

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

German Market Garden Farms of Perry Township (Marion County),
Indiana, 1867-1972

Indiana

Name of Multiple Property Listing

State

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E. Statement of Historic Contexts

Summary

The German market gardeners of Perry Township changed the way an important part of agriculture was practiced in Marion County. The produce farmers of the area grew foods that were valuable economically and they received local and national attention for doing so. Beyond this, they altered consumption and buying patterns for county residents by greatly extending the time when residents could purchase fresh produce. The market farmers left a lasting and distinctive built environment in many parts of Perry Township of Marion County.

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German immigrants settled in Indiana's capital city in several waves beginning in the mid-nineteenth century. These newcomers established religious, social, and educational institutions and commenced making a living in their new home state. A community of German market gardeners, so called because they cultivated garden crops for sale at markets, settled on distinctive small farms, mostly on the south side of Indianapolis in Perry Township. Utilizing both traditional and innovative farming methods for more than a century, the south side market gardeners created a unique landscape and were nationally known in the mid-twentieth century for their production of vegetables.

Historic resources related to this history are found in an area bound by Harding Street, Troy Avenue, Madison Street, and Banta Road, but especially along Bluff Road and roads that cross it from east to west. Historians developed a context titled "German Market Garden Farms of Perry Township (Marion County), 1867-1972" to aid in the assessment of these resources, which fall into three main property types: Farm Complexes, Houses, and Historic Districts.

German Market Garden Farms of Perry Township, 1867-1972

German Settlement in Indianapolis

Platted as Indiana's capital city in 1821, Indianapolis grew very slowly until about the middle of the nineteenth century. Transportation improvements such as new roads and railroads allowed settlers, among them European immigrants, to make their way to the city.¹ German-born residents, who left their homeland in several waves beginning in the early nineteenth century, made up the largest group of European settlers in Indianapolis and Indiana.² Most Germans immigrating to the United States in the mid-nineteenth century left their homeland due to difficult economic conditions, religious intolerance, authoritarian governments, and forced military service.³ By 1850, there were 1,045 persons of German ancestry in the city of Indianapolis, comprising about 12.9 percent of the population.⁴

Many of these German residents, as documented in a list of occupations from 1850 based on the census, were merchants, skilled laborers, and craftspeople; a few were farmers and one was listed as a gardener.⁵ They hailed from states in the northwest, west, and southwest of Germany.⁶ German settlers made their homes throughout the city and county, although many of them lived in an area known as Germantown, defined by New York, Market, East, and Noble (now College) streets in Center Township.⁷ Here, they established local businesses, churches, schools, and numerous cultural, social, and professional organizations as they built their early communities.⁸

¹ "Marion County," in David J. Bodenhamer and Robert G. Barrows editors, *Encyclopedia of Indianapolis* (Indianapolis and Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 963.

² "Germans," *Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, 618-619.

³ Theodore Probst, *The Germans in Indianapolis, 1840-1918* (Indianapolis: German American Center and Indiana German Heritage Society, Inc., 1989), 3-6.

⁴ Probst, *The Germans in Indianapolis, 1840-1918*, 13,14.

⁵ Probst, *The Germans in Indianapolis, 1840-1918*, 16.

⁶ Cathy Born, "The Indianapolis Gardeners Benefit Society," in *The Hoosier Genealogist: Connections*: 49, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2009), 59, <https://images.indianahistory.org/digital/collection/p16797coll68/id/4967/rec/23>.

⁷ Giles R. Hoyt, "Germans," in *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience*, Robert M. Taylor, Jr. and Connie A. McBirney, eds. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1996), 158; Probst, *The Germans in Indianapolis, 1840-1918*, 13.

⁸ Indiana Historical Society, "Gardeners Benefit Society of Indianapolis: Historical Sketch," Indiana Historical Society (IHS) collection file, 2007; Hoyt, "Germans," in *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience*, 153.

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German settlers continued to arrive in Indiana and Indianapolis after the Civil War. In contrast to those who arrived in the earlier part of the century, many of these late nineteenth-century settlers came from provinces in eastern Germany.⁹ By 1880, over 6,000 Indianapolis residents were of German birth.¹⁰ That year, the majority of German-born citizens were laborers, merchants, or were working in the mechanical trades; about fifty listed themselves as employed in agricultural labor.¹¹ German immigration to the United States slowed in the decades around the turn of the twentieth century.¹² World War I also slowed the immigration process, but some German-born people continued to move to Indiana in the 1920s, including several who established market farms in Perry Township.¹³ Other people of German descent moved to Indianapolis in the twentieth century from other cities, such as Cleveland and Cincinnati, specifically because the area was well suited for market garden and greenhouse farming.¹⁴

German Market Gardeners in Perry Township: Early Years (circa 1867 to circa 1910)

Some German farmers, referred to as gardeners, acquired property near the White River on the south side of Indianapolis, an area with sandy soil that was considered easy to cultivate in the cold months of the year.¹⁵ A group of these families, said to have relocated to the Indianapolis area from the Ohio River valley near Cincinnati, settled on the south side of Indianapolis and in northern Perry Township around Garfield Park.¹⁶ Other families acquired land in an area of Perry Township bounded roughly by Harding Street to the west, Raymond Street to the north, Madison Street to the east, and Banta Street to the south.¹⁷ Pockets of German gardeners settled on and around South Meridian Street, Madison Street, Troy Avenue, and other area roads, but Bluff Road, a route running southwest from Indianapolis through Perry Township, became synonymous with the German greenhouse and market farms in the twentieth century.¹⁸

Many German settlers originated from communities in Westphalia, Germany; others came from the Rhineland and the cities of Hanover and Wittenburg.¹⁹ While some German farmers practiced traditional agriculture, others specialized in the cultivation of vegetables and fruits. Eventually, these gardeners produced greenhouse items, including vegetables, flowers, shrubs, and trees, that were sold at markets in Indianapolis.²⁰ Gardeners who harvested produce to sell at markets are often referred to as “truck” farmers. The term “truck farming” is often used to describe the use of trucks to haul agricultural products to markets. However, the term derives from

⁹ Hoyt, “Germans,” in *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience*, 162.

¹⁰ Probst, *The Germans in Indianapolis, 1840-1918*, 82.

¹¹ Probst, *The Germans in Indianapolis, 1840-1918*, 89-90.

¹² Hoyt, “Germans,” in *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience*, 168-169.

¹³ Edith Marie Schnier Beck, “My Remembrances of Growing Up in a German Family on Bluff Road, Indianapolis, Indiana,” Indianapolis: Unpublished, April 1996, 2, manuscript on file at Weintraut & Associates.

¹⁴ William Herschell, “Ancients May Have Had their Lotus-Land, But Indiana Now is Lettuce-Land, Producing Carloads of Lettuce That Reach Winter Markets in Many Cities,” *Indianapolis News*, January 18, 1936, 1, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/314407790>.

¹⁵ IHS collection file, 2007; Born, “The Indianapolis Gardeners Benefit Society,” 59.

¹⁶ “Truck Farmers Work Hard Early and Late, But are Generally Content and Happy,” *Indianapolis News*, May 10, 1902, 12, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/37786868>.

¹⁷ Indiana Historical Bureau, “German Greenhouses and Truck Gardens,” Historical Marker, ID#:49.1998.3, 1998, <https://www.in.gov/history/markers/372.htm>.

¹⁸ Condit, Wright, & Hayden, *Map of Marion County, Indiana*, Cincinnati, OH: Middleton, Wallace & Co., 1855; Herschell, “Ancients May Have Had their Lotus-Land, But Indiana Now is Lettuce-Land, Producing Carloads of Lettuce That Reach Winter Markets in Many Cities;” Dan McFeely, “Greenhouse Goods Galore,” *Indianapolis Star*, June 9, 2003, 11, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/127304295>.

¹⁹ Beck, “My Remembrances of Growing Up in a German Family on Bluff Road, Indianapolis, Indiana,” 1-2; IHS exhibit script, 2018, 6; Born, “The Indianapolis Gardeners Benefit Society,” 59. See also United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, “Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920—population (Perry Township), 1920,” accessed through Ancestry.com.

²⁰ IHS exhibit script, 2018, 10.

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the French word, “troquer,” which translates “to barter,” and describes the traditional way that farmers and customers negotiated prices.²¹

These family market gardening enterprises were initially based in traditional knowledge and farming techniques that were passed down through generations of gardeners in Germany and in the United States. Gardeners also learned from each other, both informally and from organizations they formed. Additional practices and techniques were eventually acquired from professional agricultural educators and publications, such as those from Purdue University’s Agricultural Experiment Station and Department of Agronomy, and through the Marion County’s agricultural extension program. Gardening practices, as well as the gardens themselves, transformed and adapted over time. Innovations developed due to the contributions of specific farm families (such as prized seed varieties or specialized techniques), technological advances (such as the automobile, greenhouse design, and improvements in heating and irrigation systems), and changes in market demands. Developments relating to these organizations and advancements are detailed below.

The landscape of the garden farms in Perry Township features distinctive narrow, deep lots, usually small in acreage, with minimal road frontage. This pattern begins to appear on Perry Township plat maps in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and was quite common by the first decade of the twentieth century. Maps of Marion County published in 1855, 1866, 1889, and 1909 illustrate this transformation. (See Figures 1, 2, 3, and 4.) The 1855 map of Marion County shows a typical midwestern rural development pattern in Perry Township with acreage divided primarily into wide rectangular or square lots that originated from the township and range system.²² By 1866, some lots were subdivided, but the basic pattern remained.²³ A little over two decades later, by 1889, a number of atypically narrow (for the area), deep lots were carved out of the larger plots of land, in most cases oriented with narrow ends toward the local roads.²⁴ By 1909, a significant number of lots in this area of Perry Township, particularly along Bluff Road but along other roads as well, featured the narrow, deep lot pattern. The plat map for that year attributes ownership of these ribbons of land to those with German surnames like Amt, Descher, Krieger, Brehob, Rosebrock, Echols, and Wegehoft, among many others.²⁵

The landscape pattern associated with this community of German gardeners was not apparent on maps until the late nineteenth century, but there is evidence that this segment of the German community functioned as early as the 1860s. The Gardeners Benefit Society of Indianapolis, founded in 1867, was the first of a series of organizations established over the decades for the support of the gardeners, their families, and, eventually, the production and marketing of their farm products. In its constitution, the society laid out its mission “to promote the science of horticulture, floriculture, etc. and to raise it to the highest possible standard.”²⁶ The society provided educational programming and some financial assistance to members and their families in case of death or illness. In 1886, the organization changed its name to the German Gardeners Benefit Society of Indianapolis which was more in keeping with its membership and purpose. “German” was dropped from the name during World War II.²⁷

²¹ See Beck, “My Remembrances of Growing Up in a German Family on Bluff Road, Indianapolis, Indiana” 9; Dawn Mitchell, “Retro Indy: the greenhouse growers,” *Indianapolis Star*, February 6, 2018, accessed September 3, 2020, <https://www.indystar.com/story/news/2016/06/26/retro-indy-greenhouse-growers/86303848/>; “Truck Farm,” *Lexico*, accessed September 3, 2020, https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/truck_farm.

²² Condit, Wright, & Hayden, *Map of Marion County, Indiana*.

²³ A. Warner, *Map of Marion County, Indiana* (Philadelphia: C. O. Titus, 1866).

²⁴ Griffing, Gordon, & Co., *Atlas of Indianapolis and Marion County, Indiana* (Philadelphia: Griffing, Gordon, & Co., 1889), 16.

²⁵ G.W. Baist, *Baist’s Property Atlas of Marion County, Indiana* (Philadelphia: G.W. Baist, 1909).

²⁶ IHS collection file, 2007.

²⁷ Born, “The Indianapolis Gardeners Benefit Society,” 57; IHS collection file, 2007.

