OLD STATE HOUSE
Boston National Historical Park

Historic Structure Report
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HISTORIC STRUCTURE REPORT

OLD STATE HOUSE

Boston, Massachusetts

Prepared for

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THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
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By

The Society for the Preservation
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I. ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE OLD STATE HOUSE
Research into the history of the Old State House was aided greatly by a careful compilation of documents from primary sources that was made under the supervision of Harold F. Nutzhorn in 1935-38. The 517-page report — entitled "The Old State House in Boston, Massachusetts" — was prepared under "the sponsorship of the Massachusetts State Library through the Works Progress Administration." Four researchers worked more than two and a half years to assemble it. Part I of the WPA report consists of what Nutzhorn accurately describes as unequivocal documentary evidence arranged chronologically to show various alterations...which took place within and without this historic building from the time of its erection in 1713 to the present.

In every instance of double-checking the items in the WPA report, the citations were found to be accurate. Thus the WPA report is cited frequently, especially in the first four sections of this report. Although it has not been published, copies of the WPA report are available at the Massachusetts State Library in the State House and at SPNEA headquarters.

The other frequently cited sources are Boston Prints and Printmakers, in the early chapters of the report, and the Re-dedication of the Old State House, in the later chapters. References to these two sources are abbreviated as BPP and Re-dedication, respectively. The Bostonian Society Annual Proceedings up to 1962 have been bound and are referred to as Proceedings. Pagination of the Proceedings is not consecutive in the hardbound volumes. It is only consecutive in each year's report. Therefore, citations from the Proceedings include volume number, year, and page number. The volume number refers only to the set of Proceedings at the Bostonian Society.

Moreover, the meetings were held in January, so that a Proceedings reference dated 1910, for example, will contain reports on work done in the Old State House during the year 1909.

In the notes at the end of each section, source citations consist of author, title, and page number. Photographs and clippings are cited by location and date. Full citation is available in the bibliography and in the list of illustrations.

The Boston Public Library, a source of much of the material used in this report, is referred to as BPL.

Finally, all dates given throughout the report are in New-Style format.
Introduction

The building known today as the Old State House has remained on the same site, exhibiting the same exterior dimensions, throughout its 265-year history (Ill. 1). It has always been a freestanding building, trending east-west down the middle of State (formerly King) Street. Its west end has always abutted Washington (formerly Cornhill) Street; its east end once looked out upon Long Wharf, only a quarter-mile away in the 18th century. (1)

This site was occupied originally by the First Boston Town House, probably a medieval-looking timber building, from 1658 to 1711. Then as now, it was necessary for east-west traffic to divide around the Old State House. (2) As traffic on State (King) Street increased, the siting proved to be a real problem. After the First Town House burned in 1711, the need to widen the street was acknowledged. The Records of the Boston Selectmen for March 3, 1712, mention street widening. (3) And when the present building was erected later that year, the strictures of the site determined its dimensions. The committee "for rebuilding a house for public meetings on civil occasions for the use of the Province, County, and Town" specified that the breadth of the structure was not to exceed 36 feet. (4) The length of the new building, too, was established by the House of Representatives, which appointed a building committee and instructed the committee that the length "be not more than 112 or less than 110 feet." (5)

The persistence of these tight conditions over the years has held the Old State House to its original size; there has never been any thought of expansion. Even so, the building has been threatened three times with demolition or removal because it obstructed traffic — in the mid-18th century, in the late 19th century, and in the mid-20th century.

If the site of the building and its exterior dimensions have not changed, its occupants have. Numerous different uses prompted changes in its name, now rather confusing. Since it was the second Town House to be built in Boston — the first one having burned — it was called the Town House during most of the preRevolutionary period. It also was known as the Court House, and even occasionally, the Province House. The building was used by the merchants of Boston as an exchange. It also was occupied by the Town's Selectmen until 1742; by the royal governor and his council; by the representatives of the towns of the Province; and by the Suffolk County courts. In late 1776 the building became the seat of government for the state of Massachusetts, and until 1798 was called the State House. After the state government moved to the new State House on Beacon Hill, the building was called the Old State House. Despite one decade of use as the Boston City Hall (1830-40), the building has been called the Old State House continually since 1798, and this report will refer to it (except in some quoted material) as the Old State House.

Because of these changes in use, the Old State House has undergone significant alterations in appearance and interior plan. The visual and documentary evidence relating to the history of the Old State House suggests that the most important revisions tended to occur in clusters at a given time. Therefore, the architectural history of the building is presented chronologically, divided into eight periods. At the conclusion of the historical portion of this report is a summary of the entire chronology of the Old State House — an overview that focuses on the major developments in the life of the building.
Later sections of the report include a discussion of the age of extant elements; a description of the original wooden structural system; and a discussion of the building's conditions and related recommendations.

NOTES

(1) WPA, p. 38.
(2) Whitehill, Boston: A Topographical History, p. 10.
(3) Selectmen's Records, 1701-15, p. 158.
(4) WPA, p. 17.
Illustration 1. Detail of King Street Showing Old State House.
1712-1747: THE FIRST PERIOD

Boston's first, wooden Town House was destroyed by fire on October 2, 1711, leaving the Town, the Province, and the County without a public building. Within three weeks after the fire, both the General Assembly and the freeholders of the Town of Boston concurred on the proposal to build "a house in or near the place where the old Town House stood."(1)

Because the building was intended for use by the Town of Boston and by Suffolk County as well as by the Province, the General Assembly (often called the House of Representatives or the General Court) directed that the construction costs be apportioned as follows: the Province to pay one-half; the Town of Boston and County of Suffolk together to provide the other half.(2) These proportions roughly reflected the building's use — by governing bodies of the Colony and the Town; by the courts; by the County for offices; and by merchants of Boston. The Court of General Sessions of the Peace ordered on November 11, 1712, that Boston and Suffolk County split their share of the costs equally; each was to pay one-quarter of "the Charge in building the said house." The County raised its share by assessing the 14 towns in Suffolk County. By February 1712 "the whole cost of the House" was computed from an audit of the accounts, and was found to be $5142/18/10.(3) Although the architect or designer is not known, the man who was paid "for building the Province & Court House now erected in Boston..." was William Payne.(4)

In May 1712 Samuel Sewall laid a stone at the corner of the new building. This is known because Sewall recorded the event in his Diary, and also carved his initials and the date in the stone. Within a year the building was in use. The first court session was held there in April 1713, and all the Councillors were sworn in at the end of May 1713. Sewall commented that as they were in new quarters, they "ought to reform."(5)

No outstanding illustrations have been discovered of the Old State House as it looked between 1712 and 1747. Neither have any representations of the Old State House alone, before 1747, been found. The views and maps of Boston in which it appears are crowded. Therefore, details of its appearance must be inferred from a relatively small number of small-scale representations.

A 1722 map of Boston by John Bonner (Ill. 1), for example, clearly indicates the location and east-west orientation of the long axis of the Old State House, but shows virtually no detail. Only the south elevation appears. A large, dark area in the center of the first or street level suggests a single entrance there. In the middle of the roof there appears to be a tower of some sort.

A central tower is prominent in other representations of the Old State House from the 1712-47 period. It appears in more detail in the views engraved by William Burgis. (A list of the Burgis views and maps that show the Old State House constitutes Appendix A.) Samuel Sewall related that a friend of his observed an eclipse of the sun from the "turret" of the Old State House in 1711.(6) And a bill for mending the "Lock of Territ door" was submitted to the Town of Boston in 1711.(7) The earliest Burgis view, 1723 (Ill. 2), shows a tower, but in too small a size to be very informative. However, the Burgis view of 1743 (Ill. 3) clearly shows the tower to be octagonal, with a flared roof, surmounted by a swallow-tailed banner weather-vane.(8) Myrna Kaye, who wrote Yankee Weathervanes, notes that the weather-vane was "made in 1714, probably in America but possibly in England, for the Old State House, Boston, Mass." and that it is "still atop the Old State House."
Like Harvard Hall, the Province House, and the First Church, the 1712 build of the Old State House probably had a gambrel roof. The Burgis views of 1723 (Ill. 2), 1725, and 1743 (Ill. 3) show the roof slopes with dormers. Above them is a balustrade, which would indicate a gambrel- rather than a pitched-roof outline. Although no chimneys appear in the early views of the Old State House, records show that the Boston Selectmen paid bills for "a plate for ye Townhouse chimney" in 1713,(9) and for chimney repair in 1744.(10)

The earliest Burgis view (Ill. 2) and the later, somewhat clearer Burgis/Price view of 1743 (Ill. 3) show the familiar stepped gable, with scrolls in the steps, at the east end of the building. Given the classical symmetry of the Old State House, one can infer a similar gable treatment at the west end. Two ox-eye windows are visible high in the east-end gable, on either side of a dark square area that may represent a sundial. A bill for "casing ye Ox-Eyes," submitted to the Town of Boston in 1735 by William Young, confirms the existence of oculus windows at this time.(11) Both of these Burgis views show scrolls in the steps of the east gable. It appears, therefore, that the lion and unicorn were not original to the building, but were added as emblems of British rule sometime between 1743 and 1751 (the date of an engraving in which they do appear).

In 1717 a bill for "Laying the Lead- over the Balconey Doors in the Council Chamber" was paid to William Young.(12) The 1743 Burgis view suggests a large segmental pediment over a balcony, with what looks like pilasters on either side under the ends of the pediment. This is the same treatment that exists today; it seems to have remained basically unchanged in appearance throughout the history of the building.

