

A Sustaining Heritage: Historic Markets, Public Space, and Community Revitalization

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ABSTRACT

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In order to ensure a strong future for the preservation movement, historic resources must play an active role in community life. America's historic market halls fulfill this mandate, bolstering the economies of neighborhoods and downtown commercial districts, while enriching the cultural dimension of public spaces. Market rehabilitation projects represent the growth in historic preservation theory and practice in recent years. In the United States, market structures evolved during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, from open-sided street sheds to enclosed market halls that incorporated the latest in building technology, and reflected current social norms. The turn of the twentieth century represented the apex for America's markets, which came to symbolize Progressive Era ideas and civic pride. By the second half of the century, the country's historic markets were neglected – their existence threatened by suburbanization and other factors. High profile preservation projects, such as the restoration of Seattle's Pike Place Market, point to the resurgence of markets in recent years. A survey of existing markets and two case studies together

demonstrate the benefits of historic markets to communities, as well as the challenges facing their preservation.

A SUSTAINING HERITAGE: HISTORIC MARKETS, PUBLIC SPACE, AND
COMMUNITY REVITALIZATION

By

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Public markets have historically been important elements in the social and cultural fabric of the world's cities. In America, the first open air public markets were established in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in colonial port cities such as Boston, Massachusetts, and Baltimore, Maryland. By the late nineteenth century, many American cities had constructed fully enclosed public market halls that reflected the latest architectural styles. These structures provided both a location for distributing food, and an important public space for social and civic interaction. After World War Two, these municipally-operated public markets struggled to compete with shifting urban demographics, the development of car-oriented suburban neighborhoods, and the construction of large, modern supermarkets. Despite these obstacles, many of America's historic markets still survive and, today, operate under a range of ownership models, providing a variety of products and services to their respective communities.¹

The continued relevance of historic markets derives from a number of desirable qualities that have historically been associated with them, and their preservation can positively impact communities, strengthening the ties between historic resources and the populations that value them. Throughout their history, markets have functioned as local and regional economic engines, connecting rural farmers with urban consumers. Today, historic markets are instrumental in allowing

¹ Helen Tangires, *Public Markets*, Norton/Library of Congress Visual Sourcebooks in Architecture, Design, and Engineering (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008), 25-36.; James M. Mayo, "The American Public Market," *Journal of Architectural Education* 45 (November 1991): 41.

small-scale farms to remain viable, which helps preserve agricultural lands from urban encroachment. During the nineteenth and twentieth century, markets provided business opportunities for generations of ethnic minority vendors, and they continue this tradition today as ideal settings for locally-owned businesses and ethnic merchants.²

Markets, however, have always represented much more than just a place to buy and sell provisions; these vibrant public spaces have also functioned as centers of social, civic, and cultural exchange.³ Through their historical significance and architectural form, markets have contributed to a long-held sense of identity and place within many cities and towns. Most surviving market halls are municipally-owned, and through partnerships with non-profits, and other organizations, balance financial profitability with a range of broader public goals.⁴ This mix of uses and meanings is the greatest asset of historic markets in an era of monolithic, corporately-controlled food distribution, and through a values-based approach to their rehabilitation, historic markets can serve the interests and needs of local residents, while building strong connections between this rare historic resource and the communities they serve.

This research is guided by several questions. What are the origins of the enclosed market house in America, and how did this building form develop over time? Also, how many historic markets have survived, and how many of these structures have been demolished? From a purely economic perspective, historic public markets should be obsolete given the modern, efficient, grocery stores of

² Theodore M. Spitzer and Hilary Baum, *Public Markets and Community Revitalization* (Washington, DC: Urban Land Institute and the Project for Public Spaces, Inc., 1995), 27.

³ Tangires, 48-49, 59-60.

⁴Spitzer and Baum, 1-7, 16-18, 27.

today. So, why rehabilitate these historic market halls? In cases where rehabilitation has been successful, such as Washington, DC's Eastern Market, has the preservation of historic markets contributed to neighborhood revitalization, and do they offer products, services, and programs that contribute positively to neighborhoods, while reflecting local values?

This paper will first trace the architectural, social, and economic development of markets in the United States. Beginning in the eighteenth century, public markets represented the obligation of local governments to provide basic services for their citizens. During the nineteenth century, this "moral economy," along with evolving middle class notions regarding public space, and advances in building technology, led to the emergence of enclosed market halls in both Europe and America. By the early twentieth century, public markets were being designed in accordance with the aesthetic and planning principals of the City Beautiful movement, and they were influenced by related progressive era thinking regarding the role of government. After World War Two, new housing, transportation, and consumer patterns posed challenges to the country's public market system.⁵

This study also attempts to determine the number of surviving historic enclosed market halls in America today – an important first step towards better understanding the scope and issues associated with preserving this resource type. The basis for this survey is a 1918 Census Bureau report that provides a list of the enclosed public markets present in cities that at the time had a population of 30,000 or

⁵ Helen Tangires, *Public Markets and Civic Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).

greater.⁶ A wide range of sources were used in researching the present status of each market, including maps, city directories, newspaper articles, books, and photographs.

Finally, two regional case studies will be considered in an effort to understand the relationship between historic markets, their preservation, and communities. The first case study, Eastern Market in Washington, DC's Capitol Hill neighborhood, is today successful, having survived the threat posed by urban renewal during the 1950's and 60's. Over the years, neighborhood residents have embraced an array of values, and competing camps have at times clashed over visions for its renovation, which along with government mismanagement, led to the building's deterioration. These challenges culminated in a 2007 fire that badly damaged the structure. The subsequent restoration of the market is a preservation success story. We will explore this narrative, and the ways in which the market is contributing to the neighborhood today.

Hollins Market in Baltimore, Maryland is another historic public market that is both a nationally and locally designated landmark. Today the building is in good condition and retains its surviving early layout. While Eastern Market is a story of preservation battles and rebirth, Hollins Market could best be described in terms of perseverance and unreached potential. Even more so than Capitol Hill, Baltimore's Hollins Market and Poppleton neighborhoods have struggled with economic and social problems, crime, and a decaying built environment. While the market provides much needed fresh food to local residents, it could better serve as an educational, creative, and cultural space for the neighborhood.

⁶ U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Municipal Markets in Cities Having a Population of Over 30,000* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1919).

Historic markets have been the focus of scholarly attention in recent years, resulting in a small, but impressive, literature on the subject. Helen Tangires's work on American markets stands out among these efforts. Tangires has argued that the public markets of the nineteenth century functioned as important civic spaces that helped define the shared values and social norms of communities.⁷ James Mayo has also contributed to the scholarship on markets, which differs from Tangires in his interpretation of social interaction in nineteenth-century markets.⁸ These diverging views on the social dimension of American markets will be more fully considered later in this paper. European market halls served as precedents that influenced market design in the United States, particularly during the second half of the nineteenth century. In tracing the development of British markets, James Schmiechen and Kenneth Carls have examined the degree to which shifting social norms and technological innovations shaped their form, layout, and style.⁹ During the twentieth century, the automobile had a dramatic impact on the American landscape, and on consumer patterns and markets. Richard Longstreth has investigated the way in which increasing car ownership affected the nature of commercial space, including public markets, in Los Angeles during the first half of the century.¹⁰

A good deal less has been written regarding the preservation of historic market buildings. The Project for Public Spaces, a non-profit organization founded in 1975, has extensively researched the economics and social benefits of successful

⁷ Helen Tangires, *Public Markets and Civic Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).

⁸ James Mayo, "The American Public Market," *Journal of Architectural Education* 45 (November 1991): 41-57.

⁹ James Schmiechen and Kenneth Carls, *The British Market Hall: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999).

¹⁰ Richard Longstreth, *The Drive-In, the Supermarket, and the Transformation of Commercial Space in Los Angeles, 1914-1941* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999).

markets, but their reports and publications are not always primarily concerned with preservation issues. Addressing this dearth of material, a 2006 master's thesis written by Tahani El-Share at the University of Maryland looked at the relationship between Lexington Market in Baltimore, Maryland, and revitalization efforts on that city's west side.¹¹ Building on this body of work, this paper seeks to establish the extent of surviving market halls in the United States, explore the issues and threats facing this resource, and through case studies, highlight the ways in which historic markets can benefit neighborhoods.

In addition to reviewing the literature on markets, it is also necessary to consider the ways in which efforts to preserve historic markets reflect current trends in modern preservation. Historic preservation theory and practice have evolved in recent years, and the preservation of markets fits well with these new approaches to thinking about and protecting historic resources and traditions. Preservationists today are considering community values and needs, and are highlighting the economic and environmental benefits of reusing historic structures. In addition, the contemporary preservation movement is increasingly aware of the effects of gentrification, and is beginning to embrace the importance of maintaining and protecting intangible heritage. Together these efforts are expanding the relevance and meaning of modern preservation, while building its base of support within an increasingly diverse contemporary demographic context.¹²

¹¹ Tahani El Share, "Lexington Market and the West Side Renaissance" (master's thesis, University of Maryland, 2006).

¹² See Robert E. Stipe, ed., *A Richer Heritage: Preservation in the Twenty-First Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

Public markets, such as those highlighted in this study, lend themselves to values-based preservation strategies. Nineteenth-century European art historian Alois Riegl first began to think about the significant qualities – or values – associated with historic resources. While Riegl acknowledged the profound “art” and “historical” values that characterize great “monuments,” he also perceptively argued that in the future, modern sensibilities and “practical considerations” would emphasize the “use” value, or utility, of historic buildings and sites.¹³ More recently, Randall Mason has built on these ideas, arguing convincingly that modern practice must look outward, and consider local perceptions, values, and needs.¹⁴ As public spaces, it is important that markets continue to function in a meaningful way within their respective communities, and be integrated into local economic and social life. Many market projects have achieved these aims, reflecting local values and benefiting communities.

Today, preservationists are highlighting the environmental benefits of reusing historic structures, and the rehabilitation of markets often works in concert with local planning goals regarding smart growth and sustainability. According to architect Carl Elefante, the country’s historic building stock collectively represents an extensive, stored investment in building materials and expended energy that is lost as these structures are demolished.¹⁵ In addition, the density, scale, and walkability of historic commercial districts and neighborhoods render them excellent alternatives to more

¹³ Alois Riegl, “The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and its Origin,” trans. Kurt W. Forster and Diane Ghirardo, *Oppositions* 25 (Fall 1982): 31-39.

¹⁴ Randall Mason, “Theoretical and Practical Arguments for Values-Centered Preservation,” *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* 3, no. 2 (Summer 2006): 27-31.

¹⁵ Carl Elefante, “The Greenest Building Is...One That Is Already Built,” *Forum Journal* 21, No. 4 (Summer 2007): 27-31.

vehicle-centered retail choices.¹⁶ Walking to the neighborhood market, therefore, supports the use of existing historic structures, and the embodied energy they represent, while reducing the need for foreign oil and new parking lots. As an example, consider Eastern Market in Washington, DC. The market is accessible by transit, and is seamlessly woven into the historic urban fabric surrounding it. Likewise, the broader Capitol Hill neighborhood points to the density, open street grid to facilitate movement, and mix of uses that characterized the growth of American cities during the nineteenth century. Today these planning concepts are more valuable than ever, and a strong potential for synergy exists between preservationists, architects, planners, and conservationists to explore market projects that reflect their overlapping interests.¹⁷

Many within the preservation field have also come to understand the importance of highlighting the economic benefits of preservation. The Federal Historic Preservation Tax Credit, the National Trust's Main Street program, and the rise in heritage tourism, have all provided economic benefits to communities. Similarly, a landmark 1998 study, conducted by researchers at Rutgers University, pointed to preservation's "multiplier effect," in which rehabilitation activity creates economic benefits across a range of industries.¹⁸ As discussed, markets are great "incubators" for small businesses, and the amount of initial capital, licenses, permits and fees required are less to run a market stall than to start a new business from the

¹⁶ Constance E. Beaumont, "The Critical Need for a Sensitive – and Sensible – National Transportation Policy," *Forum Journal* 27, no. 1 (Fall 2012): 14-19.

¹⁷ Andres Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, and Jeff Speck, *Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream* (New York: North Point Press, 2010), 15-18.

¹⁸ David Listokin, Barbara Listokin, and Michael Lahr, "The Contributions of Historic Preservation to Housing and Economic Development," *Housing Policy Debate* 9, no. 3 (1998): 431-78.

ground up. For example, Starbucks Coffee began as a stall in the Pike Place Market in Seattle. Individual vendors, together, contribute to a market's "aggregate drawing power," which translates into more customers and greater sales than would be the case if the vendor were operating individually. The drawing power of public markets also leads businesses to open in their vicinity. This, in turn, causes an increase in property values and tax revenues. Finally, successful historic markets create jobs; both in their rehabilitation and operation, and the profits often stay in the community.¹⁹

Unfortunately, contemporary urban preservation has at times resulted in unintended effects on local real estate markets, leading to the displacement of low-income and historically marginalized groups. This displacement is often symptomatic of a shortage of affordable housing in cities, and yet many urban neighborhoods contain a number of underutilized or abandoned structures. Rehabilitation projects leveraging the Low Income Housing Tax Credit can serve as an effective means towards increasing the number of affordable housing units in a neighborhood. Combined with community land trusts and broader policy solutions that address education, unemployment, and other issues, preservation, in this way, can help alleviate gentrification induced displacement, which is essential to maintaining the cultural vitality of urban neighborhoods.²⁰ The preservation of historic markets can work in tandem with these efforts, providing economic opportunities for minority groups that have traditionally found themselves located outside of the economic

¹⁹ Spitzer and Baum, 27-32.

²⁰ Diane K. Levy, Jennifer Comey, Sandra Padilla, *In the Face of Gentrification: Case Studies of Local Efforts to Mitigate Displacement* (The Urban Institute: Washington, DC, 2006).

mainstream. In addition, a values-based approach to market rehabilitation can allow these public spaces to serve in a cultural and educational capacity that effectively responds to local needs.

Finally, preservationists have increasingly embraced the concept of intangible heritage, and the need to protect unique and threatened life-ways and cultural traditions.²¹ As enduring fixtures in cities and towns, historic markets often represent long-standing relationships between customers and vendors, whose stalls have been owned and operated for generations by the same family. In addition, markets provide an outlet for perpetuating ethnic food-ways and crafts. For example, African American vendors at the City Market in Charleston, South Carolina produce and sell distinctive sweet grass baskets – the market providing a space which allows this Gullah craft tradition to flourish. As generational notions and expectations regarding work, family, and career shift, however, the challenge for preservationists and market managers will be to maintain these locally-owned family businesses, and the sense of tradition and place they help engender.²²

²¹ See Alan Jabbour, “Folklife, Intangible Heritage, and the Promise and Perils of Cultural Cooperation,” in *A Richer Heritage: Historic Preservation in the Twenty-First Century*.

²² Spitzer and Baum, 31-32; Caspar Genco and Robert Thomas, interview by the author, Baltimore, MD, January 31, 2013; Historic Charleston City Market, “Sweet Grass Basket History,” <http://thecharlestoncitymarket.com/sweetgrass-baskets.cfm> (accessed April 7, 2013).

Chapter 2: History of Markets in the United States

Markets in America date back to the colonial period. One of the earliest in the colonies was an open air market established in Boston in 1639. By the eighteenth-century, rectangular, block-long, open-sided market structures were built down the middle of principal streets, often with ready access to the city wharves. These simple, functional, structures usually consisted of an extended, end-gabled roof supported by iron or wooden posts. In addition, early markets were often sited on centrally located parcels of land, such as public squares, that farmers and consumers could easily access. Early markets were also often located close to dense residential areas.²³

Colonial and, later, state legislatures authorized incorporated towns to establish municipally run public markets. When the land was not municipally owned, cities paid annual ground rents to operate a market on the site. Local government had the authority to collect revenues from market vendors in the form of licenses and stall rental fees, taxes, tolls, and fines. These early markets provided a public service, but also represented a source of municipal revenue. The market master, or clerk, implemented the market laws and collected stall rents. Cities and towns also established market committees to help manage the markets.²⁴

The first enclosed market houses appeared during the early nineteenth century. The practice of locating markets in the middle of public squares and major streets continued, and many markets built during this period were on the site of

²³ Tangires, *Public Markets and Civic Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*, 26-30; James Mayo, "The American Public Market," *Journal of Architectural Education* 45 (November 1991): 41-42.

²⁴ Tangires, 5; Mayo, 41-42.

earlier, open-sided structures. The advantage of this was that city officials could locate the market on public property rather than having to acquire a large parcel of land for the purpose. When built in the street, these enclosed markets were around thirty feet wide and up to three hundred feet long, and were therefore located on the wide, central thoroughfares of towns rather than on smaller neighborhood streets. These markets had pitched roofs that were either end-gabled or hipped, and they were supported by walls of frame or brick construction; foundations could be brick or stone. The buildings had a shed-like appearance, and a good example of the type is Lexington Market in Baltimore, Maryland. The current buildings were constructed in the 1950's, however, a series of nineteenth-century enclosed market sheds once extended down Lexington Street (Figure 1). The interiors of these street markets were organized by product type, and they often featured an open central "avenue" for shoppers to pass along. When these types of markets expanded, the addition was usually built on the same street as the existing market, or on an adjacent street.²⁵

A multi-story, multi-use municipal building was sometimes built at the end of the market. The ground floor of these municipal buildings housed market-related activity, while the upper floor served as a community meeting hall, armory, or fire watchtower. A good example of this type is the Head House Market in Philadelphia's Society Hill neighborhood (Figure 2). This brick, Federal style, two story, combination market building-firehouse was constructed in 1804, and was an addition onto an earlier street-based structure that had been built in the mid-eighteenth

²⁵ Mayo, 42-44.



Figure 1. Lexington Market, Baltimore, MD, ca. 1900-1910 (Library of Congress).



Figure 2. Head house and market sheds, Second Street Market, Philadelphia, PA, 1927 (Temple University).

century. Enclosed to semi-enclosed street sheds, some ending in brick market houses, continued as the primary type of public market built in America during the first half of the nineteenth century.²⁶

The daily operation of these facilities was guided by local market laws. These laws had their origins in English and continental European common law and customs. In America, the Revolutionary War disrupted patterns of food distribution, and after the war, local governments played an active role, through laws and regulation, in market operation.²⁷

A city's market ordinance controlled every aspect of its operation. Regulations prevented abuses such as "forestalling," where aggressive "hucksters" intercepted and bought food before it could reach markets. Laws also prevented the resale of products bought in the market from farmers, and the hoarding of supplies in order to drive up prices. Also, in order to maintain the integrity of the market, city officials made sure that weights and measures were accurate, standardized, and fair. City market ordinances also strove to maintain an orderly and safe environment for shoppers – banning drinking, fighting, loitering, and gambling in the markets, controlling parking and unloading times, as well as the market's days and hours of operation. Ordinances also clearly delineated the boundaries of the market, and the duties of the market clerk, who enforced the city's market laws and conducted inspections to maintain sanitary conditions. Once they had obtained a license, street

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Tangires, 3-5.

vendors were allowed to operate near the market, which provided the poor a means of earning a living.²⁸

Scholar Helen Tangires has argued that public markets were central to the “moral economy” of American cities and society in the nineteenth century. As a regulated space which benefitted the health and provided for the needs of the community, they were a big part of the political relationship between citizenry and government. They also served as a space for public ceremony, civic exchange, and local pride. She argues that public markets were a spatial expression of the power of local government, and yet were also a space that was “policed” by the shopping public. Municipally run public markets were a readily observable test of how well government was responding to the needs of the community. In effect, markets were the spaces within which “society reflected the moral economy.” The needs of the public outweighed the interests of profiteers, and she argues that municipal market ordinances and regulations were evidence of this.²⁹

In addition to functioning as places for buying food, Tangires argues that the public markets of nineteenth-century America served as spaces for social and civic exchange, a tradition born of the ritualized, regular interaction between rural and urban folk in European markets during the Middle Ages and early modern period. Markets served as “public platforms” for “class representation” as individuals from all strata of society interacted via the activities and negotiations associated with buying and selling. Markets served as the site for local fairs, celebrations, and

²⁸Ibid., 4-25.