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The German gardeners raised vegetables, such as tomatoes, green onions, spinach, cucumbers, turnips, kale, mustard greens, cabbage, cauliflower, parsley and other products, in small fields during the traditional growing seasons of spring, summer, and fall.²⁸ By the turn of the twentieth century, some German gardeners turned to “hotbeds” to extend the growing season—planting boxes with decomposing organic material (such as manure) which supplied heat, and glass covers that allowed young plants to grow and be protected from the elements. Hotbeds, and a similar form of protective planting box, cold frames, were touted by nineteenth- and early twentieth-century newspaper columnists and Purdue’s agriculture school publications alike as a means to get a jump start on the vegetable planting season. Seeds were started in these boxes and grown until young plants were transplanted to garden plots when weather conditions allowed.²⁹ Some German gardeners appear to have utilized hotbeds as an early form of greenhouse production. One journalist noted that hotbeds were constructed each year, with the first crops of lettuce, radishes, and other vegetables planted from October to January; this advancement allowed crops to be continuously planted and harvested throughout the year. In this article, a German gardener estimated that about half of his crops in 1902 were planted in hotbeds.³⁰

In the decades flanking the turn of the twentieth century, growers in Perry Township and elsewhere in Marion County took their produce by horse and cart to sell in Indianapolis, particularly at or near the City Market.³¹ The market was founded in 1821 on a lot east of the Monument Circle that was reserved by the city’s designer, Alexander Ralston, for a public market.³² One gardener in 1902 noted that his customers included market buyers, who paid the best prices, and commission houses and hotels, who paid less for the produce but bought larger quantities.³³ By 1910, the market was primarily comprised of grocers and other retail outlets, rather than stalls of farmers. The gardeners often sold their produce along the streets around the courthouse, mostly to wholesalers. Sales to wholesalers led to a decrease in profits for producers and an increase in prices for consumers, a situation which continued until the growers formed a new market.³⁴

Agricultural census figures show that Marion County was already a major producer of market garden products in the late nineteenth century, a trend that continued into the first decade of the twentieth century. In 1870, the state of Indiana reported \$487,479 worth of market garden produce. Marion County led the state in this category, with produce valued at \$71,007 (nearly double the value of the next highest county).³⁵ The census seems to vary from decade to decade on what crops counted as market garden crops (so it is difficult to make a direct comparison over time). By 1890, the census valued Indiana’s market crops at over \$800,000; Marion County farms continued to lead the state in the census category, “Value of market garden products, including

²⁸ Born, “The Indianapolis Gardeners Benefit Society,” 60; Beck, “My Remembrances of Growing Up in a German Family on Bluff Road, Indianapolis, Indiana” 6; IHS exhibit script, 2018, 15.

²⁹ Jill Weiss Simins, “Gardening Advice from the Historical Indianapolis News: March Edition,” *Indiana History Blog*, Indiana Historical Bureau of the Indiana State Library, March 20, 2020, accessed September 23, 2020, <https://blog.history.in.gov/tag/hotbeds/>; “Cold Frames,” *Indianapolis News*, March 4, 1872, 2, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/35080246>; “February—Vegetable Garden,” *Indiana Farmer* XII, no. 6 (February 10, 1877): 2, <http://e-archives.lib.purdue.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/ifarm/id/5772/rec/97>; “Hotbeds and Cold Frames: the Key to Good Gardening,” *Indiana Farmer* LXIV, no. 1 (January 2, 1909): 3, <http://e-archives.lib.purdue.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/ifarm/id/27362/rec/13>.

³⁰ “Truck Farmers Work Hard Early and Late, But are Generally Content and Happy,” *Indianapolis News*.

³¹ IHS exhibit script, 2018, 11. “Middlemen Have Taken City Market,” *Indianapolis News*, February 11, 1910, 1, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/40031669>.

³² Callie Anne McCune, “To Market, To Market: A History and Interpretation of the Indianapolis City Market, 1821-2014,” Master’s Thesis, Department of History, Indiana University, March 2017, 3.

³³ “Truck Farmers Work Hard Early and Late” *Indianapolis News*.

³⁴ “Middlemen Have Taken City Market,” *Indianapolis News*; “Vegetable Men Plan a Market,” *Indianapolis Star*, August 22, 1922, 1, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/37381538>.

³⁵ United States Department of Agriculture, Census of Agriculture Historical Archive, Mann Library, Cornell University, “1870 Census of Agriculture: Table Four, Productions in Agriculture: Indiana,” 138, 142, accessed December 31, 2020, <http://lib-usda-05.serverfarm.cornell.edu/usda/AgCensusImages/1870/1870c-02.pdf>.

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small fruits sold” with a value of \$108,382.³⁶ In 1909, figures reported for the 1910 agricultural census indicate that Marion County’s vegetable crops were worth just shy of \$400,000.³⁷

³⁶ United States Department of Agriculture, Census of Agriculture Historical Archive, Mann Library, Cornell University, “Statistics of Agriculture: Table 23, Orchard Products and Value of Market Garden Products Including Small Fruits, Sold by States and Territories: Census of 1890,” 508, accessed December 31, 2020, <http://lib-usda-05.serverfarm.cornell.edu/usda/AgCensusImages/1870/1870c-02.pdf>.

³⁷ United States Department of Agriculture, Census of Agriculture Historical Archive, Mann Library, Cornell University, “1910 Census of Agriculture, Reports by States with Statistics for Counties: Illinois-Iowa, Table 4: Value of All Crops and Principal Classes Thereof, and Acreage and Production of Principal Crops by Counties: 1909,” 497, <http://lib-usda-05.serverfarm.cornell.edu/usda/AgCensusImages/1910/06/01/1833/41033898v6ch4.pdf>.

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German Market Gardeners in Perry Township: The Era of Transformation (circa 1900 to 1950)

The twentieth century brought numerous transformations to the lives and work of the German gardeners in Perry Township. These changes included the rise in the use of greenhouses for winter cultivation, transportation improvements, and the establishment of growers' associations that helped to create new markets for local produce, as well as opportunities for cooperative marketing and sales.

Greenhouses, heated buildings with frames of metal or wood and walls of glass panes, had already been used for decades in the cultivation of flowers and plants.³⁸ These structures were increasingly constructed by German gardeners in the early twentieth century for use in vegetable cultivation.³⁹ A newspaper photograph from 1902 shows August Bieman's farm with one greenhouse among hotbeds and field crops, the article's author noting:

Some of the gardeners say that the days of the hotbed are numbered, and that it is only a question of a few years until greenhouses will have taken their place. Greenhouses are cleaner, they say, less trouble to take care of, cheaper, after the original cost has been covered, and give more satisfactory results on account of their even temperatures.⁴⁰

It is unknown at present who constructed greenhouses for Indianapolis-area growers in the early twentieth century, though it seems likely that many farmers built their own greenhouses or hired local contractors to do the job. (See figure 5.) Hotbeds and greenhouse components (wood or metal framing, glass panes) and construction services were among the many products and services related to market gardening advertised in a weekly trade publication, *The Weekly Market Growers Journal*, which was founded in 1907.⁴¹ Companies specializing in greenhouse materials and construction, such as the John C. Moninger Company of Chicago and Lord and Burham of New York, advertised greenhouse materials and custom design services, as well as related products, such as boiler and irrigation systems.⁴² Moninger's catalogue *Everything for the Greenhouse* (1913) features a variety of examples of the company's greenhouses from throughout the Midwest, including several from Indiana.⁴³ By 1931, Brookside Lumber Company on Massachusetts Avenue announced that it was supplying materials and labor to build greenhouses for both residential and farm use. Company representative Will Goodwin noted that his firm had "made a special study of greenhouse construction and incorporated the tested and improved methods used by many of the older companies engaged in the greenhouse construction business."⁴⁴ The Southport Lumber Company advertised its greenhouse building supplies in 1936, one of many local businesses to do so in a promotional advertisement congratulating the Marion County Greenhouse

³⁸ History of Early American Landscape Design contributors, "Greenhouse," *History of Early American Landscape Design*, accessed January 26, 2021, <https://heald.nga.gov/mediawiki/index.php?title=Greenhouse&oldid=39720>.

³⁹ M. J. Hern won an award at the first Indiana State Fair (1852) in the flower category for the "Best collection of greenhouse plants." "Premiums Awarded at the First Annual State Fair of Indiana, 1852, as Reported by the Several Committees," *Indiana Sentinel*, November 4, 1852, 1, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/168211774>.

⁴⁰ "Truck Farmers Work Hard Early and Late, But are Generally Content and Happy," *Indianapolis News*.

⁴¹ The founding issue of this periodical was *Weekly Market Growers Journal* I, no. 1 (August 7, 1907) <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924094227760&view=1up&seq=1>. See page 2 for introduction.

⁴² For examples of advertisements of all sorts, see *Weekly Market Growers Journal*, IV, no. 2 (January 9, 1909), 8, 9, 17, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924094227737&view=1up&seq=29>, and *Weekly Market Growers Journal*, VI, no. 1 (January 1, 1910), 8, 24, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924094227992&view=1up&seq=7>.

⁴³ John C. Moninger Company, *Everything for the Greenhouse*, (Chicago: John C. Moninger Company, 1913), 24-25, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112075043296&view=1up&seq=5>.

⁴⁴ "Carries Supplies of Greenhouses, Brookside Lumber Company Equipped to Furnish Materials and Labor," *Indianapolis Star*, November 1, 1931, 24, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/105151690>.

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Growers' Association on a particularly successful tomato growing season.⁴⁵ Farmers also seem to have reconstructed and reused existing greenhouses. Edith Marie Schnier Beck recalled her father purchasing greenhouses from a farm on Madison Avenue that was being developed commercially. The family dismantled the greenhouses, salvaged the materials, and rebuilt them on their farm on Bluff Road.⁴⁶

Lettuce and tomatoes became the primary greenhouse, or "hot house," crops in Marion County, although radishes, cucumbers, cauliflower, green beans, and various types of greens were also grown under glass.⁴⁷ The botanical department of Purdue University's School of Agriculture announced that researchers had been studying the cultivation of lettuce in the university's greenhouses and had "arrived at important conclusions regarding the indoor culture of lettuce, and have incorporated their results in a bulletin which will prove valuable to all persons undertaking indoor gardening."⁴⁸ In adjacent Ohio, the *Market Growers Journal* reported that the Ohio Experiment Station had been studying the cultivation of tomatoes in greenhouses for fifteen years. The journal noted, "While the results secured do not warrant our advocating the forcing of Tomatoes in mid-winter we do feel that many more greenhouse men could very profitably engage in the growing of Tomatoes under glass in spring and early summer."⁴⁹ Besides vegetables, German families also grew fruit, flowers, and nursery plants for sale in the 1910s and 1920s. These types of products became more prevalent later in the twentieth century.⁵⁰

The invention of the automobile and the beginning of its mass production in the early twentieth century also changed the way the gardeners of Perry Township did business. As early as 1911, automotive industry dealers hosted displays for farmers attending the state fair in Indianapolis. Just one year before the first Indianapolis 500 was run, the city was noted by one journalist to be the "center of the automobile manufacturing world." That year, dealers provided demonstrations where "trucks were shown in actual operation upon farm duties." According to the article, "the seed was sown for future sales" among state fair attendees thanks to such demonstrations.⁵¹ Just a few years later, one local dealer of Garford trucks advertised vehicles specifically for small scale producers of dairy products and "particularly fruits and vegetables." Owning a truck, the advertisement noted, could allow the gardener to be more efficient, get more sleep on market days, and provide easier access to the markets with the best prices. In addition, farmers could return home earlier to their farms on market days and also have a vehicle (with optional additional seats) so that the family could enjoy visiting friends on "evenings, Sundays and holidays."⁵² In 1920, Perry Township gardener Fred Wegehof provided a testimonial for the Smith Form-a-Truck, advertised by the Cartinhour-Bowman Company. Mr. Wegehof relayed that he replaced the truck's tires and chain link for the first time after four years, even as the vehicle received daily use "in hauling incidental to gardening and marketing, also coal and manure hauling."⁵³ (See Figure 6.)

⁴⁵ "Vegetable Production Becomes Vital Industry in Marion County," *Indianapolis Star*, June 14, 1936, 38, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/105398276>.

⁴⁶ Beck, "My Remembrances of Growing Up in a German Family on Bluff Road," 7.

⁴⁷ Beck, "My Remembrances of Growing Up in a German Family on Bluff Road," 6; Born, "The Indianapolis Gardeners Benefit Society," 59-60; Herschell, "Ancients May Have Had their Lotus-Land, But Indiana Now is Lettuce-Land, Producing Carloads of Lettuce That Reach Winter Markets in Many Cities."

⁴⁸ "Experiments in the Growing of Lettuce," *Indianapolis News*, December 23, 1905, 20, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/39969743>.

⁴⁹ "In the Greenhouse," *Weekly Market Growers Journal* II, no. 1 (January 1, 1908), 8, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924094227752&view=1up&seq=5>.

⁵⁰ IHS exhibit script, 2018, 16.

⁵¹ "State Fair Boosts Automobile Trade," *Indianapolis Star*, September 10, 1911, 32, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/6764924>.

⁵² Advertisement for the Garford Truck Company, *Indianapolis News*, September 30, 1916, 14, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/37336507>.

⁵³ Advertisement for Smith Form-a-Truck, *Indianapolis Star*, September 5, 1920, 21, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/119330613>.