* * *

One of the most important uses to which the "new House" was put was a continuation of an earlier use. The marketplace tradition of the site of the Old State House was established almost as early as the Town of Boston itself.(13) It was continued in the 1657 Town House,(14) and present in the 1712 build of the Old State House as well. Namely, the entire first floor of the latter served primarily as an "Exchange," that is, a "Walk for the Merchants."(15) In 1744 one writer described "The lower chamber of this House, called the Change," as "all one apartment, the roof of which is supported all along the middle with a row of wooden pillars...."(16) The 1712 building committee was ordered to construct on the first floor, in addition to the merchants' exchange, "(only) two offices below the stairs in the Province & Court House now building in Boston, one for the Secretary of the Province, the other for the Register of Deeds in the County of Suffolk."(17) The Boston Gazette or Weekly Journal noted that there were "County Records under the Western Staircase" and a portion of "the Province Records under the Eastern Staircase," probably in the two offices.(18) A portion of the first floor, according to one source, also was used as a post office, at least in 1727.(19)

The second floor of the Old State House, as early documents clearly indicate, was divided into three chambers, with stairway lobbies between them.
Illustration 2. Detail Showing Old State House (possibly 1723).

South Burying Ground.
Illustration 3. Detail Showing Old State House (1743).
Ordered that it be an instruction to the committee appointed to build the Province and Court House that they fit the East Chamber for the uses of his Excellency the Governor and the Honourable Council, the middle Chamber for this House (the General Assembly), and the West Chamber for the Superior and Inferior Courts. (20)

Documentary evidence from a number of later sources states that the chamber on the eastern end of the second floor was used by the Governor — who was appointed by the Crown — and the Council — 28 men appointed by the General Court.

The Council Chamber had window seats; Samuel Sewall mentions them in his Diary. (21) From the Chamber a door in the east wall opened onto a balcony, as the 1717 bill for "Laying the Lead- over the Balconey Doors in the Council Chamber" indicates. (22)

The balcony that opened from the Council Chamber provided a prominent place for public announcements. One significant announcement was that of the War of the Spanish Succession (1740). "His Majesty's declaration of war was read in the balcony of the Council Chamber...and then his Excellency's proclamation for encouraging the enlisting of volunteers was published out of the balcony." (23)

The volunteers, who made up a large portion of the forces that won a decisive military victory at the fortress of Louisbourg in Nova Scotia in 1745, were colonials. The military experience gained by these Massachusetts men was to prove useful, 30 years later, when they took up arms on their own behalf.

Under the balcony were steps that served a different public purpose. In The Judicial History of Massachusetts, Emory Washburn related the following anecdote.

As the penal code of a state is often regarded as a kind of criterion by which to determine the degree of refinement of public feeling there, it may be proper to mention the following as a mode of punishment adapted in 1735. The defendant was indicted for forging a bond, but the evidence not proving the fact fully, he was convicted of being a cheat, and the punishment inflicted was to wear the forged bond and a square paper fixed to his breast with the word CHEAT written in capital letters and to stand on the steps of the Court House for half an hour between twelve and one o'clock. And this sentence was accordingly executed. (24)

Usage of the Council Chamber was not limited to business and politics; celebration and commemoration also took place in this room. The demise of Queen Anne occasioned "the solemnity of publishing the proclamation of Queen Anne's death," an event which all of the Councillors were asked to attend in the Council Chamber. Five days later the Council ordered that wine, brandy, biscuit, and other necessary items be laid in

at the Council Chamber for the entertainment of the Governor, Council and other gentlemen that shall attend the solemnity of proclaiming his Majesty King George on Wednesday next, the 22nd courant to be performed at 12 o'clock. And
a dinner for the Governor and Council and candles for illuminating the Town House in the evening. (25)

Also to provide bread and wine for the troops that are commanded to attend the said solemnity. (26)

Sewall drew the line, however, at theatrical uses.

There is a rumor as if some designed to have a play acted in the Council Chamber next Monday, which much surprises me. And as much as in me lies I do forbid it. The Romans were very fond of their plays, but I never heard they went so far as to turn their Senate House into a playhouse. Our Town House was built at so great cost and charge, for the sake of serious and important business; the three rooms above, and the Exchange below, business of the Province, County and Town. Let it not be abused with dances or other scenic divertisements. (27)

The Court Chamber was at the west end of the second floor. (28) The first court session was opened in April 1713 — according to Samuel Sewall — with the aid of Mr. Coleman, who "prayed excellently." (29) Sewall called the room a "convenient" and "august chamber" and may have been referring to 12/12 sash when he expressed the hope that "this large transparent, costly glass would serve to oblige the attorneys always to set things in a true light...." (30)

Although no records or views of the Old State House in its first period describe the windows in detail, bills for glazing and for putting candles in the Old State House windows imply that fenestration in the first period was virtually the same as it was in the second period (for which views do exist).

The earliest bill that specifies a number of windows is dated 1728, for "work a putting up the strips to putt the candles in of 54 winders." (31) The total, 54, could be the sum of six windows each on the west and east elevations, and 21 windows each on the south and north elevations (11 on the second floor, 10 on the first floor). This total does not include smaller windows in the dormers, the ox-eye windows, or possible sash in the east balcony door. It is, however, the total of all possible 12/12 sash, and is a figure that occurs frequently in window cleaning and repair bills in the years 1712-47 and 1747-c. 1800. (32)

Bills for window repairs at the Old State House were large after 1730, as the colonists reacted with violence against royal edicts that infringed upon their rights. William Young was paid over £ 38 for glazing in 1731. (33) In October 1739 the Province paid some constables £ 10 "to Suppress the Mob and hinder their breaking ye publick as wells privat windows," particularly "the Winders at (the) Council Chamber." (34)

"Difficult Circumstances of the Province, especially the Town of Boston" prompted the Selectmen to forego the expense of "cleaning the Glass at the Town House" in 1744. The Selectmen were meeting at that time in Faneuil Hall. (35) In May 1745, however, all of the windows were cleaned, at four shillings each. (36)
Two years later, in November 1747, a group of colonists that Governor William Shirley called "an outrageous mob" protested the British practice of impressing colonists to serve on English ships, by hurling "volleys of stones and brick-bats...through the windows into the Council Chamber."(37)

Between the Council Chamber and the Courtroom was a middle hall, the Representatives' Chamber, in which two delegates from each town in the Province met for legislative purposes.

Information concerning the attic and basement of the Old State House between 1712-47 is not extensive. At least some of the basement was rented. As early as 1714 there is a record of cellar rental at the Old State House by John Sale, a scavenger.(38) John Buttolph, a cooper, rented "the middle cellar under the Town House" for one year at £14 in 1716.(39) In 1722 and 1739 the Selectmen's Minutes record cellar rentals, specifying in 1739 that Joseph Savell, a "wine cooper," is to occupy "Two Cellars under the Town House" at the southwest and northwest corners.(40) The attic is first mentioned as the "Upper Story" in the Boston Weekly News Letter account of the 1747 fire.(41) This account notes that the fire destroyed "a great Quantity of Wines and other Liquors" in the cellars, and "Books and Papers in the Offices of the Upper Story," that is, in the story above the Council Chamber and the chamber of the House of Representatives.
NOTES

(1) WPA, p. 12.
(2) Ibid., p. 13.
(3) Ibid., p. 19.
(4) Ibid., p. 21.
(6) Ibid., p. 734.
(7) WPA, p. 20.
(9) WPA, p. 20.
(10) Ibid., p. 42.
(11) Ibid., p. 34.
(12) Ibid., p. 25.
(16) Ibid., p. 43.
(17) Ibid., p. 16.
(18) Ibid., p. 50.
(19) Ibid., p. 29.
(20) Ibid., p. 16.
(21) Sewall, Diary, p. 741.
(22) WPA, p. 32.
(23) Ibid., p. 38.
(24) Ibid., p. 34.
(26) WPA, p. 22.
(28) WPA, p. 16.
(29) Sewall, Diary, p. 711.
(30) Ibid., p. 713.
(31) WPA, p. 29.
(32) Ibid., pp. 29, 43, 81, 92, 114, 136.
(33) Ibid., p. 31.
(34) Ibid., p. 37.
(35) Ibid., p. 41.
(36) Ibid., p. 43.
(37) Ibid., p. 45.
(38) Ibid., p. 23.
(39) Ibid., p. 24.
(40) Ibid., pp. 27, 37.
(41) Ibid., p. 47.
1748-c. 1800: THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

Less than one month after the "mob" assaulted the Council Chamber with brickbats, the Old State House was almost entirely devastated by one of Boston's extensive fires. This occurred on the night of December 9, 1747, after a day of severe cold and roaring fires in the fireplaces. Having started under the hearths of the back-to-back fireplaces between the Council and the Representatives' Chambers, "it first broke out in the Deal or Cedar Wainscot passage between the Doors of those Chambers, which were of Deal or Cedar Wainscot also."(1) Because it quickly ran up and out through the roof, it consumed the interior of the Old State House entirely. According to The Boston Weekly News-Letter, "...that spacious and Beautiful building, except the bare outside Walls, was entirely destroyed...."(2) Not only the building, but also books, records, pictures, and "a great Quantity of Wines and other Liquors were lost, to the amount of several Thousand Pounds" in the cellar.(3)

Two days after the fire, the House of Representatives ordered that the Selectmen of Boston "be...impowered to secure the walls of the late Court House from the inconvenience of the weather by causing them to be covered with boards in the best & cheapest manner."(4) By the following March the Representatives had decided to neither relocate nor construct a new building, but rather to repair "the late Court house in the Town of Boston...as soon as conveniently may be, and that one-half the charge thereof be borne by the Province, the other half by the County of Suffolk and the Town of Boston."(5) The total cost for the rebuilding was £3705/11/4.(6)