²⁹Tangires, xvii.

carnivals. Markets were also places where locals discussed politics, and because of their central location and vitality, where local officials campaigned and sought to build popular support. Markets, therefore, represented a microcosm of local society.³⁰

Somewhat different from Tangires' portrayal of nineteenth-century markets as centers of social and cultural exchange, architect and planner James Mayo contends that both the layout of the market space and the act of shopping were "ritualized," and reflected the class stratification of nineteenth-century urban America. Mayo argues that this resulted from the move from open markets that were held a few times a week, to enclosed markets that operated daily. Different merchants used market space in different ways. Butchers and "hucksters" required a regular stall location that they could sell from daily. Farmers used the market less frequently, and street vendors were mobile, not requiring a fixed stall. Because the stalls located near the entrances were more lucrative, and because they were more expensive to rent, Mayo argues that the market's spatial organization reflected the broader status and class hierarchy seen in society at large. He adds that street vendors set up in rented stands that were located along the outside of the market, a space seen by merchants and shoppers as inferior to the stalls inside the market. According to Mayo, it was commonly believed that the products sold inside were superior, and the atmosphere was more refined. Again, this served to reinforce class and status boundaries within the market. He claims that rural farmers were also relegated to the outside of the market, and were "treated as a low class of merchant in the public market system."

³⁰Tangires, 48-49.

Another advantage held by the indoor merchants was that they could set up more attractive, seasonal and festive displays that the outside merchants could not replicate – again serving to “ritualize” the act of selling at the public market in terms of class and status.³¹

Mayo also argues that there was little interaction in the market between shoppers of different classes because they used the market at different times. Wealthy households shopped early in the morning, and paid the highest prices for the best food. As the day wore on, lower class shoppers were left with food that was less expensive, but was of poorer quality.³²

Despite the incorporation of private market companies in New York and Pennsylvania, municipally-owned and operated public markets remained the principal model for food distribution throughout the country during the second half of the nineteenth century. They ensured the safety and availability of the food supply, and provided local governments with revenue. Food distribution was still plagued by a number of problems, however, and one of the first systematic studies on the subject was conducted by the USDA under Horace Capron in 1871. After the Civil War, middle men, who bought directly from farmers and then transported provisions into urban areas, caused high food prices in the big cities. Smaller cities and towns did not experience these price mark-ups as acutely, because farmers had less distance to travel and could transport food easily into these locales. Philadelphia was the exception to this, and its market laws and infrastructure encouraged farmers to travel

³¹ Mayo, 45-46, 50.

³² Ibid., 47-48.

into the city and sell directly to consumers at its markets. Wary of excessive deregulation and privatization, the city of Boston, in the 1870's, addressed pricing and distribution concerns through reform of its market laws and the expansion of its municipally-owned public market system. Likewise, market laws and municipally-owned public markets remained a strong institution in the Midwest. Part of the reason for this was that the Midwestern markets were not as old as their eastern counterparts, and cities wanted to protect their relatively recent investments in them. In the Post-Civil War south, municipally-owned markets served as symbols of local autonomy within the context of Reconstruction, and as a means of generating revenue for local governments.³³

Whether publically or privately built, markets underwent an extraordinary architectural transformation during the late nineteenth century. Urban growth led to a move away from the street-based markets. The carts and wagons associated with these markets contributed to street congestion (Figure 3), and the markets were viewed by the business community as obstructions preventing the redevelopment of the commercial corridors they were located within. The old market sheds were also seen as inferior by the public – they were perceived as “dingy” relics of the past that were associated with the loiterers who often congregated around them (Figure 4). The markets in Philadelphia, and other big industrial cities of the period, had also become staging grounds for labor unrest, such as the Northern Liberty Market riot in Washington in 1857, and later, the Haymarket riot in Chicago in 1886. Tax revenues were not being spent on maintaining the market structures, and in most cities, their

³³Tangires, 151-72.



Figure 3. Central Market, Columbus OH, undated photo (Ohio State University)



Figure 4. Market shed, Second Street Market, Philadelphia, PA, 1955 (Temple University)

condition deteriorated, which further allowed local businessmen to label them as blight. Another practical problem with the street markets was that the expansion of these facilities translated into greater walking distances for shoppers and merchants. Street markets, therefore, were not an ideal form for keeping up with expanding urban populations.³⁴

This change in American attitudes regarding markets, in part, could be traced to Europe. During the early part of the nineteenth century, transformations within British society led to architectural changes in market design that by mid-century had influenced American market construction. By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the unsavory characteristics of British public markets increasingly conflicted with the emerging “sensibilities” of middle and upper class citizens. Reform of public spaces – from streets to markets - corresponded with emerging notions regarding civility, cleanliness, and public conduct. As an extension of the street, the market was perceived of as a public space that was associated with lower class vulgarity, and was in need of reform and “respectability.” As part of a broader effort to transform urban public space in Britain, enclosed markets represented a more ordered, controllable shopping environment, and they helped “clean-up” the congestion, chaos, and filth associated with street-based markets. Centrally located, enclosed halls also facilitated the enforcement of market laws and the collection of tolls. Officials could control access to the market, and prevent non-market related activities. Even the exteriors of these British markets, with their classically derived

³⁴ Mayo, 44-45; Tangires, 95-100.

facades, architecturally communicated the social ideals of order, law, and respectability which the new market buildings embodied.³⁵

As in England, the form of American markets transitioned from street-based markets to enclosed market halls built on city lots. In America, these market halls can be classified into two principal types. The more common of the two was a rectangular plan market that suggests, through its form, an enclosed version of the traditional street market (Figure 5). Often, the roof of these rectangular plan markets featured a clerestory, with skylights, that ran down the long axis of the hall. The other primary market type was a square plan building that sometimes featured elaborate roof configurations, domes, and towers (Figure 6). Less common were cruciform, H, and triangular-shaped plans.³⁶ One of the most unusual and architecturally distinctive nineteenth-century markets is the Old Farmer's Market, located in Petersburg, Virginia. This octagonal plan, brick, one-story market building was constructed in 1879, and features a central cupola (Figure 7).³⁷

Advances in building technology, particularly the development of iron and steel framing systems, made the construction of large, open market halls possible. The broad roofs needed to span these vast buildings were supported by a framework of iron trusses and tension rods that were further supported by brick buttresses, and by the early twentieth century, steel columns. Metal framing superseded traditional

³⁵ James Schmiechen and Kenneth Carls, *The British Market Hall: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 21-30.

³⁶ Mayo, 44-45.

³⁷ U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. *Municipal Markets in Cities Having a Population of Over 30,000*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1919.

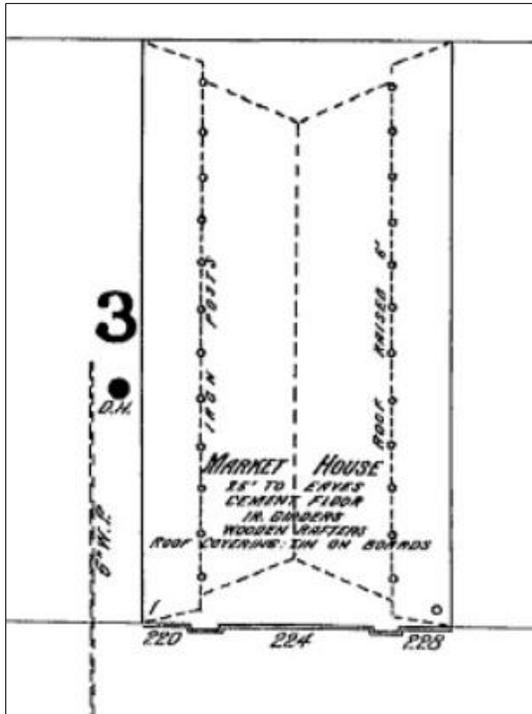


Figure 5. Detail from 1898 Sanborn map showing City Market, Indianapolis, IN.



Figure 6. Detail from 1906 Sanborn map showing North Side (Allegheny) Market, Pittsburgh, PA.



Figure 7. Old Farmer's Market, Petersburg, VA, 1968 (HABS).



Figure 8. Ceiling truss system, Eastern Market, Washington, DC, 1972 (HABS)

interior masonry load bearing walls, which opened up the floor space, and allowed for flexibility in floor layout (Figure 8).³⁸

The vigorous expansion of the public market system in the late nineteenth century, which featured the construction of numerous enclosed market buildings in many American cities, represented the triumph of the municipally-owned and operated public market over privatization and attempts at deregulation. Late nineteenth-century public markets featured improved hygiene and a sense of “public order.” The market’s multiple entrances allowed for easy public access, and the chance for the public to interact with vendors, as well as with one another, heightening the “urbanity” of cities and neighborhoods. The markets also allowed for the formation of “solidarity” among vendors.³⁹

The spacious open floor plans of many large public markets incorporated the benefits of vibrant street life in terms of ease of movement and display of goods. Their large size also allowed for multiple functions under one roof – retail and wholesale, upscale and pedestrian, and for mixed-uses, such as public meeting halls. Cold storage technology, invented during the period, added to the viability of these market buildings.⁴⁰

Washington, DC’s market system was illustrative of the wave of market construction that occurred during the late nineteenth century. Adolf Cluss designed Center Market in Washington (Figure 9) to function as a self-contained facility, with

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Tangires, 173-74.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 174-75.



Figure 9. Center Market, Washington, DC, ca. 1920 (HABS)

an electric generating “plant” to provide power for lighting, and modern refrigeration for cold storage. Ventilation was also an important feature of the building, achieved through its open plan, high-ceilinged halls, and skylights. Importantly, the market provided for the needs of all classes of shoppers and vendors, from the upscale ladies lounge, and the wholesale spaces located in the main building, to the covered exterior spaces which provided a place for farmers and street vendors to set up. Center Market was also designed to be as pedestrian friendly as possible, and Cluss limited the number of vehicle entrances and exits, citing safety concerns. A public market ideal was emerging during the late nineteenth century. Markets needed to be clean, orderly, civil, and perceived of as safe for “respectable” middle class women.⁴¹

(Figure 10)

Between 1890 and the First World War, municipal reformers in the United States sought to modernize and enhance the country’s public market system. They wanted to improve distribution, bring down costs, and improve hygiene. This interest in improving markets coincided with the City Beautiful movement, and city officials and reformers wanted impressive, modern markets that were aesthetically pleasing, on par with European markets, and provided a boost to their city’s reputation. City Beautiful devotees also saw aesthetic improvements in the urban environment as socially and morally instructive, and contributing towards civic pride. This is similar to the nineteenth-century British view that architecture and environment could be morally deterministic, and recalls the efforts of British officials to disassociate the markets from the “street.” City Beautiful, therefore, led to the construction of many

⁴¹Ibid., 174-84.

**When You Buy at the
CENTER MARKET**

YOUR first thought on entering this market is quite naturally "How clean every place looks!" The aisles are kept clear of trucks and barrels, the floors swept clean, and the absence of refuse all proclaims to you their message of CLEANLINESS.

NEXT, your eye is attracted by the spotless stands, many of them freshly painted and others being constantly repaired in order that only sanitary conditions may prevail. The man who waits upon you is likewise impressed with the importance of our efforts to attain the highest degree of sanitation and CLEANLINESS.

THE food-stuffs on display will always be found fresh and wholesome. The strictest orders are observed that nothing but pure meat will be sold, and in this we have just cause to be proud. The cold storage department, with freezer and cooler space, protects, not only the dealer from loss due to handling perishable goods, but also insures you receiving them in the best condition.

SO, in addition to economy, service, and accessibility, there is always the added factor of freshness, sanitation, and purity, which the Center Market, the only one in the United States under the direct control of the U. S. Government, has so aptly combined into the word for which we are all striving.

CLEANLINESS

THIS PAGE CONTRIBUTED BY
CENTER MARKET DEALERS

Figure 10. Advertisement for Center Market (*Washington Herald*, June 11, 1922)



6-1

WEST SIDE MARKET, CLEVELAND, OHIO—FRONT-CORNER VIEW, SHOWING TOWER.

Figure 11. West Side Market, Cleveland, OH, 1919 (Library of Congress)

new public markets across the country during the early twentieth century.

Cleveland's West Side Market, built in 1912, is an outstanding surviving example (Figure 11).⁴² The new markets were successful as well. National Municipal League studies from 1917 show high vendor occupancy rates and attendance numbers for public markets – even in cities that at the time had large numbers of private grocery stores – underscoring the important role in distributing food that the markets continued to play by the World War I era.⁴³

In the twentieth century, the design and layout of public markets remained much as it had during the nineteenth century. The rectangular and square plans remained the two principal types. Technological advancements in building materials led to the use of more reinforced concrete in twentieth-century markets. The automobile also had an influence, not only on transportation, but also on the design of markets. During the first half of the twentieth century, “L” shaped markets appeared, with a portion of the building lot used for parking. Center Market in Newark, New Jersey, built in 1924, contained an indoor parking area on its second floor that held approximately five hundred cars. Privately owned drive-in markets also appeared on the west coast, further reflecting the ways in which automobiles were changing consumer activity.⁴⁴

By the mid-twentieth century, public markets were in decline around the U.S. Many cities were deferring maintenance on their market buildings, and many were

⁴²Ibid., 189-91.

⁴³Tangires, 202-03.

⁴⁴ Mayo, 51; Richard Longstreth, *The Drive-In, the Supermarket, and the Transformation of Commercial Space in Los Angeles, 1914-1941* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999).

falling into disrepair. Private grocers complained that local governments were effectively subsidizing their competition. Also, many public markets were being mismanaged, and management decisions were being impacted by the burdensome bureaucracy of city government. After World War Two, agriculture, food distribution, and retail came under corporate control in America, and this trend intensified with the construction of the highway system.⁴⁵

By the 1970's city governments and private investors were beginning to restore and rehabilitate their public markets. Quincy Market in Boston, Central Market in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and Pike Place Market in Seattle were all examples of this market renaissance. These projects relied on federal historic preservation funding, particularly the Federal Historic Preservation Tax Credit.⁴⁶ In the years since these landmark rehabilitation projects, markets have unfortunately continued to be demolished, diminishing the potential for this resource to contribute positively to communities, and underscoring the need for local landmark designation.

⁴⁵ Spitzer and Baum, 10-11.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 12-13.

Chapter 3: Analysis of Market Survey

Today, enclosed market houses are a relatively rare resource in the United States in comparison to other types of historic structures. This survey is a first step towards determining the extent of surviving markets in America (see Appendix 1). Of these extant market buildings, the survey establishes their location, current use, and provides information regarding their ownership and management. The survey also documents the number of markets that are locally and nationally designated landmarks. In cases where markets have been demolished, the survey attempts to determine the types of structures and uses that replaced them, which is vital in understanding the threats facing this historic resource.

This survey research also adds to our knowledge of how enclosed markets evolved as a building type in America, primarily during the nineteenth century. The date of construction reveals what types of markets were being built during a particular period, and the ways in which these facilities were subsequently expanded or rebuilt. Also documented are the form, size, and when possible, the architectural style of each market. Through extensive map research, the survey sheds light on the spatial relationship between markets and residential districts, transportation modes, and public spaces in American cities and towns.

The survey is the product of a methodology that incorporated a variety of primary and secondary sources. Forming the basis of this effort is a study of public markets conducted by the U. S. Department of Commerce and the Census Bureau during 1918. Entitled *Municipal Markets in Cities Having a Population of Over 30,000*, the report provides a list of 96 enclosed markets, and their dates of

construction. By 1918, the public market system in America was at its zenith.⁴⁷ The majority of the enclosed markets built during the late nineteenth century were still standing, as were the classically inspired markets of the City Beautiful movement. This period also predates urban renewal and the wide scale demolition of historic structures in America after the Second World War. Therefore, the study is a good reflection of the enclosed markets built during the golden era of market construction that occurred from the late nineteenth century up to the First World War. Because its scope is limited to municipally-operated public markets, several privately-owned market houses that existed at the time are not included in the 1918 report. During the course of researching the present survey, these private markets were added as they were discovered in an effort to make the list as complete as possible. Working from this list of 118 enclosed markets, Sanborn insurance maps were instrumental in determining their location, form, construction, and their spatial relationship to the broader urban environment. However, it was not always easy to locate these markets, as many of these buildings were not listed in the map's indexes. In these cases, city directories, newspaper articles, photos, postcards, and various secondary sources provided their location. In addition, it was not possible to travel to each location and inspect these market sites firsthand. Online mapping technology, therefore, was crucial in determining each market's current use – particularly in cases where these markets have been adaptively reused or demolished and replaced.

The list of enclosed public markets contained in the survey reflects the concentration of the country's population in the eastern United States, from the eighteenth century to the present. It also speaks to the relatively large number of

⁴⁷ Tangires, *Public Markets and Civic Culture*, 189-91.

markets that were built in colonial period cities such as Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New Orleans. Of the 25 states represented in the present survey, Ohio (18 markets), Pennsylvania (15 markets), and New York (12 markets) stand well above the rest in terms of the number of markets built.⁴⁸ Other states of note include Maryland, Missouri, and Virginia (all with 8 markets), as well as the District of Columbia (7 markets), and Louisiana (6 markets).

When analyzed, the survey data reveals both geographic and temporal patterns in American market construction. When averaged, the initial date of construction shows enclosed markets to be a phenomenon that, not surprisingly, began in the east, and spread westward over time (Table 1). This region of the country features America's only surviving eighteenth-century market houses, such as Boston's Faneuil Hall, which was built in 1742. In addition, some of the earliest enclosed rectangular plan street markets were built during the first half of the nineteenth century in cities such as Baltimore and Philadelphia. In San Francisco, the Gold Rush seems to have served as a catalyst which led to the construction of several markets in that city during the 1850's. This factor accounts for the slightly earlier average initial construction date for the west in comparison to the midwest. Many of the markets constructed during the City Beautiful era were built in the midwest, such as the previously mentioned West Side Market in Cleveland. Some of these early twentieth-century midwestern markets were architecturally distinctive. A good example

⁴⁸ Regarding New York City, the Delancy Street, Fifty-Ninth Street, Harlem, and Manhattan markets were not included in the present survey. According to *Municipal Markets in Cities Having a Population of Over 30,000*, these markets were semi-enclosed structures located under bridges. Not surprisingly, all have been demolished.

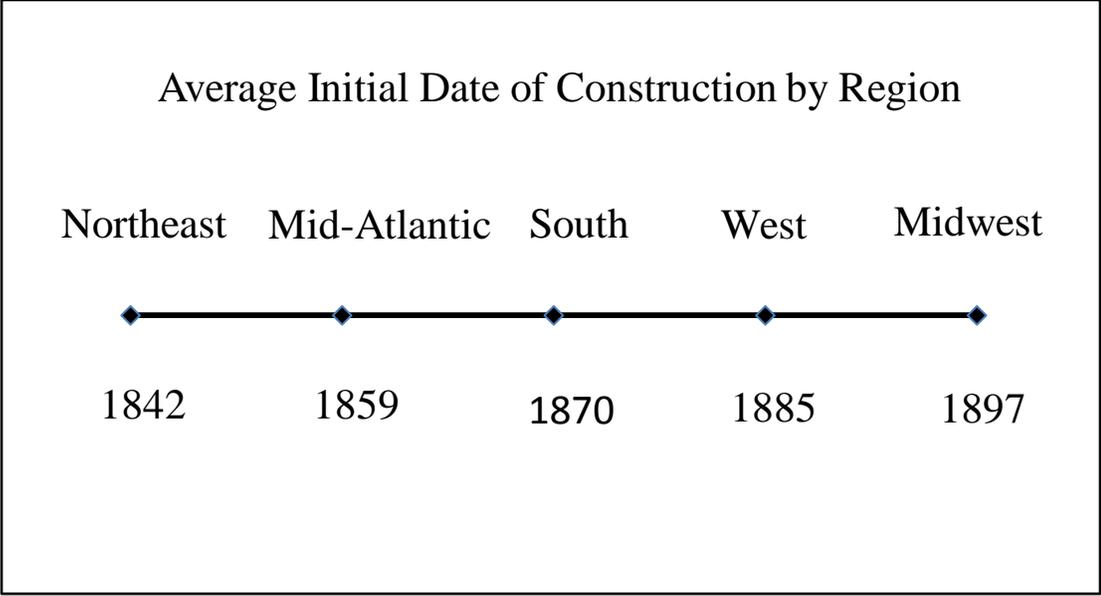


Table 1. Timeline Showing Average Initial Date of Market Construction by Region.



Figure 12. Evansville Municipal Market, Evansville, Indiana (Library of Congress).

survives today in the Prairie-style public market built in Evansville, Indiana in 1919 (Figure 12).

Despite the early date of many eastern markets, the average initial date of construction for enclosed markets in the United States is 1869. Washington, DC reflects this increase in enclosed market construction that occurred after the Civil War. All of the capitol's enclosed market houses were constructed between 1865 and 1888.⁴⁹ Markets were also rebuilt in many cities, replacing earlier structures that had either fallen into disrepair or had been destroyed by fire. Twenty-two markets fall into this category, and the average date for this rebuilding activity is 1900.

