

TO MARKET, TO MARKET: A HISTORY AND INTERPRETATION OF THE  
INDIANAPOLIS CITY MARKET, 1821-2014

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## CONTENTS

Introduction .....	1
Chapter 1: The Development and Decline of the Indianapolis	
City Market, 1832-1957.....	11
Early Markets and the Old Shed.....	11
A New Building Befitting its Benefactor.....	19
A New Hall for a Growing City.....	26
A New Market.....	32
War on the Middle Man.....	44
Dirty Market in a Beautiful City.....	50
The Wholesale Solution.....	53
Dirty Market for a Clean City.....	58
The Market Declines.....	63
Chapter 2: Preserving the Market, 1958-1978 .....	69
The Aftermath of the Fire.....	71
The Municipal Approach.....	73
The Market Supporter Strategy.....	77
The Long Legal Battle.....	81
Health and Safety Issues.....	83
Calls for Renovation.....	87
Changes in Mayoral Leadership.....	90
DowntownRebounds.....	92
Lugar Changes the Market Game.....	94
Eli Lilly and the Market Renovations.....	97
Chapter 3: City Market in the Modern Era, 1978-2014 .....	109
A Market Restored.....	109
What Should the Market Be?.....	113
The Debate Over the Market Tower.....	115
The Indianapolis City Market Corporation and the Privatization	
Experiment.....	120
An Identity Crisis.....	124
Renovation and Revitalization.....	128

Chapter 4: Proposed Site Interpretation Plan for the Indianapolis City Market.....	133
Introduction.....	133
Purpose of Interpretation Plan.....	133
Current Interpretation Plan.....	135
Audience.....	136
Need for Interpretation.....	136
Thematic Approach.....	138
Goals.....	138
Central Theme Statement.....	139
Subthemes.....	139
Interpretive Elements.....	139
Interpretive Panels.....	139
Tabletop Vignettes and Posters.....	140
Indiana Landmarks Catacombs Walking Tour.....	141
Digital Outreach.....	142
 Appendix A: Complete List of Indianapolis Market Managers.....	 143
 Appendix B: Cost Breakdown for Construction of Tomlinson Hall and the Market House, 1886 .....	  146
 Appendix C: Financial Profits and Losses for the City Market and Tomlinson Hall, 1893-1958.....	  147
 Appendix D: Suggested Interpretive Panel Text.....	 149
 Bibliography.....	 153
 Curriculum Vitae	

## INTRODUCTION

H. Roll McLaughlin knew he had to act quickly. Just weeks into the restoration of Indianapolis' City Market in 1978, construction crews had uncovered an archway from Tomlinson Hall, the only remnant of the nineteenth century building that used to stand next to the current Market House. The archway had stood at the southwest corner of the performance hall and marketplace. Later covered by internal construction, the archway had been hidden from view for twenty years. McLaughlin, the supervising architect on the project, envisioned the archway as a striking entranceway to the planned plaza. He knew that if he did not move swiftly, "the wrecker's ball would knock down another historically significant piece of Indianapolis history."<sup>1</sup> By the time McLaughlin stopped the demolition, the contractor already had the pediment in his clamshell's grasp.<sup>2</sup>

The Tomlinson Hall arch now stands inconspicuously in the west plaza of the City Market, easily missed by passersby (Figure 0.A). A weatherworn bronze plaque displays the only marker of market history in the area. An interested visitor can read:

This archway is all that remains of Tomlinson Hall, built by the city of Indianapolis in 1885 to serve as a city hall, convention center, and annex for the City Market. The building was constructed through the generosity of Stephen D. Tomlinson (1815-1870), who instructed that the proceeds of his estate be used to erect a city hall and market. Tomlinson Hall played host to conventions, political gatherings, concerts, and sports exhibitions before the larger theaters and stadiums were built. The market stands and city offices occupied the hall's first floor.

Tomlinson Hall was gutted by fire in 1958. The entire structure above ground was razed, except for the first story east wall (which was also the outside wall of the City Market's west shed). This archway came to light in 1977, when the west shed was demolished during the renovation of the City Market. The

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<sup>1</sup> "Market Renovation Uncovers Arch," *Indianapolis News*, March 17, 1977.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*; Joe Jarvis, "Tomlinson Hall Archway Historic," *Indianapolis News*, April 13, 1977; Between December 2012 and March 2013, Eugene Lausch conducted several interviews with H. Roll McLaughlin, Harold Rominger and Bob Wilch, three individuals integral in the 1972 to 1978 renovation of the Indianapolis City Market. Lausch, a volunteer at Indiana Landmarks, catacombs tour guide, and former lawyer for the City of Indianapolis, meticulously documented these conversations and integrated them with his previously conducted research. Though not conducted under formal oral history guidelines, this document represents some of the only documented interviews specifically with those integral to the design and architectural changes in the market, especially the conversations with Rominger who passed away in early 2014. "Indianapolis City Market: the 1972-1978 Renovation," October 2013, City Market folder, Indiana Landmarks Library, Indianapolis.

Tomlinson Hall archway has been preserved as a ruin, offering visitors to the City Market a glimpse of a public building which once figured prominently in the downtown scene.

Preservation of the Tomlinson Hall archway was made possible by grants from: Historic Landmarks Foundation of Indiana, Indiana Historic Preservation Commission, and the Indianapolis Star Civic Fund. This Plaque erected May 1979.



Figure 0.A: The only remnants of Tomlinson Hall are this arch, outside of the east wing of the Market House. This arch was discovered and saved during the 1979 renovations. A bronze plaque on opposite side gives a brief history of Tomlinson Hall. Photo by author.

Today, most visitors to the Indianapolis City Market are not looking for history; they are seeking a quick lunch, a fix for their bike, or to shop at the weekly farmer's market. Few know that a rich history surrounds them. The City Market has served as an integral cog at the city's center: an ordinary, often overlooked location that has fed the city for over one hundred years. The history of this institution reveals the common urban issues of sanitation, deterioration, and traffic congestion, but also issues of identity and reinvention that are

evident through the built environment. By serving a vibrant social setting, the City Market has carved out its own powerful place within downtown, a location that symbolizes the city's roots and history.

Indianapolis has hosted a public market since the city's inception in 1821, when Alexander Ralston included it in his mile-square plan for the city. Situated between the seat of local government in the east and state government in the west, the public market was established to provide residents a centralized place to purchase foodstuffs. The City Market served as an economic engine for Indianapolis, connecting rural farmers with urban communities and providing business-venture opportunities for a growing immigrant population. Within fifty years, the City Market grew to become an important social gathering place, where all strata of residents gathered to purchase goods, exchange gossip, and debate community issues.

Like many cities in the Midwest, Indianapolis established its permanent municipal market building in the late nineteenth century. Two large, Italianate-style buildings of brick, limestone, and iron, worked in tandem to host the City Market. (Figure 0.B) The massive Tomlinson Hall served two uses, containing a 4,200-seat auditorium on the upper floor and space for vegetable and fruit vendors on the lower level. A smaller brick Market House next door housed meat and dairy vendors.

In its heyday, Tomlinson Hall and the Market House were inextricably interwoven with Indianapolis city life. Tomlinson Hall was a cultural and entertainment heartbeat of the city, hosting prominent performers, sporting events, exhibitions, and political rallies. The boisterous and colorful market acted as an economic center, providing a unique space where consumers, vendors, and municipal officials mingled. The City Market functioned both to provide diverse foodstuffs and to keep food prices down. The City Market was also a site of controversy. As early as 1907, the city was accused of tampering with the City Market site for its own benefit. Health and sanitation concerns threatened to demolish or move the City Market from its downtown location, but were successfully rebuffed.





Figure 0.B: The City Market just after construction in 1888. The City Market was comprised of the two buildings in the foreground: Tomlinson Hall (left) and the Market House (right). This photo was taken from the roof of the Marion County Courthouse, located across Market Street. Library of Congress, Historic American Buildings Survey, *Indianapolis City Market*, Survey HABS IND-59.

By the mid-twentieth century, however, the City Market began to crumble as it faced competition from private food vendors, such as grocery stores, and fleeing urban populations. The City Market struggled to keep its customers, and the facility fell into disrepair, culminating with the destruction of Tomlinson Hall by accidental fire in 1958. The remaining Market House limped along for almost a decade, as standholders and municipal officials went to court to debate the building's future. The courts eventually gave the control of the City Market to the city of Indianapolis in June 1968. With the city in charge, the Market House, plagued by health violations and reduced tax support, looked doomed for the wrecking ball. However, a groundswell of support for preservation efforts coupled with the well-timed mayoral election of market proponent Richard Lugar shifted city policy towards the institution from fiscal nuisance to urban boon. By 1978, the reenergized City Market underwent a needed renovation, thanks to a \$4.5 million grant from the Lilly Endowment, becoming one of the first non-museum historic preservation projects in the city's history. Recognizing the importance of the City Market for downtown Indianapolis, government leaders and citizens have worked to continue operations through financial and operational troubles. Today the City Market has transformed again, primarily housing prepared food vendors and restaurants, a shared space for neighborhood-based non-profit organizations, a hub for bicycling in the city, and a bi-weekly farmers market.<sup>3</sup>

Even with this rich and colorful history, few scholars have communicated the history of the City Market. This project seeks to serve as a full history of this institution, from inception to the present. Through examining different moments in this vibrant scene, the City Market reveals the story of Indianapolis's evolving experiences and fierce struggles to maintain and sustain this space. The City Market represents a patchwork of traditions that has bound the city to its history and community for over a century. By looking at the span of public markets in the city, this project speaks to the decisions that made and remake

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<sup>3</sup> "About," *Indianapolis City Market*, accessed May 20, 2015, <http://www.indycm.com/about>.

Indianapolis, the deep streams of economic and social traditions that make the City Market the “most Indianapolisish” of downtown institutions.<sup>4</sup>

This thesis is both an architectural study of a changing place and a social history of an institution. For the purpose of this study, the institution which evolved within these buildings, a place where Indianapolis residents gathered and purchased food stuffs will be referred as the City Market. This institution developed in a series of buildings, primarily Tomlinson Hall and the Market House that worked in tandem to host the City Market from 1886 to 1958. For clarity, I will primarily refer to these two structures as such, even after the institution consolidated into the Market House after the Tomlinson Hall fire.

The existing literature concentrating on public markets in urban areas provides a solid context for considering provisioning in Indianapolis. For roughly the last twenty-five years, scholars have emphasized the roles of public markets as the primary institutions for receiving and distributing food to the cities. Rooted in architectural history, these works place public markets at the center of cities, serving both the nutritional and community needs of residents.<sup>5</sup> Within this scholarship, two historians set the foundation for the subject. James Mayo’s chapter on public markets in his book, *The American Grocery Store: The Business Evolution of an Architectural Space* (1993), traces the architectural evolution of public markets nationally in order to argue that the buildings are functionally obsolete. Mayo argues that the design of public markets reveals “the political-economic forces of municipal control and private enterprise.” He creates architectural categories for public markets over time to contend that this institution became functionally obsolete, as multi-store groceries undermined public markets.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Douglass Davidoff, “City Market Merchants Can Expect Change,” *Indianapolis News*, October 5, 1985.

<sup>5</sup> Prime examples include Bryan Clark Green, “The Structure of Civic Exchange: Market Houses in Early Virginia,” *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 6 (January 1997): 189–203; James M. Mayo, “American Public Markets,” in *The American Grocery Store: The Business Evolution of an Architectural Space* (Greenwood Press, 1993); and Jay R. Barshinger, “Provisions for Trade: The Market House in Southeastern Pennsylvania” (doctoral thesis, Pennsylvania State University, 1994).

<sup>6</sup> James M. Mayo, “The American Public Market,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 45, no. 1 (November 1991): 41.

With her book, *Public Markets and Civic Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (2002) and numerous articles, Helen Tangires established herself as the definitive scholar on American public markets.<sup>7</sup> Within her extensive survey of the structure and service of public markets, Tangires argues that these buildings were an expression of both an economic and social exchange, acting as a conduit for a ‘moral economy’ of urban culture. “Public markets were civic spaces,” she explains, “the common ground where citizens and governments struggled to define the shared values of the community.”<sup>8</sup> By the late nineteenth century, public markets became a tool for municipal authorities to solve food distribution difficulties and maintain the social health of communities. Through her work, Tangires provides an important basis for the place and function of public markets within American cities.

Economic historians have expanded the literature to examine the role of public markets as centers of economic networks, offering business opportunities for working class and immigrant communities. Scholar Alfonso Morales, for example, suggests that public markets were historically tools of entrepreneurial incubation. In his examination of Chicago’s Maxwell Street Market, he asserts that it acted as a “place maker,” providing economic opportunities for neighborhood business. In this case, neighboring companies were often “graduates of Maxwell Street,” growing their businesses from stands at the market to their own stores while still remaining part of the community.<sup>9</sup> In Indianapolis, the City Market often acted as a commercial “incubator,” providing economic opportunity for many of the city’s Italian and German immigrants.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Helen Tangires, *Public Markets and Civic Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002); Helen Tangires, *Public Markets* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008); Helen Tangires, “Feeding the Cities: Public Markets and Municipal Reform in the Progressive Era,” *Prologue: Quarterly of the National Archives and Records Administration* 29 (Spring 1997): 19-26; Helen Tangires, “Contested Space: The Life and Death of Center Market,” *Washington History* 7 (Spring-Summer 1995): 46-67.

<sup>8</sup> Tangires, *Public Markets and Civic Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*, xvi–xvii.

<sup>9</sup> Alfonso Morales, “Public Markets as Community Development Tools,” *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 28, no. 4 (June 2009): 426–440.

<sup>10</sup> James J. Divita, “Italians,” and Giles R. Hoyt, “Germans,” in *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience*, ed. Robert M. Taylor and Connie A. McBirney (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1996), 274–97.

Many works continue this economic focus, but credit the development of transportation networks with the quietus of public markets. Both Thomas David Beal in his dissertation “Selling Gotham,” and Cindy Lobel in her dissertation “Consuming Classes” outline the maturation of marketing from public spaces, such as market houses, to private enterprises. They agree that the transformation of transportation revolutionized the way urban populations received their food, directly affecting the development of an urban marketing infrastructure.<sup>11</sup> In *City Center to Regional Mall*, Richard Longstreth argues that it was the advent of the automobile that altered population patterns, as patrons moved farther from the city center into suburban areas where developers built strip-malls and supermarkets.<sup>12</sup> In *Building a Housewife’s Paradise: Gender, Politics, and American Grocery Stores in the Twentieth Century* (2010), Tracy Deutsch asserts that American food distribution systems evolved to meet the needs of its most widespread customer – the housewife. Large retailers’ ability to make shopping easier, reduce inefficiencies, and respond to female shoppers’ desires resulted in their success over small grocers and public markets. She postulates that these changes were as much a result of consumer buy-in as aggressive commercial management.<sup>13</sup>

Few scholars have traced the long-term history of specific public markets, especially into the twentieth century.<sup>14</sup> Gregory Donofrio’s dissertation, “The Container and the Contained: Functional Preservation of Historic Food Markets,” (2009) concentrates on

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<sup>11</sup> Thomas David Beal, “Selling Gotham: The Retail Trade in New York City from the Public Market to Alexander T. Stewart’s Marble Palace, 1625-1860” (doctoral thesis, State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1998), 229–304; Cindy R. Lobel, “Consuming Classes: Changing Food Consumption Patterns in New York City, 1790-1860” (doctoral thesis, City University of New York, 2003), 50–87.

<sup>12</sup> Richard W. Longstreth, *City Center to Regional Mall: Architecture, the Automobile, and Retailing in Los Angeles, 1920-1950* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1998); Richard W. Longstreth, *The Drive-In, the Supermarket, and the Transformation of Commercial Space in Los Angeles, 1914-1941* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1999).

<sup>13</sup> Tracey Deutsch, *Building a Housewife’s Paradise: Gender, Politics, and American Grocery Stores in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

<sup>14</sup> The best examples include John Quincy, Jr., *Quincy’s Market: A Boston Landmark* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2003); Alice Shorett and Murray Morgan, *The Pike Place Market: People, Politics, and Produce* (Seattle: Pacific Search Press, 1982), and Tangires, “Contested Space: The Life and Death of Center Market.”

the intentions and methods behind the preservation of three public markets: Pike Place Market in Seattle, Faneuil Hall Marketplace in Boston, and Gasenvoort Market in New York. Donofrio provides a nuanced investigation of the redevelopment of these markets through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He examines the motivations and ideological underpinnings behind functional preservation, a strategy of historic preservation that serves to “document, protect, and perpetuate both the form and the function of historic resources.”<sup>15</sup> By employing this method, Donofrio argues, market stakeholders were able to preserve both the historic character and architectural fabric of these public markets.

Uncovering the history of the century-old, quasi-municipal institution that is the Indianapolis City Market brings a unique set of research obstacles. Perhaps the most daunting of these obstacles is Indianapolis’s lack of a municipal archive. Even with its important role serving the nutritional needs of the city, sparse (especially early) accounts and images of the City Market and Tomlinson Hall survive today. The first stage of historical research began with compiling a narrative of the Market as told by city newspapers. Local newspapers routinely followed developments with the City Market, including closely following maintenance and suggested development plans. To this account a wide variety of archival resources including court proceedings, City-County Council minutes, mayoral reports, city directories and census documents, were added to paint the most complete picture of the City Market. Robust collections at Indianapolis institutions, such as the Indiana Historic Preservation Commission, Indiana Landmarks Library, Indianapolis Mayoral Archive at the University of Indianapolis, and the Edward R. Knight Collection at the Indiana State Library provided a wealth of materials on the revitalization, renovation, and preservation of the Market House.

This project has a two-fold mission. First, it is a scholarly work examining the evolution of the City Market’s historic and cultural importance in the urban landscape of Indianapolis through three critical periods. This study, moves chronologically through

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<sup>15</sup> Donofrio, “The Container and the Contained,” 3.

the building's historical development from inception to reinvention in the modern era. Peeling back the layers of City Market history reveals the dynamic needs of the city, a colorful reflection of urban economic life. As an artifact, the City Market represents a unique space in the downtown landscape. However, visitors find few opportunities to see how the institution has adapted across its history. The final chapter suggests feasible ways to incorporate this building's robust and colorful past into the space through proposed interpretation.

## CHAPTER 1: THE DEVELOPMENT AND DECLINE OF THE INDIANAPOLIS CITY MARKET, 1832-1957

In the summer of 1923, veteran Hoosier cartoonist Johnny Gruelle sent his character Mayor Yapp on a cross-country tour. (Figure 1.A) Gruelle, a cartoonist best known for his creation of the characters Raggedy Ann and Andy, was a contributor to the humor magazine *Judge* in which he regularly satirized familiar names, current events, cronies, and celebrities. An erudite audience followed the popular serialized character Mayor Yapp on his quest to see America in his “traveling bungalow.”<sup>16</sup> Yapp “stopped” in Indianapolis in September 1923. On his way through the City Market, he narrowly escaped a chaotic scene of spills and crashes. Frightened livestock, spry paperboys, and hapless vendors leapt out of the way, spilling pickles, onions, and beans. Bystanders with market baskets gathered to watch the commotion. Behind this chaotic scene rose well-known Indianapolis monuments, buildings, and fictitious stores. Though the cartoon originated from the fanciful nostalgia of Gruelle’s imagination, his drawing captured the essence of market day at the Indianapolis City Market. Gruelle makes an important statement by choosing to use the City Market as a focal point for his Indianapolis scene. After more than a century of existence, the City Market had positioned itself a center for civic and economic life in Indianapolis, a space where commercial exchange mixed with a colorful and active social space. The chaos of Gruelle’s scene also hinted, however, at the difficulties the City Market would face over the first half of the twentieth century as it struggled to keep up with developing standards of health, efficiency, management, and the growing trend to procure foodstuffs from grocery stores.

### Early Markets and the Old Shed

Indianapolis maintained a City Market since the city’s founding in 1821. When Alexander Ralston laid out the original mile-square city plan, he included space for two markets: an “East Market” between Delaware and Alabama Streets and a “West Market” at

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<sup>16</sup> Johnny Gruelle, “The Mayor of Yapp Crossing on his Trip,” *Judge* (September 1, 1923), printed in Patricia Hall, “The Mayor in the Market,” *Traces* (Winter 1999), 16.





Figure 1.A: This exaggerated scene of the area outside Tomlinson Hall captures the chaotic feel that characterized market days. In this cartoon, by Johnny Gruelle, fictionalized Mayor Yapp drives through market vendors on a cross country trip. Many of the labels reference prominent Indianapolis citizens, businesses, and buildings. *Judge*, September 1, 1923.

the corner of Market and West Street across from what is now Military Park.<sup>17</sup> (Figure 1.B) The latter was used sporadically and moved twice before the city consolidated its markets on the eastern property.<sup>18</sup> During their dual existence, the East and West Markets worked in tandem, opening biweekly for the first two hours of sunlight on opposite days of the week.<sup>19</sup> According to a later reminiscence, each site acted as a trading post where farmers could swap produce, grains, and animals for lumber, tools, and nails. This open-air market style was similar to those of many other metropolitan cities of the time, which provided urban populations with adequate and affordable necessities.<sup>20</sup>

Demands from city leaders in 1832 resulted in Indianapolis' first permanent Market House on the eastern property. Many boisterous public meetings took place that spring,

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<sup>17</sup> Alexander Ralston, "A Plat of the Town of Indianapolis," 1821, Map Room, Indiana Division, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis. Alexander Ralston and Elias P. Fordham were hired in 1821 to survey and plan the new town of Indianapolis. This plan, including a central circle with four diagonal radiating streets, was first published in December 1821. The Eastern Market was located in the southern half of square 43, while the West Market could be found in the southern half of square fifty. For more on the founding of Indianapolis see: Indiana Historical Bureau, "Indianapolis, the Capital," *The Indiana Historian*, March 1996. Some sources such as William Holloway's *Indianapolis: A Historical and Statistical Sketch* and Ernest Bicknell's *Indianapolis Illustrated* claim that Indianapolis' first market took place in shanties along the circle, before moving to the East Market site in 1832. These assertions are only found in select secondary literature and cannot be substantiated with available primary source materials. See Ernest Percy Bicknell, *Indianapolis Illustrated*, ed. Edgar Hanks Evans (Indianapolis: Baker-Randolph Litho. and Eng. Co., 1893), 11-17; and William Robeson Holloway, *Indianapolis: A Historical and Statistical Sketch of the Railroad City, a Chronicle of Its Social, Municipal, Commercial and Manufacturing Progress, with Full Statistical Tables* (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Journal Print, 1870), 132-141.

<sup>18</sup> Jacob Piatt Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis: The History, the Industries, the Institutions, and the People of a City of Homes* (Lewis Publishing Company, 1910), 34-5; Kathleen M. Johnson, "City Market's 100 Years," *Indianapolis News*, October 30, 1986; *Wetter et. al. v. City of Indianapolis*, 10 84 230-237, C-30729 (Indiana Marion County Superior Court, 1958). The West Market was first moved by 1838 during the "era of internal improvements" to make room for the new central canal. It was relocated two blocks west, between Mississippi and Tennessee Streets, just across from Indiana's State House. (Plat Map Square 48) This new site was used intermittently until 1872 when the state claimed the land to expand the State House grounds. By 1877, the land had been deeded back to the state and the two markets were consolidated.

<sup>19</sup> Samuel Henderson, "Ordinance," *Indianapolis Journal*, December 15, 1832. It is difficult to understand just how often the West Market was actually used. I gather, especially before the 1840s, that the Eastern site was continually used while the West Market was used only when needed.

<sup>20</sup> Myrtie Barker, "City Market Fans Add Another Member," *Indianapolis News*, June 9, 1967, 18; Jay R. Barshinger, "Provisions for Trade: The Market House in Southeastern Pennsylvania" (doctoral thesis, Pennsylvania State University, 1994), 9-47; Helen Tangires, *Public Markets and Civic Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*, 3-68; James M. Mayo, "The American Public Market," *Journal of Architectural Education* 45, no. 1 (November 1991): 41-57.

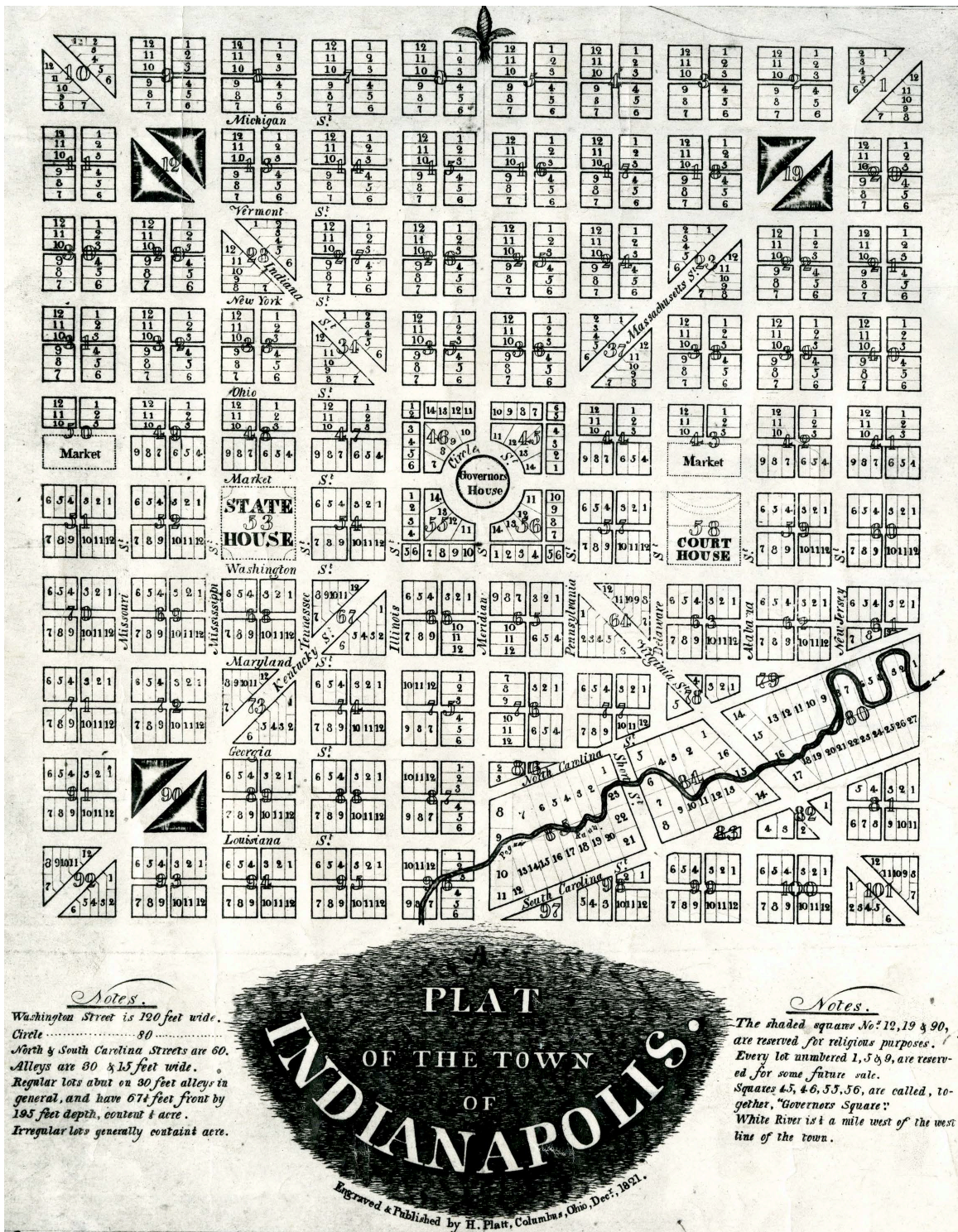


Figure 1.B: Plat map of Indianapolis, as drawn by Alexander Ralston in 1821. Two markets were included in this square mile plan, at the southern half of lots 43 and 50. The Eastern Market at lot 43 has continuously operated as the Indianapolis City Market since its inception. Alexander Ralston, "Plat of the Town of Indianapolis," Map Room, Indiana Division, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis.

where concerns about increasing tax burdens were voiced. Residents were worried that a new municipal market building would increase their taxes. City leaders countered that this new building, “much needed by town and county,” would “prove advantageous to the citizens of both. To effect this desirable object, it would be well for everyone to contribute his share in the establishment of a good market.”<sup>21</sup> On March 28, the city designated Thomas McOuat, Josiah W. Davis, and John Watton as commissioners to construct the building. The simple construction proved quick work, and the structure was ready for business by August of that year.<sup>22</sup> The resulting building was a long, narrow, open-air building resembling a covered bridge stretching lengthwise across the center of the block. (Figure 1.C and 1.D) This open-air shed, a rudimentary structure with brick piers and a gabled roof, followed a plan similar to other public markets across the United States.<sup>23</sup> A small belfry at the center of the building’s roof acted primarily as a sanctuary for pigeons. The ground was often littered with hay and corncobs strewn by farmers quartering their horses.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> The major opposition to this new building was based on concern for tax increases. *Indianapolis Journal*, August 11, 1832, quoted in W.M. Herschell, “Old Local Market, with Its ‘Hoodoo Corner,’ Was Picturesque, But a Place of Trouble for Hucksters,” *Indianapolis News*, January 4, 1906.

<sup>22</sup> Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis*, 113; Henderson, “Ordinance”; Herschell, “Old Local Market.” No Common Council records exist for this period. City records are not clear. It appears that the first market building was completed on August 11, 1832. For more information see *Proceedings of the Indianapolis Common Council and City-County Council*, <http://journals.iupui.edu/index.php/ccci>.

<sup>23</sup> Tangires, *Public Markets and Civic Culture*, 3-68. Jay Barshinger in his doctoral thesis on market houses in southeastern Pennsylvania identifies the shed as one of three common types of markets in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. For further information on early public markets across the United States, see Jay R. Barshinger, “Provisions for Trade: The Market House in Southeastern Pennsylvania,” (doctoral thesis, The Pennsylvania State University, 1995); and James M. Mayo, “The American Public Market,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 45, no.1 (November 1991): 41-57.

<sup>24</sup> Descriptions gathered from sparse photographic evidence available and consultation of “Old Reporter’s Reminiscences,” *Indianapolis News*, November 17, 1906; William L. Selm, “City Market,” ed. David J. Bodenhamer, Robert G. Barrows, and David G. Vanderstel, *Encyclopedia of Indianapolis* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994); Kathleen M. Johnson, “City Market’s 100 Years”; John F. Gallien, “Food Ranges from Tiger Tongues to Turnip Greens at City Market,” *Indianapolis Star*, November 7, 1971.

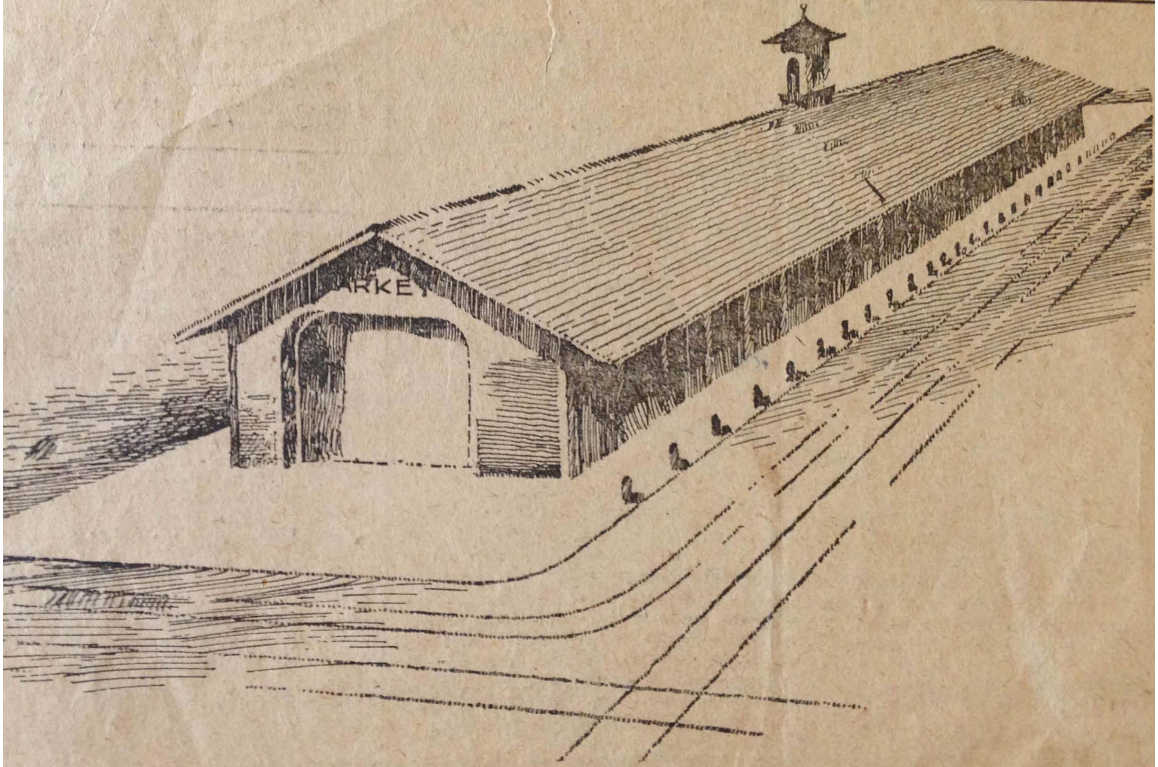


Figure 1.C: Line drawing of 1832 Market House. This was the first Market House in Indianapolis. Clipping Files, "City Market," Indiana State Library.

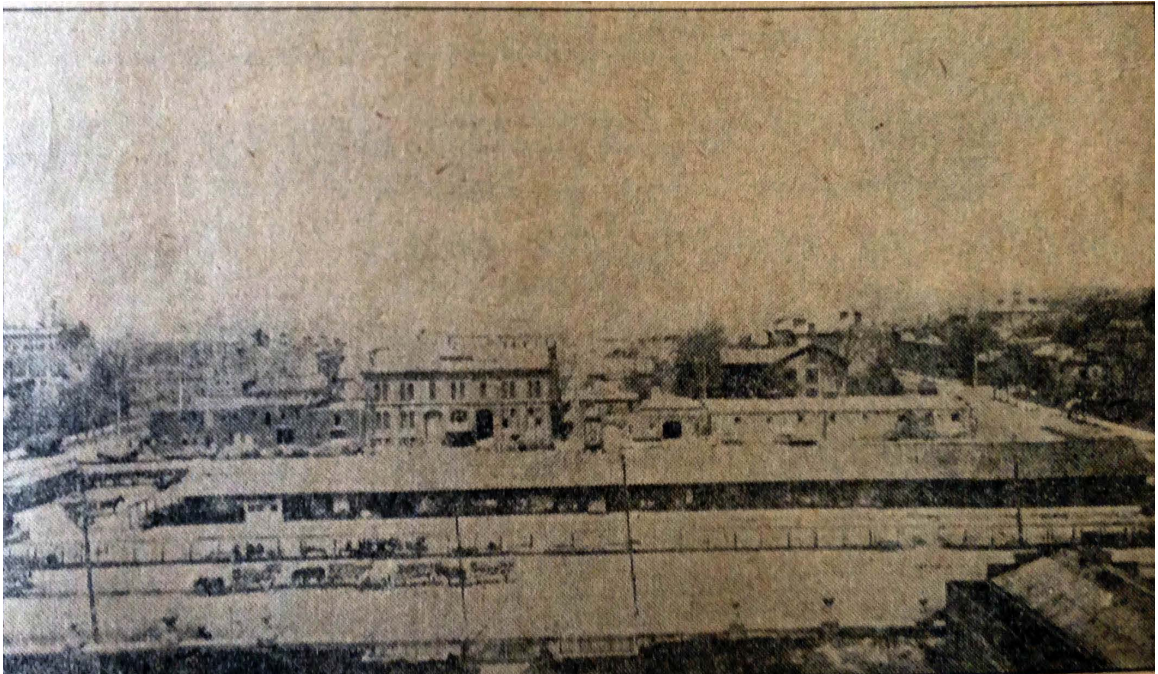


Figure 1.D: Photograph of 1832 Market House taken from windows of Marion County Courthouse. The building consisted of a long open-air shed, with brick supports and a gabled roof. *Indianapolis News*, January 28, 1916.

The city of Indianapolis was first given managerial jurisdiction over City Market regulations in 1832 when Indianapolis organized its first municipal government.<sup>25</sup> Newly elected city leaders were quick to initiate major modifications, including building the first permanent market building on the East property (described above) and adding a market clerk position.<sup>26</sup> The Market Clerk, later renamed Market Master in 1840, was hired to enforce market regulations, collect rents, and adjudicate disputes. Most sources report cabinetmaker Luce Fleming as the first Market Clerk. He was paid \$30 a year to keep the market clean and “free from filth,” seize “unwholesome or unfit” provisions for sale, and inspect weights and measures.<sup>27</sup> For the market’s first fifty years, approximately 35 men held this position as a yearly appointment. Most were between 35 and 55 years old and had outside professions that required some training.<sup>28</sup>

On Monday and Wednesday mornings the city awoke to a chaotic and crowded scene at the City Market. Meat vendors crowded under the Market House while wagons of every shape, size, and condition spread out over sidewalks and streets. Huskers were careful

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<sup>25</sup> “Rich Heritage Was Left by Tomlinson Hall,” *Indianapolis Star*, November 7, 1971, sec. A; John Murphy, “City Market to Take Another Step Forward with Construction of New Driveway, Parking Area for Patrons,” *Indianapolis Times*, April 13, 1936; Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis*, 113. Before this date, the city was primarily a home for state government and functioned under its jurisdiction. In 1832, the city first organized its own municipal governance and quickly included plans for market regulations. It should be noted that the final deed to the three plots that make up the East Market were not deeded to the city until 1950.

<sup>26</sup> Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis*, 113, 120. The position was first called Clerk of the Market until 1841 when the title was changed to Market Master. This designation remained until the 1982 when the first woman was elected to the position and the title was changed to Market Administrator. For more on managerial changes, see Chapter 3. For a complete list of market clerks, masters, and administrators, see Appendix A.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 113, 120, 636; Holloway, *Indianapolis: A Historical and Statistical Sketch*, 236; William Herschell, “Municipal Market of Indianapolis Now Attaining Its Centennial Year Has Ranged Through Many Problems Including Berries, Hangings, and Curbs,” *Indianapolis News*, June 25, 1932. The first locatable records of the Indianapolis Common Council were from 1854. Therefore details on early ordinances and market founding are only gleaned from select secondary sources and newspaper announcements.

<sup>28</sup> No complete list of Indianapolis’ Market Masters could be located. This data was aggregated from City County Council Minutes, and varying early histories of Indianapolis. Each was then researched using census, marriage, and cemetery records to collect as much vital data as possible. A handful proved elusive and no additional data could be found. For a compiled list, see Appendix A. See Berry Robinson Sulgrove, *History of Indianapolis and Marion County, Indiana* (Philadelphia: L.H. Everts & Company, 1884), 488; Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis*; 120; Holloway, *Indianapolis: A Historical and Statistical Sketch*, 136.

to avoid the corner of Alabama and Market streets, known as “Hoodoo Corner,” because a string of vendors went bankrupt after establishing stalls there. Activity teemed as merchants and farmers hawked a profusion of colorful produce and foodstuffs.<sup>29</sup> Sellers filled the air with shrill cries in every octave, eager to achieve a speedy sale. Swarms of residents carrying large baskets crowded the streets, jostling to get the best bargain or product. Eggs, milk, chickens, vegetables, and meat were piled into wagons. Vendors also looked to trade hay, tools, wood, and nails. The *Indianapolis Journal* claimed that any resident who “braved the malarial dampness and chilliness of an ante-daylight walk to the market-house” was sure to stay “an hour or two just to see what a big thing it is.”<sup>30</sup>

The City Market developed as a center for life in Indianapolis. In addition to serving as the central food distribution center, Indianapolis residents gathered in the space to argue political issues, hunt for gossip, celebrate major events and festivals, and gab about local news. A reporter from the *Indianapolis News* reminisced that every citizen “no matter how distinguished his position,” visited the City Market to converse “with other worthies on the news of the day, which was not then found in the daily newspaper.”<sup>31</sup> Historian Helen Tangiers explains that early markets often offered “a unique atmosphere of freedom and frankness” that differed from the church atmosphere, another venerable city institution where people gathered. This ambiance “produced an urban ‘laboratory’ where members of the community attempted to reconcile their differences.”<sup>32</sup> The City Market, therefore, provided an essential space in the city’s civic life.

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<sup>29</sup> “Music Festival,” *Indianapolis State Sentinel*, June 29, 1887; Herschell, “Old Local Market.”

<sup>30</sup> “Our Market,” *Indianapolis Journal*, September 2, 1876.

<sup>31</sup> “Old Reporter’s Reminiscences.”

<sup>32</sup> Tangiers, *Public Markets and Civic Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*, 48–9.

## A New Building Befitting its Benefactor

In the decades following the Civil War, Indianapolis had “transformed from [a] town irrevocably into a city.”<sup>33</sup> Indiana’s capital grew into its role as the seat of state government and became a hub for manufacturing and commerce. The city’s maturation led city officials to conclude that the now fifty-year-old open-air City Market was a disgraceful eyesore. They sought to use the land for other purposes. In this context, journalist Berry Sulgrove stated in his 1884 history of Indianapolis that the Market “still stands, greatly extended to be sure, but unchanged and wholly inadequate to its purpose.”<sup>34</sup> The *Indianapolis Journal* bemoaned, “we certainly should have something more respectable in appearance as well as better adapted to the wants of the community.”<sup>35</sup> Business leader H. M. Talbott called the market house “a disgrace. . . . We should have a new one, such as other cities have.”<sup>36</sup> City administrators and citizens alike looked for new building and funding solutions that would better fit the maturing city.

Officials found an unexpected benefactor in Stephen Tomlinson. Born in Cincinnati in 1815, Tomlinson migrated to Indianapolis around the age of nineteen to learn the typesetting trade.<sup>37</sup> For unknown reasons, he instead went into the drug business, practicing as a successful pharmacist in downtown Indianapolis for over twenty years at Tomlinson and Cox drugstore (at 18 East Washington Street). Tomlinson married Mary Todd Brown, a

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<sup>33</sup> Robert G. Barrows, “Indianapolis: Silver Buckle on the Rust Belt,” in *Snowbelt Cities: Metropolitan Politics in the Northeast and Midwest since World War II*, ed. Richard M. Bernard (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 138.

<sup>34</sup> Sulgrove, *History of Indianapolis and Marion County, Indiana*, 110 For an examination of city officials’ and planners ideology of public markets as perpetually dirty and inefficient, see Gregory Alexander Donofrio, “Feeding the City,” *Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture* 7, no.4 (2007), 30-41.

<sup>35</sup> “The So-Called City Hall,” *Indianapolis Journal*, January 6, 1882.

<sup>36</sup> “The City Hall Scene,” *Indianapolis Journal*, December 4, 1882.