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The increase in vehicles, on farms and otherwise, led to a call for the improvement of roads and government participation in the road improvement process. As early as 1911, federal leaders were talking about investing in road improvements.⁵⁴ The state of Indiana formed the Indiana State Highway Commission in 1919 to plan and manage improvements. Four years later, John D. Williams, the state highway director, announced that 160 miles of pavement had been completed in 1923 with plans to complete 400 miles of roads in the coming year. He noted that he had been receiving letters of appreciation from both business owners and farmers, including one fruit farmer in southern Indiana who wrote to say that the improved local roads opened new markets for his products.⁵⁵ By 1931, Bluff Road (State Road [SR] 37), Meridian Street (SR 31), and Madison Avenue (SR 35, later SR 135), all of which lead into and out of Indianapolis from the south, were among the roads improved as part of the state roadway network in Perry Township.⁵⁶

The 1910s and early 1920s saw a general movement to improve agriculture and prices for farm products. This movement led to the establishment of public and private programs and institutions to better the lives and livelihoods of farmers, including vegetable growers, in Marion County and elsewhere in the state and nation. Established in 1869 as a land grant institution specializing in agriculture and industry, Purdue University launched an Agricultural Experiment Station in the late 1880s (as enabled by the federal Hatch Act of 1887).⁵⁷ Building on these early federal and state developments and programs, the Smith-Lever Act, signed into law in 1914, directed the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) to work with Purdue University and other land grant institutions on enhanced research, education, and public outreach in agriculture. This act also created the agricultural extension system to address specific state and county agricultural conditions and issues, eventually allowing for an agricultural extension agent in every county.⁵⁸ (It should be noted that Purdue's agricultural extension program in Indiana predates the national program by two years.⁵⁹) Five years later, in 1919, the American Farm Bureau Federation was established. This national federation was an association of state and local membership groups governed by, and serving as an advocate for, farmers.⁶⁰ The Indiana Federation of Farmers' Associations, one of the first state federations, was organized that same year by delegates from four hundred "better farming associations" throughout the state. The Indiana group hoped to solve "the problems of low commodity prices and a diminished farm labor force," as well as provide opportunities for cooperative purchasing and marketing.⁶¹ Later renamed the Indiana Farm Bureau, this organization eventually spawned farm bureau groups in all of Indiana's ninety-two counties, many formed in

⁵⁴ "Urge Federal Aid in Road Building, Politicians Hold the Time Has Come for Co-Operation in Highway Construction," *Indianapolis Star*, September 10, 1911, 32, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/6764924>.

⁵⁵ "Condition of State Highways," *Indianapolis Star*, November 25, 1923, 4, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/104835240>.

⁵⁶ Indiana State Highway Commission, *Indiana State Highway System*, 1931, accessed September 26, 2020, <http://fedora.dlib.indiana.edu/fedora/get/iudl:1075147/LARGE>

⁵⁷ Purdue University, "A History of Purdue Agronomy," accessed December 10, 2020, https://ag.purdue.edu/agry/Pages/department_history.aspx; Purdue University, "History," accessed December 10, 2020, <https://ag.purdue.edu/agalumni/Pages/History.aspx>; Jay Akridge and Leah Jamieson, Purdue University, "Celebrating 150 Years of Land-grant Universities," accessed December 10, 2020, https://www.agriculture.purdue.edu/in_focus/2012/July/Morrill_Act_Anniversary.htm.

⁵⁸ United States Department of Agriculture, "Cooperative Extension History," accessed September 2, 2020, <https://nifa.usda.gov/cooperative-extension-history#:~:text=The%20Smith%20Lever%20Act%20formalized,address%20exclusively%20rural%2C%20agricultural%20issues.>; Akridge and Jamieson, "Celebrating 150 Years of Land-grant Universities."

⁵⁹ Purdue University, *First Annual Report of Purdue University Department of Agricultural Extension* (Lafayette: Purdue University Agricultural Extension Service, 1912), accessed September 2, 2020, https://earchives.lib.purdue.edu/digital/collection/AES_AR/id/1226.

⁶⁰ American Farm Bureau Federation, "Overview" and "Our History," accessed September 2, 2020, <https://www.fb.org/about/>.

⁶¹ Clifton J. Phillips, *Indiana in Transition: The Emergence of an Industrial Commonwealth, 1880-1920*, Vol. IV, *The History of Indiana* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau and Indiana Historical Society, 1968), 179; Indiana Farm Bureau, "History: A Voice for the Farmer," September 2, 2020, [https://www.infarmbureau.org/about/history#:~:text=Indiana%20Farm%20Bureau%2C%20Indiana's%20largest,a%20diminished%20farm%20labor%20force](https://www.infarmbureau.org/about/history#:~:text=Indiana%20Farm%20Bureau%2C%20Indiana's%20largest,a%20diminished%20farm%20labor%20force;); Dudley Diggs Davis, "The History of the Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Association" Master's Thesis, Butler University, 1941, 26.

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the 1920s and 1930s.⁶² The county farm bureau organizations worked closely with governmental county extension agents, but maintained a separate focus on commercial and advocacy issues.⁶³

Against this backdrop of new government programs and agricultural organizations, several associations related specifically to vegetable gardening were founded in both Indianapolis and Indiana during this period. These organizations aimed to provide education and support for members, as well as opportunities for cooperative marketing and sales. The two local organizations, the Indianapolis Vegetable Growers' Association and the Marion County Greenhouse Growers' Association, had their roots in the German community of Indianapolis. Both local groups, as well as the older Gardeners Benefit Society, were part of the Indianapolis Federation of German Societies in the twentieth century.⁶⁴ With most Perry Township gardeners growing vegetables in both fields and greenhouses, there was likely overlap in the memberships of the organizations.⁶⁵

The Indianapolis Vegetable Growers' Association, initially called the Indianapolis Growers' Cooperative Association, was formed by 1920. One of the early matters of business for the Indianapolis group was the establishment of a new farmers' market in the city. Growers were frustrated because stall space at the established city market had become limited.⁶⁶ Also, with increased automobile traffic downtown, local officials and women's groups advocated to banish the street-side vendors as a traffic reduction measure around the market.⁶⁷ In 1922, the vegetable growers' group, which boasted a membership of 175 Marion County growers, asked the county commissioners to provide space for a new market on the north half of the county courthouse grounds.⁶⁸ When this effort failed, members of the association took action to secure their own site. Local growers financed the new market, initially called the Producers' Market; it opened by 1926 on the block bound by South, New Jersey, East, and Empire Streets on the south side of downtown Indianapolis.⁶⁹ The market property included both indoor and outdoor stall space for vegetables and other produce, meat, and groceries, as well as a restaurant.⁷⁰

Members of the Indianapolis area vegetable growing community were instrumental in forming a statewide association of vegetable growers. In December 1920, H. C. Schuh, the secretary of the Indianapolis-based association, called about two hundred vegetable growers from across the state to Indianapolis for a meeting to organize the Indiana Vegetable Growers' Association.⁷¹ By the summer of 1921, the state organization boasted nearly four hundred members and planned to co-sponsor a potato show with Purdue's agricultural extension program. The group also planned to send a representative to the joint meeting of the Farm Bureau Federation and the National Vegetable Growers' Association in Chicago that year to discuss "means of bettering the vegetable industry."⁷² The following year, Indianapolis and its association of vegetable growers hosted between

⁶² Indiana Farm Bureau, "Dates of Incorporation," accessed September 2, 2020, <https://www.infarmbureau.org/about/history/county-farm-bureau/dates-of-incorporation>.

⁶³ Davis, "The History of the Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Association," 18-19.

⁶⁴ IHS exhibit script, 2018, 12; Federation of German Societies and German Park, "50th Anniversary Celebration Program," June 9, 1984, 6-7.

⁶⁵ One recent obituary for Bluff Road gardener Robert Roehling notes that he belonged to both organizations. See "Robert Christian Roehling, 1925-2020," Legacy.com, accessed September 18, 2020, <https://www.legacy.com/obituaries/indystar/obituary.aspx?n=robert-christian-roehling&pid=196712253&fhid=19167>.

⁶⁶ "Vegetable Growers to Organize at Purdue," *Indianapolis Star*, December 18, 1920, 18, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/119404090>.

⁶⁷ McCune, "To Market, To Market: A History and Interpretation of the Indianapolis City Market, 1821-2014," 58.

⁶⁸ "Vegetable Men Plan a Market," *Indianapolis Star*.

⁶⁹ "Vegetable Men Plan a Market," *Indianapolis Star*; Born, "The Indianapolis Gardeners Benefit Society," 60; C. Henry, Marion County Extension Agent, "Marion County Truck Gardeners Have \$5,000,000 Invested in Business," *Indianapolis Star*, August 29, 1926, 69, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/104881586>.

⁷⁰ Henry, "Marion County Truck Gardeners Have \$5,000,000 Invested in Business."

⁷¹ "Vegetable Growers to Organize at Purdue," *Indianapolis Star*.

⁷² "Vegetable Growers Association Growing," *Indianapolis Star*, May 28, 1921, 22, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/6938644>.

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eight hundred and one thousand vegetable growers from twenty states for a meeting of the Vegetable Growers Association of America.⁷³

The Marion County Greenhouse Growers' Association was also established in the early 1920s, in part by members of the older Gardeners Benefit Society.⁷⁴ The greenhouse growers' group, which was in large part (but not exclusively) supported by the growers from the south side of Indianapolis, formed to address the unique needs of the greenhouse growing industry.⁷⁵ Working closely with Marion County's extension agent, the association worked to improve planting techniques, pest control measures, crop yields, and produce quality. In addition, the group, which was formally incorporated in 1930, focused on product packaging, marketing, sales, and distribution.⁷⁶ Produce sold through the association was marketed under the name "Hoosier Boy" and was offered for sale locally and in other midwestern cities.⁷⁷ The association established a clearing house at 418 East South Street (adjacent to the Indianapolis Producers' Market) for farmers to bring their produce for grading and sale.⁷⁸ In addition to being paid for their produce, greenhouse owners also received stock in the cooperative; the stock was allocated according to the square footage of greenhouse space each owner had.⁷⁹ The group changed its name to the Marion County Greenhouse Growers, Inc. in 1943.⁸⁰

Education and support provided by these organizations, as well as assistance from the county extension agent and Purdue University, appear to have successfully spurred local growers to increase their yields and profits. Clarence Henry, who was appointed Marion County's extension agent in 1926, reported that local growers cultivated 1,500 irrigated acres of summer vegetables on the ground and 70 acres of winter vegetables under glass in 1928. These growers worked with Henry to address soil problems, plant diseases, and insect control.⁸¹ In 1930, Henry relayed that vegetables grown under glass and in the fields yielded about half of the gross income of Marion County farmers. That year, the relationship among the various organized groups was evident when the extension program recognized a group of agricultural, governmental, and civic organizations that had partnered with the extension program on its programming. These included the Marion County Farm Bureau, Indianapolis Vegetable Growers' Association, "Indianapolis Greenhouse Men's Association," and the Indianapolis Producers' Vegetable Market.⁸²

The Census of Agriculture provides data from 1940 regarding the value of vegetables harvested for sale for 1929 and 1939. In 1929, 714 Marion County farms harvested vegetables worth \$487,964. A decade later, 623

⁷³ Indiana Historical Society, "Vegetable Growers' Association of America, 1922 Convention, Indianapolis, Indiana, August 22-25," photograph and description, accessed September 2, 2020, <http://images.indianahistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/dc013/id/517>.

⁷⁴ Born, "The Indianapolis Gardeners Benefit Society," 60; IHS collection file, 2007; IHS, "Marion County Greenhouse Growers Association Records, 1936-1970: Historical Sketch" IHS collection file, 2014; IHS exhibit script, 2018, 18.

⁷⁵ There were German greenhouse growers from other parts of Marion County, such as Harry Schuh, who owned a farm on Rockville Road. See C. Henry, "City is Center of Great Vegetable Gardening Area," *Indianapolis Star*, December 18, 1926, 21, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/104826226>.

⁷⁶ "Vegetable Production Becomes Vital Industry in Marion County," *Indianapolis Star*; IHS exhibit script, 2018, 18.

⁷⁷ Born, "The Indianapolis Gardeners Benefit Society," 60; Herschell, "Ancients May Have had Their Lotus-Land, But Indiana Now Is Lettuce-Land, Producing Carloads of Lettuce That Reach Winter Markets in Many Cities," *The Indianapolis News*, January 18, 1936.

⁷⁸ "Vegetable Production Becomes Vital Industry in Marion County," *Indianapolis Star*.

⁷⁹ Born, "The Indianapolis Gardeners Benefit Society," 60; IHS collection file, 2007; IHS collection file, 2014.

⁸⁰ Born, "The Indianapolis Gardeners Benefit Society," 60.

⁸¹ "Appoints Ohio Man County Agent," *Indianapolis Star*, April 14, 1926, 22, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/104820195>; Purdue University, *Seventeenth Annual Report of Purdue University Department of Agricultural Extension* (Lafayette: Purdue University Agricultural Extension Service, 1928), 81-82, https://earchives.lib.purdue.edu/digital/collection/AES_AR/id/1069/rec/3.

⁸² Purdue University, *Nineteenth Annual Report of Purdue University Department of Agricultural Extension* (Lafayette: Purdue University Agricultural Extension Service, 1930), 83, https://earchives.lib.purdue.edu/digital/collection/AES_AR/id/3381/rec/5.