Historically two of America's largest urban centers, Los Angeles and Chicago are notably under-represented in the 1918 report, and the present survey. In addition to Los Angeles' large, semi-enclosed wholesale produce market, an enormous number of small, privately-constructed, neighborhood markets were built in the greater metropolitan area during the first half of the twentieth century. The majority of these were "drive-in" markets, featuring various parking configurations, automobile service facilities, and representing a transition from the more traditional form of enclosed market into the car-oriented strip mall of the Post-War era.⁵⁰ Like Los Angeles, Chicago had a large wholesale produce facility, which was built in 1925. Unlike cities in the east, however, no surviving examples of the classic nineteenth-century brick market hall are found in the city today. Chicago's ornate,

⁴⁹ The Fish Market in Washington, DC is an outlier. The original building was constructed in 1913.

⁵⁰ See Longstreth,

privately-financed, Central Market, built in 1891, and designed by Burnham and Root, once stood downtown near the State Street bridge.⁵¹

Today, enclosed market houses are a fairly rare resource. Of the 118 markets listed on the survey, only 46 original pre-World War Two examples remain. In addition to these surviving historic markets, the survey discovered 8 Post-War markets that either have been rebuilt on the site of a previous example, or are located in a rehabilitated historic non-market structure located near the site of the original. Underscoring the need for historic preservation, 64 of the 118 markets on the survey have been demolished, including many architecturally significant examples such as the highly eclectic Sixth Street Market, built in Cincinnati, Ohio in 1895 (Figure 13). This unique example was demolished in 1960 during the construction of the I-75 expressway.⁵² Of the extant 46 markets, the majority are located in the eastern half of the United States (Table 2).

While most of the surviving 46 markets continue to function in their originally intended capacity, a number have been adaptively reused. Several publically-owned market buildings are currently housing city and county offices and storage facilities, such as the Patee Market in St. Joseph, Missouri. Other contemporary uses include, schools, community centers, retail, residential, and in the case of the Le Breton Market in New Orleans, a church.

Many of the surviving market halls have also been either individually designated to local and national landmark registries, or are contributing structures within local or national historic districts. Of the 46 that remain, 29 markets, or 60%,

⁵¹ Tangires, *Public Markets*, 268; Tangires, *Public Markets and Civic Culture*, 181-83.

⁵² Findlay Market, Market History, "Cincinnati's Public Markets," <http://www.findlaymarket.org/market-history/> (accessed May 2, 2013).

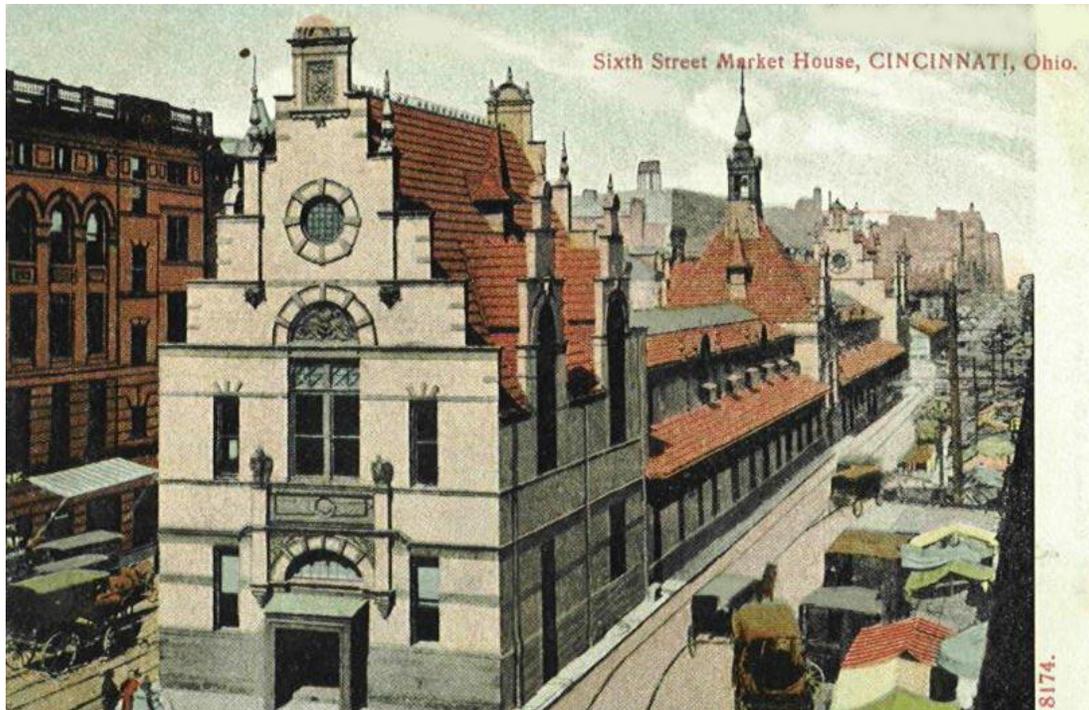


Figure 13. Sixth Street Market, Cincinnati, Ohio (Greater Cincinnati Memory Project).

Surviving Enclosed Markets by Region		
Region	Number	Percentage
Midwest	16	35
South	11	24
Mid-Atlantic	10	22
Northeast	8	17
West	1	2
Total	46	100

Table 2. Surviving Enclosed Markets by Region.

are protected by some form of local landmark designation, providing a substantive layer of regulatory protection for these buildings, and reflecting the broader growth of preservation at the local level since the 1980's.⁵³ In addition, 39 surviving examples have been federally designated, and are either listed individually on the National Register of Historic Places, included in National Register Historic Districts, or recognized as National Historic Landmarks. It is important to note that these figures overlap, with 26 markets both locally and federally designated. Finally, 8 of the 46 surviving markets are not designated at either level, making them ineligible for economic incentives such as tax credits, and increasing their risk of demolition.

The surviving 46 markets represent a range of ownership and management models. The majority of these (38 markets) are municipally-owned, and 23 of these are managed by non-profit organizations. Through agreements with their respective city government partners, these non-profit organizations run the daily operations of these facilities, conduct fund raising and marketing campaigns, and either develop or partner with outside groups in providing cultural and educational programs at the markets. Many municipalities, in turn, provide capital funds for major building renovation projects. These public-non-profit partnerships have proven effective in a number of cases, leveraging the expertise and knowledge of the non-profits, broadening the spectrum of funding sources needed to operate these large buildings, and facilitating the development of a variety of community programs.

⁵³ Lina Cofresi, and Rosetta Radtke, "Local Government Programs: Preservation Where it Counts," in *A Richer Heritage: Preservation in the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Robert E. Stipe (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 121-22.

These partnerships expand the market's function beyond that of a retail food outlet, incorporating the mix of cultural and civic uses that have characterized public markets since the eighteenth century. For example, the historic Findlay Market, built in 1860 and located in Cincinnati's Over-the-Rhine neighborhood, is today owned by the city of Cincinnati, and managed by the non-profit Corporation for Findlay Market. Programs held at the market emphasize diversity, environmental and cultural sustainability, and include music, poetry, art, dance, ethnic heritage festivals, and events such as "Bike Month."⁵⁴ In Philadelphia, the city has partnered with the Food Trust, a non-profit organization that operates the Head House Farmer's Market. It is held in the rebuilt street sheds associated with the historic Second Street Market, and its significant Federal period head house. The organization's mission is to make healthy, affordable food available to inner city residents. The Food Trust was founded in 1992, and they have in the past run nutrition education programs for children at Philadelphia's Reading Terminal Market. In addition, the Food Trust currently operates twenty-six farmer's markets in the greater Philadelphia area, which help local small-scale farms remain viable.⁵⁵

Cultural and educational programs at the country's historic markets are not limited to those operated through public-non-profit partnerships. Several municipally-owned and managed markets also run successful cultural programming at their markets. Examples include Eastern Market in Washington, DC, which will be discussed in more detail later in this paper. Another example of highly successful municipal management is the City Market in San Antonio, Texas. The market is run

⁵⁴ Corporation for Findlay Market, <http://www.findlaymarket.org/> (accessed May 3, 2013).

⁵⁵ The Food Trust, "The Food Trust Mission," <http://www.thefoodtrust.org/php/about/OurMission.php> (accessed February 2, 2013).

by the city's Department for Culture and Creative Development. In addition to the market's vibrant shops and restaurants, the city organizes arts, crafts, Hispanic heritage events, and musical performances. The venue also provides a space for working artists, who sell their work at the market.⁵⁶

America's historic enclosed market houses are prime examples of historic resources that continue to have meaning and relevance today. Through survey and documentation, preservationists can gain insight into both the historical and contemporary extent of this building type, can identify threatened examples, and can explore the many ways in which they contribute to local communities. Markets are one this country's oldest economic, cultural, and civic institutions, with the earliest surviving examples found in the eastern United States. The 46 extant markets identified through this survey point to the rarity of this resource, and the need for greater landmark designation at the local level to ensure their future. A consideration of the various ownership and management models associated with the country's surviving historic markets illustrate the power of partnerships in making markets the cultural and economic anchors of flourishing and healthy cities, towns, and neighborhoods.

⁵⁶ City of San Antonio, "Historic Market Square," <http://www.sanantonio.gov/marketsquare/> (accessed May 3, 2013).

Chapter 4: Case Study - Eastern Market

Eastern Market has endured as a Washington landmark for over one hundred forty years, and it is an excellent example of late nineteenth-century market design. During the twentieth century, the market struggled financially, surviving calls for its demolition. Eastern Market was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1971, and this important resource is also listed on the DC Inventory of Historic Sites. Repairs following a 2007 fire ushered in a new chapter in the market's history, and today, it serves as an economic catalyst and vibrant public space within the community.

Located in the Capitol Hill neighborhood, Eastern Market is bounded by North Carolina Avenue, and Sixth, Seventh, and C Streets SE (Figure 14). The building consists of a rectangular main block (south hall), with a later brick addition to its north (north hall); these two halls are joined by a brick connecting section. The market's south hall is five bays in width, and extends twenty bays in length. The northern addition is also five bays in width, but is twelve bays in length, including the short, two-story connecting section. Both the north and south halls feature open, lofty interiors with high ceilings. The market's main entrance is at the midpoint of the south hall's east elevation. It is set within an extended bay, under an elaborate pediment that is supported by classically scrolled brackets, and corbelled brickwork. Originally, the south hall was organized into eighty-five stalls, arranged in two rows that ran from north to south. Today, the artfully arranged stands and refrigerated display cases of market vendors line the perimeter of the building's interior, with an

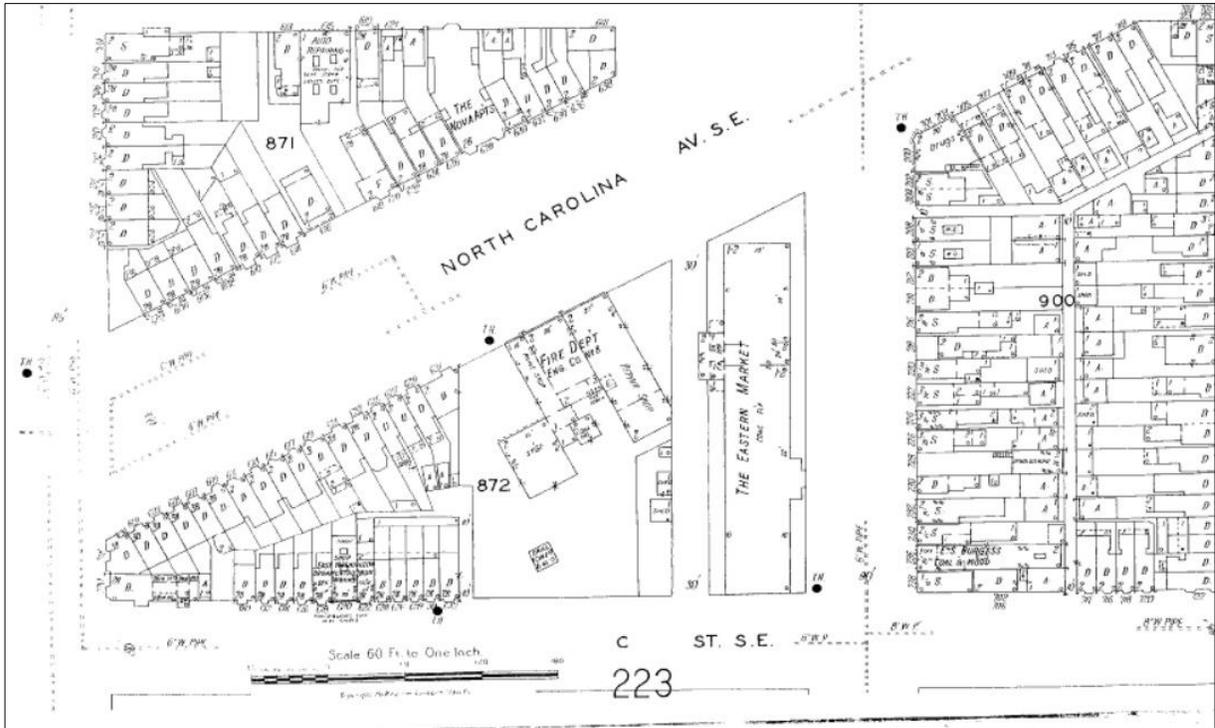


Figure 14. 1928 Sanborn map showing the location of Eastern Market.



Figure 15. Interior of South Hall, Eastern Market, Washington, DC, 1990 (Robert Hughes).

open aisle running down the center of the hall (Figure 15). The interior of the north hall is open, and this space functions as an arts and community center, hosting a variety of public and private events. In addition, a series of pavilions line the eastern side of the building's exterior, and along with a small open plaza, this space serves as the location for the lively farmer's market and craft fair that occurs there each weekend. Overall, Eastern Market occupies a total ground area of approximately 16,500 square feet.⁵⁷

After the Civil War, Washington experienced an increase in building activity. This "building boom" included privately financed residential rowhouse construction in growing neighborhoods such as Capitol Hill, as well as large scale public buildings, and civil works projects. In 1871, an act of Congress created a consolidated territorial government, and the Board of Public Works was established to improve the city's infrastructure. In August of 1871, the Territorial Legislature authorized the construction of Eastern Market, replacing a weather-beaten market structure near the Navy Yard that had been built in the early nineteenth century. Adolf Cluss, a German-American architect and engineer, designed Eastern Market for the Board of Public Works, and it was constructed between 1872 and 1873.⁵⁸

The building formed part of a District-wide system of markets, and it featured some of the latest ideas regarding market design. After the Civil War, architects, engineers, and city officials were studying ways to modernize public markets and

⁵⁷ National Register of Historic Places, Eastern Market, Washington, District of Columbia, National Register # 71000998.

⁵⁸ Richard Longstreth, "Adolf Cluss, the World, and Washington," in *Adolf Cluss, Architect: From Germany to America*, edited by Alan Lessoff and Christof Mauch (Washington, DC: German Historical Institute, 2005), 104-05; National Register of Historic Places, Eastern Market.

stabilize food retail and distribution. Plans for halls were widely published in architectural journals. City officials also conducted comparative studies of successful market systems in larger European cities. The preferred model that was emerging consisted of a centrally located wholesale market district which supplied retail market halls located in each neighborhood. In Washington, this public market system consisted of the Center, Eastern, and Western Markets, the latter of which was located at Twenty-first and K Streets NW.⁵⁹

Along with other architects in both America and Europe, Adolf Cluss saw urban market halls as an important form of multi-functioning public space, and he felt compelled through his designs to impart a sense of “dignity” to these working class “hubs” of social, economic, and civic exchange.⁶⁰ The market shares a number of late nineteenth-century stylistic elements with the rowhouses that surround it, such as elaborate cornices, arched windows, and detailed brick facades (Figure 16). Each of Eastern Market’s bays contains a single, round-arched window, with wide brick piers separating the bays. Recessed into each pier is an arched doorway and an eclectic, round window port. Together, this ensemble creates an alternating rhythm of doors and arched windows along each façade (Figure 17).⁶¹

Eastern Market reached its peak during the first decades of the twentieth century. As the population density of Capitol Hill increased during this period, so too did the market’s receipts, and the facility soon required more space. To expand its

⁵⁹ Helen Tangires, “Adolf Cluss and Public Market Reform,” in *Adolf Cluss, Architect: From Germany to America*, 158.

⁶⁰ Longstreth, “Adolf Cluss, the World, and Washington,” in *Adolf Cluss, Architect: From Germany to America*, 104-07.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*



Figure 16. Detailed view of eastern entrance, Eastern Market, Washington, DC, 1972 (HABS)



Figure 17. View from the southeast, Eastern Market, Washington, DC, 1972 (HABS)

capacity, the Board of Public Works constructed the market's north hall in 1908, which was designed by architect Snowden Ashford. By 1918, the market had one hundred-nine stalls in operation, selling baked goods, dairy products, meat, flowers, fish, and produce. Vendors rented the market's five by eight foot stalls for five dollars a month, while hucksters paid twelve dollars for a one year license to sell at the market. These rates were slightly higher than Baltimore's average stall rental rate of thirty dollars per year, and Philadelphia's average of forty dollars per year. However, Eastern Market's rates were much lower than the amount needed to rent a stall in New York or Boston's markets in 1918 – which averaged in the hundreds of dollars for a one year rental.⁶²

As the twentieth century continued, new housing and shopping patterns emerged in America that would threaten Eastern Market's future. Beginning in the 1920's, and continuing into the Post-War period, Capitol Hill's population steadily decreased, as residents left the neighborhood for newly constructed suburban homes in Maryland and Virginia, which were celebrated for their modern conveniences. Local chain grocers, such as the Sanitary Grocery Company, and later national corporations, such as Safeway, increasingly expanded their presence in the District, putting pressure on Washington's public market system. In 1923, Sanitary Grocery opened a new store close to Eastern Market at 545 Eighth Street SE. Emblematic of these shifting trends, Center Market, once considered the nation's most impressive, was demolished in 1931. Struggling financially, and considered an outdated relic of

⁶² National Register of Historic Places, Eastern Market; U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Municipal Markets in Cities Having a Population of Over 30,000* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1919).

the nineteenth century, Center Market was removed to make way for construction of the National Archives building.⁶³

These demographic and retail trends continued to impact Eastern Market, and commissioners raised stall rental rates on at least three occasions during the 1950's in an effort to sustain the struggling market. In 1957, District Commissioners increased the rent for regular market stands from \$45 to \$80 a month, special use stands from \$68 to \$120, and the rent for seafood stands increased from \$90 to \$160 per month. These increases were implemented to cover annual operational losses of \$7,500. The rise in stall rents were dramatic and put considerable pressure on the market's vendors. A group of around 1,600 local market patrons vocally protested the increased rents, presenting a petition to the District Commissioners that called for government subsidies to help support the market – a solution the city rejected at the time.⁶⁴

By 1957, only seventeen of the market's forty stalls were being rented, and the struggle over leases contributed to the decision of some vendors to leave – a decision that was also in some cases influenced by generational shifts in perceptions and expectations. In the 1950's George Castell was a third generation market vendor. His grandfather started Castell's Meats at the market in 1872. In addition to the increased rent, Castell's son, who was studying medicine at George Washington University, had little interest in inheriting the family business. In a 1957 *Washington*

⁶³ National Register of Historic Places, Eastern Market; Helen Tangires, "Contested Space: The Life and Death of Center Market," *Washington History* 7 (Spring/Summer, 1995): 66-67.

⁶⁴ "Eastern Market Rents to Go Up," *Washington Post*, April 30, 1957; "Rent Rise Hits Eastern Market," *Star*, April 30, 1957; "City Subsidy Proposed: Patrons Protest Raise in Rent of S.E. Market," *Washington Post*, June 18, 1957, Eastern Market Vertical Files, 1935-1971, MLK Library.

Post article, Castell stated that, “There’s no one for me to leave the business to, so I guess I’ll just close up and try and find a job someplace.”⁶⁵

Declining vendor occupancy rates, combined with the fact that the mostly empty market was operating at a deficit, led to concern in Congress, and calls among DC officials for its sale and redevelopment. A directive of the House Appropriations Committee to either place the market on a non-deficit basis, or close it, resulted in the District Commissioners’ decision to place the market under private management in June of 1958. Headed by a local seafood wholesaler, the Eastern Market Corporation assumed operation and management of the market.⁶⁶

In 1964-1965 the question of what to do with the market resurfaced. The DC Department of General Administration was in favor of selling the Eastern Market site to developers. In 1964, an official from that office was anonymously quoted in the *Capitol Hill News* as saying that “the best use for the Eastern Market site...would be a huge supermarket center with plenty of parking.” The debate over the market’s future also arose within the context of post-war urban renewal. Over a thirty year period between 1930 and 1960, the National Capitol Housing Authority cleared “over 40 acres of slums” on Capitol Hill – what the director of the authority in 1964 called “the basic job.”⁶⁷ At the time, the Capitol Hill Community Council gave voice to the

⁶⁵ Roy Meachum, “Rent Boosts Spell Doom of Old Eastern Market,” *Washington Post*, May 24, 1957, Eastern Market Vertical Files, 1935-1971, MLK Library, Washington, DC.

