Rediscovering the Public Market: A Study of the Liberty Tree Block in Boston

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Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of City Planning

at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology
June, 1995

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MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE
OF TECHNOLOGY

JUN 27 1995
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Abstract

This thesis engages in three primary levels of exploration in order to understand how the public market might be brought back to the city. First, the thesis reviews the tradition of American public markets to illuminate the role they played in the fabric of the city and to explain their ultimate decline that resulted in the supermarket. Examples of traditional public markets are described to illustrate this history. Second, the thesis explores some contemporary examples of urban markets that offer lessons on how one might create a new public market in the city. Examples include domestic markets and markets in Asian cities such as Taipei and Saigon. Third, the thesis explores a development strategy for a site in Boston’s Combat Zone—the Liberty Tree Block—to argue how a market might actually be developed in the city. The development strategy includes an analysis of the opportunities and constraints peculiar to the site such as land use, retail activity, pedestrian access and neighborhood context. An examination of the site’s history also reveals opportunities with particular sensitivity to the ethnic identity of the area. Finally, the recommendations that emerge from the strategy are tested for marketability and financial feasibility. The thesis concludes that the reemergence of public markets can have a significant positive impact on the urban fabric in an age when their value has largely been forgotten.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract ..................................................................................................... 3

Acknowledgments .................................................................................. 7

Chapter 1 .................................................................................................. 9
Introduction: The Case for Markets

Chapter 2 ............................................................................................. 15
The Tradition of American Public Markets

Chapter 3 ............................................................................................. 39
Modern Markets and Design Principles

Chapter 4 ............................................................................................. 69
The Site

Chapter 5 ............................................................................................. 99
The Market

Bibliography .......................................................................................... 127
Several people have been particularly helpful in the conception and production of this thesis:

I would like to thank my committee—Dennis Frenchman and Peter Roth—for their insights and suggestions. Special thanks to Dennis, an advisor in the true sense of the word, who guided my investigation, helped to craft the arguments, and recommended an approach but never dictated.

To my comrades in arms, The Three Musketeers—Joel, Mike, and Paul—for their ideas, photographs, and miscellaneous articles, not to mention their moral support.

And, of course, to Heather, for her unwavering optimism, clear head, careful editing, and spectacular pasting abilities.
A city doesn’t get its character from brassy new hotels with space-capsule elevators gliding up the walls. Nor does character come from Astrodomes or from phallic monuments to architectural egos. Character comes from people, from the past, from tradition, from the interplay of human forces and emotions in the process of daily life. It springs from the bazaars and marketplaces, the why and how cities began, where people could meet, buy, exchange, communicate, work, carouse, steal, fight, love, relax, be entertained and learn. The marketplace is the city and the city is the marketplace and the character of a city is the measurable evidence of its markets, their continuity and vibrance. Where those marketplaces are still closest to the people, to the streets and squares where they began, one finds a city deep and rich in character.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION:
THE CASE FOR MARKETS

For most Americans, the act of buying food entails climbing into a car and driving some distance to a supermarket owned by a corporation. The experience varies little regardless of the location; supermarkets are essentially interchangeable. Some supermarkets are larger than others, some have wider selections, but a supermarket in Albuquerque is likely indistinguishable from one in Cleveland.

Many who now shop at the ubiquitous supermarket can remember shopping as children at the corner store, an establishment owned by an independent merchant, with a more limited selection but personal service. The independent grocer, however, was only briefly the dominant form of food retailing in the United States. For over two hundred years before the grocer came into being, it was the public market that was the primary source of food for most Americans.
Unlike their descendants, each public market was entirely different from all others. Public markets grew out of indigenous circumstances. Some were wedged-in between buildings, others were built on public squares. In new Mexico, where the climate was hot, markets sought shelter from the sun beneath the shade of arcades. In the harsher climate of New England, markets often had their own specially-constructed halls. Markets frequently contained civic facilities like meeting halls, libraries, and police stations. Public markets were the confluence of commerce and civic activity.

Wars, the Depression, changes in technology, and the rise of big business brought an end to the hegemony of the public market. By the 1950s, few public markets remained in operation. During the same period, supermarkets gained ground, catering to an increasingly suburban population which was reliant on the automobile. The very form supermarkets took was determined by the car. The new stores required large land areas to accommodate vast rectangular buildings and adequate parking for shoppers.

As supermarkets gained in popularity, cities embraced the form. Ironically, the supermarket—an essentially suburban prototype—came to replace a much more urban form of retailing. Public markets had tended to be reliant on high, rather than atomized, population densities. They frequently did best when accessible to pedestrians and the central shopping districts of cities. And yet, the supermarket appealed to modern sensibilities and grew ever more popular.

There is reason to believe, however, that the time of the public market may once again have arrived. The market experience—colorful, noisy, vibrant, and engaging—sets them apart from any supermarket. Shopping as mere drudgery is transformed in the market into an event, an exciting experience. The overwhelming success of such "festival marketplaces" as Faneuil Hall Marketplace in Boston points to the fact that people want this sort of engaging experience. The market becomes a destination in its own right, apart from the direct attraction of the goods sold there.

The appeal of markets extends beyond their direct manifestations, however. The preponderance of gourmet food and
coffee shops is indicative of the demand for foods that are out of the ordinary. It is precisely these sorts of goods that market are best able to provide. Independent and ethnic vendors may carry an infinitely wide array of goods—far more than any supermarket. The demand for these types of goods can be measured by the small spontaneous markets that appear in unpredictable places. At the Porter Exchange Mall in Cambridge, Massachusetts, for instance, a once bankrupt shopping center has been taken over by half a dozen Japanese food vendors and an Asian grocery store, gift shop, and travel agent. This grouping points not only to the underlying demand for the market experience but to the economies of scale possible through such clustering.

At the Porter Exchange Mall in Cambridge, Massachusetts, (right) a once bankrupt shopping mall has become a market—not by design, but by the spontaneous grouping of several merchants. This dynamic points to the inherent attraction of the market experience (Collection of the author).
Finally, there is considerable evidence to suggest that traditional retailers are turning their attentions to the inner city as the last untapped market available to them. Around the country, national chains are opening new supermarkets in the city. If supermarkets can fill the needs of urban residents, markets may also, in a more active and engaging way. By so realizing the as yet unrealized potential of the cities, markets may meet the needs of urban residents while providing opportunities for start-up businesses.

This thesis aims to accomplish two basic things. First, it seeks to trace the evolution of the public market in America to establish its deep roots in this country and to ferret-out design principles that might aid in the construction of future markets. Second, the thesis proposes a market for a real site in Boston in order to explore the way in which an actual market built from scratch might function. By so doing, the thesis argues that markets are indeed a viable and attractive option for urban areas that if rediscovered, can provide a wealth of benefits to American cities.
Center Market of Newark, New Jersey, circa 1925 (Goodwin).
CHAPTER 2

THE TRADITION OF AMERICAN PUBLIC MARKETS

Americans have limited contact with public markets. With the exception of farmers’ markets—which are conducted intermittently during the summer months in parking lots across the country—public markets providing foodstuffs on a regular basis are difficult to find. There are notable exceptions. Pike Place Market in Seattle is among the most celebrated of American public markets and Reading Terminal Market in Philadelphia has been a resounding success since it was first built in 1895. The fact remains, however, that most Americans today buy their food at the supermarket and may only draw their perceptions of public markets from experiences in other countries.

It is no wonder that the public market conjures up images of foreign lands. Throughout much of Europe, Latin America, and the Far East, markets are an integral part of daily life. There are roughly 80,000 public markets in Europe and the markets of Latin America and Asia are ubiquitous. Eighty-one
percent of the residents of Barcelona report that they regularly shop in the city's markets and in Italy, fifty-five percent of the country's distribution of fruits and vegetables occurs through its public markets. In Latin America, the city of Lima has 57 government-built markets and 274 privately constructed ones; Tokyo’s enormous fish market covers 55 acres and contains nearly 1,700 stalls.¹

While so much a part of urban life in other countries, inhabitants of most U.S. cities seldom encounter public markets. This was not always so. For roughly three hundred years, the public market served as the primary food source for the residents of many American cities.² What role did these markets play in the fabric of U.S. cities? What became of them? Perhaps most important, in the modern era of the supermarket and hypermart—a vast structure containing every conceivable edible item under one roof and under the ownership of a single retailer—is there any place for the public market?

A Brief History of the Public Market in America

Although most Americans now have only limited access to public markets, for much of the country's history public markets played an important role in the commercial life of cities. The origins of these markets can be traced back to the origins of the country itself—as soon as trading in foodstuffs had to be done, public markets were established as the venue for this trade—but well into the twentieth century markets remained quite common. In 1918, the Census Bureau counted 237 municipal markets in the U.S., with more than half of the cities with populations over 30,000 containing them.³ On the eve of World War II, Americans were still building public markets. In 1934, Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia of New York implemented a program of construction of public markets in order to spur economic development and to reduce the number of the city's pushcart vendors.⁴ Largely in response to escalating conflict between retail merchants and street vendors, which culminated in the "pushcart wars" on Manhattan's Lower East Side in 1938, the LaGuardia Administration constructed a series of markets, many of which are still in existence: the Essex Street Market on the
Chapter 2: The Tradition of American Public Markets

Soon after the Second World War, however, the American public market began its decline, largely replaced by the supermarket and remaining in only a few urban centers. To understand the function that the American public market served for three hundred years and to understand its near demise in the last half of the twentieth century, a brief examination of its history is in order.

The earliest public markets in the North American British Colonies were open markets held in the street. The market was considered a public good that towns wanted to establish as soon as possible; in order to do so, several requirements had to be met. First, the town had to be of sufficient size to warrant the establishment of a market. While no strict rule existed as to the size of a town necessary to support a market, a critical mass of at least two thousand people was probably required. Next, the location of the market had to be established. Although early cities were small, and thus the number of possible locations limited, the chosen site had to be convenient to both buyers and sellers, which meant that it had to be near major transportation centers.

Street Vendors, New York City, 1900 (Mayo)
routes. For most towns, the preferred location was at the town business center, near the town wharves. Finally, "...public officials needed to control the time and location of the market to provide orderly control of transportation and goods, as well as levying taxes and maintaining sanitation."  

Typically, the early open markets in the Colonies were held in the middle of the street. In Boston, State Street (then called Great Street) was widened to 113 feet in 1634 by order of Governor Winthrop in order to accommodate the town market. New York's first market, known as the market field, was located in the open between the West India Company's storehouses, near the fort and the town's main street, Broadway. In the West, St. Louis established its first open market in 1768 on the banks of the Mississippi. Spanish Colonial Settlements, such as San Antonio, laid out their markets without such regard to accessibility of navigable waterways but instead followed the more formal requirements of the Spanish Laws of the Indies. These markets were generally located on the central square where the towns' activities were focused, and goods were transported to and from the market by animal or cart rather than by boat.

The early open markets were typically scheduled, rather than permanent, events. Because transportation was slow and food preservation techniques crude, farmers needed to know when the market would be held so as to coordinate delivery. In New Amsterdam, Wednesdays and Saturdays were designated as markets days in 1680. Later, the schedule was amended to three days while allowing certain items to be sold daily. In general, however, daily markets were too frequent for most goods because farmers could not leave their farms unattended for long periods.

Farmers' transportation problems to and from the early markets were exacerbated by the vagaries of weather conditions. Foul weather could close down a market by the time a farmer had arrived from his farm some distance away. Market houses were soon seen as the solution to this problem as they allowed the exchange of food in all seasons and climates. Local governments realized that there was also an added benefit to providing permanent structures to house the markets. By financing the construction of a market house, the town fathers could fulfill a public need while at the same time raise revenue after the initial
By the beginning of the eighteenth century, public markets had assumed an important place in the commercial life of American cities. Their value to the towns that built them, however, was not strictly commercial. Looking to England for precedents in constructing market buildings, the market builders saw the benefit of incorporating public and commercial facilities in the same structure. Since many of the early structures were located in the middle of public ways, towns could build them without the need to acquire additional land at taxpayer expense. In addition, a single construction project could incorporate both the commercial functions of a market and the civic functions of a meeting hall or fire watch, rather than requiring two or more separate buildings. By so incorporating public facilities into market halls, city officials reinforced the notion that the public market was indeed a public space regardless of its primary purpose as a commercial building.

In his book, "Public Markets and Community Revitalization," Theodore Spitzer describes the sorts of community facilities that often accompanied the public market:

Public markets often doubled as early American community centers. Public meeting rooms and military armories with drill rooms were built as part of markets. In Charleston, South Carolina, as in other cities, the seat of government was located on the public market's second story. Some markets included a fire watchtower, with the market bell serving as a fire alarm. The first government building in Chicago was a market house built down the center of State Street; the second floor served as a meeting place for the Common Council. In 1794, the city of Richmond, Virginia, constructed a new brick market building to replace an open wooden shed built in 1780. The new facility had arcades on the first floor, with stalls and a large hall on the second floor to accommodate dances, city council meetings, and theatrical events.

The commercial/civic aspect of public markets was also evident in colonial Boston. When Peter Faneuil constructed the city's new market hall in 1742, it contained market stalls on the first floor and on the second, town offices and a large hall where town meeting could be held. When Faneuil Hall could no longer accommodate the growing retail trade and another market was constructed in the South End to handle some of the overflow, the new market—called the Boylston Market—housed not only market stalls but also the Handel and Haydn Society on the
second floor. Thus a writer could pen a whimsical letter to the editor of the Boston Globe in 1958 when the fate of Faneuil Hall was in doubt in the face of urban renewal:

Bestir ye!
Peter Faneuil,
Old Frenchman in your grave,
'Twas not for tourist folderol
Your deed of trust you gave.