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farms produced \$362,255 worth of vegetables for sale. Marion County led the state in the value of vegetables produced for sale during these years.⁸³

As the twentieth century progressed, vegetables remained the major focus for many of the growers in Perry Township. However, some gardening families, including the Adrians and the Brehobs, either commenced or shifted their efforts to cultivating other types of crops, including fruit, flowers, or nursery products. When he was fourteen (1904), George J. Adrian emigrated to Indianapolis from Alsace, Germany (now part of France). His grandfather had been a brandy maker in the old country, and George had helped with the fruit crops as a child. In Indianapolis, Mr. Adrian was well regarded as a contractor. On the side, he and his family (wife Edith and six children) began growing orchard crops, initially peaches and apples, on their Epler Road property. Before long they were selling surpluses locally and advertising their produce in the newspaper.⁸⁴ After World War II, son George and his wife Carolyn operated the family business until the late 1980s. George and Carolyn Adrian expanded their orchard operations by acquiring additional land adjacent to the farm as well as a farm near Waverly in Morgan County. Though much of the acreage along Epler Road has been sold, the business continues in family hands.⁸⁵ Members of the Chris Brehob family operated market and greenhouse gardens in several locations south of Indianapolis before settling on Bluff Road. Initially growing vegetables, the Brehobs added flowers to their business in the 1940s, a step toward the eventual conversion of their business to nursery production by the end of the 1960s.⁸⁶

Perry Township vegetable growers, particularly the greenhouse growers, appear to have prospered even during the Depression of the 1930s. Indianapolis in the 1930s was “rated as one of the five largest ‘glass garden’ cities of America in point of production.” In 1934, local greenhouse growers produced over \$82,000 worth of lettuce and over \$100,000 worth of tomatoes, among other crops.⁸⁷ The growers, through the Marion County Greenhouse Growers’ Association, continued to work closely with the county extension agent and Purdue’s experts “in order to keep abreast of the latest improvements in truck farming and greenhouse operation.”⁸⁸

The 1940s brought peak production for Marion County’s growers, who by that time were among the most prolific producers in the nation. During that decade, growers, most of them on the south side of Indianapolis, boasted the highest concentration of greenhouses in the country with about forty acres under glass.⁸⁹ About eighty to eighty-five gardeners were members of the Marion County Greenhouse Growers’ Association. Indianapolis was second only to Cleveland in production of winter lettuce and tomatoes.⁹⁰ During these years, the county greenhouse association’s Hoosier Boy brand provided ninety percent of all the greenhouse tomatoes

⁸³ United States Department of Agriculture, Census of Agriculture Historical Archive, Mann Library, Cornell University, “1940 Census of Agriculture—Indiana. County Table XIII—Vegetables Harvested for Sale, 1939, 1934, and 1929,” 636; see also 632-639, accessed December 31, 2020, <http://lib-usda-05.serverfarm.cornell.edu/usda/AgCensusImages/1940/01/11/1265/Table-13.pdf>.

⁸⁴ See advertisement for apples available to pick at Adrian Orchards, *Indianapolis News*, October 17, 1931, 19, August 29, 1926, 69, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/30514076>.

⁸⁵ “Adrian Orchards: About Us,” accessed September 22, 2020, <https://www.adrianorchards.com/index.html>; Mike Newman, “Adrian Orchards,” accessed September 22, 2020, <http://www.southsidehistory.com/SHS/Southside-Historical-Sites/1/details.htm>; “George J. Adrian Dies; Builder, Orchard Owner,” *Indianapolis Star*, March 31, 1966, 60, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/105520925>; Monika Adrian, telephone interview with Kelly Lally Molloy, September 25, 2020.

⁸⁶ IHS exhibit script, 2018, 9.

⁸⁷ Herschell, “Ancients May Have had Their Lotus-Land, But Indiana Now Is Lettuce-Land, Producing Carloads of Lettuce That Reach Winter Markets in Many Cities.”

⁸⁸ “Vegetable Production Becomes Vital Industry in Marion County,” *Indianapolis Star*.

⁸⁹ D. L. Haase, “Once Profitable Greenhouses Die,” *Indianapolis News*, March 11, 1982, 12, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/312850377>.

⁹⁰ Robert Rees, “Fuel, Competition Forcing Greenhouse Growers to Give Up,” *Indianapolis Star*, October 6, 1975, 1, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/106901751>; Mitchell, “Retro Indy: The greenhouse growers.”

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in Marion County; vegetables marketed under the brand were also sold in cities throughout the Midwest, including St. Louis and Chicago.⁹¹

Labor on the South Side Market Garden Farms (circa 1900 to 1950)

The cultivation of garden produce, whether in fields or greenhouses, was labor intensive work, largely requiring the efforts of all members of a farm family, including young children. A writer in 1902 observed: “A truck gardener may sometimes rest, but he has never been seen doing it. Men, women and children all work from sunlight to sunset.”⁹² An article from 1936 about greenhouse gardens in Marion County featured the Wegehof family, with its five sons, all working on the farm: “The Wegehof boys have been trained from early boyhood to meet every emergency—be it wind, hail, or sleet. They know their business, for it is no small task to operate the largest ‘glass gardens’ in Marion County.”⁹³ Edith Marie Schnier Beck remembered that her father worked from dawn to sunset six days a week, doing some essential chores, such as firing the boiler, even on Sunday. Beck, her mother, and sister also worked in the fields every day. They prepared produce for market on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and did other farm work, such as “plowing, discing, planting, making tomato baskets, tying up cauliflower (so it would stay white), tying up tomatoes, suckering tomatoes, and mostly weeding, and more weeding.”⁹⁴ Beck, and Helen Marie Peaper Maupin, whose family also owned a farm on Bluff Road, recall that their families sometimes hired immigrant laborers during the busy seasons, if they were available.⁹⁵ Several current residents along Bluff Road remember hearing that their family members utilized the labor of German prisoners of war from Camp Atterbury during World War II.⁹⁶

Common Features of Market Garden and Greenhouse Farms (circa 1900 to 1950)

A typical early twentieth-century truck and greenhouse operation included a variety of buildings and spaces, usually arranged on compact, narrow lots. Due to the immediate nature of some activities associated with this type of farm, the family’s primary residence was always a part of the complex. Other buildings and structures on the farms included greenhouses, boiler houses with chimneys, storage buildings, barns, utility buildings, outhouses, garages, and a water source, such as a well. Structures from earlier generations of truck and greenhouse gardens may have included water towers, windmills, and hotbeds, although these types of features were usually removed when they were no longer needed due to technological advances or changes in a farm’s focus.⁹⁷ (See Figure 7.) A newspaper in 1922 advertised a modern truck farm property in southern Marion County for sale that was likely representative of this type of operation:

An Ideal Truck Farm: Two greenhouses, 120 feet long, with oversize boiler large enough to supply another greenhouse. Fully equipped with up-to-date appliances. Three acres, 1 ½ miles south near Meridian Street; 1 ½-story house, Arcola heater, electric lights in house and all outbuildings. Horse stable, 2-car garage, washhouse, chicken house, driven well, 1 ½-inch pump, gas engine and 30 barrel

⁹¹ IHS exhibit script, 2018, 18.

⁹² “Truck Farmers Work Hard Early and Late, But are Generally Content and Happy,” *Indianapolis News*.

⁹³ Herschell, “Ancients May Have had Their Lotus-Land, But Indiana Now Is Lettuce-Land, Producing Carloads of Lettuce That Reach Winter Markets in Many Cities.”

⁹⁴ Beck, “My Remembrances of Growing Up in a German Family on Bluff Road, Indianapolis, Indiana,” 5-6.

⁹⁵ Beck, “My Remembrances of Growing Up in a German Family on Bluff Road, Indianapolis, Indiana,” 6; Helen Marie, *Peaper Brothers: A Seed of Hope* (n.p.: self-published, 2009), 17.

⁹⁶ Elaine (Wegehof) Jordan, email message to Kelly Lally Molloy, September 21, 2020; Ron Kocher, interview with Kelly Lally Molloy and Bethany Natali, October 7, 2020.

⁹⁷ For instance, windmills were used on many farms to power the pumps to fill up tanks with water used for irrigation. Within a few decades, many farms had converted to gas or electricity to power pumps to get water from the wells for irrigation purposes. See “Land of the Wind Mill, Where Three Good Crops Each Year Are Possible,” *Indianapolis News*, October 7, 1905, 17, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/40023036>. Photographs of the Peaper Farm also show a windmill and a water tank.

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tank. Cistern, good work horse, wagon, Ford truck and full line of implements. Fruit trees, shade trees and grape arbor. Gently rolling ground. Best location in section.⁹⁸

Greenhouse growers and truck farmers in Perry Township built houses on their farms in a variety of types and styles, among them Folk Victorian, Craftsman, American Foursquare, and Tudor Revival cottages of frame, brick, and concrete block construction, and occasionally of stone and stone veneer. By the mid-twentieth century, Ranch houses, which were coming into vogue, were also a popular choice for the growers and their family members. The vast majority of these houses were situated adjacent to roads, with small front yards that preserved land to the rear for growing purposes. Houses of family members who worked on the farm were often built close to the main family home. Such was the case with the Wegehof Farm at 4420 Bluff Road. Frederick W. and Louisa Wegehof built an American Foursquare house on their farm after an earlier house was destroyed by fire. The couple had nine children who worked on the farm as both children and adults. Fred Wegehof built each of his five sons' and their families' houses adjacent to or near the family on Bluff Road in the 1920s and 1930s. These brick Tudor Revival and Colonial Revival cottages survive, although two of the homes were moved around the time that I-465 was constructed in the 1960s.⁹⁹ Nearby, George Adrian built a family home on his Epler Road orchard in the Tudor Revival style in 1925; his family recalls that he preferred the Tudor Revival style because it reminded him of houses he remembered in Alsace as a child. (See Figure 8.) He also built homes for his children and neighbors nearby.¹⁰⁰

Early greenhouses were constructed of wood or metal frames with glazed panes that afforded access to the sunlight necessary for plant cultivation. These structures were connected via pipes to a boiler (below grade) and a water source, which provided steam heat to keep the plants housed in them warm in the cold weather months. Other pipes with moveable sprinkler heads, were placed between the aisles of the greenhouse to irrigate the plants. Edith Marie Schnier Beck remembered her father used "skinner lines," part of a Skinner Company irrigation system.¹⁰¹ Beginning in the 1950s, greenhouse structures began to be constructed of translucent plastic material over metal or wooden frames. Purdue's Extension service started providing plans to farmers for plastic-covered greenhouses as early as the mid-1950s.¹⁰²

Necessary for the all-season capability of the greenhouses, the coal-fueled boiler with its large brick chimney provided the steam heat required to maintain constant temperatures in the greenhouses during the cold weather growing season. The boilers also could provide heat for the family home, as was the case on the Schnier Farm.¹⁰³ Boilers were often located in a freestanding building but were sometimes incorporated into other structures. Edith Marie Schnier Beck remembered that the boiler shed was often of a size that allowed it to be used for social occasions.¹⁰⁴ Coal for the boilers was obtained from a local dealer and either delivered or hauled by a grower's truck to the farm. One newspaper story about the Wegehof Farm on Bluff Road noted that seven tons of coal were delivered by truck to the farm, though this was barely enough to fuel the boiler for the family's greenhouse operations for a day.¹⁰⁵ Ron Kocher, who married into the Peaper family and worked on

⁹⁸ "An Ideal Truck Farm," *Indianapolis Star*, July 30, 1922, 31, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/122567205>.

⁹⁹ Elaine Jordan, email message to Kelly Lally Molloy, October 13, 2020.

¹⁰⁰ Adrian, telephone interview with Kelly Lally Molloy, September 25, 2020.

¹⁰¹ Beck, "My Remembrances of Growing Up in a German Family on Bluff Road," 6; Advertisement for Skinner Irrigation lines, *Weekly Market Growers Journal* VIII, no. 24 (June 17, 1911): 20, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924094227976&view=1up&seq=536>.

¹⁰² M. O. Thomas, Leslie Hafen, and N. K. Ellis, "Vegetable Production in Plastic Greenhouses," Extension Bulletin No. 411 (Lafayette: Purdue University Agricultural Extension Service, November 1955), 2-12, <https://earchives.lib.purdue.edu/digital/collection/AESBulletin/id/2980>.

¹⁰³ Beck, "My Remembrances of Growing Up in a German Family on Bluff Road, Indianapolis, Indiana," 4.

¹⁰⁴ Beck, "My Remembrances of Growing Up in a German Family on Bluff Road, Indianapolis, Indiana" 9-10.

¹⁰⁵ Herschell, "Ancients May Have had Their Lotus-Land, But Indiana Now Is Lettuce-Land, Producing Carloads of Lettuce That Reach Winter Markets in Many Cities."