⁶⁶ “Eastern Market Rented to Private Management,” *Washington Post*, June 6, 1958, Eastern Market Vertical Files, 1935-1971, MLK Library.

⁶⁷ “Market Site Sale Opposed in Southeast,” *Washington Post*, June 18, 1964, Eastern Market Vertical Files, 1935-1971, MLK Library.

concerns of neighborhood residents who were in favor of maintaining the market, and its “unique charm.”⁶⁸

Opposition to calls for the market’s demolition, in addition to other local preservation campaigns, helped consolidate and galvanize the neighborhood’s grass roots base of support for historic preservation. Among these important past precedents were efforts that prevented a planned freeway through Capitol Hill, and a campaign to stop the development of federal office buildings along Pennsylvania Avenue and East Capitol Street. For the residents of Capitol Hill, the market was a valued neighborhood resource.⁶⁹

Expressing this sentiment, Dennis Kux of the Community Council made the case for preserving the market in a letter he sent to the *Washington Post* in 1964. He stated that the “market provides an elusive, intangible something that brightens the lives of the residents of Capitol Hill and surrounding neighborhoods.” Merchants at the time were requesting a ten year lease extension and were, not surprisingly, calling for the preservation of the market. Kux continued:

The destruction of Eastern Market and its probable replacement by a characterless supermarket would be a severe loss to our community and the city as a whole. It would, in addition, strike a telling body-blow against the vital work of the Joint Landmarks Committee of the Fine Arts Commission and the National Capital Planning Commission

⁶⁸ “D.C. Democratic Central Committee votes to Support Drive for Recreation Facilities; Tobriner is Asked to Save Market from Sale,” *Capitol Hill News*, September 1964, Eastern Market Vertical Files, 1935-1971, MLK Library.

⁶⁹ American Planning Association, Great Places in America, Great Neighborhoods, “Eastern Market Washington, DC: Civic Activism Enduring Staple of Neighborhood,” <http://www.planning.org/greatplaces/neighborhoods/2007/easternmarket.htm> (accessed March 31, 2013).

which has designated the Eastern Market building as an important historical landmark.⁷⁰

By the 1980's, the debate over the market was one waged between those who wanted a more upscale, retail oriented market, and those who wanted to maintain its "authenticity," and its prominent "arts and community function." In 1985, the Department of Administrative Services was running the market, and the District was interested in transferring its operation and financial management over to a community development corporation. At the time, Eastern Market exhibited numerous condition issues, and part of the work being proposed involved steps needed to bring the building up to code. Estimates placed the needed repairs at \$1.5 million.⁷¹

By the early 1990's the market's condition was declining, with newspaper accounts at the time describing it as "crumbling." Renovation plans called for a new grocery store in the northern third of the market, and for moving the north hall's publically subsidized art gallery into a newly constructed upstairs space. The renovation plans had divided the neighborhood. Advisory Neighborhood Commission-6B was against the plan to bring in a grocery store at the market, while the Capitol Hill Restoration Society and the local business community were in favor of it. Karen Walker, who was then the chair of the ANC, charged that those backing the plan were attempting to "pull the wool over the eyes of the whole community" in an effort to transform the market "into a more yuppiefied, gentrified place that will better fit their future vision of Capitol Hill." The ANC wanted the city to make

⁷⁰ "Save Eastern Market," letter submitted to the *Washington Post* by Dennis Kux, December 10, 1964, Eastern Market Vertical Files, 1935-1971, MLK Library.

⁷¹ Virginia Mansfield, "Taking Stock of the Market: Proposals to Modernize a Hill Landmark Meet with Enthusiasm and Opposition," *Washington Post*, December 12, 1985, Eastern Market Vertical Files, 1935-1971, MLK Library.

needed repairs to the market, but abandon the grocery plan. Dick Wolfe, a longtime Hill resident who had been closely involved in the debate maintained in 1991 that:

Some people just love the falling-down plaster. They believe that anything that's done with the Market will ruin it. But the place, in order to be functional, can't be an English ruin. If you leave it the way it is, it could be closed at any time just on the basis of being a fire hazard and a health hazard.⁷²

In the end, the ANC, supported by a group of concerned citizens, were able to “derail” the proposed grocery store-based renovation plan.⁷³

The vigorous debate over how best to revitalize the market delayed much needed repairs, and this contributed to the structure's declining condition. Concerned citizens took action. The Friends of Eastern Market is a non-profit organization created “for the purpose of ensuring the preservation of the Eastern Market as an important city landmark and social and cultural institution.” In 1990, the group began work on a Historic Structure Report for the market, which was funded by a matching grant from the National Trust for Historic Preservation. The Friends also began an Eastern Market Oral History Project in 1992 that was funded by a grant from the DC Community Humanities Council.⁷⁴

Citizen activism also contributed to efforts to combat crime in the neighborhood. A spike in violent crime plagued Capitol Hill during the late 1990's,

⁷² “The Eastern Market Wars,” *City Paper*, May 31-June 6, 1991, Eastern Market Vertical Files, 1935-1971, MLK Library.

⁷³ American Planning Association, Great Places in America, Great Neighborhoods, “Eastern Market Washington, DC: Civic Activism Enduring Staple of Neighborhood,” <http://www.planning.org/greatplaces/neighborhoods/2007/easternmarket.htm> (accessed March 31, 2013).

⁷⁴ “The Friends of Eastern Market: Working to Protect an Important Washington Landmark,” undated document (memorandum? – it doesn't appear to be a press release), Eastern Market Vertical Files, 1935-1971, MLK Library.

concerning local residents. As the District police increased their presence in the area, citizens held vigils, distributed informational leaflets on criminal activity, and worked on community landscaping projects that included planting trees and installing better lighting in public areas. In addition, a neighborhood church started a mentoring program for troubled teens. In order to attract attention to the crime problem, residents mailed local politicians invitations to attend the “Capitol Hill Crack House and Alley Tour.” Other concerned locals produced a historic guidebook which showcased the history and architecture of the neighborhood in a bid to attract new preservation-minded residents to the area.⁷⁵

District legislation passed in 1999 reorganized the management of Eastern Market, which in turn led to much needed renovation work. This legislation placed the market’s operations under the purview of the DC Department of Real Estate Services. It also created the Eastern Market Community Advisory Committee to help guide DRES in the operation and management of the market. EMCAC represents a range of stakeholder interests, and the committee is composed of government officials, market vendors, local merchants, and neighborhood residents.⁷⁶

The renovation of the market coincided with other historic preservation activity in the Capitol Hill neighborhood. In 1997, Barracks Row Main Street, a non-profit organization, was established to plan and implement the revitalization of the commercial district located along Eighth Street SE between Pennsylvania Avenue and the Navy Yard. The physical condition of properties along this historically vital street

⁷⁵ Emily Wax, “Taking Safety Stand; Tired of Shootings, Capitol Neighbors Unite With Police,” *Washington Post*, December 9, 1999.

⁷⁶ DC Department of Real Estate Services, “Eastern Market Community Advisory Committee,” <http://www.easternmarket-dc.org/default.asp?ContentID=9> (accessed April 1, 2013).

had deteriorated due to crime, population loss, and disinvestment. Today, the rehabilitated Barracks Row district features new shops and restaurants, and it serves to connect Eastern Market to new development projects in the vicinity of the Navy Yard. In addition, a partnership with the DC Office of Cultural Tourism resulted in the Barracks Row Heritage Trail, an educational and interpretive effort designed to stimulate interest in the history of the Eighth Street corridor.⁷⁷

Despite this positive momentum, Eastern Market faced further challenges. In May of 2007, a three alarm fire destroyed the interior and roof of the south hall, causing \$20 million in damage. At the scene, Mayor Adrian Fenty called Eastern Market "a historic landmark that has been the lifeblood of the Capitol Hill neighborhood and a great source of pride for the entire city for more than a century." Echoing these sentiments, a neighborhood resident quoted in the *Washington Post* stated that the market was "the center of our community," adding that, "This is a big deal for us to see this."⁷⁸ The fire coincided with rehabilitation work on the market that had begun in 2005. With the full backing of the District government and neighborhood residents, Quinn Evans Architects redirected these efforts into an extensive restoration of the building aimed at salvaging historic fabric, while modernizing the facility.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Cultural Tourism DC, "Barracks Row Main Street," <http://www.culturaltourismdc.org/things-to-see/attractions/barracks-row-main-street> (Accessed April 7, 2013); Debbi Wilgoren, "Mayor Announces Revitalization Program; National Initiative Targets D.C. Business Districts, Neighborhood Retail Strips," *Washington Post*, January 26, 2002.

⁷⁸ Allison Klein, Keith L. Alexander, and Michelle Boorstein. "2 Fires Ravage Eastern Market, Georgetown Library in 12 Hours." *Washington Post*, May 1, 2007.

⁷⁹ Nancy Berry, "Eastern Market Rising," *Traditional Building* 24, no. 5 (October 2011), <http://www.traditional-building.com/Previous-Issues-11/OctoberProject11Quinn.html> (accessed April 13, 2013).

Today, Eastern Market is an outstanding example of a historic market that acts as an economic, social, and cultural focus for the Capitol Hill community. An open-air farmers market is held around the periphery of the market each Saturday and Sunday in a covered space known as the “Farmers Line.” The outdoor market is well attended by neighborhood residents, and provides area farmers with a venue from which to sell their regionally grown produce.⁸⁰ This weekend market, along with the adjacent Eastern Market Flea Market held each Sunday, also provides retail opportunities for local artists and craftsmen from a diverse array of ethnic backgrounds. The flea market, now in its thirtieth year, generates between \$5 and 6 million annually in sales. Vendors pay a small application and space rental fee - no vendor’s license is required. Over sixty flea market vendors have gone on to establish “bricks and mortar” stores in the area, creating jobs and contributing to the local economy.⁸¹ Eastern Market’s North Hall provides a space for both public and private events, hosting everything from receptions, summits, and trade shows, to meetings, awards ceremonies, and cultural events. For example, the American Indian Society of Washington, DC holds its Native Community Round Dance in the North Hall several times a year.⁸² Also, beginning in 1968, Eastern Market Pottery has offered pottery classes at the market. Today, these are held in the combination studio/gallery, located in the market’s basement, which the business leases from the District government. Income from the classes helped support Eastern Market Pottery

⁸⁰ DC Department of General Services, Eastern Market, “Farmers Line and Outdoor Food,” <http://www.easternmarket-dc.org/default.asp?ContentID=5> (accessed May 4, 2013).

⁸¹ Diverse Markets Management, “The Flea Market at Eastern Market,” <http://www.easternmarket.net/> (accessed May 4, 2013).

⁸² American Indian Society of Washington, DC, “Events,” <http://aisdc.org/html/events.html> (accessed May 4, 2013).

founder Harold Guiland while he was researching and writing *Early American Folk Pottery*, which was published in 1971.⁸³

While it is difficult to precisely quantify the market's impact on recent demographic and real estate trends in Capitol Hill, an examination of census data and home values reveals a neighborhood that has experienced both the positive and negative effects of preservation and gentrification. While Capitol Hill lost residents during the 1980's and 90's, the neighborhood experienced a 13% increase in population between 2000 and 2010 (Table 3). While still diverse, the racial composition of the neighborhood also changed during this period, with fewer African American residents, combined with an increase in the number of white residents (Table 4).⁸⁴ This trend coincided with increasing home values. Between 1995 and 2000, the median sale price of homes in the neighborhood, adjusted for inflation, increased by 39%, but remained below the DC average. After 2000, and Eastern Market's renovation, this trend reversed dramatically. While slightly affected by the recession, the median sales price for homes in Capitol Hill increased 136% between 2000 and 2010, and was higher than the District average throughout this period (Table 5). Concurrently, violent crime rates fell between 2000 and 2010, from 11 to 7.3 crimes committed per 1,000 residents. The violent crime rate for Capitol Hill also remained well below the DC average during this period.⁸⁵ In addition to these demographic trends, the neighborhood has experienced a significant amount of

⁸³ Eastern Market Pottery, "History," <http://easternmarketpottery.com/history> (accessed May 4, 2013).

⁸⁴ Neighborhood Info DC, Profiles, Neighborhood Clusters, "Cluster 26," http://www.neighborhoodinfodc.org/nclusters/Nbr_prof_clus26.html (accessed March 29, 2013).

⁸⁵ Ibid.

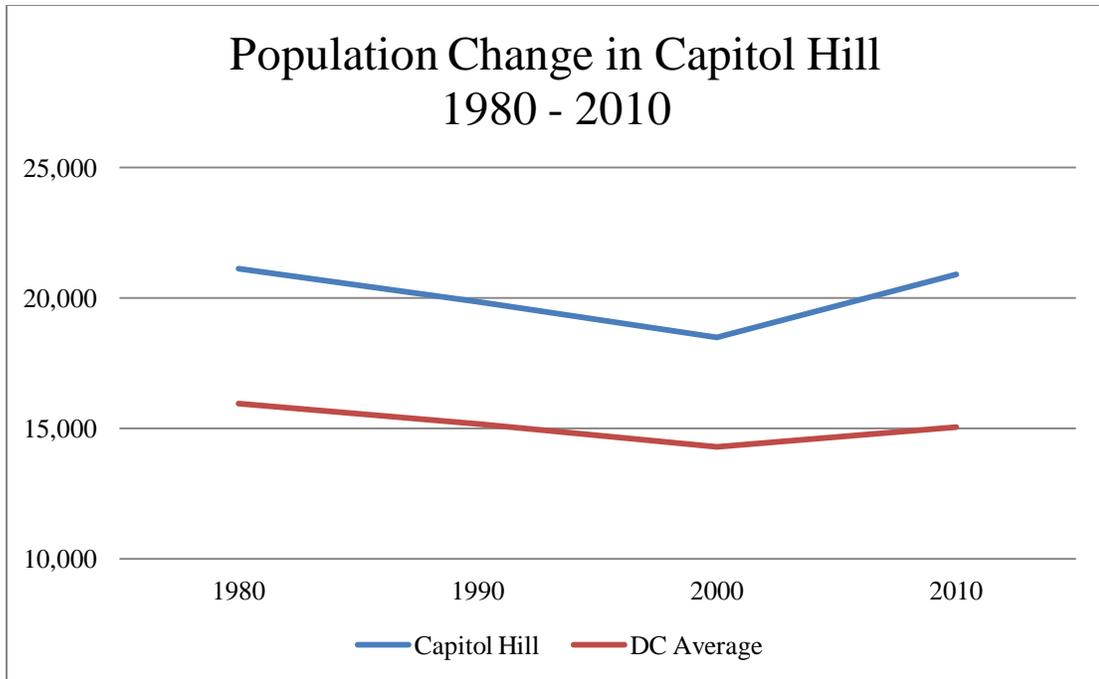


Table 3. Population Change in Capitol Hill, 1980 - 2010 (<http://www.neighborhoodinfodc.org>).

Demographic Change in Capitol Hill 2000-2010		
	2000	2010
White	48%	56%
African American	46%	35%
Hispanic	2%	5%

Table 4. Demographic Change in Capitol Hill 2000-2010 (<http://www.neighborhoodinfodc.org>).

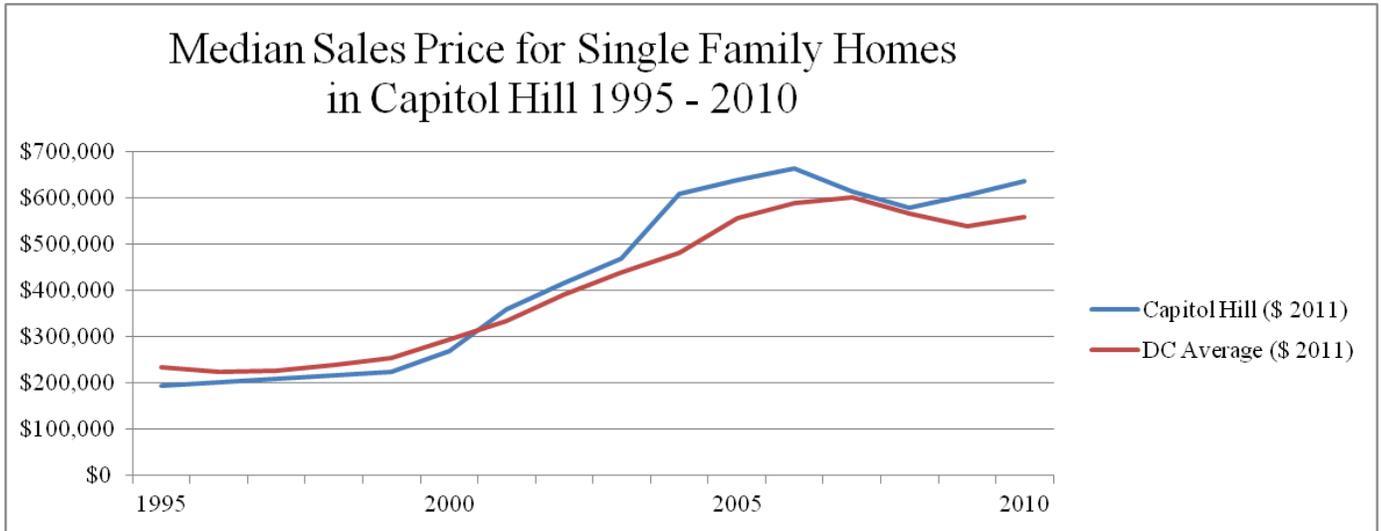


Table 5. Median Sales Price for Single Family Homes in Capitol Hill, 1995 - 2010 (<http://www.neighborhoodinfodc.org>).

preservation investment in recent years. Between 2005 and 2010, the DC Historic Preservation Office reviewed rehabilitation projects in Capitol Hill for final tax credit certification totaling over \$7 million.⁸⁶

These statistics illustrate that gentrification has occurred in Capitol Hill, and that it is likely that the market has played a role in these changes – both positive and negative. As discussed in the introduction to this paper, gentrification is often an unfortunate consequence of urban preservation, and underscores the need for an integrated policy approach that combines the positive aspects of preservation, such as increased home values, and the social, cultural, and economic benefits that Eastern Market provides, with measures that increase the availability of affordable housing. This is a necessary step if the many benefits associated with markets are to be broadly shared in communities.

⁸⁶ Tax credit data from the DC Historic Preservation Office Annual Reports for 2005-2010, available at <http://dc.gov/DC/Planning/Historic+Preservation/Plans+and+Reports/Preservation+Planning/Annual+Reports> (accessed May 4, 2013).

Overall, the story of Eastern Market provides insight into the positive role that historic markets can play in neighborhoods. Like many urban public markets, Eastern Market struggled to remain viable for much of the twentieth century, as outmigration, competition from private chain grocers, and mismanagement all impacted the once thriving market. Beyond its economic contribution to the neighborhood, the market is clearly a cherished social and cultural institution in Capitol Hill, and as a vibrant public space, it draws thousands of visitors each week.

Importantly, this historic market is an active part of neighborhood life and during the 1980's and 90's local residents were vocal in their desire to see the market's renovation reflect community values such as preservation, diversity, and authenticity. Citizen activism, from the fight to save the market and prevent insensitive development in Capitol Hill, to more recent campaigns to reduce crime, all point to the essential role of concerned and organized residents in community revitalization. In the 1980's, the Safeway located across from Eastern Market closed.⁸⁷ The market, however, is today stronger than ever.

⁸⁷ "The Eastern Market Wars," *City Paper*, May 31-June 6, 1991, Eastern Market Vertical Files, 1935-1971, MLK Library.

Chapter 5: Case Study - Hollins Market

Hollins Market is a neighborhood public market that is located in a historically residential West Baltimore neighborhood of rowhouses and corner stores. The market is built down the middle of a widened, one block section of Hollins Street, and extends east from S. Carrollton to S. Arlington Avenue (Figure 18). It is a contributing structure in both the Union Square-Hollins Market National Register Historic District, and the local Union Square Historic District. The market has historically acted as a vital social, cultural, and educational space for the community. Over the past fifty years, however, the Hollins Market neighborhood has been negatively impacted by the loss of manufacturing jobs in Baltimore, crime, abandoned housing, and a range of urban social and health problems. Today, the market provides the neighborhood with access to fresh food, and its second floor meeting hall holds enormous potential as a cultural and educational space for the community.