In January 1750 the Town Clerk, writing on behalf of the residents of Boston, petitioned the General Court to exempt the Town from paying its share of the costs of the 1748 reconstruction and repair of the Old State House.(7) The petition is a long recitation of the history of the Town's participation in the building programs of the 1657 and 1712 Town Houses, in both cases "thought reasonable" because the Town did in fact use space in the building for "publick meeting and other publick uses...." But in 1742 "all the Papers & Records of the Town..." and "all publick Meetings" were moved to Faneuil Hall. The "Rooms in the Town house" that had been appropriated "to the immediate Use and Service of the Town were then Improv'd for the Service of the General Court....," that is, the attic rooms over the Council Chamber.(8) Consequently, the Town "have (sic) ever since been Excluded from any Benefit thereof (from the Old State House), except by the rents of the Cellars only...." From 1742 forward, the Town had felt that "their proportion of the charge...paid toward constant repairs" of the Old State House was particularly onerous. And the idea of paying one-quarter of the cost of rebuilding a structure they did not plan to use was not at all agreeable. Again, in June 1751 the Town complained of "unequal Assessment," and petitioned to be relieved of the burden of paying a fourth of the Old State House costs.(9) These petitions were not granted, however, and fortunately so: Town activities did return to the attic of the rebuilt Old State House for a time, after a fire in 1761 forced them out of Faneuil Hall.(10)

* * * *
The earliest known detailed view of the 1748 rebuild of the Old State House is an engraved view of the south elevation that was printed in 1751 (Ill. 4). Thomas Dawes, Jr., was the artist, and Nathaniel Hurd the engraver. The Old State House as shown in this and other views of the 1747–c. 1800 period is a very good provincial example of the rather Baroque style still common in the English-speaking world in the early 18th century. In some respects Illustration 4 appears to be slightly inaccurate. There is a belt course between the second and attic floors, across the east and west gable ends, and another between the first and second floors, on the north and south elevations; this latter is shown as a cornice. The cornice itself, at the eave line, projects improbably far beyond the corners of the building. The roof appears to be slightly concave, but the present rafters—probably of 1748 vintage—are straight, ruling out the idea that the roof was actually curved. The volutes on the capitals of the pilasters flanking the doorway are indicated in a very sketchy fashion, quite small in relation to the size of the pilasters.

Otherwise, however, this highly detailed "portrait" of the south elevation of the Old State House furnishes ample and probably accurate architectural information. Above a rusticated stone foundation (shown also in later views) is a water table. Openings along the foundation are symmetrically arranged on either side of the steps of a central doorway. The types of openings occur in the following order from west to east: two small, round-headed windows with solid shutters; a bulkhead; another round-headed shuttered window; the doorway and steps; another small, shuttered window; another bulkhead; and two more similar windows. Since the street descends to the east, the windows at the eastern end of the cellar are somewhat taller than those at the western end. Fenestration in this view consists of 10 windows on the first floor and 11 windows on the second, each with 12/12 sash, and five dormers with 8/8 sash. The windows at both first and second stories have brick jack arches.

Four downspouts with decorative box leader heads divide the windows on the north and south elevations into the following rhythmic grouping: 1/3/3/3/1. On the first floor, the central element of the middle cluster of three is the doorway rather than a window.

The doorway, central to the design of the south elevation, has five curved steps down to the street (Ill. 5). The door itself is a paneled double door, each half having ten panels. Over the door there appears to be a jack-arch motif in either brick or wood. Flanking the door are pilasters; these look to be engaged columns, but are probably the rectangular-plan pilasters seen in all later views until 1830. These pilasters have strangely flattened, possibly Ionic, capitals, that support a full entablature with narrow pulvinate frieze and triangular pediment. Modillions appear under the pediment and the cornice, and echo those under the eave cornice.

The roof is broken by five dormers. At the east and west end of the roof, approximately on the ridge, are two small chimneys; to the east of the tower is a larger chimney, located on the ridge in the area between the Council Chamber and the Representatives' Chamber. (It will be remembered that the 1747 fire broke out here.) This area corresponds to the theorized location of the 1748, long-absent west partition of the Council Chamber, as will be explained shortly. In the visible step of the stepped gables at the west end is a scroll motif; a lion rampant occupies the corresponding location at the east end.
Illustration 4. "...South Prospect of the Court House in Boston" (1751).

To the Hon. Thomas Hubbard Esq. Speaker of the House of Representatives this tenth Prospect of the Court House in Boston is humbly dedicated by his Hon. most Obedient humble servant.

78. South Prospect of the Court House in Boston, 1751
Illustration 5. Detail of South Entrance, Old State House (1751).
A three-stage tower is located in the center of the roof. In the Dawes/Hurd view, the south prospect of the tower is shown having a rusticated-wood first stage, with quoins and two ox-eye windows. The south face of the second stage of the tower has a balustrade with scrolls and urns topped by finials at its corners, and a large window flanked by pilasters, the capitals of which may be Ionic. The roof of the tower is shown with an ogee profile. A swallow-tail banner weathervane, which appears in nearly all later views down to the present, is shown at the top of the tower.

Illustration 6 (1768) shows the Old State House with two ox-eye windows and a pedimented balcony on the east. The decorative elements in the steps of the east parapet do not appear clearly, however; there is a remote possibility that they might be scrolls, rather than a lion and unicorn.

In April 1748 the Committee that was formed to see to the "repairs of the Court House" presented

a plan of the inside Work which they apprehend will be the most commodious and best answer the design of the building....

The original plan of the rebuilt interior has not come to light, but three sources furnish information that is plausible, given the framing of the building. The first of these is Hugh Morrison, who in Early American Architecture (1952) stated the plan and dimensions of the second-floor rooms of the 1748 build of the Old State House:

Access to the second floor was by two staircases leading to hallways between the three main rooms. Of these, the easternmost, a room 32 feet square serving as the Council Chamber, was the most ornately furnished and decorated. In the middle of the building was the Representatives' Chamber, measuring about 32 by 38 feet, with small lobbies in the stair hall at either side....The westernmost room, measuring about 22 by 32 feet, was the Court Chamber. This housed the superior and inferior courts until a new courthouse building was erected in 1769. The third floor, under the roof, was occupied in colonial times by a number of offices and committee rooms.(12)

The second source is a plan for a proposed restoration of the Old State House (Ill. 7), drawn for the Boston National Historic Sites Commission in 1956 by Consulting Architect Edgar T.P. Walker. It shows the second floor with three chambers and two stair lobbies between them, corresponding to Morrison's description. The third source is the earliest contemporary description of the Old State House that mentions specific dimensions — contained in an issue of Massachusetts Magazine from 1791.(13)

The State House is an elegant brick building, standing at the head of State Street, one mile and 297 yards from the fortification. It is 110 feet in length and 38 in breadth. The foundations of the present walls were laid A.D. 1712, the former State House having been reduced to ashes in the great fire of the preceding year. The internal part of this building again experienced the desolating flame in 1747, when a vast number of ancient books and early records, together with a
collection of valuable papers, were destroyed, and to the ravages of this calamity we may attribute the imperfect accounts that are to be obtained of the first and second building. The ascent to the lower floor, as fronting Long Wharf, is by an elevated flight of large stone steps, railed round with neat iron balustrades. There are three other entrances: one at the opposite end, facing to Cornhill, and the other two in the opposite centres of the length. The Clerks of the Supreme Judicial Court and Court of Common Pleas hold their offices upon the first floor, which also serves in bad weather as an exchange for the mercantile part of the community. A range of Doric pillars support the floors of the second story, which is destined for the accommodation of the General Legislature. The Senate Chamber is 32 feet square and 15 feet in height, furnished with a convenient lobby for committees to transact business in. The Representatives' Chamber is 57¾ feet in length, 32 in breadth, and the same height as the former, with a well-constructed lobby. The third or upper story is improved by different committees during the session, and has an East, West and South lobby; beside several appartments for publick papers and records. On the center of the roof is a tower, consisting of three stories, finished according to the Tuscan, Dorick and Ionic orders complete, and from thence is a fine prospect of the Harbor and adjacent Country.(14)

The length of the Representatives' Chamber, 57 feet six inches, reflects an enlargement that occurred in 1776.(15) The "range of Doric pillars" mentioned above was specified more clearly as "ten pillars of the Dorick order, which support the chambers occupied by the legislature."(16)

While no other documentary sources that absolutely confirm Morrison's and Walker's dimensions and plans have been found, the structural system of the Old State House gives credence to their belief in the existence of a 32-foot square Council Chamber, a 38-by-32-foot Representatives' Chamber, a 22-by-32-foot Court Chamber, and two stairways with lobbies, one on either end of the Representatives' Chamber. As will be discussed in the section entitled "Original Wooden Structural System," the building is framed internally with 10 lateral (north-south) wooden structural planes, each consisting of first- and second-floor girders below a king-post roof truss (of which the tie beam serves as a third-floor girder). In local 18th-century construction, major partitions are apt to be located along girders that define structural planes. This is particularly true of partitions that define the sides of stair halls: the partition often passes up between stories just beside a girder so as to present an uninterrupted plaster surface throughout the height of the stair.