You planned and gave
A Market Hall
Designed for honest trade,
With quarters up above, where men
Could call a spade a spade.

Here orators
In ages past
Have mounted their attack
Undaunted by proximity
Of sausage on the rack....

Community Hall for Public Market Sheds, Philadelphia, 1900 (Mayo)
Constructing the Market

There were several types of public markets constructed in the eighteenth century, which can be categorized into three basic types:

- The linear market house in the street
- The market house in the town square
- The market house within the block

As noted above, a common form of early markets was the street market house in which the structure was built in the middle of a wide thoroughfare. Because roads had to be quite wide to accommodate a market hall, the roads designated for such use were often laid out with that specific purpose in mind. Because of their location, these markets were linear in configuration, generally between twenty-five and thirty feet wide by as much as three hundred feet in length. The street market house was usually arranged into functional areas, with vendors selling common products grouped together—produce, meat, fish, etc. Typically, a long corridor ran the length of the building to allow customers easy access to the stalls, while avoiding the exterior of the hall which was frequently chaotic and congested with deliv-
eries and street vendors. The early market halls were simple in construction, built of brick or wood and frequently employing a stone foundation. These simple structures were then frequently expanded or dismantled when business warranted it. If a cellar was provided, the space was often leased to the merchants above for use as cold storage. By the early part of the nineteenth century, Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, Detroit, Lexington, Louisville, New Orleans, New York, Philadelphia and other major American cities had adopted the street market.¹⁴

A variant of the linear street market house was the market built in the public or market square. This approach was the standard in the Spanish settlements in the West but was also employed east of the Mississippi. Baton Rouge, Charleston, Savannah, and St. Louis located their markets on squares rather than streets. In Boston, when Faneuil Hall was constructed in a square, it replaced an earlier market constructed in the middle of State Street, the site of the town's original market. When the volume of commerce being conducted in the hall exceeded its capacity—despite an 1805 expansion that doubled the width of the building and added a third story—the town constructed a

Faneuil Hall in Boston (top) and the public market in Savannah (bottom) were both constructed in the market square. (Whitehill, Spitzer)
vast new market on an enlarged market square created by filling the town dock.\textsuperscript{15}

During the nineteenth century, the populations of American cities exploded. Vast waves of immigrants from foreign countries and farmers seeking work in the city put urban infrastructures to the test. Boston's population, for instance, increased more than ten-fold between 1810 and 1875 before a series of annexations and further immigration increased the population an additional 64\% by 1900.\textsuperscript{16} As Boston's population increased, so too did the demands on its streets. Increased land area due to annexation and increased populations meant that new modes of transportation had to be developed. As the streetcar became more and more common, the value of the streets for transportation grew markedly. By 1887, Boston's system of streetcars employed 1,700 cars, 8,400 horses and 200 miles of track. Before the Park Street Subway was constructed in 1897, 200 streetcars a day had made their way along Tremont Street.\textsuperscript{17} Thus, it became no longer possible to site markets in the middle of streets jammed with horse and foot traffic and the value of streets for transportation forced the markets—which could be sited elsewhere—off the street. By the middle of the nineteenth century, cities began to locate markets on the block and to remove many of those that remained on major arterials.

Chicago, 1909. This photograph vividly illustrates the immense volume of traffic clogging the city's streets. This intersection is only blocks from the site where a market once stood in the middle of the street.

Functionally, market houses on the block were quite similar to the old markets in the street. As in the older prototype, a two or three story structure containing market stalls on the first floor and community facilities above was often placed at
Rediscovering the Public Market

the front of the main market structure. Vendors were grouped by the type of food they sold and were serviced by deliveries made through wagon docks along a side street. Where the new markets differed from the old type, however, was in their proportions. When markets were located in the street, their width was constrained by the dimensions of the street itself. Now that they were freed from that encumbrance, their width could expand considerably. To illustrate, "...the largest street structure in Baltimore's Lexington Market is 50 feet wide and 290 feet long. In comparison, Washington D.C.'s Northern Market, now destroyed, was 126 feet wide and 324 feet long. The market houses on the block usually at least doubled the floor space that existed in the street market buildings." 18

The new markets made possible by their location within the block provided two significant advantages over the earlier model. First, a square configuration allowed considerably more flexibility in layout and circulation. A central aisle could be employed, as it had been in the street markets, to allow access to the vendors, with secondary access provided by additional aisles. But the new type also accommodated a perimeter aisle or the division of the market into subunits. In Pittsburgh's Allegheny Market, a square pavilion was located in each of its four corners, which were then linked by long market halls. In the Allegheny Market, as in others, the square structure had a quadrangle at its center which was covered by a roof supported by large trusses, with secondary market segments on the periphery. The second, and more significant, advantage of the new market configuration was that a square building could have greater floor area for a given length of perimeter wall thereby reducing construction costs per square foot of usable floor area.19

These two basic market types, the linear street market and square market in the block, remained the fundamental design standards of market construction throughout the nineteenth century and with only slight variations, these models were still widely employed in the twentieth century. While markets could no longer be constructed in the street as they had been before the growth of cities, the linear model was used on the block in various locations in the first half of the twentieth century as a tried-and-true prototype. Both the Freemarket in Oakland, California and Pike Place Market in Seattle were based on the linear form. Municipal markets in Birmingham, Alabama and Winston-Salem, North Carolina used the square plan.20
Lexington Market, Baltimore, represents the classic linear market configuration (Goodwin)
The most significant change to market configurations in the twentieth century came from increasing reliance on the automobile. As shoppers began arriving to the market by automobile rather than by foot or trolley, market builders strove to accommodate their cars. In some cases, the linear market was broken into two sections, connected at the short end and framing a large parking lot. This configuration was employed in San Francisco’s Crystal Palace Market and Kansas City’s Stop and Shop Market. In perhaps the most notable attempt to oblige the automobile driver, the Centre Market in Newark contained an enclosed parking garage built atop the market hall to which it was connected by an elevator. While the markets adapted to the new mode of transportation for a time, they were ultimately unsuccessful in adequately meeting the new ways of shopping that the car introduced.

The square market configuration allowed flexibility in layout. In this case, four corner pavilions frame a central quadrangle.
In this attempt to accommodate the automobile, the Crystal Palace Market in San Francisco incorporated a large parking lot at the center of the site (Goodwin)
Financing the Market

The ownership of nineteenth century market halls fell into two categories. The earliest markets were all municipally financed and owned because they were viewed as a public good. Later, once the economic viability of markets was well established, private investors began to finance them. There were a variety of means of financing markets depending on whether they were public or private. As the public markets grew in importance as the primary providers of commercial space for food vendors, their revenue generating potential became formidable. Few municipal governments could resist the boost to their coffers that a profit-generating market could provide. Private markets—in contrast to municipal markets—were from the beginning established as profitable businesses, designed to enrich their developers.

For municipal markets, there were two primary methods of finance. Towns could either purchase the land and construct the market buildings out of general revenues or they could float a bond issue. In the latter case, the bonds could be one of two types, a general obligation bond which was backed by the tax generating capacity of the issuer, or a revenue bond, the repayment of which was specifically tied to the revenues generated by the market. In the case of open markets, or other minimally improved markets, towns were likely to finance the venture out of general revenues so they would not have to go to the voters for approval of a bond issue. Even when markets were more substantial and had to be financed through a bond issue, municipalities stood to fare quite well. Houston's public market, constructed in 1837, reportedly offered Texans lower food prices than anywhere else in the state and still made the city a return of 14%. 22

The methods for financing private markets were considerably more varied. The land could be purchased outright and mortgage bonds issued to cover the construction of the building. Common stock could be sold to acquire the site and to construct some or all of the building, or a combination of both bonds and stock might be used. Alternatively, the land could be leased and stock sold or debt raised to construct the buildings. Variations on these methods might include common and preferred stock, debenture bonds, and various trust arrangements. At the turn of the century, when the development of markets was common-
place, merchant banks and bond dealers arranged for their financing as any other business.

Strictly speaking, it was only the municipal markets that were truly "public" markets, with the common mixture of commercial and community facilities and municipal financing. And yet, there are arguments to be made that privately owned and operated markets could also serve a public purpose. Theodore Spitzer, of Public Market Partners, a consulting group for markets, lists three essential characteristics that define public markets as distinct from other sorts of retail activity:

* Most important, public markets have *public goals*. Public goals give a defined purpose to the market activity. Typically, these goals might include: attracting shoppers to a downtown or neighborhood commercial district, providing affordable retailing opportunities to small businesses, preserving farmland or farming in the region, activating the use of a public space, or displacing the undesirable use of a public space...

* Second, a public market is located on and/or creates a *public space* within the community. This is the visible aspect of a market: an inviting, safe, and lively place that attracts a wide range of people. As an effective place where people mix, a public market can become the heart and soul of a community... a public market need not be located on publicly owned land. As long as the privately owned land is easily accessible, the market may be perceived as public space.

* Finally, public markets are made up of *locally owned, independent businesses* that are operated by their owners, unlike the ubiquitous franchises that dominate retailing today. This characteristic helps account for the local flavor of public markets and for the distinctiveness of the shopping experience...

As both publicly and privately finance markets can meet this definition, for the purposes of this thesis there is no distinction between the two insofar as they provide these public features—any such market is termed "public." When a distinction between publicly and privately financed markets is important, the terms "municipal market" and "privately financed market" are used.
Managing the Market

Once financing had been obtained, the site for a new market had to be selected. For municipal markets, the task of site selection usually fell to a market committee, which typically consisted of paid officials and elected merchants representing various trades groups—butchers, fish dealers, and the like. The committee was also responsible for the major maintenance, expansion, and termination of markets, the financing of market operations and improvements, and the establishment of rules and regulations for market operations. While a publicly sponsored enterprise, the municipal market was subject to the same economic forces that a private market was. A good deal of the energy of the market committees was thus expended on deciding which markets should be enlarged or closed to meet changing demands. In addition, new markets had to be constructed in areas of the city where demographic shifts had created new population centers. The market committees were thus occupied with macro issues such as expansion, leaving the daily operations of individual markets to market masters. The market master was responsible for efficient and cost effective operations including general maintenance, the allotment of space to individual vendors, and the oversight of a staff to run the market.

In contrast to municipal markets, siting decisions for privately financed markets were made by their owners by means of purely economic criteria and without the input of tradesmen or elected officials. They were thus relatively free from the political considerations that often accompanied deliberations surrounding the siting of municipal markets. Once the initial decision was made and the market constructed, the daily operations were once again delegated to a general manager.

The duties of the general manager of a privately run market tended to be somewhat broader than that of a market master, since the bottom line was of paramount importance. Apart from maintaining and operating the market, the general manager was often responsible for organizing the tenants into collective buying groups, arranging collective advertising, developing promotions and other trade-stimulating activities, minimizing operating expenses, arbitrating between vendors, and maintaining the proper image for the market as a whole by stipulating how vendors could display food and signs.
Chapter 2: The Tradition of American Public Markets

The Decline of the American Public Market

In the first decades of the twentieth century public markets for the first time faced fundamental changes in the economics of food retailing. To some extent, these changes were due to technological advances such as improvements in refrigeration, that allowed small cooling units to cool small ice chests, and the automobile, that irrevocably altered settlement patterns and buying habits. Other important changes were due first to the rise of the grocery store, which was small and could be dispersed throughout urban neighborhoods, and later to the emergence of supermarkets and the dominance of chain store retailing. The consequence of these converging trends and the inability of many markets to adapt led to falling sales, and eventually, to many markets closing forever. As America emerged from the Second World War, the construction of new public markets had ceased.

Municipal markets had long maintained near monopolies on the distribution of food. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, however, dry goods stores—the descendants of the general store—had become an important presence in urban neighborhoods. As refrigeration improved, they could offer a...
wider array of goods in a smaller space and so began to compete with the public markets. In several ways, the grocery stores had a distinct competitive advantage. Not needing the economies of scale present in the public market, grocery stores needed only a storefront and could locate within easy reach of customers. With locations nearer, or in the midst of, residential areas, grocery stores could offer delivery service that was expensive for stall merchants in markets to provide.

The advent of compact cooling units, which replaced the complex brine-circulating systems in markets, allowed small grocers access to refrigeration (Goodwin)
As grocery stores agglomerated into chain stores, and later supermarkets, their choice of sites was much more flexible than the markets'. By virtue of their leases in rented quarters, supermarkets were able to quickly close unprofitable stores and relocate, while cumbersome leases with many vendors and high capital investments made closing markets more difficult.

A further problem for the markets was the increasing dependence of consumers on the automobile. Particularly after World War II, many of the urban customers who had previously shopped at the public markets moved to the suburbs. As residential areas were turned over to other uses, public markets began to locate nearer the central business districts and retail shopping areas. While many of these markets were still profitable, their margins were thin and many yielded to development pressure from office and other commercial development that offered higher returns. Markets which had depended on high population densities proved ill prepared to cater to the suburban market.

For municipal markets, these problems were further exacerbated by a lack of commitment from city officials. Frequently, operating surpluses were siphoned off for projects with higher priority and the markets were left to deteriorate. In addition, grocers complained that public subsidies for markets were an unfair competitive advantage that was unavailable to them. Finally, public markets often suffered from internal management problems. Cities frequently cut back on management staff and the management there was was commonly chosen through patronage rather than ability. Even in privately owned markets, competition from supermarkets made it difficult for managers to sustain the image of a "public" market while trying to maximize profits.
Why Might the Public Market Work Today?