In its form, layout, and style, Hollins is a classic example of a mid-nineteenth-century public market. First established on the site in 1836, the market was constructed in multiple phases. The first consisted of a rectangular plan, one story, frame, enclosed market shed with a hipped roof. This enclosed shed was rebuilt in 1977. A large, two story, brick head house constructed in 1864 represents the second phase (Figure 19). Typical of these mixed-use facilities, the head house contained a meeting hall on its second floor. Like other enclosed street markets of the period, Hollins once featured an open-sided, awning-like extension around its perimeter that

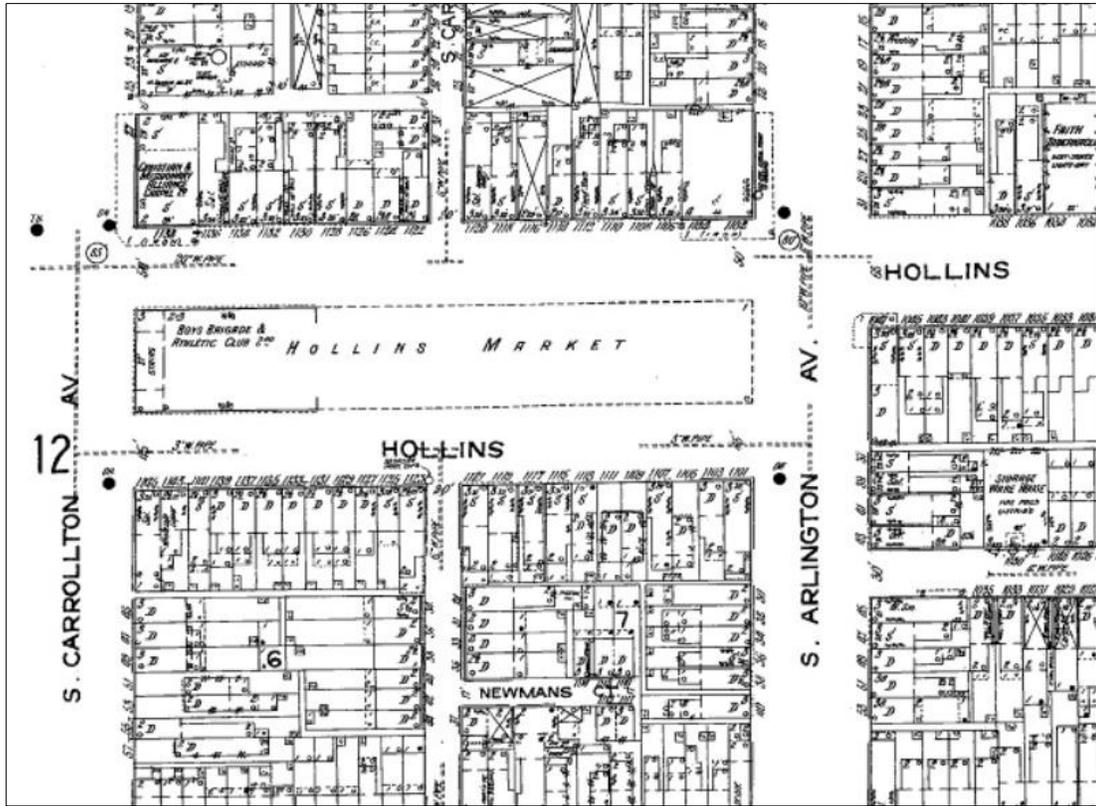


Figure 18. 1914 Sanborn map showing the location of Hollins Market.



Figure 19. View from the northeast, Hollins Market, Baltimore, MD, 2013 (author).

contained the market's "huckster" stalls. Market activity apparently spilled out onto the adjacent streets as well.⁸⁸

The two-story head house is capped by an end-gabled roof with a large triangular pediment, which imbues the otherwise Italianate western façade with a stolid classicism (Figure 20). Both the north and south elevations are eight bays in length, while the west elevation is four bays in width. The head house is connected to the market shed on its east elevation. Like many market houses of the mid-to-late nineteenth century, each bay on both the first and second floor is delineated by bold arches, with brick piers separating the bays. On the front façade, the second floor bays contain both a tall, narrow, and smaller square-shaped, window. On the market's north and south elevations, every other second floor bay contains a single arched window. Other stylistic features include the heavy bracketing of the pediment and cornice, and the banded appearance of the first floor brick work, which recalls the rusticated first floors of Italian Renaissance and Georgian architecture. It is unknown who the architect was who designed the market's head house. Overall, Hollins Market covers approximately 13,600 square feet of ground area.⁸⁹

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Hollins Market provided food for Irish, German, and Lithuanian factory laborers and their families. The meeting hall on the market's second floor also functioned as an important public and civic space for the city of Baltimore. In the aftermath of the 1904 fire that destroyed much of downtown, the city provided the Maryland Institute School of Art and

⁸⁸ John Dorsey and James Dilts, *A Guide to Baltimore Architecture*, 2nd ed. (Centreville, MD: Tidewater Publishers, 1981), 154-55.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*



Figure 21. View from the southwest, Hollins Market, Baltimore, MD, 2013 (author).

Design with access to “Hollins Market Hall” to serve as temporary classroom space until a new facility could be built. The city “cancelled other rentals” to accommodate the school. By October of 1905, the Maryland Institute was holding its day classes at Richmond Market, and its night classes at Hollins Market.⁹⁰

Newspaper sources from the period suggest that the hall on the market’s second floor was regularly used as a meeting space for various local political campaigns, groups, and clubs. Lectures were also held at the hall on the market’s second floor, such as Dr. Quincy Adams’ 1908 address entitled, “Art in the Streets of European and American Cities.”⁹¹ During the 1915 Maryland gubernatorial race, supporters of candidate and state comptroller Emerson Harrington, met at “Hollins Market Hall.”⁹² Whites and blacks both attended these political rallies, although in separate sections of the market. A newspaper account of a “big Republican rally” held at Hollins Market in 1907 described African American men “crowding” the “blacks corner” of the hall.⁹³

Like Capitol Hill, the Hollins Market neighborhood was affected by Post-War developments in housing policy, transportation, and employment, which significantly impacted the neighborhood and those surrounding it. Hollins Market was a working class neighborhood in an industrial city, and as manufacturing declined in Baltimore during the 1960’s and 70’s, neighborhoods such as Hollins Market lost population.

⁹⁰ “Students to Begin Work, Higher Institutions of Learning Will Open Today,” *Baltimore Sun*, October 2, 1905.

⁹¹ “Its History and Work, Beginning in 1848, It has Grown to Greatness,” *Baltimore Sun*, January 2, 1905; “ART IN THE STREETS: Baltimore Has Heritage, Of Natural Beauty, Says Dr. Adams,” *Baltimore Sun*, February 6, 1908.

⁹² “City and Suburban,” *Baltimore Sun*, October 26, 1915.

⁹³ “Negroes Their Topic: Mr. Schirm and Others Address ‘Black Corner,’” *Baltimore Sun*, October 25, 1907.

This led to the beginnings of the abandoned rowhouse problem – a problem which persists today. The crime associated with the failed Lexington Terrace public housing project, located just to the northeast of the market in the adjacent Poppleton neighborhood, led additional residents to move out of the Hollins Market area.⁹⁴

In an effort to improve the neighborhood, the city renovated the market in 1977. The \$1.2 million project was funded through a U. S. Economic Development Administration grant. The market's enclosed wooden shed was replaced with the present concrete building with wooden siding. In addition, the market's head house was restored, and its interior modernized. At the ground breaking ceremony, Mayor William Donald Schaefer stated that, "This project will not be a complete success without the cooperation of the citizens," a factor crucial in the campaign to preserve and revitalize Washington's Eastern Market.⁹⁵

As Hollins Market was renovated, poor transportation planning seriously impacted its prospects. In 1982, Martin Luther King Boulevard opened, which along with the never completed I-70 spur to the north, served to isolate the neighborhood from downtown, and from nearby residential areas such as Ridgeley's Delight. The traditionally white Hollins Market neighborhood also became more diverse during the 1980's, as African Americans became the majority racial group living in the area.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Sherry H. Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 371-72, 377; Katie Gunther, "High-rises denounced: New public housing demanded by groups," *Baltimore Sun*, August 3, 1983; Baltimore City's Past Present and Future, "Hollins Market: Sandwiched Between Gentrification and Blight," <http://baltimorefuture.blogspot.com/2009/07/hollins-market-sandwiched-between.html> (accessed April 14, 2013).

⁹⁵ "A Schaefer nail starts off Hollins Market renovation," *Baltimore Sun*, December 17, 1977.

⁹⁶ Baltimore City's Past Present and Future, "Hollins Market: Sandwiched Between Gentrification and Blight," <http://baltimorefuture.blogspot.com/2009/07/hollins-market-sandwiched-between.html> (accessed April 14, 2013).

Rehabilitation projects in the Hollins Market neighborhood provided hope during the 1990's, but these positive steps were diminished by the area's persistent crime problem. In 1991, Hollins Market LP and Market Mews LP, started by neighborhood residents and investors Howard and Steve Loewentheil, rehabilitated fifty-four rowhouses in the neighborhood using Federal Historic Preservation Tax Credits. Through an agreement with the city, and the state's Community Development Administration, reduced down payments and affordable mortgages were offered for qualifying low income buyers.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, local citizens were frustrated by the city's inability to improve the safety of the neighborhood. A 1991 newspaper article regarding the stalled revitalization efforts in Hollins Market quoted several neighborhood residents. According to Lance Gifford, a local minister who began restoring rowhouses near the market beginning in the 1970's, there "was this belief that this particular block could be reclaimed as a neighborhood. In 1973, there were a lot of us who felt that way." Also quoted in the piece was Steve Loewentheil, who was leaving the area just months after the completion of the rehabilitation project:

One would think that when the physical aspects of a neighborhood have come along as far as this one has that government services would lead the way forward. I understand the city has financial limitations, but when you get to the point where you have children, the reason for the failure of city services no longer matters. If my child cannot go across the street and play in a city park at the age of 10, I don't really care anymore. We're not moving for what the suburbs offer, but for what the city does not offer: public safety. How can you expect people to stay here if it's not safe?⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Edward Gunts, "Hollins Townhouses Restored, Affordable," *Baltimore Sun*, June 9, 1991.

⁹⁸ Ellen Uzelac, "Out of choices': Urban pioneers abandon inner cities Revitalization trend falls short of hopes," *Baltimore Sun*, September 18, 1991.

In addition to these setbacks, a plan developed by local stakeholders to rehabilitate the market's historic upstairs meeting hall into a multi-purpose community space failed to materialize, in part due to limited funding.⁹⁹

In 2004, the University of Maryland, Baltimore announced plans to construct a large biomedical research facility approximately four blocks east of the market. The BioPark project raised new hopes for the west side's resurgence, and both real estate analysts and neighborhood residents saw the facility as a possible catalyst for an area suffering from crime and an increasing number of abandoned properties. While adjacent neighborhoods such as Pigtown, Union Square, and Ridgely's Delight have seen investment activity in recent years, Hollins Market has yet to witness dramatic changes.¹⁰⁰

While a small number of businesses have popped up around the market, challenges remain. Between 2000 and 2010, the number of abandoned properties in the Poppleton/The Terraces/Hollins Market statistical area has almost doubled, and the number has consistently been twice the city average (Table 6). And despite a slight increase in 2007-2008, rehabilitation investment in the neighborhood remains low over the past ten years, unfortunately reflecting broader city-wide trends (Table 7). While the violent crime rate has been on an overall downward trajectory over the past decade (Table 8), it is still double to triple the amount seen in Capitol Hill.

Despite these grim indicators, there are several small businesses and organizations that have established themselves in the historic commercial buildings

⁹⁹ Joan Jacobson, "Artists, merchants see hope through art in restoration of hall above Hollins Market; Theater, gallery planned for 160-year-old space," *Baltimore Sun*, January 2, 1996.

¹⁰⁰ Tracy Swartz, "Hollins Market Area Ready for Rebirth; Struggling Neighborhood Thinks Biotech Park Could Help Bring Better Days," *Baltimore Sun*, April 4, 2004.

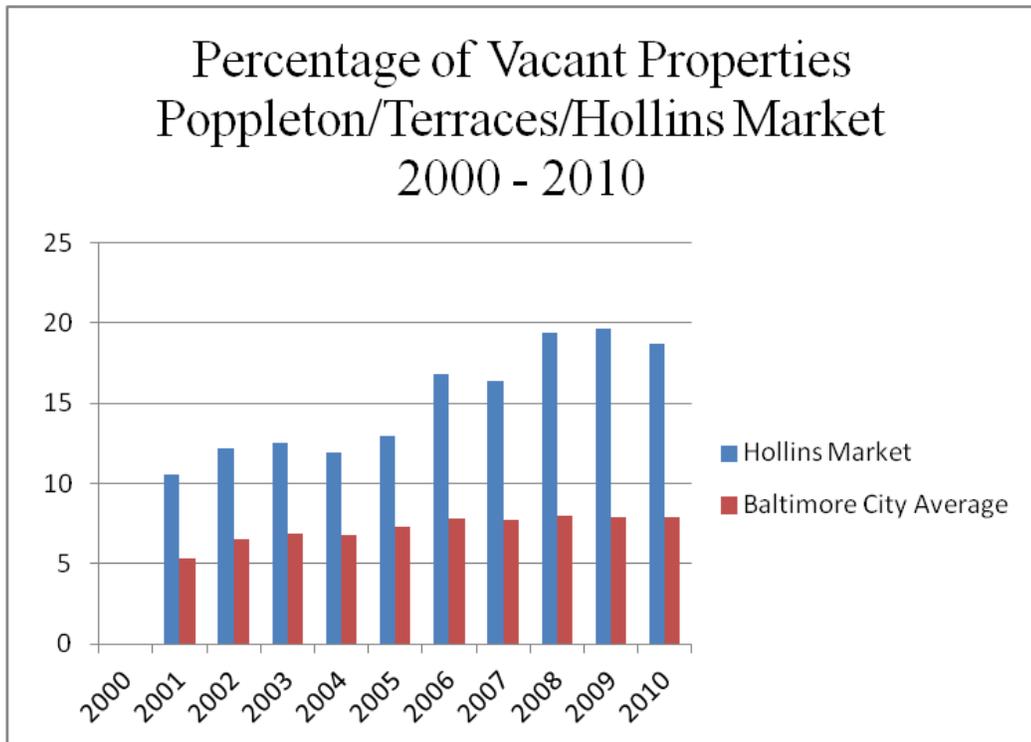


Table 6. Percentage of Vacant Properties in Poppleton/Terraces/Hollins Market, 2000-2010 (<http://bniajfi.org>)

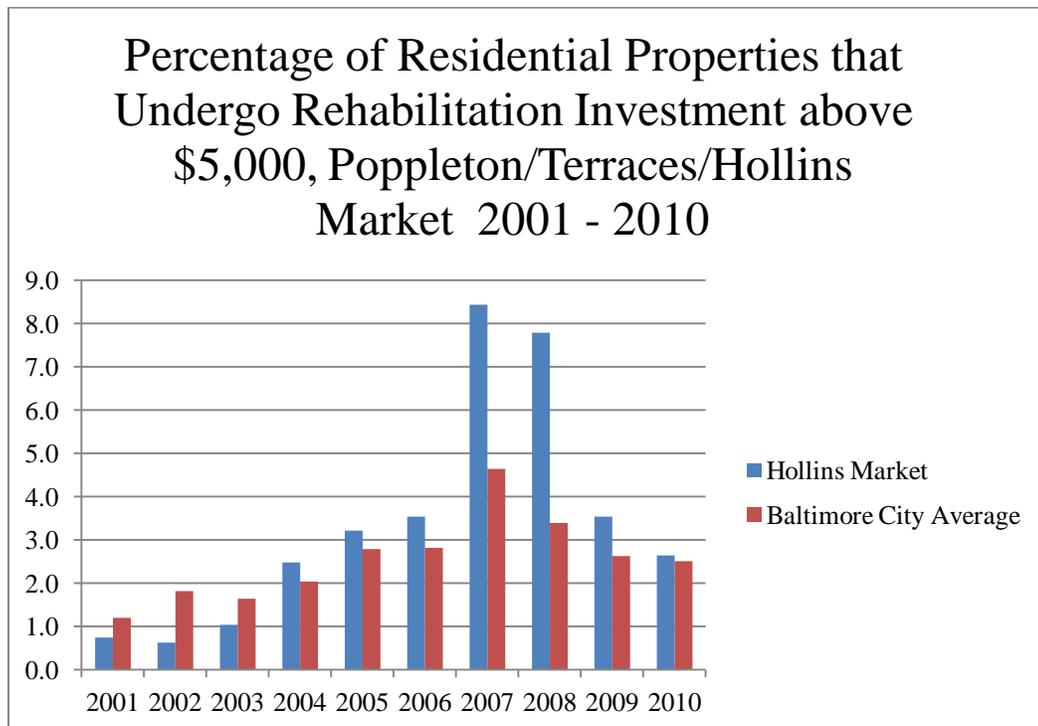


Table 7. Percentage of Residential Properties that Undergo Rehabilitation Investment above \$5000, Poppleton/Terraces/Hollins Market, 2001-2010 (<http://bniajfi.org>)

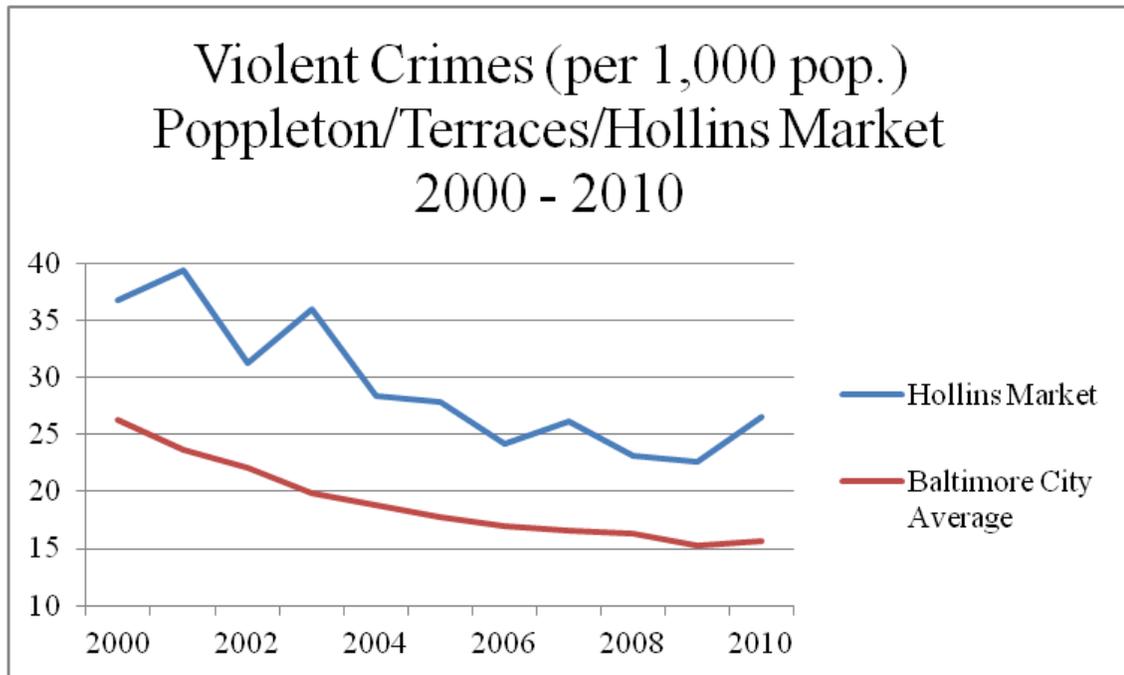


Table 8. Violent Crimes (per 1,000 pop.) Poppleton/Terraces/Hollins Market, 2000-2010 (<http://bniajfi.org>)

surrounding the market. These include the Black Cherry Puppet Theater, Cups Coffeehouse, and Zella’s Pizza. Started in 1980, the Black Cherry Puppet Theater is a non-profit artists and performers association that stages children’s plays in a rehabilitated space across from the market.¹⁰¹ Cups Coffeehouse serves sandwiches, coffee, and pastries from a historic corner building located at Hollins Street and S. Arlington Avenue. Zella’s opened in 2007 directly across from Hollins Market at the corner of Hollins Street and S. Carrollton Avenue. Recognized as one of the best pizza restaurants in the city, Zella’s has survived primarily off of the strength of their delivery business. Dine-in customers have been harder to attract, partly due to low foot traffic in the area, and the perception of the neighborhood as being dangerous.

¹⁰¹ Black Cherry Puppet Theater, “About Us,” <http://www.blackcherry.org> (accessed April 14, 2013).