Some attic floorboards were pried up to look for signs on the 1748 roof-truss tie beams (third-floor girders) for marks where original partitions might have been attached. No such marks were found. However, only limited inspection of these beams was possible. What may be significant is that the tie beams (and first- and second-floor girders directly beneath them) are so spaced that the second-floor rooms, as described in the sources mentioned, would have ended very nearly at several of the structural planes.
Illustration 6. Detail Showing Old State House (1768).
Illustration 7. "Proposed Restoration of the Old State House...Second-Floor Plan" (1956).
Plane 8 (counting from the west) is approximately in the right location to coincide with a partition that would have formed the west wall of the Council Chamber, at a distance of 32 feet from the east wall of the building — a figure mentioned in several sources already discussed. Allowing one bay for stairs (between planes 7 and 8), the space between planes 3 and 7 is such as to accommodate rather nicely a Representatives' Chamber measuring 38 feet from east to west. This would correspond with Hugh Morrison's statement about the length of this room. Presumably the stair to the west of the Representatives' Chamber occupied the bay between planes 2 and 3, with the Court Chamber still further west. If, as Morrison states, the Court Chamber measured 22 feet from east to west, its eastern partition would more or less line up with plane 2.

In 1776 the stairs in the bay between planes 2 and 3 were removed, and new stairs were installed in the extreme northwest corner of the building. The documentary evidence for this is described in a later portion of this chapter. The purpose of this change was to enlarge the Representatives' Chamber by moving its west-end partition to "within 11 feet of the West End of the Court-House." This would place the new partition in line with structural plane 1, and would lengthen the Representatives' Chamber to approximately the 57 feet six inches cited in the 1791 Massachusetts Magazine description.

Thus, although no explicit traces of partitions were found in the building, and although the measurements do not work out precisely, the locations of structural planes seem to corroborate the original dimensions of the major second-story rooms as mentioned in documents.

* * *

Few descriptions of the first floor of the Old State House in the Revolutionary period have been found, but it was mentioned in a 1750-51 diary. James Birket noted as first among Boston's publick buildings...the State or Province House where the Governor his Councelle and the Assembly or House of Representatives meet to make laws and so forth, and a large room for the Courts of Justice to be held in. And the ground room as before is made use of as a Change at times (italics added).(17)

In 1765, according to Raikes' History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, a company "mustered on the lower floor of the Old State House"; when the weather was bad, members "went through their exercises there which was called 'training in the Town House.' "(18) The space must have been reasonably open and unobstructed for such an activity.

Still later, the first floor was the scene of less organized activities. An order was issued by the House of Representatives in 1784 that the Suffolk County Sheriff or one of his deputies "attend at the State House" because
the General Court have been much interrupted by the
disorderly Conduct of a number of persons who dayley
assemble on the lower floor of the State House which not only
impedes the publick Business, but is an Indignity offered to
Government.(19)

From 1787 to 1792 the office of the State Treasurer was in a "room under the Council
Chamber."(20) The first floor of the Old State House was described most fully in the
1791 article, when it mentions the tenancy of the Clerks of the Supreme Judicial
Court and the Court of Common Pleas; the presence of merchants during bad
weather; and the range of Doric pillars.(21)

As for the cellar space, it continued to be rented as before.(22) A "copper
engine" first mentioned in 1733 occupied some of the space in the basement of the
Old State House.(23) Perhaps this engine held water for putting out fires, which
would mean that the basement of the Old State House in the 18th century served as a
fire station as well as a wine cellar.

The second-floor chambers of the Old State House were the setting for a
number of significant historical events between 1748 and c. 1800, and the major
physical modifications of these rooms during that time reflected the political changes
taking place.

The decade immediately following the rebuilding of 1748 was relatively calm.
Maps of London, New England, the eastern shore of America, and all of America were
hung in the Chambers of the Council and Representatives.(24) Portraits, too,
decorated the interior of the Old State House.

The Council Chamber, according to one writer, was "an imposing and elegant
apartment, ornamented with two splendid full-length portraits of James II and
Charles II."(25) Portraits of George I and George II were added to the Council
Chamber in 1780.(26) One tantalizing item appears among the bills paid for work on
the Old State House in 1761: the rather large sum of £11/12/ was "paid John S.
Copley for work done at the Court."(27) He may have done some work relating to the
portraits. Smaller portraits of some important men of early Boston, "Endicott,
Winthrop, Bradstreet, and Belcher," also were hung in the Council Chamber. John
Adams, writing reminiscently of the Council Chamber as it appeared in 1761,
described it as a room that was "as respectable an apartment as the House of
Commons or the House of Lords in Great Britain, in proportion, or that in the State
House in Philadelphia...."(28)

The Council Chamber became a scene of hot argument in 1761 when five judges
convened for a hearing on the Writs of Assistance. Greatly hated by the Americans,
these writs were, in effect, blanket search warrants. John Adams described the
hearing vividly and concluded, "Then & there was the first scene of the first act of
opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain. Then and there the child
Independence was born."(29) After 1776 the Council Chamber became the Senate
Chamber, occupied by the State Senate. Apparently no changes were made in the
dimensions or plan of the room.

The middle chamber on the second floor housed the General Assembly before
1776, and the Massachusetts House of Representatives from 1777 to 1798. A 1748 bill
submitted by Thomas Crafts to the Province of Massachusetts Bay includes the
following items of "Work Done in the Representatives' Chamber": To 3 Eight Pannell
Doors,...To Box Casing & Windows,...To 101 yards Wenscutt,...To 139 Foot Double Cornish,..."(30) Between 1748 and 1798 the Representatives' Chamber underwent two important changes. The first was the construction in 1766 of a gallery from which the public might observe the debates of the assembly. The significance of the gallery is well expressed in Thomas Hutchinson's 1767 History of Massachusetts, Vol. III:

they (the Representatives) had caused a gallery to be built, and opened, that all persons who inclined to it, might hear their debates; and a speech, well adapted to the gallery, was often times of more service to the cause of liberty than if its purport had been confined to the members of the house.(31)

The gallery was built "at the West End of the Representatives' Room."(32) Its creator was Thomas Crafts, who was paid £15/6/5.(33)

Only two years later, in September 1768, the Old State House was closed to governmental use by British troops who "took possession of the Common, the State House,...and Faneuil Hall. The main guard with two pieces of artillery was stationed at the State House, with their guns pointed to it."(34) One diarist expressed the depth of disgust felt by Bostonians when he stated that "the Townhouse" — "even the Representatives' Chamber" — was opened for the troops.(35) Noting that "the stench occasioned by the troops in the Representatives' Chamber may prove infectious," James Otis made a motion for adjournment of the Court to Faneuil Hall in 1768. He added that "it was derogatory to the honor of the Court to administer justice at the mouths of cannon and the points of bayonets."(36)

The second significant change in the Representatives' Chamber in the period between 1748 and 1800 occurred in October 1776. More space was needed to accommodate the increased number of Representatives of the new State of Massachusetts. At this time, the west chamber formerly used by the Court was empty, since the Court Sessions had been moved to a new Court House built in 1767. (No descriptions of the Court Chamber at the west end of the second floor of the Old State House as it appeared during this period have been found.) A committee appointed "to report what is necessary to be done in order to accommodate the House of Representatives" recommended expansion of the Representatives' Chamber to the west.

The Committee find that the present chamber will accommodate 150 members, by shutting up the west door, and erecting a few seats; but as the present House of Representatives consist of more than 200 members, your Committee think it best that the partition betwixt the Representatives' Chamber and the County-Chamber, would be removed within 11 feet of the West End of the Court House; and that the Stairs go up in the North-West corner of said House; and that the said 11 feet be improved for a lobby and entry way; and that over the same be a gallery, to accommodate spectators, agreable to the plan herewith exhibited; the whole of which your committee think may be compleated for about £40.(37)

In October 1776 the State of Massachusetts purchased the Court Chamber at the west end of the Old State House from Suffolk County for £1000.(38) The remodeling work was undertaken by William Moore, to whom £103/17/4 was paid in December...
1776.(39) A seating plan for the Representatives' Chamber (ILL. 8), dating probably to the 1780's, clearly specifies the dimensions of the chamber: 32 feet "within walls" by 57 feet.

The third story had been partitioned at least by 1756, if not earlier, as the House of Representatives issued a directive in that year "that the Chamber of the third floor at the West End of the Court House, shall be appropriated to the use of the Committees of the General Court."(40) There also was a room on the east end of the third floor, over the Council Chamber. This is the chamber that "was the location of a Selectmen's meeting in 1761, after Faneuil Hall had burned."(41)

The balcony at the east end of the Old State House served as a political focal point in the 18th century, since it was from the balcony that important notices and announcements were read to the public. On the night of the Boston Massacre — March 5, 1770 — Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Hutchinson came to the Old State House and addressed the soldiers and people from the balcony, attempting to calm them.(42) This was ironic, since the shooting had occurred on King Street, just under this balcony. Shortly thereafter, both the Massacre and the Old State House were depicted by Paul Revere, who engraved and printed the well-known scene, "The Bloody Massacre" (ILL. 9). Basically a piece of propaganda, the Revere view of the Old State House in 1770 shows only the east elevation above first-floor level: smoke from British rifles obscures the cellar and first floor. At the second-floor level there is a balcony between two windows; what appears to be a large window must function as a door to the balcony. On each side are pilasters with capitals having Ionic volutes, supporting a segmental pediment. A belt course runs below the balcony and the two windows. Another belt course extends across the east end at third-floor level. Two ox-eye windows in the attic story flank a central window that is directly over the balcony pediment. Above that central window is a rectangular sundial, which also appears to be capped by a segmental pediment. Some type of belt course runs from one side of the parapet to the other, creating the visual effect of a triangular pediment on the east end of the building. The figures of a lion and a unicorn stand in the gable steps. The east elevation of the tower looks substantially the same as the "South Prospect" of the tower in the Dawes/Hurd view, although there is no apparent rustication and no scrolls are shown at the corners of the balustrade.