One might reasonably argue that the demise of the public market was due to inevitable market forces that forever changed the climate for food retailing. Along such arguments, one might conclude that what was once a viable enterprise is no longer generally achievable. Further, if public markets require a subsidy to succeed, it would be in the best interest of consumers, as taxpayers, to buy their food at an unsubsidised supermarket.

There is considerable evidence to suggest, however, that public markets are indeed viable today and that they may be made to work with limited public subsidy. Several developments point to the potential for success of public markets in urban areas. First, chain supermarkets are now looking at urban areas as neglected markets that offer expansion prospects when suburban markets have been saturated. 30 Chains that once shunned the city are now beginning understand the viability of urban markets and are starting to locate there. Second, the Immigration Act of 1990 expanded immigration quotas by 30 to 40 percent, spurring a wave of new immigrants.31 Of these immigrants, the largest numbers are Asians and Hispanics, who traditionally make most of their food purchases at markets and who could provide a new group of consumers. Third, Americans' tastes have shifted in some areas away from mass merchandised products to the more specialized ones that markets can offer. The growth of microbreweries and gourmet food and coffee shops is evidence of this. Fourth, and probably most important, in recent years many old markets have been revived and are active and successful enterprises. Not only have such high profile markets as Pike Place been developed, but also smaller community and farmers markets. In the following chapter some of these new and reinvigorated markets will be explored.
CHAPTER 2—Endnotes


3 Spitzer, p.10.


5 Spitzer, p.10

6 Mayo, p.2

7 Ibid., p.2

8 Ibid., p.3.

9 Ibid., p.3.

10 Ibid., p.6.

11 Spitzer, p.10.


13 Ibid., p.44.

14 Mayo, pp. 5 and 8.

15 Whitehill, p. 96.

16 Ibid., pp. 73 & 129 and Lawrence W. Kennedy, Planning the City Upon a Hill: Boston Since 1630. (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), pp.73-74.

17 Kennedy, p. 100 and 102

18 Mayo, p. 13

19 Ibid., p.14

20 Ibid., p.25

21 Ibid., p.26
Chapter 2: The Tradition of American Public Markets


23 Spitzer, p.2)


25 Mayo, p.22.

26 Goodwin, p.213-15.

27 Goodwin, p.213-15.

28 Spitzer, p.10.

29 Mayo, p. 37.


Rediscovering the Public Market

Pike Place Market, Seattle, Washington (Gray).
CHAPTER 3

Modern Markets and Design Principles

In the decades following World War II, American public markets experienced a serious decline. Shifting demographics and commensurate changes in shopping habits, in concert with increasing dependence on the automobile and the rise of chain stores, reduced the demand for urban public markets. After the War, few if any new market halls were constructed in the United States and many were razed or fell into disrepair. Among the casualties of the period, the historic public market in Savannah was demolished in the 1950s as part of an effort to revitalize the central business district. For those markets that remained, business sharply declined. In 1939, 515 farmers sold their goods at Pike Place Market in Seattle; by 1949, only 53 remained.¹

For all the difficulties faced by the public market, however, the form has experienced a resurgence in recent years. Old markets like Pike Place and Reading Terminal Market have been renovated and Quincy Market in Boston has been redeveloped into a new model—the festival marketplace. Farmers’ markets, too, have experienced a resurgence and can now be found in nearly every American city.
Rediscovering the Public Market

Pike Place in Seattle, Washington, is one of the many American markets that have experienced a resurgence in recent years.
In no small part, the rebirth of public markets has been a reaction to the urban condition that resulted from the demographic shifts associated with the decline of public markets in the first place. Many central business districts collapsed as shoppers moved to the suburbs and abandoned the central city. Cities, faced with declining city centers, began to look at the public market as a means to revitalize them.

The redevelopment of Faneuil Hall and Quincy Market in the 1970s was a pioneering effort to reestablish Boston’s central business district as a shopping destination in direct competition with suburban shopping malls.2 (As will be discussed below, Quincy Market was not developed as a true public market but built on the theme of the public market to create a “festival” atmosphere. It was, nonetheless, an important recognition of the value of the public market as a dynamic and valuable urban space).

In the 1980s the area in Savannah where the old public market once stood was redeveloped as City Market—with restaurants, shops, and artists’ studios—and Lexington Market in Baltimore recently underwent a renovation as part of a comprehensive effort to bring the city’s commercial center back to life.

The relatively abundant active American markets today—as compared to only twenty years ago—provide a great many lessons about how a new market should be designed and organized. In addition, the preponderance of public markets in Asia offers further information, which is of particular importance for the development of a market on Boston’s Liberty Tree block, given its proximity to the Asian community in Chinatown. An examination of the siting, design, and programming of modern public markets provides the underpinnings of the proposed plan for the Liberty Tree Block redevelopment.
Types of Modern Public Markets

In his book, "Public Markets and Community Revitalization," Theodore Spitzer outlines four basic types of modern public markets:

- Open air
- Shed roof
- Market hall
- Market district

The least formal (and most common) market is the open air variety. Such markets are frequently farmers' markets but may also contain craft vendors or the familiar peddlers of the flea market, where all variety of bric-a-brac is sold. Open air markets are held in open areas and tend to adapt to whatever spaces are available. Existing structures—such as bridges or arcades—or temporary shelter erected by the vendors themselves, are the only types of shelter that these markets provide. Numerous examples of open air markets exist around the country, among them Haymarket in Boston and market held in the arcades around the central square in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

More permanent than open air markets, shed-roof structures provide a limited degree of protection from the elements while keeping capital costs to a minimum. Such markets may also contain a variety of vendors including farmers, crafts, etc. Because they have no walls, shed-roof structures do not allow vendors security over night and they must therefore set up shop each selling day. In Ann Arbor, Michigan, a shed-roof market downtown has been in operation for over one hundred years and contains 160 stalls. In St. Paul's Lowertown district, a semi-enclosed farmers' market was opened in 1982 to replace a similar structure that had been in continuous operation for nearly eighty years.
The least expensive type of market structure, the market shed above at the 17th Street Market in Richmond, Virginia incorporates 76 stalls beneath it (Spitzer).

The most capital intensive of single-structure public markets, the market hall provides a permanent enclosure for those vendors who need access to utilities, refrigeration, and storage. Retail market halls range in size and configuration but typically contain a familiar mix of fresh food merchants, prepared food vendors and non-food sellers. Originally Boston's main wholesale market hall, Quincy Market served the city for 150 years until being recast as a retail shopping center. Three massive linear granite structures, arrayed in parallel, incorporated most of the city's wholesale produce and meat trade. Cleveland's West Side Market, erected in 1912, typifies the traditional public market hall with a massive vaulted interior selling area and landmark clock tower.

The massive vaulted roof and expansive selling floor of the West Side Market in Cleveland, Ohio exemplify the traditional market hall (Spitzer).
The final form of modern public markets is the market district, in which a series of businesses concentrate in a single area and may spread out over several square blocks. There is likely little to distinguish vendors in a market district from those in the other types—it is in the configuration of the district where this type differs from the others. Market districts often contain elements found in the other models—shed-roof structure or market hall—but because the vendors are spread out, they are frequently interspersed among other types of retailers in a configuration different from other markets. One notable example of this type of market is the Eastern Market in Detroit. At the center of the Eastern Market are five large sheds for farmers which are owned and operated by the city. Around this central core, private businesses have located to create a dynamic market environment. The entire district contains hundreds of wholesale and retail businesses in private buildings around the municipally-owned anchor structures.
Another type of market might also be added to Theodore Spitzer's list. The "festival marketplace" is a term coined by the architect Benjamin Thompson, embraced by developer James Rouse, and first implemented in the redevelopment of Boston's historic public market, Faneuil Hall. At the core of this concept was that historic structures could be developed around a food theme, with dozens of independent vendors substituting for the retail anchors traditionally found in shopping malls. The notion was that if a critical mass of these small retailers was assembled in a historic and architecturally engaging environment, an on-going event could be created that would be as powerful a consumer draw as any department store or mall. Since its opening in 1976, Faneuil Hall Marketplace has outstripped the highest expectations of its developers and attracts millions of tourists each year.

While Faneuil Hall Marketplace has on most fronts been a resounding success, it has come under criticism in several respects. Some have said that it is "a glorified shopping center, too artificial." Others have argued that the whole effect is too prettified and not truly "urban." From the standpoint of this thesis, however, the most significant criticism is that the market caters primarily to tourists and not to the day-to-day needs of local residents. Gone are the numerous produce vendors and meat merchants, only to have been replaced by specialty stores, upscale gift shops, and restaurants. For a market to meet the definition of public markets embraced by this thesis, it must accommodate the needs of local shoppers and not be geared primarily to the tourist trade. Capturing the tourist market is commendable—potentially even critical, insofar as it makes the enterprise viable—but not if is at the expense of the needs of local consumers. A further objection can be made that the vendors at Faneuil Hall Marketplace increasingly include chain stores among their ranks to the detriment of local independent retailers. This thesis therefore does not consider the festival market prototype to fit the definition of the public market as thus narrowly defined.

Nonetheless, the success of the Faneuil Hall redevelopment makes the case that the dynamic urban places created by a market-like atmosphere can be quite compelling. In the words of James Rouse, the developer of the project, "Everything else in the center of the city serves a particular market. Offices are for office workers, the theater is for people who go to plays, the art museum is for people who go to see art. But everybody is involved in the marketplace, and as it is lively, appealing, and
Rediscovering the Public Market

attractive it draws people to the center of the city." Further, the market draws people to an area that might otherwise be empty during the weekend and evenings.

Factors Contributing to the Viability of a Public Market

To create a viable urban public market, the following factors must be considered:

- Critical mass of visitors
- Optimally convenient location
- Accessible physical design
- Capacity for internal competition
- Diversity of products offered

Although any retail venture involves considerable planning related to site selection and design, public markets, given their relative scarcity and highly complex physical nature, require an extra measure of planning. Like supermarkets, public markets require large numbers of consumers to make them viable. Unlike supermarkets, however—in which the number of shoppers can be spread evenly throughout the day as long as a sufficient volume of goods is sold—markets need a critical mass of strollers, observers, and buyers at any given time to achieve an active, dynamic atmosphere that is an attraction in itself.
To capture these shoppers and onlookers, public markets must be well located, ideally near public transportation, shopping areas, employment centers, or other generators of pedestrian traffic. While public markets may orient themselves to consumers who arrive by automobile—as is the case with supermarkets—they need not take this approach. The enormous success of Boston’s Haymarket illustrates this point. Haymarket—a truly public open air market—draws thousands of shoppers every weekend despite its near-total lack of parking. The success of the market demonstrates that a low-priced and centrally located urban market, near transportation and other destinations, can be a sufficient draw to limit the need for parking. Few tourists shop at Haymarket; most customers are local people in search of low prices and an active, engaging atmosphere.

Wherever the market is located, its physical design plays an enormous role in its success. It must be visible and inviting to the public. It must have adequate capacity to accommodate enough vendors to create internal competition and to provide a wide selection of products for the consumer. It must be carefully thought-out to provide ready access to all areas within the market and must not leave some vendors with stalls markedly
better than others. The following section describes some of the myriad considerations that make up the planning of a successful market.¹⁰

Location/Site Selection

Ownership of the site. The first decision when planning a public market is whether to site it on public or private land. In the past, all municipal markets were by definition located on public land, but as markets became private ventures they were frequently sited on private land. Today, many privately run markets are located on public land for two primary reasons. First, many old municipal markets are now run by private non-profit boards set up specifically for the purpose of running them. Second, a number of community development corporations have taken on the development of markets to provide small businesses access to retail space at limited cost and reasonably priced foodstuffs to community residents. Bickerdike Redevelopment in Chicago and the Broad Park Development Corporation in Hartford, Connecticut have both undertaken the development of new markets. Whether the site is publicly or privately owned, a critical factor is that the market have long-term site control. This may take the form of outright, fee simple ownership or a long term ground lease, but because the capital investment necessary for a market hall can be quite high, the length of control is essential.

This plan for Ardmore Market in Ardmore, Pennsylvania, exhibits many of the necessary characteristics of a viable market design. A diversity of goods is offered. At the same time, a redundancy of goods exists, creating internal competition. Despite the market's irregular shape, its interior provides easy access due to its straightforward organization (Spitzer).
Size. Depending on the objectives of the developers, the chosen site must be large enough to accommodate a variety of uses. Key programmatic components must be included in these calculations and will then dictate the required size. At a minimum, the site must be ample enough to contain an adequate number of vendors to create a draw, with appropriate area for circulation, storage, and deliveries. If the market is to contain prepared food stalls, eating areas must be taken into account, and if other amenities are to be provided, they too must be factored in. At the Grand Central market in Los Angeles, twenty tables provide seating for ten prepared food vendors, catering to a lunch-time audience. At the Reading Terminal Market, there are thirty prepared food vendors and a total of over one thousand seats—500 seats provided by the market in common areas and 550 supplied by the vendors themselves within their own leaseholds.\(^\text{11}\)

Access. Consumers may arrive at the market by foot, car, or transit. To accommodate each of these groups, the market should be located close to subway and bus lines and should have access to parking. If a large percentage of the patrons are expected to arrive by foot—especially if parking is limited—the market should be located no more than a seven to ten minute walk from the source of customers, either in residential or commercial areas.\(^\text{12}\)

Visibility. Ideally, the site selected will have high visibility to both pedestrians and automobiles. This aspect may take the form of a prominent location at the corner of a block or the edge of a large site, as opposed to the center. Regardless of the location, the visibility of the market can be accentuated by the market operators through creative means to establish an imageable environment. At Pike Place, the "Meet the Producer" sign has become a landmark in Seattle and draws attention to the center of the market. Likewise, the clock tower at West Side Market in Cleveland beckons potential shoppers. Other means of increasing visibility may include banners, vendors open to the sidewalk, and various other "attention grabbers." Pedestrians and motorists must be able to see the market from a busy street and should be enticed by the site of it to enter.
The clock tower of Cleveland's West Side Market has become a local landmark. Such devices are important to set the market apart from other retail outlets in the minds of customers (Spitzer).