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the farm for many years, recalled that the family usually acquired a train carload of coal from Schuster's Coal Company on Troy Avenue and loaded up the farm truck regularly with coal to fuel the boiler. The Peaper Farm converted from coal to oil to fuel the boiler for a few years, later switching to gas.¹⁰⁶ Some farms also converted to electricity as the source of energy for heating the greenhouses.¹⁰⁷

Barns, garages, equipment sheds, and utility buildings of various sizes, materials, and purposes were added to farm complexes as need arose; most of these were rectangular in shape with gable or shed roofs. Some buildings, such as the market shed/boiler room/garage building on the Peaper Farm, combined several functions. The Peaper Farm also built a large cold storage structure, first underground, then in several buildings, to store turnips harvested from their fields.¹⁰⁸

Appended to the rear or sides of most greenhouse complexes were the fields used to grow the basic seasonal vegetables sold at local markets or to cooperatives. These were generally long and narrow, following the pattern of the narrow lots, further subdivided as necessary to accommodate the crops being grown in a given year. This distinct field pattern is readily visible on historic aerial photographs and parcel maps. Some of these fields continue to be used for farming vegetables and other crops in current operations.¹⁰⁹

German Market Gardeners in Perry Township: Market Garden Farms since the 1950s

Marion County, with its particularly heavy mid-to-late twentieth-century suburban growth, registered declines in farmland and larger-scale agriculture in the 1950s and 1960s. Despite these decreases, vegetable and nursery product cultivation, particularly in greenhouses, continued to be significant. (See Figure 9.) In 1958, the *Indianapolis Star* noted that the number of field-based market garden farms had waned in Marion County "due to advances of the city, altered labor arrangements or skyrocketing of land values." Despite this, Indianapolis greenhouse farms continued to rank in the top five of vegetable cultivators in the country, expected to produce over \$1 million worth of vegetables by the end of the 1958.¹¹⁰

Twentieth-century agricultural census categories and statistics varied from count to count and are sometimes difficult to compare directly. These figures do reveal useful information, such as decreases in sales or the increased emphasis on certain types of the cultivation. In 1959, the census recorded sixty-seven farms growing vegetables and related products in greenhouses and sixteen growing these products in open fields, with sales valued at \$789,686. Sales of cut flowers, potted plants, and related products nearly equaled that of vegetables that year (\$778,869). The census recorded an additional \$279,000 in sales of nursery products (such as ornamental plants, trees, and shrubs).¹¹¹ By 1969, forty-nine farms reported growing vegetables on nearly 900 acres.¹¹² That year, fifty-eight farms reported sales in the category of "Greenhouse Products Under Glass or

¹⁰⁶ Kocher, Interview with Kelly Lally Molloy and Bethany Natali, October 7, 2020.

¹⁰⁷ Born, "The Indianapolis Gardeners Benefit Society," 60.

¹⁰⁸ Kocher, interview with Kelly Lally Molloy and Bethany Natali, October 7, 2020.

¹⁰⁹ Beck, "My Remembrances of Growing Up in a German Family on Bluff Road Indianapolis, Indiana," passim.

¹¹⁰ Robert Kellum, "Greenhouses in Marion County Experience Their Busy Season," *Indianapolis Star*, March 23, 1958, 32, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/105618183>.

¹¹¹ United States Department of Agriculture, Census of Agriculture Historical Archive, Mann Library, Cornell University, "Indiana, 1959 Chapter B-Statistics for Counties, Table 12 County Data, 1959 Census Publications," 242, accessed December 31, 2020, <http://lib-usda-05.serverfarm.cornell.edu/usda/AgCensusImages/1959/01/11/866/Table-12.pdf>.

¹¹² United States Department of Agriculture, Census of Agriculture Historical Archive, Mann Library, Cornell University, "Indiana, 1969 Section II: County Data, Farms with sales \$2,500 and over, Table 23: Vegetables (Marion County)" 400, accessed December 31, 2020, http://lib-usda-05.serverfarm.cornell.edu/usda/AgCensusImages/1969/01/11/counties/Indiana_countyData_1969_Marion.pdf.

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Other Protection.”¹¹³ The same census recorded over \$1 million in sales of vegetables grown under glass in Marion County, with an additional \$1 million reported in sales of cut flowers and nursery products, both under glass and in open fields.¹¹⁴

By the 1970s, the number of Marion County’s vegetable farms, both greenhouse and field, declined due to factors related to technology, operational costs, and market changes. These factors included the rise in use of refrigerated trucks and rail cars, which kept vegetables fresh longer and allowed these products to be shipped greater distances, increasing fuel costs, and the growing popularity of frozen vegetables.¹¹⁵ The limited availability of experienced farm labor also become an issue beginning in the 1960s, a trend that continued in the last quarter of the twentieth century.¹¹⁶ Many farms went out of business during the 1970s and 1980s, prompting some growers to demolish their greenhouses to reduce their property taxes.¹¹⁷ Membership in the Marion County Greenhouse Growers’ Association decreased during these years, falling to about thirty-two members in 1975.¹¹⁸ After dwindling to as few as six members, the organization finally disbanded in the 1990s.¹¹⁹ The South Side Farmer’s Market closed its doors in 1988 after stockholders sold the property to the Eli Lilly Company.¹²⁰

Many families left the vegetable growing business in the late twentieth century, but others continued cultivating vegetables, with a change of emphasis from greenhouse to field crops. A renewed interest in locally grown produce has benefitted some growing operations, such as Peaper Farms, which is known for its specialized variety of purple-top turnips, although the farm also cultivates other vegetables including peppers.¹²¹ Still owned by members of the Adrian family, Adrian Orchards continues to sell locally grown fruit and vegetables, although most of the farming part of their business takes place on other property owned by the family.¹²² Other families shifted their primary focus to the cultivation of flowers or nursery products.¹²³ Louis Schlegel and his family moved to Indianapolis from Cleveland in the late 1960s and established a plant nursery business in the greenhouses on the old Schlensker farm on Sprague Road. The business continues today, run by Paul Schlegel and his family.¹²⁴ Various members of the Brehob family continue to be involved in wholesale nursery businesses along and near Bluff Road.¹²⁵ The market gardening tradition in Perry Township and Marion County

¹¹³ United States Department of Agriculture, Census of Agriculture Historical Archive, Mann Library, Cornell University, “Indiana, 1969 Section I, Chapter 3, County Data for Miscellaneous Items: 1969, Table 16, Berries, Land in Orchards, Greenhouse Products,” 300, accessed December 31, 2020, <http://lib-usda-05.serverfarm.cornell.edu/usda/AgCensusImages/1969/01/11/483/Table-16.pdf>.

¹¹⁴ United States Department of Agriculture, Census of Agriculture Historical Archive, Mann Library, Cornell University, “Indiana, 1969 County Data, Miscellaneous Items, Chapter, County Data, Table 25: Nursery and Greenhouse Products: Vegetables (Marion County), 1969 Census Publications,” 400, accessed December 31 2020, http://lib-usda-05.serverfarm.cornell.edu/usda/AgCensusImages/1969/01/11/counties/Indiana_countyData_1969_Marion.pdf.

¹¹⁵ Haase, “Once Profitable Greenhouses Die;” Mitchell, “Retro Indy: The greenhouse growers;” Rees, “Fuel, Competition Forcing Greenhouse Growers to Give Up.”

¹¹⁶ “Farm Labor Shortage in State Seen,” *Indianapolis News*, February 23, 1966, 6, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/311776128>.

¹¹⁷ Rees, “Fuel, Competition Forcing Greenhouse Growers to Give Up.”

¹¹⁸ Rees, “Fuel, Competition Forcing Greenhouse Growers to Give Up.”

¹¹⁹ Ron Kocher, email message to Kelly Lally Molloy, October 20, 2020.

¹²⁰ Kevin A. Drawbaugh, “Lilly Agrees to Buy Site of Farmers Market,” *Indianapolis News*, December 2, 1987, 24, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/312907745>.

¹²¹ Charity Singleton Craig, “Turnip Awareness: Peaper Brothers Turnip Farm Champions Humble Turnip for Five Generations,” *Edible Indy*, October 1, 2016, accessed September 2, 2020, <https://edibleindy.ediblecommunities.com/food-thought/turnip-awareness-peaper-brothers-champions-humble-veggie-five-generations>; Kocher, Interview with Kelly Lally Molloy and Bethany Natali, October 7, 2020.

¹²² Adrian, telephone interview with Kelly Lally Molloy, September 25, 2020.

¹²³ Mitchell, “Retro Indy: The greenhouse growers.”

¹²⁴ IHS exhibit script, 2018, 22.

¹²⁵ While no longer locally owned, Brehob Nurseries, founded by John W. Brehob in 1969, remains a fixture on Bluff Road and continues to employ family members in its wholesale nursery business. Julie Gettum (Brehob Nurseries), interview with Kelly Lally Molloy and Bethany Natali, October 7, 2020; see also “Location: Corporate Office,” Brehob Nursery, accessed October 11, 2020, <https://brehobnursery.com/locations/> and Maria Cook,

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continues, but, as in the past, this tradition has transformed to respond to current-day conditions, market demands, and family situations.

“Westfield’s Brehob Nursery Celebrates 50 Years,” *Current Magazine*, September 20, 2019, accessed October 11, 2020, <https://www.youarecurrent.com/2019/09/30/westfields-brehob-nursery-celebrates-50-years/>. Carl Brehob & Son, “About Us,” on Brehob Road just east of Bluff Road, continues to be owned and operated by family members. See Carl Brehob & Son, accessed October 11, 2020, <https://carl-brehob-and-son.com/#summary>.

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F. Associated Property Types

There are three property types associated with the German Market Garden Farms of Perry Township: Farm Complexes, Houses, and Historic Districts.

1. Farm Complex

Description

The farm complex represents the instructive unit of German market garden properties in Perry Township. A complex can encompass a typical collection of buildings and site features but can also vary depending on the type of farm operation and the years in which the farm was operating. German market garden complexes were most often developed on deep lots with narrow road frontage. Complexes usually included the main family home and perhaps houses of family members who worked on the property, as well as outbuildings and farm fields.

These buildings and site features were usually arranged with houses located immediately adjacent to the road with a modest front yard. Standing behind or sometimes beside the house or houses were the farm's outbuildings and beyond these, small narrow fields for the cultivation of vegetables and other produce.

The market gardeners built houses on their farms in a variety of types and styles dating from the late nineteenth century through the mid-twentieth century. Residential buildings were generally modest in size and style, but occasionally rich in detail. Although there is occasional variation, turn-of-the-century gardeners frequently built frame, gable-front, dwellings, one- to one-and-one-half stories tall, sometimes embellished with Folk Victorian or Craftsman-style trim. As the twentieth century progressed, brick, stone, or concrete block houses in popular styles, such as American Foursquare, Craftsman, and especially Tudor Revival, were constructed. Ranch houses were also popular among the growers and their families by the mid-twentieth century. It was not unusual for the homes of multiple family members to be found on a single farm or adjacent plots of land. The styles and types of dwellings found in Perry Township associated with these market garden farms are described in more detail in the property type "Houses" below.

Outbuildings and structures on the market garden farms included some combination of greenhouses and boiler houses with chimneys (if the farm utilized greenhouses for cultivation), storage buildings, barns, utility buildings, outhouses, garages, and a water source, such as a well. Structures from earlier generations of truck and greenhouse gardens may have included water towers and windmills, although these types of features were usually removed when they were no longer needed due to technological advances or changes in a farm's focus. Other farm features, such as hotbeds, were meant to be temporary. These were assembled annually for early cultivation of plants.

Greenhouses, which could extend the growing season into the winter months, were used on many, but not all, market garden farms from the early twentieth century through the late twentieth century. Early greenhouses were constructed of wood or metal frames with glass panes that afforded access to the sunlight necessary for plant cultivation. These structures were connected via underground pipes to a boiler and a water source; steam heat kept the growing plants in the greenhouses warm in the cold weather months. Other pipes with moveable sprinkler heads, were placed between the aisles of the greenhouse to irrigate the plants. Beginning in the 1950s, farmers began to construct greenhouses of translucent plastic material over metal or wooden frames. These plastic-covered greenhouses became more common by the end of the twentieth century.

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Once common on the Perry Township landscape, greenhouses in the first half of the twentieth century were semi-permanent structures—moveable if the need arose and with parts that could be replaced as needed. Glazed exterior panels, in particular, were frequently replaced due to common weather-related damage, such as from wind, hail, or heavy snow. Plastic, both in panes and sheets, became the material of choice for greenhouse glazing in the second half of the twentieth century due to its light weight and lower cost. Arched greenhouses covered by plastic with no roof/wall joint became more common during this period. Older greenhouses are generally topped with gable roofs. The frames themselves, most often built of metal, but occasionally wood, are the key structural element for integrity of materials. A cluster of greenhouses or greenhouse frames may have multiple bays with gable roofs. These clusters are usually interconnected and without walls on the interior; therefore, a grouping such as this is considered a single resource.

Greenhouses, particularly those glazed with glass panes, became increasingly rare in the late twentieth century as some growers left the vegetable-growing business due to market challenges, such as high fuel costs, the refrigeration of vehicles (which allowed fresh vegetables to be transported longer distances), and the advent of frozen vegetables, or to pursue other work. While some older greenhouses are preserved on a few farms, such as the Schlegel Farm on Sprague Road (for use in a family nursery businesses), other unused greenhouses have been removed to reduce maintenance costs and property taxes.