Three months after the Boston Massacre, the balcony of the Old State House evidently needed repair, since a recommendation as to the manner in which "the Balcony of the Town House in Boston should be rebuilt" is recorded in the records of the Council as follows: "it was advised that it be done in the old Form."(43) A bill from Thomas Hubbard for £58/12/10 six months later may relate to that work.(44)

More extensive work, including work on the east wall, was undertaken in 1773. At the beginning of the year the House of Representatives ordered that the Old State House be inspected and a report of necessary repairs be made.(45) Bills show that Thomas Dawes, a mason, and Thomas Crafts, Jr., a painter, did much work on the building. Dawes and his workmen whitewashed the interior walls of the first- and second-floor rooms and of two stairways; they also lathed and plastered in the "Upper Chambers" (probably the third floor). On the exterior, they performed the following repairs:

taking down the East End of the State House and rebuilding
ditto: Altering the Chimney in the Hon. Reps. Room, Pointing
(sic) all the windows and Doors, Repairing the Arches, Cutting
out defective Brickes and Water Tables, and repairing ditto.
Illustration 8. Possible Seating Plan of the Representatives' Chamber (1795?).
MASSACRE perpetrated in King-street BOSTON on March 5th, 1770.
Plastering the Gable Ends, Repairing the Tops of the Chimneys, Couloring ditto. Pointing the Joints of Brick and Stone work etc. etc. (46)

Shortly thereafter, the building underwent an even greater transformation in exterior appearance: "The Town House is fitted up in the most elegant manner with the whole of the outside painted of a stone color which gives it a fine appearance." (47) The building well may have been painted earlier, and most likely remained painted on the exterior until 1909.

The Crafts bill for painting in 1773 includes, among many other items, the painting of "Balcony & Pediment over it"; "54 Window frames, very dry"; "Rails down from front Steps"; "4 Ox-Eye Window frames"; "Lyon & Unicorn"; and both painting and "Gilding Dial, East End." This is the first mention of a sundial on the Old State House. (48)

The lion and unicorn, symbols of royal authority, did not remain on the building for more than a few decades of the 18th century. Installed sometime between 1743 and 1751, they were pulled down and burned along with other insignia of British rule, according to later accounts, on the night of July 18, 1776. On that date, the balcony of the Old State House was the setting for a most important historic event: the Declaration of Independence was read for the first time to the people of Boston, and America's separation from England was proclaimed. (49) Although no documents mention it, later 18th-century views show that the original treatment of scrolls was reused, in place of the lion and unicorn, on the east parapet.

More work was done on the east end in 1788, including cutting and fitting new stone steps at the Old State House and erecting a new iron balustrade. (50) In 1779 the downspouts had been "(cleaned) out round the State House," and in 1794 new wooden gutters replaced the old. (51)

The windows were altered somewhat in 1782, when Thomas Dawes was "directed to make such alterations in the Windows...of the State House as will be for the comfort and Health of the Members of the General Court...." (52) He was provided with "a Sufficient Quantity of Lead and Lines for said Purpose," and the bill shows that he used "Barr Lead." (53) Evidently the windows, at least on the second story, were fixed so as to stay up when opened.

* * *

Illustration 10 — a view of the "Triumphal Arch" built for George Washington's visit to Boston in 1789 and removed shortly afterward — is the earliest view found to date of the west elevation of the Old State House. Then as now, very little foundation is seen: this is the "high side" of the hill into which the building is set. A water table demarcates the scant amount of foundation that is exposed. A central doorway is partially obscured by a "colonnade" (actually a curved portico and balcony), designed by Thomas Dawes as part of the structure built to celebrate Washington's visit. Fenestration on the west elevation consists of two windows on the first floor, one on each side of the doorway; three windows on the second floor; and a single window similar to the others between two ox-eye windows on the third floor. The windows are shown as having the usual 12/12 sash and jack arches. Over the gable window is a
small rectangular area that may have been intended as a decorative motif. Belt courses define the division between all stories. The gable end has scrolls in the gable steps. These turn in the opposite direction from the way the west-end scrolls turn in the Dawes/Hurd view, but since all other 18th-century views show the scrolls turning in the same manner as they do in this view, one assumes the Dawes/Hurd view is incorrect. A belt course traverses the gable in a manner similar to that shown in earlier views of the east elevation, suggesting a triangular pediment. Behind the peak of the gable appears a small chimney.

Several southwest views of the Old State House were made in the late 1700's. Illustration 11 (1793) is essentially the same as an engraved view of the Old State House by Hill that was printed in Massachusetts Magazine in 1791. It probably is not a copy of the 1791 view, however: the roof of the third stage of the tower has a simple, rather than an ogee-shaped, outline; the first stage of the tower has two ox-eye windows on the south face; the visible scroll on the east gable is more fully drawn; the brickwork over the west-end gable window is arranged differently; sash on the west end are shown 12/12; and no chimneys appear at all.

By the time of the 1793 view, the temporary colonnade and balcony built for Washington were gone, and the large first-floor doorway in the center of the west end shows clearly. Over the doorway is a triangular pediment supported by rather large, S-curve consoles atop slender, engaged columns or pilasters. A row of dentils may be indicated under the sloping sides of the pediment. The rest of the west elevation as it is represented in this view does not deviate markedly from the appearance portrayed in Hill's 1789 view, except in two details. There appears to be a projecting soldier course of bricks, as a lintel, over the gable window; and, for the first time, four keystones are shown around each of the ox-eye windows.

Most of what Illustration 11 shows on the south elevation is consistent with the Dawes/Hurd view, including fenestration, dormers, tower, downspouts, and cornice. The elements on each side of the doorway, however, are now clearly square pilasters. Other differences — which may be actual changes in the building or merely differences in artists' styles — include fewer cellar openings, differently shaped bulkheads, and a flatter belt course. The one visible portion of the east gable now has a scroll, not a lion, on the stepped portion.

A picture of the Old State House and the buildings around it (Ill. 12) was painted sometime around 1800. It shows all of the east elevation and a very foreshortened view of the north elevation. Except for the stone foundation, the walls appear to be a dull ocher color. Most of the trim is white, except for the balcony and first-floor doors, which are brown or dark red. The gable scrolls and stair rail appear to be iron work painted black. The roof of the third stage of the tower and the weathervane may be gilded. This view tends to confirm the earlier Dawes/Hurd view that shows the foundation as rusticated stone. It is possible that the foundation was painted red or brown, with mortar lines picked out in white.

It is difficult to assess the accuracy of Illustration 12, but the painting does show some portions of the north elevation not visible in earlier representations of the Old State House. For example, the doorway on this elevation is partly visible for the first time. It clearly has at least two elements that match the south doorway: a triangular pediment and curved projecting steps. A belt course painted white and a cornice with modillions at the eave line (also painted white) extend the length of the building.
Illustration 10. West Elevation of Old State House (1790).

83. View of the triumphal Arch, 1790
Illustration II. "A S.W. View of the State House in Boston" (1793).

A S.W. View of the State House in Boston.
Illustration 12 also presents a wealth of detail concerning the east elevation. Two small wooden doors with circular windows are set in the rusticated foundation, and appear to give access to the cellar on either side of a large stone stairway. The water table along the top of the foundation is painted white. The large east entrance stairway is shown with seven steps up to a landing in front of the large center doorway. The landing appears to be a platform built on stone walls that project a few feet in front of the building. Along the sides of the landing and down the stairs is an iron railing that curves outward, following the curve of the last three steps. One leaf of the double door appears to be open. This door may be similar to the double door shown on the south elevation in the Dawes/Hurd engraving. One of the first-floor windows is open at the bottom, giving clear indication of hung 12/12 sash. The jack arches do not adjoin the belt courses, however, as they do in every other view before this one. The belt courses are different, too, running discontinuously across the east wall only over the windows; they stop slightly beyond the ends of the jack arches.

The columns flanking the balcony doorway appear to be fluted, with Ionic capitals. A row of dentils appears under the curved and flat moldings of the segmental pediment. A similar dentil motif appears again on the smaller segmental pediment over the sundial. The sundial, center window on the third floor, and balcony pediment are shown here without spaces to separate them vertically. Two earlier views also show the same configuration — Revere's of 1770 (Ill. 9), and Boston Magazine's of 1785 (Ill. 13). Each ox-eye window in the gable clearly has its four keystones in the surrounding stonework.

Illustration 12 is the first to show street lights. A lantern is affixed to the first-floor facade at both southeast and northeast corners of the Old State House. These lights do not occur in any later illustrations, however. Street lights on posts appear at all four corners of the building c. 1836 (Ill. 23). It is possible that the corner-mounted fixtures had to be removed when the east and west porticos were built c. 1830, and were replaced by freestanding lights. It is also possible that these fixtures never existed, and that the creator of Illustration 12 included them erroneously.