Context. The context in which a market is sited will have important consequences for its success. The market should play off the surrounding environment to create an experience that in itself can attract customers. Markets centered on seafood might therefore be sited on wharves, and ethnic markets, adjacent to ethnic neighborhoods. By capitalizing on the existing city fabric, the market can create a sense of romance and excitement that will draw people to it. To further emphasize the connection to its context, the market should incorporate existing street patterns and buildings to the extent possible, thereby creating a feeling of being an integral part of the city. Markets may also be located in urban areas that are in need of revitalization. The Union Square Green Market in Manhattan, for instance, was located in a park that had been the site of drug dealing and prostitution. After several years of operation, the market has revitalized the square and is now a destination in an area that had only been something to avoid.
Site Conditions. As Thompson and Rouse knew when they redeveloped Quincy Market in Boston, the use of historic structures can add interest and excitement to a marketplace. Architectural elements found in old buildings can help create unique places that stand apart from standard shopping malls. In an old city, the reuse of old structures can also reestablish links to a past era when the tradition of public markets was still alive. Establishing historic connections in a market can be an important element in creating a unique experience that cannot be found in other venues. The lure of this experience lies in the images associated with a romantic vision of past times; building on these images can increase the attraction of the market. Around the country, public markets are being established in historic structures. Markets in South Carolina and Tennessee have been recently opened in notable old buildings. In Asheville, North Carolina, the Grove Arcade Public Market—currently under development—will be housed in a retail building originally designed as an arcade and more recently used as a federal office building.13
Rediscovering the Public Market

Layout/design

An important attribute of markets is their flexibility in design. Perhaps better than any other retail form, markets can assume the characteristics of their surroundings. They can fill odd spaces in the urban fabric and can follow the contours of old streets. They can incorporate the living habits of the locals, making use of arcades, courtyards, and alleyways according to custom. Market halls can incorporate elements of the outside, inside and the inside, outside. Markets can evolve over time to change as the city changes, taking over unused or under-used zones. Above all, markets are the convergence of commerce and intense social interaction and the design of the market must incorporate features that facilitate both. Storage and delivery space must be included while at the same time providing for space to linger and to observe the other shoppers. There are a great many ways that a good market can be organized and laid out; the following is a partial list of items that must be taken into account.

Response to geography of location. At the most basic level, the market's design must respond to its environment. Adjacent uses and the peculiarities of the site will to a great extent dictate the configuration of the market. The simplest such response relates to the proportions of the site. As in the linear markets of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a narrow site dictates that the market be designed around a single, double or single-loaded aisle with stalls arranged in long rows accessible from the central spine. If the site is squarer, pavilions and quadrangles can be employed as they were in market on the block.

In Asian cultures, markets often grow organically from any available space. In Taipei, vendors set up shop on a street or alley and are soon be joined by others. Before long, a market has developed that snakes through the streets, filling voids and creating a high level of activity. Such markets are technically illegal, but often include a fairly high level of infrastructure including shed roofs and other forms of enclosure. After years of development, these markets become an integral part of the neighborhood fabric.
In Taipei, a vendor sets up shop on a busy street and likely soon will be joined by others. Before long, a market may develop around it (Collection of the author).

Inside/outside spaces. One result of the organic generation of markets is that the distinction between inside and outside spaces becomes blurred. Areas that were once streets become partially enclosed and the street pattern is thus carried through the structure with minimal demarcation of boundaries. This is particularly true in the warm and wet climates of the Far East where arcades are a common building feature. In Taiwan, arcades have long been part of the vernacular architecture as a means of remaining outside in the public zone while keeping dry and in the shade. Vendors always take advantage of this amenity by expanding from the confines of their stalls or shops into the arcades. Even where arcades are less common, such as in Saigon, vendors typically take over exterior spaces and market activities spill out on to the street. This behavior can be supported by structures that are collapsible, e.g., façades that fold up or roll away.

Emphasize entrance. However the market is located, its entrance must be emphasized to increase the market’s attraction to shoppers. As mentioned above, signs, banners, or landmark features may be employed for this purpose. Retractable awnings are used widely throughout the world to signal an entrance and to entice people in. Another tactic is to locate vendors with the most visually stimulating displays at the entrance. The importance of drawing consumers into the space dictates that flower and produce vendors—due to their potentially vibrant displays—are the most likely candidates for inclusion in this area. If these merchants are allowed to display their products on the sidewalk, spilling out on to the street, the power of their goods to entice shoppers into the market will be increased.
In Taiwan, arcades become extensions of abutting retail space. Such spaces may become pet shops (Figure 1) or convenient off-street parking (Figure 2) (Collection of the author).

In Saigon, vendors open their shops wide to draw in customers (Figure 3) and display their wares on the street even without the permanent protection of an arcade (Figure 4, facing page) (Collection of the author).
These shops in Mexico City (Figure 5, right) open directly on to the street. The lack of a threshold makes for a seamless transition from shop to street while awnings extend the selling space beyond the building wall and draw customers in (Hootman).
Occupied interstitial spaces. The expansion of retail activities beyond building boundaries often extends not just to the street but also to the interstices between buildings and other occupied spaces. Small passages and light wells become usable areas for market activity. Thus, otherwise dead zones are animated by commercial uses.

Connections between destinations. In extending into outside areas, markets avail themselves to pedestrians walking to other destinations. The trip therefore becomes a potential shopping opportunity, or at a minimum, serves to help animate the market space. Markets built in the block may also create such connections by linking two streets with a selling area that runs through the block. The recent renovation of Holyoke Center at Harvard Square in Cambridge illustrates the potential of this type of connection: Running through the center of the building is an arcade which was recently adapted to provide selling space for vendors and restaurants. Because the arcade links two heavily-trafficked streets, pedestrians are apt to use it on their way somewhere else. The merchants in the market arcade need not be the destination but become part of the path and benefit from the foot traffic.
Separate categories. Within the market, it is important to cluster vendors selling similar goods together in functionally identifiable and distinct areas. Even in the organic markets of Taiwan and Vietnam, this segmentation has emerged. There are several important reasons for this both organizationally and physically. First, it provides for legibility and minimizes confusion. Shoppers can understand the internal logic of the market and can quickly identify areas of interest. Second, clustering similar vendors together fosters internal competition among them; competition results in lower costs for the consumer and innovation on the part of the vendors. Third, different types of goods have different physical requirements such as storage and deliveries. By grouping them together, more efficient operations can result through the use of common facilities. Fourth, some goods have negative externalities that can be mitigated if grouped together. Fish, for instance, would never be displayed next to clothing. Fifth, different goods have different display requirements—while desirable to display flowers and produce in the open, meat is probably best left inside.
The Tryon Market in Havana, Cuba (left) clearly illustrates several separate categories that may form in a market: eggs (huevos), meat (carnes), fish (pescados). This categorization helps orient the shopper, particularly in a square form which can be disorienting. The galleria in this market also helps to orient the shopper within the market (Goodwin).

**Merchandise mix.** The mix of products being sold in the market will have a significant impact on its drawing power. Markets should generally not be limited to a small variety of product types but should include as wide a range as possible. By incorporating a wide range of merchandise, customers will be more likely to travel to the market, sure they will find whatever it is they are in search of. It is important, however, that the market have a critical mass of vendors in each category—no fewer than three, and preferably at least five. The types of products being offered depends on the location of the market. If the market is in a residential area, all types of produce, meats, and seafood are appropriate. If the markets is in a city center, prepared foods and lunch counters can meet the needs of office workers. Near an ethnic neighborhood, the market should cater to the needs of its residents.
Minimize the size of each stall. Generally, the size of individual stalls should be kept to a minimum. By keeping stalls small, the greatest number of vendors can be accommodated and the rent per stall can be kept affordable. Maximizing the number of vendors is an important component in making the market a dynamic place and keeping rents affordable opens the market up to a wider range of merchants. While it is important not to create stalls so small that they are impractical, keeping stall sizes constrained forces vendors to maximize the efficiency of their display areas, thereby increasing the impression of abundance that makes markets enticing. At the El Mercado market in Chicago, stalls are as small as 15 feet on a side, or 225 square feet, including storage.18
Access and circulation. Unlike supermarkets, which have a single point of entrance, markets benefit from having several. Each point of entry in a market is another point at which to draw people in, increasing the market's permeability and reducing the impediments to entering. In addition, because entrances are desirable locations for most vendors, having several points of entry maximizes the number of high rent spaces.

As long as circulation is adequate, multiple entrances will increase the market's permeability and the number of desirable stall spaces. In the figure above, multiple linear selling runs intersect a number of cores (Dewar).

While some vendors will have better spaces immediately next to the entrances, all merchants must be along main circulation aisles and none should have a location significantly worse than the best.

No vendors should have stalls significantly worse than the best. In these two examples, the pedestrian flow is unevenly distributed. Peripheral stalls are marginalized and become dead areas (Dewar).
Once inside the market, aisles are generally kept narrow—no more than eight or ten feet across—to provide enough room for movement, but to keep the market full of customers and to reduce the amount of dead space. Aisles should be oriented to entrances in such a way as to provide relatively equal access to all vendors.

If the market is to incorporate a second story, prepared food vendors and tables should be located upstairs as a means of drawing customers up. The site and smell of prepared food is often enough reason for hungry shoppers to venture to the second story, while other vendors alone may not be. This technique is used widely in shopping malls incorporating a second floor in the form of the "food court."

The stall orientation and entrance location in this linear market distribute pedestrian flows evenly past all stalls. There is no marginalization of vendors nor any dead areas.

If a market is to have a second floor, it should contain prepared food stalls and seating to draw people up through the market. At the Granville Island Public Market in Vancouver, British Columbia (above right) tables are arranged around an open court so that diners can watch the activity below (Gray).
Service. Market surfaces must be hard—floors must be paved with asphalt or pavers and selling surfaces should be metal or tile. Floors should be slightly pitched with adequate drainage to allow the market to be hosed-down nightly. Vendors should be responsible for removing their garbage to common pick-up points from where it can be removed by the market’s management. It is very important to create easy access to garbage receptacles on the periphery of the market and to avoid dead areas within the market. If getting garbage to the receptacles becomes too time consuming, vendors will tend to abandon it at closed ends of market runs or culs-de-sacs. Some amount of storage may be located within each stall, depending on the efficiency of the layout. Larger vendors may required additional storage space which can be located in the basement and rented out at a nominal fee. Delivery areas must be accessible to all vendors although delivery times may be restricted to early morning hours.

Hard selling surfaces contribute to effective sanitation. These market stalls in Hong Kong are tiled to provide impermeable surfaces for fish and produce displays (Dewar).
Core Principles

The preceding section outlines many of the principles that contribute to successful markets. At their core, the guidelines are rooted in a few basic notions:

- To succeed, markets must be dynamic, lively places where shopping is an adventure—an outing in itself.

- In order to create that experience, markets must consist of a series of tight spaces, open enough to allow nearly free circulation but restricted enough that one has a sense of contact with other people.

- Markets must exude a sense of abundance and variety; displays must be opulent and vendors numerous.

- Blurring the distinction between inside and outside grounds markets in their settings and links them to the people around them.

- Building on the existing street pattern ties markets to the history of places and situates them in the continuum of urban life.

The following chapter will apply these principles to the design of a new public market on the Liberty Tree Block in Boston.

Overleaf. Boston's Haymarket originally took the form of many organic markets, snaking through existing streets and filling voids and interstices. In this image of the market circa 1950 (Left), buildings form a selling space—almost a hall—for the activity taking place on the street. While today still an active place (Right) the removal of the buildings on the right side of the picture have left the market disengaged from the urban fabric. For a market to be truly successful, it should interact with the surrounding environment, engaging not only the people but the built form as well (Campbell).
CHAPTER 3—Endnotes


3 Spitzer, p.15.

4 Andrea Oppenheimer Dean, "New Ways of Reviving an Old Neighborhood." Architecture, November 1983, p.75.

5 Spitzer, p.15

6 Ibid., p.15


9 Frieden and Sagalyn, p. 113.

10 The bulk of these location and site selection guidelines come from Spitzer and Baum, "Public Markets and Community Revitalization." Other sources are as noted.

11 Spitzer, p.66

12 Ibid., p.59

13 Ibid., p.60

14 Ibid., p.61


16 Dewar, p.34 and Spitzer, p.64

17 Dewar, p.31 and from a conversation with Theodore Spitzer, 2/95;

18 Spitzer, p. 64
CHAPTER 4

THE SITE

Chapter 2 discussed the different traditional roles of American public markets in the urban fabric. Chapter 3 illustrated the various ways in which markets are sited, designed, and constructed. The remainder of this thesis applies these lessons to a particular site in Boston in order to explore how a new market might actually be constructed.

The site selected for the development of a market is the Liberty Tree Block—a group of dilapidated buildings in Boston's red light district. There are several reasons for selecting the Liberty Tree Block as the focus of this development proposal. First, the site provides an opportunity to reestablish long-forgotten historical linkages that remain relevant today. The tradition of public markets in Boston extends back several hundred years and one of the city's three principle markets in the early nineteenth century was located immediately across the street from the site. The creation of a new market in the Liberty Tree Block reestablishes a southern anchor for the historic commercial spine of the city and reinforces the street's traditional role. By reinforc-
Rediscovering the Public Market

ing the pedestrian orientation of this street, the successful pedestrian-oriented redevelopment of Downtown Crossing can be extended southward, revitalizing lower Washington Street. The historic nature of the Liberty Tree Building itself lends interest to the development and reinforces the historical roots of the site.