According to owner Julie Ernst, the loiterers who gather around the market have occasionally bothered diners as well.¹⁰²

In addition to these local businesses, the Sowebo arts festival is held each spring in the blocks surrounding the market. This event, which attracts thousands of people each year, is hosted by Sowebo Arts Inc., a non-profit community arts organization which is headquartered across the street from the market. The festival includes live music, food, arts, and crafts.¹⁰³

Hollins Market, the center of this activity, is part of a city-wide system of public markets in Baltimore that dates back to the eighteenth century. The recent history of Baltimore's markets is characterized by the partnership between the city and the Baltimore Public Markets Corporation, the 501 c(3) non-profit group that was established in 1995 to manage the city's market system. Caspar Genco is the executive director of BPMC, and he insists that the longevity of the city's public markets as an institution is a measure of how well they have adapted to the changes that have occurred in the city's neighborhoods. Despite the statistical indicators, and the array of problems plaguing the neighborhood, BPMC is optimistic regarding Hollins Market's future.¹⁰⁴

He referred to Baltimore's public markets as "cornerstones" of the city's business community and its neighborhoods, and BPMC is currently planning big changes for Hollins Market that will include better lighting and merchandise, a more modern interior, and expanded hours of operation. In terms of food, they plan to

¹⁰² Scott Dance, "There's Risk, Reward for Business in Baltimore's Edgier Areas," *Baltimore Business Journal*, June 19, 2010, <http://www.bizjournals.com/baltimore/stories/2010/07/19/story1.html?page=2> (accessed April 14, 2013).

¹⁰³ Sowebo Arts Inc., "About Us," <http://www.soweboarts.org/mission.html> (accessed April 14, 2013).

¹⁰⁴ Caspar Genco and Robert Thomas, interview by the author, Baltimore, MD, January 31, 2013.

introduce Asian and steamed seafood menus, and will bring in a smoked meats vendor. BPMC has also hired the JP2 architectural firm, who has designed an upscale bakery space for the market. A lighting study has been commissioned as well. Genco said that they are asking merchants who sell “general merchandise,” such as jewelry and clothes to leave. A merchant selling religious books will be moved to another stall with an improved presentation. Once these changes are implemented, the market will be 99% rented. Along with the physical changes to the market, Genco insists that the market’s vendors will be required to “step up” in improving the cleanliness of their stalls and their customer service skills.¹⁰⁵

Genco is adamant that the cooperation of the city and neighborhood stakeholders is vital to the success of the planned changes at Hollins Market. In light of the neighborhood’s persistent crime problem, he thinks the city needs to do more to help ensure the safety of customers visiting the market. Genco also thinks that the neighborhood’s various community associations, which he maintains good relations with, could serve as active partners in the market’s success. The changes planned for the market will present an opportunity for the businesses located around it, and he feels that the community “should be happy with the commitment from BPMC.” He feels that the market’s history sets it apart from other retail experiences, and he believes the neighborhood understands and appreciates the heritage of the market, a sentiment which young African American patrons also expressed to the author during recent visits to the market.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

Caspar Genco's comments regarding the need for strong partnerships between the city, market management, and the community are cogent and well-founded. However, in order for Hollins Market to serve as a positive force for community revitalization, its potential role as an educational and cultural space is just as important as its economic performance. The rehabilitation of the market's second floor meeting hall could possibly serve to alleviate some of the social and health-related issues facing the Hollins Market community.

A values-based approach to Hollins Market reveals several areas in which the meeting hall could respond to community needs. In 2010, the teen birth rate, and the percentage of single-parent households in the neighborhood stood at almost twice that of the Baltimore city average. In terms of educational attainment, 58% percent of adult residents in the neighborhood possessed a high school diploma or less. Accordingly, the upstairs space could serve as a venue for helping to empower these young women, and other neighborhood residents, through programs aimed at building job skills such as computer literacy and resume building. Likewise, through partnerships with local schools and universities, the hall could host GED or reduced-cost evening college classes for adults. Similarly, only 43% of the neighborhood's eighth grade students in 2010 demonstrated reading skills at a proficient or advanced level. A reading club for these kids, such as a compelling African American literature series, could possibly help to inspire these students, get them interested in learning, and reduce the high rates of school absenteeism seen in the neighborhood. The Hollins Market area also has a much higher than average rate of heart disease, diabetes, and stroke, combined with a density of fast food carry-out restaurants that is

almost double the city average. A series of healthy cooking and nutrition classes could possibly help alleviate these problems, and introduce more neighborhood residents to the impressive array of fresh meat, seafood, and produce offered at Hollins Market. These efforts would also help support the Food Policy Initiative, a 2011 city program aimed at improving neighborhood health.¹⁰⁷ Most importantly, they also reflect the expressed desire of local residents, who want to see the market play a greater role in the community.¹⁰⁸

A good deal of work is needed to rehabilitate the market's second floor hall. For years, the City of Baltimore used it as a storage space. This material has since been removed, and the second floor is currently empty. In 2005, however, an estimate put the rehabilitation of the upstairs hall at over \$1 million.¹⁰⁹ Bringing in outside partners, and exploring innovative funding solutions, such as federal grants, and possible structures for tax credit syndication, could help realize this vision of a market that serves as a community resource, as well as a place to buy food.

It is unclear whether the interior upgrades planned for Hollins Market will result in a dramatic increase in home values, and the associated displacement seen in Capitol Hill. However, the values-based rehabilitation of the market's second floor meeting hall could provide benefits that could help stabilize the troubling statistical trends that are currently affecting the neighborhood's residents. Combined with

¹⁰⁷ Baltimore City Health Department, *2011 Neighborhood Health Profile, Poppleton/The Terraces/Hollins Market*, December 2011; City of Baltimore, "Food Policy Initiative," <http://www.baltimorecity.gov/Government/AgenciesDepartments/Planning/BaltimoreFoodPolicyInitiative/PublicMarkets.aspx> (accessed May 5, 2013).

¹⁰⁸ Personal Communication with Jane Buccheri, president of the Hollins-Roundhouse Neighborhood Association, and Kara Panowitz of the University of Maryland, Baltimore, who conducted a focus group with neighborhood residents in 2012 regarding the market's future.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

policies that address access to affordable housing and unemployment, the uses proposed here for the market's meeting hall could help provide a gateway to the middle class for Hollins Market's low income residents, allowing them to remain in the neighborhood, and enjoy the benefits that arise as the neighborhood changes.

While the preservation of historic markets cannot solve all of urban America's social and economic problems, maintaining and rehabilitating these buildings can positively impact neighborhoods. Public markets are traditionally mixed-use facilities, an aspect which contributes to their strength as public spaces. The meeting hall on Hollins Market's second floor has historically been the site for political discourse and cultural events, and its use as a space for learning and community empowerment could help address some of the neighborhood's problems and needs. Public input, so crucial in the case of Capitol Hill, needs to be a part of the process. Safety is also a prerequisite for a thriving market, requiring, as Caspar Genco stated, partnerships between the city, community leaders, and the market corporation.

Unlike Eastern Market, no contentious preservation battles have been waged over Hollins Market's future. Rather, it is a historic resource set within a neighborhood that has been largely forgotten until recently by the city, and damaged and isolated by failed Post-War housing and transportation policies. The erosion of Baltimore's industrial job base, high crime rates, and the increase in abandoned housing, have also greatly affected the neighborhood. Nevertheless, the Baltimore Public Markets Corporation is planning extensive investment in the market, an encouraging development for the neighborhood that needs to be accompanied by measures to counter potential gentrification-induced displacement. In addition to

these steps, employing a values-based approach to the eventual rehabilitation of the building's upstairs hall will respond to community needs, while enhancing the local relevance and meaning of this historic resource.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

America's historic markets are a rare resource, and their origins in this country date back to the eighteenth century. These open-sided street sheds were constructed in eastern, colonial towns and cities, and from their earliest incarnations, were characterized by a mix of uses that included social and civic activities, in addition to serving as a place to procure food. During the nineteenth century, markets evolved architecturally, reflecting period ideas regarding the role of public space in American society. During the Progressive Era of the early twentieth century, enclosed markets symbolized civic pride, and these cherished local institutions acted as centers for community interaction and discourse.

After World War Two, Americans lived and shopped in new ways, and combined with declining urban populations, and decaying commercial districts, these trends put great pressure on the country's historic markets. Nevertheless, the great strength of historic markets – their social, cultural, and educational functions – caused them to remain viable, as communities such as Capitol Hill fought for their preservation. Today, many markets are flourishing, serving not only as locations for purchasing food, but also as nodes of cultural exchange. Continuing in this mixed-use tradition, many surviving markets possess enormous potential to contribute to the revitalization of struggling neighborhoods and downtowns. In order to fully realize this potential, however, greater landmark designation is needed, particularly at the local level. Partnerships between municipalities and non-profit organizations have

also emerged as an effective model for developing cultural and educational programs at many of the country's surviving historic markets.

The case studies considered in this paper underscore the importance of markets to communities, and they illustrate the potential of this resource to positively contribute to a healthy economic and cultural neighborhood environment. Eastern Market is a classic example of this kind of thriving historic market. It has been an important part of the Capitol Hill neighborhood historically, and it has served as a place where people have shopped and connected socially. In this way, Eastern Market has contributed to sense of place, both in terms of its physical urban form, and as a social and cultural phenomenon. The market's struggles were typical of the array of difficulties encountered by many public markets during the twentieth century. The Eastern Market story also illustrates the need for effective management, and actively engaged citizenry, in preserving and fostering healthy markets and public spaces, and in shaping local policy. Despite the demographic changes that have transformed the Capitol Hill neighborhood in recent years, Eastern Market provides opportunities for ethnic minority vendors, and its cultural programs serve as a model for other urban public markets. These programs elevate the market beyond being just a historic building, or even a place to buy food, and have helped make Eastern Market an instrumental component in the social and cultural fabric of the Capitol Hill neighborhood.

Like Eastern Market, Hollins Market is a neighborhood market that has historically played an active part in community life. As a mixed-use facility, consisting of a market and a meeting hall, it has been an important part of Baltimore's

identity, and today offers possibilities for strengthening and healing a troubled neighborhood. Like Capitol Hill, the Hollins Market neighborhood has been impacted by broader twentieth-century trends in employment, transportation, retail, housing policy, and crime. Historic preservation alone cannot overcome the many problems facing the Hollins Market neighborhood – these solutions require a coordinated policy effort. But a values-based approach to renovating the market’s upstairs meeting hall, that considers community needs and issues, can potentially help address these problems. This potential for Hollins Market to play a more active part in the community demonstrates the social, cultural, and educational capacity of these public spaces beyond their role as retail food venues.

Public involvement and partnerships between municipalities, market management, local community organizations, and non-profits are the keys to balancing these varied roles and functions. In addition, a values-based approach to market rehabilitation is essential to the success of these ventures. By structuring these initiatives so that they respond to local problems and issues, historic resources become part of a broader effort to strengthen neighborhoods. This holistic approach to market rehabilitation builds constituencies for preservation, and continues the market tradition, one which connects the past to present efforts to re-energize public spaces, and revitalize communities.

Appendix 1: A Survey of Historic Enclosed Markets in the United States

Based on "Table 5. - Inclosed Municipal Markets: 1918," in *Municipal Markets in Cities Having a Population of Over 30,000*, U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1919.

Name	City	State	Date	Location	Ground Area in ft. ²	Description	Current Use	Designated	Ownership	Management
Central	Mobile	AL	After 1850	Was located at Spring Hill Ave, St. Francis, and N. Scott Streets in a residential area.	6,420	Trapezoid (was on a corner lot), with a clock tower on the southeastern corner of the building.	Demolished. One story office building currently on the site.			
Southern (Old City Hall)	Mobile	AL	1855	Located at 111 S. Royal about a block west of the waterfront docks.	44,800	Rectangular plan, brick municipal building/market hall. Two story. Italian Renaissance influences.	Currently houses the Museum of Mobile.	NRHP, NHL, Church Street East Historic District (local)	City of Mobile	Mobile Museum Board, Inc. (non-profit)
Clay Street	San Francisco	CA	1853	Was located between Clay, Merchant, Leidesdorff, and Sansome streets.	Approx. 81,250	The Clay Street, San Francisco, and Pacific Markets adjoined one another, forming part of a row of commercial buildings in downtown San Francisco. All occupied a rectangular building footprint, but were not rectangular plan markets in the classic sense. They were separated by masonry party walls. The Clay Street market ranged from 3 to 5 stories. It was a brick and iron building with a market on the first floor, and a jewelry making studio, printing type foundry, and	Demolished. Today a skyscraper occupies the site.			

						shoe factory on its upper floors. It had a flat roof with a single raised skylight in the center.				
Pacific	San Francisco	CA	1856	Was located between Clay, Merchant, Leidesdorff, and Sansome streets.	Approx. 6,250	This was a 2 story brick structure that contained a fruit market on the first floor, and a printing press on the second. The building had a flat roof, with multiple skylights.	Demolished. Today a skyscraper occupies the site.			
San Francisco	San Francisco	CA	1868	Was located between Clay, Merchant, Leidesdorff, and Sansome streets.	Approx. 9,375	Like the Pacific Market, this was a 2 story brick structure that contained a market on the first floor, and a printing press on the second. It also had a flat roof with multiple skylights, but the lights were in a different configuration than the adjacent Pacific Market.	Demolished. Today a skyscraper occupies the site.			
Washington	San Francisco	CA	1854	The building fronted Washington, Merchant, and Sansome streets.	Approx. 21,875	This was a large 2 story brick market that was located across Merchant Street from the other three markets. It shared a masonry party wall with the building to its west. The market had a flat roof with skylights. Its interior was divided by frame partition walls, and it contained a pork packing area, a poultry storeroom, as well as fish and produce markets, and a restaurant.	Demolished. Today a skyscraper occupies the site.			

City	Denver	CO	1889	Was located between 23rd and 24th Streets, California and Stout Streets, just north of downtown.	10,000	Two rectangular plan market halls separated by a 16' wide alley running north to south.	Demolished. What appears to be an electrical transmission station is located on a portion of the lot.			
Center	Washington	DC	1871-1878	Was located between 7th and 9th Streets, Pennsylvania Ave. and B Street (Constitution Ave.)	Approx. 115,000 total	Four Buildings: a 3 story main hall situated along Pennsylvania Avenue, and three 2.5 story wings built along Seventh, Ninth, and B Streets (high, open halls on the inside). Combined, the buildings forming a rectangular-shaped complex with an open court in its center. All of the buildings were brick, with ventilators and skylights in each of the wings. German Renaissance Revival in style with towers, bracketing, and fine brickwork.	Demolished in 1931 and replaced by the National Archives building.			
Georgetown	Washington	DC	1865	Located at M and Potomac Streets NW very close to the C & O Canal.	6,000	One story brick market hall that is rectangular in plan. Bracketed cornice and arched windows separated by piers.	Currently a Dean and DeLuca store.	NRHP, DC Inventory	Private	Private
Western	Washington	DC	1871	Was located at 21st and K Streets NW.	10,000	Unusual L-shaped plan (for the 1870's). Brick, one story building. Large, arched windows filled each bay, which were separated by brick piers. Broken pediment over the main entrance. Very restrained brick cornice.	Demolished in 1967. Today there is an office building on the site.			

Eastern	Washington	DC	1872-1873	Located at 7th and C Streets SE.	11,000	Rectangular plan one story market with open interior hall and truss support system. As with Center Market, Cluss employed arched windows and detailed brickwork (corbelling). Eastern Market also reflects classical elements such as the triangular pediment over the entrance, the keystones, and the scrolled brackets.	Successful market that contributes economically, socially, and culturally to the Capitol Hill neighborhood.	NRHP, DC Inventory	District of Columbia	DC Department of Real Estate Services, Eastern Market Community Advisory Committee
Northern Liberty	Washington	DC	1874	Was located along 5th street NW between L and K streets NW.	Approx. 44,550	Rectangular plan brick 2.5 story market hall, with a rounded, hanger-like roof that was bisected down the long axis by a clerestory with skylights. Like other DC markets, the interior was an open hall with an iron truss support system for the ceiling. Stylistically similar to Center Market with brick details and heavy bracketing.	This was a highly detailed, architecturally impressive market. It burned in 1946. See Tangires, <i>Public Markets</i> , 213.			
O Street	Washington	DC	1888	Located at 7th and O Streets NW.	Approx. 14,850	Rectangular plan, brick, 2 story hall with a prominent tower on the northeast corner. Original had a frame clerestory with skylights and ventilators.	Partially collapsed in 2003 - currently being redeveloped as "City Market at O."	NRHP, DC Inventory	Private	Private
Fish (Maine Avenue Fish)	Washington	DC	1913	Located at Maine Ave. SW and the I-395 bridge right on the Potomac River.	16,800	The original was a rectangular brick building divided into stalls.	Original market building demolished in 1960's. The modern, rebuilt market is located in SW Washington and is still a big draw locally.		District of Columbia	DC Department of Real Estate Services

City	Savannah	GA	1872	Was located at Barnard Street between W. Bryan and W. Congress Streets.	32,255	Rectangular brick market hall with a complex and unusual cross gabled roof design. Like the Washington markets, it featured a blend of prominent Romanesque arches with the heavy bracketing of the Italianate and Second Empire styles.	Demolished in 1954 - Rebuilt just west of the original site, and accompanied by the rehabilitation of surrounding historic buildings. The original site is a park, with interpretive displays, and is adjacent to the new market.			
City	Des Moines	IA	1911	Was located at 2nd and Locust.	8,100	A 2 story, brick, rectangular market building. West wall appears staggered on 1920 sanborn map. Photos suggest a steel frame building, with large rectangular windows, and a simple corbelled brick cornice.	Demolished. Currently the site of the Civic Center.			
Central Market	Chicago	IL	1891	Was located on the east side of State Street at the Chicago River bridge.	Undetermined	This was a 2 story, brick market house with a flat roof, and an elaborate State Street entrance. The first floor housed a cold storage facility, while the second floor (at street level) contained the retail market.	Demolished. Today the site forms part of the Chicago River Walk.			
South Chicago	Chicago	IL	1917	Was located at Ewing Ave. and 92nd St. at the Calumet River bridge.	7,105	Unknown.	Demolished. Apparently struggled due to poor location.			