On the roof, a small chimney sits behind the gable, a little south of the ridge. Despite this off-center position, the chimney is probably the one seen in the 1751 Dawes/Hurd view (Ill. 4). Concerning the tower, a single ox-eye window appears on the north face of the first stage. The quoins of the first stage are painted white; the Marston painting is unique and almost certainly inaccurate in showing quoins instead of pilasters on the corners of the second and third stages of the tower.
NOTES

(1) WPA, p. 49.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid., p. 50.
(4) Ibid., p. 47.
(5) Ibid., p. 58.
(6) Ibid., p. 68.
(7) Ibid., pp. 70-71.
(8) Ibid., p. 70.
(9) Ibid., p. 73.
(10) Ibid., pp. 71, 85, 92.
(11) Ibid., p. 60.
(16) Pemberton, Thomas: "A Topographical...Description of Boston"; iii, p. 241.
(17) WPA, p. 69.
(18) Ibid., p. 108.
(19) Ibid., p. 185.
(20) Ibid., p. 190.
(22) Ibid., pp. 88, 110, 188, 193, 197.
(23) Ibid., pp. 33, 50, 66, 220.
(24) Ibid., pp. 72, 83, 85, 90.
(25) Ibid., p. 93.
(26) Ibid., p. 91.
(27) Ibid., p. 94.
(28) Ibid., p. 317.
(29) Ibid., p. 318.
(30) Bill at Massachusetts Historical Society.
(31) WPA, p. 118.
(32) Ibid., p. 112.
(33) Ibid., p. 113.
(34) Ibid., p. 121.
(35) Ibid., p. 122.
(36) Ibid.
(37) Ibid., p. 154.
(38) Ibid., pp. 150, 153.
(39) Ibid., pp. 156, 158.
(40) Ibid., p. 85.
(41) Ibid., p. 93.
(42) Ibid., p. 129.
(43) Ibid., p. 128.
(44) Ibid.
(45) ibid., p. 133.
(46) ibid.
(47) ibid., p. 134.
(48) ibid., pp. 135-36.
(49) ibid., p. 150.
(50) ibid., p. 197.
(51) ibid., pp. 165, 207.
(52) ibid., p. 184.
(53) ibid., p. 185.
c. 1801-1829: THE EARLY COMMERCIAL PERIOD

After the Massachusetts state government moved to the Bulfinch State House in 1798, the fate of the Old State House remained uncertain for several years. The Selectmen of Boston, on behalf of the town, began negotiations with the State in 1799, and in 1803 bought the Old State House for $6,000.(1)

The Boston Selectmen did not intend to resell the Old State House to one or more individuals, since "the purpose for which it might and probably would be occupied would tend greatly to encumber the most frequented street in the Town, which is in its present state not of sufficient width for public accommodation."(2) The obstruction of traffic by the Old State House is an accusation that recurs frequently from this point on.

Instead, the Town decided to lease the Old State House. The terms of the lease most directly relevant to the fabric of the building include what might be considered an early form of preservation restriction:

...it would be for the interest of the Town to lease the Old State House for a term of time not less than ten nor to exceed fifty years, and the rent to be paid quarterly or annually; and that it be a condition of the Lease that the house be put into good repair and kept so during the term for which it may be leased by and at the expense of the Lessee and shall be occupied for public or private offices and such other purposes only as the Selectmen for the time being shall approve of, and that no alteration be made in the external form of the building without their approbation....(3)

Between 1800 and 1820 commercial use of the Old State House increased. The Old State House is listed in the Boston Directory for 1798 as the departure point for stage coaches to Cambridge, Watertown, Roxbury, and Brookline. This usage continued until 1809.(4) In 1800 the Clerk of the Supreme Court still had his office on the first floor of the Old State House. The easternmost chamber on the second floor (formerly occupied by the State Senate) became the Office of the Board of Health, with Paul Revere as President.(5) The former Representatives' Chamber, scene of many verbal duels, was used — according to an advertisement in the Independent Chronicle of 1802 — by "one R. Hewes who offers to teach fencing and the use of the sabre...."(6) In the cellar, wine merchants continued the tradition begun in the first period of the Old State House.(7)

Most of the interior space on the first floor of the Old State House was subdivided for shops and offices during the period 1800-29. Mrs. Charles Bulfinch wrote in a letter in 1804, "The Old Town House is neatly fitted up and divided into shops and stores, where are all the varieties of manufactures from different parts of the world, to draw attention of the young and gay."(8) A year later, in 1805, the Boston Directory lists two lawyers and eight shopkeepers in the Old State House.(9) By 1810 the number of occupants of the Old State House listed in the Directory increased to 19.(10)
This commercialism seems to have brought about significant changes to at least the first-floor exterior of the Old State House. William Barry occupied a space in the west end of the building, according to the Boston Directories, from 1807 to 1829. This tradesman distributed a card advertising his business (Ill. 14) that shows the entire west elevation and an oblique view of the south elevation during his tenancy. It indicates that on the west elevation, the original central door and pair of flanking windows had been replaced by two doors and two windows. The two doors are at either end, with the two windows grouped between them. The southernmost door features a semicircular fanlight transom; the window next to it is shown as round-headed. The tops of the northern window and door are hidden by an awning, but were probably the same.

On the first floor of the south elevation, the curved steps of the south central doorway appear to be cut down and nearly flush with the side of the building. It also appears that two more round-headed doorways have been added here, one on each side of the central doorway.

Above the first floor, both elevations appear to have remained unchanged, i.e., consistent with earlier views. Some details have been omitted (the jack arches over the second-story windows, the belt courses, and the water table); others have been simplified (the scrolls in the gable steps of the east wall are simple "C" curves rather than the "S" curves shown on earlier views). This seems attributable, however, to the crudeness of the sketch.

As in some other views, the roof of the tower is shown as a simple convex curve, although the majority of views throughout the building's history indicate an ogive roof.

Illustration 14 is one of the earliest views showing signs on the building — two plain signs on the west elevation and another at the west corner of the south elevation. A contemporaneous view of the east elevation of the Old State House (Ill. 15) includes an oblique view of the north elevation. The fact that it is a rather simplified portrayal of the building may explain why it does not show details that were surely still extant. It shows, for example, no jack arches, no water table, no keystones around the ox-eye windows, strangely small and flattened scrolls, 6/6 sash in five of the windows, very plain pilasters on the balcony doorway, a peculiar treatment (not quoins) of the corners of the first stage of the tower, and no scrolls at the corners of the balustrade of the first stage of the tower.

On the other hand, this view shows major modifications of the first-floor level that probably did occur, since changes were made to the west and south elevations at about the same time. The modifications include the removal of the first-floor doorway, stone platform, and steps from the east elevation; and the removal of the curved steps of the doorway on the north elevation. The removal of the first-mentioned stairs opened up the east basement wall for more intensive usage: the two original cellar doors here were given segmentally arched heads, and a pair of similarly shaped windows was interposed between them, where the steps had been.

Illustration 16 represents the Old State House from the same angle as Illustration 15, but approximately eight years later. J.P. Penniman was the artist; Abel Bowen was the engraver as well as the publisher of the book. Fenestration on the east elevation in this view appears substantially the same as it does in the 1817 Bowen view. The basement doors here seem to have been converted to windows, however, bringing the latter's number to four. On the north elevation, a doorway seems to have been added since 1817, near the east end of the building.
This view, though smaller than Illustration 15, shows much more detail. Between basement and first-floor levels is a water table, and pilasters flank the first-floor center window on the east elevation, where the doorway had been. In the peak of the east gable, where a sundial appeared in earlier views, sits a round clock face. The clock shown in this view must have been installed between 1817 and 1825, as the 1817 view still shows a sundial. The clock mechanism in the attic now is signed by Simon Willard and dated 1830. There must have been earlier works for the clock shown in this 1825 view. It is not known whether the face shown in this view was replaced in 1830. The decorative scroll work that is shown around the clock face in views postdating Isaiah Rogers' 1830 remodeling has not yet appeared.

On the roof, at the east end of the ridge, is a short chimney that may be the same one appearing in Illustration 4 (1751). In addition, three tall chimneys sit at the eave line of the north slope.

From 1820 to 1829, the Grand Masonic Lodge of Massachusetts occupied "all of the rooms above the lower story in the Old State House except the two rooms on Cornhill...."(11) The Masonic Hall is described in Abel Bowen's Picture of Boston:

The lower story of this building (the Old State House) is now rented by the city for stores and offices, the second and third stories, except one room at the west of the second story (which is occupied for the city Treasurer's office), are occupied by the Masonic Lodges in Boston. The Masonic Hall is elegantly embellished; the decorations and furniture are very rich and appropriate, and the room is sufficiently capacious for most masonic purposes. It measures 43 by 32 feet and is 16 feet high. The following is a list of the lodges that hold their meetings here....(12)

The City of Boston built a reservoir in State Street in 1826, on "the spot where Attucks, Gray, Caldwell, Maverick, and Carr fell on the memorable 5th of March, 1770, (in) the Boston Massacre," just in front of the east elevation of the Old State House.(13) It was discovered during excavation that State Street had been raised two to three feet "above its original surface."(14) It appears that the "Old State House was painted white in August, 1825, by the city...."(15)

Illustration 17 shows the Old State House in 1829. Only a portion of the third-floor level of the west elevation appears, but nearly all of the north elevation is visible. The rendering of the Old State House is not highly detailed, as it is only one building among many in the panorama depicted in Salmon's painting. Like the 1825 view (Ill. 16), this representation of the Old State House shows three chimneys on the north roof-slope eave line, and an additional door at the east end of the north side wall. There is some indication of a corresponding doorway having been added at the west end — Illustration 16 hints at this as well — but the representation is unclear.

One feature shown in this view but not in any others is the elaborate scrolls on the west gable end; they must have been creations of the artist's imagination.

The year 1829 marked the end of this commercial third period. William Barry, whose term of occupancy had been as long and as continuous as any other Old State House renter of the early 19th century, was ousted. The building was to be remodeled for use by the Town of Boston. In the spring of 1830 alterations and repairs were begun to "fit up" second- and third-floor interiors for the city government.(16) Barry was to receive "reasonable compensation" if he vacated by June 1.(17) He later petitioned for damages caused by early commencement of these alterations.(18)
Illustration 14. West and South Elevations of Old State House (c. 1807-29).
OLD STATE HOUSE.