<sup>37</sup> The exact date of either Tomlinson brother’s migration to the city is circumspect. In a typed account from James A. Tomlinson, brother to Stephen, the family emigrated to Indianapolis in 1834. Other accounts, including one from the *Indianapolis News* from March 4, 1958, claim the brothers came to Indianapolis in 1829. Though James was a long time resident of Indianapolis and in business with his brother, these facts could not be corroborated. For further genealogy of the family, see *Some Notes on the Tomlinson & Sullivan Families, Indianapolis Indiana*, n.d., Allen County Public Library Genealogy Collection, Fort Wayne, IN, [www.archive.org](http://www.archive.org).



native of Kentucky, in 1844. The Tomlinsons had two children, neither of whom survived to adulthood.<sup>38</sup> Stephen Tomlinson was described as “a man of varied and extensive information, largely self-taught,” and accomplished in music “and those other refinements which go to make-up a polite education.”<sup>39</sup> The couple was active in the social circles of Indianapolis, and Mary was remembered for her collection of fine shawls, laces, and jewelry.<sup>40</sup> Poor health forced Stephen’s retirement in 1854; he died on November 14, 1870.<sup>41</sup>

Tomlinson’s will bequeathed his estate, valued at around \$150,000 in real estate, to his widow Mary. Following her death, the remaining funds were to be used “in erection of buildings, for the use of citizens and city authorities. . . on the west end of East Market House fronting on Delaware Street and North of Market Street.”<sup>42</sup> By all accounts, city officials were surprised to hear of the bequest. Nonetheless, they were eager to get their hands on the assets before Mary Tomlinson passed away and entered into negotiations to accomplish this goal. By 1874, municipal authorities reached an agreement with Mary

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<sup>38</sup> Indiana Marriage Records, Ancestry.com; Scherrer, Anton, “Stephen Tomlinson,” *Indianapolis Times*, March 9, 1938; Indiana Biography Series, v.18, 22; Filomena Gould, “Tomlinson Hall Still Hasn’t Cooled Down,” *Indianapolis News*, March 4, 1958; *Dodd, Talbott and Parsons’ Indianapolis City Directory and Business Mirror for 1862* (Indianapolis: H.H. Dodd & Co., 1862), 223, [www.archive.org](http://www.archive.org). Both children died in infancy and are buried near their parents in Indianapolis’ Crown Hill Cemetery.

<sup>39</sup> “Proceedings of Board of Aldermen, Special Session- June 15, 1886,” in *Journals of the Common Council, Board of Aldermen, and Joint Conventions of Said Bodies for the Year 1886* (Indianapolis: Hasselman-Journal Co. City Printers, 1887), 544–6, <http://journals.iupui.edu/index.php/ccci>.

<sup>40</sup> Filomena Gould, “Tomlinson Hall Still Hasn’t Cooled Down.”

<sup>41</sup> Tomlinson was laid to rest in Crown Hill Cemetery. “Common Council Proceedings, June 15, 1886.”

<sup>42</sup> Last Will and Testament, “Stephen D. Tomlinson,” April 18, 1870, Will Record D, City of Indianapolis, Marion, Indiana, 503; Eva Draegert, “Indianapolis: The Culture of an Inland City” (doctoral thesis, Indiana University, 1952), 344; “Will of the Late Stephen D. Tomlinson,” *Indianapolis Journal*, December 2, 1870. The Tomlinson Estate included ten properties scattered near the circle in Downtown Indianapolis. The value of Tomlinson’s estate ranged from \$100,000 to \$150,000. The 1870 census valued Tomlinson’s real estate property at \$50,000. In 1880, the *Indianapolis Journal* estimated the total estate, after property sales, would be valued at \$90,000.

Tomlinson to gain legal possession of the property in exchange for an annual allowance of \$7,000 paid bi-annually for the remainder of her life.<sup>43</sup>

Having gained access to the bequest from Mrs. Tomlinson, the city began what would become a nine-year battle to straighten out a long list of legal entanglements and gather public support for the construction of buildings. Plans for the new Market House remained stagnant until 1882, with the city continuing to collect rent and maintain the Tomlinson properties.<sup>44</sup> Confusion still swirled around how to execute the Tomlinson bequest. The will specified the estate be used to erect “buildings for the use of citizens and city authorities . . . what are commonly termed ‘public buildings,’” on the west portion of the Market property.<sup>45</sup> Numerous schemes were debated as to the best way to interpret this terminology in “the best interests of the city.”

Indianapolis Mayor Daniel Grubbs proposed using the money for a new city hall, garnering support from petitions circulated city-wide.<sup>46</sup> They envisioned the city hall, which

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<sup>43</sup> The bulk of value in the Tomlinson Estate resided within ten downtown Indianapolis properties. With this agreement, the city gained responsibility for this real estate, its upkeep, and collected rents on each property. This continued until the city liquidated the properties by 1890. The city paid Mary Tomlinson annuities totaling \$56,000 from the time of her agreement until her death in 1882.

<sup>44</sup> “An Indexical Digest to Proceedings of the Common Council, Board of Aldermen, and Joint Conventions of Said Bodies,” in *Journals of the Common Council, Board of Aldermen, and Joint Conventions of Said Bodies for the Year 1884* (Indianapolis, IN: Hasselman-Journal Co. City Printers, 1885), 144–6, <http://journals.iupui.edu/index.php/ccci>; “The City Attorney’s Report on the Conditions and Demands of the Tomlinson Bequest,” *Indianapolis Journal*, March 14, 1882; “Indexical Digest to Journals 1881-1882,” in *Proceedings of the Common Council, Board of Aldermen, and Joint Conventions of Said Bodies for May 9, 1881 and Including May 30, 1882* (Indianapolis, IN: Journal Co. City Printers, 1882), 258, <http://journals.iupui.edu/index.php/ccci>; Gallien, “Food Ranges from Tiger Tongues to Turnip Greens at City Market,” B23; Sheryl D. Vanderstel, “Tomlinson Hall,” *Encyclopedia of Indianapolis* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994), 1336–7; “The City Attorney’s Report on the Conditions and Demands of the Tomlinson Bequest;” “Tomlinson Estate,” *Indianapolis Journal*, December 13, 1880. Part of the lengthy implementation time may be attributed to the Panic of 1873, a severe economic downturn which lasted until 1879 and has been called the first global depression. This economic downturn hit Indianapolis particularly hard, and may explain citizens’ reticence to spend money on a new city building, which could increase taxes.

<sup>45</sup> Last Will and Testament, “Stephen D. Tomlinson,” April 18, 1870, Will Record D, City of Indianapolis, Marion, Indiana, 503. The specificity of this location is peculiar, as Tomlinson did not own the land, and the space was functioning as the city’s public market. The exact reasoning of why Tomlinson specified this location was never uncovered.

<sup>46</sup> *Indianapolis Journal*, February 27, 1882; “The City Attorney’s Report on the Conditions and Demands of the Tomlinson Bequest.”

was to be built on the southern side of the market property as Tomlinson's will stipulated, would contain offices for administrators and a large hall for public assemblies. However, many citizens took umbrage at this idea, dubious of higher taxes and excessive municipal desires in an economically precarious time.<sup>47</sup> Many said that additional municipal offices were redundant, citing as an example the Marion County Courthouse, completed in 1876. "Why, then build another almost before the paint is dry upon this?" asked the *Indianapolis Journal* in 1882.<sup>48</sup> Nonetheless, the Mayor was determined. Resolutions, reports, and ordinances were adopted to move forward with the city hall plan. On March 19, 1883, a building contract for \$135,000 was awarded to Moses K. Fatout. He was to erect a large assembly hall and city office building that would satisfy, in the words of Mayor Grubs, ". . . such as was evidently contemplated by Mr. Tomlinson."<sup>49</sup>

However, Fatout's contract was never fulfilled due to complicated legal idiosyncrasies surrounding the market property. The market plot was part of a four-section federal donation given as the space for Indiana's new capital in 1821. The southern six lots between Wabash, Market, Alabama, and Delaware streets were designated specifically to be used as a public market and had functioned with that purpose since 1820. Legally, therefore, the city

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<sup>47</sup> The Panic of 1873 was a milestone for Indianapolis. It ended the wide-spread economic speculation and caused the loss of some personal fortunes. This large-scale economic downturn is attributed to solidifying the self-reliant and fiscally conservative attitudes of Indianapolis. It also stimulated greater social awareness for larger community needs. See David J. Bodenhamer, Robert G. Barrows, and David Gordon Vanderstel, eds., "Philanthropy and Business," *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994), 1095; Meredith Nicholson, *A Hoosier Chronicle* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912).

<sup>48</sup> "The So-Called City Hall." At this time, the Indianapolis and Marion County governments operated separately. The Courthouse was primarily for county business while the city leased room out of the courthouse basement. Many city officials, especially the mayor, felt the city needed roomier accommodations and sought the construction of a city hall. This would not come to fruition until 1908.

<sup>49</sup> "Common Council Proceedings, June 15, 1886."

had no title to the land, but exercised control only as a trustee for the state.<sup>50</sup> In 1883, lawyer Samuel E. Perkins “on behalf of others having a common interest” took the city to court and filed for an injunction to prevent further building. The injunction claimed that the city did not have proper authorization to construct the proposed city hall building “upon ground dedicated by the State for a ‘Market Space.’”<sup>51</sup> Superior Court Judge Daniel Howe ruled in June of 1883 that the market space “must be wholly . . . devoted to market purposes.”<sup>52</sup> Because of the statute if the city did not build a market building on the southern plots, it would be in danger of losing the property back to state control. However, Tomlinson’s will clearly stated that the bequest could only be used to create a building on the market property. A new option would have to be reached.<sup>53</sup>

The solution was found in a dual-use building that served as both civic center and public market. Judge Howe allowed for this caveat in his 1883 ruling, that a building with “suitable and sufficient” space for the market could include an additional story devoted to other purposes.<sup>54</sup> Creating a multi-use building that combined meeting hall and market hall had a strong historical precedent, according to architectural historian Helen Tangires. Such a design was common in medieval Europe for local governments seeking to enter into

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<sup>50</sup> “Mickey McCarthy Says,” *Indianapolis News*, March 31, 1958, 19; “An Indexical Digest to Journals of the Common Council, Board of Aldermen, and Joint Conventions of Said Bodies for January 7 to December 22, 1884,” in *Journal of the Common Council, Board of Aldermen, and Joint Conventions of Said Bodies for January 7 to December 22, 1884* (Indianapolis: Hasselman-Journal Co. City Printers, 1885), 48, <http://journals.iupui.edu/index.php/ccci>. Though the city had been legally managing the City Market since its inception in 1832, it was not deeded the land until 1950. In 1947, Governor Henry Schricker made moves to officially deed over the market land to the city of Indianapolis. This deed was recorded on November 15, 1950. See *Wetter et. al. v. City of Indianapolis*, 1958; Marion County Office of the Recorder, Town Lot Record 1409, Ch. 20, Acts of the Indiana General Assembly, 1947, 293.

<sup>51</sup> *Samuel E. Perkins vs. Daniel W. Grubbs et al.*, no. 20631, Marion County Superior Court (1883) in Edward Knight Collection, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis, IN. Samuel Elliot Perkins II was a lawyer and property owner in Indianapolis. It seems that Perkins acted as the representative for a group of men who had an interest in preserving the market at its current location. For more on the family see the Samuel E. Perkins Collection at the Indiana Historical Society.

<sup>52</sup> “*Perkins vs. Grubbs*,” June 4, 1883, 7, Edward H. Knight Collection, Box 4, Folder 7, Indiana State Library.

<sup>53</sup> *Perkins vs. Grubbs*, 4; “Common Council Proceedings, June 15, 1886”; “There Will Be No Injunction,” *Indianapolis Evening Minute*, May 11, 1885.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

partnerships with fresh food vendors. Markets were characterized by a building with an open arcade on the ground floor for trading and a multi-purpose room above to serve as a public space. This combined use of the building provided shelter for vendors and minimized street disorder. The nineteenth-century United States saw the construction of a number of these multi-use buildings with ground-floor markets and upper level courthouses, clerk's office, fire houses, watch houses, police headquarters, libraries, schools, masonic halls, opera houses, or theaters.<sup>55</sup>

The city solicited architects in December 1883 to submit “specifications for a market house on the East Market Square and a building across the west end thereof for market purposes and containing an assembly hall.”<sup>56</sup> The plans from the firm of D. A. Bohlen and Son was selected in 1884.<sup>57</sup> Diedrich A. Bohlen immigrated to the United States from Hanover, Germany around 1851. He established his own architectural firm in April of 1853 after serving as a draftsman in Indianapolis and studying under Indianapolis' leading architect Francis Costigan.<sup>58</sup> His son, Oscar D. Bohlen joined the firm in 1881 after completing training at Boston Institute of Technology (now MIT). By the time the firm won the City Market project, it had a solid reputation in the city and had designed the city's first theater, the Metropolitan (1858), the Morris-Butler House (1864), Saint John's Catholic Church (1867-1871), the Crown Hill Cemetery Chapel (1875), and the Roberts Park

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<sup>55</sup> Helen Tangires, *Public Markets* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2008), 141–2. For a further examination of the civic impact of these buildings see Tangires' *Public Market and Civic Culture in Nineteenth Century America*.

<sup>56</sup> *Perkins v. Grubbs*, 4; “Common Council Proceedings, June 15, 1886.”

<sup>57</sup> “An Indexical Digest to Proceedings of the Common Council, Board of Aldermen, and Joint Conventions of Said Bodies;” “The Proposed Market-House,” *Indianapolis Journal*, December 19, 1882. The other five firms that submitted drawings were George W. Bunting, Charles G. Mueller, E. J. Hodgson, and J.H. and A.H. Stem. The Council Committee then asked for estimates from each. Bohlen's first place drawings earned him \$400, while Stems' second place plans earned him \$150.

<sup>58</sup> Indiana Historical Society, “Bohlen, Meyer, Gibson, & Associates,” *Indiana Centennial Business Directory*, (accessed November 20, 2014), <http://www.indianahistory.org/our-services/books-publications/hbr/bohlen-meyer-gibson.pdf>.

Methodist Church (1867).<sup>59</sup> By the time of Oscar Bohlen's death in 1936, the *Indianapolis Star* credited the firm as having such a large influence as to have designed "the architectural plans for one or more buildings in practically every business block in the downtown area, in addition to churches, schools, and hospitals."<sup>60</sup>

Bohlen's plan for the City Market consisted of two buildings designed in the Italianate style. The larger building, Tomlinson Hall, was a massive structure with a 4,200-seat performing hall on the upper floor. Stalls for vegetable and fruit vendors were situated on the lower level. A smaller, one-story next door Market House would accommodate meat vendors.<sup>61</sup>

Costs were a major issue for the new Market House endeavor. The assets included in the Tomlinson bequest were estimated around \$100,000, and construction costs were estimated between \$150,000 and \$200,000.<sup>62</sup> Citizens continued to express reticence about spending additional funds, especially if it would incur higher taxes. The *Indianapolis Journal* called for the city to use a combination of thrift, beauty, and enterprise in the creation of the new building. The paper also warned that if extra funds were needed, the project should be abandoned in favor of other "legitimate and pressing necessities," such as sewer repairs and

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<sup>59</sup> Wesley I. Shank, *Indianapolis City Market, 222 East Market Street, Indianapolis, Marion County, IN*, Historic American Buildings Survey Report (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1971); William Selm, "Bohlen, Diedrich August," ed. David J. Bodenhamer, Robert G. Barrows, and David G. Vanderstel, *Encyclopedia of Indianapolis* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994), 333; "A Rich Legacy for Indiana," *Indiana Architect*, June 1976.

<sup>60</sup> "Oscar D. Bohlen, 72, Dies at Home Here," *Indianapolis Star*, February 14, 1936.

<sup>61</sup> Sheryl D. Vanderstel, "Tomlinson Hall;" Selm, "City Market." After the completion of the research for this thesis, new materials from the D. A. Bohlen collection were processed and made available by the Indiana Historical Society. Among those are architect's notes related to the construction of Tomlinson Hall in 1885, and renovations in 1887 and 1912; along with architectural plans for Tomlinson Hall renovations in 1912. These plans spell out size specifications, preferred contractors and vendors, and materials; and often refer to architectural plans not included in this collection. On brief glean, these papers did not provide substantial new information about the construction of Tomlinson Hall. These materials were not integrated into this thesis, but may prove substantive to future inquiries. To investigate further, consult the Bohlen Collection, M1204, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, IN.

<sup>62</sup> "Building of a City Hall Recommended," *Indianapolis News*, June 13, 1881; "The So-Called City Hall."

fire department expansions.<sup>63</sup> Ultimately, the city solved this financial shortfall with a ‘saloon tax,’ enacted in May 1882. This fee created needed revenue that was siphoned into a “City Hall Fund.”<sup>64</sup> In essence, the Tomlinson bequest paid for the assembly space of what would become Tomlinson Hall, while the City Hall Fund paid for the lower stories. The city used the remaining money in the Tomlinson fund, around \$30,000, to build “a comfortable and commodious Eastern Market House, to conform to the court’s wishes.”<sup>65</sup> The entire project, including sidewalks, gas fixtures, sewage, furniture, and market stalls, cost \$141,613.<sup>66</sup>

### A New Hall for a Growing City

The imposing Tomlinson Hall rose slowly over the summer and winter of 1885.<sup>67</sup> The impressive brick structure soared fifty-five feet in the air, lined with large windows, capped by a galvanized iron roof, and flanked at each corner by large hip-roofed towers.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> *Indianapolis Journal*, February 27, 1882. For discussion of cities’ difficulties in finding funding for large scale public markets and their use of public referendum, see James Mayo, “The American Public Market,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 45: 1(November 1991), 52.

<sup>64</sup> “A New Market House Ordinance,” *Indianapolis Evening Minute*, March 3, 1885; *Indianapolis Journal*, December 7, 1882, 4; “Common Council Proceedings Index, 1884,” 74. The tax created revenue by licensing saloons, telegraph companies, and wagons or vehicles used by “express companies” who did business in the city. This revenue was officially placed into the “Additional City Hall Fund.” After sufficient construction revenues were acquired, the tax was moved into a “Viaduct Fund.”

<sup>65</sup> “Common Council Proceedings, June 15, 1886,” 544–6; “Proceedings of Board of Aldermen, Special Session- June 14, 1886,” in *Journals of the Common Council, Board of Aldermen, and Joint Conventions of Said Bodies for the Year 1886* (Indianapolis: Hasselman-Journal Co. City Printers, 1887), 458, <http://journals.iupui.edu/index.php/ccci>. Difficulties with funding the market building were compounded by the illicit siphoning of funds by city treasurer Isaac N. Pattison. By November 1886 it was revealed that the city was in a deficit of \$110,681.39, a large portion of which belonged in the City Hall and Tomlinson Estate Funds. (See Indexical Digest for the Indianapolis Common Council, 1886, p. 28) The scandal resulted in Indianapolis abolishing the position of treasurer and transferring the responsibilities to the county level. (Report of Indiana Supreme Court Cases, v.106, May 1886, 415-16) Pattison later became an engineer for the Southern Pacific Railroad and went on to found the lumber town of Sanger, California. (*San Francisco Call*, v.111 # 166, May 14, 1912, pg. 1, Digitized by the California Digital Newspaper Collection).

<sup>66</sup> “Common Council Proceedings, June 15, 1886,” 544; “A New Market House Ordinance.” See Appendix B for cost break down and firms employed.

<sup>67</sup> Bohlen won the bid for the market buildings on March 29, 1884, and construction on Tomlinson Hall was finished by June 15, 1886. The old Market House was torn down on July 12, 1886 as construction on the new market house began. Both buildings were in use by the end of 1886.

<sup>68</sup> Sheryl D. Vanderstel, “Tomlinson Hall;” “The City Hall,” *Indianapolis Evening Minute*, April 1, 1885.



Figure 1.E: View of Marion County Courthouse, Tomlinson Hall, and Market House on market day, ca. 1903. Along the courthouse square, vendors hawk wares. Hudnut Collection, Indianapolis Mayoral Archive, University of Indianapolis.





Figure 1.F: Postcard of Tomlinson Hall and Market House (referred to as Market Place) on market day, ca. 1910. Vegetable and fruit vendors operated out of the first floor of Tomlinson Hall, with meat vendors selling in the Market House. Nussbaum Postcard Collection, Indiana State Library.

(Figures 1.E and 1.F) Unlike its predecessor, the new Tomlinson Hall and forthcoming Market House featured decorative ornamentation following the Italianate style. Nationally, many municipal governments were putting up large arcade-like market buildings with exterior ornamentation. Architectural historian James Mayo explains that these new market houses were “seen as more permanent, especially in light of the cost to build them with iron and steel trusses.” As he extrapolates, city officials were more “willing to invest in these markets as public buildings that were to be . . . admired by the public.”<sup>69</sup> While the old Market House was seen as an eyesore and even “a disgrace,” the new Tomlinson Hall, with its stately portico and cornices of limestone and majestic performance area made a positive impression upon Indianapolis residents.<sup>70</sup> The new Hall was “a magnificent building, elaborately decorated and brilliantly lighted,” gushed the *Indianapolis News* at the opening festivities. The paper continued, “the building is a credit to the city, and an honor to the memory of the man whose munificence gave rise to its existence. It is solid, substantial, immense, and excellently adapted for the purpose for which it was erected.”<sup>71</sup>

Adding to the grandeur of Tomlinson Hall was the large assembly space on the upper floor. (Figure 1.G) Until the completion of this space, Indianapolis lacked a location to hold meetings or large performances.<sup>72</sup> The hall provided a 4,044-seat performing hall and meeting rooms, filling “the gap that had been so sadly felt in the past, on occasion when larger accommodations were needed.”<sup>73</sup> The hall impressed visitors with its “noble

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<sup>69</sup> Mayo, “The American Public Market,” 46.

<sup>70</sup> “The City Hall Scheme,” *Indianapolis Journal*, December 4, 1882.

<sup>71</sup> “Tomlinson Hall: Opening Performance of the Musical Festival,” *Indianapolis News*, June 2, 1886.

<sup>72</sup> “\$2,000,000 City Market Proposed,” *Indianapolis News*, July 17, 1923; Theo Anderson, “Back Home Again (and Again) in Indiana: E. Howard Cadle, Christian Populism, and the Resilience of American Fundamentalism,” *Indiana Magazine of History*, December 1, 2006, 301–338.

<sup>73</sup> “An Auspicious Beginning: The City’s First Great Musical Festival a Success from the First,” *Indianapolis Journal*, June 2, 1886. This seating capacity is according to Bohlen’s published plans, as reported by the *Indianapolis Evening Minute* from April 1, 1885. Capacity of Tomlinson Hall varies by reports, commonly reported as 4,200 by contemporary sources. This variance may result from the flexible nature of seating in the hall. The gallery held 1,317 chairs, and the main level had 2,439 chairs. 288 chairs could also be put up on the stage. The space was renovated later to meet the fire code, reducing the number of seats available in favor of larger aisles.

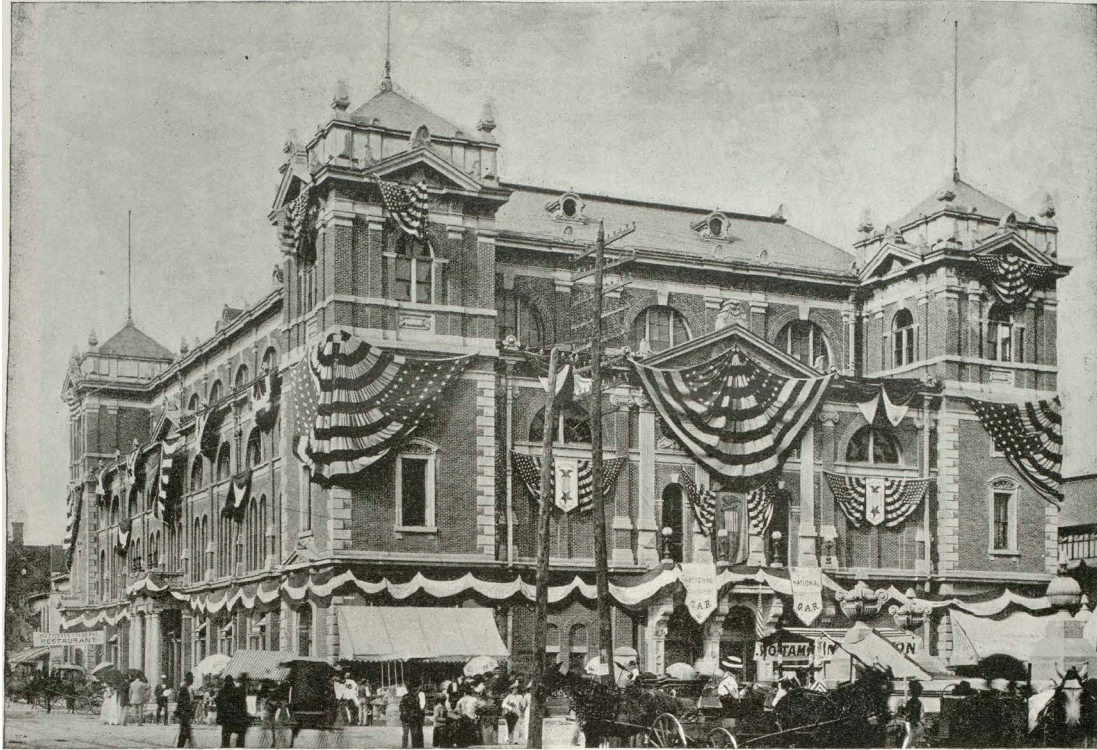


Figure 1.G: Interior and Exterior of Tomlinson Hall, decorated for Grand Army of the Republic Encampment, 1893. This photograph represents one of the few known interior views of the performance space of Tomlinson Hall. *The Graphic*, September 16, 1893, Indiana Historical Society.

proportions and the simple, massive dignity of its interior.”<sup>74</sup> The decor was described as stately, without “cheap tinsel or glittering decorations, no elaborately draped proscenium boxes or carved columns, no frescoed walls nor bespangled ceilings, but everything plain, unostentatious, but imposing. There is a picturesque contrast between the dark wood overhead and the gray plaster below it.”<sup>75</sup> Three large electric chandeliers cast soft light over the large, roomy gallery and “splendid stage.”<sup>76</sup>

Tomlinson Hall opened to the pomp and circumstance of a musical festival on June 1–3, 1886. Under the general direction and to the benefit of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), a fraternal organization made up of Union veterans, three days of concerts, parades, and speeches “on a scale of magnificence never before attempted in this commonwealth,” inaugurated the new space.<sup>77</sup> Opening night saw red, white, and blue flags and streamers flying in every direction, reported the *Indianapolis News*, as observers flocked to the hall, gathered outside the courthouse and jailhouse fences. Some spectators even climbed onto the old, yet to be demolished, market house roof to hear the concert.<sup>78</sup> Vendors hawked tobacco, lemonade, and ice cream, as throngs in “holiday attire” with bright dresses and dapper suits made their way into the space. Inside, churches and societies set up on the market-level floor, supplying the “material wants of the music-loving crowds.” The *Indianapolis Journal* called it “a sight vying in liveliness with the sights usually on market” days.<sup>79</sup> Upstairs much “applause and appreciation” met German soprano soloist Lilli Lehmann, “a magnificently big woman with lungs like a blacksmith’s bellow.” Performers from Cincinnati and Indianapolis comprised an orchestra of 60 and a choir of 650 to

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<sup>74</sup> “Tomlinson Hall: Opening Performance of the Musical Festival.”

<sup>75</sup> Ibid; “Music Festival.” Others called the decoration too simple. “Handsomely frescoed walls” were added within a year of the building opening.

<sup>76</sup> “Tomlinson Hall: Opening Performance of the Musical Festival.”

<sup>77</sup> “The Festival Week: Opening Concert This Evening,” *Indianapolis News*, June 1, 1886; Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis*, 533. With the exception of the soloist Lilli Lehmann, all performers were volunteers. All profits from the musical festival benefited the GAR’s soldiers monument, which would become the Soldiers and Sailor’s Monument, completed in 1902.

<sup>78</sup> “Tomlinson Hall: Opening Performance of the Musical Festival.”

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

perform a program consisting of pieces by Rossini, Mendelssohn, Mozart, and Wagner.<sup>80</sup> Additional visitors arrived in Indianapolis for the following days' events, which included a grand parade of GAR veterans and speeches by General John A. Logan and General William Tecumseh Sherman. "The festival was a success beyond a doubt," hailed the *Indianapolis Journal*, "There was nothing but praise to be heard on every side. . . . Tomlinson Hall is a monument to the honor of its donor that will not soon be surpassed by any other. . . . The city now has a house that it can feel an honest pride in."<sup>81</sup>

### A New Market

Expanding and improving public markets was commonplace for municipalities in the late nineteenth century. Dozens of cities, including Denver, Colorado; Buffalo, New York; Cleveland, Columbus, and Dayton, Ohio; and Lexington, Kentucky; built ambitious market houses in order to improve sanitation conditions and keep public control over food provisioning. These mammoth halls encompassed hundreds of spaces for farmers, wholesalers, huskers, and grocers to display their goods in a street-like atmosphere that encouraged upscale shoppers and bargain hunters alike to wander, stroll, and inspect goods.<sup>82</sup> Indianapolis' newly constructed Tomlinson Hall and Market House were no exception. Tomlinson Hall included around 140 stalls for vegetable and fruit vendors, along with one or two larger restaurant locations. The Market House also allocated 104 spaces for butchers and fish vendors. On market days, farmers and huskers spread out along the Courthouse Square,

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<sup>80</sup> Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis*, 533; "Tomlinson Hall: Opening Performance of the Musical Festival"; "The Festival Week: Opening Concert This Evening"; "Old Reporter's Reminiscences."

<sup>81</sup> "An Auspicious Beginning: The City's First Great Musical Festival a Success from the First."

<sup>82</sup> Tangires, *Public Markets and Civic Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*, 173–5; For list of nationwide public markets and founding in the early 20th Century, see United States Bureau of the Census, *Municipal Markets in Cities Having a Population of Over 30,000: 1918* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1919).



Figure 1.H: View of outdoor market at Indianapolis City Market, ca. 1910. Vendors often drove into the city and set up wagons around the Marion County Courthouse Square. Tomlinson Hall and the Market House are visible at the top left. Box 41: Marion County - Indianapolis - Markets, Photograph Collection, Indiana State Library.

hawking goods out of wagons (Figure 1.H).<sup>83</sup> By 1913, the Market Master reported a total of 675 vendors on market days, including around 300 wagons outside on the curb market. It employed around 1,600 people.<sup>84</sup>

The new market's management structure was similar to most municipal markets across the United States.<sup>85</sup> The City Market operated under the supervision of the mayor-appointed Indianapolis Board of Public Safety. The four-year term Market Master ensured that "contracts for leases [were] duly drawn, the stand fees collected, and the market cleaned and kept in order."<sup>86</sup> He needed to balance the needs of stallowners, customers, and municipal authorities while keeping overhead costs low, financing building improvements, and mediating merchants' conflicts.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> "Proceedings of Board of Aldermen, Special Session- May 16, 1887," in *Journals of the Common Council, Board of Aldermen, and Joint Conventions of Said Bodies for the Year 1887* (Indianapolis: Hasselman-Journal Co. City Printers, 1888), 278, <http://journals.iupui.edu/index.php/ccci>; "Proceedings of Board of Aldermen, Special Session- May 7, 1888," in *Journals of the Common Council, Board of Aldermen, and Joint Conventions of Said Bodies for the Year 1888* (Indianapolis: Journal Job Co. City Printers, 1889), 286–7, <http://journals.iupui.edu/index.php/ccci>; "Proceedings of Board of Aldermen, Special Session- July 12, 1886," in *Journals of the Common Council, Board of Aldermen, and Joint Conventions of Said Bodies for the Year 1886* (Indianapolis: Hasselman-Journal Co. City Printers, 1887), 620, <http://journals.iupui.edu/index.php/ccci>. By 1888 the city was leasing 159 spaces along Market, Wabash, Delaware, and Alabama streets during market days for vendors.

<sup>84</sup> John W. Farley, "A Questionnaire on Markets," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Reducing the Cost of Food Distribution, 50 (November 1913): 142; Annis Burk, "The Indianapolis Market," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 50 (November 1913), <http://archive.org/details/jstor-1012682>; "Mayor to Get More Figures on Market," *Indianapolis News*, September 2, 1911; "Marketer Finds Variety for Her Need on Market," *Indianapolis Sun*, May 8, 1909. A similar number of stands are reported in multiple locations between 1909 and 1913. The curb market was banned in 1932.

<sup>85</sup> For an in-depth study of market management systems see James M. Mayo, *The American Grocery Store: The Business Evolution of an Architectural Space* (Greenwood Press, 1993); Joshua Charles Zade, "Public Market Development Strategy: Making the Improbable Possible" (Master's Thesis, MIT, 2009).

<sup>86</sup> Burk, *The Indianapolis Market*; Bureau of Municipal Research, *Report on a Survey of the City Government of Indianapolis, Indiana* (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, 1917), 146,439–442. The City Market is operated by the Board of Public Safety. The building belongs to the Board of Public Works, who also oversaw the operations of Tomlinson Hall. The Market Master position originally served one year and the term was expanded to two years in 1881. By the turn of the century, Market Masters were appointed for four-year terms, on the same mayoral election cycle.

<sup>87</sup> Bureau of Municipal Research, *Survey of the City Government of Indianapolis, Indiana*; Mayo, *The American Grocery Store*, 32. The Market Master was usually assisted by a market clerk or Assistant Market Master and saw a handful of janitors under his purview.



Figure 1.I: Klemm Family Stand at the City Market, ca. 1913. German immigrants Mina and Karl Klemm started their meat and sausage stand around this time. Bass Photo Co Collection, Indiana Historical Society.



Figure 1.J: Klemm Family Stand at the Indianapolis City Market, 1922. Gerhard Klemm Oral History Material, Indiana Historical Society.



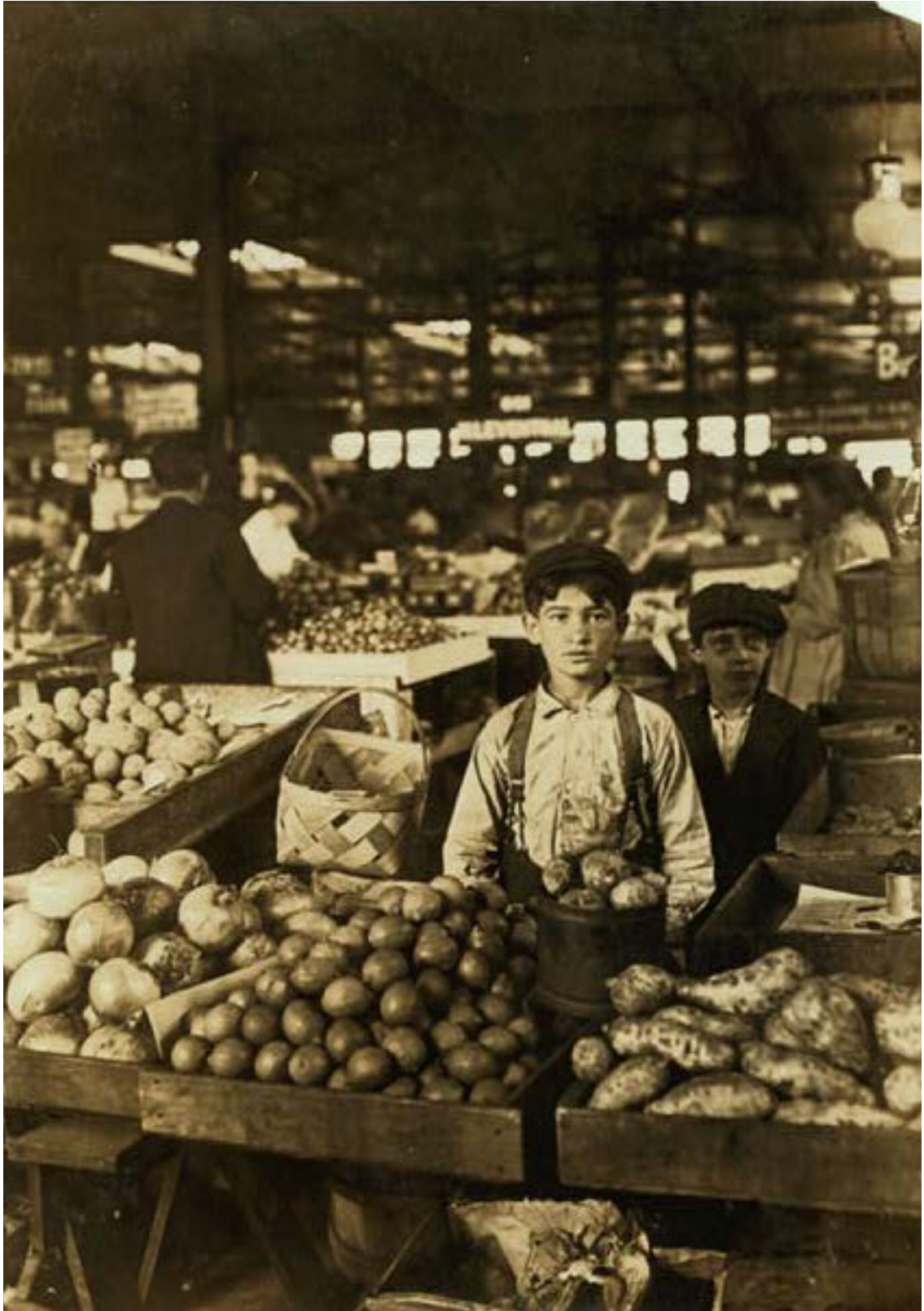


Figure 1.K: Boy selling produce at Indianapolis City Market, 1908. The photograph was taken by noted photographer Lewis Hine while he documented working conditions for children across the United States. Lot 7480, National Child Labor Committee Collection, Library of Congress.

Standowners leased interior stalls from the city for a set yearly price.<sup>88</sup> They were required to provide their own furniture, signage, and equipment.<sup>89</sup> Lack of a standard design scheme created a rather haphazard look in the City Market. Early standowners built up wooden stands, often using wooden sawhorses or pallets to hold up containers of produce. Over time stands became more elaborate as stallowners installed sturdier wooden stands and added their own lighting, temporary walls, and signs.<sup>90</sup> (Figure 1.I and 1.J) Customers were often greeted with elaborate stacks of canned goods, pyramids of fruit, and garlands of sausage links decorating stands around the City Market.

The market buildings were divided into three parts. Tomlinson Hall was primarily devoted to grocers and dairy vendors who sold canned goods, butter, eggs, cheese, fancy fruits, candy, spices, seeds, and other miscellaneous foodstuffs.<sup>91</sup> Florists took up the north end of this building and two restaurants operated out of the building. The Market House was primarily taken up by butchers, fish mongers, and live poultry vendors, although

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<sup>88</sup> For a nominal fee, other vendors leased space on market day in the outdoor curb market. Market days were two or three days a week.

<sup>89</sup> "Council Votes Bonds Reaching \$740,000 Total," *Indianapolis Star*, June 22, 1915. After much hostility and discussion between municipal authorities, health officials, and butchers in the City Market between 1907 and 1915, the city installed a refrigeration plant in June 1915. For \$2.50 a week, butchers were leased glass topped cases and paid for the refrigeration system.

<sup>90</sup> "Committee Advocates City Market Reforms," *Indianapolis News*, August 16, 1919; Census, *Municipal Markets in Cities Having a Population of Over 30,000*. Though I was able to find a wide narrative of the activities which took place inside the market, very few images or descriptions exist of the market's interior. Those that exist focus primarily on specific standholders or people, not the building interior. My descriptions were pieced together through this scant photographic evidence.

<sup>91</sup> James Hetherington, "Old City Market: Is It Worth the Deficit?," *Indianapolis Times*, September 3, 1961, 7; James Hetherington, "Customers at City Market Enjoy the Smells, Sights," *Indianapolis Times*, December 9, 1962, 9.



Figure 1.L: Photo of the Jardina family at their City Market stand in 1929. Most of the fruit stands at the City Market were owned by Italian American families, like the Jardinas. Bretzman Collection, Indiana Historical Society.



Figure 1.M: View of curb market at the Indianapolis City Market, ca. 1923. P0173, Indiana Historical Society.



Figure 1.N: View of curb market at Indianapolis City Market, ca. 1923. P0173, Indiana Historical Society.



Figure 1.O: View of curb market at Indianapolis City Market, ca. 1923. P0173, Indiana Historical Society.

vegetable vendors occupied the most northern portion.<sup>92</sup> The *Indianapolis Sun* boasted that “everything an individual wants in eating . . . from dry goods and notions to the first rate vegetables and fruits can be procured” at the Market.<sup>93</sup> (Figure 1.K)

By the first decade of the twentieth century, many families were well established as standholders in the City Market. The Italian community dominated the produce section of the market, many using stands to “step out of poverty.”<sup>94</sup> For instance, in 1910 Italians owned thirty three of the fifty four fruit and vegetable stands.<sup>95</sup> These vendors were said to have introduced bananas, a best selling commodity, to Indianapolis. (Figure 1.L)

Early in the morning on market days, the white pavement outside the buildings filled with wagons and trucks piled high with fresh vegetables and blooms. By 1909, the City Market had grown so large that it encompassed the entire curb around Courthouse Square.<sup>96</sup> On market days, the area around the building came alive with people offering “bananas, apples, oranges, cabbages. . . any and everything. It was as colorful and fresh as a garden.”<sup>97</sup> Crowds of shoppers flooded the area from dawn until dusk to purchase the city’s freshest produce.

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<sup>92</sup> “Marketer Finds Variety for Her Need on Market;” Bureau of Municipal Research, *Survey of the City Government of Indianapolis, Indiana; Annual message of John W. Holtzman, Mayor of Indianapolis, With Annual Reports of Heads of Department of the City Government, For the Year Ending December 31, 1903* (Indianapolis: Wood-Weaver Printing Co., 1904). By the early 1900s, vegetable vendors had been almost squeezed out of the market. In 1893, the hay market directly east of the Market Hall was moved to make space for a garden market. In 1903, city officials enclosed both the small alley between Tomlinson Hall and the Market Hall and built an additional market building at the garden market. This new construction cost \$38,000 and became known as the Midway Market. Sanborn Map #42, 1887; Sanborn Map #153, 1898; Baist Map #3, 1908; Digitized at <http://www.ulib.iupui.edu/collections/sanbornjp2>. For more description see City Market’s Historic Architectural Building Survey Document held at the Library of Congress.

<sup>93</sup> “Marketer Finds Variety for Her Need on Market.”

<sup>94</sup> Hasia R. Diner, *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish, and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2001), 64.

<sup>95</sup> James J. Divita, “Italians,” in *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience*, ed. Robert M. Taylor, Connie A. McBirney, and Indiana Historical Society (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1996), 274–97.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> Myrtie Barker, “Keeping the Good Things-Like City Market,” *Indianapolis News*, February 3, 1964, 32.

Shopping at the City Market was no easy task. With an average of 800 dealers and producers, intrepid customers had to navigate a crowded maze of aisles, judge quality, find the lowest prices, and barter with sellers.<sup>98</sup> Even with these impediments, customers flocked three days a week to the Indianapolis City Market, seeking produce, meats, and unique grocery items to feed their families.<sup>99</sup> By 1916 the City Market saw approximately 14,000 customers on Tuesdays and Thursdays, and upwards of 25,000 shoppers on Saturdays. With limited space in their larder, most families made multiple trips a week to replenish their pantries.<sup>100</sup> “Very few families in the city do not use the Market at least one day a week,” explained Market Master Burke in 1913.<sup>101</sup> Most Indianapolis residents probably patronized a combination of stores, including their neighborhood grocers, dry good vendors, butchers, and the City Market, depending on convenience and necessity. (Figures 1.M, 1.N, and 1.O)

Consumers were diverse. The *Indianapolis Sun* proclaimed that all classes patronize the City Market, including “The richly dressed women, with their servants, carrying baskets [who] elbow their way throughout the crowds along with the wives and daughters of laborers.”<sup>102</sup> Noted Hoosier writer Meredith Nicholson described the City Market as an “honorable institution” where “women of unimpeachable social standing carried their own baskets through the aisles . . . or drove home with onion tops waving triumphantly on the seat beside them.”<sup>103</sup> Nicholson went on to use the City Market as a litmus test for an authentic Indianapolis resident. “The true Indianapolis housewife,” he explains:

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<sup>98</sup> Katherine Leonard Turner, *How the Other Half Ate: A History of Working-Class Meals at the Turn of the Century*, California Studies in Food and Culture 48 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 52–6.

