persuade shoppers to change levels and, usually, stall-hire rates have to be adjusted accordingly. It would also allow appreciation of the whole hall for the ground level shopper which is not at present possible.

A further example is the new Blackburn market development which shows similar limitations but, in addition, has shortcomings in other directions. It is islanded by busy traffic routes. Although there is provision for pedestrians to reach the market in safety through subways, for the shopper who dutifully uses them between coach station and town centre shops and visits the market en route it means a descent from the coach station, up to the market ground level with a further ascent to the daily market (at the highest level—the lower level markets do not open daily). Then there is a further two-level descent before finally ascending to the shops.

The Blackburn market development is almost certainly the most costly (£1M) ever undertaken by a municipality of Blackburn's size (population 106,000) and is, in fact, on a scale one would expect of a much larger city. However, the building is under-used, since only one of the market sections opens daily. No doubt to offset expenditure upon an under-used building, a less valuable and less central site was chosen than the market previously held. It may be seen as a case of a site being chosen to suit a preconceived form of market and not an efficient market solution to suit a traditional site. In addition, a temporary open market was put in a permanent and indoor form, yet retains a “temporary” frequency of opening (three days each week).

Yet this development has received exceptional publicity and a top NALGO award. Consequently, the market enjoys a stream of visitors seeking ideas for elsewhere—the influence of this market and the prestige which it seems to have gained is alarming.

In contrast, one city in which the form of the covered market has been re-thought is Sheffield. The result is the Castle Market. This is a multi-level complex of small booths which are themselves incorporated in the total structure of the building. Unlike at Blackburn, there is easy movement between levels. When the shopper enters the Castle Market, there is a choice between two short flights of stairs, up and down to the main trading areas. This mezzanine principle is used throughout the market with short flights of stairs and large landings; these, together with voids in the upper floor, give the opportunity for repeated visual contact between levels.

On the other hand, in one instance at least, a council has redeveloped its market hall to include low bench-type stalls giving an uninterrupted view across the hall—and from the balcony. This pleasant contrast to the usual solution is situated at Oswestry.

It is important, at this point, to note that in the one instance in which both permanent lock-up stalls and temporary trestle stalls were considered necessary at the outset of market building in the nineteenth century, separate provision was made for each in terms of space and structure—at Newcastle upon Tyne, the result being the Grainger Market. Within the one market complex, there were two very different sections. One section was a hall containing trestle stalls with balconies at both ends. The other consisted of a series of permanent lock-up stalls which were an integral part of the total building structure: these stalls lined a grid of shopping arcades.

The form of the Grainger Market was the result of an intuition and analysis, the like of which was probably not repeated until the development of Sheffield's Castle Market—although it must be remembered that the designer of the Grainger Market did not have to overcome the preconception of previous form, for the number of market halls built prior to 1835 was few. The Grainger Market was the result of the well-known John Dobson/Richard Grainger, architect/builder partnership.

Irrelevant heritage

The essential message is simple. The reasons for the particular form of the old market halls are not widely understood and the inherited form is, in fact, irrelevant to the present-day needs of most cities and is in need of re-thinking. Yet the inherited form is repeated in most new developments. The form has been re-thought at Sheffield to accommodate box-type stalls. Trestle-type stalls have been retained in a new development at Oswestry and here it must be noted that it is surprising how much display can still be achieved on benches or trestles. Goods can be piled just as high as on a box-type stall without having the same detrimental effect upon the total space.

Another alternative that may be appropriate in certain circumstances would be to return the market to the outdoors in response to the improvement in outdoor conditions since the early halls were built. Within this context, one possibility is for a single lightweight and demountable roof to cover all stalls rather than each having its own cover (domes, pncamatics etc, suggest themselves). These could be erected or not, according to the weather, and also used for other appropriate activities. In the rebuilding of Agadir following the earthquake, a dome was constructed over the market place.

Safe and protected pedestrian areas are now being created in our towns which are often, in fact, too large to be filled simply by passers-by. They need activity and the market is an obvious source. Although we know of no covered market which has recently been transferred outdoors, new open markets have been established where no market previously existed—in new towns (eg. Harlow and
Stevenage) and in old established centres (eg, Canterbury and Uxbridge).

It is realised that there are certain constraints on market authorities which may appear to stand in the path of alternatives. For instance, for reasons of hygiene, it may be desirable to sell certain foods indoors only—but this does not mean putting all stalls indoors permanently. Further, no trader can be expected to have less in the way of facilities than previously held, on the redevelopment of a market; for instance a lock-up stall with storage. But these constraints do not, in fact, preclude changes in overall form.