Illustration 15. East and North Elevations of Old State House (1817).
Illustration 16. East and North Elevations of Old State House (1825).
Illustration 17. Detail Showing Old State House (c. 1829).
NOTES

(1) WPA, p. 218.
(2) Ibid., p. 213.
(3) Ibid., p. 218.
(4) Ibid., p. 222.
(5) Ibid., p. 216.
(6) Ibid., p. 217.
(7) Ibid., pp. 220, 227-28, 231, 233-34.
(8) Ibid., p. 220.
(9) Ibid.
(10) Boston Directory, WPA, p. 223.
(11) WPA, p. 231.
(12) Ibid., p. 232.
(13) Ibid., p. 235.
(14) Ibid.
(16) WPA, p. 236.
(17) Ibid.
(18) Ibid., p. 241.
The first period of commercial use of the Old State House closed in May 1830, when William Barry — whose hat store had been in the west end of the building for 22 years — moved out. The Common Council of the City of Boston decided to adapt the Old State House for use as a City Hall, and in July 1830 the Joint Committee on Repairs of the Old State House was ordered by the Council to put the building into good condition for use by the City of Boston. The building was to be treated "in a manner suitable to the edifice and creditable to the City."(2)

According to William H. Whitmore, Chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings in 1893, "The work of restoration, in 1830, was confided to Isaiah Rogers, and he entrusted part of the details to...William Washburn...."(3) Rogers' first noteworthy Classical Revival building, the Tremont House, had been completed only a year earlier.

A "fac-simile of a plan made by Isaiah Rogers" (III. 18) is printed in the Re-dedication. Whitmore calls this "the only evidence known to exist of the state of the building in 1830...."(4) Although no other version of Rogers' drawings for the 1830 remodeling of the Old State House have been found, there is a good chance that this "facsimile" indeed shows Rogers' work. George Clough — Boston's City Architect in the 1880's — billed the City of Boston $73 for a trip to Cincinnati in 1881, presumably to see "the original plans of the building, they having been found by Mr. Whitmore at Cincinnati...."(5) Moreover, a number of extant elements of the building conform to those in the Rogers drawings.

Rogers' work probably included the addition of Classical Revival porticos on the east and west elevations. The "Rogers' Plan" (III. 18) shows front and side elevations for the east portico. Views from 1830 to 1880, including photographs, show that the portico was built largely as it is shown in the drawing. It abutted the basement and first-floor levels, and replaced the old balcony.

Also shown in the "Rogers' Plan" is the south elevation of the basement area, in a form that is confirmed by later views up to about 1850. Rogers probably had found the pre-1830 basement elevations a confused pattern of late-18th and early 19th-century openings. Those of the late 1700's (see III. 4, 5 and 11) seem to have been changed during the first period of commercial use of the Old State House, 1801-29.

The "Rogers' Plan" includes a plan and elevation for a doorway and steps, too. Again, later views correspond to these drawings; they indicate that the Rogers work did include new rectangular steps and piers for the doorways on the north and south facades of the Old State House. Interestingly, the doorway drawing does not include the triangular pediments that appear over the north and south doorways in all views — features that must have remained from an earlier period, probably 1748.

The first and second floors are shown in the "Rogers' Plan" in plan only. The first-floor plan indicates that the rotunda around the circular stair extended only around the east side of the stair well. To the west, the rotunda was open. Eyewitness descriptions of these areas, such as that by Abel Bowen, confirm the drawings.(6)
Rogers' Plan, 1830.

Illustration 18. First- and Second-Floor Plans, Foundation, Portico, and Doorway Elevations, Old State House (1830).
A handwritten bill (Ill. 19) specifies items that could very well be part of the Rogers renovation. Most significantly, the bill mentions a "West Portico with Copper roof, East ditto and floor," and "1 door Post Office." The "10 columns" of the bill could be those shown on the first-floor plan.

Probably the earliest representation of the Old State House in its Classical Revival phase is an engraving (Ill. 20) in Snow's Geography of Boston, published in 1830. (Admittedly, some features in this view are questionable, including the shape of the roof of the tower, the crudely shaped and oddly turned scrolls, and the locations of the chimneys on the north slope of the roof.)

Some elements appear in this view that have been seen more or less consistently in previous views back to 1748. These include fenestration above cellar level; the water table; the belt courses; and the general appearance of the tower. On the north elevation, four downspouts are shown in locations that correspond to the positions of the downspouts on the south elevation in the 1751 Dawes/Hurd view.

However, Illustration 20 also shows quite a few changes probably attributable to Rogers. The aforementioned portico across the east end is seen clearly. The basement level beneath this porch appears to be of stonework — possibly rusticated — with three symmetrically placed openings. The north elevation, which gained one and perhaps two additional doorways during the period 1800-29, has been returned to its earlier, single central-door configuration. This old doorway was not left untouched, however: Illustration 20 shows that it received squared pilasters and rectangular steps that conform approximately to the Rogers drawing. Finally, Illustration 20 shows four chimneys on the north roof slope at eave line, not the three seen in earlier views (Ill. 16, 17). It also indicates that the pair of small chimneys on the ridge at either gable end — seen as early as 1751 — were widened considerably.

Billowing smoke conceals part of the Old State House in Illustration 21; apparently a small fire c. 1832 damaged the third floor and blackened the interior of the tower. This view of the east and north elevations does offer some additional information about the Rogers remodeling, however. It confirms the return to a single central doorway on the north elevation, as well as the four chimneys on the north roof slope. It also shows the clock in the east gable end as it appeared after Simon Willard's clockworks were installed c. 1831.(7) The fine decorative relief work beneath the clock — still on the building as late as 1957 — seems to date from the time of Willard's work. The applied scrollwork apparent on the east gable above the clock may have been added as part of this ornamentation. Rogers also might have supplied new scrolls for the east-gable steps. Photographs from about 1866 show scrolls that seem to be in the character of Rogers' work. (It will be remembered that the scrolls were changed in the 18th century, early 19th century, and early 20th century.)

Both Illustrations 20 and 21 show a more refined, delicate, almost semicircular pediment over the old second-floor balcony door on the east elevation, instead of the heavy, modillioned, segmental pediment seen in earlier views. Perhaps Rogers did remodel this feature along Classical Revival lines, but since all later illustrations depict the earlier, segmental pediment, it seems more likely that the version seen in Illustrations 20 and 21 represents artistic license.
Illustration 22 (c. 1836) is one of the views that depicts the balcony door on the east elevation of the Old State House with a more imposing segmental pediment with dentils and pilasters, as it appeared in earlier views. Moreover, as in the 1751 Dawes/Hurd view (III. 4), the south elevation features four downspouts and a rather heavy cornice with modillions. The center doorway resembles the doorway shown on the north elevation in the view in Snow's Geography (III. 20), and appears to follow Rogers' plan. Instead of lamps attached to the corners of the building, as shown by Marston (III. 12, c. 1800), the lamps are on posts. This view is the earliest found that shows four chimneys on the south side of the roof. They are placed in roughly the same locations as are the four chimneys on the north side, between the dormers and out near the eave line. (Illustration 22 also shows clearly the easternmost of the two end chimneys that apparently were widened by Rogers.) Just beyond the southwest corner of the building a small portion of the west portico is visible.

Since the first-floor door in the center of the east elevation had been closed up between 1785 and 1817, it seems probable that Rogers' work included reopening this doorway to provide access to the first level of his east portico. Illustration 23 shows a door with sidelights. However, later views depict both the sidelights and a rectangular transom. It is known that Illustration 23 contains many inaccuracies, despite the fact that it has been reproduced frequently over the past 140 years, most recently on Brigham's candy boxes. (For example, it also shows the presence of sidelights on the second-floor, central door, which never existed.) It thus seems likely that Rogers created a central first-floor doorway with sidelights and a rectangular transom.

Illustration 24 is the earliest one to date that shows the Classical Revival remodeling of the west elevation. The portico on the west differs from the one on the east, in having coupled columns only at the corners. Three single columns support the middle part of the portico. This view is also the first to depict clearly the widened chimney at the west end of the building.

Two other noteworthy features appear in Illustration 24: a street sign labeled "State Street," affixed to the southwest corner of the building at the height of the second-floor window sills; and a doorway into the south-elevation cellar. The doorway, just under the westernmost first-floor window, bears the sign "Orra Goss." A fruiterer, Goss occupied space in the Old State House from 1831 to 1835. Under the roof of the portico, some letters of a "Post Office" sign are visible over an opening that may have two doorways. This tends to add credence to "Rogers' Plan"; the entrance at the west end of the first floor may have been executed as shown in that plan.

Abel Bowen, in the 1838 edition of his Picture of Boston, describes the disposition of interior space in the Old State House at that time:

Being in the very focus of business and nearly in the centre of the city, the use to which this venerable pile is now devoted appears to give universal satisfaction.

On the first floor are three large rooms; that facing Washington street is the Post-Office. At the other extremity, looking down State Street, is Topliff's News Room, one of the best conducted establishments, for the accommodation of merchants, in the United States. The middle room, a lofty apartment, supported by pillars, is the Merchants' Exchange, and common thoroughfare to the public offices.
<table>
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<tr>
<td>2 entrance to area</td>
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<td>1 entrance to reading room</td>
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<td>Retaining 75 windows to run double 2% 90%</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>10 doors + windows on the sides</td>
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<td>in basement story</td>
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$315.00

The above is for the lower story only. The construction of the story above will be done if only the first story is done. Further should be something added to effect in laying for stone.
Illustration 20. East and North Elevations of Old State House (1830).
Illustration 21. East Elevation of Old State House (c. 1832).
Illustration 22. East and South Elevations of Old State House (c. 1836).
Illustration 23. East Elevation of Old State House (1837).

STATE STREET, BOSTON.
From this central room is a flight of winding stairs, leading to a suite of apartments in the second story. Directly over the Post-Office is the Hall of the Common Council, in which they ordinarily meet on public business. In the opposite end of the building is the Hall of the Mayor and Aldermen. In this room the chief Magistrate of the city, together with the City Clerk, remain through the day, in the discharge of their ordinary duties.