Central City	Peoria	IL	1878	Southwest corner of Fulton and S. Madison Streets.	2,500	Brick, 1 story market hall. Overall, rectangular in form, but with extending bays, and a cross-gabled roof. No mention on Sanborn map of ventilators.	Demolished. The 1891 Sanborn shows a "Market Ho." on the southwest corner of Fulton and S. Madison. 1902 Sanborn (sheet 2) shows the city hall building (which is still there) where the market was previously located. 1918 city directory lists it at Madison and Liberty, which is today the site of the Civic Center.			
City	Indianapolis	IN	1886	Located at 222 E. Market Street.	75,000 (20,000 currently)	Rectangular plan, brick, 2 story market hall. Italian Medieval/Romanesque elements in the Market Street façade (extensive use of tall, narrow, arched windows, and towers). Also has the typical clerestory.	Market was restored in 1977 and is still in use as a public market. Great website. The Central Market was an open air retail market, begun in 1880, that was associated with this building. 1898 Sanborn shows two separate rectangular plan market buildings on site. One was a 2 story	NHL	City of Indianapolis	City of Indianapolis. The Historic Indianapolis City Market Foundation was established in 2004 to help raise funds for the market.

							market/municipal building, and the other was a 1 story market hall with a high (over 50 ft.) ceiling. By 1914, the market/municipal building had 4 floors, and along with the other market hall and associated sheds, the complex took up the entire block. In 1958, the municipal building burned. Today, the market hall remains, and operates as City Market.			
Evansville Municipal	Evansville	IN	1916	Located at N. 2nd and W. Indiana Streets.	12,312	Consisted of a 2 story, rectangular, brick firehouse, with L-shaped, 1 story, market wings extending to the east and west. The east wing is enclosed, while the west wing is open. Stylistically, the building exhibits strong Prairie influences.	Market - currently operated as the Evansville Municipal Market.	NRHP	Private	Private
Colfax Avenue Public	South Bend	IN	1911	Was built onto the south side of the Colfax Ave. bridge on the west bank of the St. Joseph River.	3,500	It is unclear exactly what this market consisted of. Sanborn from 1917 refers to it as a "Market Place" that occupied the second floor of the 2 story structure that was built onto the Colfax Ave. bridge. It had concrete floors and iron interior columns.	Demolished. The site is a landscaped park. The concrete walls that form part of the spillway might be part of the market's			

							foundation.			
Seventh Street	Covington	KY	Not Reported	Was located at W. 7th and Madison Ave.	10,000	Rectangular plan, 2 story, brick market with city water works office on the second floor. An undated post card titled, "City Market House, Covington, KY" shows a front façade that featured a bell tower, and slight gothic influences.	Demolished. This market was built down the middle of a widened section of 7th Street. Today, the street is divided into travel lanes and parking.			
City	Lexington	KY	1879	Was located on E. Vine Street between S. Upper and S. Limestone Streets.	18,600	Rectangular plan, 2 story, brick market built down the middle of the street. Could well have been the site of earlier street sheds. Sanborn shows city offices on the second floor.	Demolished in 1941.			
Dryades	New Orleans	LA	1849	Was located at Dryades and Melpomene Streets.	9,020	Was a rectangular plan, 1 story market hall with the typical hipped roof (no clerestory). Brick with a plastered interior and iron columns.	Demolished and rebuilt in 1911. No market house at site today. Most of the site is an empty lot.			
French	New Orleans	LA	1791	Located on Decatur Street between Dumaine and St. Ann Streets.	15,950	Multiple market buildings consisting of open and enclosed sheds with hipped roofs supported by columns.	Renovated and still in operation as a market.	NRHP	City of New Orleans	French Market Corporation (a public benefits corporation which shares revenues with the city)
Le Breton	New Orleans	LA	1867	Located at N. Dorgenois and Bell Streets.	6,528	Small, 1 story, rectangular plan, brick and frame market with a simple gabled roof.	Church since 2005.	Esplanade Ridge Historic District	Private	Private

								(local)		
Ninth Street	New Orleans	LA	1865	Located at Ninth and Magazine Streets.	7,515	1885 Sanborn and historic photos show a rectangular plan, 1 story, brick and frame structure at the site. The market was rebuilt in 1914, and today looks completely different.	Currently houses a modern furniture and lifestyle store.	Irish Channel Historic District (local)	Private	Private
St. Bernard	New Orleans	LA	1854, 1932	Located at St. Bernard and N. Claiborne Streets.	8,908	1893 Sanborn shows a rectangular plan, brick and frame market with a hipped roof supported by iron posts. The market was extensively renovated in the 20th century.	Was a neighborhood grocery store. Closed after Hurricane Katrina.	NRHP, Treme Historic District (local)	Private	Private
Washington (St. Roch)	New Orleans	LA	1875	Located at St. Roch and St. Claude Avenues.	7,488	Rectangular plan, 1 story, brick and frame market with a hipped roof supported by iron posts. This is a common market form in New Orleans.	Name was changed to St. Roch Market in 1895. It was damaged during Katrina, but the city is set to renovate it in 2012-2013 using \$3.1 million in CDBG funds.	New Marigny Historic District (NR), and Faubourg Marigny Historic District (local)	City of New Orleans	City of New Orleans
Quincy	Boston	MA	1825	Located east of Faneuil Hall, and built down the center of Market Street.	26,750	Long, rectangular market hall with central domed space. Classical influences.	Market, Retail, Restaurants.	NRHP, NHL, Designated Boston Landmark	City of Boston	Faneuil Hall Marketplace Merchant's Association (non-profit)

Faneuil Hall	Boston	MA	1742	Located at 1 Faneuil Hall Square.	8,000	3-1/2 story brick, rectangular, front-gabled municipal building/market hall. Balanced and pleasing design with 18th century Georgian symmetry. Bays are separated by pilasters, with a different classical order represented on each floor. Heavy, dentilated belt courses delineate each story. Bays are closely spaced, and contain round arched and rectangular windows, and fanlights, with series of each creating rhythm across each elevation.	Retail complex with shopping, dining, and theater.	NRHP, NHL, Designated Boston Landmark	City of Boston	Faneuil Hall Marketplace Merchant's Association (non-profit)
Lexington	Baltimore	MD	1782, 1949	Located along W. Lexington between Eutaw and Greene Streets in a historically commercial district on the west side of downtown.	61,500	Originally consisted of three rectangular, 1 story, block-long sheds with hipped roofs. These stretched between Pearl and Eutaw Streets.	Market - original building built on spot during the 1800's. It burned in 1949, and the market was rebuilt.	Market Center Historic District - NR	City of Baltimore	Lexington Market Inc. (non-profit)
Hollins	Baltimore	MD	1838, 1864	Located on Hollins Street between S. Carrollton and S. Arlington Avenues (residential neighborhood in west Baltimore).	13,600	Consists of an enclosed, 1 story, rectangular, shed-like structure, and a later 2 story, brick, Italianate market house. A space that has traditionally been used as a meeting hall is located on the second floor.	Market that is located in a west Baltimore neighborhood that is struggling with crime, drugs, and abandoned buildings. The market provides essential access to fresh food, and the second floor possesses great	Union Square-Hollins Market Historic District - NR, Union Square Historic District (local)	City of Baltimore	Baltimore Public Markets Corp. (non-profit)

							potential as a cultural and educational venue.			
Centre	Baltimore	MD	1787, 1904	Was located along Harrison Street between E. Baltimore and E. Lombard Streets	24,975	1918 Census Bureau study classes this as enclosed, but notes that it was assoc. with an open air market. 1914 Sanborn shows multiple market buildings on the site: a 2 story, rectangular, reinforced concrete building at the corner of Lombard, with a wholesale market on the first floor, and the "People's Court House" on the second. There were multiple sheds extending to the east behind the building. North of this was a two story brick building that housed the fish market. At the corner of E. Baltimore was a 3 story brick building that housed an open market and fire house on the first floor, with the "Maryland Institute" on the upper floors.	The original market was built in 1787, burned in a 1904 fire, and was rebuilt. The old Fish Market building is the only market building from the Centre Market complex that remains, and today it houses the Port Discovery Children's Museum.	Business and Government Center Historic District-NR	City of Baltimore	Port Discovery Children's Museum (non-profit)
Cross Street Market	Baltimore	MD	1845, 1873, 1951	Located on Cross Street between Charles and Light Streets in the Federal Hill neighborhood.	30,160	The 1873 market consisted of open sheds with a 2 story, rectangular, brick market hall at Charles Street. The building was Italianate in style, with the market on the first floor, and a public meeting hall on the second (classic pattern).	First market in Federal Hill was built in 1845 at Cross and Henrietta. A second shed was added in 1864. The market was replaced in 1873 with a new one built on the current site. The original burned in	Federal Hill Historic District-NR	City of Baltimore	Baltimore Public Markets Corp. (non-profit)

							1951 and was rebuilt on the same site.			
Fell's Point (Broadway)	Baltimore	MD	1784, 1864	1701 Fleet Street in Fell's Point. Close to the waterfront.	37,450	Originally consisted of two block-long sheds with hipped roofs that ran down Broadway between Fleet and Lancaster Streets. A brick, 2 story market hall was constructed at the Fleet Street end in 1864.	Original market burned in the 1950's, and what is there today is the rebuilt structure.	Fells Point Historic District - NR and local	City of Baltimore	Baltimore Public Markets Corp. (non-profit)
North Avenue	Baltimore	MD	ca. 1935	Located on North Ave. between Maryland Ave. and N. Charles Street.	Approx. 75,000	Large brick, 2 story, rectangular market building with prominent towers on the south façade. Style appears to be Spanish Colonial Revival.	1915 Sanborn shows different buildings on site. 1928 map shows a large empty lot. First shows up on 1951 map. Today, there is a tavern in one part of the building, and a day care in another. It doesn't appear fully occupied.	North Central Historic District - NR	Private	Private
Richmond	Baltimore	MD	1853, 1874	Located at 301 W. Read Street.	51,520	Rectangular, 2 story, brick market building that once had associated sheds. Very simple stylistically with rows of narrow, slightly inset, arched windows on both floors.	Used as part of Maryland General Hospital. In the 1870's, the market was on first floor and an Armory was located on the second.	Mount Vernon Historic District (local)	State of Maryland	Maryland General Hospital (non-profit), University of Maryland Medical System
Northeast	Baltimore	MD	1886, 1955	Located at 2101 E. Monument Street	Approx. 47,250	Originally, this was a large rectangular plan, brick market with a hipped roof. 1914 Sanborn only indicates one story.	Market. Current building is modern, but is on original site (market was	East Monument Historic District-NR	City of Baltimore	Baltimore Public Markets Corp. (non-profit)

							rebuilt in 1955).			
Broadway	Detroit	MI	1912	Was located on the south corner of E. Grand River Avenue and Broad Street.	Approx. 16,500	3 story, rectangular, market hall with brick curtain walls, and underlying steel and concrete frame. It had a flat roof with what 1921 Sanborn calls a "false roof," which was most likely a shaped parapet. Market on the first floor, with "offices" on the upper two floors.	Demolished - parking lot			
City	Kansas City	MO	1838	Located at 20 E. Fifth Street, just north of downtown, and about 1,000 feet from the Missouri River. In the late 19th century, it stood next to City Hall.	37,335	Cruciform plan, brick market building. Central hall rose 3-1/2 stories, and was crowned with a steeply pitched, cross-gabled tower. The market was constructed in the Romanesque Revival style, and the central bay had a lot of exterior ornamentation.	Market. Nineteenth century market was demolished in the 1930's, when the market was rebuilt. Today these structures, along with modern sheds and buildings, form the site.	NRHP, Old Town Historic District-NR	City of Kansas City	KC Commercial Realty Group (private)
Biddle	St. Louis	MO	1845, 1932	Located between N. Thirteenth Street and N. Tucker Blvd at Biddle Street. Market site is less than one mile from the Mississippi River, and in the 19th century it ran	9,000 in 1918. Approx. 15,000 after 1932.	The original frame sheds at the site were demolished in 1932, and the current building was constructed. It is a 1 story, brick, rectangular plan market hall with a front-gabled roof and clerestory. Stylistically, it shows Italian Renaissance influences in the terra cotta detail, and rose window in the south facade.	The city uses it currently as a garage/service facility.	NRHP nomination pending.	City of St. Louis	City of St. Louis

				north to O'fallon Street.						
Soulard	St. Louis	MO	1833, 1929	Located at Soulard Place between 7th Blvd. and S. 9th Street. This was originally a residential neighborhood.	6,000 in 1918. Approx. 60,000 after 1929.	H-plan. Parallel enclosed sheds run east to west for two blocks, and are bisected at their midpoint by a north-south oriented market hall. The hall is 3 stories, and brick, with Italian Renaissance/Gothic stylistic elements (paired arched windows and trefoils, tiled roof).	Market. The current building was built in 1929.	Soulard Historic District - NR (and local)	City of St. Louis	Historic Soulard Market Merchants Association (non-profit)
South	St. Louis	MO	1869	Located at 7701 S. Broadway	2,100	Small brick, 1 story, rectangular plan market hall. Today, there is a brick addition on the front of the market. There are Romanesque influences, and down the side of the building, the bays are separated by simple piers.	Currently the South Public Super Market.		Private	Private
Union	St. Louis	MO	1866, 1924	711 N. Broadway. Site is downtown, approx. 1/4 mile from the Mississippi River.	30,000 in 1918. Approx. 55,000 after 1924.	Current building was constructed in 1924, replacing an earlier rectangular plan market. It is a large, 4 story, market building constructed of concrete and steel with brick curtain walls. It has large Moorish/gothic arches on the first floor, and the motif is repeated in a limestone belt course. The building has a modern addition on top that is set back from the historic facade.	Rehabilitated as the Drury Inn and Suites Convention Center. 1932 Sanborn indicates that the market was on the first floor, with parking on the upper three floors.	NRHP, and City Landmark	Private	Private

Market House	St. Joseph	MO	1875	Was located between Felix and Edmond Streets, S. 2nd Street and Market Square, approx. 1000 feet east of the Missouri River.	25,200	Market was located on the first floor of City Hall. Was a brick, 3 story, rectangular building with a tower over the south entrance. City offices were located on the upper floors.	Demolished. Today the site is a Holiday Inn.			
Patee	St. Joseph	MO	1909	Located at 904 S. 10th Street.	14,400	Brick, 2 story, rectangular plan market with hipped roof. Strong arches and stylized parapets point to Romanesque-Revival influences. Low horizontal massing and simplicity of Prairie style as well.	The building is currently occupied by the Social Welfare Board of Buchanan County - Patee Market Health Center		City/County	City/County
City	Joplin	MO	1915	Located between E. 12th and E. 13th Streets, S. Main Street and S. Virginia Avenue.	6,400	Reinforced concrete, 2 story market. Building is square in plan. Central east-west bay is 2 stories in height, while rest of market is 1 story. Central north-south bay is slightly raised forming a cross pattern when seen from above. Spanish Colonial influences.	Building is part of the Joplin Flea Market, along with the surviving wholesale produce market to its east.		Private	Private
City	Winston-Salem	NC	1876, 1923	In 1918 it was located at E. 4th and N. Church Streets. This market was demolished, and a new City Market was built in 1923 at	12,500 in 1918. Approx. 31,250 after 1923.	1917 Sanborn shows a square, 2 story brick building on E. 4th. The market was on the first floor, and the second floor housed an armory (typical pattern). The new market built in 1923 is a 1 story brick building with a flat roof. There seem to be definite Prairie influences in its design.	The 1923 building currently serves as a school and office building.	Downtown North Historic District - NR	City of Winston-Salem	City of Winston-Salem

				Cherry and W. 6th Streets.						
Fairview	Winston-Salem	NC	1909	Was located at 1508 N. Liberty Street (per 1916 City Directory).	3,600	Unknown	Demolished. City directory from 1916 provides the address, but 1917 Sanborn shows no market building located there. Today the site is an empty lot.			
Front Street	Wilmington	NC	1810	Was located on the west side of S. Front Street between Dock and Orange Streets. Location is one block from the Cape Fear River.	23,100	1904 Sanborn shows a brick, 2 story, rectangular plan market house with a hipped roof and clerestory. There was a hall on the second floor.	Demolished. There is a more recent 1 story commercial building on the site today with a business in it called "City Market."			
Center	Newark	NJ	1853, 1922	Was located between Mulberry Street, Commerce Street, Raymond Blvd, and McCarter Hwy. Site is less than a	32,800	The 1922 market was a long, trapezoid-shaped, 2 story building constructed of reinforced concrete and brick. The market was on the first floor, and the second housed a parking garage.	Demolished. Modern building housing the U. S. Customs Service on the site today.			

				mile from the Passaic River.						
Jefferson	New York	NY	1832	Was located at Greenwich and 6th Avenues.	14,818	This was a five sided, 2 story, brick market building. 1904 Sanborn shows the entrance facing the corner of Greenwich and 6th Ave.	Demolished. Was located just south of the Jefferson Market Courthouse. 1904 Sanborn index refers to it as "Jefferson Market and Court House," although the two buildings were separate. Today the site is a park. There was a Jefferson Market grocery store/deli that operated out of a storefront on 6th Ave. across from the old site, but it recently closed.			
Manhattan	New York	NY	1872	Was located between Thirty-fourth, Thirty-fifth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Avenues. Site is adjacent to the Hudson	Approx. 240,000	This was a massive, rectangular plan, 3 story, brick and stone market with a barrel-vaulted roof that had a clerestory and central dome. The market's east end consisted of a 3 story vestibule that contained offices on the upper floors, while the hall itself was open and lofty. A row of Individual retail spaces flanked the central	Demolished. This was a large privately-financed market house (not to be confused with the semi-enclosed Manhattan Market listed in the 1918 study). Along			

				River.		hall. In terms of style, this privately-built market was highly eclectic, with arched bays wrapping its first floor perimeter, and square towers with turrets at each corner.	with Washington's Center Market, it was one of the more impressive late nineteenth-century American markets. Today, the Jacob K. Jarvis Convention Center stands on the site.			
Tompkins	New York	NY	1861	Was located between Third Avenue and Sixth, Seventh, and Hall Streets.	Approx. 20,000	This was a large 3 story, rectangular plan, brick and stone market/armory with a broad, barrel-vaulted roof. Following the classic pattern, the market was located on the first floor, and the second and third floors provided storage and drill space for a local National Guard regiment. The exterior was heavily stylized with Renaissance Revival and Italianate influences.	Demolished. This was a very impressive building. Today this is the site of Frank Ghery's Cooper Union.			
Wallabout	New York	NY	1884	Was located between Washington Ave. and Wallabout Rd. adjacent to the Brooklyn Navy Yard.	310,000	This market consisted of a large open air market combined with a number of 2 story, enclosed, rectangular, brick market buildings built in a Dutch eclectic style.	Demolished in 1941 so that the Navy could use the site during the war. This was a large wholesale market.			

Washington	New York	NY	1813, 1884, 1913 (interior)	Was located between Washington, West, Fulton, and Vesey Streets on the lower west side, one block from the Hudson River waterfront.	41,336	There was an earlier market on the site that was replaced in 1884. The 1884 market was what Schmiechen and Carls refer to as the “arched bay classical-wrap form.” The 2 story building was very similar to the Kirkgate Market in Leeds (1857). It was low and horizontal in its massing, with plate glass storefronts on the first floor, and boldly arched bays on the second. Stylistically, it was a mix of late 19th century eclecticism, and featured a lot of exterior detail. The market was big, taking up the entire block.	The city of New York demolished it in the 1960's to build a housing project. See Tangires, <i>Public Markets</i> , 249.			
West Washington	New York	NY	1889	Was located just to the west of Washington Market.	86,750	Photograph from 1885 shows a series of five brick, rectangular sheds with alternating hipped and front-gabled roofs. A 1936 close-up reveals Queen Anne-like brickwork and detail.	Demolished.			
Broadway	Buffalo	NY	1883	Was located at 999 Broadway.	14,800	Rectangular (very narrow) market building. Brick, 1 story, with associated sheds.	Original building is demolished, but the market is still open. See website. Current structure is the third built at site. A lot of live music happening at this market, like Lexington Market.			
Clinton	Buffalo	NY	1848	Unknown	10,500	Unknown	There is a Clinton Street Farmer's Market but no enclosed structure			

							remains			
Elk Street	Buffalo	NY	1848	Was located between E. and W. Market Streets, Elk, and Scott Streets. Site was located just south of the Hamburg Canal, as well as major railroad lines.	12,000	A mix of brick and frame sheds ran for three blocks down the middle of Elk Street. The 1919 Census study indicates that there were both enclosed and open markets at this site.	Burned in 1922 and was abandoned.			
Washington	Buffalo	NY	1863	Was located at Chippewa and Washington Streets. Site is downtown next to the trolley line.	52,500	This was a large rectangular plan, brick, 2 story market with an end gabled roof and central tower. It exhibited Italian Medieval and Romanesque elements, and featured a corbelled brick cornice line. Along its sides, the bays were separated by brick piers, and each bay contained two round windows. There were also a series of gabled dormers. An open-sided frame shed extended down the exterior of both sides.	Demolished. Parking lot. This was a very interesting market stylistically, that included some of the same elements seen in the City Market in Indianapolis, and Eastern Market in Washington.			
North Side	Syracuse	NY	1898	Was located between N. Salina and Pearl Streets, and E. Belden Avenue. Close to the Oswego Canal and major	5,250	Long rectangular, brick structure with frame stall partitions. The structure was 1 story with a flat roof.	Demolished. Parking lot.			

				railroad lines.						
Public	Jamestown	NY	1912	Was located at Forest Avenue and Harrison (formerly Market) Street close to the Chadakoin River.	12,600	This was a 2 story, five-sided, brick market building that occupied a triangular shaped corner lot. Offices were located on the second floor.	Demolished. Closed in 1965. Today, a small one story office/retail building with a large parking lot occupies the site.			
Broadway	Cleveland	OH	1878	Located at Canton and Broadway Ave.	4,400	Rectangular brick market with overhanging shed around perimeter.	Closed in 1963. Currently houses Brightside Academy, although building has been altered.		Private	Private
Central	Cleveland	OH	1868	Was located at Woodland, Broadway, and Ontario Street. This is a central location close to the lake.	16,836	Rectangular brick market with overhanging shed around perimeter that was built in the street at this intersection.	Demolished in the late 1980's. Site is a freeway interchange.			
West Side	Cleveland	OH	1912	Located at West 25th and Lorain Ave, close to the lake.	30,258	Large brick, 2 story, rectangular market building with a prominent tower on the southeastern corner. The roof is arched with a clerestory. This arch is echoed in the building's north and south facades. Beaux-Arts influences, and an important example of a City Beautiful market.	Still operates as a successful market.	NHL, and City Landmark	City of Cleveland	West Side Market Tenants Association (non-profit)