Markets are diverse in the pattern of their individual histories, and in the present-day contribution that each makes to its town, and there is a variety of alternatives which can be followed on redevelopment. We are not saying that redeveloped markets should all take up a single new form, but that all the possibilities should be explored—and the most relevant one, or combination of them, chosen in full awareness of its context.
Selling America: market to mall

With westward expansion after the Revolutionary War, planning was done in the form of the grid—the cheapest and most efficient means of land distribution—by the United States government. The growth of commercial America began at the crossroads of grid city and by the early 1800s, America had already determined the forms that later commercial growth would only intensify.

The Washington stores in NYC, the commercial wharfs in Boston, and the St. Louis waterfront buildings were three of the earliest building types to house a variety of commercial facilities under one management. Built as speculative buildings in wood or stone around 1840, the spaces were then subdivided to suit the spatial needs of a tenant. Boston’s Oak Hall in 1840 thrived as one of the largest retail selling outlets for the first mass-produced goods—readymade clothing. The Arcade in Providence was another form of commercial development, derived from the style of the European markets. Built of wood with shops around a central skylit circulation space, it was completed in 1828 at the same time that the new public markets for Paris—Hall of the Madeleine—were built of cast iron. Shops were still owned by individual craftsmen who produced the goods they sold on the premises. With the beginnings of mechanization, the craftsman and his shop began to disappear as the demand for more and cheaper goods became widespread. The process of mechanization turned out goods at a rate which required rapid turnover. Department stores—thought of as warehouses for quick resale—grew out of the increased volume in production. Rapid turnover of goods was based on the display of all merchandise for the consumer to see—a demand that could structurally be met only with the growing technology of cast iron and steel.

With the coming of artificial gaslighting, factories were able to operate at an increasing rate—10 to 14 hours a day. Although gaslight originated in Europe, early department stores abroad were patterned after the arcades with a series of interior courts to provide lighting for the display of goods. At the same time that Wanamaker’s was acquiring the Penn Central freight shelter in Philadelphia for conversion to a vast one-floored selling space, Eiffel was overseeing the construction of Le Magasin au Bon Marche completed in 1876, the first glass and cast iron department store. As a building type in the
U.S., the department store stayed closer to the warehouse space relying heavily on artificial lighting.

The technology of steel construction, with the use of elevators and artificial light, caused rapid growth of two new building types—the department store and the office building—and brought about a technical obsolescence of many earlier structures. The first passenger elevator was installed in a store in New York City in 1858, making the sixth floor accessible as the first. Ground floors remained important as advertising for the pedestrian, but once inside, the store could be made infinite in size. William LeBaron Jenny, in designing the "Fair" in Chicago made the first two stories nearly all glass—a feature demanded by the client in order to assure maximum exposure to the casual window shopper. The Arcade in Cleveland built in 1898 of cast iron incorporated both building types. Situated between the two main shopping streets, it has two nine-story office buildings connected by a five-story pedestrian arcade of shops.

With the increase in mechanized production and the building of more factories and stores came the growth of urban centers as a mecca for unskilled labor. The number of immigrants from 1875-1915 exceeded the total population of this country when the Constitution was ratified 120 years previous. Cheap speculative housing grew. Insufficient light and ventilation together with no sanitation facilities produced disease among the overcrowded population. Land values, traditionally determined by proximity to public transportation, became chaotic with the advent of the automobile—a mode of transportation everywhere. With the automobile came the gradual exodus of those with means from the heavily industrialized cities. As the fringe population grew, it remained only a matter of time for the commercial facilities to follow. As early as 1912, a few large city-based department stores began to open branch stores, and in 1923 the first suburban shopping center was built five miles south of Kansas City, Mo. to serve a new 5000-acre residential community. The spread of branch stores and small locally owned shopping centers continued through the depression into the 1940s. After prolific discussion of the Chicago school of department stores before the turn of the century, the architecture of commercial facilities is never mentioned again by historians, an oversight that suggests there wasn't anything worth talking about.

Due process

It was not until post World War II that the regional, corporate-owned shopping center of 60 acres, 800,000 sq ft of floor area and parking for 5000 cars came to be part of the landscape otherwise dominated by V.A.-mortgaged subdivisions. With the ever-increasing dependence on the automobile and with the relocation of industry to where the people were, regional shopping centers offered easier accessibility than did center city. Land along the highways came cheap and commercial stores sprang up to serve the needs of Mr. and Mrs. Traveler. The long struggle to attract the motorist's attention began.
What the loss of tax revenue did for the cities can be clearly seen in the enormous efforts made in downtown renewal. Revitalization became the catch-all word. Some plans succeeded, notably Fresno and Santa Barbara in California, but most are still dreams on paper. Some plans failed—St. Louis' Gaslight Square and Chicago's Old Town—because they became overrun with nonspenders, or succeeded to the point of near failure like New Haven by bringing in too many automobiles which overburdened existing and new streets and required too many parking garages. More often it has been private enterprise that has succeeded by reusing existing structures—Ghirardelli Square, The Cannery, and Fuller Glass Warehouse (Aug. P/A) in San Francisco; Atlanta Underground, Toronto's York Square, and Georgetown's Canal Square. Besides providing small retail shops, all have a series of indoor or outdoor social spaces for people to sit, relax, watch and enjoy the activities of others.