Not all market garden farms utilized greenhouses in their operations, but for those that did, boiler houses or sheds were essential elements. Vented by tall, often freestanding brick or tile chimneys, boilers heated greenhouses and often other buildings on the farm; these boilers were fueled primarily by coal for most of the twentieth century, but later in the twentieth century they were also fired by oil, gas, and electricity. While few farms continue to utilize their boilers in the twenty-first century, a number of farms retain the buildings that housed them and the prominent chimneys that vented them.

Barns, garages, equipment sheds, storage, and utility buildings of various sizes, materials, and purposes were constructed as the need arose; most of these were frame or concrete block buildings, rectangular in shape, with gable or shed roofs. Some buildings, such as the market shed/boiler room/garage building on the Peaper Farm, combined several functions. Buildings for domestic use, such as storage sheds, garages, or outhouses, were usually located closer to farm dwellings.

Appended to the rear, or sometimes the sides, of most farm complexes were the fields used to grow the basic seasonal vegetables sold at local markets or to cooperatives. These were generally long and linear, of small acreage (from 3-10 acres), following the pattern of the narrow parcels. Aerial photographs show that these fields were often further subdivided as needed, depending on the crops being cultivated in a given year. It is the overall size and shape of a small garden farm's fields that is primarily considered, since the subdivisions of the field could vary from year to year. When multiple fields are present on a property, they count as one resource. Circulation patterns for the movement of vehicles and workers between and among fields are visible on some farms, but not apparent on others.

Significance of Farm Complexes

The importance of market garden farms to the German community of Perry Township is reflected most clearly in the farm complexes that still survive in this area of Marion County. While agricultural trends evolved and the south side of Indianapolis has been developed commercially and with residential

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subdivisions, it is still possible to see the distinctive landscape patterns of these small farming operations, particularly along and around Bluff Road.

Examples of individually eligible market garden farm complexes may include one or more farmhouses, several related barns, sheds, or storage buildings, and intact field patterns from the historic period, as seen through research with aerial maps. In addition to these features, complexes associated with greenhouse production may also retain a boiler house and chimney and a greenhouse or greenhouse frame from the historic period. Greenhouses, though once quite common, are now rare; the presence of a greenhouse or greenhouse frame from the historic period adds to the significance of a market garden property.

Criterion A: Farm complexes may be associated with the history of the German market garden growers in Perry Township; this may be established by researching historic maps, census records, aerial maps, and family histories, and other primary sources.

Criterion B: Farm complexes may be “associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.” This association with a person or persons should demonstrate something of importance to the history of the German market gardens and greenhouses in or near Perry Township. The person may have held a leadership position in the organizations that served the local growers or contributed an innovative technique, process, or other contribution to the operations of the market gardeners.

Criterion C: Farm complexes may embody “the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction,” or “represent the work of a master,” or “possess high artistic values,” or “represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction.” To be eligible under Criterion C, the complex may embody characteristics of a particular type, period, or method of construction, illustrate the typical arrangements of buildings and other elements associated with the market garden industry, or include significant examples of the buildings used by those involved in the local market garden industry.

Criterion D: Farm complexes may possibly yield information important to the history of the market garden farms of Perry Township, such as the evolution of the different growing processes, irrigation systems, crops, and technology.

Registration Requirements for Farm Complexes

Farm complexes associated with German market garden growers of Perry Township must possess integrity and be eligible under at least one National Register criterion and may be eligible under multiple criteria.

To be considered eligible for the National Register, a market garden farm complex, depending on its type, may contain a number of key components including farm buildings, such as a barn, equipment shed, storage building, and/or wellhouse, and historic field patterns. Not all farms utilized greenhouses; some gardeners cultivated only in fields. For a complex associated with a greenhouse operation, a boiler house, boiler chimney and greenhouses or greenhouse frames erected during the period of significance add to the integrity of the property. A row of attached greenhouses or frames with no interior walls will count as one resource. Some complexes may have domestic outbuildings such as a garage or outhouse. Interior integrity is less critical for farm complexes, but the house and primary building interiors should be documented.

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With farm complexes, the ensemble is greater than the sum of its parts. Individual buildings or components may have undergone some changes or alterations, such as changes to exterior materials for farm buildings or replacement siding or windows for a dwelling, and still be considered contributing to the complex if the overall integrity of setting, feeling, and association are maintained. Relocated buildings within the complex, including greenhouses, may still contribute to the site, although integrity of the location for the entire site should be preserved.

Generally, eligible farm complexes will need to meet Criterion A/agriculture. To do so, research will need to demonstrate a firm connection to the historic trend of market farming within the geographic limits of the study area, by use of census data, family records, secondary sources such as newspaper articles, and aerial or atlas maps. Sources will be cited in the nomination form. Eligible farms will generally have assortments of garden farming buildings and will exhibit farm planning concepts common to the area. These may include the narrow-lot arrangements to farms and placement of agricultural buildings as described above. The presence of period buildings, such as boiler houses, wells, greenhouses, or traces thereof, barns, and main house(s) enhances the eligibility of the farm complex. A history of the farm's association to the market garden period is highly useful to making a case for Criterion A/agriculture. The presence of fields with intact patterns of usage will contribute to the property's significance. These should be documented with atlas and aerial maps, showing patterns within the period of significance and as they are at the time of nomination (as close as possible, as permitted by available data).

As mentioned earlier, some farms may have association to a leader or innovator within the market garden farming historical pattern. A farm operated by a founder of the one of the growers' associations who played a critical role in farming would be one example. A farm of a family of growers, where one leader cannot be distinguished, or had multiple leaders or innovators, is properly recognized as an element of a Criterion A – a pattern of history, rather than Criterion B.

Farm complexes that meet Criterion C will include properties where the elements of the farm exemplify the market garden farming concept to a high degree. Individual buildings on a farm may have architectural merit; these should be cited, and their outstanding features quantified and qualified in the nomination form.

2. Houses

Description

Houses associated with the German growers tend to be relatively modest in size and date from the late nineteenth century through the mid-twentieth century. Architectural details vary from simple to ornate. These houses were generally built close to the road, so as to preserve as much land as possible behind and around the house for growing crops. Among the earlier dwelling types (from the decades around the turn of the twentieth century), the most common are one-and-one-half-story frame, gable-front houses to which simple Victorian or Craftsman-style trim have been added. Twentieth-century houses included Craftsman-style bungalows, American Foursquare houses, and period revival cottages—most often in the Tudor Revival style. Among these houses, brick was a favored material, although stone, rough-faced concrete block, and even terra cotta tile were also used. By the mid-twentieth century, some growers were building Ranch-style houses for themselves or their family members. Many of these Ranch houses are clad in stone or brick

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vener. Some German farmers built duplexes that they could share with family members or that could provide income for the family by renting out one side.¹²⁶

One resident noted that the Tudor Revival style, which is seen frequently in Perry Township on and around the farms associated with the German gardeners, was popular among the growers because its European-inspired details reminded them of their home country.¹²⁷ Tudor Revival-style dwellings range from simple one-story cottages with minimal details (such as a prominent front-wall or side chimney and arched entrance), to richly detailed houses with leaded glass windows, a variety of exterior wall materials, and half-timbering details. The one-story brick house at 4326 Bluff Road exemplifies the more restrained version of the houses in the area. On the other end of the spectrum, contractor and orchard owner George J. Adrian's picturesque brick house on Epler Road features abundant decorative detail including a recessed porch with arched openings, and inset eyebrow dormer, and leaded glass panes in a variety of window types.

Significance of Houses

Ideally, houses associated with the German market gardens and greenhouses will be part of a farm complex or district. However, there are certain situations in which an individual house might be considered for listing in the National Register. Examples of individually eligible resources may include freestanding architecturally significant houses or houses associated with an important market gardener or gardening family whose leadership, cultivation techniques, or innovations led to a high level of success within the community or influenced other growers throughout the area, when no other farm complexes, buildings, or sites represent the contributions of this grower.

Criterion A: Houses may be associated with the history of the German market gardens and greenhouse growers in Perry Township; this may be established by researching historic maps, census records, aerial maps, and family histories, and other primary sources. Most houses that have association to market gardening in the area will likely contribute to districts, if defined to include them (see: Historic Districts).

Criterion B: Houses may be “associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.” This association with a person or persons should demonstrate something of importance to the history of the German market gardens and greenhouses in or near Perry Township. The person may have held a leadership position in the organizations that served the local growers or contributed an innovative technique, process, or other contribution to the operations of the market gardeners.

Criterion C: Houses may embody “the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction,” or “represent the work of a master,” or “possess high artistic values,” or “represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction.” To be eligible under Criterion C, the building may embody characteristics of a particular type, period, or method of construction or be a significant example of residential architecture constructed for a person or family involved in the local market garden industry.

Criterion D: Houses may possibly yield information important to the history of the market gardens and greenhouses of Perry Township. However, it would be rare that a house would be eligible under this criterion.

¹²⁶ Ron Kocher, telephone interview with Kelly Molloy, July 22, 2020.

¹²⁷ Adrian telephone interview with Kelly Lally Molloy, September 25, 2020. Mrs. Adrian's husband's grandfather was a contractor who built at least several homes in Perry Township, including his own Tudor Revival-style house on Epler Road.

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Registration Requirements for Houses

Houses associated with growers from the market gardens and greenhouses area of Perry Township must possess high integrity and be eligible under at least one National Register criterion and may be eligible under multiple criteria. The integrity threshold for an individual house will be higher than integrity for a house that contributes to a farm complex or historic district. Houses significant under Criterion C will demonstrate a high level of exterior integrity, with integrity of design and materials of utmost importance.

Aspects of the historic setting will enhance the integrity of an individual dwelling. In addition, a house's integrity may be augmented if additional buildings or features associated with the growing process are located nearby, such as a greenhouse or greenhouse frame, boiler house and/or chimney, other outbuilding or the presence of historic field patterns. These additional features may not exist in such numbers to render the property eligible as a farm complex but will contribute to the significance of the property. Interior integrity of houses must be discussed. Houses may have interior spaces designed to accommodate farm business, such as purpose-intended office rooms or spaces for hired hands. If present, these should be documented.

Generally, it will be rare for a house to meet Criterion A. To do so, research will need to demonstrate a firm connection to the historic trend of market farming within the geographic limits of the study area, by use of census data, family records, secondary sources such as newspaper articles, and aerial or atlas maps. Sources will be cited in the nomination form. A highly important factor in a house itself meeting Criterion A within the understanding of this form would be the inclusion of intact farm fields associated with the market farming practiced on the property. Essentially, this consists of a house with its farm plot, where, for reasons of attrition or planning, no agricultural or market garden support buildings exist. In some cases, the house may be associated with land that was nearby but not immediately adjacent, or the house was built as a stand-alone dwelling for a farming family member. In any case, the nomination will explain the relationship of house to land and land to the market garden trend. Boundaries should include the farming fields associated with the house, if the fields exhibit demonstrable integrity from the historical period as defined in this form.

The registration requirements for a farm complex that may be significant under Criterion B will apply to a house that is under consideration for Criterion B within the scope of this form (see Registration Requirements, Farm Complexes).

Under Criterion C, a house can be eligible if an applicant can demonstrate that the house is at least a locally significant example of its type, style, or method of construction. Using data from the Indiana Historic Sites & Structures Inventory, the SHPO's official survey, is the preferred method of demonstrating local significance. Local in this case can be defined as the extent of the township that is the subject of this form, Perry Township. If the house is the work of a locally significant builder or architect, the form should include this information, and if this fact is a critical part of the reason Criterion C is cited, the applicant should explain how the house is a significant or highly representative building within their body of work.

3. Historic Districts

Description

Historic districts encompass broader areas within Perry Township that represent the German market garden community. These areas may include farm complexes, houses, and community buildings, such as stores, garage repair shops, churches, schools, and social or recreational buildings or facilities that are located in proximity to one another and perhaps display familial and communal relationships. These resources depict the distinct

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history of the community and the relationships among neighbors and people who shared both a common heritage and livelihood. Historic districts may also include elements of infrastructure, such as roads and bridges that linked the growers to markets and to each other.

Significance of Historic Districts

The significance of the German market gardeners in Marion County can best be told through historic districts, which show the patterns of settlement, similarities and differences across agricultural properties owned by different families, interrelationships among families, and even competition among growers. With contributing resources that include non-farm-related buildings and sites, the district shows the bigger picture of the German community south of Indianapolis.

Historic districts may be eligible under one or more of the following National Register criteria:

Criterion A: Historic districts may be associated with the history of the German market gardeners in Perry Township this may be established by researching historic maps, census records, aerial maps, and family histories, and other primary sources.

Criterion B: Historic districts may be “associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.” In order to be eligible under Criterion B, a district’s association with a person or persons should demonstrate something of importance in the history of the German market gardeners of Perry Township and the productive life of the individual (or lives of individuals). The person or persons may have held leadership positions in the organizations that served the local growers or contributed an innovative techniques, processes, or other contributions to the operations of the market gardeners.