<sup>99</sup> Generally the City Market was open three days a week: From sun-up until 5pm on Tuesday and Thursdays, and Saturday from dawn until 10pm. Alternate days were used by standholders to restock and locate merchandise. The hours and days were specified by Indianapolis’ Common Council. See Burk, *The Indianapolis Market*.

<sup>100</sup> Turner, *How the Other Half Ate*, 52–3. Turner explains that most working-class urban families had limited storage in their homes. They often lived “a hand to mouth” existence and would often buy staple foods several times a week.

<sup>101</sup> Burk, *The Indianapolis Market*; “Office Building Business Pivot,” *Indianapolis Star*, December 21, 1916. 25,000 people is about a tenth of the total population of Indianapolis.

<sup>102</sup> “Marketer Finds Variety for Her Need on Market.”

<sup>103</sup> Nicholson, *A Hoosier Chronicle*, 24.

goes to the market; the mere resident of the city orders by telephone and takes what the grocer has to offer; and herein lies a difference that is not half so superficial as it may sound, for at the heart of the people who are related to the history and tradition of Indianapolis are simple and frugal, and if they read Emerson and Browning by the evening lamp, they know no reason why they should not distinguish, the next morning, between the yellow-legged chicken offered by the farmer's wife at the market and frozen fowls of doubtful authenticity that have been held for a season in cold storage.<sup>104</sup>

Importantly, public markets provided urban shoppers with a flexible pricing option for their foodstuffs. With food consuming almost half of a family's weekly income, the ability to negotiate costs was imperative.<sup>105</sup> Shoppers could come early on market days to find the best quality products, or late in the evening to find a bargain.<sup>106</sup> With little overhead and flexible pricing, the City Market reportedly offered products at lower prices than grocers around the city.<sup>107</sup> The institution acted as "the city's price-maker on all food produce," stated the *Indianapolis Sun*, "anything which raises the prices at the city market is responsible for a corresponding rise by grocery men and produce dealers throughout the city."<sup>108</sup> (Figure 1.P)

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Scott Nearing, *Financing the Wage-Earner's Family: A Survey of the Facts Bearing on Income and Expenditures in the Families of American Wage-Earners* (New York: Huebsch, 1914), 50–1. Based on a comparison of data from a 1903 Bureau of Labor report and Robert Chapin's 1907 study of standards of living, economist Scott Nearing calculated food costs constitute an average of 43 percent of the family income.

<sup>106</sup> Turner, *How the Other Half Ate*, 52–3; Mayo, *American Grocery Store*, 21. Using evidence from Baltimore and New York City, Architectural historian James Mayo contends that these shopping rituals divided social classes at markets. The elite shopped in the early morning to take advantage of the best product, then servants and working class women, then the poor. Therefore, though public markets were open to the entire city, food prices served to separate social classes by time of the day.

<sup>107</sup> Burk, *The Indianapolis Market*; "Finds No Economy in Market Trading," *Indianapolis Star*, August 22, 1911; "Public Responds to U.S. Call for Aid in Food Quiz," *Indianapolis Star*, August 18, 1914. Reports of pricing at the market vary. The complex network of supply, demand, and bartering resulted in inconsistent prices at the City Market. However, many sources show there would have been a savings or the same prices when shopping at the City Market. In his report to the American Academy of Social Science in 1913, Market Master Burke claimed that the market offered prices "a shade" lower than grocery stores. Other articles claim prices were 20-50 percent lower than grocers. For ideas of price comparisons of markets versus groceries in cities, see Turner, *How the Other Half Ate*, 52-56.

<sup>108</sup> "Stand Men Revolt," *Indianapolis Sun*, April 27, 1906.

# Buy at City Market House for LESS

*The Market House  
Habit Is One That  
Will Save You  
Money*

It is surprising the many bargains in food products one can find at the City Market House. It is only natural when you stop to consider that there are over 400 individual stands, all crowded with quality merchandise, located under one roof, which makes it easy to shop. Many varieties of food are on display at the City Market House before they can be distributed to the stores about the city.

### Facts About City Market by Market Master

The City Market House is looked as well as ideal place for the people of Indianapolis to buy their food products. If it is fancy products or every day food products you want you can find them in larger varieties and at a wider range of prices than any other center in the city. Many families trade exclusively at the City Market House, because of the economies possible to secure. As a recent visitor expressed it, "Surely, the Market House is an asset to the people of this city."

HARRY LIBEAU, City Market Master.

**MARKET DAYS—Tuesday and Thursday  
Until 1 P. M.—Saturday Until 10 P. M.**

*Go to the City Market  
House today*

<p><b>Specials for Saturday</b></p> <p><b>O'MAHONEY</b> Stand 12 Buy your winter supply now. Hand-picked Michigan Navy Beans, lb., 12c, for 15c; top lbs. and over, lb., 11c</p> <p><b>FRED F. UHL</b> Stand 43-44 Delicatessen Butter, Eggs, Pickles, Olives, Home Cooking, Vegarob Nut Butter, lb., 32c</p> <p><b>C. W. WILSON</b> Big 4 Stand 201-202 First-Class Fresh Vegetables.</p> <p><b>J. M. WILLIAMSON</b> Stand 7-8-9-10 Butter, Cheese, Eggs, Oleomargarine Ever-Good Oleomargarine, lb., 38c</p> <p><b>MEIER'S</b> Stand 185-186 TEAS, COFFEE, SPICES Pure Sorghum, can., 10c Roxane Pancake Flour, package, 12c Three for, 35c</p> <p><b>F. E. PAINTER</b> Stand 79-80 Butter, Cheese and Eggs, Home-made Kraut, Home-made Mince Meat, lb., 20c</p> <p><b>S. SOVNER</b> Stand 380-381 Argo Starch, 5 lbs., 31c Salmon, tall can., very fine, 17c 3 for, 50c</p> <p><b>R. H. METTLER</b> Stand 265-266 Fine Meats. Sliced Bacon our specialty.</p> <p><b>COOK BROS.</b> Stand 341-342 Fresh and Choice Meats.</p>	<p><b>Specials for Saturday</b></p> <p><b>Indiana Dairy Co.</b> Stand 472-473 Nutro Nut Butterine, lb., 30c Fresh Peanut Butter, lb., 25c Lilly White Butterine, lb., 35c Two for, 65c</p> <p><b>JACOB ZIER</b> Stand 474-492 Largest assortment of high-grade fruits and vegetables Strawberries and Hothouse Tomatoes our specialty.</p> <p><b>MONIA I &amp; CO.</b> Fancy Groceries Fresh shelled pecans, 1/4 pound, 28c Fresh shelled walnuts, 1/4 pound, 25c Coffee, worth 40c for 32c</p> <p><b>A. E. BEARD</b> Stand 514-515 Fresh and Fancy Vegetables and Fruits. Free Delivery.</p> <p><b>CHAS. CHERDRON</b> Stand 339-340 Full Line of Fancy Meats. Prices Fair.</p> <p><b>SAM COHEN</b> Midway Stand Potatoes, peck, 35c Apples, all varieties, lb., 5c Lettuce, lb., 5c Grape Fruit, 5c</p> <p><b>J. Tacoma &amp; Sons</b> Stand 382-383-384 Always the Best in Fruits and Vegetables.</p> <p><b>G. GEMMER</b> Stand 285 Fresh and Smoked Meats, Algood Oleo, lb., 37c Everbest Nut Butter, lb., 41c Crystal Oleo, lb., 32c</p>	<p><b>Richard R. Sowders</b> Stand 359-360 FRESH FISH—ALL VARIETIES. White Fish, lb., 25c</p> <p><b>B. F. SWINDLER</b> Stand 289-290 FINE MEATS A SPECIALTY. Home-made Pork Sausage—the Best Made.</p> <p><b>H. L. DORMAN</b> Stand 311-312 Full Line of Fresh Meats.</p>
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Figure 1.P: An advertisement highlighting the cheap prices and quality produce available at the City Market in 1918. *Indianapolis Star*, November 2, 1918.



## War on the Middle Man

The City Market came under close scrutiny at the turn of the century in connection with what became known as the “high cost of living” crisis, the term at the time used to describe rising prices during the Progressive Era. Food costs began to rise steadily after 1896 and surged between 1910 and 1913, when they jumped about 2.5 percent each year.<sup>109</sup> With roughly 43 percent of the average worker’s daily income spent on feeding his family, rising food prices alarmed urban consumers and became a pressing issue for progressive reformers.<sup>110</sup> Newspapers debated and politicians clamored to explain why “the cost of living has reached the highest point ever recorded.”<sup>111</sup>

Many explanations were given for the high cost of living including tariffs, speculators, high land costs, overvalued livestock, lazy farmers, incompetent housewives, and

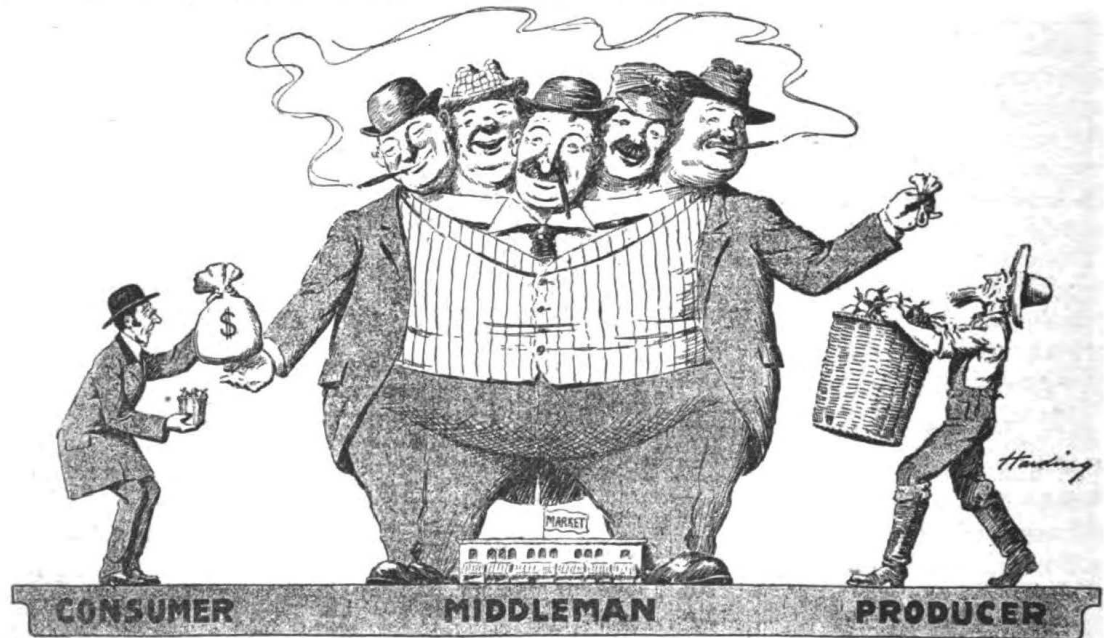
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<sup>109</sup> The overall cost of living rose 31 percent between 1897 and 1916. Food prices were volatile, rising and falling with the season. Bradstreet’s Approximate Price Index, the only price index in 1910, claimed that wholesale farm prices increased 11.7 percent between 1909 and 1910. Furthermore, they calculated that farm produce prices rose 62.6 percent between 1890 and 1911. However, these indexes often overstated prices compared to that of the Department of Commerce and Labor.

By the early twentieth century, urban Americans became increasingly reliant on fixed price retail stores, as opposed to the more traditional barter system. Mass production and improved distribution systems allowed for easier and cheaper purchase of finished goods. Prices became more dependent on market inflation, precipitating laments from commentators. Mark Aldrich, “Tariffs and Trusts, Profiteers and Middlemen: Popular Explanations for the High Cost of Living, 1897-1920,” *History of Political Economy* 45, no. 4 (December 2013): 697–8; David I. Macleod, “Food Prices, Politics, and Policy in the Progressive Era,” *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 8, no. 3 (July 2009): 365; Meg Jacobs, *Pocketbook Politics: Economic Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America*, Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005), 15; Thomas A. Stapleford, “‘Housewife vs. Economist’: Gender, Class, and Domestic Economics in Twentieth-Century America,” *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* 1, no. 2 (2004): 89–112; Thomas A. Stapleford, *The Cost of Living in America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 61-64; Alfred D. Chandler, *The Visible Hand* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1977), 209-239.

<sup>110</sup> Gregory Alexander Donofrio, “‘The Container and the Contained’: Functional Preservation of Historic Food Markets” (doctoral thesis, Cornell University, 2009), 99-101; Turner, *How the Other Half Ate*, 52-56.

<sup>111</sup> “A Review of the World,” *Current Literature*, March 1910. High cost of living was so widely discussed that writers, journalists, and artists often simply abbreviated it to HCL, HC of L, or Old HCL. For a further study, see Mark Aldrich, “Tariffs and Trusts”; or Thomas A. Stapleford, “‘Housewife vs. Economist’: Gender, Class, and Domestic Economics in Twentieth-Century America.”



From the Brooklyn Eagle.

**EZRA TUTTLE'S IDEA OF THE PRESENT SITUATION**

Figure 1.Q: This satirical cartoon condemns the middleman's influence on prices at public markets. In the drawing, the bloated middleman pays scant money to the farmer and charges hefty sums to the consumer. *Housewife's League*, April 1913.

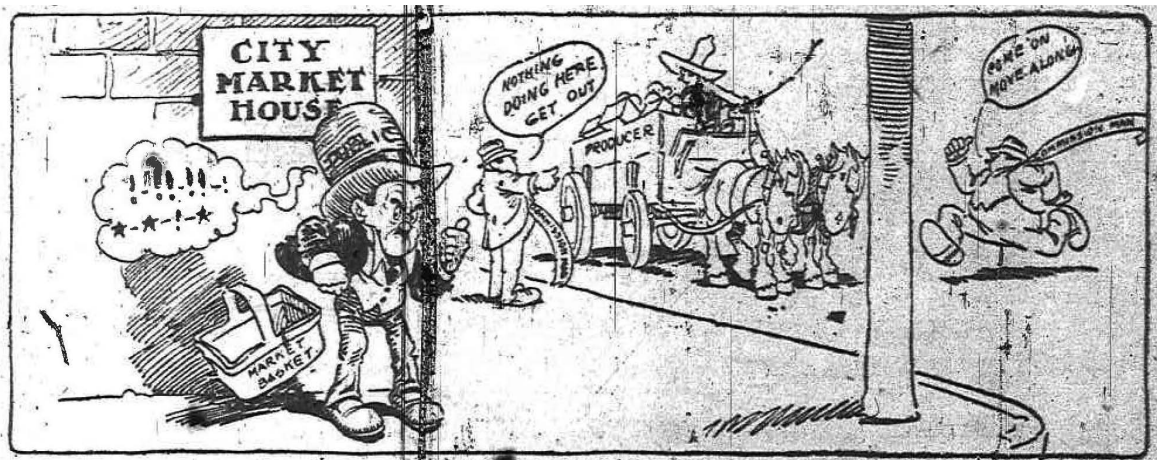


Figure 1.R: This cartoon, laments the lack of stall space for growers and producers in the Market. Many commentators felt that the original purpose of the City Market, as a place for consumer and farmer to exchange goods, had been lost. In its place were grocers and middle men who unnecessarily raised prices for consumers. *Indianapolis News*, August 31, 1911. :

wasteful spending.<sup>112</sup> In Indianapolis, as in other cities across the country frustrated, by rising prices, blame was most often placed squarely on the shoulders of “profiteers” or middlemen. (Figures 1.Q and 1.R) Middlemen handled goods between the producers and consumers, adding to costs through the processes of distribution. By the start of the twentieth century the term middleman had ballooned to encompass anyone who made money off a producer’s products, including businessmen, merchants, speculators, commission men, and railroad employees.<sup>113</sup> Economist Mark Aldrich contends progressive-era rhetoric often ascribed rising food prices to middlemen who had been detested “for centuries reflecting a producer ethic that viewed farmers and workers as the source of wealth.”<sup>114</sup> By 1911, weekly news magazine *Literary Digest* claimed that over half of the \$7 million consumers spent in the United States on foodstuffs annually went to the middleman.<sup>115</sup> Public Markets, such as the City Market, became a place where public officials could mitigate the high cost of living by putting producers directly in trade with consumers.

As prices increased in Indianapolis, the public market was representative of increasing daily expenses during the “high cost of living” crisis. Middlemen, often called commission men, were often portrayed in city papers as untrustworthy “robbers,” maliciously buying products for a small price and then swindling customers out of hard

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<sup>112</sup> Mark Aldrich, “Tariffs and Trusts,” 696; Stapleford, *The Cost of Living in America*, 61-65; Aldrich, 697-698. Generally historians credit the rise in food prices to a shift in economic buying trends. Urban populations became more dependent on ready-made retail, as stores developed mass distribution systems. This allowed them to offer lower fixed prices for merchandise. This non-negotiable pricing made costs more dependent on economic inflation. After the depression of 1893 bottomed out in 1897, food prices rose by 2.5 percent each year until 1913. During WWI, decreased food imports and two particularly poor years of crop yields forced prices up 130 percent between 1914 and 1920. Regardless of their slower increase, by 1902 the “High Cost of Living” had become a contentious public issue.

<sup>113</sup> James Richard Louderman, “No Place for Middlemen: Civic Culture, Downtown Environment, and the Carroll Public Market during the Modernization of Portland, Oregon” (M.A., Portland State University, 2013), 1–2; Gregory Alexander Donofrio, “Feeding the City,” *Gastronomica* 7, no. 4 (2007): 83–4.

<sup>114</sup> Mark Aldrich, “Tariffs and Trusts,” 709.

<sup>115</sup> “Mayo Shank’s Cheap Potatoes,” *Literary Digest*, November 18, 1911; “Challenge Shank to Defend Potato Sales,” *Indianapolis Star*, February 21, 1912. Marketers were quick to remind customers that extra costs were necessary to the conditions put upon them, citing new pure food legislation, increase of money in circulation, and transportation costs.

earned wages with inflated prices.<sup>116</sup> “Middlemen have taken the City Market,” wailed the *Indianapolis News*, “its character is completely changed from that intended by its founders.”<sup>117</sup> The City Market has “developed into an aggregation of groceries, meat markets, bakeries, vegetables and fruit stands controlled by commission houses and butter stands controlled by creameries, and the farmer has been shut out.”<sup>118</sup>

The crusade against the high cost of living was first taken up by Mayor Lewis Shank. An eccentric personality, Shank was a clog dancer, actor, theater manager, and auctioneer who became mayor in 1909.<sup>119</sup> Shank fervently believed that “there is no question now before the people that is so important to them as that of the high cost of living. If this administration can do anything to bring about a reduction in the cost of the necessaries that are sold on the Market, it will have accomplished much for the people.”<sup>120</sup>

Shank first appointed a commission to investigate the high cost of living in August 1911. When the commission failed to produce a unanimous recommendation, the Mayor made his own suggestions to the Indianapolis Common Council.<sup>121</sup> While city officials pondered his proposals, Shank decided to take matters into his own hands. He felt that the City Market was “failing of its original purpose as a meeting-place for the producer and consumer.”<sup>122</sup> In order to prevent food price manipulation, Shank’s solution was to secure an outside supply of products and sell directly to the consumer, thereby cutting out distributions costs and keeping “prices within the bounds of reason.”<sup>123</sup> On September 1,

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<sup>116</sup> “Market Question Is Again Up to Council,” *Indianapolis News*, June 15, 1920; “More Municipal Markets,” *Technical World Magazine*, September 1911.

<sup>117</sup> “Middlemen Have Taken City Market,” *Indianapolis News*, February 11, 1910.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>119</sup> “Mayor Shank Quits; Wallace at Helm,” *New York Times*, November 28, 1913. Shank was run out of office just shy of the end of his second term due to disputes with striking streetcar operators. He was later elected mayor for a second time in 1922. For more on Mayor Shank, see Connie J. Zeigler, “Shank, Samuel Lewis (Lew),” in *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*.

<sup>120</sup> “Mayor Has a Market Plan,” *Indianapolis News*, September 12, 1911.

<sup>121</sup> “Shank and Kealing Draft Market Plan,” *Indianapolis Star*, September 11, 1911; “Mayor Has a Market Plan.” The High Cost of Living Commission is disbanded by September 2<sup>nd</sup>, and Shank makes his own recommendations by September 12.

<sup>122</sup> “Mayor Shank’s Abdication,” *Literary Digest*, December 13, 1913.

<sup>123</sup> “Mayo Shank’s Cheap Potatoes”; Annis Burk, “Mayor Shank and the Municipal Potato,” *The Common Cause*, February 1912.



Figure 1.S: Mayor Shank weighing and selling turkeys at Indianapolis City Market, 1912. This was part of a series of goods that Shank sold as a way to combat inflated food prices. *The Common Cause* 14, February 1912.

1911 potatoes were selling at \$2 a bushel at the City Market, though farmers were retailing the spuds at 60¢ a bushel. On Saturday, September 24, Shank had 600 bushels of potatoes delivered from Michigan. Residents flocked to the front of the Market House where Shank stood atop one of the wagons and personally sold his “municipal spuds” for 75¢ a bushel. Enough orders poured in for two more carloads. This continued for four months.<sup>124</sup> Selling so many potatoes at under a dollar propelled standholders to lower their prices for potatoes. With this success, Shank continued his “war on the commission men,” selling turkeys, pears, and walnuts at reduced prices.<sup>125</sup> (Figure 1.S) Furthermore, Shank was able to keep future food prices under control by threatening to repeat the sales.<sup>126</sup>

Shank’s spud sales gained him notoriety throughout the country as “the one man . . . to wage successful war against the tyrant middleman.”<sup>127</sup> With the success of these sales, Shank moved to make these practices permanent. He proposed an ordinance to increase the Market Master’s power, allowing him to be a purchasing agent and “break any famine conditions produced by manipulations of the middleman,” thereby keeping these agents

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<sup>124</sup> Annis Burk, “Mayor Shank and the Municipal Potato.”

<sup>125</sup> “Mayor Shank’s Enterprise,” *The Evening Independent*, December 11, 1911; “Mayor Shank Quits; Wallace at Helm,” *New York Times*, November 28, 1913.

<sup>126</sup> “Mayor Shank Quits; Wallace at Helm,” November 28, 1913. Shank’s measures temporarily kept prices down, but levels rose soon after his tenure in office ended. After he left office, the mayor’s office reported, “While it is true that the mayor [Shank] purchased great quantities of potatoes and other food products and sold them to the poor at prices lower than those demanded by regular dealers, he is not engaged in this business regularly and in no way has the city recognized his efforts as a municipal undertaking.” (Burk, “Mayor Shank and the Municipal Potato,” 131)

<sup>127</sup> The *New York Sun*, as quoted in “Mayor Shank’s Cheap Potatoes.” Shank became nationally popular for his lower cost of living plan, touring large cities on the East Coast in early 1912. Newspapers from New York to Denver, Boston and Des Moines carried articles praising his work. The *New York Sun* explained that “Shank and Potatoes” should be a “rallying cry . . . worldwide as ‘Chops and Tomato Sauce.’”

“from becoming the food dictator of the city.”<sup>128</sup> The City Council met this proposal with skepticism and killed the scheme three months later, citing legality issues.<sup>129</sup>

### **Dirty Market in a Beautiful City**

By the turn of the twentieth century, Indianapolis saw itself amidst a building boom. Around the City Market soared tall brick buildings and the placement of Ms. Victory atop the newly completed Soldiers and Sailors Monument in 1901. The burgeoning city had quickly outgrown its original boundaries without a systematic planning scheme. Indianapolis faced a myriad of urbanization challenges: transportation difficulties, few paved roads, pollution, flooding, and poor sanitation. City leaders sought to create a more livable city, one that was “more healthful, more efficient, more moral,” as a result of better planning.<sup>130</sup> They embraced the City Beautiful concept of good planning, which emphasized aesthetics, cleanliness, and efficiency. Emerging following the 1893 World’s Fair in Chicago, the City Beautiful movement sought to make order out of chaotic American cities by implementing orderly civic planning. Reformers in Indianapolis used parks and boulevard planning, trash removal, and reducing pollution as methods to create a more livable city.<sup>131</sup> These ideas of

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<sup>128</sup> “Shank Plan’ Locally Approved,” *Indianapolis News*, October 24, 1911; “Mayor’s Market Measure Jolted,” *Indianapolis Star*, March 12, 1912; “Shank’s Relief For Market Is Blocked,” *Indianapolis News*, March 12, 1912. *The Indianapolis News* hinted that councilmen who voted against the ordinance were engaged in or controlled by commission business. This accusation was not mentioned in the *Indianapolis Star* coverage of the matter.

<sup>129</sup> “Holds No Power to Name Buyer,” *Indianapolis Star*, February 17, 1912; “Favors a New Market House,” *Indianapolis Star*, June 7, 1919. Shank’s idea of price controls was implemented during WWI with the passage of the Lever Food and Fuel Control Bill. The act created the Federal Food Administration, a commission that organized and administered control over the food supply in the United States. In Indiana, the act established a food administrator for each county aimed at thwarting profiteering by providing a check on retail prices. After the war, this role was taken up by the Department of Justice. Working with the Food Administrator, they published a list of fair prices to inform consumers and worked with the Department of Justice to hunt down profiteers. Stanley Wyckoff served as the Marion County Food Administrator from 1917 to 1920. For more on the federal government’s regulation of food markets, see Helen Zoe Veit, *Modern Food, Moral Food: Self-Control, Science, and the Rise of Modern American Eating in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013).

<sup>130</sup> Donofrio, “Feeding the City,” 30.

<sup>131</sup> William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement, Creating the North American Landscape* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 50.

city planning took firm hold in Indianapolis, best seen in George Kessler's planned park system and the large World War I memorial complex stretching through the center of the city.<sup>132</sup>

The City Market both literally and figuratively grappled with these issues, as it found itself in direct contention with new planning ideas. To City Beautiful planners, "beautifying the city was a moral obligation, a civic duty," directly contrasting with markets that were associated with vegetal decay, waste, and odor. Obstacles to their effort to create an efficient and organized city, markets were chaotic and hectic, often creating traffic obstructions and crowded streets. Planners viewed these institutions as "public nuisances best eliminated from city centers."<sup>133</sup> Instead, planners preferred using these sites for civic centers or municipal buildings, promoting civic pride, art, culture, and moral values. In many places, public markets moved to the periphery of the city.<sup>134</sup>

In Indianapolis, dissatisfaction with the City Market incited numerous proposals to remove or relocate the buildings. In 1906, Mayor Bookwalter championed a plan of replacing and remodeling the buildings with a coliseum, to "properly" accommodate city offices, performance space, and public market.<sup>135</sup> An advisory market committee in 1919 recommended constructing an entirely new Market House, connected to Tomlinson Hall's

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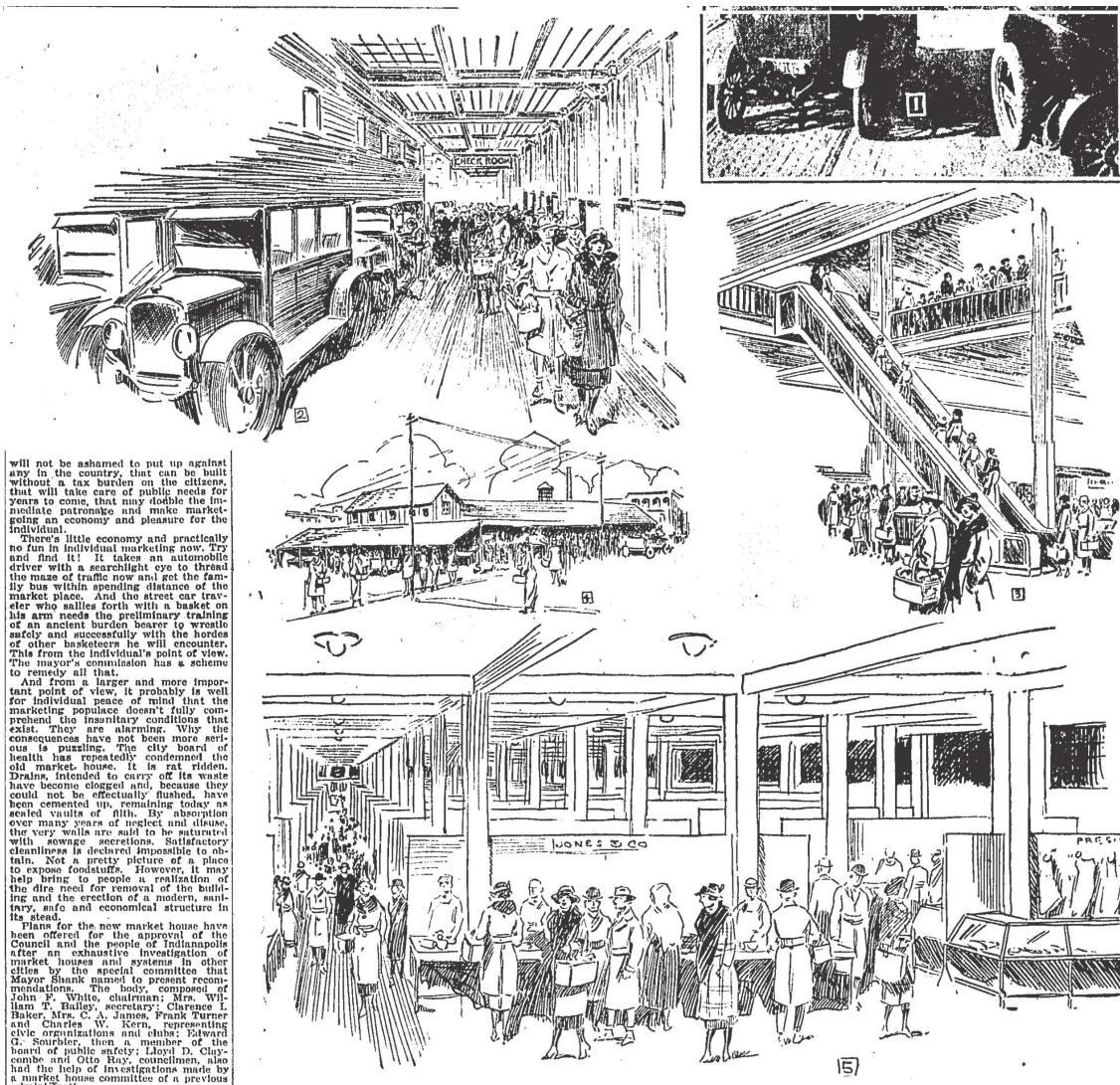
<sup>132</sup> Glass James A., "City Planning," ed. Bodenhamer David, Barrows Robert, and Vanderstel David G., *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994), 433.

<sup>133</sup> Donofrio, "Feeding the City," 30.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 30–5.

<sup>135</sup> Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis*; "Architects of City Invited to Compete," *Indianapolis Star*, August 22, 1906; William T. Cook vs. The City of Indianapolis, et al, no. 73516, Marion County Superior Court, Edward Knight Collection, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis, IN. Bookwalter's plans stem from the city's eviction from its offices in the Marion County Courthouse basement. The city, therefore, was in desperate need of a new city hall, and found the market property a practical solution. The proposed building would include a large space for public gatherings, rooms for city offices, and use the lower areas for market purposes. Market men objected, filed two injunctions and suits against the building contracts in 1907. Judge Carter of the Marion County Superior Court heard the case on June 26, 1907 and ruled that the city "could not build a hall for public gatherings not connected with city business," that the contract would exceed the city debt limit, and that "the city could not put any building on the market square that would interfere with market purposes." The city hall was actualized just north of the market property, on Alabama Street. It is important to note that the latter argument was used in the 1957 case to prevent demolition of the market house.





will not be ashamed to put up against any in the country; that can be built without a tax burden on the citizens, that will take care of public needs for years to come, that may double the immediate patronage and make marketing an economy and pleasure for the individual.

There's little economy and practically no fun in individual marketing now. Try and find it! It takes an automobile driver with a searchlight eye to thread the maze of traffic now and get the family bus within spending distance of the market place. And the street car traveler who sallies forth with a basket on his arm needs the preliminary training of an ancient burden bearer to wrestle safely and successfully with the hordes of other basket-bearers he will encounter. This from the individual's point of view. The mayor's commission has a scheme to remedy all that.

And from a larger and more important point of view, it probably is well for individual peace of mind that the marketing populace doesn't fully comprehend the insanitary conditions that exist. They are alarming. Why the consequences have not been more serious is puzzling. The city board of health has repeatedly condemned the old market house. It is rat ridden. Drains, intended to carry off its waste have become clogged and, because they could not be effectually flushed, have been cemented up, remaining today as sealed vaults of filth. By absorption over many years of neglect and abuse, the very walls are said to be saturated with sewage secretions. Satisfactory cleanliness is declared impossible to obtain. Not a pretty picture of a place to expose foodstuffs. However, it may help bring to people a realization of the dire need for removal of the building and the erection of a modern, sanitary, safe and economical structure in its stead.

Plans for the new market house have been offered for the approval of the Council and the people of Indianapolis after an exhaustive investigation of market houses and systems in other cities by the special committee that Mayor Shank named to present recommendations. The body, composed of John F. White, chairman; Mrs. William T. Bailey, secretary; Clarence I. Baker, Mrs. C. A. James, Frank Turner and Charles W. Kern, representing civic organizations and clubs; Edward G. Sourbier, then a member of the board of public safety; Lloyd D. Claycombe and Otto Ray, councilmen, also had the help of investigations made by a market house committee of a previous administration.

Figure 1.T: Drawings of proposed City Market redesigns in 1922. The proposed plans included a more “economic” layout, new escalators, and parking facilities. *Indianapolis Star*, December 3, 1922, 13.

western side.<sup>136</sup> Again, in 1922 a mayor-appointed Market Commission suggested building an entirely new building that “will not be ashamed to [be] put up against any in the country . . . and will make market-going an economy and pleasure for the individual.”<sup>137</sup> (Figure 1.T) This proposal would have removed both Tomlinson Hall and the Market House and replaced them with a new 10,000-seat auditorium and two-story market building, all on the original site. The proposed building would have eliminated the present “poor arrangement and unsightly buildings that are a hindrance to the development of the surrounding district for business people.”<sup>138</sup> None of these plans garnered enough traction to receive funding and never materialized.

### The Wholesale Solution

After these failed attempts to relocate the City Market, attention turned towards creating an efficient city with a streamlined food distribution system.<sup>139</sup> City leaders focused on bringing the City Market back to its “original function,” as a meeting place for direct trade between consumers and producers.<sup>140</sup> City papers often published articles reminiscing about a simpler, easier time before the new market buildings existed when the area acted as an exchange site for farmer and consumer. The *Indianapolis News*, for instance, harkened to “earlier days before the advent of the commission houses, [when] there were true farmers and genuine market gardeners to be found in the market and the market goers came to know their honest faces.”<sup>141</sup> In reality, the City Market scene had long changed since the days of these exchanges.

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<sup>136</sup> “Committee Advocates City Market Reforms”; “Favors a New Market House.”

<sup>137</sup> Guy Brenton, “Indianapolis Market That Will Compare With Any in Country Is Planned by Committee Named by Mayor,” *Indianapolis Star*, December 3, 1922.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> Donofrio, “Feeding the City,” 32–35. Following the City Beautiful movement, the City Scientific ideology rose, emphasizing efficiency and rationality within city planning. This school of planning found urban food distribution networks wasteful and unnecessary.

<sup>140</sup> Donofrio, “The Container and the Contained,” 84; “Middlemen Have Taken City Market.”

<sup>141</sup> “Oldfish on Marketers,” *Indianapolis News*, September 12, 1913.

Growers had been squeezed out of Tomlinson Hall as demand for retail space grew. Market Masters were continually faced with petitions to find more space for farmers in the Market.<sup>142</sup> Unable to secure stands in the market buildings, growers brought wagons or trucks and sold at the market curb, which stretched in front of Tomlinson Hall and wrapped around the Courthouse Square across the street.<sup>143</sup> (See Figure 1.H) Historian James Mayo contends that customers valued the presence of farmers as purveyors in public markets.<sup>144</sup> Indeed, most solutions to the high cost of living included providing more opportunities for farmers to sell directly to customers.

By 1912 wholesale terminal markets had become a solution for keeping urban food distribution costs low. A terminal market was a wholesale distribution and warehouse facility optimally located near multiple modes of transportation. Inspired by successful European structures, Donofrio argues that this proposed “‘new way’ of food distribution would reduce or entirely eliminate the function of middlemen.”<sup>145</sup> With this process, consumers were freed from “the economic burdens inflicted by a dysfunctional system.”<sup>146</sup> The terminal

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<sup>142</sup> Caleb Joshua Otten, *The Wholesale Produce Market at Indianapolis, Ind.* (Washington D.C.: United States Department of Agriculture, 1950), 1; Zade, “Public Market Development Strategy: Making the Improbable Possible,” 22–23; Mayo, *The American Grocery Store*, 19. In 1903, the narrow space between Tomlinson Hall and the Market House was enclosed to provide more room for vegetable growers. With this new addition the city was able “to place all retailers, as well as patrons, under shelter at all times of the year.” (*Mayor’s Message, 1902, 1904*, 41.)

<sup>143</sup> “Middlemen Have Taken City Market”; “Marketer Finds Variety for Her Need on Market”; “Mayor to Get More Figures on Market”; *Fifth Annual Message of Thomas Taggart, Mayor of Indianapolis, with annual reports of heads of departments of the city government, to January 1, 1900* (Indianapolis: Sentinel Printing Co. Printers and Binders, 1900); “Regards Farmers Satisfied; Shank Discusses Market,” *Indianapolis Star*, August 13, 1911. Space at the curb market was an issue since 1900. At its peak, around 200 to 300 wagons would arrive on market days. Farmers had to travel into the market from an average of 5 to 10 miles away, frequently facing inclement weather and poor roads. Often they would need to drive in the night before to secure prime locations along the market curb. This seemed a losing battle, and merchants continually crowded out farmers and other rural vendors. In 1911, the *Indianapolis Star* contended that most “gardeners sell nine-tenths of their produce to grocers and standowners at the market.” For statistics, see *Municipal Markets in their Relation to the Cost of Living* (1913).

<sup>144</sup> Mayo, *The American Grocery Store*, 19.

<sup>145</sup> Donofrio, “The Container and the Contained,” 97.

<sup>146</sup> Donofrio, “The Container and the Contained,” 97; Donofrio, “Feeding the City,” 34. For more on the networks of food distribution in urban areas, see William Cronon, *Nature’s Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991).

market system promised to streamline these inefficiencies by working with established transportation lines and diminishing the number of middlemen necessary for urban food distribution. In the United States, private corporations established the first of these terminal markets in large eastern cities like New York City, Boston, and Philadelphia.

Indianapolis implemented its first terminal market in 1925. Previously, the City Market was Indianapolis' only retail venue for produce.<sup>147</sup> The city had no designated area for wholesale goods to serve a city population of 283,622.<sup>148</sup> In addition to being overrun with commission men, traffic congestion was immense and a perpetual complaint on market days. Narrow alleys, raised floors, and no rear entry made bulk deliveries by truck a major problem. The City Market's architecture simply did not correspond with the function or volume of modern retail trade.<sup>149</sup>

A terminal market in Indianapolis was discussed for many years. One idea, proposed by the Indianapolis Board of Public Safety in 1915, was to organize a wholesale market in the basement of Tomlinson Hall, "thus bringing the consumer and the producer in closer touch with the buying public."<sup>150</sup> Again in 1919, Marion County Food Administrator Stanley Wyckoff, in collaboration with the Housewives' League of Marion County pushed for a wholesale terminal market for the city to reduce the middlemen's margins on food prices. Built to accommodate interurbans, steam cars, and truck lines, this new market would act as a "clearing house" for producers.<sup>151</sup> A 1920 survey of the Indianapolis Municipal

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<sup>147</sup> Bureau of Municipal Research, *Survey of the City Government of Indianapolis, Indiana*. According to the 1918 survey of Public Markets, most cities with populations over 300,000 had at least two municipal markets or both a wholesale and retail market.

<sup>148</sup> "Middlemen Have Taken City Market"; "Regards Farmers Satisfied; Shank Discusses Market." Often wholesale transactions would occur early in the morning at the curb market. Farmers would bring their produce into the city and sell it to commission men, who would then distribute the products to their merchants and vendors. Critics often commented that this middle transaction added to the customer costs.

<sup>149</sup> Mayo, *The American Grocery Store*, 38–9; Donofrio, "The Container and the Contained," 114–116.

<sup>150</sup> "Interurban' Market Plans Are Discussed," *Indianapolis Star*, January 6, 1915.

<sup>151</sup> "Committee Advocates City Market Reforms"; "League Endorses Terminal Market," *Indianapolis News*, September 11, 1919.

Government by the Federal Bureau for Markets recommended the implementation of a terminal market to hold “down the cost of living permanently.”<sup>152</sup>

The modern automobile was ultimately the impetus for the establishment of Indianapolis’ first wholesale market in 1925 and abolishment of the curb market. Traffic concerns predominated the conversation.<sup>153</sup> “There is little economy and practically no fun in individual marketing,” lamented the *Indianapolis Star* in December of 1922. “It takes an automobile driver with a searchlight eye to thread the maze of traffic now and get the family bus within spending distance of the marketplace.”<sup>154</sup> By the early 1920s, traffic congestion was so severe that city officials were forced to limit the number of vendors who could sell outdoors.<sup>155</sup> A group of farmers prohibited from selling their wares on the street gathered

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<sup>152</sup> “Terminal Market for Indianapolis Favored,” *Indianapolis News*, May 21, 1920. The high cost of living crisis drew the problems of food distribution to the attention of higher level government officials. In response, the USDA’s Bureau of Markets was created in 1913 to “acquire and diffuse” information on marketing. For more on terminal markets see Helen Tangires, “Feeding the Cities: Public Markets and Reform in the Progressive Era,” *Prologue : The Journal of the National Archives*. 29, no. 1 (1997): 17; Donofrio, “The Container and the Contained,” 113-125.

<sup>153</sup> Ideas of the function of streets shifted in the 1920s. As historian Kenneth T. Jackson explains, for users in the nineteenth century, “the street was the primary open space, and it performed an important recreation function. By 1920, however, most urban residents and virtually all highway engineers saw streets primarily as arteries for motor vehicles.” (Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (Jackson: Oxford University Press, 1985), 164. For a discussion of the development of streets in Indianapolis, see Ruth Diane Reichard, “Infrastructure, Separation, and Inequality on the Streets of Indianapolis between 1890 and 1930” (Master’s Thesis, IUPUI, 2008).

<sup>154</sup> Guy Brenton, “Indianapolis Market That Will Compare With Any in Country Is Planned by Committee Named by Mayor.”

<sup>155</sup> Otten, *The Wholesale Produce Market at Indianapolis, Ind*; Indianapolis Department of Finance, *Annual Report of the Department of Finance, City of Indianapolis, 1922* (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, 1923); Indianapolis Department of Finance, *Annual Report of the Department of Finance, City of Indianapolis, 1923* (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, 1924); William Herschell, “Municipal Market of Indianapolis Now Attaining Its Centennial Year Has Ranged Through Many Problems Including Berries, Hangings, and Curbs.” Part of this limitation was due to Marion County prohibiting huskers from selling along the courthouse square. Wagons were limited to a small section along Delaware and Alabama Streets, cutting in half the previously occupied area and creating more congestion. The curb market was officially abolished in 1933.