Recently, other attempts in downtown renewal have followed this pattern of social use. Manhattan's Fifth Avenue proposal is an attempt to reinforce the continuance of the avenue—which would have become like the peopleless plazas of Sixth Avenue—as a retail shopping street. Based on New York's motivating criteria for design—economics—it provides a package of incentives that allows the developer to build more office space than the zoning permits, if he includes such pedestrian amenities as retail shop space and thru-block malls.

Latest among renewal proposals is restoration of Boston's Faneuil Hall and Quincy Markets, shown on the following pages along with a proposed new urban shopping mall for Yonkers, N.Y. [SLR]
INDIANAPOLIS
CITY MARKET

The original plat of Indianapolis in 1821 reserved the square north of the country courthouse for a city market and since the 1820's one has been there. In 1886 work was completed on a market building housing 196 stalls and Tomlinson Hall which stood at the west end of that square. The ground floor of Tomlinson Hall was devoted mainly to market space and a large assembly hall was located on the second floor. The market building was used as a meat market and the ground floor of Tomlinson Hall was used as a vegetable market. The curb space along Market and Delaware Streets was used for "trafficking and trading" and the open space east of the market building was used as a hay market and later as a gardeners' market. At the turn of the century, everything that was produced for fifty miles around was brought to the market to be sold. In 1903 the East Market and Midway Market (infilling between Tomlinson Hall and the original market building) were added to the sides of the original market building to relieve the crowded and congested conditions. In 1958 Tomlinson Hall was severely damaged by fire and had to be razed. The brick-vaulted basement remained and today is known as the "catacombs."

The architectural significance of the original market building lies in (1) the visual quality of the front (south) facade which is similar to the style of a basilican church in the Romanesque style, and (2) the open spatial character of the interior that is enhanced by the floating quality of the iron trusses and slender iron columns. Its historic significance lies in (1) its having survived in the Central Business District of a large urban center on land originally platted for a market, still performing the same function originally intended, and (2) in the perception of Market Square as an important nodal point of the city with an axial view of Monument Circle, the center of Indianapolis.

The Indianapolis City Market has a reputation for fresh foods at low costs in an attractive historic setting. It is easily accessible from all parts of the city by way of the inner-loop freeway. The "To Market, To Market" Dance is held in and around the market annually, the streets being blocked off to traffic. Bands play in the street while the market stands sell a very appetizing selection of dinner specialties.
Alexander Ralston's "Plat of the Town of Indianapolis" of 1821 reserves the south half of square 43 for a market. Delaware Street and Alabama Street define the west and east boundaries of the site respectively, Market Street the south boundary and an alley, now called Wabash Street, the north.
INDIANAPOLIS CITY MARKET

(The first portion was originally known as the Market House)
222 East Market Street Indianapolis, Marion County, Indiana

PHYSICAL HISTORY

Dates of erection:
1886, Market House (1, pp. 596, 597, 654, 672)
1903, Midway Market and East Building addition (14, p. 41)

Architect:
- D. A. Bohlen for Market House (1, p. 457)(A)
- Architect(s) for Midway Market and East Building additions is not known.

Original and subsequent owners:
- Alexander Ralston's "Plan of the Town of Indianapolis" of 1821 reserves the south half of square 43 for a market. Delaware Street and Alabama Street define the west and east boundaries of the site respectively, Market Street the south boundary and an alley, now called Wabash Street, the north. Present-day plats of the city at the Assessors Office, City-County Building, Indianapolis, give the site dimensions as 195 feet along Delaware and Alabama Streets and 420 feet along Market and Wabash Streets, indicating that this latter dimension was formerly 425' before a five-foot-wide strip along Delaware Street was vacated.

Builder or Contractor, Suppliers:
- John A. Buchanan for original portion (1, pp. 596-597)
- Ch. and S.C. Edens supplied the market stalls for the Market House (1, pp. 1014-1015, 1029).