Criterion C: Fewer historic districts may be significant under Criterion C, which applies to those that “embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction.” To be eligible under Criterion C, the district must embody characteristics of a particular type, period, or method of construction.

Criterion D: Historic districts may be significant at least in part under Criterion D as being likely to yield information important to the history of the German market gardeners of Perry Township. Foundations of buildings or structures may reveal much about the functioning of such a district during an earlier period.

Registration Requirements for Historic Districts

In order to qualify for listing in the National Register, historic districts eligible for their association with the German market garden farms of Perry Township must possess integrity. Criterion A may be the most common criterion for listing.

With historic districts, the whole is greater than the sum of its parts and thus the integrity threshold for contributing resources is less than that of a resource being considered individually. Individual buildings or resources within a district might have sustained some alterations without losing contributing status. For example, windows that have been replaced on an outbuilding or the replacement of siding on a house would not necessarily render the building as non-contributing to the district.

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Buildings, structures and objects, especially greenhouses, were at times moved within a site or from one site to another. If a building has been moved to the district within the period of that site's significance, the building may contribute to the district. While individual buildings may have been moved within a site, integrity of location for the whole site is most important. Integrity will be demonstrated through the functioning of the parts of the district as it relates to significance. Districts that demonstrate the key aspects of market gardening by displaying an array of houses, farm buildings, field patterns, and occasionally community buildings and infrastructure resources, will be eligible. The more complete the array of extant contributing resources, the higher the integrity, even though individual resources may have been modified somewhat. The design and layout of the resources within the district may be more important than the integrity of individual buildings and structures.

Located in Marion County, Indiana's most populous county, Perry Township experienced both commercial and suburban growth in the mid-twentieth century and again in recent decades as some market gardener families have sold their farm holdings for development. Most of the township's historic areas related to the history of the German market gardeners are located in what were once rural areas; the setting of the district may have changed with some commercial and suburban development. Even though this change may have somewhat diminished the integrity of a potential rural district, it would not disqualify it.

Generally, eligible historic districts within the scope of this form will need to have characteristics like those enumerated for farm complexes, but on a far broader scale. Most eligible districts will meet Criterion A/agriculture. To do so, research will need to demonstrate the potential district's firm connection to the historic trend of market farming within the geographic limits of Perry Township, by use of census data, family records, secondary sources such as newspaper articles, and aerial or atlas maps. Sources will be cited in the nomination form. Eligible districts will generally have garden farms that exhibit farm planning concepts common to the area. These may include the narrow-lot arrangements to farms and placement of agricultural buildings as described above. The presence of boiler houses, wells, greenhouses, or traces thereof, barns, and main house(s) is an important factor. Commercial buildings and social/governmental buildings like churches, schools, lodge halls, and gasoline stations can contribute to the district. A history of the district's association to the market garden period is highly useful to making a case for Criterion A/agriculture. The presence of fields with intact patterns of usage will contribute to the district's significance. These should be documented with atlas and aerial maps, showing patterns within the period of significance and as they are at the time of nomination (as close as possible, as permitted by available data).

Individual houses or farms of significant leaders or innovators within the district can meet Criterion B. A specific case should be made, as with an individual listing, for that person's particular and significant contributions to the agricultural trend of market garden farming. A farm of a family of growers, where one leader cannot be distinguished, or had multiple leaders or innovators, is properly recognized as an element of a Criterion A – a pattern of history, rather than Criterion B.

Criterion C/architecture is most likely to be linked to districts that also meet Criterion A/agriculture. Districts that meet Criterion C will include properties that exemplify the market garden farming concept to a high degree. This could be reflected in presence of significant building types or intact patterns of land usage that show a high degree of planning. Individual buildings within the district may have architectural merit; these should be cited, and their outstanding features quantified and qualified in the nomination form. It is more likely that a district can meet Criterion C for its architecture as a whole. A locally significant inventory of intact farmhouses, for example, could justify claiming Criterion C. The distinctive and important elements of

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these resources should be explained in the nomination. Local significance will be defined by the geographic limits of this document, Perry Township of Marion County, Indiana.

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G. Geographical Data

The geographical area encompasses Perry Township in Marion County, Indiana. An explanation of the choice is below.

H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

This Multiple Property Documentation Form for the German Market Garden Farms of Perry Township (Marion County), Indiana, 1867-1972 was the result of identification and research that occurred as part of Section 106 consultation for the I-69 Evansville to Indianapolis Studies, a project initiated by the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA) with the Indiana Department of Transportation (INDOT). Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 requires that federal agencies take into account the impacts of their undertakings upon historic properties.

The I-69 Evansville to Indianapolis Tier 1 Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) stipulated that the preparation of “Brochures, Guides, and Educational Materials” would be investigated in the Tier 2 studies.¹²⁸ Surveys for both the Tier 1 and Tier 2 studies occurred in and around Perry Township, Marion County, Indiana. The purpose of these studies was to identify themes and resources that could be impacted in the construction of the interstate highway. One of the resources identified during the studies was the German Market Gardens and Greenhouses along Bluff Road. As part of Section 106 study for the interstate highway’s construction in the Indianapolis area, historians developed a report that recommended the Southside German Market Gardens Historic District eligible for listing in the National Register within the Area of Potential Effects.

In order to disseminate information from that report on the history of German market garden farms on the south side of Indianapolis, a Tier 2 MOA was drafted that included the preparation of a National Register nomination for this unique area of Marion County. The agreement specified:

INDOT shall fund the preparation a NRHP nomination application, if given consent by the majority of property owners within the Southside German Market Gardeners Historic District. This NRHP nomination application will serve as an educational component to disseminate information about the history of the District. The NRHP nomination application shall be made available as a paper copy at selected repositories in Marion County and in an electronic format on selected websites including but not limited to those of the NRHP (National Park Service [“NPS”]), INDOT, and the Indiana State Architectural and Archaeological Research Database (“SHAARD”) of the Indiana Department of Natural Resources/Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology (“IDNR/DHPA”).¹²⁹

The language of the MOA specified the nomination of a historic district, but the historians learned that there were historic resources related to German market garden farms in a much a wider area, roughly bound by Harding Street, Troy Avenue, Madison Avenue, and Banta Road in Perry Township of Marion County. The historians determined that a Multiple Property Documentation format for the National Register application

¹²⁸ Memorandum of Agreement between the Federal Highway Administration and the Indiana State Historic Preservation Officer Regarding the Selection of a Corridor for I-69, from Evansville to Indianapolis, Indiana, December 3, 2003.

¹²⁹ Memorandum of Agreement between the Federal Highway Administration and the Indiana State Historic Preservation Officer Regarding the I-69 Evansville to Indianapolis Tier 2 Study: Section 6, SR 39 to I-465, November 2017.

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would allow for the nomination of the historic district along Bluff Road, while simplifying future nominations of related historic resources in the area.

In preparing the Multiple Property Documentation Form, the historians relied upon research that had been collected for the I-69 reports, as well as materials compiled during other, unrelated reports prepared by Weintraut & Associates. These materials included primary sources, such as histories, historic maps, aerial maps, newspaper and census resources, as well as notes taken from interviews with property owners and local residents in connection with the identification, evaluation, and mitigation activities for the I-69 project. Historians conducted additional census and newspaper research, and reviewed county histories, city directories, and materials that had been produced for the preparation of an exhibit at the Indiana Historical Society called the “German Growers of Indianapolis,” which was on display in 2018.

The historians expanded a context that was developed as part of the identification and evaluation efforts for I-69 Tier 2. Property types arose out of the fieldwork for the broader project and additional fieldwork and windshield surveys conducted during the mitigation process. Historians also reviewed local architectural survey information in the form of the *Marion County: Decatur, Perry, and Franklin Townships: Interim Report* (1992) and related field survey information from the Indiana Historic Sites and Structures Inventory.

The processes, equipment, buildings and structures, and materials associated with the German market garden growers evolved over roughly 150 years, influenced by traditional knowledge, technological advances, growers’ associations, professional assistance, and changing markets for their products. The associated historic landscape also transformed over time, but still reflects this unique group of growers who settled south of Indianapolis.

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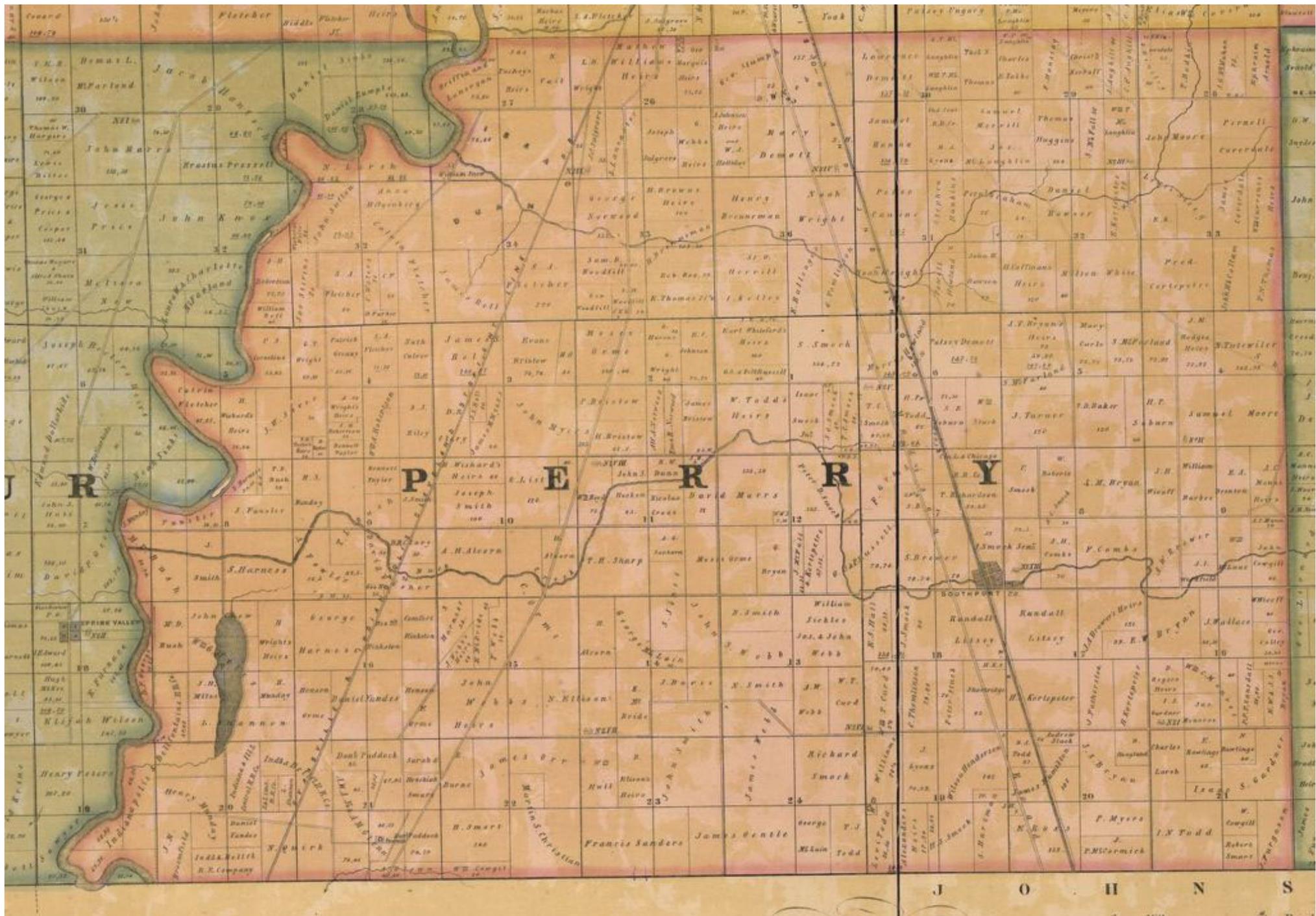


Figure I. Perry Township, 1855, from Condit, Wright & Hayden, Map of Marion County, Indiana, 1855. Library of Congress Online Catalog (LOC control number 2013593172).