The second reason for selecting the Liberty Tree Block is that despite its derelict condition, the site has a variety of physical attributes that make it attractive for redevelopment as a public market. The public has a negative perception of the area around the site because of its character as a red light district. This negative image serves to depress land values, thereby reducing the cost of constructing a new market and allowing a variety of colorful low rent businesses to locate in the area. Low land values have also reduced the development potential of other sites in the area resulting in the construction of several parking lots immediately surrounding the site. These parking lots have limited pedestrian traffic in the area but have also opened up wide view corridors, thus improving visibility of the site.

Access to the site is extremely good; two subway lines have stations within three blocks and one subway line has a stop beneath the site itself. The Liberty Tree Block is also on the city's major commercial street and benefits from a high volume of foot traffic. Finally, the surrounding neighborhoods offer many potential customers for the market and its location on the edge of Chinatown provides a focus for the market.

The development site is bounded by Washington, Harrison, Essex, and Beach Streets. The most prominent building of the group, the Liberty Tree Building, is a handsome, though dilapidated, edifice of red brick topped by six gables. The building was constructed in 1850 and originally contained five shops on the ground floor and meeting halls on the floors above. This once imposing commercial structure now contains an "adult" book store on the first floor and is abandoned above.

Immediately adjacent to the Liberty Tree Building is a hotel, originally constructed in 1824, and subsequently renovated several times. The building, known at the time of its construction as the LaFayette Hotel, appears to be in fairly good condition and now boasts red awnings over the windows and a large American flag projecting from the façade. While the building has a new sign, there is no evidence that it is in operation as a hotel. Abutting the LaFayette to the south, the Pilgrim Theater and Naked i Cabaret cater to a down-and-out clientele in search of titillation. Together, this group of buildings forms the Washington Street face of the Liberty Tree Block.
Chapter 4: The Site

The Liberty Tree Building anchors the development site at the corner of Washington and Essex Streets. The building, a once elegant structure, now contains only an adult bookstore; the floors above are vacant. To the south, on Washington Street, a hotel and other adult entertainment establishments complete the street wall (Collection of the author).
The remainder of the block is comprised of several bars, a liquor store, a Chinese butcher, Chinese and Vietnamese grocers, two apartment houses, a commercial building, a parking lot, and a large parking garage.

The site contains a wide variety of uses. Here, a liquor store abuts a Chinese meat market (Collection of the author).

The History of Boston's Public Markets

The Liberty Tree Block's motley appearance today belies the fact that the site was once among the most important commercial locations in Boston. As home to one of the city's three principle markets in the early nineteenth century, the area formed an important link in a market network that fed the city. This network had its origins in the first settlement on the Shawmut Peninsula and its remnants are still in evidence today.

In 1634, Governor Winthrop of the Massachusetts Bay Colony established in Boston the first public market in the English colonies. The site chosen for the new market was the most prominent in town: the intersection of the Great Street (later State Street), which ran down to the water where it met the town wharf, and Cornhill (renamed Washington), which led across the Neck to Roxbury. These two streets connected the town to the rest of the world—the wharf provided access to the merchant ships that traveled to Europe, and the Neck offered the only overland connection to the mainland. Also at this intersection stood the meeting house and later the Town House which served as library, courthouse and public gathering spot. For decades the site of the public market served as the center of both civic and commercial life.
The Grand Street public market continued to serve Boston as the town slowly grew; by 1690, the population of the city was still only about 7,000 and the market remained adequate to meet the needs of the town's residents. By 1743, however, Boston's population had more than doubled to 16,382 and additional market space was needed. In 1742 Peter Faneuil, a French Huguenot, bequeathed a new market hall to the town—just north and east of the old market, near the town dock—that was named in his honor. The new building "...was a two-story brick structure, one hundred feet long and forty feet wide, designed by the painter John Smibert. On the ground floor was the market and above, as in many English buildings, rooms for town offices and a sizable hall." 6

The new market and its generous benefactor were widely hailed for providing the city with much needed commercial and public meeting space, but by the turn of the century the structure needed to be enlarged to accommodate the town's swelling ranks. In 1805 Charles Bulfinch was commissioned to enlarge the hall by doubling its width and adding a third story. This measure soon proved inadequate and Bulfinch was retained in 1810 to design two new markets to serve the expanding areas of the city. With the addition of these two markets—the West End Market at the corner of Grove and Cambridge Streets and the Boylston Market at the corner of Washington and Boylston—Boston had three main markets to serve a population of 37,787.7

In 1825 the market at Faneuil Hall was enlarged by filling the Town Dock and constructing a massive two-story granite market building—555 feet long and 50 feet wide—flanked on either side by equally long warehouses. With the new market, named Quincy Market after the mayor who initiated the project,
at the core, and the South and West End markets in the wings, the three markets formed a commercial and public triangle that continued to serve the city’s need for victuals and town meetings well into the nineteenth century.

Faneuil Hall (below) was Boston’s only formal market until the construction of the Boylston Market in 1810 (below, left). The striking similarity of these market’s designs can be attributed to their architect, Charles Bulfinch. Both markets contained market stalls on the first floor and meeting halls above (Whitehill, Campbell).

Facing Page. Three principle markets served Boston’s population throughout the nineteenth century. At the center of the city, near the site of the town’s first market, Quincy Market (1) remained the town’s primary commercial outlet. It was joined early in the century by two ancillary markets—the West End Market (2) and the Boylston Market (3). Together, these three markets met the city’s needs for victuals for nearly one hundred years (Whitehill, from the Boynton map of 1844).
Rediscovering the Public Market

Historical Background of Washington Street

Contrary to the popular belief that early Boston streets were laid out by cows wandering between pastures, the site for Boston’s first market was chosen along well established English precedent, at the intersection of the two main arteries of the young town. It was here, at the confluence of the two major transportation routes, that the major commercial activity naturally took place. Over time, as bridges were built to the mainland and new wharves and piers were constructed, the singular significance of this spot gradually diminished, but the importance of Cornhill (later renamed Washington Street) continued. Initially, the street ran down the narrow spit of land called the Neck that connected the Shawmut Peninsula to the mainland and although the street no longer had this monopoly of access in the nineteenth century, the street continued to be important. Well into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Washington remained Boston’s primary business street, providing the spine for new commercial development, and at its southern end, the Boylston Market provided a terminus.

In this 1826 surveyor’s map, the Boylston Market can be seen at the head of the Neck extending to Roxbury. On the left, the layout of new streets is superimposed on the water which would soon be filled (Van Meter).
During the nineteenth century, commercial activity began to migrate southward down Washington Street, with dry goods and grocery shops moving closer to the common and eventually displacing the high-end residential district facing the Common on Tremont and adjoining streets. As early as the 1860s, "Investors [had] built a number of five- to seven-story buildings containing stores and factories along Washington Street between Winter and Summer Streets". By the last decades of the nineteenth century commercial activity had migrated half a dozen blocks down Washington and the lower end of the street, near its intersection with Summer Street, was firmly established as the commercial center of the city.

The heyday of the Washington Street commercial district occurred during the first decades of the twentieth century, leading up to the Second World War. During this period, the intersection of Summer and Winter streets became known as the "One Hundred Percent Corner," a reference to the rents charged at the locus commercial activity in the city. Anchoring the street were such department stores as Filene's, Kennedy's, Gilchrist's, and Jordan Marsh. Farther south on Washington Street several legitimate and movie theaters located. As one measure of the vitality of the area, by 1943 the four subway stations that framed the district—Park, Washington, Boylston and Boylston-Essex—accommodated the highest population flows in the city.

As late as the 1940s, Washington Street remained a vital commercial and entertainment district. In this photograph taken during W.W.II, a group of thriving—if somewhat garish—theaters fill the street with marquis and signs (Campbell).
The boom years for the Washington Street commercial district gradually began to fade with the onset of the Depression. Later, the exodus of urban residents in the wake of the Second World War eliminated many of the consumers who had shopped in the district. Perhaps the most devastating blow to the area came, ironically, from the city's own attempt to reverse this declining urban condition. As part of a series of massive urban renewal projects, the city laid plans in the late 1950s to clear Scollay Square—a rather infamous skidrow district—and replace it with a new Government Center development. When the wrecking balls fell in the early 1960s, many of the bars, bookstores and movie houses that had catered in the Square to sailors and others in search of "adult" entertainment moved south on Washington Street to the area between Essex and Kneeland Streets.13

In the mid seventies, upper Washington Street was saved from further decline through the creation of Downtown Crossing, an open-air pedestrian mall at the corner of Washington, Winter and Summer Streets. The lower end of Washington was not so fortunate, however. While the One Hundred Percent Corner had maintained a significant retail presence, lower Washington Street had become notorious for the bars, drugs, and prostitution that were a legacy of the activities displaced from Scollay Square. At the same time the city was revitalizing the blocks around the major department stores up the street, lower Washington Street and the Liberty Tree Block were essentially written off. The final blow came in 1974 when Mayor Kevin White formally designated the Liberty Tree Block and the block immediately to the south as the city's official "Adult Entertainment District," (popularly known as the Combat Zone) in order to restrict all adult entertainment in the city to a single, manageable area. The new zoning allowed building owners to rent to businesses that catered to the adult market and to employ flashing lights and explicit signs, which were prohibited elsewhere in the city by a restrictive sign ordinance.14
When urban renewal erased Scollay Square from the map in the early 1960s, many of the burlesque theaters and bars located there moved to lower Washington Street. The Old Howard, a "legendary striptease palace," was one of the casualties of the period (Campbell). The city formalized the new Washington Street red light district in 1974, when Mayor Kevin White designated the area Boston's official "Adult Entertainment District." One component of the designation was that merchants in the zone were exempt from the city's restrictive sign ordinance (Collection of the author).
Chinatown

Long before the decline of lower Washington Street in the 1970s and before the boom years at the turn of the century, the area just to the east of Washington Street was a residential and commercial area settled by Chinese immigrants. When Boylston Market was constructed in 1810 at the corner of Washington and Essex Streets, it sat nearly at the end of the Shawmut Peninsula, at the head of the Neck connecting it to the mainland. To the east was a small bay called South Cove that provided access to a variety of piers and wharves. In 1833, a group of entrepreneurs formed the South Cove Associates to fill the cove for rail yards and a terminal. With capital of $414,500, the company began filling the cove with gravel from Roxbury and Dorchester and by 1839 had created Lincoln and Albany Streets and the present Chinatown.15

Initially, the Chinese immigrated to California to work on the railroad, but when the transcontinental link was completed in 1869, and they were barred from employment in other occupations, the immigrants moved eastward in search of other opportunities. In 1875, the first Chinese began to arrive in Boston from the West Coast and settled in the area around Oxford Street. As a low-rent district adjacent to the new railroad terminal for Albany

An 1835 plan of South Cove, an area of landfill that would soon become Chinatown. The area covered by the subdivision extends to the corner of the Liberty Tree market development site, which can be seen in the upper left-hand corner of the South Cove development (Whitehill).
and the western United States (now South Station), the area offered a logical place for settlement. "By 1935, the Chinese inhabited the entire area of present Chinatown north of Kneeland Street and then gradually moved into more desirable land to the south as other immigrant groups moved out."16

From its earliest days, Chinatown’s residential uses have come under pressure from manufacturing and commercial uses and transportation "improvements." In the 1860s, the small residential lots that had been created in South Cove until about 1843 began to be displaced by the leather and garment industries. Residential land values further declined in 1899 with the extension of an elevated railway down Washington Street. Increased manufacturing during the early years of the twentieth century accelerated the decline of the area and eventually removed many residential buildings for other uses. Between 1925 and 1950, a third of the housing in the area was demolished.17 When the Central Artery and Turnpike were constructed in the 1950s, Chinatown was effectively cut off from much of the rest of the city, although it remained very close to the central business district. By the time the city’s Adult Entertainment District was designated in 1974, there were about 2,000 Chinese living in Chinatown, or 20% more than had been living there ten years earlier.18

**Image**

The public’s negative image of Lower Washington Street and the Liberty Tree Block began when generally undesirable businesses began relocating there in the 1960s from Scollay Square. The block’s designation as the Adult Entertainment District in 1974 and a series of infamous murders in the area then cemented this image in the public mind. While the actual use of the site for adult entertainment has steadily declined over the years—39 such businesses flourished there in the late seventies; fewer than half a dozen exist today—the perception of the area as vice-ridden persists.19 In no small part this perception is perpetuated by the decrepit condition of many of the buildings in the immediate area (most notably the Liberty Tree Block itself) and the ongoing drug dealing and prostitution that take place there.

The site’s disconnectedness from Downtown Crossing only three blocks away reinforces the area’s image as an island of vice. Several factors contribute to the site’s isolation from the commercial activity up the street. Immediately northwest of the site, a large parking lot removes much of the pedestrian activity that would typically be associated with a more intensive use. Other parking lots dot the landscape farther up the street. On the west side of Washington, beyond the parking lot, are several
vacant theater buildings, such as the Paramount and the Opera House, that once provided vitality to the area but are now merely shells of the activity centers they once were. Across the street from these theater buildings is the perhaps the most disturbing blight of all, LaFayette Place. Developed by the Campeau Corporation in the 1980s as an urban mall, the structure effectively walled itself off from the street by limiting the number of entrances to the building and eliminating most display windows at the street. The project finally succumbed to its own isolation and went bankrupt several years ago.