Notes on original plan and construction of building:
The original building was the Market House, a brick and iron-frame building 100 feet wide and 195 feet deep located near the center of the Market Street side of the block, facing south. The building has a raised central "nave" 60 feet wide spanned by light-weight iron trusses supporting wood purlins and roof deck, and side aisles 20 feet wide spanned and roofed in the same way. The structural bays along the east and west sides of the building are 15 feet wide. At the clerestory the windows originally had transoms which contained louvers of hammered glass. At the east and west side walls of the building, there were three arched openings per bay. The center opening was glazed and the other two openings contained galvanized iron louvers. At both south and north ends of the building there were center entrances which appear to have had no doors, but were closed by ironwork gates, and galvanized-iron cornice work at the gabled roof. The plan shows a layout of stalls (A).
On 17 May 1886 the Building Committee of the Market House and Public Buildings reported to the Common Council of Indianapolis recommending construction of the Market House before the next winter and requesting authorization "to advertise for rough sketches and estimates to be submitted for your consideration at the next meeting." The Councilman concurred, as later did the Alderman (1, pp. 405, 434). However, the building committee reported on 7 June 1886 that sketches and estimates were not to be advertised for because, after examining D. A. Bohlen's contract with the city, it was found that it covered "preparation of plans and superintending of the work in building the market house in contemplation as well as the building already erected [that is, Tominison Hall]. The sum of $4,000 paid and to be paid him on formal acceptance of the present building [the Hall] includes his services on the market house to be erected, except that he will be entitled to 2 2/3% on all over $150,000 expended on the two buildings. The ordinance of March 9, 1885, constitutes Mr. Bohlen the architect of the contemplated Market House in specific terms, a fact which your committee overlooked at the time of marking the previous recommendation." (1, p. 457).

The committee submitted a sketch plan by Bohlen of the Market House. At the east side of Tominison Hall a 50-foot-wide "street" was left between it and the west wall of the Market House. The building was to have 100' frontage on Market Street and run 195 feet back to Washington Street. Between the east of the Market House and Alabama Street there would be 14 feet left for future use. The building was to have stone foundation walls and brick walls above these. Two third of the openings in the walls were to have galvanized iron louvers and one third glass. Clerestory windows were to be partly filled with stationary glass and partly with glass louvers for ventilation. The roof was to be tin, slate, or tile with cornices, etc., of galvanized iron. Floors were to be of Portland cement. The arrangement of stalls showed on the plans: 28 at 9'×10'-6"; 16 at 6'×10'-6"; 744 at 6'×7'-6"; 8 at 4'-6"×12'. The total number of stalls was 755. The total cost of the building was limited to $30,000. The Building Committee recommended that the architect be directed "to prepare full plans and specifications taking the foregoing as a basis" and that bids be advertised for as soon as possible in order to complete the building before next winter. The Common Council concurred, as did the Alderman. (1, pp. 457, 512)

On 10 July 1886 proposals were received by the Building Committee. John A. Buchanan was the lowest bidder at $29,225 and was given the contract with damages at $10 per day (1, pp. 596-597). Construction was begun, and on 4 Oct. 1886 Buchanan was granted a thirty-day extension of the contract based upon "unavoidable delay in furnishing the iron, and placing the same in position, as well as some other parts of the work." (1, pp. 654, 872). No other requests for additional time were found, so it seems probable that the building was completed by 4 Nov. 1886.
Tomlinson Hall which stood at the west end of the city block that was reserved for a market, had been completed by June 1866 (2). The ground floor of this building was devoted mainly to market space, and the large assembly hall located on the second floor seated approximately 5000 people and had a stage. (3,p.332). Complaints were made about the fact that the market space in Tomlinson Hall had not been divided up into proper stalls, and it was recommended on 6 Sept. 1886 that the matter be settled at once so that on completion of the new Market House proper fixtures could be installed in both buildings. (1,p.767). The motion for the city to build the stalls in both buildings did not pass (1,p.838). Nonetheless, at the 20 Dec. 1886 meeting of the Council bids were received "for the fixtures in the new Market House" and the contract was awarded to the low bidder, Ch. and S.C. Edens, for $3,400. (1,pp.1014-1015,1029).

Funds paid out in 1886 on "New Market House" are listed as follows. All were paid "out of additional City Hall Fund".

To John A. Buchanan for construction:

Aug. 11, 1886 First Estimate $1710
Sept. 14, 1886 Second Estimate 4725
Oct. 3, 1886 Third Estimate 6390
Nov. 4, 1886 Fourth Estimate 6696
Dec. 14, 1886 Fifth and final 8497

$29,818

To D. A. Bohlen, for services as architect
Sept. 14, 1886 First payment 390
Nov. 9, 1886 Second payment 284
Dec. 14, 1886 Third payment 121

$795

To C. W. Meikel, for gas fixtures
Dec. 14, 1886 Final payment 173

$30,766

When a city Department of Public Works was created in 1891, one of the first acts of its governing Board was to have all city property appraised. The appraisal was submitted on 29 May 1891 as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Ground</th>
<th>Improvement</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tomlinson Hall and Market House</td>
<td>168,000</td>
<td>123,000</td>
<td>320,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomlinson hall</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>29,000</td>
<td>89,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market House</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4,pp.20,42,43)

A photograph taken from the tower of the courthouse, which was just south of the Market House, shows Tomlinson Hall and the Market House with an open space between the two buildings and to the east of the Market House. These were the only buildings on the site in 1899 (5,PartI).