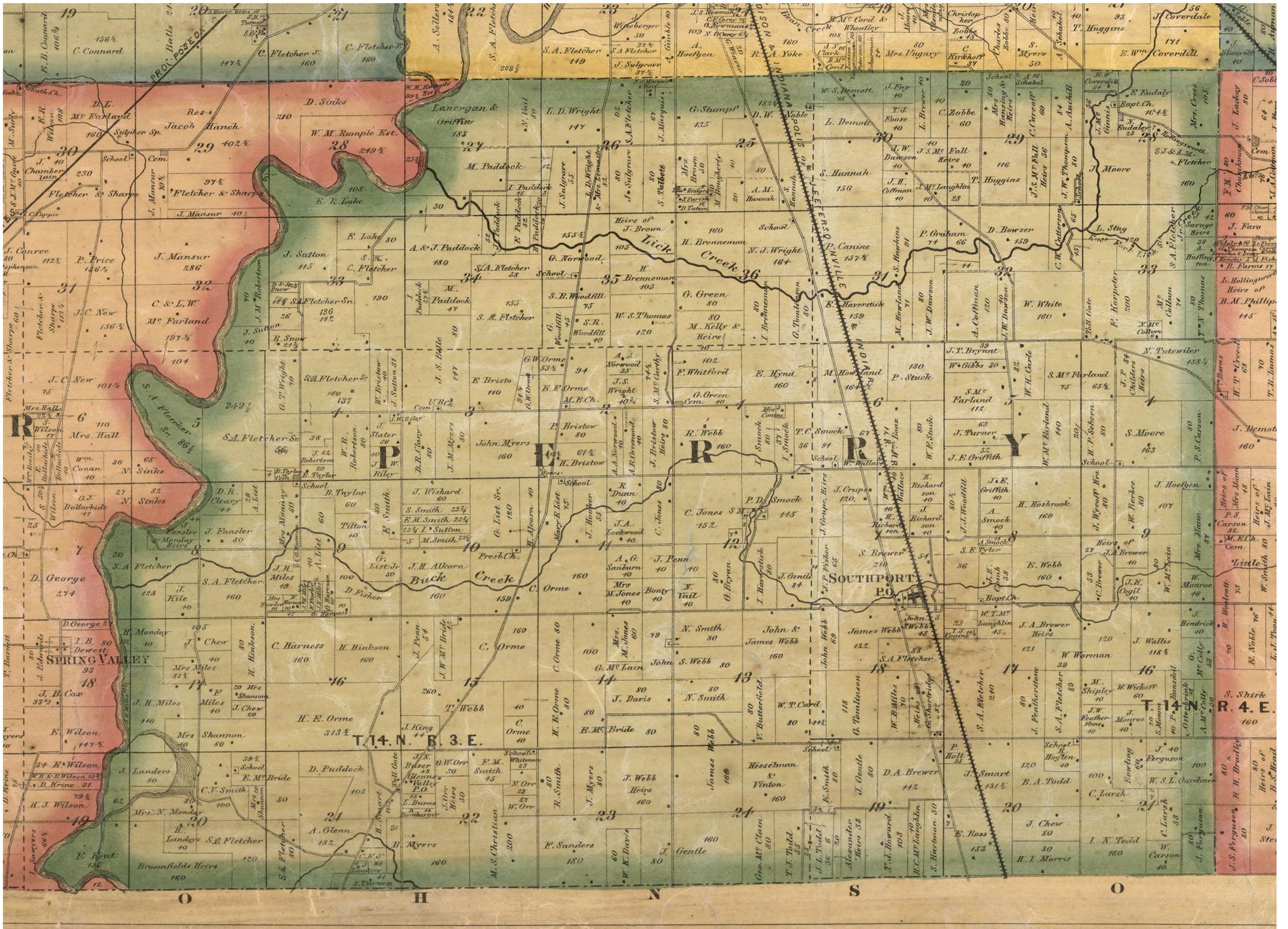
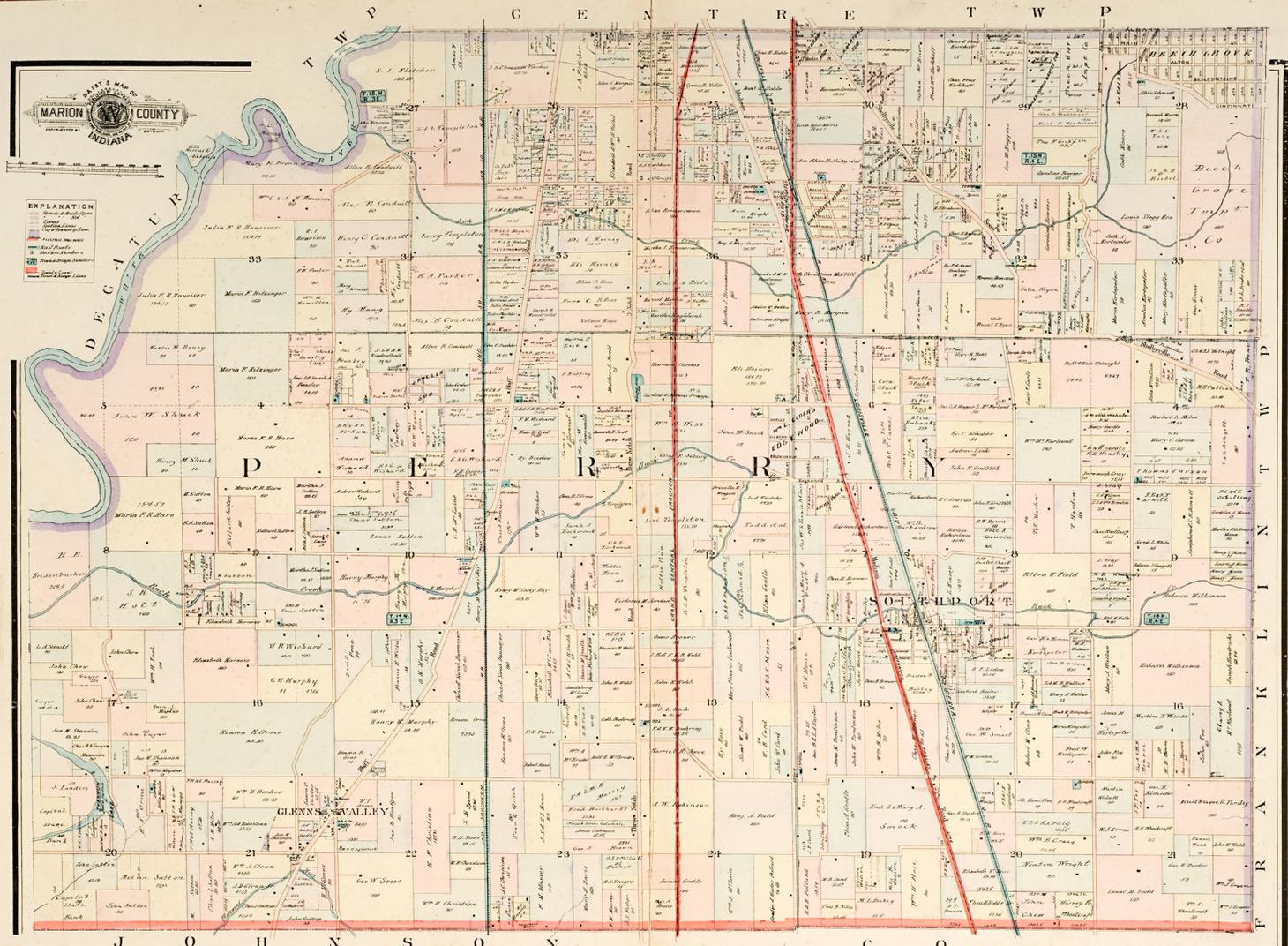


Figure 2. Perry Township, 1866, from A. Warner, Map of Marion County, Indiana, 1866. Library of Congress Online Catalog (LOC control number 2013593173).



MARION MAP OF COUNTY

Compiled and Published From Official Records and Actual Surveys
 BY
C. W. BAIST

906 Walnut St.
 PHILADELPHIA.

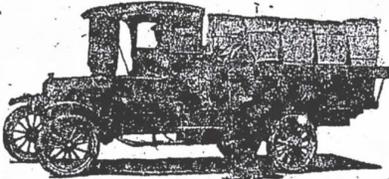
EXPLANATION
 Symbols of Survey Lines
 Symbols of Township Lines
 Symbols of Range Lines
 Symbols of Section Numbers
 Symbols of Quarter Sections
 Symbols of Township and Range Numbers

Figure 4. Perry Township, 1909, from Baist Map of Marion County, 1909. Indiana Historical Society Map Collection.

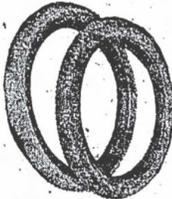


Figure 5. Greenhouse construction on the Peaper Farm, c. 1917. Peaper Family Collection.

SMITH FORM-A-TRUCK
1 and 2-Ton Capacities
The Lowest Priced Truck on the Market



Four years in daily service.



Four years in daily service.



Mr. Fred Wegehof,
Indianapolis, Ind.

Four years in daily service
without repair.

Mr. Wegehof bought his Smith Form-A-Truck in September, 1916.
The above are photographs of the actual TRUCK, TIRES and the OWNER.
In August, 1920—nearly four years after its purchase—Mr. Wegehof replaced the U. S. pneumatic front tires for the first time and purchased his first chain link for repairs.
Mr. Wegehof says the truck has had daily service in hauling incidental to gardening and marketing, also coal and manure hauling.
You are cordially invited to visit our display at the Auto Show, State Fair, Sept. 6th to 11th.

Cartinhour-Bowman Company
Main 2048. 619 North Capitol Ave. Indianapolis, Ind.

Figure 6. Advertisement for Smith Form-A-Truck, featuring Fred Wegehof, 1920. Published in the *Indianapolis Star*, September 5, 1920. Accessed through Newspapers.com.



Figure 7. Peaper Farm, c. 1918. Peaper Family Collection.



Figure 8. George A. and Edith Adrian House, 2020. Weintraut & Associates.

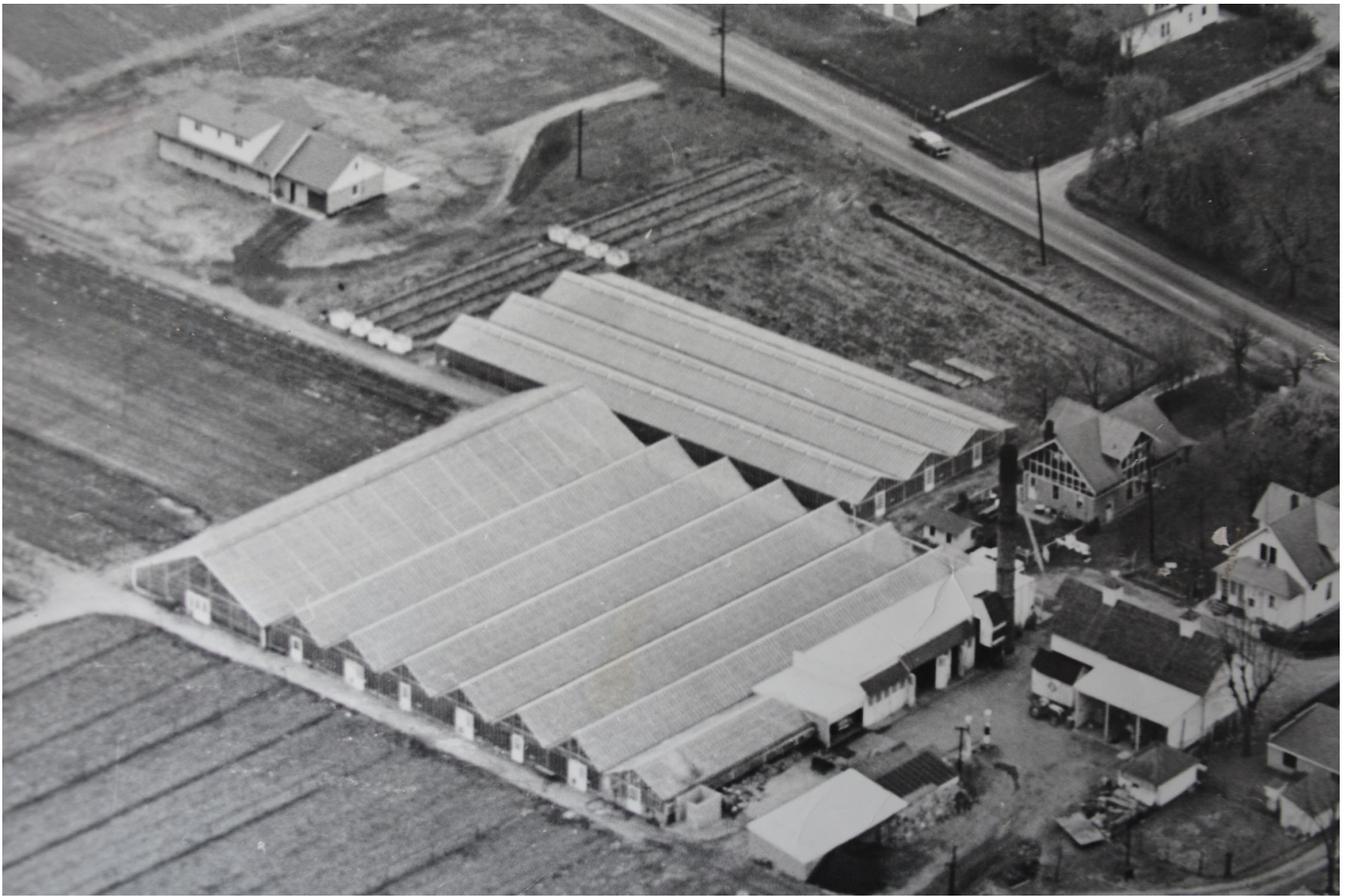


Figure 9. Peaper Farm, 1950s. Peaper Family Collection.