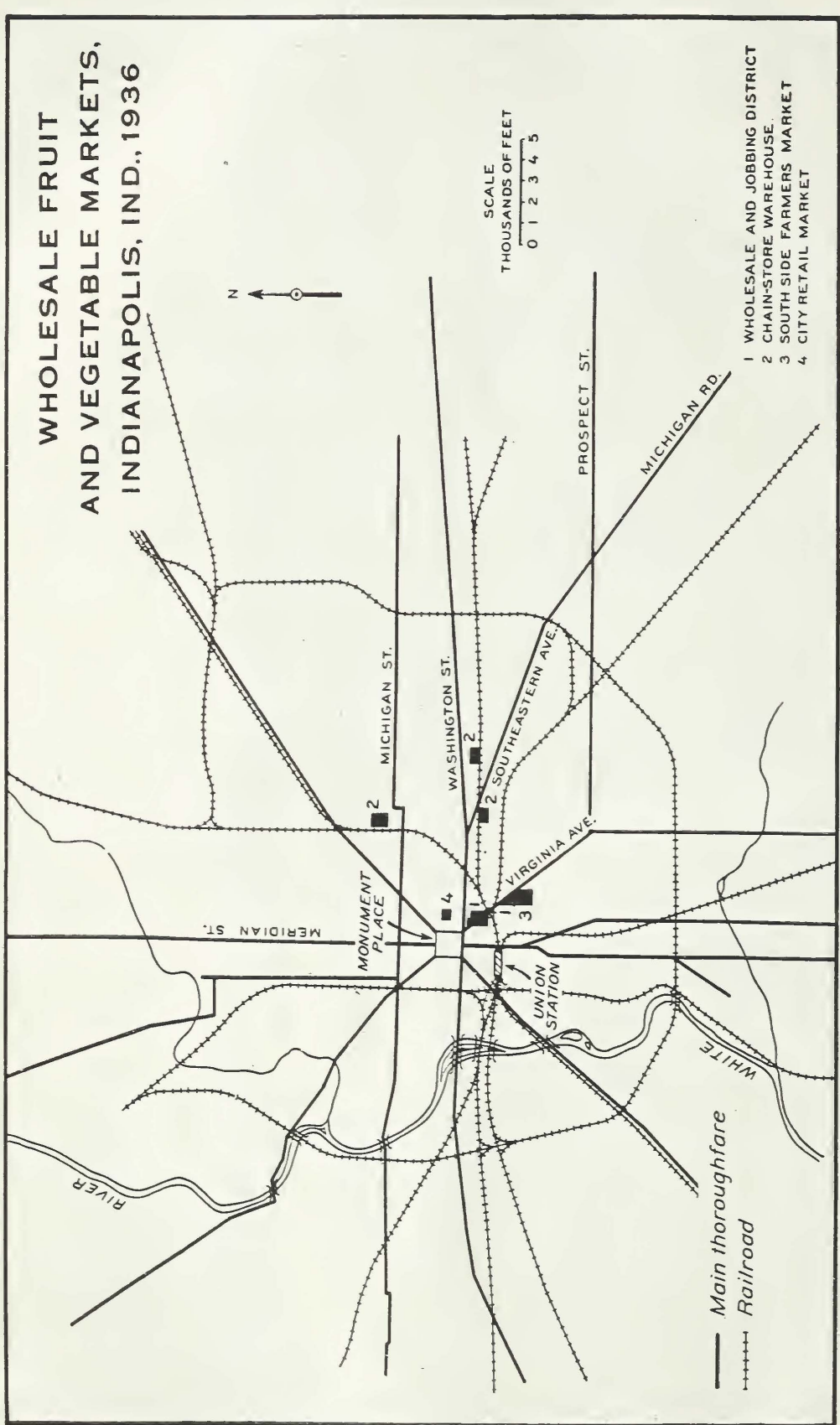


Figure 1.U: Map of wholesale fruit and vegetable markets in Indianapolis. This delineated the City Market as selling directly to customers, while the wholesale markets primarily worked with vendors, restaurants, and groceries. William C. Crow, *Wholesale Markets for Fruits and Vegetables in 40 Cities* (Washington DC: United States Department of Agriculture, February 1938), 68.

together to form the Growers' Finance Corporation and opened the Indianapolis Produce Market in 1925 on South Street.<sup>156</sup> This area became a hub for wholesale vendors in the city. (Figure 1.U)

The wholesale area grew larger around 1933, when the women's clubs gathered with city and county officials to abolish the curb market outside of the city market. Club Women sought to ensure their family baskets were "filled not along the curb, but in a modern sanitary market house, possessed of facilities for service."<sup>157</sup> Their clout forced city officials to "clear the streets," allowing for better parking and traffic flow on market days.<sup>158</sup>

### **Dirty Market for a Clean City**

Prices were not the only aspect that warranted criticism. By the 1920s, concerns over sanitation also plagued the Market. The City Market's reputation was one of dirt, foul smells, and disrepair. A 1917 Survey of Indianapolis' Markets described market conditions as "most inadequate." The report described the building as rather dilapidated with cracked floors and makeshift wooden stands. Restroom facilities were inadequate, lacking stalls and including primitive toilets.<sup>159</sup> According to Mayor Joseph Bell, "a wooden Indian would turn up his nose upon smelling some of the rare odors" that wafted from the market buildings.<sup>160</sup> By

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<sup>156</sup> Otten, *Wholesale Produce Markets 1950*, 1. This wholesale market is the first time that private corporations instead of municipal entities were primarily involved in the large-scale food distribution in Indianapolis. This area on the south side of Indianapolis, between New Jersey, South, and East streets became a haven for wholesale markets. Most of the adjoining streets were occupied with such facilities.

<sup>157</sup> William Herschell, "Municipal Market of Indianapolis Now Attaining Its Centennial Year Has Ranged Through Many Problems Including Berries, Hangings, and Curbs." For more information on the history of Women's clubs in Indianapolis, see Mary Elizabeth Owen, "Three Indiana Women's Clubs: A Study Of Their Patterns Of Association, Study Practices, And Civic Improvement Work, 1886-1910," (Master's Thesis, IUPUI, 2008), <https://scholarworks.iupui.edu/handle/1805/1636>.

<sup>158</sup> "Market Curb Stands to Be Denied by City," May 16, 1933, Indianapolis News edition; William Herschell, "Municipal Market of Indianapolis Now Attaining Its Centennial Year Has Ranged Through Many Problems Including Berries, Hangings, and Curbs." This ordinance was also supported by market standholders who claimed that the curb market diminished their profits as customers were less likely to enter the Market House.

<sup>159</sup> Bureau of Municipal Research, *Survey of the City Government of Indianapolis, Indiana*, 436.

<sup>160</sup> "Mayor Bell Asserts City Market Must Be Made More Clean," *Indianapolis Star*, August 1, 1915.

1922, the mayor-appointed Market Commission deemed sanitation conditions “alarming.” The structures was infested with rats and “scales of filth” to the point that “satisfactory cleanliness is . . . impossible to obtain.”<sup>161</sup>

The City Market appeared haphazard, partially due to the lack of uniformity in stand design. With little oversight from the Market Master, standowners constructed elaborate wooden stands, often backed by temporary walls in varying colors and conditions.<sup>162</sup> Additional lighting was installed on low hanging ceilings, making the space feel crowded.<sup>163</sup> Though some efforts were made to provide standardization, municipal authorities did not mandate uniformity.<sup>164</sup> This coupled with crumbling construction and deficiencies in sewage and plumbing gave the market a dirty reputation.<sup>165</sup>

Demands for better sanitation at the City Market first appeared around the turn of the twentieth century, with the passing of Indiana’s Pure Food and Drug Law in 1899, followed by a national Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906. These acts regulated and policed the food and drug marketplace. A series of raids by health department officials confiscated

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<sup>161</sup> Guy Brenton, “Indianapolis Market That Will Compare With Any in Country Is Planned by Committee Named by Mayor.”

<sup>162</sup> “Committee Advocates City Market Reforms;” Case Abstract, Box 2, Edward Knight Collection, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis, IN. Standowners solely leased the ground their stalls sat on. They were required to provide all other furniture.

<sup>163</sup> The Market is often described as being dark. Installation of new technology, like refrigeration equipment, blocked many of the upper windows and skylights in the Market House. Therefore, natural light was a precious commodity within the market buildings, and the city-installed lighting supplied limited supplemental illumination. Standholders often provided their own gas or electric lights in order to provide better lighting for customers. See Bureau of Municipal Research, *Survey of the City Government of Indianapolis, Indiana*.

<sup>164</sup> “Plan Presented For City Market,” *Indianapolis Star*, January 22, 1939. Many municipal markets implemented design standards to impress customers with the idea that public markets were an efficient and fair location to do business. Markets were renovated to include high-gloss porcelain finishes, and uniform equipment to emphasize a clean environment. These endeavors were never implemented in the City Market, though some effort was made during the 1939 renovations, completed by the WPA. For a discussion of market interiors, see Mayo, “The American Public Market.”

<sup>165</sup> “Committee Advocates City Market Reforms.”



‘impure’ or ‘unwholesome’ foods from the City Market.<sup>166</sup> Newspapers regularly reported on market dealers’ violations for additives in sausage and ground meat, below-standard vinegar, and adulterated lard, butter, or cheese.<sup>167</sup> Butchers came under the toughest scrutiny, often being prosecuted for selling “doctored” or “unwholesome” meats. Throughout 1906–7, the city health board “opened war” on market vendors, prosecuting and arresting standholders for violating the new pure food laws. In July 1906, nine butchers were jailed for selling “doctored meat” in the City Market.<sup>168</sup> Less than a year later, in April 1907, 121 dealers across the city were arrested for selling tainted products.<sup>169</sup> City Sanitarian Dr. Eugene Buchler explained that these raids were not “spasmodic. . . . The health department of the city has made up its mind to see to it that products that come from its markets are pure and fit to eat.”<sup>170</sup>

Concerns soon turned from the food being sold within the market to the condition of the physical structure in which it was sold.<sup>171</sup> Small improvements had been made to the market buildings including the enclosure of the area between the two market buildings

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<sup>166</sup> Often these raids involved butchers and meat inspectors who confiscated products, which had been doctored with preservatives to look fresher than they were. Tensions reached a boiling point in April 1907 when health officials declared “open war” on the market and arrested 121 dealers for violations against the new food law. For more on the Pure Food and Drug act and its establishment, see Veit, *Modern Food, Moral Food* and James Harvey Young, *Pure Food: Securing the Federal Food and Drugs Act of 1906* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1989); Clifton J. Phillips, *Indiana in Transition: The Emergency of an Industrial Commonwealth, 1880-1920* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1968).

<sup>167</sup> “Plans Severe Law; Dr. Buehler on Bad Meats,” *Indianapolis Star*, June 25, 1906; “Six Grocers Arrested; Said to Sell Impure Food,” *Indianapolis Star*, April 8, 1909; “Arrest 121 Food Dealers; Health Boards Open War,” *Indianapolis Star*, April 21, 1907.

<sup>168</sup> “Ryan Gives Idea of Meat Men’s Defense,” *Indianapolis Star*, July 8, 1906.

<sup>169</sup> “Arrest 121 Food Dealers; Health Boards Open War.”

<sup>170</sup> “Meat Dealers to Face Fire; Affidavits Will Be Filed by the City Health Department Today,” *Indianapolis Star*, July 8, 1907.

<sup>171</sup> The newly created Bureau of Markets (1913) under the federal USDA, sought to promote more sanitary markets. They argued that pure food could not reach the dinner table without a clean public market, hygienic food handling, and efficient transportation. Though the market did not address Indianapolis until 1920, its public lectures, publications, films, and exhibits most likely percolated to city policy. See Tangires, “Feeding the Cities.”

in 1903 to provide room for vegetable vendors.<sup>172</sup> Even with renovations to the lighting, heating, and sewer systems (1901, 1908), and addition of a refrigeration plant (1915), conditions had reached an abysmal level by the early 1920s.<sup>173</sup>

In part, conditions were allowed to deteriorate because the city viewed the City Market as a revenue maker and did not want to reinvest profit into preexisting infrastructure. The City Market often contributed upwards of \$10,000 to city coffers annually, a point that officials often pointed to with pride.<sup>174</sup> As early as 1893, Market Master Armin Koehne boasted that the institution “is in a most prosperous condition and is one of the city’s best sources of revenue.”<sup>175</sup> However, most concerning was the lack of investment of these revenues into the maintenance of the City Market. For many years, limited resources were spent on market maintenance, especially when compared to the profits received.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> This area became known as the midway market, completed with flat roof and steel trusses, housed vegetable vendors. See *Second Annual Message of Charles Bookwalter, Mayor of Indianapolis, with annual reports of heads of departments of the city government to January 1, 1902* (Indianapolis: Levev Bao’s & Co. Inc., Printers and Binders, 1902), 228; *Annual message of Charles A. Bookwalter, Mayor of Indianapolis, with annual reports of heads of department [sic] of the city government, To January 1, 1903* (Indianapolis: Sentential Printing Co. Printers and Binders, 1903), 226; *Mayor’s Message, 1902, 1904*, 41, 173.

<sup>173</sup> For lighting and improvements see *Mayor’s Message, 1901*. The refrigeration system was a major debate between standholders and city officials between 1907 and 1915. The city required stallowners to use glass-covered cases to hold their food, instead of holding meat on ice as was common. Butchers claimed that the system was expensive, bulky, and impractical. Finally, an agreement was reached where the city installed a refrigeration system in the basement of Tomlinson Hall and stallowners leased use for \$2.50 a month. See “City Meat Dealers Defy Refrigerator Ordinance,” *Indianapolis Star*, September 7, 1907; “Will Fight the Glass Case Law,” *Indianapolis Sun*, September 18, 1907; “Demand That City Improve Market,” *Indianapolis Star*, May 18, 1911; “Council Votes Bonds Reaching \$740,000 Total.”

<sup>174</sup> “Mayor Has a Market Plan;” “Middlemen Have Taken City Market.” Most of this profit was collected from stand rents and put into the city’s general fund. This was used to pay the general expenses for running the city. For a financial accounting of the market’s profits and losses, see Appendix C.

<sup>175</sup> Armin C. Koehne, “Market Master’s Report,” in *First Annual Message of Hon. Caleb S. Denney, Mayor of Indianapolis, with Annual Reports of Heads of Departments of the City Government to January 1, 1894* (Indianapolis: Journal and Printing Co., 1894), 270. With so much profit, stand rental prices were often a point of contention between standowners and municipal officials. Stall prices steadily increased throughout the twentieth century. Standowners asserted these rent increases forced them to sell products at a higher rate.

<sup>176</sup> City treasury records are spotty in their listing of amounts spent on maintenance. However, this complaint is common in newspaper reporting from 1906 to 1940. The *Indianapolis Star* reports in 1911 that only \$2,000 to \$3,000 were spent on the City Market yearly. “Demand that the City Improve Market,” *Indianapolis Star*, May 18, 1911.

Calls to improve market conditions came from several sources by the early twentieth century. “The Market Master should be impressed with the fact that the market is primarily of the benefit of the consumer, and not for revenue to the city,” implored the *Indianapolis News*.<sup>177</sup> Standholder J.B. Bowser speaking to the Indianapolis Board of Public Safety lamented,

If the city would send all the money it collected from the market house rents in improving and caring for the market, we should have the finest institution of its kind in the country. Since the market was established the rents have more than trebled, yet the city is not spending any more money in caring for the market. We think we are right in insisting that rent money collected from the market house stands should be spent in improvements there.<sup>178</sup>

Market proponents and standholders often argued that the city could afford to make necessary improvements due to the earnings it brought in.<sup>179</sup> The City Market also fell under the intense scrutiny of women’s clubs who called for “better food buying conditions.”<sup>180</sup>

The demands for modern, sanitary facilities from these organizations fueled many of the improvements that would be made during this period. After years of lobbying by the Market Master, city officials finally approved major repairs to the market buildings in 1923. Major sanitation concerns were addressed, including the addition of trash enclosures and an incinerator, new cement floor with proper drainage for flushing, rewiring and addition of electricity to the entire building, and repainting of the walls in white enamel paint.<sup>181</sup>

But by the late 1930s, the City Market was again in “downgrade” according to Market Master Paul Lindemann, with the buildings in a “deplorable state.” Under his leadership, Lindemann assisted in creating some stand uniformity and added needed additional revenue

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<sup>177</sup> “Weak Report Fails, Commission Quits,” *Indianapolis News*, September 1, 1911.

<sup>178</sup> “Demand That City Improve Market.”

<sup>179</sup> “Urges Market Changes: Committee Meets Mayor,” *Indianapolis Star*, January 21, 1910; “Committee Advocates City Market Reforms.”

<sup>180</sup> William Herschell, “Municipal Market of Indianapolis Now Attaining Its Centennial Year Has Ranged Through Many Problems Including Berries, Hangings, and Curbs.” Between 1918 and 1920, the Women’s Department Club teamed with the Mayor to investigate market conditions. They recommended a complete reconstruction of the market buildings to the Board of Public Safety. See “Solicits Help of Mayor in Bettering Market Conditions,” *Indianapolis Star*, February 15, 1918; “Committee Advocates City Market Reforms”; “\$287,000 Proposed As Market Expenditure,” *Indianapolis News*, January 28, 1920.

<sup>181</sup> “Sanitation to Be Objective in Market House Remodeling,” *Indianapolis News*, June 21, 1924.

through an increase in the number of parking spaces and meters.<sup>182</sup> He worked with the Federal Works Progress Administration to assist with these modernization efforts. This included adding up-to-date market stands, refrigerators, drive-in parking places, and a new engine room.<sup>183</sup>

### **The Market Declines**

Nationally, the overall decline of public markets accelerated in the 1940s and 1950s. Patterns in food sales shifted and decreased the public market's role of feeding the city. Public Markets had retained an advantage because they provided the freshest goods available in an urban setting. However, with technological advances such as refrigeration, expanded transportation networks, and better food processing, food distribution networks expanded and retail chains began to proliferate. Structural shortcomings and crowded locations made large deliveries difficult at older market buildings, requiring products to be moved by hand in small batches. Public markets lost their competitive advantage as other vendors, such as grocery stores, could procure fresh produce quickly with refrigerated trucks and easily see to delivery. The growing influence of corporate networks of food processors and retailers replaced the need for public markets.<sup>184</sup> In Indianapolis, there was a growing sentiment that the City Market buildings were "becom[ing] less adequate for the purpose from year to year" and "had outlived [their] usefulness."<sup>185</sup>

Adding to the City Market's woes was changing customer patterns and the erosion of downtown Indianapolis. Like many Midwestern metropolitan areas, such as Cleveland and Milwaukee, the city experienced downtown decline and suburban growth in the decades following World War II. Up to this point, the city's economic foundation had rested on its

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<sup>182</sup> "Plan Presented For City Market."

<sup>183</sup> John Murphy, "City Market to Take Another Step Forward with Construction of New Driveway, Parking Area for Patrons;" "Even Fish Will Go Modern," *Indianapolis Star*, March 13, 1937.

<sup>184</sup> Mayo, *The American Grocery Store*, 39–41.

<sup>185</sup> Guy Brenton, "Indianapolis Market That Will Compare With Any in Country Is Planned by Committee Named by Mayor;" Lowell Musebaum, "The Things I Hear!," *Indianapolis Star*, July 28, 1947.

manufacturing sector, particularly the automobile industry.<sup>186</sup> As jobs shifted away from manufacturing by the mid-twentieth century, Indianapolis was hit hard by international competition, oil shortages, and capital disinvestment. Downtown Indianapolis reflected this economic hardship, especially within the Central Business District (CBD).<sup>187</sup> Until the 1950s this area had flourished with the expansion of the retail and wholesale trade, sustained by trains and interurbans that brought shoppers downtown. By the end of the decade though, suburban malls were becoming the center for retail action.<sup>188</sup>

This shift was due, in part, to patterns of suburban growth. New home construction, guaranteed mortgages, highway construction, and a desire for modern, detached dwellings combined to propel young families out of the city to the edges of the county line.<sup>189</sup>

Between 1950 and 1960, the city population grew 11.5 percent, while the suburban area population increased 77.6 percent. In the following decade, the population of downtown Indianapolis continued to fall, while the remainder of Marion County and the surrounding areas sustained growth.<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>186</sup> Kimberly S. Schimmel, "Sport Matters: Urban Regime Theory and Urban Regeneration in the Late-Capitalist Era," in *Sport in the City: The Role of Sport in Economic and Social Regeneration*, ed. Chris Gratton and Ian Henry (London: Routledge, 2001), 265.

<sup>187</sup> *Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, s.v. "Economy," by James H. Madison (Bloomington: University of Indianapolis, 1994), 67. The Central Business District is usually defined as "an area of very high land valuation, an area characterized by a high concentration of retail businesses, offices, theaters, hotels, and service buildings." (U.S. Department of Commerce, "Central Business District Statistics, Indianapolis, Ind., Area," *1958 Census of Business VII*, BC58-CBD 38 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1958), 3.) Each *Census of Business* or *Census of Retail Trade* will define the region. In Indianapolis this region includes census areas 541, 542, 543, 563, and 562. It is roughly bounded by the White River and Missouri Street in the west, tenth street in the north, the L. E. & W railroad in the east, and Fletcher and McCarthy streets in the south.

<sup>188</sup> *Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, s.v. "Commerce," 66-68.

<sup>189</sup> Robert G. Barrows, "Indianapolis: Silver Buckle on the Rust Belt," *Snowbelt Cities: Metropolitan Politics in the Northeast and Midwest since World War II*, ed. Richard M. Bernard (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 138-9.

<sup>190</sup> C. James Owen and York Willbern, *Governing Metropolitan Indianapolis: The Politics of Unigov* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 17; *U.S. Census Population and Housing, 1980: Indiana* (PC80-1-A16), Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1982, <http://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html>. Indianapolis' population grew by 49,085 people, but much of that was due to annexation. The actual population growth in the city between 1950 to 1960 was only 1,636 people. For a history of suburban growth, see Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (Jackson: Oxford University Press, 1985).

The addition of interstate highways throughout the city facilitated the outward movement of Indianapolis residents, while also dramatically altering the landscape of Marion County. The urban highway system created an efficient method for relieving traffic from the city center by diverting it around the city.<sup>191</sup> By the mid-1960s, two important interstates in Indianapolis, I-65 and I-70 fed into I-475, rapidly bringing commuters in and out of downtown. The proliferation of highways and automobiles “quickly changed the nature of the urban environment, transforming the city’s focus, at least for many of its residents, from ‘downtown’ to a peripheral, homogenized ‘no town.’”<sup>192</sup>

Though interstate highways promised easier transportation into the city, they also promoted new shopping centers at the city’s periphery. Downtown shopping declined 33 percent between 1948 and 1966, and, by 1967, eleven major retail centers had sprung up outside of the central business district.<sup>193</sup> White customers no longer needed to face the long drive downtown and battle for parking spaces to complete their shopping.<sup>194</sup> Malls such as Glendale and Eastgate provided retail opportunities while large modern supermarkets provided foodstuffs closer to new suburban homes.

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<sup>191</sup> Barrows, “Indianapolis,” 140. Other mid-western cities effected by industrialization include Cincinnati, Cleveland, Kansas City, Chicago, and Milwaukee.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid. For more on the proliferation of highways in urban areas see, David R. Goldfield and Blaine A. Brownell, *Urban America: A History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1990) or Richard Hebert, *Highways to Nowhere; The Politics of City Transportation* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1972).

<sup>193</sup> *Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, s.v. “Economy,” 67; U.S. Department of Commerce, “Major Retail Centers in Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, Indiana,” *1967 Census of Business*, BC67-MRC-15 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1967).

<sup>194</sup> *Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, s.v. “Neighborhoods and Communities,” 138. African Americans were systematically excluded from home loans, which allowed many whites to move out of the city and purchase homes in the suburbs. Many banks refused to grant loans to black residents, compounded by the Federal Housing Administration who deemed most neighborhoods with African Americans or “foreigners” ineligible for federal mortgage programs. This cut many African Americans out of key investment and wealth opportunities. Though Indianapolis outpaced many other cities when it came to home ownership, practices like red lining and selective real estate kept many blacks near the downtown area. Unigov, implemented in 1969, further restricted and disenfranchised the black population by diluting their’ voting clout and failing to incorporate township schools into the city system. This perpetuated racial inequalities and further enforced lags in economic opportunity. For further reading see Richard Pierce, *Polite Protest: The Political Economy of Race in Indianapolis, 1920-1970* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005) and Ta-Nehisi Coates, “The Case for Reparations,” *The Atlantic* (June 2014).

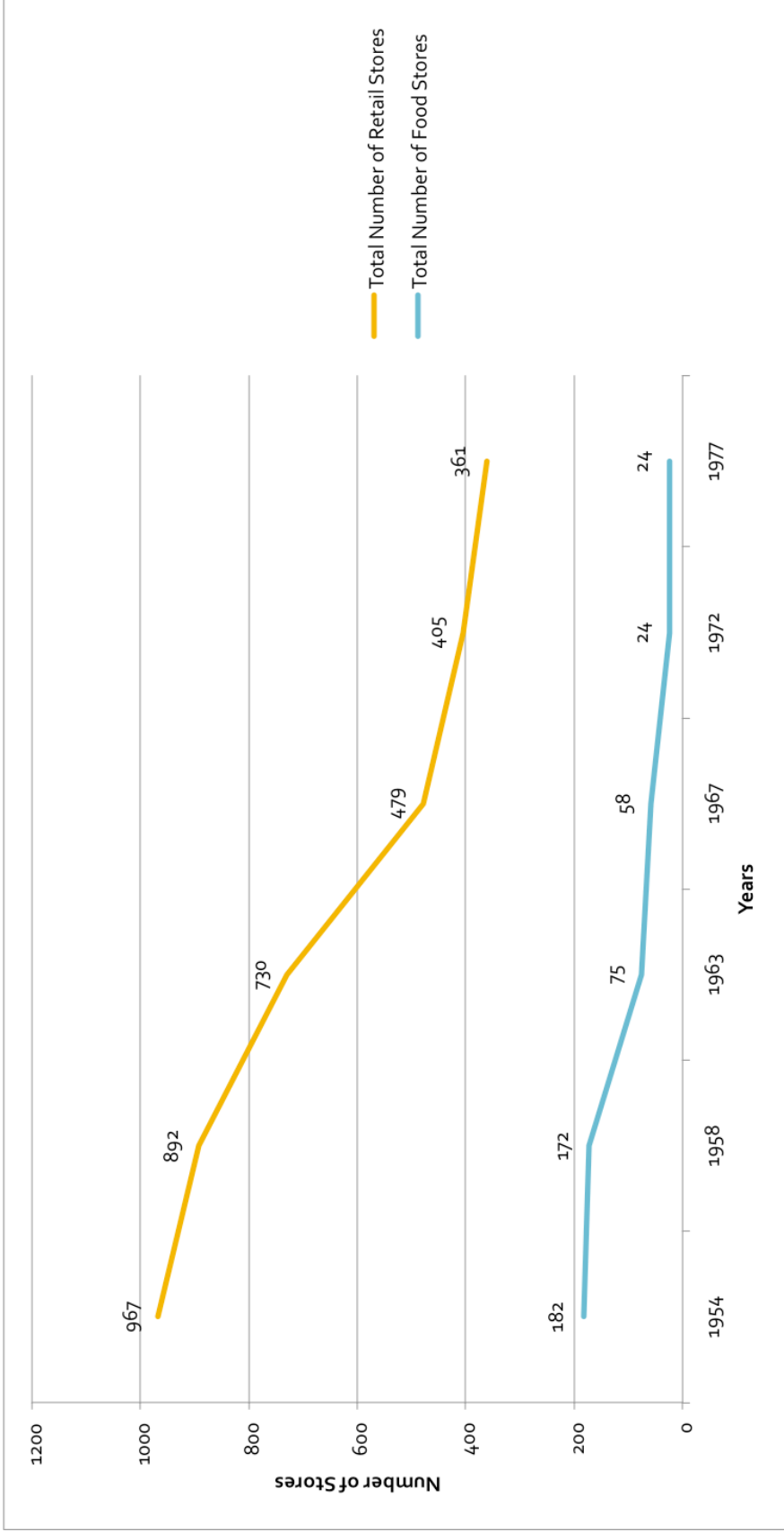


Figure 1.V: Number of retail and food stores in the Indianapolis Central Business District, 1954-1977. The number dramatically decreases into the downtown area over this time period. Data for this table compiled from the Census of Business for 1958, 1966, and 1967; and the Census of Retail Trade for 1972, and 1977.

All of these factors converged to create a fairly steep decline in the City Market's customer base. Changes to shopping preferences and the growth of large, convenient supermarkets drove away key customers from the institution. To illustrate this trend, in 1958, 39 percent of retail shopping occurred in the central business district.<sup>195</sup> Just fourteen years later, this number had decreased to 9.5 percent.<sup>196</sup> (Figure 1.V) This decline accelerated with the development and popularity of retail grocery chains that proliferated alongside suburban growth. Between 1946 and 1954, supermarkets' sales volume increased 71 percent.<sup>197</sup> These changing shopping trends translated into vacancies and worsening conditions for the City Market.

But public markets were still a common aspect of American urban life. A USDA study in 1946 identified 401 retail and wholesale markets in the United States, with 291 selling directly to customers.<sup>198</sup> In Indianapolis, the City Market continued to thrive in the 1940s. Although its yearly revenue was gradually declining, 246 stands, ten stores, and three restaurants operating out of the market buildings in 1940. The *Indianapolis Times* reported that year on new stands, new equipment, and expansions as well.<sup>199</sup> Moreover, the City Market as an entity was a continual source of pride for the city. "Indianapolis has the greatest city market in the world under one roof," bragged Mayor Jewett in 1918.<sup>200</sup> In 1933 the *Indianapolis News* boasted the city "feels warranted pride in its City Market. Visitors from other states find it one of the town's most interesting sights."<sup>201</sup> The draw of the "Old World

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<sup>195</sup> *Census of Business*, 1958.

<sup>196</sup> U.S. Department of Commerce, "Major Retail Center Statistics, Part 1: Alabama-Indiana," *1972 Census of Retail Trade* v. III, RC72-C (Washington D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1976).

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, 162. In 1964 supermarkets sold 28 percent of the total volume of grocery sales in the United States. By 1954, this number had swelled to 48 percent with only a 2 percent growth in the number of stores. For more statistical data see Godfrey Montague Lebharr, *Chain Stores in America, 1859-1962* (New York: Chain Store Pub. Corp, 1963).

<sup>198</sup> Jane Pyle, "Farmers' Markets in the United States: Functional Anachronisms," *Geographical Review* 61, no. 2 (April 1971): 180.

<sup>199</sup> Richard Lewis, "City Market, 118 Years of Age, Keeps Old World Atmosphere," *Indianapolis Times*, January 26, 1940.

<sup>200</sup> "City Market Leads World, Experts Say," *Indianapolis Times*, March 16, 1918.

<sup>201</sup> "Passing of Long Familiar Sidewalk Stands Results in the Central Market Area Establishing New Open Enterprise in Alabama Street," *Indianapolis News*, July 8, 1933.



marketplace atmosphere – the clamor, the confusion, and the lusty competition of a babel of races, classes, and nationalities,” continued to attract customers in 1940.<sup>202</sup>

Still, deep issues simmered under the surface. Even as the City Market survived, public markets were falling out of vogue and in desperate need of repairs. By 1957, the Market House, according to the *Indianapolis Times* had “declined in prestige from a hall for the high society to a haven for hoboes.”<sup>203</sup> The market buildings were dingy around the edges, falling apart in sections, infested with rats, considered an eyesore, and all but abandoned by the city.<sup>204</sup> In 1956 the National Board of Fire Underwriters reported that Tomlinson Hall was “the most likely” of all downtown structures to cause a major fire, and the city moved to condemn the building.<sup>205</sup> In July 1957 City Building Commissioners raised the stakes over what to do with the market buildings when they filed to condemn Tomlinson Hall and call for its demolition. Standholders balked and filed a countersuit.<sup>206</sup> The fight to preserve the City Market had begun.

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<sup>202</sup> Richard Lewis, “City Market, 118 Years of Age, Keeps Old World Atmosphere.”

<sup>203</sup> Robert Hover, “Fire Destroys Tomlinson Hall; Plan New City Market-Garage,” *Indianapolis Times*, January 31, 1958.

<sup>204</sup> “The City Market– To Be Or Not To Be?” *Indianapolis News*, February 15, 1964.

<sup>205</sup> Hoover, “Fire Destroys Tomlinson Hall;” George W. Aiken, “Condemnation of Half of City Market May Reopen 75- Year Battle Over Site,” *Indianapolis Star*, July 17, 1957.

<sup>206</sup> “The City Market– To Be Or Not To Be?”, February 15, 1964; Aiken, “Condemnation of Half of City Market...”, July 17, 1957.

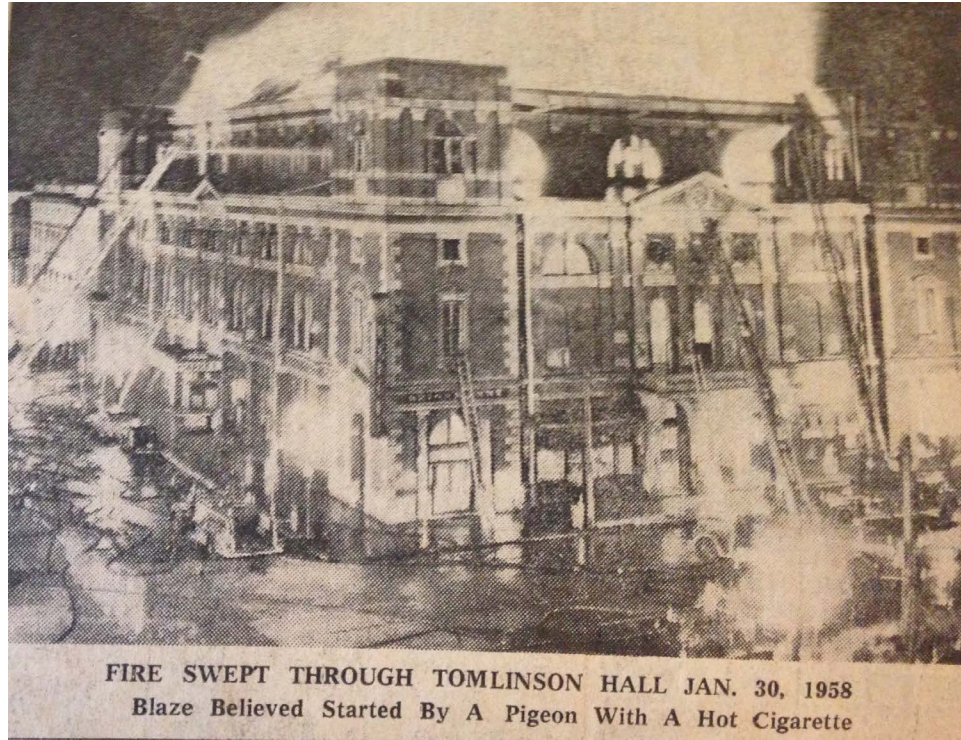
## CHAPTER 2: PRESERVING THE CITY MARKET, 1958-1978

On the frigid night of January 31, 1958, flames rose high over Tomlinson Hall, home to the Indianapolis City Market. The climbing blaze illuminated downtown and rose hundreds of feet in the air while throwing spark-filled debris into the darkness. The threat of snow hung in the air while firefighters, with twenty-two pieces of equipment, battled back the flames that engulfed the attic and second floor of the seventy-three year old hall. (Figure 2.A) Aerial ladders reached into the smoke as water was thrown on the building to prevent the threat of flames from jumping to neighboring buildings. Barely contained by police officers, spectators jammed into the area. By midnight, the blaze was under control and firemen had quenched the last embers of the fire. Tomlinson Hall stood like a husk, the attic and second floor a mass of charred beams. City Market business owners risked wading through ankle-deep water and thick smoke to examine their damaged stores and wares.<sup>207</sup>

In the aftermath of the fire, the City Market—already facing an uncertain future—found itself in an even more precarious position as Indianapolis city leaders and officials, along with ordinary citizens, began a suddenly more urgent conversation about what to do with this tenacious institution. Over the next twenty years, a colorful conflict emerged between citizens, standholders, and civic leaders about development, tradition, and preservation of the City Market. For ten years, proponents and city officials were embroiled in a contentious legal battle that sought to define the market's future. A combination of grassroots efforts and a rededication by city officials pumped new energy into the City Market by 1978, moving the remaining building from the precipice of destruction to a much-needed \$4.5 million renovation. The perseverance and judicial actions of purveyors and patrons along with the realignment of municipal policies allowed for the preservation of this institution.

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<sup>207</sup> “Fire Razes Tomlinson Hall,” *Indianapolis Star*, January 31, 1958; Robert Hover, “Fire Destroys Tomlinson Hall; Plan New City Market-Garage,” *Indianapolis Times*, January 31, 1958; Emerson Torrey, “Mayor Calls Meeting on Site’s Future,” *Indianapolis Times*, January 31, 1958; “Tomlinson Site Studied for Market and Parking,” *Indianapolis News*, January 31, 1958.



FIRE SWEEPED THROUGH TOMLINSON HALL JAN. 30, 1958  
Blaze Believed Started By A Pigeon With A Hot Cigarette

Figure 2.A: Image from the front page of the *Indianapolis Times* showing the Tomlinson Hall Fire. The paper, along with other new outlets, credited the culprit to a pigeon landing on the roof with a lit cigarette. *Indianapolis Times*, January 30, 1958.



Figure 2.B: After the Tomlinson Hall fire in 1958, the city added sheds to the remaining Market House. This accommodated vendors displaced from the fire. Library of Congress, 1970, Historic American Buildings Survey, *Indianapolis City Market*, Survey HABS IND-59.

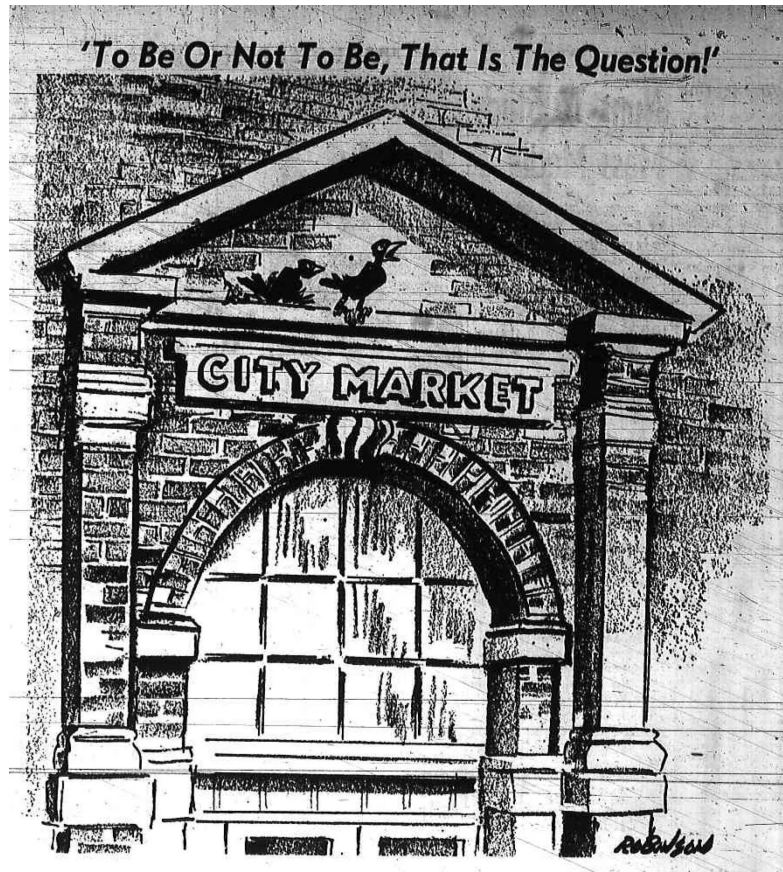


Figure 2.C: An editorial cartoon during the city wide debates about whether to close the City Market. *Indianapolis News*, August 8, 1964.

### The Aftermath of the Fire

That January 1958 blaze gutted and destroyed most of Tomlinson Hall, excluding a twenty-four inch thick perimeter wall built of brick with a core of clay tiles. Fire investigators determined that the fire began in the attic of Tomlinson Hall and then traveled throughout the building. The cause was never determined, though according to multiple newspapers, a fireman speculated the culprit may have been a pigeon carrying a lighted cigarette into the building's eaves.

Despite protests from city residents that the building shell could be preserved, the city shrugged off a temporary injunction and razed Tomlinson Hall in March 1958.<sup>208</sup> The

<sup>208</sup> Joe Jarvis, "Rebuilding Plan Takes in Market," *Indianapolis News*, January 24, 1964; George W. Aiken, "City's 'New Look' Chartered," *Indianapolis Star*, November 19, 1958. In 1956, the National Fire Underwriters listed Tomlinson Hall as the building most likely to catch fire in Downtown Indianapolis.

eastern Market House remained untouched by the fire, and many vendors displaced from Tomlinson Hall consolidated into the smaller building. City Market conditions were fairly dismal following the fire. Customers lamented that the “old spirit is gone,” as standholders crammed into the surviving Market House, doubling up space and improvising to relocate their businesses and livelihoods.<sup>209</sup> In order to provide some additional room for vendors, Mayor Phillip Bayt, in February, improved facilities in the Midway Market, the rudimentary brick building jutting off of the west side of the market building that had previously connected the Market House to Tomlinson Hall. (Figure 2.B) This renovation allowed additional space for approximately thirty stands and added lighting, restrooms, and steam heat.<sup>210</sup> This was a temporary solution, however, and permanent plans to fix the ailing market were the subject of much discussion.

The Tomlinson Hall fire marked a central moment in the city’s ongoing discussion about the future of its downtown market. (Figure 2.C) For years after, the fire stood as a marker of time, symbolizing a turning point of dwindling customers and stands (from 160 stands in 1957 to only 43 in 1975).<sup>211</sup> More importantly, it brought the topic of the City Market’s future front and center among citizens, civic leaders, and standholders. Devotees vocally advocated the necessity of preserving the remaining historic Market House, acting as the *Indianapolis News* described, as “volunteer social historians with fascinating memorabilia of the old structure.”<sup>212</sup> These advocates spoke passionately at any opportunity about their memories of the City Market and its unique place within Indianapolis in order to preserve the building and its contents. In sharp contrast, city officials campaigned for a new modern market, one that would correspond with their ideas for the future of Indianapolis.

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<sup>209</sup> Nancy Langsenkamp, “Market Carries On but Old Spirit is Gone,” *Indianapolis News*, March 7, 1958.

<sup>210</sup> “Public Safety Board Ends Market Leases,” *Indianapolis Star*, February 28, 1958; “Bayt Plans Repairs For City Market,” *Indianapolis Star*, February 19, 1958.

<sup>211</sup> Langsenkamp, “Market Carries On but Old Spirit is Gone.”

<sup>212</sup> Filomena Gould, “Tomlinson Hall Still Hasn’t Cooled Down,” *Indianapolis News*, March 4, 1958.

## The Municipal Approach

Most city officials and civic leaders saw the City Market as did George Kuhn. A veteran real estate broker, Kuhn proclaimed that the Tomlinson Hall fire gave “Indianapolis a great opportunity to get rid of one of the worst fire hazards downtown.”<sup>213</sup> Though most officials acknowledged the market’s important function for downtown Indianapolis, they saw the building as antiquated, outdated, and a “hazardous and unattractive neighbor to our new, ultra-modern City-County Building.”<sup>214</sup> Completed in 1962, this new home for Indianapolis municipal government straddled the international styles, a tall tower of repeated of glass and steel.<sup>215</sup> Like the Marion County Courthouse, which had been torn down to make way for this new headquarters of local government, city leaders believed the market buildings had outlived its usefulness and should be razed.<sup>216</sup>

Councilwoman Gladys C. Pohlman summarized the city’s ideology succinctly in 1958 when she told the *Indianapolis Times* that redevelopment of the market space provided “an opportunity to combine tradition and progress. The [City] Market certainly should be kept. A new structure could add to the beauty of the downtown area.”<sup>217</sup> In fact, all of the nine City Council members interviewed at a 1958 meeting favored a plan to rebuild the Market House incorporating large-scale parking facilities above and below it.<sup>218</sup>

City officials proposed multiple plans between 1958 and 1968, each envisioning a modern “streamlined showplace for the future.”<sup>219</sup> Every proposal over the next ten years

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<sup>213</sup> Noble Reed, “City Leaders Plan Market Rebuilding,” *Indianapolis Times*, February 3, 1958.