Findlay	Cincinnati	OH	1860	Located in Elder Street between Race and Elm streets.	17,500	Block-long rectangular enclosed market shed. Brick and frame with a central tower. This was one of the first American markets to employ cast and wrought iron framing.	Still open as a successful market. Great website	NRHP, Over the Rhine Historic District (local)	City of Cincinnati	Corporation for Findlay Market (non-profit)
Jabez Elliot Flower Market	Cincinnati	OH	1892	Was located in Sixth Street between Elm and Plum Streets.	Approx. 4,300	Rectangular, 1 story, brick and frame market with end-gabled roof, clerestory, and central tower. Stylistically very eclectic with ornamented front gable and verge boards.	Demolished in 1949 for a parking lot.			
Sixth Street	Cincinnati	OH	1818, 1895.	Was located at Sixth between Plum Street and Central Ave.	16,000	Long, rectangular, 2 story, brick and stone market built on the site on an earlier street shed. Stylistically, this market was highly eclectic, and featured a steeply pitched red tile roof, central tower and spire, and "crow-stepped" dutch-style end gables.	Demolished in 1960 during the construction of I-75.			
Pearl Street	Cincinnati	OH	1800	Was located on E. Pearl Street between Broadway and Sycamore Streets.	20,000	Long, rectangular, 1 story, brick and frame market.	Demolished in 1934 during construction of Fort Washington Way.			
Central	Columbus	OH	1849	Was located just west of S. Fourth Street between E. Town and E. Rich Streets.	24,480	Market had a rectangular central block, with enclosed shed wings extending north and south from it. Constructed of brick, and 1 story in height.	Demolished. Today an office building and bus depot stand on the site.			
East	Columbus	OH	1888	Was located at Mount Vernon Avenue and N. 19th Street.	37,500	Rectangular, 1 story, brick market with lofty interior hall. Hipped roof with clerestory. There was a tower that rose from the central bay of the	Demolished. Parking lot.			

						west façade.				
North	Columbus	OH	1878	Was located between Vine, Spruce, Park, and High Streets.	32,232	Rectangular, brick market building with hipped roof and clerestory. Appears to have been 1 story, with the typical hall-like interior. Open frame sheds were assoc. with this market.	Destroyed by fire in 1948. Today housed in a nearby rehabbed warehouse that is listed on the NRHP. A vibrant market located at 59 Spruce Street.		City of Columbus	North Market Development Authority (non-profit)
West	Columbus	OH	1890	Located between S. Gift, S. Skidmore, W. State, and W. Chapel Streets.	14,400	Rectangular, brick, 2 story market building with a tower on the northeast corner. The market was on the first floor, and a public meeting hall was on the second.	Currently houses Boys and Girls Clubs of Columbus, Inc. There appear to have been additions to the original market building.		Boys and Girls Clubs of America (non-profit)	Boys and Girls Clubs of America (non-profit)
Central Market House	Dayton	OH	1878	Was located on present day Market Street between S. Main and S. Jefferson.	15,600	Long, rectangular, 2 story, brick market building with city offices on the second floor.	Demolished.			
Wayne Avenue	Dayton	OH	1878	Was located at Wayne and Burns Avenues.	18,000	Simple rectangular, 1 story, brick market house that stood in Burns Avenue.	Demolished. Today, site is an expressway interchange			
City	Akron	OH	1904	Was located at E. Market and N. Main.	8,058	Square plan brick market hall with a hipped roof. It was enclosed, but like many markets of the era, it had extended eaves that formed an open	Demolished. Today there is a parking deck on the site.			

						shed space around the perimeter.				
Auditorium	Canton	OH	1903	Was located on Cleveland Ave. NW between 4th and 5th Streets NW.	32,400	This was a large, square plan, brick municipal auditorium building. The auditorium occupied the center of the building, with market space located on the first floor surrounding it.	Demolished. Parking lot.			
City	Springfield	OH	1888	Located between W. High, W. Washington, S. Center Street, and S. Fountain Avenue.	17,000	This is a long, rectangular, 3 story, brick market/municipal building. Originally, the first floor held the market, city offices were on the second floor, and the third floor housed an armory. Romanesque Revival style with steeply pitched roof, towers, and dormers.	Currently houses the Clark County Historical Society. Very impressive building.	NRHP, Local landmark designation	City/County	Heritage Center of Clark County (non-profit)
Central	Lima	OH	1902	Was located north of E. Eureka between S. Main and S. Union Streets.	4,608	Rectangular, 1 story, brick market with two 4 ft. high cupolas. Market had frame sheds extending from three sides.	Demolished. Presently the site of the city Fire Dept.			
City	Zanesville	OH	1862	Located on the northeast corner of Market and N. 4th Streets, very close to the Muskingum River.	18,400	Long, rectangular, 2 story, brick market building with a hipped roof. The second floor housed municipal offices.	Today, it houses the Zanesville City Auditor's offices. Satellite image suggests that roof has been altered.		City of Zanesville	City of Zanesville

Broad Street	Harrisburg	PA	1863, 1874	Located in Verbeke Street between N. 3rd and Capital Streets.	Approx. 30,000	Two buildings: A rectangular, stone market house with a hipped roof and wooden roof trusses built in 1863. Sanborn indicates that it once also housed a Salvation Army Barracks. Also, a 1 story brick market with a hipped roof, wooden support trusses, and clerestory that was built in 1874.	Nice market with an informative website.	NRHP, Midtown Historic District (local)	City of Harrisburg	Historic Harrisburg Association (non-profit)
Chestnut Street No. 1	Harrisburg	PA	1889	Was located along S. Court Ave. between Chestnut Street and Cherry Ave.	Approx. 18,900	Large, 2 story, rectangular, brick market house with cement floor and steel roof trusses. There were offices on the second floor.	Demolished. Market company incorporated in 1888. Closed in 1955. Today, a high rise apartment building on the site.			
Chestnut Street No. 2	Harrisburg	PA	1889	Was located along S. Court Ave. between Cherry Ave. and Mulberry Street.	Approx. 18,900	Large, 2 story, rectangular, brick market house with cement floor and steel roof trusses. No second floor offices, although there was a wholesale grocer located on the east side of the building on the first floor.	Demolished. Market company incorporated in 1888. Closed in 1955. Today, a high rise apartment building on the site.			
Kelker Street	Harrisburg	PA	1889	Was located on the northeast corner of N. 4th and Kelker Streets.	Approx. 18,000	This was a large, square, 2 story brick market. A Church of God mission and a furniture storage area were located on the second floor. There were also horse sheds located on the northeast portion of the lot.	Demolished. Site today contains a small building with landscaped open space and a large parking lot.			

North Side (Allegheny)	Pittsburgh	PA	1865	Was located on the southwest corner of E. Ohio and Federal Streets close to the Allegheny River.	40,000	This was a large, brick, square plan market house. The roofline was arched at each corner of the building, and the windows were circular and arched in shape. There was a square-shaped clerestory with a cupola. An interesting blend of Romantic Revival and eclectic stylistic traits.	Demolished in 1965. This was one of the most architecturally distinctive enclosed markets in America. An office tower set in a park comprises the site today.			
South Side	Pittsburgh	PA	1891, 1915	Located at S. Twelfth and Bingham Streets, directly across the river from the North Side Market.	24,500	Rectangular, 2 story, brick market building with a front-gabled roof. 1906 Sanborn shows associated sheds. There was a meeting hall on the second floor. Romanesque and Medieval Italian stylistic influences.	Still open as the South Side Market House senior center. Impressive building.	NRHP, PHLF (local)	City of Pittsburg	City of Pittsburgh
East Liberty	Pittsburgh	PA	1898	Located at 5900 Baum Boulevard.	Approx. 52,500	Large, rectangular, brick, 1 story market hall with a metal dome extending from the center of the roof. Each bay is capped by a steeply arched gable that frames a broad, arched window. Brick pilasters separate each bay.	Currently used as offices. Also Known as Motor Square Garden. Very interesting design.	NRHP, PHLF (local)	American Automobile Association (non-profit)	American Automobile Association (non-profit)
Central	Lancaster	PA	1801, 1889	Located at 25 North Market Street.	22,000	Brick market building with a slightly L-shaped plan. Romanesque Revival influences.	A successful market with a great website.	NRHP, HARB (local)	City of Lancaster	Central Market Trust (non-profit)
Ridge Avenue Farmers	Philadelphia	PA	1875	Was located at 1810 Ridge Avenue.	Approx. 25,000	Rectangular plan, 1 story, brick market hall. It had a hip-on-gable roof with a row of attached dormers extending down the sides of the building (not at the top of the roof as in a clerestory). The market was built in a Gothic Revival style.	Burned in 1952. It was obviously not completely destroyed because it was listed on the National Register in 1983. It sat abandoned and	NRHP		

							fell into disrepair and was demolished in 1997. The site was recently redeveloped and today contains houses. This was one of the stand-out markets architecturally. It also represents the market privatization that was happening in PA and NY during the late 19th century.			
Reading Terminal	Philadelphia	PA	1891-1892	Located at 51 North Twelfth Street in the center of downtown.	Approx. 162,500	Enormous combination market/railway terminal. Rectangular plan. Brick with concrete floors and cast iron roof trusses. The roof is arched with a clerestory. There was once a train shed on the second floor. There is also a 9 story block on the market's south end that once contained the terminal station and various offices. In terms of style, it is highly detailed late 19th century eclectic with some Beaux-Arts elements as well.	Large successful market in downtown Philadelphia. Well-designed website.	NRHP, NHL	City of Philadelphia	Reading Terminal Market Corporation (non-profit)
Second Street	Philadelphia	PA	1745, 1804	Located at S. Second Street between Pine and Lombard Streets. Originally	Approx. 22,000	Federal style, brick, 2 story head house at Second and Pine, with an enclosed shed extending down 2nd street to Lombard Street (originally to South). The head house was originally a combination fire	Originally called "New Market." The head house was built in 1804, and the market shed was rebuilt	NHL, Head House Square National Historic District, Philadelphia	City of Philadelphia	City, The Food Trust (non-profit)

				extended to South Street.		station/market house.	in the 1960's. A farmer's market is still held there. This is one of the oldest surviving markets, and the head house is highly significant with excellent integrity.	Register of Historic Places		
Diamond	Pittsburgh	PA	1841	Was located in present day Market Square.	17,324	There were two rectangular brick market houses in the square. 1905 Sanborn indicates that there was an armory in the 3rd floor of the east market, with market space on the first two floors. The west market had a public meeting hall on its second floor.	Demolished. Tangires (p. 223) illustrates a market that looks to be from the late nineteenth century. 1884 Sanborn shows the building in Market Square.			
Duquesne	Pittsburgh	PA	1906	Was located at Duquesne Way (Fort Duquesne Blvd.) and Seventh Street, right on the Allegheny River.	10,199	Unknown	Demolished. A 1916 guide book to Pittsburgh provides the location, although no market is shown there on either the 1906 or 1927 Sanborn maps. Parking lots and modern buildings on the site today.			

Eighth Avenue	Altoona	PA	1917	Was located at Eighth Ave. and Twenty-Second Street	5,000	Unknown. A 1926 newspaper ad refers to a "modern concrete building, well lighted with sanitary features" and 180 stalls.	Demolished. The 1918 Census Bureau study states that this facility operated as an open market in the summer, and an enclosed market in winter. A full page 1926 newspaper advertisement celebrated the grand opening of the "Eighth Avenue Market," which replaced "the old curb market" that was at this location. Oddly, the 1932 Sanborn does not show the market.			
Borough	Norristown	PA	1852	Was located at E. Marshall and DeKalb Streets.	13,600	L-shaped, brick, 1 story market building.	Demolished. Today there is a modern office/manufacturing building on the site.			
Central	Charleston	SC	1841	Located on Market Street between Meeting and E. Bay Streets.	15,300	Market house at Meeting and Market Streets, with enclosed sheds extending down Market Street to E. Bay. Like much of Charleston's architecture, the market house incorporates strong Greek Revival and Neo-Classical elements.	Spectacular restoration and still in use as a vibrant market.	NHL, NRHP, Locally designated	City of Charleston	City Market Preservation Trust LLC (non-profit)

City	Memphis	TN	1897	Was located at S. 3rd and Beale Streets. Central downtown location on principal commercial street.	16,000	Rectangular plan, brick, 3 story market building with armory in a 3rd floor space on the east side of the building. It had a large iron and glass dome.	Demolished. Today the site is a park and outdoor concert venue.			
City	Nashville	TN	1922	Located at 100 James Robertson Pkwy, less than one block west of the Cumberland River.	45,000	Cruciform plan, 1 story, brick building, with east-west running clerestory, and central domed space. Classical entrance portico, but little exterior ornamentation, giving it a somewhat "stripped" look.	Currently being used as the Ben West Municipal Building (offices). This market building was constructed in 1922. At the time of the 1918 survey, the old city hall/market was located one block to the west of this site, and no date of construction is provided for it. 1914 Sanborn map shows the old building, and the 1951 edits show the new one.		City of Nashville	City of Nashville
City	Chattanooga	TN	1913	Was located at Market Pl. (today named Patten Pkwy.)	15,000	Rectangular plan, 1 story, brick market with front-gabled roof and clerestory. Cement floor with iron trussed ceiling.	Demolished. Office buildings presently occupy site.			

City	Knoxville	TN	1850	Was located at present-day Market Square SW in the center of downtown.	18,800	This was a long, rectangular, brick, 2 story market/municipal building. The market was on the first floor, and the second housed a public hall, police headquarters, and city offices.	Demolished. A public square today.			
City	San Antonio	TX	1899	Located at N. San Saba and W. Commerce Streets, approx. 1,000 feet west of the San Antonio River.	21,600	The 1899 market was rectangular in plan, 3 stories, with extended and recessed bays and a central dome. The 1938 market is also rectangular in plan with a front-gabled metal roof with clerestory. It is constructed in a Spanish Colonial Revival style.	Market was rebuilt in 1938. Today, it is known as Market Square, and contains shops and restaurants. Good website.	Surveyed but not yet designated as a historic district.	City of San Antonio	City of San Antonio Department for Culture and Creative Development
City	Houston	TX	1895	Occupied a city block bounded by Congress Ave., and Travis, Preston, and Milam Streets.	47,500	Cruciform plan, brick, 2 story market with a flat-topped hipped roof that was divided into segments. City offices were located on the second floor. Like many markets of the nineteenth-century, it had the typical attached frame shed that extended around the perimeter of the building.	Demolished. Today the site is Market Square Park.			
Old Farmer's	Petersburg	VA	1879	Located at W. Old and Rock Streets close to the Appomattox River.	Approx. 7,800	Octagonal plan, brick, 1 story market building with central cupola. Arched windows, with an open sided shed roof (like an awning) that extends from the market, encircling the building.	Market established on site in 1806. Present building is an 1879 brick market hall that is octagonal in form. A farmer's market is held in the original market house. This is a very distinctive market in terms of	NRHP, Old Towne Historic District (local)	City of Petersburg	Petersburg Farmers Market LLC (private)

							its form and design.			
First	Richmond	VA	1800, 1905	Was located on N. 17th between E. Main and E. Franklin Streets.	29,580	Rectangular, brick, 1 story market building with concrete floors and a flat roof with skylights. 1924 Sanborn calls this building "Public Market No. 1." The map indicates that it was constructed in 1905. Earlier maps show a market that consisted of telescoping brick and frame additions, which was probably the original market that had grown over time.	Demolished. There is a very nice reconstructed market shed on the site of the southern market. The 17th Street Farmer's Market is held there.		City of Richmond	City of Richmond
Second	Richmond	VA	1816, 1912	Was possibly located on N. 17th between E. Franklin and E. Grace Streets.	29,700	Rectangular, brick, 1 story market with reinforced concrete floor and roof. The market also had the typical clerestory with skylights. 1924 Sanborn refers to this building as "City Market" and states that it was constructed in 1912. Earlier maps show an open-sided frame shed market on this site, which again, was likely the old market from 1816.	Demolished. Parking lot.			
Butcher	Norfolk	VA	1889	Was located between City Hall Avenue, and Washington, Tripoli, and Brewer Streets, a few blocks from the waterfront.	14,400	1910 Sanborn shows two enclosed markets in this space. The southern market was a large rectangular plan, brick, 2 story combo market/municipal building with city offices and an armory on the second floor. To the north was a building that earlier maps refer to as the "Meat Market." This was likely the Butcher Market. It was also a rectangular plan market, with an	Demolished. Today, a retail complex called the MacArthur Center occupies the site.			

						arched roof supported by iron trusses and posts. There were also a number of brick and frame sheds associated with this market that may or may not have been enclosed.				
City	Roanoke	VA	1885, 1922	Located at 32 Market Square Southeast.	5,400	This was a rectangular plan, 2 story, brick market with stalls lining the perimeter of the interior space. There was an auditorium on the second floor.	Very nice rehabilitated market. Great website. Current Building constructed in 1922, replacing 1895 building that burned in a fire.	Roanoke City Market Historic District - NR, Downtown Historic District (local)	City of Roanoke	Downtown Roanoke, Inc. (non-profit)
City Vegetable	Portsmouth	VA	1855	Was possibly located on South Street between Crawford and Middle Streets. Location is one block from the Elizabeth River.	6,400	1920 Sanborn shows a rectangular, brick, 1 story market house with a frame shed extending around its perimeter.	Demolished (grassy area next to a parking lot). 1888 Sanborn shows a market house in Crawford Street between High and King Streets. The next block to the south on Crawford is annotated "Booths." The Seaboard Market and Armory was located on the northwest corner of Crawford and South Streets. The Seaboard Air			

							Line Freight Company donated the building to the city in 1893. On the 1898 Sanborn, the market house in Crawford street is gone, replaced by a streetcar line. To the west of the Seaboard Market is another rectangular building that is also labeled "Market Ho." 1920 Sanborn shows the same arrangement. I assume that the market to the west of Seaboard is the Vegetable Market.			
Seaboard	Portsmouth	VA	1855	Was located on the northwest corner of Crawford and South Streets.	8,800	1920 Sanborn shows a rectangular, brick, 2 story market house with an "iron awning" extending around its street and alley frontage. The building had rounded towers on each corner, and a concrete floor. There was an armory on the second floor.	Demolished. Parking lot.			

City	Lynchburg	VA	1911	Was located at 1112 Main Street.	21,600	Rectangular plan, brick, 2 story market hall. Italian Renaissance in style with bold arched bays on both floors of the front façade.	Currently for sale. A 1913 city directory provides the address. In 1930, a combination armory/market called the "Community Market" was built one block to the south, replacing the City Market facility. Today, the Community Market is city-owned and managed, and is housed in the armory, and under an associated modern pavilion.	Court House Hill/Downtown Historic District (NR and local)	Private	Private
Pike Place	Seattle	WA	1907	Located on Pike Place between Pike and Virginia Streets.	Approx. 47,350 (counting the three market buildings, and the shed)	This was, and is, a market district that consists of multiple buildings. The main market building at Pike Street is right triangle-shaped in plan, and ranges from 1 to 3 stories in height. Extending to the northwest from this building is a semi-enclosed shed running along the west side of Pike Place to Virginia Street. In addition, there is a 2 story, brick building on the northeast corner of Pike Place and Pike Street that is known as the "Corner Market." It is trapezoid shaped in plan. To its north is a 2 story, brick building known as the Sanitary Market that has a parking	Market, retail, restaurants, residential. A preservation success story.	Pike Place Public Market Historic District (NR and local)	City of Seattle	Pike Place Market Preservation and Development Authority (non-profit)

						area located on the roof.				
Municipal	Racine	WI	1917	Was located on the northeast corner of Geneva and West Streets.	7,980	Rectangular, brick, 1 story market building that was oriented east-west, with a raised clerestory that ran north-south. 1933 Sanborn indicates that there was an auto storage area in the back of the building.	Demolished. Single family homes on site today.			
Public	Madison	WI	1909	Located at N. Blount and E. Mifflin Streets.	9,750	Brick, 2 story, H-plan market building with a flat-topped, hipped roof with skylights. Steel truss ceiling support system. Style is Prairie with horizontal massing and overhanging eaves.	Prairie style market house, converted into apartments in 1987.	NRHP, Madison Landmark	Private	Private
City	Huntington	WV	1914	Was located on the northwest corner of 3rd Avenue and 7th Street.	4,335	Rectangular, 1 story, brick market building with concrete floor and wooden posts. Frame sheds extended north of the market.	Demolished. 1931 Sanborn also shows two large market sheds associated with the market house. Today, the site is a parking lot across from the Huntington Civic Center.			

Center	Wheeling	WV	1844	Located in Market Street between 22nd and 23rd.	15,840	Two long, rectangular, 1 story, brick market buildings run north-south along market street between 22nd and 23rd. Both have hipped roofs with steel truss framing. 1921 Sanborn indicates that they had the typical attached frame awning/shed that encircled the perimeter of both buildings.	Still exists and is operated by the city as a shopping and dining destination.	Center Market Square Historic District (NR)	City of Wheeling	City of Wheeling (Centre Market Commission)
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