LaFayette Place, a fortress-like shopping mall that failed in the 1980s, acts as a barrier between a vibrant commercial center at Downtown Crossing and the rundown area around lower Washington Street.
Just beyond LaFayette Place and the row of defunct theaters lies Downtown Crossing, a vibrant and active place, containing shops, department stores, street vendors and restaurants. And yet, three blocks of parking lots and vacant buildings between Downtown Crossing and the site are enough to substantially isolate the site from this center of commercial activity. Despite the myriad advantages of the site, the design must overcome these negative perceptions by creating an active, dynamic, and exciting environment that will draw pedestrians to the area.

Today, the traditional retail center of the city remains a dynamic and successful retail environment (left). Only two blocks south, a series of parking lots—replacing buildings that their owners deemed untenable—isolate lower Washington Street from that activity (above) (Collection of the author).
The general perception of the area as economically depressed and somewhat dangerous has created both constraints and opportunities. On the one hand, liquor stores and porn uses have been able to concentrate there, increasing the negative public perception. On the other hand, land values have probably been kept artificially low because the immediate development value of the area is limited by people's reluctance to go there. Land values thus largely reflect owners' perceptions about the future value of their holdings and are not based on the parcels' current development potential. A parcel whose current highest and best use is a parking lot cannot be worth as much as a lot which could support an office tower. Thus, land values are certainly lower than they would be if the area was generally viewed as more desirable. While it is true that in the current real estate climate, office construction rarely occurs anywhere downtown—even in more desirable locations—the negative perception of the Combat Zone served to depress property values there even in the 1980s when the central business district was under intense development pressure.

Depressed land values and consequently deteriorated buildings have supplied an important ingredient to the area. A wealth of small Asian-owned businesses now flourish in a variety of superficially undesirable locations with cheap rents. As Jane Jacobs has pointed out in The Death and Life of Great American Cities, "Cities need old buildings so badly it is probably impossible for vigorous streets and districts to grow without them. By old buildings I mean...a good lot of plain, ordinary, low-value old buildings, including some rundown old buildings. If a city area has only new buildings, the enterprises that can exist there are automatically limited to those that can support the high costs of new construction." The existence of relatively low property values and resulting cheap rents is that a diversity of uses have taken root around the site. Independent retailers occupy many of the storefronts in the area. Frequently, these shops are Asian-owned; 35% of the parcels in the area to the southwest of the site were Asian-owned in 1988.

The key to a successful redevelopment of the project site should be to create and reinforce an image of the area as vital and diverse, expanding the presence of these independent retailers. Rather than simply introducing a standard shopping mall, this approach would emphasize the inherent diversity of the area, playing up the strengths already in existence in and around the site.
Asian-owned businesses flourish in the area surrounding the site. Many of these are small grocers, butchers, and restaurants. Any plan for developing the site should capitalize on the color and variety of the area by incorporating a similar diversity of businesses (Collection of the author).
Land Use

The mix of businesses that surround the site on Washington, Essex and Beach Streets offers a varied context for redevelopment:

1. At the northeast corner of Washington and Essex Streets, a seven-story office building has been recently renovated. The building manager reports there are no vacancies in the building and an informal visual survey indicates a high level of traffic in and out of the building during weekday office hours.

2. At the southwest corner of Washington and Essex Streets, the renovated China Trade Center—on the site of the old Boylston Market—contains a mix of Asian-oriented businesses: a beauty parlor, video store, travel agent, etc. The building, which was an attempt by the city and Chinese community to upgrade the area by providing office space to Asian-owned and oriented businesses, lends an improved image to a prominent corner and the rental agent reports that all spaces are currently under contract.

3. A group of small Asian grocery and gift shops lend a pleasant, if low-intensity, variety of uses to the street.

4. At a near-alley called Grange Street, the renovation of a small office building offers encouragement to the block. The Hayden Building, the only extant office building by H.H. Richardson, is being developed by a partnership of Historic Boston and David Wong.

5. Across the street from the Hayden Building on Washington Street is an interesting, if crude, example of innovative adaptive reuse. An old movie house called the Pagoda Theater has been hastily renovated into a mixed-use structure, maintaining a theater showing Vietnamese-language movies on the second floor and incorporating an Asian supermarket on the first. The market takes up virtually the entire first floor of the building and cuts through to a second entrance in an alley behind the building. While barely visible from Washington Street, the market is busy throughout the day with Chinese and Vietnamese shoppers.
The area around the site offers a wide variety of uses (left). Among the more interesting of these is the informal renovation of the Pagoda Theater into a mixed-use building containing a Vietnamese market on the first floor and Chinese movie house above. This innovative adaptive reuse of a marginal movie theater offers an example of the way in which uses can be successfully layered upon one another (Collection of the author).
The parking lots around the site—resulting from the currently depressed land values—offer hidden benefits. The lot on the northwest corner of Washington and Beacon Streets, in particular, opens up views of the Liberty Tree Block and provides visual access to the site from several vantage points. These visual access-ways offer the potential of establishing the block as a commercial center and a gateway to Chinatown.

Several parking lots in the vicinity of the site open unobstructed views of the block, thereby improving its visibility (Collection of the author).

Access

Among the most striking benefits of the site is its proximity to a wide range of intensive uses. It is within several hundred feet of Downtown Crossing and the Boston Common and within a short walk from Beacon Hill, the Financial District and South Station. On any given business day, some 100,000 people work, live, shop or visit the district.22

Automobile access to the site is more difficult than pedestrian access. The streets surrounding the site are often narrow, twisted and one-way, and they are frequently crowded with cars. On the positive side, there are currently many parking lots in the area (as noted above) including a parking structure immediately behind the site on Beach Street which could be incorporated into any redevelopment scheme. In addition, the site is one block from Tremont and Boylston Streets, which are major thoroughfares, and has ready access to the Massachusetts Turnpike via Kneeland Street. Finally, service and delivery access to the site could easily be accommodated by way of an alley that runs through the site from Essex Street.

In contrast to automobile access, transit access to the site is extremely good: the Orange Line has a stop literally under the Liberty Tree building, the Red Line stops three blocks away at
Pedestrian access to the site is excellent. In the map above, the concentric circles represent five-minute increments from the site by foot (Boston Redevelopment Authority).
Rediscovering the Public Market

Downtown Crossing, and the Green Line stops a short distance away on Boylston Street. Nearby South Station serves not only the commuting public but soon will incorporate a new Greyhound Bus Terminal.

Transit connections to the site are excellent. The Red and Green Lines stop three blocks away and the Orange Line stops beneath the site itself. While streets in the vicinity are frequently crowded with traffic, there is ample parking in the immediate area and an enclosed garage abuts the site.
Neighborhood Context

The neighborhood context of the site is quite rich and includes a remarkable variety of distinct areas: residential, institutional, office, entertainment, and commercial. These areas are important for the success of the market because they provide potential customers and serve to draw additional people to the area who might also be expected to frequent the market.

1. **Chinatown.** As noted above, the site itself lies at the western edge of Chinatown. After years of gradually increasing population, Chinatown's Asian residents increased 20% between 1970 and 1980 to roughly 3,000. This increase was largely due to the U.S. diplomatic recognition of the People's Republic of China in 1972 and the admission of Southeast Asian refugees after 1978.23 Today, Chinatown's population has a low average income, relatively low educational attainment, and low unemployment compared to the rest of Boston. Residential density is quite high. In 1980, a typical census tract in Chinatown had a density of 51.4 persons per acre as compared with 30 in the South End and 17.6 in the city as a whole.24 The residents of Chinatown are of critical importance for the success of the market; apart from providing customers, merchants from within the community might be enticed to rent space there, creating a shopping experience unique in Boston.

2. **Bay Village.** Another nearby residential district, Bay Village, provides additional potential shoppers for the market. Located only a few blocks south-west of the site, the neighborhood's residents include young professionals who choose to live in the area because of its proximity to the Back Bay and downtown. Given their evident affinity for the central city and walking to its amenities, Bay Village residents are likely potential shoppers.

In addition to the two primary residential districts in the area, there are two significant institutional presences near the site that will have growing influences on it—Tufts New England Medical Center and Emerson College. These institutions are important for the success of the market because their presence is reflected in increased activity in the area. A high level of activity, in turn, contributes not only potential shoppers to the market but also to other commercial enterprises and enhances a feeling of safety on the street. Further, the institutions' commitment to the area is reflected in capital investment, which over time will improve the image of the area.
3. **Tufts New England Medical Center.** This major teaching and research hospital complex lies immediately south of Kneeland Street to south of the site. The Medical Center employs thousands of people who represent a significant daytime and evening presence in the area. Employees and visitors to the hospital may be expected to be drawn one block north to the market.

4. **Emerson College.** After several years of internal debate about whether to move to the suburbs or stay in the city, Emerson has finally decided to commit to its urban campus and is now expanding its presence in the area. An important addition to the campus and the neighborhood is the school’s recent acquisition of an office building at the corner of Tremont and Boylston for use as a dormitory. After a $10 million renovation is completed in September of 1995, the building will house 750 students. This influx of young residents one block away from the site offers a potentially important new market for the goods and services in the development.

5. **The Theater District.** To the immediate west and north of the site lie a series of theaters that make up the Theater District. Some of these, such as the Wilbur and Wang Center, continue to function as legitimate theaters while others, such as the Paramount and Opera House, lie waiting reuse or destruction. The theaters in the area have over the years been the focus of a good deal of planning, culminating with the city's 1989 Midtown Cultural District Plan. The plan envisioned a cluster of performing arts and cultural spaces that would anchor lower Washington Street, ostensibly reversing the decline of the area. With the slumping real estate market of the late 1980s, the plan was never realized, but the potential remains and any future development would dramatically improve the entire area.

6. **Downtown Crossing.** The final important area adjacent to the site is the Downtown Crossing shopping district. After several decades of declining retail sales along Washington Street, the city commissioned Victor Gruen Associates to produce a master plan for the district. The Boston Central Business District Planning Report, published in 1967, called for the creation of an outdoor pedestrian mall along several blocks of Washington Street, centered on its intersection with Summer and Winter Streets. The city largely implemented the report's recommendations and today the street is once again a lively commercial zone, anchored by two major department stores, Filene's and Jordan Marsh. On any given day, this area, which is only three blocks to the north of
the site, is crowded with shoppers and pedestrians. Significantly, a component of the redevelopment was the inclusion of street vendors who sell various wares and food. In addition, a produce vendor sells a wide range of inexpensive vegetables from a temporary stand outside a Woolworth’s department store. These street level activities not only animate the pedestrian mall, but furnish possible models for the sorts of activities that might be employed to enliven the site only three blocks away.

Ultimately, the market constructed in the Liberty Tree block must take advantage of all these surrounding uses and activities. The development must attract shoppers from Downtown Crossing and Bay Village and students from Emerson College. It must connect to the pedestrian environment that surrounds it, engaging passersby with colorful displays of food and cultural activities. By creating a focus on lower Washington Street—an event—the market will reestablish a southern anchor for the street, while bridging the gulf between Downtown Crossing and Chinatown. The following chapter explores these possibilities for the site.
CHAPTER 4—Endnotes

1 The structure is called the Liberty Tree Building because it was built on the site of the Liberty Tree, a rallying point for Revolutionaries that was cut down by Tories in 1775. Boston Landmarks Commission, Liberty Tree Building: Report of the Boston Landmarks Commission on the Potential Designation of The Liberty Tree Building as a Landmark under Chapter 772 of the Acts of 1975, as amended, p4.


4 Ibid., p.38.

5 Ibid., p.37.

6 Ibid., p.41.

7 Ibid., p.73

8 Ibid., pp.8-9.


12 Firey, p. 236.

13 Kennedy, p. 208.

14 Kennedy, p. 208

15 Whitehill, p.104


17 Sullivan, p.18.

18 Sullivan, p.20.

19 Kennedy, p. 208


24 Ibid.

Rediscovering the Public Market

Granville Market, Vancouver, B.C. (Gray)
CHAPTER 5

THE MARKET

The current public image of the area surrounding the Liberty Tree Block is encapsulated in its popular name—The Combat Zone. Vacant buildings, adult entertainment, prostitution, and drug dealing all contribute to the perception of the area as dangerous and something to be avoided. With fewer than half a dozen adult entertainment outlets left in the area—after a high of nearly forty in the late seventies—and a reduction in the incidence of vice, this image remains remarkably persistent.

With such deep-seated negative perceptions of the area, the key to the success of a redeveloped Liberty Tree Block rests in the ability of the developer to re-cast the image of the site in a new light. The previous chapter outlined the many attributes of the site that lie just beneath the derelict surface and that will contribute to this re-imaging. The site is extremely well located—near transit connections, office and commercial centers—and the area surrounding it provides a varied, interesting context on which to build. While the center city overall has a fairly low residential density, Chinatown, Bay Village, and Emerson College have thousands of residents between them who might frequent a market.
It is the contention of this thesis that an active, exciting environment can be created on the Liberty Tree Block through a mixed-use development with a public market as its centerpiece. By recreating the image of the site, building on its inherent strengths and opportunities, the new development can not only succeed, but thrive as an important contribution to the urban environment.

The proposed development includes a variety of uses, in keeping with the varied nature of activities in the area. While the public market is the essential cornerstone of the scheme, the project includes other elements—housing, office, conventional commercial, and cultural facilities. Central to the success of the entire project is the market and the vivid images and vibrant activities that it produces.