<sup>214</sup> Indianapolis Civic Progress Association, *Annual Report 1962*, Indiana State Library; “Safety Board Head Favors New Market,” *Indianapolis News*, January 23, 1964.

<sup>215</sup> Indianapolis Architectural Foundation, *Indianapolis Architecture* (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Architecture Foundation, 1975), 46-49. Within ten years of its construction, the City-County building’s architecture was largely criticized. *New York Times* architecture critic Ada Louis Huxtable said in 1974, that the new City-County “looks as if someone had pushed a computer button marked ‘Standard Speculative Office Building.’ Faceless and anonymous, its consummate dullness is almost a negative achievement.” (“The Public Building,” *New York Times*, November 10, 1974) The Indianapolis Architecture Foundation described the building as “soaring with unrelieved tedium to the sky.”

<sup>216</sup> “Safety Board Head Favors New Market.”

<sup>217</sup> “Council Majority Favors New Market,” *Indianapolis Times*, February 12, 1958.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>219</sup> Reed, “City Leaders Plan Market Rebuilding.”

included two major elements: a multi-use building and additional parking. Plans included an abundance of suggestions for combinations with the City Market, including a library, office building, civic auditorium, and shopping center.<sup>220</sup> Mayors Phillip L. Bayt (1956-1959) and Charles H. Boswell (1959-1962), for example, each proposed plans for “a new, modern market, with ‘ample’ parking facilities on the site.”<sup>221</sup> Similarly, the 1958 plan for Indianapolis’ Central Business District Plan, proposed by the Metropolitan Planning Commission, called for a “new, more efficient, more colorful, market . . . which would give a festive atmosphere for the market shopper.”<sup>222</sup>

City planners extended the vision of city officials in their Market Square project proposal, seeking to create a visually cohesive block to tie in with the City-County Building. Principal Planner for the Metropolitan Planning Commission Raymond Lee explained that while the current market provided some “charm and balance,” it overall was not “architecturally compatible with the City-County building and other structures planned” for the downtown area.<sup>223</sup> Calvin Hamilton, director of the Metropolitan Planning Commission, saw the Market Square project as “a new approach to civic development utilizing local sources and the collaborative approach . . . to the long-range benefit of the city of Indianapolis.”<sup>224</sup> This plan called for an elaborate redevelopment of the entire block north of the City-County building. MIT architecture student Kenneth Wood built upon these ideas in his 1958 master’s thesis, a design study of the redevelopment of the area surrounding the City Market. In this work he suggested his own plan for a block redevelopment design that

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<sup>220</sup> Hugh Rutledge, “Boswell Pledges To Push Work Toward Brighter Downtown,” *Indianapolis News*, November 11, 1959; Charles Vaughan, “What Will We Do with Market Site?” *Indianapolis News*, March 15, 1963; Kenneth Shimer Wood, “A Design Study for the Redevelopment of Market Square, Indianapolis, Indiana,” (master’s thesis, MIT, 1958), 11. After the demolition by fire of Tomlinson Hall, Wood took up the topic of the area’s redevelopment for his thesis topic.

<sup>221</sup> Heatherington, “Old City Market: Is it Worth the Deficit?,” September 3, 1961; Michael J. Quinn, “Nonprofit Building Plan Urged for New Market, Parking Unit,” *Indianapolis Star*, July 6, 1967.

<sup>222</sup> Metropolitan Planning Department, *Central Business District Report* (Indianapolis: Marion County Metropolitan Planning Department, 1958).

<sup>223</sup> “Market Square Proposed,” *Indianapolis News*, July 31, 1962.

<sup>224</sup> Quinn, “Nonprofit Building Plan.”

would turn the City Market area into “a single unified building complex.”<sup>225</sup> This two-block area would incorporate office space, shopping, dining, library, underground parking, market building, and a civic plaza. Wood’s plan aimed to “re-establish the rapidly diminishing social intercourse between man and man,” creating a market square with “all the inherent qualities required for becoming a fine civic, cultural, and commercial center.”<sup>226</sup>

Other city officials concentrated primarily on the Market House and its dilapidated condition. Support for construction of a new market building was buttressed by the estimated costs of repairs to the current building. Renovation fees were estimated to be around the same as the appraised value of the buildings. To municipal authorities, it made fiscal sense to tear down the outdated building and construct anew. The Indianapolis Real Estate Board wrote to Mayor Bayt advocating the city not “waste money on rehabilitation,” but instead build a new Market House in harmonious architecture with the surrounding area.<sup>227</sup> Indeed, civic leaders and businessmen commonly perceived renovations as throwing away money. The powerful Indianapolis Civic Progress Association (ICPA) explained, “there is no better tangible proof of a city’s progress than the faith shown in it by new construction.”<sup>228</sup> Formed in 1955, the ICPA was incorporated to “enhance the city.” To groups like the ICPA and many civic leaders, buildings had a shelf life and the market had outlived its usefulness. Indeed, it was better to start anew, as new construction served as “the ultimate test of our city’s vitality.”<sup>229</sup>

City officials hoped that a new modern market building might solve some of the financial difficulties plaguing the market and increase revenue. By the 1960s, the City Market was, in the city’s opinion, a fiscal disaster. As a quasi-public institution, the City Market did

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<sup>225</sup> Wood, “A Design Study for the Redevelopment of Market Square,” 12.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*, 12-18.

<sup>227</sup> “Realtors OK City Plan to Raze Market,” *Indianapolis Times*, February 21, 1958.

<sup>228</sup> Indianapolis Civic Progress Association, Inc., *Annual Report 1962*, 4 and *Annual Report 1963*. Formed in 1955, the ICPA was incorporated to “enhance the city.” Through the next two decades, they ICPA measured the city’s progress in cubic feet of concrete and tons of bricks. For a further discussion of the organization, see Robert Barrows, “Indianapolis: Silver Buckle on the Rust Belt,” 144.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*



not pay any taxes and was a line item in the city budget. All revenues, such as standholder rents, went back into the city general fund. Since the Tomlinson Hall fire in 1958, the City Market had lost its profit margin and was hemorrhaging taxpayers' money. In 1960, the market had a shortfall of approximately \$30,000 a year, paid by city taxpayers.<sup>230</sup> In 1961, Paul M. Persian, the current Market Master, asked for \$40,000 in additional funding for the Market budget to cover expected shortfalls. Exasperated City Council president William Williamson exclaimed in response, "this is ridiculous. . . . If we rented the market out, we would be making money instead of losing. . . . It is time we turn it over to someone who can make a profit out of it."<sup>231</sup>

Much of the deficit was due to a high number of stand vacancies. In 1957, 17.5 percent of the market's 246 stands and twenty-one stores had been vacant for over a year, up from an only 8 percent vacancy rate in 1953.<sup>232</sup> This situation contrasted with the valuable real estate of the market property itself. Conveniently placed across the street from the newly completed City-County Building and just a few blocks from Monument Circle, the land was conservatively valued at one million dollars in 1962.<sup>233</sup> "I think it is foolish to put more money into a market unless some way can be found to make it self-supporting,"

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<sup>230</sup> Paul M. Doherty, "City Market Future in Doubt," *Indianapolis Star*, October 23, 1960; John H. Hyst, "City Market: Should it Stay? Or Go?" *Indianapolis Star*, August 5, 1962. The reports of the City-County Council report annual expenses for the City Market, but not gained income. I have not found a budget for the city with these figures after 1915. Indianapolis' comptroller claims that \$42,932 of general funds were contributed to the City Market, with \$32,000 a year charged to other departments. According to the *Indianapolis Star*, the City Market lost \$14,124 in 1958, \$14,379 in 1959, \$30,234 in 1960 and \$30,415 in 1961.

<sup>231</sup> Donald W. Ruby, "Officials Asks Leasing of City Market," *Indianapolis Star*, August 11, 1961. The Market Master was an appointed position principally responsible for the management of the City Market.

<sup>232</sup> "Mickey McCarty Says," *Indianapolis News*, April 7, 1958.

<sup>233</sup> Hyst, "City Market;" George J. Clements, "City Market Faces 'Repair or Close' Edict," *Indianapolis Star*, January 19, 1964. According to the *Indianapolis Star*, the land is valued at \$1.5 million by 1964.

explained Mayor Barton in 1964.<sup>234</sup> Barton, as others before him, sought to find a replacement that would serve as a revenue-producing “showplace of the future.”<sup>235</sup>

### The Market Supporter Strategy

Each time a call would be made to redevelop the City Market, a diverse group of proponents would point out its importance in the downtown landscape. These supporters are difficult to fully describe or categorize. Some were vocal long-time customers or community leaders who wrote letters to the newspapers, gave television interviews, and attended town hall meetings to show their support. Others groups such as the Indianapolis Federation of Community Civic Clubs, a conglomerate of neighborhood civic organizations, formed committees to address the issue of market support.<sup>236</sup> City Market supporters used the rhetoric of tradition to save the space. In the aftermath of the 1958 Tomlinson Hall fire, an editorial in the *Indianapolis Star* urged the city to continue the “tradition around the market” of exceptional variety, personal service, superior products, and outstanding value.<sup>237</sup> Stalwart customers argued that the City Market was “so superior to any existing chain store. . . . There are only two or three other stores in the entire city to compete in service or products.”<sup>238</sup> In her letter to the *Indianapolis Star*, shopper Jo Ann Carlson commented,

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<sup>234</sup> Jarvis, “Rebuilding Plan Takes in Market;” Hetherington, “Old City Market,” September 3, 1961.

<sup>235</sup> “Council Majority Favors New Market,” February 2, 1958; Doherty, “City Market Future in Doubt,” *Indianapolis Star*, October 23, 1960. It should be noted that it was rare for city officials to suggest eliminating the City Market altogether. Expressing the important need that the market fulfilled to citizens, most suggested moving the institution to a different site, or incorporating it into area redevelopment. The Indianapolis Civic Progress Association articulated that civic officials sought not to “do away with the market, but rather to capitalize on its function and location by enhancing the surroundings.” (Indiana Civic Progress Association, Inc., *Annual Report 1963*, 3).

<sup>236</sup> Edward H. Knight Collection on City Market, Box 1, L522, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis.

<sup>237</sup> Corbin Patrick, “Tomlinson Hall Fire Starts Lots of Talk,” *Indianapolis Star*, February 9, 1958, sec 4, 4. These ideas were also put forth in Pierre F. Goodrich, “New Orleans, Copenhagen, Our City Have Markets; Let’s Fix Ours Up,” As Other See It, *Indianapolis Star*, August 8, 1964.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*

“nothing that would be built there could possibly have the history, the meaning, or the comfort the Market House has. Why destroy something good when it isn’t necessary?”<sup>239</sup>

To longtime customers like Henry Butler, the City Market performed an important function by preserving “the traditional method of shopping and selecting. It gives patrons a sense of being closer to reality than they can possibly get from always buying packaged food.” Those hostile to the City Market, in Butler’s opinion, “don’t regard the human factor. They judge in balance-sheet terms. And their kind of judgment . . . had done great damage to the American scene.”<sup>240</sup> Patrons were fiercely loyal; many of them had spent their entire lives shopping there. They praised the City Market’s variety and quality. The *Indianapolis Times* reported that “any hint of ending or altering the old-time operations is treachery, in view of the more loyal patrons.”<sup>241</sup>

Supporters railed against the city’s plan to replace the market structure with a modern commercial building that, as the Indianapolis Federation of Community Civic Clubs explained, “may be outmoded within two decades.” The Federation further lamented that for city leaders, “‘Civic Progress’ is the blatant by-word for destruction of all that our forefathers have left to us, to serve better their selfish, though perhaps well-meaning, conceptions of changing everything that is old to the current modern style of architecture and uses, regardless of any special merit in whatever they would so supplant.”<sup>242</sup> To these advocates, the physical market buildings personified its longstanding tradition within downtown Indianapolis.

However, business at the market was waning and had not increased since the early 1950s.<sup>243</sup> The customer population was aging; most shoppers were middle-aged or older. A veteran standholder bemoaned, “What does the young generation know about preparing

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<sup>239</sup> Jo Ann Carlson, “Her Question: Why Do They Want To Tear Down The City Market?” *Indianapolis Star*, July 7, 1962.

<sup>240</sup> Henry Butler, “The World’s a Stage,” *Indianapolis Times*, April 18, 1958.

<sup>241</sup> Doherty, “City Market Future in Doubt,” October 23, 1960.

<sup>242</sup> Indianapolis Federation of Community Civic Clubs, Inc., *Annual Report 1963- 1964*, Edward H. Knight Collection on City Market, L533, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis.

<sup>243</sup> “Market Square Proposed,” *Indianapolis News*, July 31, 1962.

fresh green beans? They don't come in because they want things frozen, canned, or already prepared."<sup>244</sup> Paul Wetter, a 71-year-old former judge, lamented "if the young folks knew what they could get at the market, the place would be overflowing as it was in the old days."<sup>245</sup> Proponents were convinced that the City Market was one of Indianapolis' hidden gems, an important institution which needed to be reintroduced to the "general public who may not realize they own a vested interest in the market land and its uses for their common benefit."<sup>246</sup> With the right investment, they believed that the market had the ideal location to become a unique and prosperous shopping center for the city.

The most vehement and clamorous faction of market supporters were the standholders. These businessmen and women worked hand-in-hand with the city to keep the City Market functioning. They rented space and refrigeration equipment from the city inside the Market House, and in exchange, the city managed the market and its upkeep. It was common for standholders to have long traditions of operating fruit, vegetable, meat, or delicatessen businesses, many running the same stands their parents or grandparents did. In 1962 for instance, seventeen different firms had fifty years or more of affiliation with the City Market.<sup>247</sup>

City officials and newspaper accounts often characterized standholders as a boisterous group without a unified voice. Though there was heated disagreement over market matters, the standholders concurred on one matter: they blamed the city for poor market management. Longtime standholder Richard Sowders claimed, "they've used it as a political football."<sup>248</sup> The long list of allegations included inflating the market payroll with

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<sup>244</sup> Hetherington, "Customers at City Market," December 9, 1962, 9. For more on the rise of convenience foods in the 1950s, see Harvey A. Levenstein, *Paradox of Plenty: A Social History of Eating in Modern America* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003) and Laura Shapiro, *Something from the Oven: Reinventing Dinner in 1950s America* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005).

<sup>245</sup> "Market Square Proposed," July 31, 1962.

<sup>246</sup> Indianapolis Federation of Community Civic Clubs, Inc., *Annual Report 1963-1964*; Lyst, "The City Market," August 5, 1962.

<sup>247</sup> "Market Has Long History," *Indianapolis Star*, January 7, 1962; Hetherington, "Old City Market," September 3, 1961.

<sup>248</sup> Hetherington, "Old City Market," September 3, 1961.

extraneous employees, not fully investing in the market, and allowing the building to become run down.<sup>249</sup> Condemnation of the city from stall operators often drifted toward conspiracy. Standholders alleged that the city was purposefully pushing them out of business, and that the municipality created issues designed to engender support for shutting down the market.<sup>250</sup> In comments to the *Indianapolis Times* concerning repairs due to health code violations, cafeteria operator Al Steffey exclaimed that the trouble “all seems to be cooked up by city officials and the Board of Health. . . . Business is booming, and they eat here every day, but they apparently want to see us go.”<sup>251</sup>

Standholders blamed most of the City Market’s woes on poor management and insufficient upkeep from municipal officials, mainly the Market Master. Many felt that the city needed to invest in the institution, to make it “a showplace. They ought to be proud of it. . . . If we had a new building, we’d be like a supermarket.”<sup>252</sup> Others worried that a new building would cause skyrocketing stand rents. Longtime standholder Ann Raimondi explained, “a new building would be nice, but luxury costs more and there are so many people who are just barely making their living.”<sup>253</sup> The Tomlinson Hall fire exacerbated anxieties, as many stands did not survive the space consolidation. Many customers did not realize the City Market had reopened, and sales plummeted. Surviving standholders sought to protect their financial interests and the heritage of their families who had been plying their trade for generations. As the odds stacked against them, standholders rallied their troops and prepared to fight back against the city.

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<sup>249</sup> The City Market regularly budgeted between \$50,000 to \$60,000 for payroll. This included around sixteen employees. Though the Market Master contended each position was necessary, standholders and local businessmen regularly harked umbrage, calling it a bloated payroll. See C.J. Underwood, “Operators Meet to Save City Market,” *Indianapolis Times*, December 18, 1963.

<sup>250</sup> Clements, “City Market Faces ‘Repair or Close’ Edict,” January 19, 1964.

<sup>251</sup> Underwood, “Operators Meet to Save City Market,” December 18, 1963.

<sup>252</sup> Hetherington, “Old City Market,” September 3, 1961.

<sup>253</sup> Butler, April 18, 1958, 17.

## The Long Legal Battle

In July 1957, building commissioners condemned Tomlinson Hall and called for the demolition of the Market House. In its place, the city proposed the installation of parking meters, giving the city more revenue. Standholders balked, filed a counter suit, and formed a citizens' committee, which included customers and the Indianapolis Federation of Civic Clubs, to carry on the fight. What ensued was a ten-year legal stand-off over the future of the City Market.<sup>254</sup>

Standholders were accustomed to fighting for the preservation of the City Market amid challenges from city leadership. In both 1883 and 1907, the city sought to build a new market building and was taken to court on charges of tampering with the market site for its own benefit.<sup>255</sup> This case, begun in 1957, first requested a temporary injunction to prevent the city from tearing down either Tomlinson Hall or the Market House. By January 1961, litigation moved to make the injunction permanent.<sup>256</sup> For almost the entire ten-year duration of the case, the court put a temporary injunction against the City Market under the legal auspices of an "urgent emergency." This litigation mandated that the city provide the necessary funds to repair the Market House, that all revenues from the City Market were to be spent only to maintain or improve the facility, and that the operations continue until all legal matters were settled.<sup>257</sup>

The case was spearheaded for the standholders by attorney Edward H. Knight, described as a "legal workhorse and walking encyclopedia of Indianapolis history."<sup>258</sup> Knight, then 85 years old, had served in the city legal department under five mayors and,

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<sup>254</sup> Harriet Smith, "Peanuts to Politics," 7 March 1958, Box 19, Folder 6, Indianapolis Women's Club Records, 1875-2007, William Henry Smith Memorial Library, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, 10; Hetherington, "Old City Market," September 3, 1961.

<sup>255</sup> Samuel E. Perkins vs. Daniel W. Grubbs et. al., no. 30631 (IN Marion County Superior Court, 1883); William T. Cook vs. the City of Indianapolis, et. al., no. 73516 (IN Marion County Superior Court, 1907.) Records for these court cases can be found in the Marion County Records Room, Marion County City-County Building, Indianapolis.

<sup>256</sup> "City Market's History Given at Court Hearing," *Indianapolis Star*, June 30, 1962.

<sup>257</sup> "City Seeks Court Ruling on Market," *Indianapolis Star*, January 10, 1961; Wetter et. al. v. City of Indianapolis, 1958.

<sup>258</sup> Lyst, "The City Market," August 5, 1962.

during the market case, often referred to his chief opponent, municipal lawyer Michael B. Reddington, as a “young whippersnapper.”<sup>259</sup> Knight, determined and passionate about the market buildings and their operation, explained to the *Indianapolis Star* in 1959, “I don’t care if I don’t get a cent, I’m going to go through with this litigation unless the Good Lord intervenes and substitutes someone else.”<sup>260</sup> He firmly believed that the facts were in the City Market’s favor and that legal barriers were “insurmountable” as the land was set aside solely for market use in 1821.<sup>261</sup>

The premise for the case centered on the legality of who owned the market land and for what purpose it could be used. Standholders argued that the city had entered into a charitable public trust, whereby the city was “charged with the continuous . . . obligations in the control, operation, and maintenance of said market.”<sup>262</sup> They charged that for the last ten years, from the mid-1940s to late 1950s, the city had “failed and neglected to perform its various statutory and fiduciary duties and obligations in its control and operation of said public market . . . as required by law.” The myriad of failures included allowing the roof to leak, neglecting various other parts of the building, allowing deficient heat and sanitary equipment, not repairing badly worn floors, and ignoring numerous reports and orders by the director of public health about conditions.<sup>263</sup> City attorneys countered that the Market House was not modern enough to merit its upkeep, while attorneys for the standholders replied that the city had discouraged maintenance. In testimony heard in 1962, for example, city building commissioner K. K. Wark testified that the Market House conditions had

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<sup>259</sup> Ibid.

<sup>260</sup> “Knight Vows Fight For Market Site,” *Indianapolis Star*, February 14, 1959.

<sup>261</sup> Ibid.

<sup>262</sup> *Wetter et. al. v. City of Indianapolis*, 1958, 2; The city has managed the market since 1832 when it began operating on this plot of land. In 1947, Governor Henry Schricker made moves to officially deed over the market land to the city of Indianapolis. This deed was recorded on November 15, 1950. See *Wetter et. al. v. City of Indianapolis*, 1958; Marion County Office of the Recorder, Town Lot Record 1409, Ch. 20, Acts of the Indiana General Assembly, 1947, 293.

<sup>263</sup> *Wetter et. al. v. City of Indianapolis*, 1958.

not been altered since 1930. “I don’t think they were trying to make adequate repairs,” he explained.<sup>264</sup>

The second argument of the case addressed the legality of the site’s use. Standholders claimed that the land was “irrevocably dedicated, accepted, and used for the exclusive purpose and use of said public market, together with all spaces both below and above the surface of such land, and all market structures.”<sup>265</sup> When the city received the land to establish Indianapolis from the Federal government, the property was specified for use as a market. Therefore, the city was bound by an act of Congress for the site’s dedicated use as a public market, and could not lawfully divert the land to be used for other purposes such as a parking structure.<sup>266</sup> City attorneys argued that this position had no basis and that the city rightly held a clear deed of title to the property. Their deed of title, city attorneys argued, entitled city officials to do whatever they saw fit with the land.<sup>267</sup>

### **Health and Safety Issues**

Public health and safety concerns thickened the legal stew surrounding the City Market. General public sentiment of conditions at the City Market was accurately summarized by the *Indianapolis Times* with the headline, “it’s old and dingy, but it smells good.”<sup>268</sup> However, sanitation issues went far deeper. After numerous warnings by city inspectors, the Board of Public Health issued a “repair or close” order to the City Market in January 1964. The board maintained that standards at the Market House were deplorable and refused to renew health permits until standards were improved for customer safety.<sup>269</sup> Spurred by a county-wide indictment as a result of the Coliseum disaster of 1963, health director Dr. Henry G. Nester was determined to improve sanitation conditions in the

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<sup>264</sup> “Attorneys Debate Fate of Market,” *Indianapolis Star*, July 31, 1962.

<sup>265</sup> *Wetter et. al. v. City of Indianapolis*.

<sup>266</sup> “The City Market- To Be Or Not To Be?” *Indianapolis News*, March 15, 1964.

<sup>267</sup> “City’s Market? Or Is It The State’s?” *Indianapolis News*, September 21, 1965.

<sup>268</sup> Hetherington, “Old City Market,” September 3, 1961.

<sup>269</sup> “Standholders Will Work To Keep Market Open,” *Indianapolis News*, December 19, 1963; “Barton Names Two New Safety Board Members,” *Indianapolis News*, December 17, 1963.



City Market, which would not “be tolerated in a privately-run market. . . . We’ve known that conditions at the market have been bad for some time, but I don’t intend to wait any longer.”<sup>270</sup>

By July 1965, the Health Board cited 114 violations.<sup>271</sup> Rodents and vermin were a major issue. More than thirty-five holes in screens and gaps in doors and windows allowed for mice, insects, birds, and rats to come into the building and make their home in exposed pipes or stacked boxes. Some older wooden stands needed to be replaced to eliminate roaches. Inadequate storage space required merchandise to be stacked on the floor, a practice not permitted in privately owned markets. The exposed ceiling was not properly cleaned, and an artificial ceiling needed to be installed to prevent dirt and particles from falling on foodstuffs. The floor was rough, worn, and uneven and needed to be replaced with a smooth surface that could be easily kept clean. The refrigerators in the market were a notorious problem, ranging in temperature from 54 to 64 degrees, running “dangerously high” from an ideal 35 degrees. Furthermore, sinks were sparse and over-crowded, with over fifty-five stands using four two-compartment sinks to wash and sanitize their equipment.<sup>272</sup>

Standholders were swift to defend, planning their own counterattack against the directive and, according to the *Indianapolis News* denying that “the hazard is as great as [Marion Board of Health Director] Dr. Nester claims.”<sup>273</sup> They quickly, though, realized they could not meet the sanitation requirements alone, and offered to share a 50-50 cost basis

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<sup>270</sup> “Barton Cool to Renovating City Market,” *Indianapolis Times*, January 23, 1964; Clements, “City Market Faces...” January 19, 1964. On October 31, 1963, the explosion of a propane tank in the concessions area of the Indiana State Fairgrounds Coliseum killed 74 people and injured around 400 in one of the worst disasters in Indianapolis history. In December of that year, Fire Chief Arnold W. Phillips was charged with failing to inspect the Coliseum as prescribed by law. Nester explained, “If a fire chief can be indicted for something on state property, I might be held responsible for any health-connected episodes on other public property.” (Clements, “City Market Faces...” January 19, 1964.) For further details see *Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, s.v. “Coliseum Explosion,” by Vickie J. West, 458.

<sup>271</sup> “114 City Market Violations Cited,” *Indianapolis Star*, July 29, 1965.

<sup>272</sup> Clements, “City Market Faces...” December 19, 1963; “Health Group May Close City Market,” *Indianapolis Star*, December 14, 1963; “114 City Market Violations Cited, July 29, 1965; “Market to Remain Open; Health Order is Eased,” *Indianapolis News*, January 28, 1964.

<sup>273</sup> “Safety Board Will Hear City Market Argument Tonight,” *Indianapolis News*, January 21, 1964.



Figure 2.D: Over 300 supporters gathered at a council hearing about City Market at the City-County Building. *Indianapolis News*, January 22, 1964.

with the city to meet the safety board's demands.<sup>274</sup> The city contended that it would be "economically unwise" to make the repairs. Indeed, estimates for the required repairs ranged from \$50,000 to \$100,000.<sup>275</sup> As early as 1963, Indianapolis Safety Board President Dr. David M. Silver explained that the

old market house has outlived its usefulness. . . . It would be economically impossible to make the renovations demanded by the health authorities. If careful study bears out this opinion, then there is only one course. That is to close the market. Considerations of sentiment must not stand before consideration of public safety.<sup>276</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> "Standholders Will Work to Keep Market Open," *Indianapolis News*, December 19, 1963.

<sup>275</sup> "Public To Hear Market Backers," *Indianapolis News*, January 20, 1964; "Safety Board Will Hear..." January 21, 1964; "Repair Cost Dooms Old City Market," *Indianapolis Star*, March 25, 1964; "Market Repairs Too Costly, Says Mayor," *Indianapolis News*, August 4, 1964. Repair estimates varied, with one architectural firm reporting that \$294,000 was needed to make the necessary repairs.

<sup>276</sup> "Intolerable Conditions," Editorial, *Indianapolis News*, December 17, 1963; "Health Group May Close City Market," December 14, 1963.

Nester was of a similar opinion, explaining to the *Indianapolis Times* that “the market has served its usefulness. The old building is better designed for a cattle barn than a modern-day market.”<sup>277</sup>

In January of 1964, an overflow crowd of more than 800 Indianapolis residents gathered in the City-County building auditorium for a town hall meeting called by the Board of Public Safety to discuss the City Market’s fate and to test public sentiment.<sup>278</sup> (Figure 2.D) Former Mayor Alex Clark, one of three attorneys who spoke for the standholders, accused the city that night of failing to use rents to maintain the building. People who pay a lot of money to “go to Europe and look at old buildings want to tear them down here and leave the downtown a hard heart of stone and cement,” he lamented.<sup>279</sup> Others questioned the Safety Board’s findings, accusing health inspectors of harassing market vendors, inquiring “whether there is any place in the city you could get better or cleaner food.”<sup>280</sup> There was even the accusation that health officials were in collusion with former city administrators in a combined effort to close the City Market.<sup>281</sup> The lone voice who spoke against the City Market that night was Dr. Nester who analogized, “if the City Market were a suit of clothes, you would not wear it as long as the City Market has been worn.”<sup>282</sup>

One week later, health authorities granted a ninety-day reprieve to weigh the costs of improving the Market House against the costs of replacing it. By the middle of April, the Safety Board was still “dragging its feet,” only obtaining a \$294,000 estimate for repairs in the two-month gap.<sup>283</sup> With the mayor and city officials making statements like it “seems impossible to keep the market open,” standholders began to look again toward legal

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<sup>277</sup> Underwood, “Operators Meet,” December 18, 1963.

<sup>278</sup> George Clements, “City Market Finds Solid Backing,” *Indianapolis Star*, January 22, 1964; Dick Vandiver, “800 Turn Out to Bolster City Market,” *Indianapolis News*, January 22, 1964; The Board of Public Safety was charged with administration, budgeting, and upkeep of the Market.

<sup>279</sup> Vandiver, “800 Turn Out to Bolster City Market.”

<sup>280</sup> Clements, “City Market Finds Solid Backing.”

<sup>281</sup> Ibid.

<sup>282</sup> Vandiver, “800 Turn Out to Bolster City Market.”

<sup>283</sup> “Time For Decision,” Editorial, *Indianapolis News*, April 11, 1964, 6; Goodrich, “New Orleans...” August 8, 1964.

remedies.<sup>284</sup> They filed and were granted a restraining order to prevent the health officials from closing the City Market in August 1964.<sup>285</sup> Over a year later, standholders, the Safety Board, and the Health Board reached an agreement. Standholders consented to permit inspections from the Health Department and were not required to make improvements unless failure would “constitute a definite menace to public health.” The Safety Board agreed to make repairs, including installing new sinks and seventeen new doors, rewiring the electric system, removing fifteen stands, and remodeling restrooms. The Health Department withdrew its mandate to for closure.<sup>286</sup> This truce did not last very long. Within six months, the city Health Department publicly disparaged Market House conditions once again.<sup>287</sup>

### **Calls for Renovation**

In late April 1963, Marion County Superior Court Judge Robert G. Robb ruled that the site of the City Market was owned “absolute free and clear of any restrictions” by the city of Indianapolis.<sup>288</sup> In an interview with the *Indianapolis Times*, Robb cited a law passed by the Indiana General Assembly in 1947 conveying rights and interests in the Market site to the city as the basis of his ruling.<sup>289</sup> He went on to explain, “probably more misconception exists regarding this piece of real estate than any other piece . . . in the state of Indiana. The question is not whether the City Market is an asset, sells products of the highest quality, or fills a need of this community,” but what can legally be done on the land.<sup>290</sup> Four years later, the Indiana Supreme Court, in a 3-1 decision, upheld the Superior Court’s verdict. State Supreme Court Justice Norman F. Arterburn wrote the court’s opinion on the case, stating that the property was “dedicated” for governmental purposes. For the space to be deemed legally “irrevocable . . . would place any governmental body or city in a legal straight jacket as

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<sup>284</sup> “Market Repair Too Costly, Says Mayor,” *Indianapolis News*, August 4, 1964.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid.

<sup>286</sup> “Standholders, City Come to Terms on Market,” *Indianapolis News*, September 17, 1965.

<sup>287</sup> Hugh Rutledge, “City Market Draws Health Officer’s Ire,” *Indianapolis News*, February 10, 1966.

<sup>288</sup> *Wetter et. al. v. City of Indianapolis*, April 30, 1963, 236-7.

<sup>289</sup> “Judge Rules City Owns Market Site,” *Indianapolis Times*, April 15, 1963.

<sup>290</sup> Ibid.

to most of the property it held.” Therefore, the City Market legally belonged to the City of Indianapolis.<sup>291</sup> Requests for a hearing from the United States Supreme Court were denied in January 1968.<sup>292</sup>

This ruling seemed to doom the City Market to the wrecking ball. The funeral bell had been tolling for sometime, with the blows of reduced tax support and unresolved health issues. Despite these struggles, the institution never lost its supporters. For most of those regularly involved, the City Market had always been both “a matter of business and an affair of the heart.”<sup>293</sup> Faithful customers and standholders passed traditions between generations, remembering the flourishing City Market of the past and fervently believing the institution could be revitalized for a bright future. Consistently through the legal battles, condemnations, and struggles, supporters wrote letters, gathered in support groups, attended town-hall meetings, and championed the City Market with consistent patronage. A groundswell of support gathered by the mid-1960s and continued through the end of the decade. Many reaffirmed the Market House’s landmark status, contending that its unique features added to the Indianapolis landscape. In August of 1965, just on the heels of the Health Department debacle, over 10,000 people sent signed letters to the mayor crying “Save the City Market.”<sup>294</sup>

At the same time, Indianapolis began to see the possibilities of investing and renovating its historic structures instead of tearing down the “blighted” buildings.<sup>295</sup> Market

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<sup>291</sup> *Wetter et. al. v. City of Indianapolis*, June 8, 1867; Jack Averitt, “Court Moves Clears Way for Closing City Market,” *Indianapolis News*, June 8, 1967.

<sup>292</sup> Art Harris, “Should City Market Be Open 5 Days a Week Instead Of 4?” *Indianapolis News*, January 13, 1968; *Wetter et. al. v. City of Indianapolis*, January 22, 1968.

<sup>293</sup> Clements, “City Market Faces...” January 19, 1964.

<sup>294</sup> Myrtie Barker, “City Market Could Be Top Landmark,” *My Window, Indianapolis News*, August 13, 1965.

<sup>295</sup> Nationally, preserving historic buildings became more popular as urban renewal, interstate highways, and other public works projects destroyed structures. Concerned over the decreasing historic fabric of cities, grassroots preservationists began to find ways to preserve these historic buildings. The first national preservation law was passed in 1966, propelling new interest for preservation projects. For more on the national context, see William J. Murtagh, *Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Preservation in America* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2006), 37-46. For the Indianapolis context, see Wendy C. Scott, “Origins of the Historic Preservation Movement in Indianapolis (1950s-1970s)” (master’s thesis, University of Indiana, 2005).

supporter Mrs. R. Hartley Sherwood echoed this sentiment in her letter to the *Indianapolis News*. Here she explained:

there is a very commendable enthusiasm to clear the city of worn-out and unnecessary buildings, but I feel that the idea of doing away with the City Market does not . . . come within the purview of the city planners. Some relics of our past should live as part of our city history, even though their former use may be in part diminished.<sup>296</sup>

Some citizens looked in horror at the destruction of the historic Marion County Courthouse to make way for the “modern” City-County building as an analogy for what could happen to the City Market. In a letter to the *Indianapolis Star*, Indianapolis resident Corbin Patrick lamented, “the city can build new buildings all over this area; they can build new courthouses, city halls, a police station, and a county jail . . . but [the city] will not repair and renovate the City Market which is an asset to Marion County citizens and not a liability as they are trying to make the public believe.”<sup>297</sup>

The City Market found one of its most outspoken supporters in Myrtie Barker. A native of Indianapolis, Barker was a long time writer and columnist for the *Indianapolis News*. She began publishing her weekly column “My Window” with the paper in 1949, and continued until her death in 1983.<sup>298</sup> Barker used the column to muse on daily life, Hoosier sensibilities, and key issues in Indianapolis. In her first article about the market in her 1964 *Indianapolis News* weekly column, Myrtie Barker extolled:

We haven’t any ocean. And we haven’t any mountains; no redwoods nor Grand Canyon. But among a few other manmade sights, we have an Old City Market that has been with us since 1832. . . . Many people in Indianapolis have vision enough to see that here is something out of the ordinary. Let us patch up this sad and ancient structure, clean it up, and dress it up, in keeping with its picturesque past.<sup>299</sup>

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<sup>296</sup> Mrs. R. Hartley Sherwood, letter to the editor, *Indianapolis News*, October 7, 1965.

<sup>297</sup> Corbin Patrick, “City Market Needs Shot in Arm, Says Grandson of Standholder,” *The People Speak*, *Indianapolis Star*, January 30, 1964.

<sup>298</sup> Biographical Information collected from the Myrtie Barker Papers and the William J. Castleman Collection at the Indiana State Library. Also see William J. Castleman, *Through Myrtie Barker’s Window: A Literary Biography of the Hoosier Columnist, Author, Speaker, and Writer* (Indianapolis: Wm. Castleman, 1985), a rather informal biography of the writer.

<sup>299</sup> Myrtie Barker, “Keep the Good Things— Like City Market,” *Indianapolis News*, February 3, 1964.

The City Market became one of Barker's significant causes during the 1960s, and she wrote ten articles on the topic between 1964 and 1970. She often spoke of the market in nostalgic terms, envisioning a "preserved tradition" and berating the city on their "stupid neglect . . . to make use of their heritage. . . . Here is a dramatic opportunity to add color and charm to the city's downtown."<sup>300</sup> She often hoped that city officials would shake off their lackadaisical attitude, "lethargy, and wake-up to the potential of our city's inheritance."<sup>301</sup> In another column, she encouraged municipal leaders to imagine how a revitalized City Market could offer "the vast possibilities in the dramatization of the downtown area."<sup>302</sup>

One reader who concurred with Barker's vision was a young thirty-five-year-old mayoral candidate named Richard Lugar. This Oxford-educated, rising star in the Republican Party published a letter to Barker in 1967, remarking:

I can see, in my mind's eye, an imaginative, perhaps, uniquely designed city market, which would delight our residents, be a tourist interest, and feature . . . the products and handicrafts from our own wonderful state of Indiana! It seems to me a new City Market can be worked in beautifully with the plans for the wonderful, old Lockerbie area, and perhaps . . . who knows, those operating the stands might just find themselves involved in an exciting business venture. . . . Let's hope a land donor's dream won't be lost in the maze of 'needs,' but will be brought to a new summit of service, city income, interest, and loveliness . . . and perhaps make history in the doing.<sup>303</sup>

Four months later, Lugar was elected mayor of Indianapolis. Almost overnight, the city's policy toward the City Market transformed from fiscal nuisance to potential boon.

### **Changes in Mayoral Leadership**

Lugar's tenure as mayor is often cited as a time of distinct change in Indianapolis politics. Scholars have argued that the office of the Indianapolis mayor was rather weak in the decades following World War II, unlike the "vital center for Indianapolis politics"

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<sup>300</sup> Myrtie Barker, "City Market Fans Add Another Member," My Window, *Indianapolis News*, June 9, 1967.

<sup>301</sup> Ibid.

<sup>302</sup> Myrtie Barker, "Where's The City Fathers' Foresight," My Window, *Indianapolis News*, May 17, 1967.

<sup>303</sup> Myrtie Barker, "Market Evokes Hoosier Memories," My Window, *Indianapolis News*, July 26, 1967.



Figure 2.E: Downtown Indianapolis looking northwest, ca. 1978. The City Market is just left of the Market Square Arena, shadowed by the City County Building and Market Square office building. Box 41: Marion County - Indianapolis - Market Square Arena, Photograph Collection, Indiana State Library.

that it became by the mid-1980s.<sup>304</sup> Wealthy and influential citizens, in an assortment of commissions, associations, and committees, dominated city politics between World War II and Lugar's election in 1967. In a series of articles published in the *Indianapolis Times* in 1964 entitled "Who Really Runs Indianapolis?" the newspaper attempted to explain the city's power structure, crediting a group of thirty-nine civic and professional leaders and real estate developers with being the major power brokers in the city. This interconnected group represented the city's big businesses, insurance, law and utility firms and exerted "direct controls over the city's economic life."<sup>305</sup>

<sup>304</sup> Barrows, "Indianapolis: Silver Buckle on the Rust Belt," 144.

<sup>305</sup> Bob Bloom, "Who Really Runs Indianapolis," *Indianapolis Times*, February 16-20, 1964. Many of these power players were members of the Greater Indianapolis Progress Committee.



Lugar, and to some extent his predecessor John Barton, resurrected the primacy of the Indianapolis' mayoral office in city politics. Lugar, a native of Indianapolis, was a bright, well-educated Republican, and a superb orator. After serving in the navy and returning home to work in his family's business, Lugar gained local prominence after his election to the Indianapolis school board in 1964. Disarray within the Democratic Party, in conjunction with renewed energy within the Republican leadership, cleared a pathway to victory for Lugar in 1967.<sup>306</sup>

### **Downtown Rebounds**

From the beginning of his mayoral term, Lugar's administration emphasized urban redevelopment. He and other city officials sought to solve the problem of Indianapolis' increasingly empty downtown, envisioning a energized and livable city center. The city core was dirty, filled with dilapidated buildings, and perceived as a place where primarily white employees served out their eight-hour workday before returning home to suburbia. As one director of the Indianapolis Department of Metropolitan Development remembered, "we had nothing downtown. . . . If our goal was to create a city nobody wanted to live in, we'd done it."<sup>307</sup>

The buzzword among urban downtown preservationist movements across the United States became "revitalization," to be achieved through creative partnerships between city government and the private sector.<sup>308</sup> "Lugar consciously brought a private enterprise approach to the administration of municipal government," credits historian Robert Barrows. His administration, in conjunction with the Greater Indianapolis Progress Committee, succeeded in developing revenue-sharing programs, especially with his revitalization efforts.

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<sup>306</sup> Barrows, "Indianapolis," 146-147; *Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, s.v. "Lugar, Richard G., Administration of," 935-6.

<sup>307</sup> "Mr. Eli's Offer Led to Millions for City" *Indianapolis News*, November 13, 1989.

<sup>308</sup> Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2002), 383.

Under his tenure, the Market Square Arena, Convention-Exposition Center, Indiana National Bank Tower, and Merchants Plaza were all completed or under construction.<sup>309</sup>

One solution to Indianapolis' quest to enhance the downtown quality of life was answered in terms of large-scale sports projects. Between 1974 and 1984, the city spent a total of \$1.8 billion of both public and private investments on these projects.<sup>310</sup> An area of intense development was the Market Square Arena, completed in 1972. This \$32.5 million project involved the construction of an 18,000-seat stadium for the Indiana Pacers basketball team, a twelve-story office building, and three parking garages in the area just east of the City Market building.<sup>311</sup> (Figure 2.E) With the private partners footing around two-thirds of the construction funding, a mayoral press release indicated that this project signaled "the imaginative concepts of public and private participation in a project of this magnitude." The release went on to underscore the impact of this construction on the "continued revitalization" of downtown Indianapolis.<sup>312</sup> Inherent in all of the Market Square Arena announcements was the inclusion of the City Market. "I also pledged that as long as I was mayor that the City Market would be preserved," explained Lugar in the press conference.<sup>313</sup> Planners were especially aware of the Market Square District, identifying it as one of three districts requiring additional development attention in the *1970 Regional Center Ordinance and Regional Center Plan*.<sup>314</sup> City administrators hoped that the newly constructed Market Square

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<sup>309</sup> Barrows, "Indianapolis," 147.

<sup>310</sup> Schimmel, "Sport Matters," 265-275.

<sup>311</sup> Robert N. Bell Jr., "Sports Arena-Office Complex To Be Built Near City Market," *Indianapolis Star*, April 13, 1971.

<sup>312</sup> "Lugar Reveals Plans for Huge Downtown Stadium-Arena, Market Square Complex," Press Release, April 12, 1971, Box 90, Lugar Collection, The Mayoral Archives, University of Indianapolis.