The Experience of the Market

There are three fundamental components that make up the market experience. First is the dynamic, active environment created in it through the incorporation of colorful vendors, assembled in sufficient numbers to reach a critical mass. This environment is then heightened through the inclusion of cultural activities and festivals that occur throughout the year and may draw crowds in their own right. Second, the re-establishment of historical linkages creates a sense that the development is tied to the place and conjures up romantic images of past times and far away lands. Third, the orientation of the market as a bridge between Washington Street and Chinatown creates a symbolic gateway between two worlds—both rich in history and culture, each extremely different from the other.

To create an engaging experience and to utilize resources already in the area, the market is modeled on the markets of Asia. Eighty vendors, many from the local Chinese and Vietnamese communities, rent stalls within the structure. All manner of food is sold in the market, and several vendors purveying each type are clustered together in distinct areas—meat, poultry, seafood, produce, spices. Above, on the second floor,
prepared food stalls serve inexpensive meals and the smell of exotic delicacies wafts down to fill the market.

Many of the vendors display traditional Oriental goods that are not available at other stores—noodles, Asian vegetables, exotic fruits—but there are other, more common sites. Three merchants sell baked goods, ranging from breads to pastries and a wine shop sells wines and liqueurs. The result is that the market has a distinctly Oriental theme, while offering a wide range of goods for non-Asian customers. Variety and abundance fill the space.

At the entrances, enormous displays of fresh flowers and fruits seem to overflow onto the street. On the Harrison Street end of the market, an open courtyard is filled with small stalls selling a mixed variety of goods under colorful umbrellas and canopies. During festivals and holidays, the courtyard is cleared of stalls and it becomes a staging area for celebrations. During Chinese New Year, the lion dance originates in the courtyard and proceeds through the streets of Chinatown.

The market is built on an Oriental theme, with vendors selling a wide variety of both exotic and domestic foods. Typical of the types of produce available are those at the Happy Valley Market in Hong Kong (Jaffrey).
Contributing to the interest of the market, and increasing the impression that it is tied to its location, the project incorporates historical elements. The Liberty Tree Building itself is of historical importance and adds an architecturally notable anchor on the site’s most prominent corner. The inclusion of other existing buildings in the development—while the market weaves between them—elicits a sense that the market has grown organically. This simultaneously establishes a commitment to cultural continuity and diversity in the area; the past is respected while the future is supported. The re-establishment of a market across the street from site of the old Boylston Market recreates a missing thread in the commercial fabric of the city. Taken together, these historical allusions hearken back to a time when public markets were an integral part of the city and contribute to a feeling of continuity for the customers of the market. This sense, if carried through in the programming of the market, can heighten the feeling that the market is a special place to be.

The Liberty Tree Building was constructed in 1850 when the Boylston Market still stood across the street and served the South End. Incorporating historical buildings in the development reinforces ties to a time when markets were prevalent in Boston and contributes to the market experience (American Portrait Gallery).
The final element in creating a unique experience in the market is the positioning of the place as a gateway to Chinatown. For thirty-five years—since Kevin Lynch advanced the notion a "Tall Spine" running through the heart of the city—the block across the street from the site has been considered the "Hinge Block," a pivotal site for future development. By shifting the focus across the street to the Liberty Tree Block, a mirror image of this spine terminates in Chinatown as opposed to the Back Bay. The site thus becomes the critical element, a junction of the commercial expansion along Washington Street and the mixed-use residential and commercial activity in Chinatown. The site is now a gateway between two worlds. Marking the transition in a more literal way, the market contains a symbolic gateway at either end, denoting a change in environment but also signifying the site of the market.

By shifting the focus from the "Hinge Block" to the site across the street, the new market becomes an important junction between the commercial center along Washington Street and the mixed commercial and residential activity in Chinatown (Boston Redevelopment Authority).
Rediscovering the Public Market

The Program

The structures and uses contained in the development site are varied, as indicated in the previous chapter; housing and commercial uses coexist with adult entertainment establishments. In order to maintain a sense of continuity with the existing fabric, the redevelopment scheme selectively retains several of the existing buildings, circumvents others and demolishes two—the Pilgrim Theater and a small tavern—to allow for the construction of the market and apartments. In all, only 54% of the block is included in the project.

There are practical reasons for this approach. The site is so large—nearly 100,000 square feet—that any scheme that included the entire area would require an intervention so big as to overwhelm the market. For the market to be the cornerstone of the development it must make up a significant portion of the project. In addition, this thesis takes the position that selective infill is a more appropriate means of creating a market for the reasons outlined in previous chapters. Of the buildings included in the project, the Pilgrim Theater, while an interesting building, is so oddly shaped that it precludes any use other than its current one as a movie house and must consequently be demolished. (The theater itself is an innovative 1911 reuse of an existing office building with the addition of a theater in the rear). By razing the theater, the site can be cut through the middle, allowing the market to bridge Washington and Harrison Streets and creating a new alternative pedestrian path. Three small buildings along Essex Street are architecturally significant, but their size, condition, and historical nature make it difficult to effectively incorporate them into the development scheme. Immediately to the west of these buildings is an apartment house that will be incorporated into the development without an actual transfer of ownership (more about this below).

Working with this group of buildings, the project layers several uses upon one another, with the market as the driving force behind the entire redevelopment. Because the remaining development site is still quite large—over 52,000 square feet of buildable area—and the cost of land while depressed, is high, a more intensive use of the site is required than could be achieved through a market alone. To achieve the necessary economies while including uses that each contributes to the overall plan, several functions are incorporated in the development in addition to the market.
Only 54% of the buildings on the site are incorporated into the development. Of these, the Pilgrim Theater and a small bar are demolished.
Rediscovering the Public Market

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<td>28,080</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anchor Retail</td>
<td>25,833</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Retail</td>
<td>2,112</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurant</td>
<td>23,206</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office</td>
<td>54,600</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open Space</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The market incorporates a wide range of uses, in keeping with the mix of uses in the area surrounding the site.

Housing. As the population of Chinatown has grown during a period of contracting housing supply in Chinatown, the need for decent apartments is high. To meet this demand, the project incorporates over 34,000 square feet of housing in a new apartment building at the corner of Essex and Harrison Streets. The new building abuts an existing elderly apartment house operated by a non-profit group. In addition, by severing the front and rear sections of the LaFayette Hotel, new apartments are constructed in the back portion and open on to a courtyard facing the other apartment buildings. The orientation of these three apartment buildings toward the courtyard—two incorporated into the project and one not—creates a sheltered, semi-private residential enclave that coexists with the more intensive uses on the site.

Restaurants. The market itself will provide a wide range of prepared foods but there remains a market for more formal dining. Two spaces offer good locations for restaurants. The Harrison Street apartment building abuts the market, rendering the first two floors on the south side unsuitable for residential units. The first two floors on the market side of the building are therefore given over to a restaurant. The second restaurant is located on the first two floors of the LaFayette Hotel, which have been severed from the residential units in back. These floors contain dining areas and the service and kitchen facilities are located on the first two floors of the residential section, behind the lobby of the building. Since it is immediately adjacent to the market, this second restaurant ties in to the market at the kitchen where a lunch counter allows the restaurant to sell food directly into the market.
Incorporating an existing apartment building with two apartment houses within the project, a residential enclave is created that buffers the residences from the market (above). Two restaurants occupy the first and second floors of the apartment buildings—areas unsuitable for residential uses (below).

Conventional retail uses are located in the Liberty Tree Building which is not easily adapted for market uses (above). Offices are placed above the market on the Washington Street end of the project to make use of the high-profile street frontage (below).
Commercial. Because of its historical nature and its location separate from the market’s central selling area, the Liberty Tree Building itself is unsuitable for incorporation in the market. It is, however, ideally suited to commercial uses. Its first floor originally contained five stores and the floors above were sizable clear-span meeting halls. By selecting the appropriate store for this building, the building is put to use and the corner of the site is anchored by a substantial presence. There are several options for this space. The People’s Republic of China operates a chain of stores on the mainland called the Friendship Store which sell all manner of crafts, rugs, and furniture. If a U.S. outlet or similar store could be attracted to the site, the large rooms of the building would be an ideal showroom for Chinese merchandise.

Office. The practical height limit for the market is two stories; shoppers are simply too reluctant to go any higher. A two story market, however, leaves a substantial amount of development potential because the current zoning permits buildings to rise to 100 feet. Making use of the allowable height and the frontage on Washington Street, the development incorporates offices atop the market on the Washington Street end. Offices on this side face the street, while those in the rear overlook the activity of the market.
## Market Components

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Avg Stall Size</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meat</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poultry</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheese/dairy</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>1,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Produce</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>3,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seafood</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baked goods</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flowers/plants</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee/tea</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wine</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herbs/spices</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepared meats/cheeses</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialty food/grocery</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepared food/restaurant</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>3,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonfood/crafts</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confectionery</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daystalls</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals:</strong></td>
<td><strong>80</strong></td>
<td><strong>270</strong></td>
<td><strong>21,600</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the many components of the development, the market remains the most important. The table above outlines the various components of the market itself.
Axonometric view of the new development. The dashed line represents buildings in the foreground that would otherwise obscure the view of the project.
The Design

The development is designed based on the principles established in Chapter 3. Specifically, each of the following points is addressed:

Response to geography of location. As in the linear markets of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the arrow site dictates that the market is designed around linear double-loaded aisles with stalls arranged in long rows accessible from the central spine. In response to the underlying street pattern, the permeability of the site is increased by more than doubling the number of access points into the site. The market thus becomes an integral part of the neighborhood fabric and encourages pedestrian movement.

Emphasize entrance. Apart from vendors selling their wares in the open, entrances are emphasized through the use of two symbolic Chinese gateways that call attention to the market and clearly denote its character as a gateway to Chinatown. Further reinforcing the draw of the market, the vendors with the most visually stimulating displays are located at both entrances, on Washington and Harrison Streets.
Access and circulation. There are two entrances to draw people in. Aisles are narrow—eight to ten feet across—to provide enough room for movement, but to keep the market full of customers and to reduce the amount of dead space. Aisles are oriented at right angles to the entrances to provide relatively equal access to all vendors. While some vendors have somewhat better spaces immediately next to the entrances, all merchants are along main circulation aisles and none has a location significantly worse than the best. Because the market incorporates a second story, prepared food vendors and tables are located upstairs as a means of drawing customers up. The project ties into an existing parking garage which abuts the development site in order to provide automobile access.

Connections between destinations. Creating a major pedestrian link through the block and between destinations makes short trips potential shopping opportunities and serves to animate the market space.

Inside/outside spaces. Like organic markets, the distinction between inside and outside is blurred. The central selling area acts as a partially enclosed street with minimal demarcation of boundaries, particularly at the Chinatown end. At that end, the market continues from the structure into the plaza through a barrier-free opening. Thus, vendors take over exterior spaces and market activities spill out into the open, drawing customers in.

Occupied interstitial spaces. Old light wells within the market are incorporated as usable areas for market activity in the Chinese tradition of courtyard spaces. Otherwise dead zones are thus animated by commercial uses.
Merchandise mix. The market is centered on an Asian theme due to the predominance of these residents in the neighborhood and therefore focuses on Chinese and Vietnamese products. Included in this category are produce, meat, fish, and dry goods. An important element in attracting office workers and students is low-priced prepared food—the market contains many such vendors and includes eating areas.

Separate categories. Vendors are clustered in functionally identifiable and distinct areas to provide legibility and help orient the shoppers.

Minimize the size of each stall. The size of individual stalls are kept to a minimum—roughly 15'x20'. These can be combined if necessary according to the needs of individual vendors.

Service. The floor of the market is paved with concrete, continuing a sense of the street surface into the market. Selling surfaces are metal or tile. These hard surfaces, along with the paved floor and proper drainage systems, allow for easy maintenance. At the same time, these materials contribute to the overall image of the market as a working environment, different from that of supermarkets. Garbage is deposited in alley to the south of the site. Some storage space is incorporated within each stall, with additional storage located in the basement and rented out at a nominal fee. Deliveries are made through the Harrison Street entrance during the early morning hours.

Stalls are kept small and separated into categories. Garbage is removed through the alley to the south.
What is the Market for a Market?

The question remains, is there a market for the market? To answer this question, two factors must be considered—the demand for the various types of rental space offered and the demand of shoppers for the market itself.

There are several reasons to conclude that there is sufficient demand for all the types of rental units within the development. Most of these arguments, however, are predicated on the assumption that the market can succeed in re-imaging the site. It is unlikely that any tenant, other than those in the apartment units, could be lured to the area as it currently exists in sufficient numbers and at rents high enough to justify a new development. With the market in operation, however, the site is sufficiently engaging and active to attract a variety of tenants.

With the market in operation, there are really no office or retail products on the market that directly compete with it. (The single possible exception to this is Faneuil Hall Marketplace, but the Liberty Tree site is sufficiently different from Faneuil Hall to stand apart). By creating a dynamic and exciting environment, the market has the potential to become a landmark that attracts tenants based on that image, much as Faneuil Hall has on a larger scale.

There should be reasonable demand for space given prevailing rental rates and the short supply of housing units in Chinatown. Rents in the development are competitive with comparable products in the area. A survey of commercial brokers and real estate lenders established a range of rents for the various types of space in the development and in all cases rents falls within these ranges. Finally, the many positive attributes of the site, as described in Chapter 4, make it an attractive location for office, retail, and residential uses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rental Rates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Retail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anchor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above range of rental rates was supplied by brokers and real estate lenders.
While the demand for rental space within the development is ample, the demand for the market is likely even higher. Three basic types of customers may be expected to patronize the market. First, are the people who live in the vicinity of the market; the residents of Chinatown, Bay Village and the students of Emerson College might all be expected to do some of their daily shopping there. Students in particular, may be expected to make use of the prepared food vendors as a source of quick and inexpensive meals.

Second, office workers in the area lack adequate options for lunch. An informal survey of individuals who work in the vicinity of Downtown Crossing indicates that many go to an unappealing food court tucked away in a building at the corner of Washington and Winter Streets. Given the engaging atmosphere of the market and the wide array of prepared food options available there, many of these workers might be expected to use the market for lunch.
In addition, office workers may be expected to make other kinds of purchases at the market. In a 1979 Boston Redevelopment Authority survey of office workers in the central business district, a majority of respondents reported that they had made their last three clothing purchases downtown. Employees also did about one third of their shopping for minor appliances in the central business district. While the survey was limited to clothing, shoes, furniture, and appliances, it might be expected that this "captive market" would find it convenient to shop for other items if they were available at the market, including food.

Finally, there are several types of occasional visitors to the area who might be lured to the market. Once the market becomes established, shoppers, tourists, and theater-goers could all be attracted. Shoppers might patronize the fresh food vendors in the market much as they do the produce merchant who sells his vegetables outside the Woolworth's store at Downtown Crossing. They might also be expected to eat lunch at the market. Tourists might visit the market during the day or in the evening for the experience itself and might eat at the prepared food stalls. Theater-goers, in search of a meal after a play might find the restaurants inviting.

The popularity of the produce vendor outside the Woolworth's store at Downtown Crossing indicates that there is a market for decent, inexpensive produce downtown (Collection of the author).
The sites and sounds of the market will attract office workers and tourists alike to the experience of the market. Above and upper right, the markets of Bangkok (Jaffrey). Right, Ben Thanh Market, Saigon (Collection of the author).
Financial Projections

All that remains in laying out the project are its financial requirements. The entire development encompasses nearly 200,000 square feet, at a total development cost of more than $30,000,000, or $155 per square foot. The project contains many components, each generating a different rental stream and each costing a different amount per square foot to construct. The market itself, while relatively inexpensive to build, has high management requirements which increase the cost of its operation. In all, the project will cost nearly $1 million to operate in its first year of operation, exclusive of real estate taxes. The table on the facing page summarizes the project's programmatic components and initial financial assumptions.
### Chapter 5: The Market

#### Uses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Use</th>
<th>Mix</th>
<th>NSF</th>
<th>GSF @ 1.3</th>
<th>Rent/NSF</th>
<th>Total Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apartments</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>43,421</td>
<td>56,447</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>781,578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>21,600</td>
<td>28,080</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>972,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anchor</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>19,872</td>
<td>25,833</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>397,431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1,625</td>
<td>2,112</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>48,738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurant</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>17,851</td>
<td>23,206</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>535,523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>42,000</td>
<td>54,600</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>756,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open Space</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>151,368</td>
<td>195,278</td>
<td>3,491,270</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Development Cost

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Use</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Building Cost @ 20%</td>
<td>1,016,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Cost @ 80%</td>
<td>4,065,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Purchase price</td>
<td>5,081,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction cost</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apartments</td>
<td>6,209,203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market</td>
<td>2,106,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anchor</td>
<td>2,324,970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail</td>
<td>190,080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurant</td>
<td>2,086,540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office</td>
<td>6,825,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open Space</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24,925,293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demolition</td>
<td>250,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soft Costs @ 20%</td>
<td>4,985,059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closing costs</td>
<td>150,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total asset cost</td>
<td>30,310,352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsidy</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total less subsidy</td>
<td>30,310,352</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Operating Assumptions

- Operating Subsidy: 0
- Annual operating expenses, base year:
  - Insurance: 100,000
  - Maint and repairs: 75,000
  - Capital reserve @ 5%: 174,564
  - Water and sewer: 75,000
  - Mgm't fee @ 5%: 139,651
  - Advertising: 10,000
  - Market (see attached schedule): 336,000
  - R.E. taxes: 734,557
- Total (exclusive of R.E. taxes): 910,214

#### Construction Costs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Use</th>
<th>$/SF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apartments</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anchor</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurant</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open Space</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Financial Assumptions

- Depr. life, apts: 27.5
- Depr. life, com'I: 39
- Cap rate for sale: 10%
- Discount rate: 10%
- Ord. inc. tax rate: 0.36
- Cap gains tax rate: 0.28
- Bldg. appraisal: 26,245,152
- Land lease pymt: 0
- Cost of sale: 2%
- Trending factors:
  - Rent increase: 5%
  - Op'ting exp incr: 4%
  - R.E. tax increase: 4%
- Vacancy rate: 5%
The preliminary financial assumptions, which are based on market interest rate and construction costs, unfortunately yield negative returns; land and construction costs are high and prevailing rental rates in the area are insufficient to cover them. In order to boost the returns on the project to an acceptable level, several subsidies are employed.

Employing three subsidies, the profitability of the project is brought to a level commensurate with the risks involved. An interest rate subsidy, achievable if the city issues tax-exempt bonds or insures the mortgage, will lower the effective interest rate from 10% to 7%. A five year tax abatement will lower overall costs during the start-up phase of the project. Finally, an acquisition subsidy equal to the assessed valuation of the existing land and buildings contributes roughly $5 million to the project.

It is not unreasonable to expect to receive these subsidies from the city because the project provides a wide range of public benefits. The project acts as an important commercial anchor to Chinatown, providing both desperately needed housing and a critical mass of commercial activity. The market serves to revitalize the Combat Zone, increasing property values on lower Washington Street and reestablishing a southern terminus for the Washington Street commercial corridor. The development works symbiotically with the theater district, attracting patrons to the area and establishing a level of activity that makes theater patrons more likely to venture into this section of downtown in the evening. The project serves the residential areas around the site, providing a much-needed retail outlet for those already in the district but also encouraging further residential development, which will increase the vitality of the area further. Finally, from a purely revenue based position, the project will ultimately produce over $600,000 per year in tax revenues. The resulting combination of subsidies, while maintaining all other assumptions, is that before tax cash flow and cash-on-cash returns are increased to acceptable levels, as can be seen on the facing page:
### Chapter 5: The Market

#### Table 5.1: Financial Summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Potential gross income</td>
<td>3,491,270</td>
<td>3,491,270</td>
<td>3,665,834</td>
<td>3,849,126</td>
<td>4,041,582</td>
<td>4,243,661</td>
<td>4,455,844</td>
<td>4,678,636</td>
<td>4,912,568</td>
<td>5,158,196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- vacancy (50% yr1)</td>
<td>1,745,635</td>
<td>174,564</td>
<td>183,292</td>
<td>192,456</td>
<td>202,079</td>
<td>212,183</td>
<td>222,792</td>
<td>233,932</td>
<td>245,628</td>
<td>257,910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effective gross income</td>
<td>1,745,635</td>
<td>3,316,707</td>
<td>3,482,542</td>
<td>3,656,669</td>
<td>3,839,503</td>
<td>4,031,478</td>
<td>4,233,052</td>
<td>4,444,704</td>
<td>4,666,940</td>
<td>4,900,287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- oper exp</td>
<td>910,214</td>
<td>946,623</td>
<td>984,488</td>
<td>1,023,867</td>
<td>1,064,822</td>
<td>1,107,415</td>
<td>1,151,711</td>
<td>1,197,780</td>
<td>1,245,691</td>
<td>1,295,519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.E. taxes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>734,557</td>
<td>763,940</td>
<td>794,497</td>
<td>826,277</td>
<td>859,328</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOI</td>
<td>835,421</td>
<td>2,370,084</td>
<td>2,498,054</td>
<td>2,632,802</td>
<td>2,774,681</td>
<td>2,189,506</td>
<td>2,317,401</td>
<td>2,452,427</td>
<td>2,594,971</td>
<td>2,745,440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-debt service</td>
<td>1,806,944</td>
<td>1,806,944</td>
<td>1,806,944</td>
<td>1,806,944</td>
<td>1,806,944</td>
<td>1,806,944</td>
<td>1,806,944</td>
<td>1,806,944</td>
<td>1,806,944</td>
<td>1,806,944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lease payment</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before tax cash flow</td>
<td>(971,523)</td>
<td>563,140</td>
<td>691,111</td>
<td>825,858</td>
<td>967,737</td>
<td>382,562</td>
<td>510,457</td>
<td>645,483</td>
<td>788,028</td>
<td>938,496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-depreciation</td>
<td>871,135</td>
<td>871,135</td>
<td>871,135</td>
<td>871,135</td>
<td>871,135</td>
<td>871,135</td>
<td>871,135</td>
<td>871,135</td>
<td>871,135</td>
<td>871,135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxable income</td>
<td>(1,611,776)</td>
<td>(77,113)</td>
<td>50,857</td>
<td>185,605</td>
<td>327,484</td>
<td>(257,691)</td>
<td>(129,796)</td>
<td>5,230</td>
<td>147,774</td>
<td>298,243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Tax Effect</td>
<td>(580,239)</td>
<td>(27,761)</td>
<td>18,309</td>
<td>66,818</td>
<td>117,894</td>
<td>(92,769)</td>
<td>(46,727)</td>
<td>1,883</td>
<td>53,199</td>
<td>107,367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After tax cash flow</td>
<td>(1,031,537)</td>
<td>(49,352)</td>
<td>32,549</td>
<td>118,787</td>
<td>209,590</td>
<td>(164,922)</td>
<td>(83,070)</td>
<td>3,347</td>
<td>94,576</td>
<td>190,875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross sale price</td>
<td>23,700,839</td>
<td>24,980,543</td>
<td>26,328,019</td>
<td>27,746,807</td>
<td>21,895,056</td>
<td>23,174,006</td>
<td>24,524,272</td>
<td>25,494,713</td>
<td>27,454,396</td>
<td>29,042,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- cost of sale</td>
<td>474,017</td>
<td>499,611</td>
<td>526,560</td>
<td>554,936</td>
<td>437,901</td>
<td>463,480</td>
<td>490,485</td>
<td>518,994</td>
<td>549,088</td>
<td>580,852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net cash from sale (AT)</td>
<td>(2,181,994)</td>
<td>(1,055,319)</td>
<td>118,796</td>
<td>1,342,829</td>
<td>(2,522,514)</td>
<td>(1,396,367)</td>
<td>(220,299)</td>
<td>1,008,391</td>
<td>2,292,551</td>
<td>3,635,176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV of net cash from sale</td>
<td>-2,181,994</td>
<td>-959,381</td>
<td>98,179</td>
<td>1,008,888</td>
<td>-1,722,911</td>
<td>-867,034</td>
<td>-124,353</td>
<td>517,464</td>
<td>1,069,492</td>
<td>1,541,670</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV of BDCF</td>
<td>-971,523</td>
<td>511,946</td>
<td>571,166</td>
<td>620,479</td>
<td>660,977</td>
<td>237,541</td>
<td>288,140</td>
<td>331,235</td>
<td>367,621</td>
<td>398,014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BT NPV</td>
<td>-3,153,517</td>
<td>-447,435</td>
<td>669,344</td>
<td>1,629,367</td>
<td>-1,061,934</td>
<td>-629,493</td>
<td>163,786</td>
<td>848,699</td>
<td>1,437,113</td>
<td>1,939,683</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV of ATCF</td>
<td>-3,031,537</td>
<td>-46,866</td>
<td>26,900</td>
<td>89,247</td>
<td>143,153</td>
<td>-102,404</td>
<td>-46,891</td>
<td>1,718</td>
<td>44,120</td>
<td>80,950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AT NPV</td>
<td>-3,213,530</td>
<td>-1,004,247</td>
<td>125,078</td>
<td>1,098,134</td>
<td>-1,579,758</td>
<td>-969,438</td>
<td>-171,244</td>
<td>519,182</td>
<td>1,113,612</td>
<td>1,622,619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash-on-cash (1%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATCF/equity</td>
<td>-20%</td>
<td>-1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>-3%</td>
<td>-2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROTA</td>
<td>2.76%</td>
<td>7.82%</td>
<td>8.24%</td>
<td>8.69%</td>
<td>9.15%</td>
<td>7.22%</td>
<td>7.65%</td>
<td>8.09%</td>
<td>8.56%</td>
<td>9.06%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debt service coverage</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>1.54</td>
<td>1.21</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>1.36</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>1.52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With subsidies in place, the project's returns rise to acceptable levels. During the start-up year, when vacancies are projected at 50%, there is a negative before tax cash flow. This must be covered through reserves, but could be spread over the life of the project. Both BDCF and cash-on-cash return drop in the sixth year when the tax abatement stops and taxes must be paid.
Conclusion

This thesis has sought to accomplish two things. First, it has explored the tradition of American public markets in order to document their rich history and to establish design principles that might be employed in the construction of new markets. Second, the thesis has proposed a market on a real site in Boston to explore how a new market might actually be developed.

In achieving this latter objective, the thesis has had several goals. The design of the new market has attempted to create an exciting, vibrant place that might reinvigorate a run-down section of the city. This atmosphere has been achieved by building on the existing strengths of the area, including historical elements, surrounding uses, pedestrian access, and most important, the rich human resources available in Chinatown. In the long tradition of public markets, the project has merged commerce with the public good—creating a place where food can be bought, but where the exchange is not limited to a simple financial transaction. On a wider scale, the market serves the city as a whole, reestablishing long-forgotten linkages in the effort to bolster a neglected section of the city. If other urban markets are developed along these lines, a once forgotten form of retailing may once again be employed to rejuvenate depressed urban areas.
Chapter 5—Endnotes

1 In 1960, Lynch proposed that a high spine of buildings that would channel the expansion of downtown through the Back Bay. To a great extent this has come to pass and accounts for the tall buildings along Boylston Street. The Hinge Block has long been considered an important, but missing, element in this scheme.


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Rediscovering the Public Market