<sup>313</sup> Bell, "Sports Area-Office Complex..." April 13, 1971.

<sup>314</sup> Division of Planning & Zoning, Indianapolis, *Regional Center Plan 1970*, (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Metropolitan Planning Department, 1970); Indianapolis Metropolitan Planning Department, *Regional Center Zoning Ordinance of Marion County, Indiana*, 70-A0-3, 1970, <http://www.indy.gov/eGov/City/DMD/Planning/Zoning/Pages/HistoricalOrdinanceAmendments.aspx>.

Arena area would work in tandem with the City Market, drawing “thousands of potential customers to the Market.”<sup>315</sup>

### **Lugar Changes the Market Game**

This dedication to the City Market signaled a drastic change in municipal policy toward the institution. Instead of a hindrance and financial burden, the Lugar administration saw that the Market “as an institution and function . . . is too important and unique to be destroyed. . . . It not only must be preserved, but allowed to achieve its full historic and functional potential in a unique and progressive atmosphere.”<sup>316</sup> Within a month of taking office in 1967, Lugar voiced his favor of continuing market operations and appointed Frank Murray as the new Market Manager.<sup>317</sup>

Compared to his processors, Murray was a surprising choice for position. Described as a spry ballroom dancing, yoga practicing 72-year-old, Murray brought new energy to the City Market.<sup>318</sup> Formerly a railroad administrator and registered lobbyist, Murray had acted as a watchdog for city spending prior to his appointment.<sup>319</sup> He was given the directive to remove the City Market from the tax rolls and make it self-sufficient within one year.<sup>320</sup> As Murray explained in an interview with the *Indianapolis News*, “I believe I was appointed to work myself out of a job. I am here to get the job done, and then someone else will take my place.”<sup>321</sup>

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<sup>315</sup> Michael P. Tarpey, “Parking Garage Demolition Due Near Market; Future Park Goal,” *Indianapolis Star*, April 30, 1971.

<sup>316</sup> Department of Metropolitan Development and Division of Planning and Zoning, Market Square Development Regional Center Plan (Indianapolis: City of Indianapolis, 1971), Found in files of Indiana Historic Preservation Commission, Indianapolis City-County Building.

<sup>317</sup> “Vision For The Market,” Editorial, *Indianapolis News*, January 25, 1968.

<sup>318</sup> Eugene Lausch, “Indianapolis City Market: the 1972-1978 Renovation,” October 2013, City Market folder, Indiana Landmarks Library, Indianapolis; Robert N. Bell, Jr., “Yoga and Dance Keep Market Master Young,” *Indianapolis Star*, February 6, 1972.

<sup>319</sup> Bell, “Yoga and Dancing Keep Market Master Young;” Susan White, “So You Think The City Market is Dying?” *Greater Indianapolis Magazine* 7, no. 9 (September 1970).

<sup>320</sup> Harris, “Should City Market Be Open,” January 13, 1968; “Vision For The Market,” January 25, 1968.

<sup>321</sup> Harris, “Should City Market Be Open.”

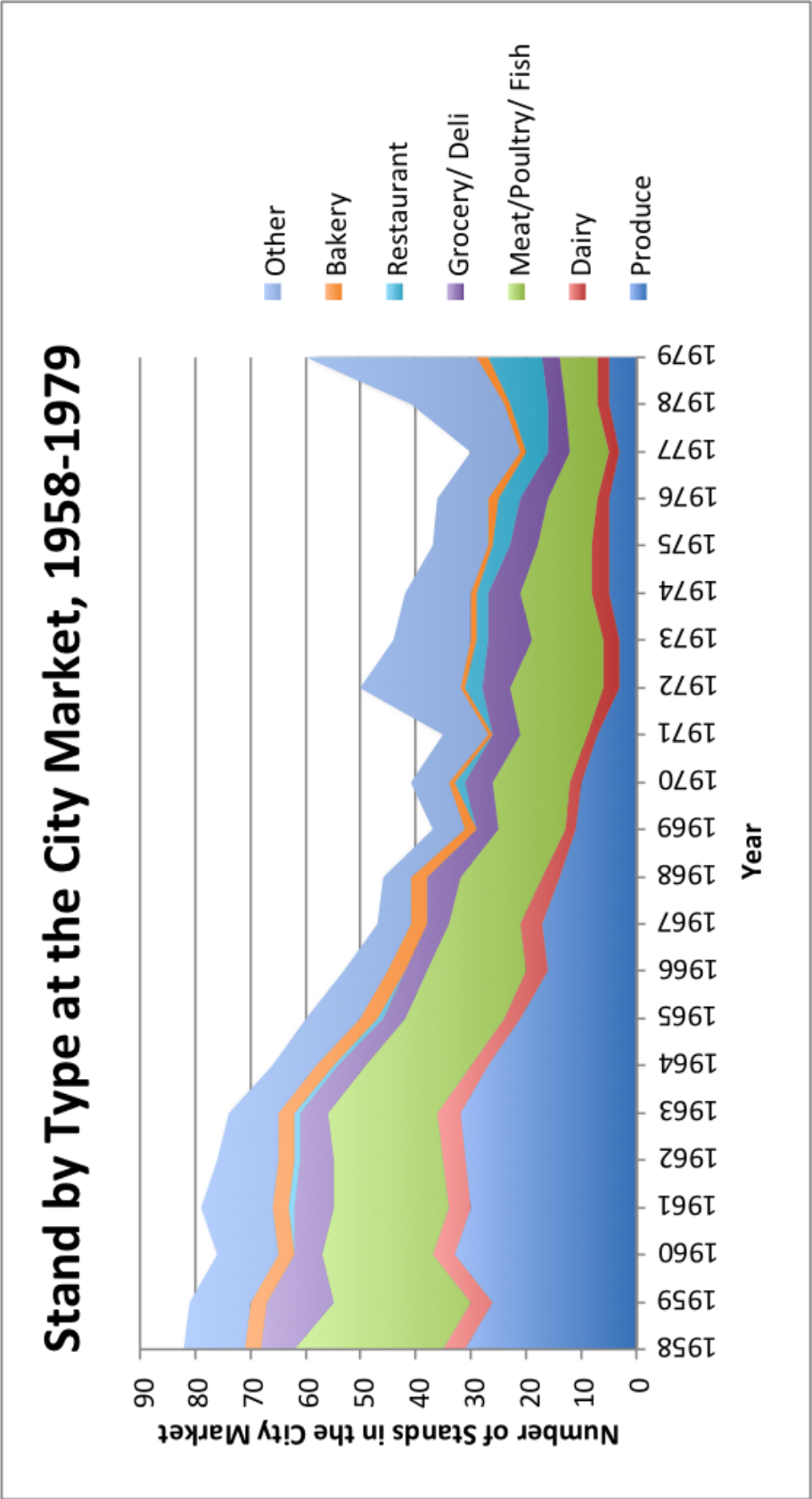


Figure 2.F: Stand types at the City Market, 1958-1979. Material for this chart was compiled from *Pole City Directories* from 1958 to 1978 found at <http://archive.org>.

In order to achieve his dictum, Murray sought to give the market a “new lease on life, new approach to marketing, and plans to reconstruct its physical image to match its past.”<sup>322</sup> This mandate meant remodeling the market both inside and out. He made efforts to clean up the building by sandblasting the exterior brick, installing additional ornamental lighting and iron railings, and creating space for new stands. Inside, Murray got tough on truant employees, standardized stand rents, and instituted cleaning procedures to meet public health standards.<sup>323</sup> He pushed for the building to be open more than four days a week and added speakers to pipe in music.<sup>324</sup>

Murray and his staff made a major effort to rebrand the City Market in early 1969. Renamed the “Internationale City Market,” the new designation was intended to reference the twenty-seven countries represented by stands on the market floor.<sup>325</sup> A publicity campaign followed, spawning a series of flattering editorials and articles from city newspapers applauding Murray’s efforts and the “infectious, cosmopolitan atmosphere of the City.” The *Indianapolis News* called the market “a microcosm of American society. Old is giving way to young, used ideas are being replaced with fresh thoughts, and what was once considered a dying, stale institution is being revitalized.”<sup>326</sup>

One of Murray’s more controversial efforts was his initiative to broaden the types of stands permitted within the market. Previously, sales codes had prohibited stalls from selling goods other than “food and food byproducts.” Murray petitioned to change this provision and sought to fill the 7,000 square feet of vacant space on the market floor with specialty

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<sup>322</sup> Barry Henderson, “Old City Market Goes International,” *Indianapolis News*, January 4, 1969.

<sup>323</sup> “City Market Offers a Glimpse of Past with Exotic Foods,” *Indianapolis Star*, January 11, 1970; “Plan Would Fill City Market Stalls,” *Indianapolis News*, February 5, 1970; Henderson, “Old City Market Goes International,” January 13, 1968; White, “So you Think the City Market is Dying?”

<sup>324</sup> Susan McKee, “City Market is Much Like When Grandma Went There,” *Indianapolis Star*, May 4, 1969; Harris, “Should the City Market be Open;” Henderson, “Old City Market Goes International,” January 4, 1969. In 1964 the City Market was only open three days a week on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. By 1958 this was increased to four, adding Fridays. Murray hoped to expand these hours to six days a week.

<sup>325</sup> Henderson, “Old City Market Goes International,” January 4, 1969.

<sup>326</sup> Mayer Maloney, Jr. “New World Joins City Market,” *Indianapolis News*, August 5, 1972.

shops such as arts and craft displays or paper good outlets.<sup>327</sup> To Murray, solely selling fruits and vegetables was an “old idea. We’re trying to change that attitude now.”<sup>328</sup> Stands selling leather goods, potted plants, clothing, and art were added.<sup>329</sup> This new diversity is readily apparent in Figure 2.F, where an exponential increase in stand types categorized as “other” is obvious, while traditional stall categories such as those selling dairy and fish products waned. Though customers and newspapers lauded this move, some long-time standowners met diversifying stall types with resistance. Longtime standholder Mary Miceli explained, “the market is divided into market people, who have lived here all their lives, and the newcomers. They have to fit in or they won’t last. The rapid turnover of stands speaks for itself.”<sup>330</sup> This division of old and new standholders was a growing underlying tension within the City Market, an agitation that continued to fester below the surface.

Even with some grumbling, most of these efforts were extremely effective and embraced positively. Stallowner Libby Fogle explained that the “biggest and best change is the stature of the market in the community. Now there’s respect.”<sup>331</sup> During budget preparations in mid-1968 the market’s growing self-sufficiency quickly became apparent. The 1969 City budget contained no tax appropriations to finance market operations.<sup>332</sup> By 1973, the City Market was reporting a profit of \$6,685 for the year.<sup>333</sup>

### **Eli Lilly and the Market Renovations**

The Lugar administration sought more than just improvements in how the City Market operated; they also brought concepts like preservation and renovation into the conversation.

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<sup>327</sup> Henderson, “Old City Market Goes International,” January 4, 1969.

<sup>328</sup> Maloney, “New World Joins City Market.”

<sup>329</sup> White, “So you think the City Market is dying?”

<sup>330</sup> Maloney, “New World Joins City Market.”

<sup>331</sup> Ibid.

<sup>332</sup> “Indianapolis City Market,” ca. 1975, City Market folder, Indiana Landmarks Library, Indianapolis. City-County Council minutes show budget expenditures for City Market personnel for 1968 through 1977. However these reports do not include income from the market. Difficulties locating balanced city budgets have made it difficult to corroborate the fiscal success of the market during Murray’s tenure.

<sup>333</sup> “City Market Chalks Up Profit of \$6,685, Foresees Even More,” *Indianapolis Star*, March 31, 1973.



Figure 2.G : Inside of City Market from above, 1970. Note the drop ceilings and low hanging lights, which were removed in the 1978 renovation. Library of Congress, 1970, Historic American Buildings Survey, *Indianapolis City Market*, Survey HABS IND-59.

As Myrtie Barker explained in January 1969, there were still those who argued “that the rat-infested, tumbled-down old structure was a blot on the landscape and should come down.”<sup>334</sup> Others, however, looked at the building with loving nostalgia, seeking to preserve the traditions with renovations. With the demolition of the Marion County Courthouse to the south of the Market in 1963, the Market House was one of the few remaining historic buildings and green space left on the southwestern quadrant of downtown.<sup>335</sup> For many, the Market House’s architecture provided an escape from downtown architecture that had grown “too dense and hard...the concrete embodiment of a supposedly purer, certainly simpler, age.”<sup>336</sup> The City Market, therefore, provided an opportunity to preserve nostalgic moments of Indianapolis’ past while fitting into revitalization efforts.

Lugar seemed to identify with the nostalgia, explaining in a letter to Barker that “at least three generations of my family before me have enjoyed the atmosphere and the activity, which have been abundant during many years of the City Market’s existence.”<sup>337</sup> Murray also encouraged the mayor to consider the building’s “historic value. This market is part of the roots of Indianapolis. . . . There is no reason why this building should be destroyed.”<sup>338</sup>

Murray’s improvements, while not insignificant, had done little to improve the market’s physical condition.<sup>339</sup> The City Market was still dingy, rundown, and “very cluttered

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<sup>334</sup> Myrtie Barker, “City Market Has Bright New Future,” *My Window, Indianapolis News*, January 10, 1969.

<sup>335</sup> One major exception to this was the Old City Hall, directly north of the Market House on Alabama Street, built in 1909. When Indianapolis municipal offices relocated to the City-County Building in 1963, the Indiana State Museum inhabited the building.

<sup>336</sup> Vincent Scully as quoted in William Rhodes, *The Colonial Revival* (New York: Garland, 1977). Rhodes is describing Colonial Revival architecture, a social movement that sought to bring traditional values and aesthetics of colonial designs into modern life. This movement first flourished in the 1870s and had renewed interest in the proceeding decades, most notably during the American bicentennial in the 1970s. According to historian Mary Miley Thoebald, Colonial Revival looked to “a romanticized past for inspiration and answers to modern problems.” For more on Colonial Revival, see Richard Wilson, Shaun Eyring, and Kenny Marotta, eds. *Recreating the American Past: Essays on the Colonial Revival*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006), 303. William Rhodes, *The Colonial Revival* (New York: Garland, 1977).

<sup>337</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>338</sup> “Vision For The Market,” Editorial, *Indianapolis News*, January 25, 1968.

<sup>339</sup> Myrtie Barker, “City Market Could Be Top Landmark,” *My Window, Indianapolis News*, August 13, 1965; Barker, “City Market Has Bright New Future,” January 10, 1969.



inside,” due to a lack of uniform planning for stand locations. Standholders had covered and painted walls creating a disparate look. Naked fluorescent lights hung down and the clerestory windows had been painted over, minimizing the perception of the volume of space inside the building.<sup>340</sup> (Figure 2.G) Nestled in between the “architectural behemoths” of the City-County Building and the newly completed Market Square Arena, a 1975 survey called the City Market “the almost forgotten but most exciting and human-scaled element of the whole complex.”<sup>341</sup> Accordingly, Mayor Lugar and his administration sought to upgrade the space, in order to bring the market in line with the new Market Square Arena.

Within the first year of Lugar’s mayoral term, general plans were revealed by the Department of Metropolitan Development to restore the Market House with private funds in coordination with the Lugar administration’s master plan for development of the area.<sup>342</sup> As a preliminary brochure on the restoration boasted, “with the increased concern for historic preservation of the City Market, the continuation of the Market function as an integral part of our urban fabric is assured and committed by the city.”<sup>343</sup> The plan included nominating the City Market building for the National Register of Historic Places, and phasing out two side-buildings constructed by the Bayt administration to create additional space for stands in the wake of the 1958 fire. In their place, two parks would be added, creating an “area of intense activity vibrating with color and life within a pleasant

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<sup>340</sup> Lausch Interview, 6-7; Barker, “City Market Has Bright New Future,” January 10, 1969; Barker, “Where’s The City Fathers’ Foresight?” May 17, 1967.

<sup>341</sup> Rick A. Ball, et. al., *Indianapolis Architecture* (Indianapolis: Indiana Architecture Foundation, 1975), 46.

<sup>342</sup> “Indianapolis City Market,” ca. 1975, City Market Folder, Indiana Landmarks Library, Indianapolis; “Market To Get \$35,000 More,” October 7, 1969, 2.

<sup>343</sup> *Market Square Development*, 1971. A preamble to this preservation effort was a listing of the Market on the National Register of Historic Places. The building had previously been surveyed by the Historic Architecture Building Survey in 1970. H. Roll McLaughlin prepared the National Register application around 1970, which was finally approved in 1974. Firm renovation plans for the Market House were unveiled concurrently with this announcement. See David R. Hermansten, “City Market,” National Register of Historic Places Inventory,” National Register Nomination, February 1974.

environment.” Indianapolis city planners hoped these parks would serve as “an urban forum for diverse activity . . . a place to sit, relax, shop, mingle and have fun.”<sup>344</sup>

By 1972, these plans were still in the preliminary planning phase. Previous preservation efforts and successful partnerships provided encouragement for the city to engage in a public-private restoration project to enhance downtown.<sup>345</sup> However, the city still needed a patron to foot the bill and the mayor was firm that the city would not pay for the renovation. That summer, Lugar found his benefactor for the Market House renovations in the Lilly Endowment.

Eli Lilly & Company, founded in Indianapolis in 1876, was one of the largest pharmaceutical corporations in the world. The Lilly brothers had created a private family endowment in 1937 in order to protect the family’s wealth and avoid inheritance taxes. Putting \$280,000 worth of stock in the endowment allowed the family “to keep outsiders from controlling the business.”<sup>346</sup> By the 1970s, the endowment had grown to over \$1.2 billion.<sup>347</sup> Though the endowment had frequently been generous to Indianapolis charities, the Tax Reform Act of 1969 distinctly altered the requirements of foundations. It forced the Lilly Endowment to diversify its investments and increase payouts from 2 percent to at least 5 percent a year.<sup>348</sup>

In August 1972, Eli Lilly called a meeting with Mayor Lugar to discuss the quality of life in downtown Indianapolis. Lugar recalled Lilly explaining, “that he was prepared to recommend a sizable benefaction to the city of Indianapolis and looked forward to my

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<sup>344</sup> Market Square Development Pamphlet, ca. 1971, City Market files, Indiana Historic Preservation Commission Library, Indianapolis.

<sup>345</sup> By the early 1970s, historic preservation projects were gaining momentum in Indianapolis. Private homes in the Lockerbie Square and Old Northside area were being successfully restored, along with museum spaces like the Morris-Butler House (1969) and James Whitcomb Riley home (1963). The creation of the Historic Landmarks Foundation (now Indiana Landmarks) and the Indianapolis Historic Preservation Commission further created support for renovation of historic properties over demolition. For more on this development, see Wendy C. Scott, “Origins of the Historic Preservation Movement in Indianapolis (1950s-1970s),” (Masters Thesis: Indiana University, 2005).

<sup>346</sup> Schimmel, “Sport Matters,” 266-7; James H. Madison, *Eli Lilly: A Life, 1885-1977* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1989), 189-233.

<sup>347</sup> Schimmel, “Sports Matter,” 266-7.

<sup>348</sup> Madison, 220-1; Schimmel, “Sport Matters,” 266-7.

counsel on what that might be.”<sup>349</sup> Lugar recommended the restoration of the City Market. Lilly biographer, Dr. James Madison asserts that Lilly was “eager to help, writing . . . ‘I have had in mind for a long time that we should be doing something for the city.’”<sup>350</sup> Three days later, the city was granted a \$200,000 design and engineering grant for the City Market project. After two years of planning, the Lilly Endowment agreed to give another \$4,751,000 for renovations to the Market House.<sup>351</sup> The money was awarded partially based on the market’s recognition as a historic landmark, “plus its location in the middle of a striking new physical development means that the community has a real possibility to see that this structure and the land around it will be preserved and developed in a manner befitting its history and location.”<sup>352</sup> Geupel DeMars Construction Company began renovation on September 10, 1975. James Associates and Engineers, headed by architect H. Roll McLaughlin, oversaw the renovation plan.<sup>353</sup>

According to the Metropolitan Division of Planning, the project’s goals were to expand accommodations and pedestrian systems, preserve historical aspects, and use superior design in order to insure the economic and functional success of the City Market, and by extension, the Indiana Sports Area.<sup>354</sup> Gordon Carson, administrator for

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<sup>349</sup> Ibid., 220.

<sup>350</sup> Ibid., 221.

<sup>351</sup> City Market Groundbreaking Program, September 10, 1975, Richard Lugar Papers, Box 84, Mayor Archive, University of Indianapolis, Indianapolis; Lausch Interview, p. 8. The lapse of time is due to an IRS ruling allowing the Lilly Endowment to legally provide money for a construction project. Due in part to this decision, the City Market project marked the first time that the Lilly Foundation used funds primarily for construction instead of social service projects.

<sup>352</sup> Edward G. Gillin, “Occupants Want To Have Voice in City Market’s Renovation,” *Indianapolis Star*, July 25, 1975.

<sup>353</sup> McLaughlin was heavily involved in the newly formed Indiana Landmarks and gained important insights working on restoration projects at the Benjamin Harrison Home, Morris-Butler House, Conner Prairie, the James Whitcomb Riley Home, and in New Harmony, Indiana. *Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, s.v. “Burns and James,” by Connie J. Zeigler (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 365-6; Brittany Deeds, “Biographical Sketch of H. Roll McLaughlin,” February 2009, McLaughlin Oral Histories folder, Indiana Landmarks Library, Indianapolis.

<sup>354</sup> Department of Metropolitan Development, *Market Square Development Plan*. The idea was for the Market to work in tandem with the Market Square Arena to create an area that would draw tourists and visitors.

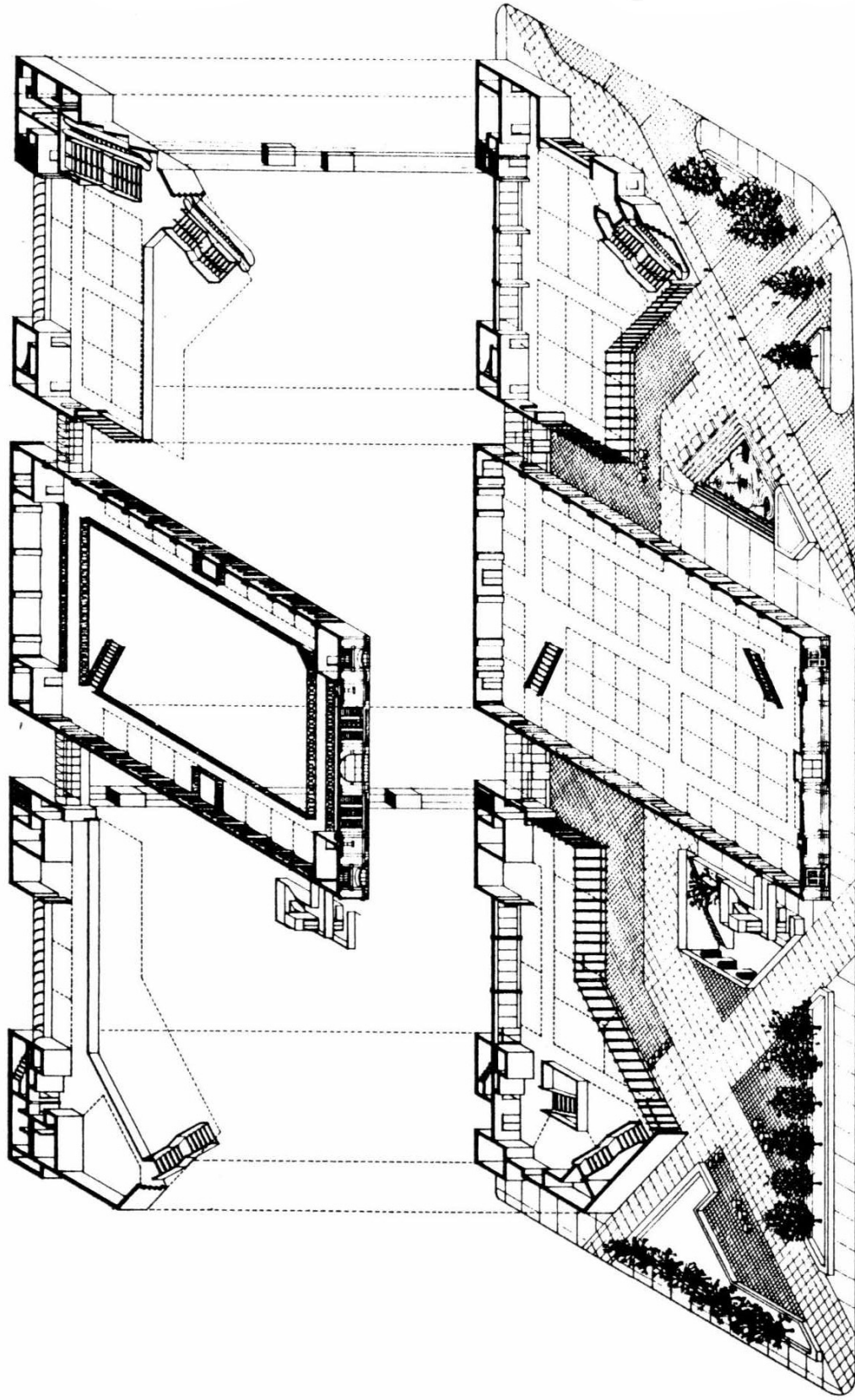


Figure 2.H: Interior floor plan for the City Market after the renovation in 1978. This includes the addition of the wings, on the west and east side, and a mezzanine in the central building. "City Market", Indiana Landmarks Library.

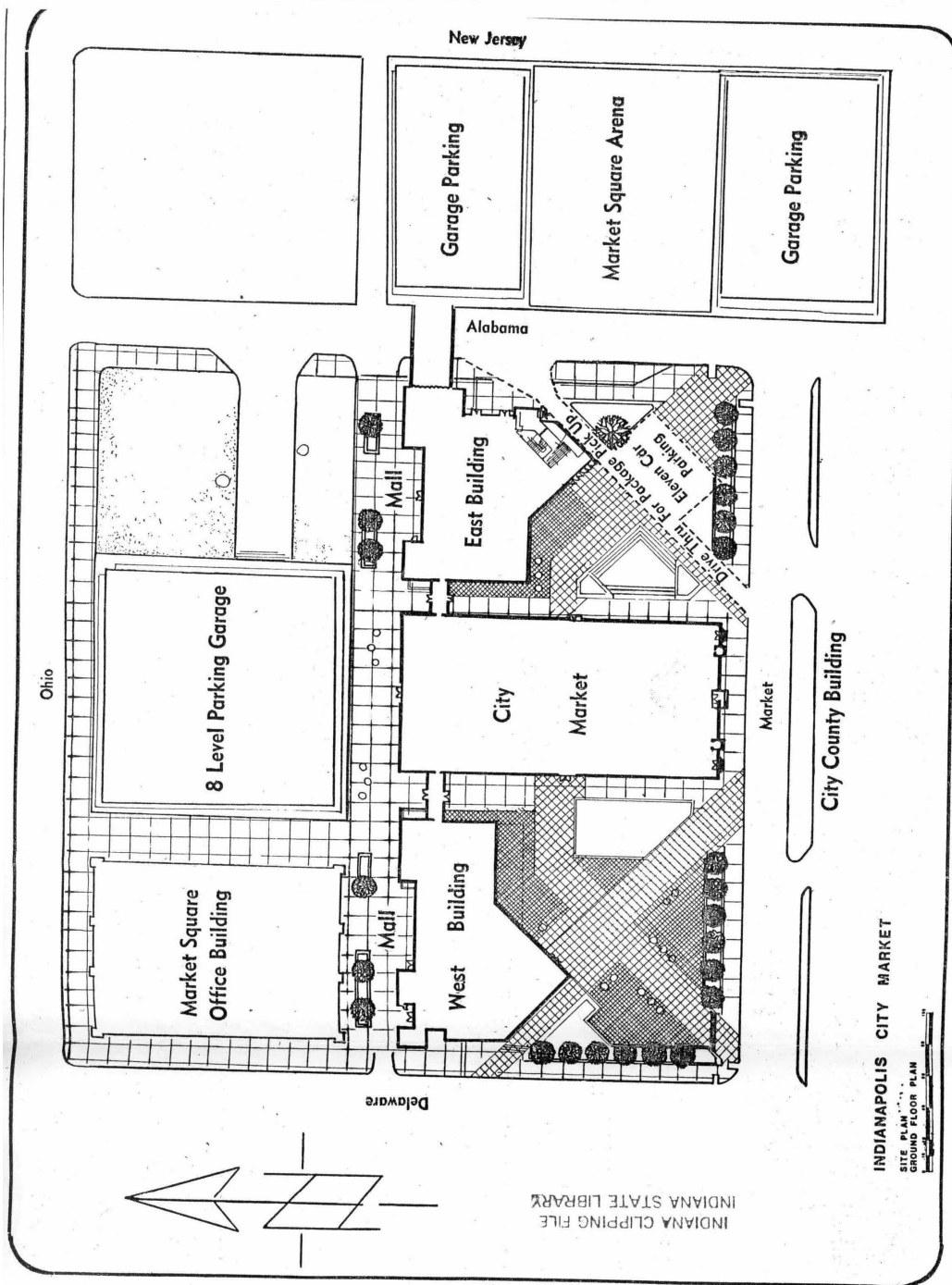


Figure 2.1: Floor plan for renovated City Market and area, 1971. The blueprint includes the two additions on the East and West sides, office building on the north side of the property, and overhead walkway to the Market Square Arena. *Indianapolis News*, May 18, 1971, Indiana State Library clipping files.



Figure 2.J: Interior of renovated Indianapolis City Market, ca 1978. Richard J. Lugar Collection, Indianapolis Mayoral Archive, University of Indianapolis.

the Department of Public Works, explained, we are looking for “more complete market [offerings], but we don’t want a shopping plaza like Glendale [Mall]. Yet, we don’t want one giant restaurant. We want to maintain a mixture and offer a uniqueness. . . . We want to continue the personalized service and custom products.”<sup>355</sup>

The resulting plan included the removal of the two 1958 sheds to make way for new modernist wings on the east and west sides of the Market House.

Each wing’s design was intended to “be contemporary but compatible with the restored market.”<sup>356</sup> (Figure 2.H and 2.I)

The angular additions were to be set

back from the entrance, two-story glass

and metal arms contrasting with the formal brick of the Market House. Meat, seafood, and poultry vendors would operate out of the east wing, with food and restaurants on the west side.<sup>357</sup> Outside of each wing would be a plaza and park, providing an “attractive landscaped place to sit or walk.”<sup>358</sup>

The main Market House was completely renovated, with modern water, gas, electric, and sanitation facilities. The project aimed to streamline the market layout by ridding the



Figure 2.K: Mayor William H. Hudnut at the ribbon cutting ceremony for the Tomlinson Arch, 1978. *Indianapolis Star*, May 9, 1978.

<sup>355</sup> Gillin, “Occupants Want to Have a Voice.” July 25, 1975.

<sup>356</sup> Marge Hanley, “Old, New To Blend In Market,” *Indianapolis News*, October 29, 1975, 26.

<sup>357</sup> Lausch Interview, 10; Hanley, “Old, New To Blend In Market;” Randy Ludlow, “June New Starting Date For City Market Revamp,” *Indianapolis News*, January 11, 1975.

<sup>358</sup> Hanley, “Old, New To Blend In Market.”

building of temporary walls, and opening upper windows and skylights, long painted over or blocked by pipes and wires.<sup>359</sup> The city added an open mezzanine level running along the interior walls, to accommodate additional stands.<sup>360</sup>

Underlying all these changes to the historic building was an attention to restoring the buildings historic architecture. Project architect H. Rolls McLaughlin explained that the plan was “to go back to the original purposes” in main building, complete with “authentic” light fixtures and stair rails.<sup>361</sup> (Figure 2.J) In reality, this endeavor for authenticity evoked the spirit of the Market House’s past, rather than strict historical accuracy. These renovation decisions served to create a romanticized past for the City Market, one that prioritized the building’s shifting role as community gathering place.

For Indianapolis, this renovation represented a break with past preservation projects, which primarily revolved around preserving historic homes to be turned into public heritage showcases. In the process of seeking to revitalize downtown Indianapolis, Lugar and his successor Mayor William Hudnut changed preservation in the city by choosing to revitalize the City Market through reuse of the historic building. As one historian remarked, “at the City Market, combined restoration of the landmark building with sensitive additions showed developers that not every project had to create a museum.”<sup>362</sup> Elected in 1976, Mayor William Hudnut sought to continue the creation of economic vibrancy downtown, transforming the city from “Indiana-NO-place” to “Indiana-SHOW”-place.” The Market House renovations showed the potential of these projects and spawned an urge for historic

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<sup>359</sup> Ibid. Refrigeration and plumbing pipes were run along the ceilings of the Market House building in the early twentieth century, obscuring windows and skylights in favor of needed technological upgrades. This made the market-building feel smaller, and rather top-heavy. The renovation streamlined these utilities.

<sup>360</sup> City Planner Bob Wilch comments that the mezzanine level was also added to provide an upper level walkway connecting the market to the City County Building. This plan never came to fruition. See Lausch Interview, 14.

<sup>361</sup> Lausch Interview, 10; Handley, “Old, New To Blend In Market,” *Indianapolis News*, October 29, 1975, 26.

<sup>362</sup> *Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, s.v. “Built Environment,” Elizabeth Brand Monroe (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 37.



restoration projects in the 1980s, including the restoration of the Circle Theater and Indiana Theatre.<sup>363</sup>

The rededication ceremony of the City Market on September 16, 1977 prompted the start of a new era for the institution. (Figure 2.K) Occupancy was high with 88 percent of the 58 market stall spaces filled, with 15 additional stands scheduled to open within the coming year.<sup>364</sup> The event not only signaled the completion of the renovations, but the retirement of Frank Murray as Market Master. Spirits were high, and municipal officials and standholders were optimistic about the future. The City Market would be a “symbol of the revitalization that is occurring in downtown Indianapolis,” concluded Mayor Hudnut at the ceremony. “Here we have a downtown that is growing, that is vital, that is vibrant and enthusiastic and is viable. I think the new City Market symbolizes and demonstrates another way in which downtown is making it.”<sup>365</sup> Putting difficulties behind it, the City Market set into its second century sanguine about the future. However, the following decades would come with their own set of economic and managerial tribulations.

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<sup>363</sup> *Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, s.v. “Built Environment, 37. William Hudnut took office on January 1, 1976,

<sup>364</sup> Jane Brumleve, “It’s Going-to-Market Time Again As Stands Reopen,” *Indianapolis Star*, June 4, 1978; “Market Shows Indy ‘Making it:’ Hudnut,” *Indianapolis News*, September 17, 1977.

<sup>365</sup> “Market Shows Indy ‘Making it:’ Hudnut,” *Indianapolis News*, September 17, 1977.

### CHAPTER 3: CITY MARKET IN THE MODERN AREA, 1978-2014

If you had spent a weekday on the balcony of the City Market in 1985, the most “Indianapolisish of Indianapolis shopping and eating places,” you would have had a birds-eye view of a changing institution.<sup>366</sup> In the morning, older customers flood into the space, chatting with vendors and weaving between counters to buy gleaming tangerines, fresh meats, or exotic spices. Fast-forward a few hours and a very different population wanders the City Market. Well-dressed business people, fresh from offices at the City-County Building or downtown marketplaces, hustle past stands in search of a sandwich, salad, or stuffed potato. The City Market itself is still teeming, but a little ragged around the edges, with neglected electrical problems, overflowing trashcans, and peeling paint. This imagined weekday in 1985 took place during the City Market’s most recent era, 1978-2014, a period dominated by a common storyline of ‘market in crisis.’ Continual maintenance issues and managerial difficulties plagued a perpetual search for a sustainable market model. Faced with changing customer needs, evolving downtown demographics, and fading importance as a grocery hub, the City Market struggled to maintain and find its place, and retain its character within the urban setting.

#### A Market Restored

The newly renovated Market House opened to accolades in early 1978. Newspapers praised the city’s “most unique shopping center” for its diverse offerings, character, and historic setting.<sup>367</sup> “The changes have brought the Market squarely into the twentieth century,” explained *Indianapolis Home and Garden* in 1978, “but its charm, mystique, and excitement have not been sacrificed, and are every bit as apparent as ninety years ago.”<sup>368</sup>

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<sup>366</sup> Douglass Davidoff, “City Market Merchants Can Expect Change,” *Indianapolis News*, October 5, 1985.

<sup>367</sup> Susan M. Anderson, “City Market Now Attracting More People, Revenue, New Businesses,” *Indianapolis Star*, November 15, 1978; Hugh Rutledge, “City Market Is 90 Percent Leased,” *Indianapolis News*, March 7, 1979; Vickie Bland, “City Market: Past & Present,” *Indianapolis Today*, October 1, 1985.

<sup>368</sup> James L. Kalleen, “To Market, To Market,” *Indianapolis Home and Garden*, May 1978, 79.

The renovation were achieved, in part, due to a master plan to develop the area immediately adjacent to the CityMarket. The area used the City Market's "aura of history" as a focal point to develop the Market Square Arena, a cluster of office buildings and parking garages, as well as a hotel and major basketball arena.<sup>369</sup> Despite all the accolades, some were skeptical of the newly restored spaces. In the same *Indianapolis Home and Garden* article, critics worried about a lack of parking spaces, inconvenient basement storage, and underutilized plaza areas. Standholders complained of temperature irregularities in the newly constructed wings, especially when the sun streamed through the large glass windows.<sup>370</sup> In spite of the complaints, the City Market was described as a warm, inviting and vital civic center, a "symbol of the revitalization that is occurring in Downtown Indianapolis," according to Mayor William Hudnut.<sup>371</sup>

Even as the City Market's renovation spurred revitalization of the downtown area, its success was marred by a series of managerial difficulties. In February 1983, supervision of the City Market transferred from the Department of Public Works to the Department of Metropolitan Development (DMD).<sup>372</sup> The DMD was responsible for the "orderly growth and development" of Indianapolis, including city planning and regulations.<sup>373</sup> DMD director David Carley explained, "With all the other concerns it has, the [Public] Works department just wasn't able to pay enough attention to the market operations and the growing number of problems associated with it."<sup>374</sup> The DMD sought to make the City Market self-supporting while addressing necessary maintenance work and creating a badly needed

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<sup>369</sup> Vickie Bland, "City Market: Past & Present;" "Indianapolis City Market" (Indianapolis, IN, ca 1975), City Market Files, Indianapolis Historic Preservation Commission Library.

<sup>370</sup> Kalleen, "To Market, To Market," 90.

<sup>371</sup> "Market Showing Indy 'Making It': Hudnut," *Indianapolis News*, September 17, 1977.

<sup>372</sup> Hugh Rutledge, "To Market, To Market," *Indianapolis News*, March 1, 1983. A 1980 study of City Market operations, conducted by a Lilly-hired consultant, suggested that the Market Master position should be strengthened and made less political. Between 1981 and 1982, the position was eliminated and replaced with a Market Manager position.

<sup>373</sup> Department of Metropolitan Development, "Functions of the Department of Metropolitan Development," *Programs for 1984* (Indianapolis, July 1983), William H. Hudnut Collection, Indianapolis Mayoral Archives, Indianapolis, IN, 3.

<sup>374</sup> Rutledge, "To Market, To Market;" Rutledge, "City Market Is 90 Percent Leased." The Department of Public Works, appointed by the mayor and City-County Council, had overseen management of the City Market since the department's inception.

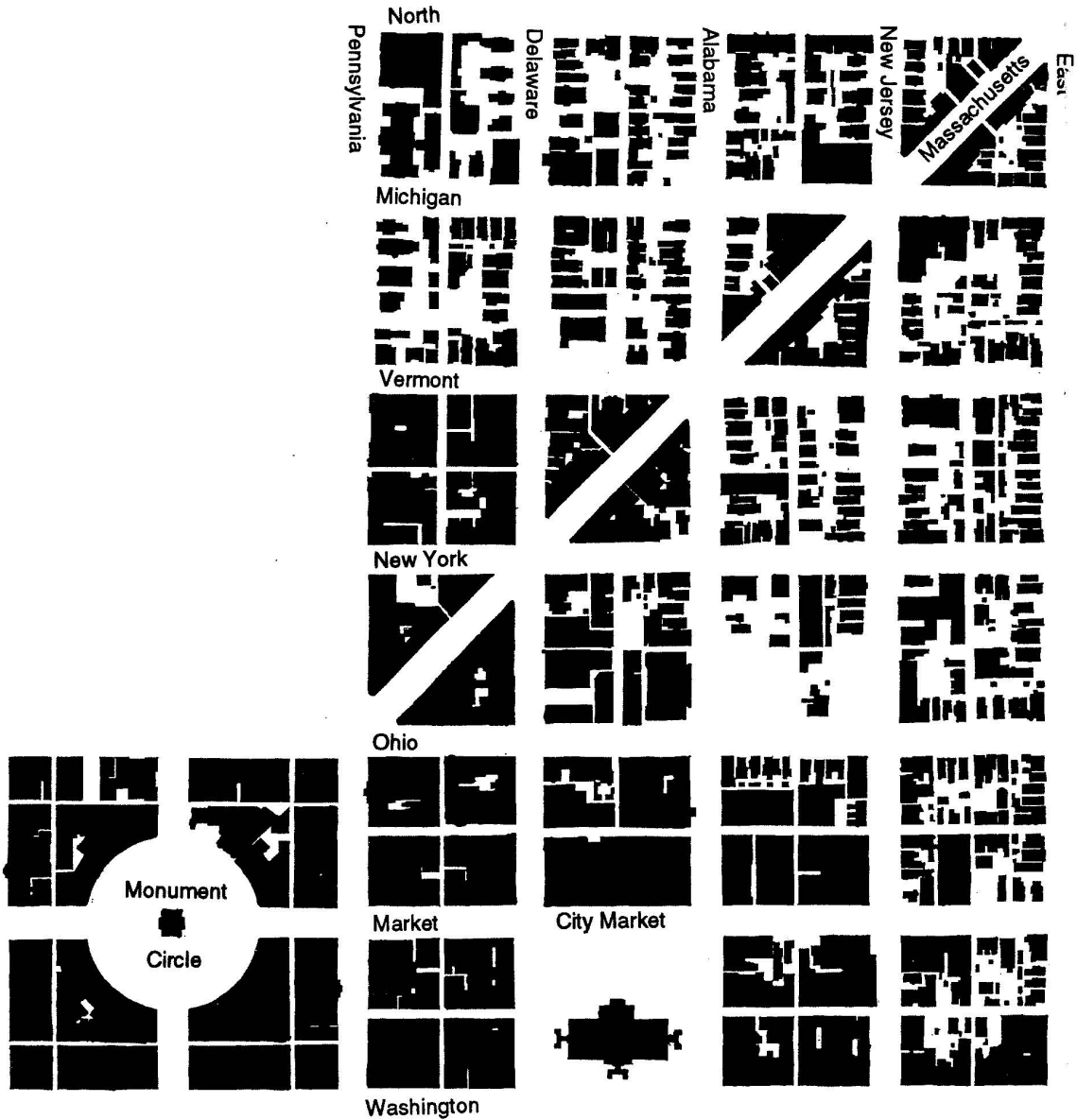


Figure 3.A: This figure shows the density of buildings in the neighborhood surrounding the market in 1914, when buildings were their most dense. A majority of these buildings were fewer than four stories. “Indiana Arts Commission Design Grant,” 1993, “City Market” Folder, Indiana Landmarks Library.

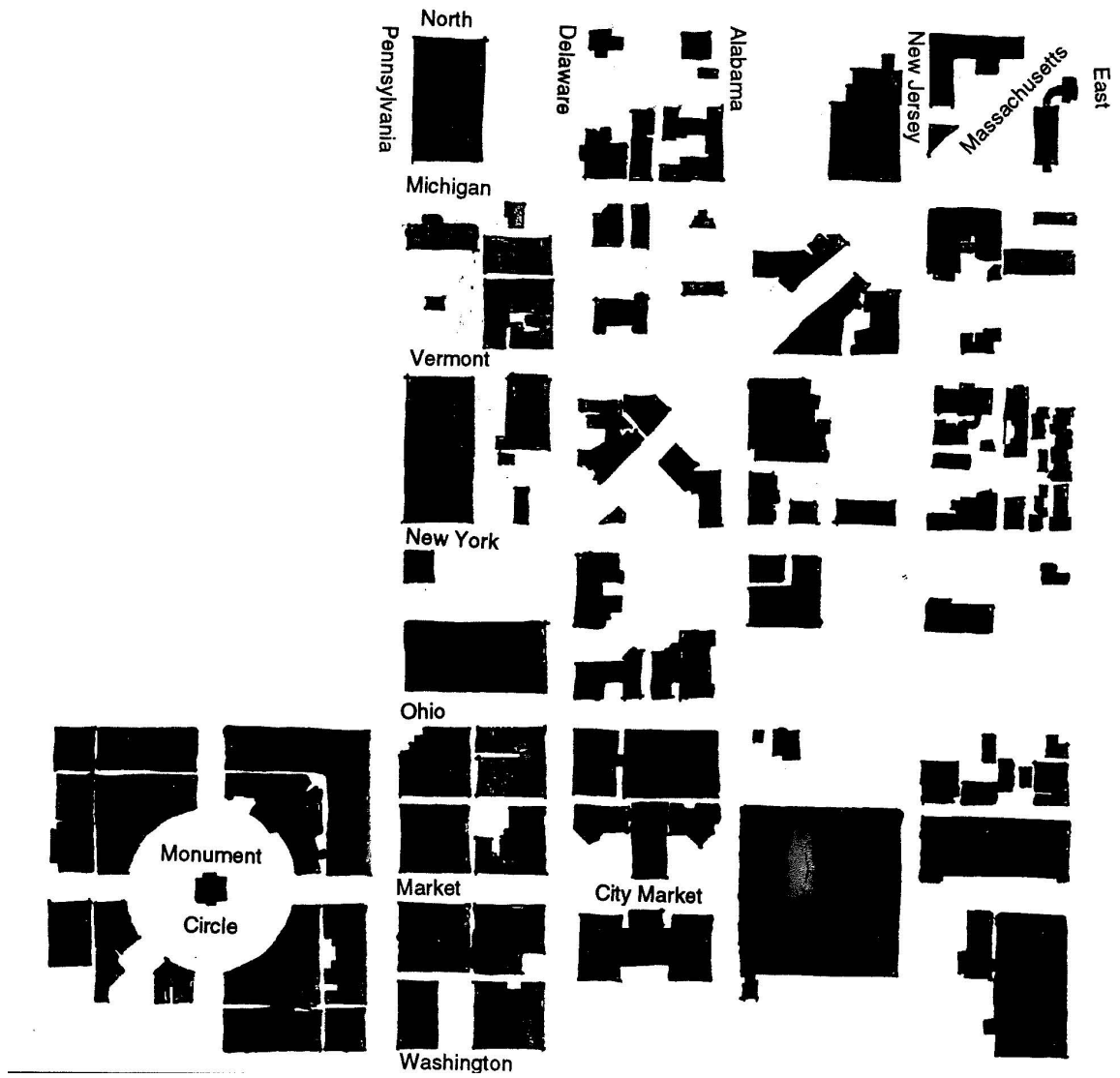


Figure 3.B: This is the same section of the city, shown in Figure A, illustrating the lightening of building density by 1993. Many of the original buildings have been demolished and replaced with larger high rises and parking lots. “Indiana Arts Commission Design Grant,” 1993, “City Market” Folder, Indiana Landmarks Library.

promotional campaign.<sup>375</sup> However, the department ran into similar issues as its predecessor had: both city departments tasked with managing the City Market lacked the time and resources to properly carry out the job. By 1985, the DMD began to look for another solution.

### **What Should the Market Be?**

Amid the managerial changes came a period of changing demographics for the City Market. Stakeholders struggled to define what the institution was, who it should serve, and where it fit within Indianapolis's changing downtown economy. A stark divide appeared separating generations of traditional grocery merchants from modern restaurateurs. By 1986, many traditional grocery merchants found themselves with a declining customer base as the dense population at Indianapolis' core continued its migration to suburban dwellings. Over 360 surrounding structures were removed, many replaced with multi-story office buildings and parking lots for commuting workers.<sup>376</sup> (Figure 3.A and 3.B) By 1987, around 17,000 people worked within one block of the City Market.<sup>377</sup>

Market managers, recognizing this trend, searched to fulfill the institution's "potential as a center of activity and events in the downtown area," shifting focus to promote the City Market as a unique shopping experience, event space, lunch space, and tourist attraction.<sup>378</sup> Managers from the DMD looked to attract attendees from events at the nearby Market Square Arena, encouraging standholders to stay open late during Pacer basketball games.<sup>379</sup>

By 1985, there was stiff competition among downtown attractions for business. The newly renovated Union Station, complete with specialty shops, food court, and restaurants

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<sup>375</sup> Hugh Rutledge, "Market Rent Boost Sought," *Indianapolis News*, August 9, 1983.

<sup>376</sup> Purdue University and United States Department of Agriculture Federal State Marketing Improvement Program, "The Indianapolis City Market: Indiana Arts Commission Design Arts Grant" July 1, 1993, 15–16, City Market Files, Indiana Landmarks Library. Most of these buildings were in smaller residential neighborhoods that were replaced with high-rise buildings and parking lots. For a further discussion of the deterioration of Indianapolis' downtown, see Chapter 2.

<sup>377</sup> Roberta Deering and Gregory Ptucha, "Super Marketing," *Planning* 53, no. 10 (October 1987): 27.

<sup>378</sup> Douglass T. Davidoff, "City Market Yearns for Spotlight," *Indianapolis Star*, May 27, 1985.

<sup>379</sup> Hugh Rutledge, "Market Inspires Mixed Feelings," *Indianapolis News*, February 14, 1984.

created new competition for the City Market.<sup>380</sup> Three blocks away, a branch of O'Malia's Grocery opened in the old Sears building on Alabama Street.<sup>381</sup> Claypool Court, an enclosed mall and food court was opened near the State House. Some, like stand owner Tim Gavenstreter, wondered if the city was too small to support each of these ventures as well as a new zoo and planned downtown mall as tourist attractions.<sup>382</sup>

Gradually, the needs of customers began a permanent shift from pantry items to prepared foods. As Indianapolis residents moved to more suburban locations and parking at the Market House became more difficult, attention turned to a customer base predominantly of downtown office workers. Planners Roberta Deering and Gregory Ptucha hypothesized that "lax management and leasing policies for the Market resulted in a preponderance of fast-food vendors eager to serve lunches to the new office workers."<sup>383</sup> As Jeanette Conner of Conner's Meats explained, "the purpose of the Market has been reversed. Once the larder brought in the customers: now the quick meal is the magnet."<sup>384</sup> Stands opened later, catering to a lunchtime crowd rather than early morning produce shoppers.<sup>385</sup> In a 1976 survey of patrons, 70 percent considered themselves produce shoppers, while only 26 percent called themselves lunch buyers.<sup>386</sup> However, by 1986, 76 percent of patrons considered themselves

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<sup>380</sup> The Romanesque revival style Union Station first opened in 1885. With the decline of the passenger rail industry, the station was virtually abandoned by 1979. At that point, the city of Indianapolis purchased the property. By 1983, the city entered into a private-public partnership to redevelop the space into a festival marketplace, complete with meeting and banquet spaces, shops and restaurants, transportation center, and movie theatre. See Department of Metropolitan Development, "Union Station Redevelopment Project" May 1988, Hudnut Collection, Box 067, Indianapolis Mayoral Archive, University of Indianapolis, Indianapolis, IN.

<sup>381</sup> Davidoff, "City Market Yearns for Spotlight."

<sup>382</sup> Marcy Mermel, "Meeting with Market Standholders Is Shaky," *Indianapolis News*, January 16, 1987.

<sup>383</sup> Deering and Ptucha, "Super Marketing," 27.

<sup>384</sup> Fred D. Cavinder, "City Market Centennial: A History Full of Change," *Indianapolis Star*, November 2, 1986.

<sup>385</sup> Ibid.

<sup>386</sup> This survey was conducted by Joan Ketterman and Mark Little. It randomly sampled 200 patrons who visited the market during a week in July. "1976 City Market Survey," in *Report of the City Market Advisory Committee*, June 9, 1986, 23, City Market, Box 162, Hudnut Collection, Indianapolis Mayoral Archive, University of Indianapolis, Indianapolis, IN.

diners, while just 23 percent self-identified as shoppers.<sup>387</sup> By 1988, the City Market relied primarily on lunchtime crowds for its income.<sup>388</sup> Of the 60 vendors, twenty-two sold fast food and only nine carried fresh foods.<sup>389</sup> The City Market had officially evolved into the “city’s favorite place for lunch.”<sup>390</sup>

### The Debate Over the Market Tower

In 1985, the Department of Metropolitan Development decided to end its governance of the City Market and to turn over management to a private firm.<sup>391</sup> The decision to move to a private company was a prudent one, as the department found it difficult to give the attention it needed.<sup>392</sup> By October 1985, the DMD began to look for an alternative solution. “The Market is a good place,” explained acting Market Manager and DMD aide Sandra Welch-Richard. However, “Indianapolis has changed. The Market needs

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<sup>387</sup> Ibid., 47. The DMD conducted this survey in May 1986. Patrons were asked to complete a short paper survey and then return them to boxes in the City-County Building or City Market. Around 620 surveys were returned and processed.

<sup>388</sup> Kathleen M. Johnson, “Profit for Market Called Possible,” *Indianapolis News*, January 21, 1988.

<sup>389</sup> Deering and Ptucha, “Super Marketing,” 27.

<sup>390</sup> David Rohn, “Oh, Dem Golden Arches,” *Indianapolis News*, February 9, 1988; Johnson, “Profit for Market Called Possible.” This narrative of the conversion to prepared foods was not uncommon nationally amongst renovated public markets. The stand demographic breakdown in Boston’s Faneuil Hall changed dramatically after its renovation in 1978. Produce vendors in this space could not find a market within changing audience members and gradually went out of business or shifted to prepared foods. See Gregory Alexander Donofrio, “The Container and the Contained: Functional Preservation of Historic Food Markets” (doctoral thesis, Cornell University, 2009), 301–7.

<sup>391</sup> Rumors of private management for the market began in newspapers as early as 1978. A handful of government documents, included in Mayor Hudnut’s papers at the University of Indianapolis Mayoral Archives, seriously explore management options, including private management, by January 1981. Some internal documents indicate that the desire for private management may have spurred the administrative move of the market from Public Works to the DMD. See internal documents in City Market 2, Box 27, Hudnut Collection, Indianapolis Mayoral Archive at the University of Indianapolis Art Harris, “Operating Board For Market Talked,” *Indianapolis News*, February 6, 1978.

<sup>392</sup> The idea for a long-term lease to a private firm for the management of a public building was not new to Indianapolis. The city entered into a similar contract for the management of the Market Square Arena. See Alan J. Armstrong to William H. Hudnut, “City Market Management,” January 26, 1981, City Market 02, Box 27, Hudnut Collection, Indianapolis Mayoral Archive, University of Indianapolis, Indianapolis, IN.



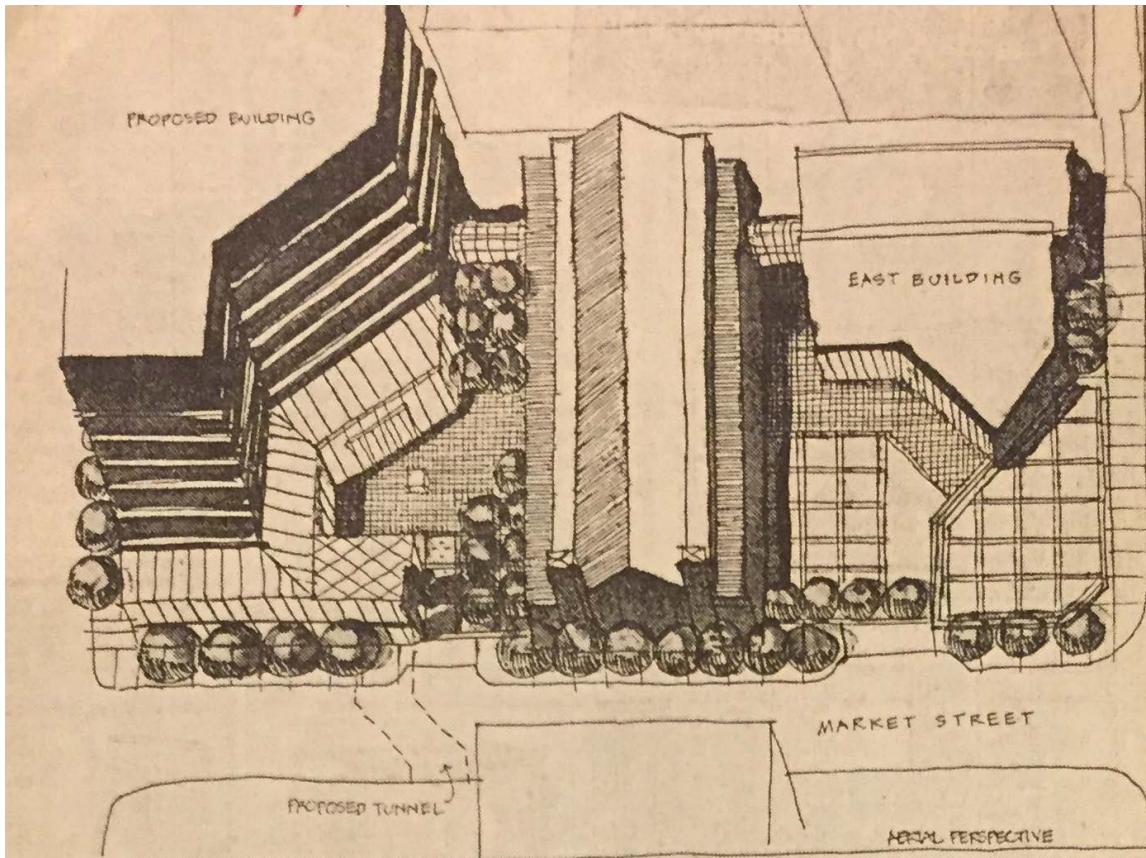


Figure 3.C: Rendering of plan for Cornerstone’s proposed market tower. The company sought to tear down the market’s west wing, constructed in 1978, to construct an office building on the property. *Indianapolis Star*, November 14, 1986.

to meet the needs of today’s urban shoppers and urban dwellers.”<sup>393</sup> Within the next year, the DMD began actively searching for a private firm to manage day-to-day operations.

Initial standholder responses to private management were bleak. As standholder Libby Fogle explained, “sure, we could have a private manager come in and maybe make the City Market more efficient. . . . But then, it wouldn’t be *our* market. We’re the city’s baby. We’re one of the best downtown assets the city has going for it, and you know why? Because we’re more than just business or building. The Market is *people*.”<sup>394</sup> The concern over changing the character of the City Market dominated standholders and patrons concerns.

<sup>393</sup> Davidoff, “City Market Merchants Can Expect Change.”

<sup>394</sup> “Standholders Spit on Switch,” *Indianapolis News*, May 13, 1982. For more on the reaction of standholders, see “1986 Survey of Standholders” in *Report of the City Market Advisory Committee*, June 9, 1986, found in the Hudnut Collection, City Market, Box 162, Indianapolis Mayoral Archives, Indianapolis, IN.



Figure 3.D: Cartoon reflecting controversy over Cornerstone plan for City Market. It was perceived that this plan would squash the City Market's unique character. *Neo Participant*, April 1987, "City Market" folder, Indiana Landmarks Library.

The idea of "festival marketplaces" was popular at the time, enclosed shopping centers that emphasized "specialty shops, plenty of food outlets, and a strategic use of history to create an ambiance which in turn would draw suburban residents back to the city."<sup>395</sup> In Indianapolis, the downtown Union Station was redeveloped in the 1980s with this specific purpose in mind. Across the country, many recently renovated markets in this

<sup>395</sup> Robert J. Shepherd, *When Culture Goes to Market: Space, Place and Identity in an Urban Marketplace* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 7–8. Inspired by Ghirardelli Square in San Francisco, James Rose created the 'festival marketplace' formula after successfully transforming (or after success transformed) Boston's Faneuil Hall in 1976. The idea became a sensation with urban planners. At the height of success in the 1980s, an estimated 250 urban-style marketplaces were created. Union Station in Indianapolis was redeveloped with this 'Festival Marketplace' purpose in mind. For a further discussion, see Lisa Scharoun, *America at the Mall: The Cultural Role of a Retail Utopia* (Jefferson, N.C: McFarland & Co, 2012), 41–3.

style took on a mall-like atmosphere, and ceased to be public markets. To a contingency of standholders and longtime customers, homogeneity was the enemy, turning the City Market into a building of “uniform space and a nice, set, even pattern. We would all look the same. There would be nothing special about us,” worried Abby Himmelein, owner of Winding Way Farms. She went on, “Many of the retail businesses here are old-fashioned businesses that you don’t see anywhere else. It’s a very personalized atmosphere.” As stand owner Cathy Peachey explained, “They may understand a retail mall situation, but not the City Market. . . . It’s magical here.”<sup>396</sup>

Nonetheless, in December 1986, Cornerstone Incorporated was awarded a conditional lease to manage the City Market by the Metropolitan Development Corporation.<sup>397</sup> A major component of Cornerstone’s plan included construction of the Market Tower, a ten-story office building on the west wing of the market property. The income from this new building would help offset the development and management costs of the Market.<sup>398</sup> (Figure 3.C and Figure 3.D) “We thought Cornerstone came up with a very innovative notion that nobody . . . had thought of,” explained DMD director Mike Higbee, “. . .building an office building in one of the plazas, which would then create a new opportunity for cash flow. From an economic standpoint, that became very attractive.”<sup>399</sup> Opposition to this Market Tower was swift and plentiful, effectively pushing discussions of market management and identity to the background.

Preservationists, architects’ associations, neighborhood groups, and private citizens banded together to form the Coalition to Save Vital Spaces, a group vehemently against the

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<sup>396</sup> Nancy Strunk, “Market Wars,” *Indianapolis Magazine*, October 1987.

<sup>397</sup> Kathleen M. Johnston, “Proposals Aired for Management of City Market,” *Indianapolis News*, October 25, 1986; Jeff Swiatek, “Proposed City Market Changes Expected,” *Indianapolis Star*, November 14, 1986. Three proposals were submitted to manage the market: Cornerstone Incorporated, Kosene and Kosene Inc., and Fred Giles, owner of the Jumbo Sandwich stand.

<sup>398</sup> Johnston, “Proposals Aired for Management of City Market;” Johnson, “Profit for Market Called Possible;” Nancy Strunk, “Market Wars.”

<sup>399</sup> Nancy Strunk, “Market Wars,” 42-44. As Nancy Shunk reported, Cornerstone explained that the revenue from the office building would offset the costs of renovations badly needed by the market. Company President Robert Whitacre said “the renovation of the market is what drove the entire proposal.” (44)

proposed Market Tower.<sup>400</sup> (Image 3.D) Opponents argued that the Market Tower would reduce the size of the much needed west plaza, a popular spot for downtown workers to eat lunch. Furthermore, the project would “destroy the ambiance of the 100-year-old market and literally cast a shadow over the popular lunch spot.”<sup>401</sup> Outspoken critic Tina Conner of Historic Landmarks Foundation of Indiana, claimed the building’s construction would “just destroy the whole concept of a City Market.”<sup>402</sup> The Coalition maintained that “the City Market is a terrific asset which can reclaim its heritage with proper physical maintenance and with the experienced authoritative management it has long been lacking.”<sup>403</sup> The group circulated a petition, gathering over 6,000 signatures.<sup>404</sup> By March 1987, the groundswell against the proposed tower project reached politicians in the Indianapolis City-County Council, where a handful of councilmen criticized the project. Even with revisions to the proposal, the general consensus amongst some elected officials, “preservationists, sentimentalists, market devotees, downtown workers, and plain folks,” was that sacrificing

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<sup>400</sup> The Coalition included Historic Landmarks Foundation of Indiana; Indianapolis and Indiana chapters of the American Institute for Architects; Historic Urban Neighborhoods of Indianapolis; Riley Area Revitalization Program; Institute of Business Designers; Marion County/Indianapolis Historical Society (known today as the Marion County Historical Society); Central Indiana Chapter of the Society of Architectural Historians; historic urban neighborhood associations; City Market standholders; and interested citizens. Internal documents and press releases about the Coalition are scattered but can be found in the institutional papers of Indiana Landmarks at the Indiana Landmarks library, Indianapolis.

<sup>401</sup> Tom Harton, “‘New’ City Market,” *Indianapolis Business Journal*, March 9, 1987; Kathleen M. Johnson, “Design Changes for Market Criticized,” *Indianapolis News*, March 6, 1987; Kathleen M. Johnson, “West Plaza Tower Plans Revised,” *Indianapolis News*, February 26, 1987. For a complete list of grievances from the Coalition to Save Vital Spaces, see Tina Conner, “Press Release: Historic City Market Subject of Controversy” January 21, 1987, City Market Files, Indiana Landmarks Library, Indianapolis, IN.

<sup>402</sup> Mermel, “Meeting with Market Standholders Is Shaky.”

<sup>403</sup> Tina Conner, “Lilly Endowment Supports a Fresh Look at the City Market,” *The Indiana Preservationist*, September 1987.

<sup>404</sup> Nancy Strunk, “Market Wars.”

the West Plaza would “be a civic profanity.”<sup>405</sup> By March 1988, Cornerstone had withdrawn its proposal.<sup>406</sup>

### **The Indianapolis City Market Corporation and the Privatization Experiment**

While debates over the proposed Market tower raged, day-to-day management of the City Market suffered. Administrative duties were never directly handed over to Cornerstone during the controversy and remained woefully neglected in the hands of the Department of Metropolitan Development. Stands sat vacant, prevented from being filled due to a moratorium on rentals established during the dispute.<sup>407</sup> Only forty-four stands occupied the City Market, a third of which were restaurants. “We’ve been neglected,” expressed standholder Libby Fogel.<sup>408</sup> Cathy Peachey, owner of coffee-stand CATH expressed similar sentiments, “I’m concerned for the greater market that if something isn’t done quickly, that we’re going to lose some standholders who are the backbone of the market.”<sup>409</sup>

By January 1989, the Indianapolis City-County council took the City Market out from the DMD’s purview, creating a non-profit corporation to lease the building from the city and manage the City Market. The plan sought to “take the politics out” of market

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<sup>405</sup> “The Market Tower,” *Indianapolis Star*, March 4, 1987. The city’s 1986 Request for Proposal was rather vague with hazy guidelines about parameters for the management company. During the twelve-month debate over the project, Cornerstone did revise their proposal, scaling back the project based on feedback. None of these changes were a sufficient compromise for critics. For more details, see *Indianapolis Magazine*, October 1987; Tom Harton, “‘New’ City Market.” The actual RFP is held in City Market files at the Indianapolis Historic Preservation Commission, City-County Building, Indianapolis, IN.

<sup>406</sup> Anne Walsh, “City About to Lift Moratorium on Stand Rentals at City Market,” *Indianapolis Business Journal*, March 14, 1988.

<sup>407</sup> *Ibid.*; Ann Elliott, “Alive & Well,” *ETC.*, April 25, 1990. In March 1989, the market was 24 percent vacant. Fourteen of these stands were restaurants, with only around ten stands selling grocery items. See “City Market” in *Polk’s Indianapolis (Marion County, Indiana) City Directory, 1989-1990* (Taylor, MI: R.L. Polk & Co., 1989).

<sup>408</sup> Rob Schneider, “New Manager Seeks Success at City Market,” *Indianapolis Star*, April 23, 1989.

<sup>409</sup> *Ibid.*

operations, and “put a board together that has a business orientation.”<sup>410</sup> The nine-member quasi-municipal Indianapolis City Market Corporation took over management in November 1988, prioritizing efficient market management, maintenance, and promotion.<sup>411</sup> “The goal for the Market, very simply, is to make it successful,” explained new market manager Richard Worth. “Success means several things,” he continued, “it means providing a place for people of Indianapolis . . . to find unique and high-quality food items. It means continuing the Market’s history and heritage. It also is providing resources and the environment for our tenants to be able to operate successfully.”<sup>412</sup>

In its first four years as manager, the City Market Corporation saw a marginal success. The Market House received much needed maintenance, including a fresh coat of interior paint in a new beige, teal, and red color scheme; an update to the electrical and mechanical systems; cleaning of windows and floors; and more efficient lighting.<sup>413</sup> “The face lift” claimed one paper, “rejuvenated some tenants’ spirits and brought in new.”<sup>414</sup> Initial vacancy rates plummeted 13 percent within the first year.<sup>415</sup> The success, however, was rocky.

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<sup>410</sup> “Group Says Private Board Should Steer City Market,” *Indianapolis Star*, August 17, 1988; Kathleen M. Johnson, “City Market Cleans Up Its Act,” *Indianapolis News*, March 1, 1990; David Penticuff, “City Market to Be Run by Board?,” *Indianapolis Business Journal*, September 29, 1988. The City Market Corporation was the brainchild of City-County Councilors Susan Williams, Bert SerVass, and Beulah Coughenour, who were frustrated with the Cornerstone controversy and inefficient market management. The idea for a non-for-profit corporation to oversee the market was patterned after Lexington Market in Downtown Baltimore.

<sup>411</sup> Rob Schneider, “New Board Asked to Ask Over City Market by Jan. 1,” *Indianapolis Star*, November 6, 1988; Schneider, “New Manager Seeks Success at City Market;” Samuel Henderson, “Ordinance,” *Indianapolis Journal*, December 15, 1832; “City Market Board Fact Sheet” n.d., City Market Board, Box 187, Hudnut Collection, Indianapolis Mayoral Archive, University of Indianapolis, Indianapolis, IN. The nine-member City Market Board oversaw policies for market operations. The board was made up of the City Controller, Director of Administration, three community members appointed by the Mayor, three community members selected by the City-County Council, and one currently-elected official selected by the Mayor.

<sup>412</sup> Schneider, “New Manager Seeks Success at City Market.”

<sup>413</sup> Johnson, “City Market Cleans Up Its Act;” Steve Mannheimer, “Munching At The Market,” *Indianapolis Star*, March 1, 1991.

<sup>414</sup> Elliott, “Alive & Well.”

<sup>415</sup> *Ibid.* Vacancy rates were at 24 percent when the City Market board took over in 1989, and had dropped to 11 percent by April 1990.

The business-like approach of management with tenants created a tense relationship.<sup>416</sup> “Plenty of attention and money has been put into the physical needs of the market,” then Market Manager David Andrichik explained, “but the heart of the Market has been neglected and its business has fallen considerably.”<sup>417</sup> By 1994, the City Market was floundering, struggling with high vacancy rates, parking problems and steady management turnover, with three Market Managers in just five years.<sup>418</sup> There were only 32 stands, and it operated at a loss of \$254,000.<sup>419</sup>

By the mid-1990s, the financial goals shifted from profits to simply breaking even. After years of running in the red, the City Market board reached a crisis point. In the past, the City Market had survived with bailouts from municipal coffers. Now, as a quasi-independent operation, the City Market was responsible for funding its own operations. A loan from the city was set to run out on December 10, 1993, and “everybody, including the standholders, are going to be out of business” explained Board President Mark DeFabis, if the board doesn’t develop “some type of plan to keep the doors of the City Market open.”<sup>420</sup> The board’s solution was to partner with a private management firm, a tactic that was

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<sup>416</sup> Kathleen M. Johnson, “Lease Hassle Could Cut Slice Out of City Market Business,” *Indianapolis News*, February 8, 1991. The City Market Corporation instituted a yearly formal lease, a practice which had lapsed at the market. Arguments over these uniform business practices resulted in 38 standholders signing leases in 1991, nine leaving, and six selling their stands. Standholders were particularly irked when mandatory hours were instituted for the market, as the hours did not follow their own customer traffic patterns. Some chose to purposefully ignore this new rule, accruing fines.

<sup>417</sup> Diana Penner, “City Market Is Shopping for Method to End Slump,” *Indianapolis Star*, January 31, 1993.

<sup>418</sup> Richard Worth served as market manager for eight months, from January to August 1989. James Gable was then appointed and served until March 1992. Then, David Andrichik, a former City Market board member, took over the position until the Market moved to private management in late 1994.

<sup>419</sup> Bonnie Harris, “City Market on the Uptake,” *Indianapolis Star*, March 11, 1994; Kevin Morgan, “City Market’s Losses Larger Under Private Management,” *Indianapolis Star*, July 27, 1995.

<sup>420</sup> Diana Penner, “Management Plan Angers Vendor at City Market,” *Indianapolis Star*, September 23, 1993. Mayoral Chief of Staff Anne Shane even hinted that the city could close the market if it could not become sustainable. “The city is not going to continually pay out money to maintain a structure that over time is not going to be viable,” she explained to the *Indianapolis Business Journal*. Greg Andrews, “New Management Hatches City Market Incubator Plan,” *Indianapolis Business Journal*, March 7, 1994.

popular with Mayor Stephen Goldsmith.<sup>421</sup> In January 1994, the city reached an agreement with Kosene and Kosene Development and Management Company to oversee operations for three years. Based in Indianapolis, Kosene and Kosene had been managing real estate developments around Indiana since 1977, specializing in “renewing the economic potential of troubled developments.”<sup>422</sup> The company won the contract based on its goal to make the institution a small-business incubator. Kosene and Kosene explained that the City Market had historically been a “retail and service incubator for entrepreneurs . . . fostering new business opportunities, jobs and general economic vitality within the downtown area. We are committed to return the Market to full occupancy and economic powerhouse.”<sup>423</sup>

Jim Reilly, the new General Manager of the City Market brought on by Kosene and Kosene, was quick to make his own changes, aiming to make the Market “fun again.”<sup>424</sup> Seeking to win the favor of skeptical tenants, Reilly cleaned the grubby windows and grimy cement floor; replaced wobbly chairs and tattered tables; and aimed to increase awareness through fliers and signs. Bringing the City Market back, however, was harder than Kosene and Kosene imagined. Consistent maintenance improvements, along with expensive utility bills, tugged hard on the City Market’s bottom line. Within eighteen months of the privatization agreement, the institution was still posting increasing losses of \$250,000 to \$300,000 yearly.<sup>425</sup> Business in the following years was mixed. Even with high vendor turnover, 88% of the City Market was rented by 1999.<sup>426</sup> By 2002, occupancy was back down

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<sup>421</sup> Harris, “City Market on the Uptake.”

<sup>422</sup> Kosene and Kosene Development and Management Company, “Proposal for the Management of the Historic Indianapolis City Market,” (Indianapolis, October 1993), City Market Files, Indiana Landmarks Library, Indianapolis, IN.

<sup>423</sup> Kosene and Kosene, “Proposal for the Management of the Historic Indianapolis City Market;” Greg Andrews, “New Management Hatches City Market Incubator Plan.”

<sup>424</sup> Johnson, “City Market Cleans Up Its Act.” Jim Reilly, an experienced shopping center manager, was brought in by Kosene and Kosene to replace David Andrichik as market manager. According to Kosene and Kosene’s proposal, current Market Manager David Andrichik was to be kept on in a reduced capacity. See Kosene and Kosene, “Proposal for the Management of the Historic Indianapolis Market,” in the City Market files at the Indiana Landmarks Library.

<sup>425</sup> Mason King, “New Goal for Market: Break Even,” *Indianapolis Business Journal*, November 17, 1997. Most of these losses came from utility costs, which the city subsidized.

<sup>426</sup> Tammy Lieber, “City Market Closes Another Year in the Red; Occupancy on Upswing, Nears 90 Percent,” *Indianapolis Business Journal*, April 26, 1999.



to 63%.<sup>427</sup> By 2002, the *Indianapolis Business Journal* reiterated that the City Market “though ripe with potential, is a disappointment compared with most city markets in operation today. Over the years and in spite of the efforts of many people, the Market has become little more than a collection of lunch stands for downtown workers.”<sup>428</sup>

### An Identity Crisis

Amidst the managerial and financial troubles of the 1990s, the City Market struggled with its own existential questions. Should it aim to function as an outlet for pantry staples or a vibrant noontime hang-out? The City Market’s “roots are well-known, its position in the city’s history long and sure,” explained the *Indianapolis Star* in a 1993 editorial that year, “but where does it fit into the present and future?”<sup>429</sup>

Customer patterns had certainly given the City Market one identity: that of the city’s favorite lunchtime spot. The noon hour was a game of musical chairs with patrons packed on the lower and upper levels enjoying a fast lunch. Over two-thirds of the thirty-two stands at the Market in 1994 served only prepared foods.<sup>430</sup> This percentage had increased to three-quarters by 2005.<sup>431</sup> “As a result,” explained Leonard Jaslow in his study of the City Market, “the Market’s personality is one of a large lunch counter positioned to serve the needs of the office workers in the nearby buildings.”<sup>432</sup> In patrons’ eyes, the City Market’s image had evolved from “frenetic center of fresh food sales to lunch-counter for downtown

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<sup>427</sup> Dana Knight, “In The Market For Days of Old,” *Indianapolis Star*, April 22, 2002.

<sup>428</sup> “The Timing Is Right to Reposition City Market (Editorial),” *Indianapolis Business Journal*, May 6, 2002.

<sup>429</sup> Penner, “City Market Is Shopping for Method to End Slump.”

<sup>430</sup> Harris, “City Market on the Uptake;” “A Market Plan,” *Indianapolis Star*, February 2, 1994.

<sup>431</sup> “City Market,” in *Haines Criss-Cross 2005 Directory: Indianapolis, Indiana City and Suburban*, 866.

<sup>432</sup> Leonard Jaslow, “Indianapolis City Market Report” (Study, Indianapolis, IN, June 27, 1988), 2, City Market Files, Indiana Landmarks Library, Indianapolis, IN. Leonard Jaslow was a consultant from the Lexington Market in Baltimore. He completed a study on Indianapolis’ market and suggested ways to improve standholder variety and traffic flow. This report was presented to the City Market Board on November 2, 1988. See “City Market Board Fact Sheet.”

workers.”<sup>433</sup> By the early 1990s, only 25 to 30 percent of stands were actually manned on Saturdays, which was historically the City Market’s busiest day.<sup>434</sup>

Produce stands struggled to retain customers in the face of a changing marketplace.<sup>435</sup> By 1993, only nine pantry vendors were left in the market.<sup>436</sup> When the generations-old Constantino’s Fancy Fruits and Vegetables closed its doors in 1996, they explained declining traffic had chipped away at business until it was almost non-existent. “I’ve seen it change into that nasty word, ‘food court’ over the past thirty years,” explained stand manager Jane Schlegel.<sup>437</sup> Constantino’s was not the only long-time stand to close. Worster’s meats, established in 1895, closed its stand in December 1990; Raimondi’s Produce stand, founded in 1908, retired in 2000. In April 2002, the *Indianapolis Star* aptly characterized the Market as “little more than a mall food court with only a small produce stand tucked against a wall to remind downtown lunchers of what once was.”<sup>438</sup>

However, stakeholders weren’t content with this identity. “The City Market wants to be a city market, not a downtown ‘strip center,’” explained columnist Tom Binford in his weekly article in the *Indianapolis Business Journal*, “with fresh vegetables and fruits, cheese, meat shops, specialty foods, restaurants, etc. mirroring the city markets of the Nineteenth

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<sup>433</sup> Gerry Lanosga, “City Market Tries to Clean Up Act,” *Indianapolis Star*, March 17, 1994.

<sup>434</sup> Leonard Jaslow, “Indianapolis City Market Report,” 2. One of the controversial policies of the City Market Board was to set standard hours of operation for all market stands, Monday through Saturday 6am to 6pm. Many stands balked at this measure, as their customers did not follow those patterns. Produce stands tended to need to open early and close around 3pm, but they also relied on Saturday business. Restaurant vendors tended to see business around the lunch hours and were reluctant to open on Saturday. See Indianapolis City Market Corporation, “Indianapolis City Market Tenant Handbook” (Indianapolis, IN, 1990), 14, City Market Files, Indianapolis Historic Preservation Commission Library.

<sup>435</sup> Elliott, “Alive & Well.” From the mid-1950s until 1988, produce vendors patronized the wholesale farmer’s market, where they bought products cheaply and conveniently on the city’s south side. When the Eli Lilly & Co. bought the land and relocated the market, produce became more expensive for market standholders to procure.

<sup>436</sup> Penner, “City Market Is Shopping for Method to End Slump.”

<sup>437</sup> Steve Kukolla, “At The Turning Point,” *Indianapolis Star*, January 14, 1996; Peter Schnitzler, “Market Gets Eviction OK,” *Indianapolis Business Journal*, November 16, 2009. The Constantino family reopened their stand in 2007 after an extensive renovation to the market and encouragement from market management. The stand closed in late 2009 after a lengthy legal battle due to \$27,000 of unpaid rental fees.

<sup>438</sup> Knight, “In The Market For Days of Old.”

Century.”<sup>439</sup> Market managers agreed. “We won’t let the Market be just another food court,” promised Market Manager Jim Gable in 1991. In 1994, Manager Jim Reilly echoed these sentiments, explaining that a food court was “not what the market’s about.” In 2002, Indianapolis City Market Corporation president J. William Kingston hearkened back to an “authentic feel” where “you smell fresh bread and cut flowers. . . . Right now, it’s like a bad grease food pit.”<sup>440</sup>

Rhetoric of more exposure, revenue, and diversity was consistent amongst management throughout the 1990s and early 2000s. Market managers regularly sought a more diverse offering of products to broaden the base of patrons. Each of the City Market’s strategic plans from 1993 and 2003, and Leonard Jaslow’s 1988 Study, mention a more diverse mix of stand types to attract new customer demographics. Explaining the City Market’s new strategic plan, executive director Nikki Longworth told the *Indianapolis Star* in 2002, “We believe the market historically has been an asset and we need to recover our position as the center of the food universe of the city of Indianapolis.”<sup>441</sup>

Nationally, revitalized public markets struggled with a changing atmosphere that came with renting space to national retail and restaurant chains.<sup>442</sup> In 1990, then Market Manager James Gable advocated denying national chains space in the City Market. Instead Gable wanted specialty shops and retail vendors that would “reflect the historic character of the building as a place to buy food items.”<sup>443</sup> Even as the City Market became reliant on lunch-counter vendors, there was a continual commitment to actively recruit small business owners and to avoid national chains. Market Executive Director Nikki Longworth explained

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<sup>439</sup> Tom Binford, “Fearing City Market Rumors,” *Indianapolis Business Journal*, February 7, 1994.

<sup>440</sup> Knight, “In The Market For Days of Old.”

<sup>441</sup> Ibid.

<sup>442</sup> With success from revitalization and increased interest of tourists, public markets faced pressure to allow retail and restraint chains access to space. Many proponents feared that this would lead to a mall or shopping center vibe. Some public markets, like Faneuil Hall Marketplace in Boston, succumbed to these trends. Others, like Pike Place Market in Seattle, placed “an unbending policy” against chains renting space. For an in-depth discussion, see Donofrio, “The Container and the Contained,” 301–2.

<sup>443</sup> Rob Schneider, “Remaking the Market,” *Indianapolis Star*, March 5, 1990.

in 2007, “Public markets have public goals, such as attracting people and incubating businesses. . . . It’s not profitable, but it can be sustained. That’s our goal.”<sup>444</sup>

By the mid-2000s, Indianapolis mounted a spirited challenge to toss off its ‘nap town’ nickname and began a downtown renaissance. Downtown populations were again growing, reaching 17,907 inhabitants in the Central Business District by 2000.<sup>445</sup> However, much of this attention was concentrated on the western and central parts of downtown, away from the market area in the eastern quadrant of the city. Competition from downtown lunch crowds grew fierce, especially with the completion of the Circle Center Mall downtown in 1995. Down the street, grocery retailer O’Malia’s downtown location helped to revitalize Lockerbie Square. These ventures compounded to hurt the City Market’s business.

Foot traffic to the City Market declined following the demolition of Market Square Arena in 2001.<sup>446</sup> Plans for mixed-use housing and retail developments never materialized in the remaining space. The western side of the Market House was bleak, dominated by a landscape of surface parking lots. This void in the landscape created an unappealing chasm between the building and nearby housing just a few blocks away.<sup>447</sup> Directly north of the Market House, the Old City Hall was vacated by the State Museum in 2002, taking with it the bus loads of school children who used to stop for lunch.<sup>448</sup> With the evaporation of this customer base, businesses in the City Market struggled just to pay their monthly rents. One stand manager reported in 2005 that with lower patronage, daily sales had declined

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<sup>444</sup> Brendan O’Shaughnessy, “Market Running Late: As Days Tick by and Renovation Costs Rise, City Market Tenants Worry about Survival,” *Indianapolis Star*, March 11, 2007. This rhetoric was maintained even when Mayor Greg Ballard pushed for then executive director Jim Reilly to allow national franchises. Other City Market proponents bristled. As the *Indianapolis Star* explained, “The Market clearly needs to change direction. But it’s not time to rely on Starbucks.” “Keep Chains Out, Freshness in,” *Indianapolis Star*, May 19, 2009, sec. Editorial.

<sup>445</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, 2000, <https://www.census.gov/census2000/states/in.html>.

<sup>446</sup> For more on the construction and intended customer growth from the Market Square Arena, see page 92-93.

<sup>447</sup> American Dirt, “Reinventing the Indianapolis City Market, Part I – External and Internal Influences,” *American Dirt*, October 31, 2009, accessed January 10, 2015, <http://dirtamericana.blogspot.com/2009/10/reinventing-indianapolis-city-market.html>.

<sup>448</sup> Greg Andrews, “New Management Hatches City Market Incubator Plan;” Peter Schnitzler, “Market Gets Eviction OK.”

60 percent over the last seven years.<sup>449</sup> “The biggest weakness,” explained expert David O’Neal, “is that the lunch trade has been taken over so that’s creating a one-dimensionality to the Market, and that’s a dead end.”<sup>450</sup> With sales primarily limited to the lunch hours, the operation found it difficult to sustain enough traffic to continue a viable business.<sup>451</sup>

### **Renovation and Revitalization**

With its narrow parameters of solely food sales, the City Market struggled. Executive Director Nikki Longworth persistently looked for a strategy to transform the Market into “a food-oriented destination for eating, celebrating, and learning.”<sup>452</sup> She sought to generate design standards amongst stands to create a balance of “more effective product merchandising . . . and authenticity.”<sup>453</sup> By 2008, the City Market completed a \$2.7 million facelift, including a new floor, plumbing and electrical upgrades, restroom updates, new paint and the addition of a demonstration kitchen.<sup>454</sup> “This renovation is an important step towards our primary goal of revitalizing City Market by bringing fresh food purveyors back,” explained Market Board president Brian K. Burke.<sup>455</sup> The renovation process was anything but smooth, and long delays caused some vendors to close or pull out of planned stands.<sup>456</sup> As with previous renovations, the goal was to move the institution beyond a lunch

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<sup>449</sup> Tammy Lieber, “City Market Plans Raising Concerns; Coming Renovations Worry Some Tenants,” *Indianapolis Business Journal*, September 19, 2005.

<sup>450</sup> Knight, “In The Market For Days of Old.”

<sup>451</sup> Greg Andrews, “New Management Hatches City Market Incubator Plan;” Matthew Kish, “\$20m Overhaul for City Market? Culinary School May Replace East Wing,” *Indianapolis Business Journal*, June 19, 2006; “Downtown Eateries Shrug Off Mall,” *Indianapolis Star*, September 26, 1995.

<sup>452</sup> Nikki Longworth, “Market to Update, yet Keep Character,” *Indianapolis Business Journal*, September 26, 2005.

<sup>453</sup> Ibid.

<sup>454</sup> The renovations were originally intended to cost around \$1.8 million, with around \$500,000 of the funding coming from tax monies. The rest was raised from private sources and grants. “City Market’s Extreme Makeover Under Way,” *Urban Times*, February 2007.

<sup>455</sup> Ibid.

<sup>456</sup> Brendan O’Shaughnessy, “City Market Looks to August,” *Indianapolis Star*, May 25, 2007; Meagan Ingerson, “City Market: Back to Business,” *Indianapolis Star*, November 1, 2007. The work started in January 2007 and was scheduled to be completed in May. Executive director Nikki Longworth resigned, leaving the project five months in. However, the project ran at least \$1.8 million over budget and five months late, finally opening in November.



Figure 3.E: Current interior of City Market from mezzanine level. Colorful banners, lighting, and decorative trim were added to create a festive atmosphere. Photograph by author.

counter crowd, enhancing the City Market with fresh produce and local goods, adding Saturday hours, and expanding entertainment offerings in outdoor spaces.<sup>457</sup> By the end of the process in 2009, one blogger analyzed that “high tenant vacancies, combined with abnormally high operating expenses has essentially turned the building into perhaps the city’s biggest albatross.”<sup>458</sup>

Even with all these plans and investment, the City Market was barely keeping its head above water. Standowners’ business was down almost 80 percent during the renovation, and revenues did not get better with its completion.<sup>459</sup> Three executive directors turned over in

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<sup>457</sup> Jennifer Litz, “Constantino’s and Moody Meats,” *NUVO*, April 16, 2008. At first, the renovation was successful at attracting diverse businesses, with Constantino’s Market Place and Moody Meats both opening within months of its completion. However, neither of these stands lasted longer than two years.

<sup>458</sup> American Dirt, “Reinventing the Indianapolis City Market, Part I – External and Internal Influences.”

<sup>459</sup> O’Shaughnessy, “Market Running Late.”

four years.<sup>460</sup> In 2009, a frustrated Mayor Greg Ballard sought to remove the City Market from city subsidies and demanded a viable long-term plan from its board.<sup>461</sup> After a study, the Indianapolis City Market Corporation, the non-profit board charged with managing the institution, created a drastic plan to shutter the building for three years to organize, repair, and revise the facility.<sup>462</sup> The thirteen members of the City Market board of directors revised its mission, aiming more broadly to feed “the community and our guests by offering distinct foods, products and services in an environment that preserves and perpetuates Central Indiana’s agricultural, architectural and cultural history.”<sup>463</sup>

In November 2009, Mayor Ballard rejected this plan in favor of a less aggressive strategy, prompting the resignation of the City Market Board President.<sup>464</sup> Ballard sought to reduce operating costs by consolidating the City Market into the central Market House, reducing tenant spaces.<sup>465</sup> “With the Market makeover,” explained Ballard in a press release,

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<sup>460</sup> Brendan O’Shaughnessy, “Backed into a Corner,” *Indianapolis Star*, May 17, 2009; “Keep Chains Out, Freshness in.” Jim Reilly, executive director of the market from 1994 to 2000, returned to direct the institution around November 2008. At the time of his return, the market still owed a \$700,000 loan from the previous renovations and its bank accounts were frozen after losing a court battle with restaurant Grecian Gardens. At this point, Mayor Ballard sought new ideas to turn around the struggling market, while implying that the city could not afford to keep subsidizing it.

<sup>461</sup> Francesca Jarosz, “Wanted: Fresh Ideas for City Market,” *Indianapolis Star*, October 29, 2009. In 2009, the City of Indianapolis provided almost \$300,000 in public subsidies to the Market.

<sup>462</sup> “Indianapolis City Market,” *Indianapolis Business Journal*, November 9, 2009. Article II.- City Market, Sec.285-202, Indianapolis Code of Ordinances, G.O. 42, 1992, § 3, G.O. 146, 1999, §1 (MuniCode 2015). The City Market Corporation’s board of directors is composed of 13 members: six with experience in “accounting, retail grocery, architecture, historic preservation and other business experience” appointed by the city-county council and mayor; four with “extensive experience in grant writing, fund raising or other philanthropic endeavors, marketing or other needs expertise” appointed by the city-county council; the city controller or controller’s designee; a deputy mayor; and one other elected official appointed by the mayor.

<sup>463</sup> “About,” *Indianapolis City Market*, 2015, accessed January 20, 2015, <http://www.indycm.com/about>.

<sup>464</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>465</sup> Mayor’s Office, City of Indianapolis, “City Market Renovations,” n.d., <http://www.indy.gov/eGov/Mayor/initiatives/Pages/CityMarket.aspx>; Peter Schnitzler, “Market Gets Eviction OK.” Ballard was specifically interested in reducing the city’s annual utility subsidy for the market. He reduced the budgeted amount in 2008 from \$250,000 to \$156,000, with the promise to eliminate it by 2009. Market management also took aggressive measures to secure unpaid rents from six stands: Berkshire Florist, Lucia’s Italian Restaurant, Constantino’s Market Place, Jumbo’s, and Haleigh’s Harvest.

“we are extending development of our dynamic downtown area to the east side of the Circle and demonstrating that all of downtown has rich cultural, retail, and recreational opportunities.”<sup>466</sup> “We’re getting a mulligan here,” explained Executive Director Jim Reilly, “this is probably our last chance to get it right.”<sup>467</sup> As part of the changes, the Market East area was redesigned to create a more “vibrant atmosphere” with better stand designs, new colors, and brighter lighting.<sup>468</sup> In 2011, the City Market added to the upper mezzanine Tomlinson Tap, a bar serving Indiana craft beers. The pub provided an evening presence for the Market, encouraging other stands to stay open later to serve imbibing customers. (Figure 3.E)

After soliciting business proposals, the city invested \$3.5 million dollars in 2010 into redeveloping and renovating the Market wings. The eastern wing was envisioned as the Indy Bike Hub, with a bike repair shop, offices for IndyCog, Bicycle Indiana, and a YMCA fitness facility.<sup>469</sup> By 2014, the Market’s location next to the Indianapolis Cultural Trail and proximity to bike-sharing stations attracted many customers and commuters via bicycle.<sup>470</sup> The west wing holds the Platform, created by the Indianapolis Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC) to offer meeting and office space for non-profit organizations.<sup>471</sup>

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<sup>466</sup> Jessica Higdon, “Historic Indianapolis City Market Aims to Become a Visitor Destination with Major Makeover” City of Indianapolis Press Release, June 4, 2010, <http://www.indy.gov/eGov/Mayor/pressroom/2010/Documents/PR%20%206%204%2010%20Historic%20Indianapolis%20City%20Market%20Aims%20to%20Become%20a%20Visitor%20Destination%20with%20Major%20Makeover%20%282%29.pdf>.

<sup>467</sup> “New Hopes for New Life for Market,” *Indianapolis Star*, June 19, 2010.

<sup>468</sup> Francesca Jarosz, “New Plan for City Market Launched,” *Indianapolis Star*, May 20, 2010.

<sup>469</sup> Jason Thomas, “A Marketplace Once More,” *Indianapolis Star*, June 5, 2010; “Home - Indybikehub.org,” n.d., accessed January 20, 2015, <http://indybikehub.org/>.

<sup>470</sup> Completed in 2013, the Indianapolis Cultural Trail connects downtown Indianapolis’ cultural districts with eight miles of bike and pedestrian paths. By 2014, a bike share program was added along the trail. For further information about the cultural trail, see “About” and “History,” [indyculturaltrail.org](http://indyculturaltrail.org).

<sup>471</sup> Jon Murray, “City Market Shows Off New Look for Its West Wing,” *Indianapolis Star*, November 30, 2012; Mayor’s Office, City of Indianapolis, “City Market Renovations;” “The Platform | The Platform Indianapolis,” accessed January 15, 2015, <http://theplatformindy.org>. The redevelopment ran into some snags, with the city having to oust long-time vendor Enzo Pizza when it refused to relocate from the eastern wing to the central Market House.



In order to make the Market a “hub of activity,” management began to cultivate a variety of special events, including concerts on the plazas.<sup>472</sup> Key within these ventures is the Original Farmers’ Market, held on Wednesdays from May through October. Started in 1996, the Farmers’ Market has grown to span Market Street. This farmers’ market brings vendors from around Indiana to sell produce, baked goods, dairy products, and meats. From 2011 to 2015, the Indianapolis Winter Market operated in the Market’s west wing, providing local produce and food products to shoppers on Saturday mornings November through March.<sup>473</sup> Both of the Farmers’ Markets bring an element of the market’s historical function back to the building, providing an arena for food producers to connect with the urban community.

The plan seemed to work. By 2012, the City Market had attracted a new generation of market vendors and gained a reputation as a “whole food destination.”<sup>474</sup> “More and more people are realizing that it is cool, that there are now options. . . . There are people who are really excited about good quality, and we want to be a part of that,” explained Circle City Soups owner Roger Hawkins.<sup>475</sup> Operating at almost full occupancy, with over thirty vendors, the bustle and vibrancy had returned to the City Market.

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<sup>472</sup> John Tuohy, “New Food, Features Reshape City Market,” *Indianapolis Star*, October 11, 2011.

<sup>473</sup> Ibid.

<sup>474</sup> Jolene Ketzenberger, “New Tenant Another Positive Step in Reinventing Downtown Venue,” *Indianapolis Star*, November 4, 2011.

<sup>475</sup> Julie Cope Saetre, “City Market 3.0,” *Indianapolis Star*, October 13, 2011.

## CHAPTER 4: PROPOSED SITE INTERPRETIVE PLAN FOR THE INDIANAPOLIS CITY MARKET

### Introduction

#### *Purpose of Interpretation Plan*

The purpose of this interpretive plan is to provide engaging, feasible suggestions for interpretation at the Indianapolis City Market. It will suggest ways to give visitors and interested parties entry points into the City Market's history, as well as to integrate new research about the market's history into this interpretation. The City Market consistently alludes to its own 194-year history as a vibrant hub of life at the heart of downtown Indianapolis. However, visitors find few opportunities to engage in this history.-

My task for this plan is to suggest interpretive methods to engage built-in audiences with the history of the Indianapolis City Market. Within this parameter, I have concentrated on opportunities within the remaining 1886 market house building. Underlying this plan is a recognition of the financial realities of the market, which operates with a small staff and limited resources. Therefore, this plan aims at making feasible and practical suggestions, most of which can be incorporated into already existing infrastructures.

For the purposes of this chapter, interpretation is defined as the messages that will be communicated about the City Market, the best methods to communicate these messages, and a clear explanation of why these stories matter. This plan both outlines the current state of interpretive elements provided at the City Market and suggests new methods that could be incorporated. Building upon the historical background provided in the previous three chapters, these suggestions include thematic analyses and recommended content to include. Ultimately, this plan serves as a recommendation for the City Market Corporation to interpret this historic building in a way that maximizes its ability to protect and preserve this architectural landmark, while highlighting its important role within the community.



Figure 4.A: Partially obscured plaque inside the City Market about 1970s renovation. Photograph by author.

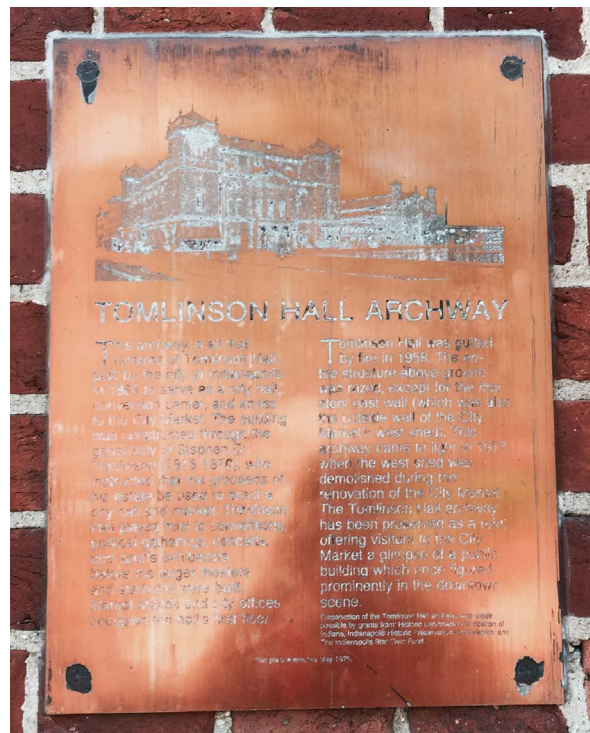


Figure 4.B: Plaque on Tomlinson Hall arch commemorating building formerly on that site. Tomlinson Hall burned down in 1958. The arch was preserved in 1977 as part of the renovations of the City Market. See Chapter 1 for text of this plaque. Photograph by author.

### *Current Interpretation*

Visitors to the Indianapolis City Market find few opportunities to learn the building's history or its changing function within an urban context. No plaques on the outside of the City Market building mention its placement on the National Register of Historic Places or the date that it was built. Inside the building, one bronze plaque near the eastern entrance mentions the building's inception. Mostly obscured by stands, this sign refers to the planning of the market space at the city's formation, D. A. Bohlen's design of the market house in 1886, and those involved in preserving the building almost a century later. (Figure 4.A)

The most apparent interpretation resides outside on the Tomlinson Hall arch. Standing alone in the southeast corner of the western plaza, this arch is the only remnant of Tomlinson Hall, the massive auditorium and market space which burned down in 1958. Discovered during the 1978 renovation, the arch was preserved and a brass plaque was installed by the Historic Landmarks Foundation of Indiana (now Indiana Landmarks), the Indianapolis Historic Preservation Commission, and the Indianapolis Star Civic Fund, giving a brief summary of the hall's history. (Figure 4.B. For full text on this plaque, see page 1.) Today, the arch is easily overlooked and the worn brass plaque is difficult to read. These are the only fixed interpretive elements at the currently on the City Market property.

Indiana Landmarks, in partnership with the City Market Corporation, provides a guided tour of the City Market "catacombs."<sup>476</sup> Offered on the first and third Saturdays of each summer month for \$12 per person, this tour gives a history of Tomlinson Hall (and by extension the Market) before taking visitors into the unfinished basement of Tomlinson Hall. The tour mainly concentrates on the history, function, and architecture of Tomlinson Hall, but it does a good job of providing context for the role of the building at the time of its construction and how the space has been used since Tomlinson Hall was destroyed. In 2014, Indiana Landmarks conducted 272 tours, serving 3,022 people.

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<sup>476</sup> Indiana Landmarks was previously known as Historic Landmarks Foundation of Indiana.

## Audience

This interpretation plan primarily focuses on visitors and customers to the City Market's food market housed in the central building. With little specific data, most of the conclusions for visitorship were made from direct observations on several occasions at the Market. Based on these observations, a few clear audience profiles can be developed:

- Lunchtime Visitors: As expected, due to the large number of prepared food stands, the lion's share of visitors come to the City Market around lunchtime, between 11:00am and 2:00pm. A substantial portion of these customers work in nearby offices or at the City-County Building and visit the market regularly to get their mid-day meal.
- Tourists: The City Market is marketed by tourism agencies around the city as a unique destination to eat and experience history. These visitors are generally one-time customers looking for a distinctive culinary experience. Additionally, due to its location on the Cultural Trail and near a bike share station, residents and tourists can easily stop to imbibe or refresh before continuing on a ride or walk through the city.
- Farmers' Market Customers: Advertised as one of Indiana's longest running farmers' markets, the Original Farmer's Market is held on Wednesdays and Saturdays during the summer months. Both farmers' markets bring visitors to eat and shop more widely in the City Market as well.
- History Enthusiasts: A portion of visitors to the City Market arrive to engage with the historic space. These visitors are often looking for opportunities to learn more about the building, and seek out experiences like Indiana Landmark's Catacombs tours.

## Need for Interpretation

The need for interpretation is at the core of the City Market's mission: to maintain, preserve, and perpetuate the historic building. The goal of preserving this landmark will only be accomplished by communicating the stories from the building's distinctive history to visitors. The City Market is powerful and unique, rooted in its 128-year history as an important community entity. Providing interpretation of the City Market will serve as an effective tool for patrons to better understand the building they are standing in, and create a greater appreciation and connection to the space.

The need for interpretation is in part rooted in the construction of visitors' experiences. Visitors build their experiences based on their expectations and impressions of the environment around them. In his work on facilitating learning experiences within

museums, museum education specialist and Professor George Hein explains that visitors “learn by constructing their own understandings” through reflection on personal interests, preconceptions, and their own worldview.<sup>477</sup> Similarly, free-choice learning experts, John H. Falk and Lynn D. Dierking explain, *The Museum Experience*, that visitors’ focus on and interest in interpretive materials “is filtered through the personal context, mediated by the social context, and embedded with the physical context.”<sup>478</sup> With this research in mind, historic sites are increasingly moving away from an authoritative model to becoming a “partner in dialogue with interested, engaged community members.”<sup>479</sup>

As a historic site, many of these concepts hold true for creating a rich interpretive environment within the City Market. A visit to the City Market, whether for a quick lunch or stop at the farmers’ market, is an intentional interaction with both local food production and Indianapolis’ cultural identity. By providing avenues to historic context through interpretation, the Market can create more meaningful connections to the space and create a more actively engaged community around it.

Interpretation needs are also rooted in the changing nature of how public markets are used within the urban context. Nationally, public markets are building stronger communities by revitalizing as urban civic centers. Public markets are embracing the place making movement, a hands-on approach to improving neighborhoods, cities, or a region by reimagining and reinventing public spaces. This ideology emphasizes strengthening the connection between people and the places they share in a collaborative process that redefines shared value.<sup>480</sup> Many cities are reinvesting in public markets as a method for embracing this movement, whether as farmers’ markets bringing farm goods to urban dwellers or reinventing their surviving public market buildings into vibrant community centers.

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<sup>477</sup> George E. Hein, *Learning in the Museum* (London: Routledge, 1998), 153, 179.

<sup>478</sup> John H. Falk and Lynn D. Dierking, *The Museum Experience Revisited* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, Inc., 2013), 30.

<sup>479</sup> Jennifer Czajkowski and Shirale Hill, “Transformation and Interpretation: What is the Museum Educator’s Role?” *Journal of Museum Education* 33, no. 3 (2008), 255-264.

<sup>480</sup> For further details on placemaking, see the Project for Public Spaces, <http://www.pps.org/>.

Indianapolis' City Market is following suit, aiming to reinvent itself as a gathering space for people and events. This gathering place idea has been a defining characteristic of the City Market since its inception. Creating opportunities for visitors to more readily recognize and interact with this aspect of the City Market's history will further support these institutional goals.

## **Thematic Approach**

### *Goals*

The goal of this interpretive plan is to create a blueprint for content and structure of visitors' educational experience at the Indianapolis City Market. By identifying and prioritizing compelling stories and messages, the Market can better define its relationship with visitors and determine what meanings it wants them to take away. Essential to interpretive planning in a site such as the City Market is a deep understanding of the context and content related to the site's history. As interpretive planner Barbara Levy explains, "the underlying pedagogical value of an interpretation depends on the quality of the history on which it is based."<sup>481</sup> Built upon the historical foundation set out in the earlier chapters of this thesis, this interpretation plan follows a thematic approach. Systematically employing a central theme, subthemes, and storylines reinforces the essential concepts of this plan while creating a complete picture of the City Market's role within Indianapolis history.<sup>482</sup>

Under the central thematic statement are subthemes, key ideas that connect to City Market's significance within Indianapolis history. They are the building blocks for the core content of this interpretive plan, connecting aspects of the City Market's history to

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<sup>481</sup> Barbara Abramoff Levy, "Interpretive Planning: Why and How," in *Interpreting House Museums*, Jessica Foy Donnelly, ed (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002), 46.

<sup>482</sup> The thematic approach is the recommended and common practice among museum professionals for interpretive and exhibit planning. Commonly called the "big idea" organizing structure, this technique allows for repetition of key concepts, a technique imperative for retention. For more on this approach, see Beverly Serrell, *Exhibit Labels: An Interpretive Approach* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 1996); Marchella Wells, Barbara Butler, and Judith Koke, *Interpretive Planning for Museums: Integrating Visitor Perspectives in Decision Making* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2013); Chesapeake Bay Office, "Interpretive Planning Tools for Historic Trails and Gateways," National Park Service (May 2011), accessed April 20, 2015, [interpretiveplanningtoolkit.org](http://interpretiveplanningtoolkit.org); Levy, "Interpretation Planning: Why and How," 48.

larger historical themes and city-wide values. Under each sub-theme, a few potential stories have been identified to further connect visitors to historic actors and moments within the Market's history. Each of these components are useful when designing methods of interpretation and are vital to ensuring that all aspects of the central thematic statement are addressed.

### *Central Theme Statement*

The City Market has been an important public space in the Indianapolis community for over 125 years, acting as a commercial, cultural, and social center of downtown. The stories provided serve as an entry point to explore the city's robust history.

### *Subthemes*

- Community Life: The City Market was and is a center of city life and urban growth in Indianapolis. As a hub, it served and still serves as a community-gathering place.
- Economic History: The City Market was vital to the economic life of Indianapolis, serving as an incubator for small businesses and emerging municipal progressivism.
- Changing Nature of Urban Landscape: The City Market has evolved in function to fit the changing needs of Indianapolis residents over the last century.
- Historic Preservation Movement: The City Market's preservation reflects a changing mindset within Indianapolis and represents an important moment where citizens, municipal authorities, and standowners came together to preserve this building.

## **Interpretive Elements**

### *Interpretive Panels*

Because there are currently no interpretive elements inside the historic market building, panels are a vital part of this plan. These signs will provide a broad overview of the Market's history and communicate the evolution of the City Market to visitors within the building. Interpretive panels are a tried-and-true method of historic interpretation, having the potential to reach a broad audience, communicate multiple perspectives, and provoke further investigation while staying financially feasible.



Following the interpretive themes outlined in Section Three of this chapter, these panels will connect visitors to the building around them, provoking them to ask questions about how the space was previously used and how it has evolved into its current use. Most panels will consist of a short opening paragraph, historic images with captions and corresponding quotes. Appendix D includes suggested text for these interpretive panels.

#### *Tabletop Vignettes and Posters*

Visitors to the market tend to linger in specific places. They wait in lines at vendors to order food and then wait for it to be prepared. Most enjoy their meals at tables on the upper mezzanine level. These spaces are prime locations for these vignettes of history, intended to engage those idle moments. These stories would be shared on posters displayed throughout the City Market, as well as on vinyl adhered to tables on the upper mezzanine of the City Market. Each story would connect directly to the central theme and at least one of the sub-themes developed above. For example, customers could read a poster about Italian immigrants introducing bananas to Indianapolis at produce stands in the City Market while waiting for a smoothie to be prepared. A tourist enjoying a hamburger on the mezzanine might read about dozens of City Market butchers being arrested in 1906 due to violations to the Pure Food and Drug Act.

While interpretive panels provide a broader connection to large themes, these vignettes are intended to connect visitors to the space by telling stories about the vendors, customers, events, and activities that occurred within the City Market. By providing specific anecdotes, these posters will give visitors easy access points into the market history and share specific viewpoints and narratives. Each should be colorful and have a similar design identity, making each piece feel like the same series.

### *Indiana Landmarks Catacombs Walking Tour*

As described earlier, Indiana Landmarks provides scheduled tours of the City Market catacombs. Formerly the basement of Tomlinson Hall, the catacombs lie underneath the present west wing of the City Market. Dominated by vaulted brick archways that originally supported the building, this damp 22,000 square foot space is light by a few light bulbs connected by extension cords. A packed dirt floor scattered with loose gravel and sand requires caution when stepping. After the Tomlinson Hall fire in 1958, the space was used sparingly for rare special events like fundraising balls, and allegedly as an Indianapolis Police Department firing range. After the 1976 renovations, multiple proposals suggested turning the space into a restaurant, but these proposals were unsuccessful. The publication *Indianapolis Architecture* listed the failure to restore the Catacombs space as one of the “worst events or nonevents” in city history by local planners and architects.<sup>483</sup> The catacombs are accessed by a long staircase in the west wing. On tours visitors first stop at the Tomlinson Hall Arch to get an overview of the building’s history and its demise. The group then moves into the catacombs area where guides go more specifically into the use of the basement area, Tomlinson Hall’s architecture and the evolution of the space.

These guided tours are an important aspect of the interpretation plan. Due to limited staffing and resources, the suggestions made in this plan intentionally do not require the presence of interpreters or current employees. With infrastructure already in place from Indiana Landmarks’ able volunteers, these guided tours provide a face-to-face opportunity for visitors to generate questions and interact with those knowledgeable about the City Market’s history. The script laid out by Indiana Landmarks encourages interaction between guides and visitors, giving time for visitors to think about what they are seeing and how it intersects with areas of Indianapolis architecture and history.

Although the Indiana Landmarks tour has been successful and is high in quality, improvements can always be made. The script, which is limited to half an hour, could be

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<sup>483</sup> Mary Ellen Gadski, ed., *Indianapolis Architecture: Transformations since 1975* (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana Architectural Foundation, 1993), 62-3.

made stronger by including more perspectives from multiple time periods. The script is primarily limited to the history of Tomlinson Hall, missing some of the vibrancy of the City Market's colorful past. Broadening the scope slightly and incorporating new research may foster an easier connection with current market use and give a fuller picture of the City Market's history. Including some quotations or readings, such as Meredith Nicholson's reminiscences of the market, in conjunction with historic images could bring a lively visualization of past Market.<sup>484</sup>

### *Digital Outreach*

The City Market maintains an active presence on Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram as a way to inform and communicate with supporters. With over 6,000 Facebook fans and almost 20,000 Twitter followers, these social media platforms constitute a substantial method for reaching visitors. These virtual methods also have the potential to keep tourists or one-time visitors involved in the ongoing efforts of the City Market. Incorporating historic images, short stories, and anecdotes into a posting schedule would further illuminate the City Market's longstanding history. Posts should be coordinated to correspond with specific events occurring at the City Market and with interpretive themes. For example, images of the 1915 street market would be posted on Wednesday to correspond to the Original Farmers' Market. A series could be started for #ThrowbackThursday to mention how the City Market has been serving the community for over 120 years. Or, conversely, pointing out how it has changed by illuminating that as late as 1930, you could purchase live chickens at the City Market. The character constraints of social media would allow for short, pithy posts that create an opportunity to keep the City Market's essential function of preserving the space in the minds of key supporters and could engage conversations about past remembrances around the space.

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<sup>484</sup> See page 41-42 for quote.

**APPENDIX A: COMPLETE LIST OF INDIANAPOLIS MARKET MANAGERS<sup>485</sup>**

Market Master <sup>487</sup>	Year	
Fleming T. Luse	1832-1835	Position called Clerk of Markets <sup>488</sup>
Thomas Chinn	1832-1835	
Andrew Smith	1835-1836	
Jacob Roop	1836-1837	
James Gore	1837	
Jeremiah [Wormegen/ Wormegan/ Wormagen]	1837-1846	Position name changed to Market Master <sup>489</sup>
Jacob B. Fidler	1846-1847	
Sampson Barbee Sr.	1847-1848	
Jacob Miller	1849-1852; 1854- 1855	
George W. Harlan	1852-1853; 1856- 1857	
Henry Ohr	1853-1854	
Richard Weeks	1855-1856; 1857- 1858	
Charles John	1858-1861; 1862- 1863; 1864-1867	
Thomas J. Foos	1861-1862	
John J. Wenner	1863-1864	
Sampson Barbee Jr.	1867-1868	
Gideon B. Thompson	1868-1869	
Theodore W. Pease	1869-1870	
[James Y./ John G.] Mardick	1870-1871	

<sup>485</sup> Data for this table was compiled from W. R. Holloway, *Indianapolis: A Historical And Statistical Sketch of the Railroad City* (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Journal Print, 1870), 136; Jacob Piatt Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis: The History, the Industry, the Institutions, and the People of a City of Homes*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1910), 120, 636; Berry R. Sulgrove, *A History of Indianapolis and Marion County, Indiana*, (Philadelphia: L.H. Everts & Co., 1884), 110, 488; and digitized volumes of the *Indianapolis City-County Common Council Proceedings* (<https://journals.iupui.edu/index.php/cci>). When possible, names were corroborated using census records, newspaper articles, or Indianapolis City Directories. A number of sources disagree on the identity and term lengths of Market Masters before 1847. These early records were unable to be verified due to limited surviving sources.

<sup>487</sup> There are discrepancies around the identity of the first market clerk and the length of that term. Jacob Dunn claim that Thomas Chinn served first for three years, and Fleming T. Luse served after, for only five months. Sulgrove agrees in his chart on page 120, but states Fleming T. Luse was the first Market Master on page 110.

<sup>488</sup> Listings only include East Market Master.

<sup>489</sup> Jacob Dunn states the position changed title to Market Master in 1840. Sulgrove dates the change in 1847.

John Unversaw	1871-1874	
John F. Gulick	1874-1876	
William Shaw	1876-1877	
Jehiel B. Hampton	1877-1878	
Joseph M. Sutton	1878-1879	
Albert Izor	1879-1880	
James A. Gregg	1880-1881	
Orville B. Rankin	1882-1884	
William H. Pritchard	1885-1886	
Benjamin Alldridge	1887-1888	
J.E. Isgrigg	1889-1890	
John P. Schitlges	1891-1892	
Armin C. Koehne	1893-1895	
Emmanuel M. Goebel	1895-1900	
Thomas P. Shufelton	1901-1903	
James A. McCrossan	1903-1905	
Joseph Foppiano	1906-1909	
Carlin H. Shank	1910-1913	
Michael F. Dalton	1914-1917	
Harry Li Beau	1918-1921	
Robert R. Sloan	1922-1925	
Earl S. Garrett	1926-1927	
Harry R. Springsteen	1928-1934	
Paul Lindeman	1935-1942	
Roy Jackson	1943-1947	
Joseph Besesi	1948-1949; 1950	
Thomas Riley	1950, 1951	
Paul A. Rene	1952-1955	
Jacob Steinmetz	1956-1959	
Paul Persian	1960-1963	
Michael O'Grady	1965-1967	
Frank J. Murray	1968-1976	
Dale Kenney	1977-1980	
Alice Hiland	1982-1984	Management position eliminated. Market administrator position created
Sandra Welch-Richard	1985-1987	Continues as Market Administrator
Richard Worth	1989	Market Manager position created

James Gable	1989-1992	
David W. Andrichik	1992-1994	
James Reilly	1994-2000, 2008-2011	Position name changed to Executive Director around 1999.
Nikki Longworth	2001-2007	
Stevie Stoesz	2011-present	

**APPENDIX B: COST BREAK DOWN FOR CONSTRUCTION OF TOMLINSON HALL AND MARKET HOUSE, 1886**

<b>Tomlinson Hall (1885-1886)</b>		
<i>Company</i>	<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Cost (in dollars)</i>
D. A. Bohlen	Architect	3,595.45
Fulmer & Seibert	Excavation	2,633.79
Koss & Fritz	Foundation Stone	8,300
Salisbury & Stanley	Building	107,288.83
Advertising for bids		50.95
Clark & McGanley	Gas Fixtures (Balconies)	642.32
Knight & Jillson	Steam Fitting	7,667.00
J. Giles Smith	Plumbing	1,179.00
A. Bruner	Sewer Connections	1,455.04
Central Chair Company	Chairs	725.00
Laakman & Sherer	Cement Sidewalk	844.64
Goddard Brothers	Stone Tablet	80.00
Total Expenditure		134,462.02
<b>Market House (1886)</b>		
<i>Company</i>	<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Cost (in dollars)</i>
D. A. Bohlen	Architect	795.15
C.W. Meikel	Gas Fixture	173.00
John A. Buchanan	Construction	29,818.15
Total Expenditure for 1886		30,786.30

Data compiled from *An Index to the Journals of the Common Council, Board of Alderman and Joint Conventions of Said Bodies for the Year 1885* (Indianapolis: Hasselman-Journal, 1886), 20; and *An Index to the Journals of the Common Council, Board of Aldermen, and Joint Conventions of Said Bodies, for the Year 1886* (Indianapolis: Hasselman-Journal, 1887) found at <https://journals.iupui.edu/index.php/ccci/index>.

**APPENDIX C: FINANCIAL PROFITS AND LOSSES FOR CITY MARKET AND  
TOMLINSON HALL, 1893-1958**

Year	Income (Leases and curb fees)	Market Expenses	Profits	Percentage
1893	16,317	4,826	11,491	70%
1894	20,526	5,039	15,487	75%
1895	15,844	7,178	11,661	45%
1896	21,838	7,381	14,457	66%
1897	20,935	7,482	13,353	64%
1898	20,096	6,858	13,238	66%
1899	19,471	8,502	10,969	56%
1900	20,032	8,213	11,819	59%
1901	19,053	9,009	10,044	53%
1902		9,181		
1903	19,215	10,790	8,425	44%
1904	25,071	13,937	11,134	44%
1905				
1906				
1907			18,058	
1908			21,844	
1909	29,850	14,562	15,288	51%
1910	24,644			
1911	20,611			
1912	19,947			
1913	27,700			
1914	44,515	13,420	31,095	70%
1915	32,325	11,472	20,853	65%
1916	38,956	10,382	28,574	73%
1917	33,336	10,230	23,106	69%
1918	28,843	9,885	18,958	66%
1919	36,270	10,958	25,312	70%
1920	36,392	13,260	23,132	64%
1921	36,331	13,846	22,485	62%
1922	57,791	14,555	43,236	75%
1923	66,238	14,584	51,654	78%
1924	41,140	14,364	26,776	65%
1925	34,728	13,983	20,745	60%
1926	63,265	14,081	49,184	78%
1927	28,247	13,807	14,440	51%
1928	36,778	12,845	23,933	65%



1929	37,518	13,412	24,106	64%
1930	37,518	13,343	24,175	64%
1931	35,646	12,653	22,993	65%
1932	29,137	10,903	18,234	63%
1933	22,452	12,550	9,902	44%
1934	19,464	13,474	5,990	31%
1935	35,689	20,866	14,823	42%
1936	26,959	25,994	965	4%
1937	29,888	27,742	2,146	7%
1938	29,895	26,002	3,893	13%
1939	30,082	24,906	5,176	17%
1940	32,254	25,449	6,805	21%
1941	31,966	24,364	7,602	24%
1942	35,640	22,864	12,776	36%
1943	29,256	22,280	6,976	24%
1944	32,748	24,294	8,454	26%
1945	34,174	26,458	7,716	23%
1946	35,179	26,089	9,090	26%
1949	43,108	34,285	8,823	20%
1951	41,820	36,540	5,280	13%
1952	43,187	36,447	6,740	16%
1953	44,123	37,915	6,208	14%
1954	52,217	42,077	10,140	19%
1955	54,254	44,395	9,859	18%
1956	50,359	39,373	10,986	22%
1957	52,503	42,631	9,872	19%
1958	29,623	51,803	-22,180	-75%

Data taken from Indianapolis City Financial Reports housed at the Indiana State Library and “Urges Market Changes, Committee Meets Mayor,” *Indianapolis Star*, January 21, 1910, 6.

## APPENDIX D: SUGGESTED INTERPRETIVE PANEL TEXT

### Panel A: The Indianapolis City Market [Introduction]

Colorful. Chaotic. Tenacious.

The Indianapolis City Market has stood guard through three-quarters of the city's history. It was a home for butchers and florists, bag boys and housewives, bagboys and political upstarts. It served as an economic engine, gossip mills, and political soapbox. Indianapolis has been coming to the City Market since 1832, looking for vegetables, fruit, and meats to feed their families. Since then, the market has been integrally woven into Indianapolis history and city life. *"The City Market is unique – maybe the most "Indianapolisish" of Indianapolis shopping and eating places."* *Indianapolis News, 1985*

**One Place. Many Meanings** [Introduction, Figure 0.B]: The City Market has integrated itself into the identity of Indianapolis. Over its history, the market has represented many things to the city:

- At one time it was the place to find bananas and bacon, spices and sausage.
- At another time it symbolized the saving of the city's historic buildings, representing memories of an older Indianapolis.
- Sometimes it is Indianapolis' favorite lunchtime spot, feeding the city with gyros, sandwiches, tamales, and coffee.
- Today the City Market has reinvented itself, serving as an eclectic community gathering place for downtown workers, bikers, and tourists alike.

**What, exactly, is a market?** [Figure 1.L] A public market is usually a city-owned building where vendors sell fresh food in open stalls. Historically this was a place the city's residents came out to barter and trade for their groceries.

### Panel B: The Evolution of a Building

The City Market has undergone many changes since it was created in 1821.

[Drawing of First Market Shed, 1832]: Indianapolis has hosted a market since the town's founding, when farmers hawked hay, produce, and livestock in the open air. The first market house was built here in 1832.

[Image subtitle with arrows]

- The covered space was just large enough for meat vendors to find shelter.
- Farmers sold their produce out of wagons around the sides and along Market Street.
- This small belfry at the top was known city-wide as a home for pigeons.

[Drawing of Market and Tomlinson Hall in 1886]: In 1870, pharmacist Stephen Tomlinson left the city most of his estate to build new market buildings. In 1886, a new market house and Tomlinson Hall were constructed.

[Image subtitle with arrows]

- Tomlinson Hall soared fifty-five in the air. Upstairs housed a 4,200-seat performance hall. The lower floor was divided into stalls for fruit, vegetable, and dairy vendors.
- The Market House, a smaller brick building next door had space for butchers, fish mongers, and live poultry stand holders.

- The Midway Market was added in 1903. This added more room for vegetable stands.
- On market days until 1933, farmers drove into the city with their products. They lined the park across from the Market, and sold out of wagons.
- Architect D.A. Bohlen was inspired by German and Italian styles. You can see this best in the round arches over the windows, limestone columns, and tin-roofed towers at each corner. He also designed the Murat Temple, Roberts Park Methodist Church, Meridian Street Church, and the English Hotel and Opera House.

[Drawing of Market with Added Wings in 1977]: A fire swept through Tomlinson Hall in January 1958. After much debate and discussion, the city renovated and expanded the remaining Market House in 1975.

[Image subtitle with arrows]

- Two angular glass and metal wings were added in 1975 on either side of the market building. They added more room for stands at the market.
- As part of the renovation process, architects wanted to give the City Market a face lift, while keeping its historic atmosphere. This included a new roof; modern bathrooms, plumbing and wiring; “authentic” light fixtures, and adding the upstairs seating areas.

### Panel C: The Heart of the Community

The City Market became not just a place where the city shopped. It was the place to see and be seen. Residents from all strata of society came to buy groceries, exchange gossip, and debate community issues.

**A City Affair** [Figure 1.N]: By the early 1900s, most Indianapolis families shopped at the City Market at least once a week. Richly dressed women filled their pantries with poultry and fish from inside the City Market. Newly arrived immigrants found spices and nuts, potatoes and onions outside at the curb market. Factory workers bought apples, eggs, butter, and cabbages from Tomlinson Hall for dinner. *“A true Indianapolis housewife goes to the market.” Indianapolis Author Meredith Nicholson, 1912.*

**The Talk of the Town** [Figure 1.E]: The market is located in the heart of Indianapolis’ business center and near two political hubs: next door to city hall, seen here, and down the street from the Indiana State House. Elected officials often visited the market, mingling with shoppers or chatting with vendors. *“It was at the market that the man of town, while waiting for the butcher to cut his thick porterhouse steak, conversed with other worthies on the news of the day, which was not then to be found in the daily newspaper.” Indianapolis News, November 17, 1906.*

**Tomlinson Hall** [Figure 1.G]: The City Market was originally made-up of two buildings. Next door, Tomlinson Hall towered two stories over where you are standing today. On its second floor was the largest auditorium in the city, seating upwards of 4,000 people. Tomlinson Hall hosted everything from political rallies to famous singers, boxing matches, agriculture conventions, and even bicycle races.

## Panel D: Feeding a Growing City

The City Market was an economic engine for Indianapolis. It connected rural farmers to the urban shopper, gave opportunities to newly arrived immigrants, and kept food prices affordable.

**A Bounty of Food** [Figure 1.H]: In the hot, humid summer, Indianapolis awoke to a colorful and chaotic scene. Wagons carrying pyramids of peaches, stacks of corn, and piles of bananas circled the City Market. Inside, vendors hawked garlands of sausage and heaps of spices. Three mornings a week an average of 18,000 shoppers flocked to the City Market to navigate a crowded maze of 800 dealers. *“Everything an individual wants in eating... from dry goods... to first rate vegetables and fruits can be procured” at the City Market. Indianapolis Sun, 1909.*

**Banana Kings** [Figure 1.L]: The City Market created economic opportunities for many immigrants coming to Indianapolis. German families established butcher stands, while Italians dominated the produce stalls. According to oral tradition, it was these Italian produce standholders that introduced bananas to Indianapolis.

**Keeping It in the Family** [Figure 1.I and 1.J]: Stands in the City Market were often family affairs. Families established long dynasties, often owing stands for generations. By 1962, there were seventeen stands that had been in the market for over fifty years, like the Klemm Family (see above) who operated a butcher stand for three generations.

**The Freshest Stuff to Save a Buck** [Figure 1.P]: The City Market set food prices in Indianapolis, by selling the freshest food at low prices. Customers often haggled with standholders. They would come early to the market to find the best quality or late in the afternoon to catch a bargain. *“The City Market has been the city’s price-maker on all food products.” Indianapolis Sun, 1906.*

## Panel E: The Changing Urban Landscape

For over eighty years, the City Market stayed relatively constant, while the City of Indianapolis changed around it. By the time Tomlinson Hall caught fire in January 1958, the building was in need of a change.

### The Great Market Debate:

- City planners and officials in the 1960s believed the Market building was a rat-infested, outdated structure that should be torn down. *“The City Market is a hazardous and unattractive neighbor to our new ultra-modern City-County Building.”- Indianapolis Civic Progress Association, 1962.*
- Standholders, civic groups, and longtime customers looked at the building with nostalgia. They felt that the Market building was a vital part of the downtown skyline. *“Nothing that would be built there could possibly have the history, the meaning, or the comfort the Market House has. Why destroy something so good when it isn’t necessary?”- Customer Jo Ann Carlson, 1962*

**Hear us!** [Figure 2.D]: Faithful customers were stalwart supporters of the City Market. On a cold day in January 1964, over 300 people gathered in the City-County building to protest the closing of the Market by health officials. *“Since its beginning in 1832, the City Market has been both a matter of business and an affair of the heart.”- Indianapolis Star, January 19, 1964*

**The Market Restored** [Figure 2.K]: In 1967, Mayor-elect Richard Lugar had a new vision to transform the City Market into a centerpiece of downtown Indianapolis. He renovated and

preserved the space by investing in personnel and resources. By time of this rededication ceremony on September 16, 1977, the City Market was set to be a heritage showplace for the city. *"I can see, in my mind's eye, an imaginative, perhaps, uniquely designed City Market, which would delight our residents, be a tourist interest, and a feature... handicrafts from our wonderful state!"*- Future Mayor Richard Lugar, July 1967, Letter to Indianapolis News.

**A New Era** [Figure 3.E]: Today the City Market has transformed again, serving as a community space, lunchtime venue, and farmer's market. It is still teeming, but now with connoisseurs looking for the best in local lunch, lawyers grabbing an evening drink, and community members gathering to hear a local band. The Market is being reimagined, as a yoga studio, neighborhood resource center, and party venue.

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