The Board of Aldermen hold their meetings, also, on Monday evenings. Around the circular area of the stairs are a series of Offices, viz., the Auditor's, Treasurer's, Assistant City Clerk's, Clerk of Common Council, and the Health Office, which later accommodated the City Marshall, Superintendent of Burial Grounds, Physician of the Port, Captain of the Port, Captain of the Watch, Superintendent of Lamps, and the Commissioner of Streets. (These men occupied only four rooms but kept office hours on different days of the week.)

Another flight of stairs leads to the third story, in which is the Office of the Chief Engineer of the Fire Department, City Land Commissioner, Messenger, a Committee Room, and a large Hall, in which is a recently organized public Vaccine Institution, for the gratuitous innoculation of the poor.

The whole is lighted with gas, as well as the lamps at the four corners of the building. Besides being ornamental to the city, the concentration of so many important offices under one roof renders the City Hall an object of peculiar interest.(9)

Bowen's description of the seating arrangements in the Mayor and Aldermen's Room and the Common Council Room fits the "Rogers' Plan" exactly:

The Mayor and Aldermen's room is a convenient apartment in the east end of the City Hall, in the second story. A mahogany railing divides the floor in such a manner that visitants cannot obtrude. The chairs and tables are arranged in a crescent over a rich carpet. In the centre of the room, the Mayor's seat is raised about one foot, on either side of which the Aldermen are seated according to seigniority — the eldest in office being nearest to the Mayor's right hand.

COMMON COUNCIL.

The Common Council hold their sessions in the same building and on the same floor with the board of Aldermen. For beauty and convenience of fixtures, this hall is not surpassed by any in New England. The President's seat is elevated at one side of the room, and the seats for the members are very conveniently arranged in a semicircular form (see Ill. 18).(10)
The gas lighting, another modern improvement introduced at this time, is described in several contemporary accounts of the interior as "brilliant," "elegant," and "extravagant."(11)

Documentation of the Classical Revival remodeling includes strongly critical comments in contemporary newspapers and journals. Objections were raised on both financial and aesthetic grounds. The cost ran to $25,000.(12) And, as one writer points out, the expense was compounded by the loss of most of the building's former rental income.(13) In the New England Palladium of August 24, 1830, the new architectural features of the Old State House were criticized: "In point of appearance, the Old State House will not be improved by the change...mutations brought about for show are the means of losing as much as they gain for the edifice. It is like plastering and painting a matron very far in years."(14)

Some rental income continued, as Boston city documents for 1838 show. The Post Office and Topliff's News Room, and the storage cellars and offices in the basement, yielded more than $5,000 in one year.(15)

The end of the City Hall decade came in March 1841.(16) The old County Court House on School Street was converted to use as the City Hall, and the Old State House was rented out. The Post Office and the News Room remained, and an architect, some lawyers, and a telegraph office took new leases.(17)
NOTES

(1) WPA, p. 236.
(2) Ibid., p. 237.
(3) Re-dedication of the Old State House (Sixth edition, 1893), p. 112.
(4) Ibid., p. 205.
(7) Inscription on the clock still in the space over the east end of the attic of the Old State House: "Made by Simon Willard Roxbury in his 78th year, for the City Hall, Boston, commenced Sept. 1830 and finished 1831."
(8) Boston Directories.
(9) Bowen, Picture of Boston, pp. 16-19.
(10) Ibid., p. 20.
(12) Ibid., p. 244.
(13) Ibid., p. 239.
(14) Ibid., p. 237.
(15) Ibid., p. 244.
(16) Ibid., p. 245.
(17) Ibid., p. 244.
1841-1881: THE VICTORIAN ERA

The offices of the government of the City of Boston moved out in March 1841. During the following four decades, the Old State House became increasingly commercial. An engraved view on a Brown, Lawrence, & Stickney receipt dated 1848 (Ill. 25, 26) shows a sign above the cellar openings on the east end of the Old State House. This sign, which conceals the first-floor balustrade of the portico from end to end, reads "City Hall Cloth and Clothes Warehouse." The receipt gives the address of the company as "N 6, 7, 9, 11 & 12 Old State House." (Evidently the earlier identity of the building as "Old State House" coexisted with its more recent title of "City Hall.") The three doorways into the area under the portico that were shown in City Hall views seem to have been converted to a central doorway with a multipaned window on either side. The masonry appears to have remained intact.

Concerning the first floor, Illustration 25 is the first to depict properly the center opening as being a doorway with sidelights and rectangular transom. The rest of the east elevation, and what is visible of the north elevation, look essentially the same as they did in the 1830-40 views.

The engraving of the Old State House in the Brown, Lawrence, & Stickney advertisement in the 1849 edition of the Boston Directory (Di. 27) shows only one change — the addition of another line to the sign on the portico. Above "City Hall Cloth and Clothes Warehouse" has been added "Brown, Lawrence, & Stickney." The address is still "Nos. 6, 7, 9, 11, & 12 Old State House," as on the 1848 receipt.

Between 1849 and 1850 some important changes seem to have occurred. City records of expenses show that the building had been repaired and given routine exterior painting in 1843. However, in 1850 "general repairs and extra expenses for Gas and for Water" amounted to more than $1,200. (4) Shedding some light on this is an 1850 Boston Directory advertisement for "Brown and Lawrence,...Clothing Warehouse, In the entire Basement of the Old State House" (Ill. 28). Not only did the company drop a partner, change its name and apparently add more space, but it also had its storefront rebuilt. Whereas in 1849 the cellar-level masonry and openings looked much the same as they had looked through the 1830's, in 1850 the piers under the two inner pairs of coupled columns were removed. Two slender columns, probably of iron, were substituted as structural support. Two large shop windows were installed on either side of the doorway — extending from ground level up to the sign on the balustrades, and from the doorway out to the masonry piers under the corner columns.

Three years after this remodeling, in 1853, an even larger sum was spent on "sundry alterations and repairs," including payments for masonry and whitewashing, plumbing, work on "warming and ventilating apparatus," and carpentry. (5) During the following year, "remodeling the lower store on Washington Street (probably Charles A. Smith's tailor shop), putting in Waterworks, Gas fixtures, and other improvements in the building" cost nearly $1,500. (6)

Two receipts from "Charles A. Smith & Co., Merchant Tailors," dated June 7, 1850 (Ill. 30), and June 22, 1859, as well as an undated piece of Smith's letterhead (Ill. 31), show that by 1850 the west doorway had changed again. Significantly, the change in the appearance of the shop entrance of the tailoring firm on the west end of the Old State House corresponds exactly to the change that
Illustration 25. East Elevation of Old State House (1848).
BROWN, LAWRENCE & STICKNEY,
CLOTHING WAREHOUSE,
Nos. 8, 7, 9, 11, & 12
OLD STATE HOUSE,
Fronting State St., Boston.

Strangers and citizens generally are invited to call and examine the LARGEST STOCK of FASHIONABLY MADE CLOTHING which can be found in the city, consisting of every variety of Garments, manufactured from Goods of the latest importations, and in the best and newest styles.

We have also on hand a splendid assortment of
CLOTHS, DOESKINS, CASSIMERES & VESTINGS,
From the latest importations, and every variety of Goods, suitable for Gentlemen's wear.

WHICH WILL BE MADE UP TO ORDER,
IN THE MOST FASHIONABLE STYLE.

Illustration 27. East Elevation of Old State House (1849).
Illustration 29. West and South Elevations of Old State House (c. 1849).
Illustration 30. West and South Elevations of Old State House (1850).
occurred on the east end. While the rest of the view is substantially the same as the earlier trade-card view, most of the masonry of the first floor of the west facade has been removed to create a large center doorway flanked by two big shop windows. Two iron columns on either side of the door take the place of the missing supporting masonry — the same arrangement used at the base of the east-elevation portico at the same time (Ill. 28). The parallel is striking, and strongly suggests an 1849-50 date for the start of the remodeling of the Old State House into a fully commercial building — a Victorian shopping center.

A problem arises when Smith's receipt (Ill. 30) is compared to his stationery (Ill. 31), however: only the latter shows single Tuscan corner pilasters rising from the water table. (Discussion of Illustration 39 indicates that these were actually pairs of pilasters.) Although the letterhead is undated, it does show the large shop windows and iron columns, and must date from after c. 1850. Illustration 32, which is even more certainly a near-contemporary of Illustration 30, also shows the pilasters. It therefore seems likely that the pilasters were introduced as part of the large shop window-iron column remodeling of c. 1850, and that the receipt designer simply neglected to include them in his rather crude sketch. It is also possible that the pilasters were added independently a few years later.

Poster-size format makes Illustration 32 one of the largest early views of the Old State House, as well as one of the most detailed. This lithograph gives a view of the west and north facades; it also features a smaller panel showing a portion of the interior of Smith's shop, on the first floor of the west end of the building. (The shop occupies the area that was formerly the Post Office.) According to Charles E. Mason, Honorary Curator of Prints at the Boston Athenaeum, large lithographs of this type were used for advertising purposes, and were posted in railway stations and other public buildings.

Although the lithograph is undated, it contains details that appear on the dated receipts of Charles A. Smith & Co. This indicates that the lithograph was made in, or shortly after, 1850. The west facade features the iron balcony, large shop windows, and a center entrance as shown on the 1850 receipt, along with an awning that appears on many subsequent views up to 1880. There has been a return to lamps attached to the building, at the northwest and southwest corners, somewhere in the vicinity of the corner pilasters. (At the northeast corner a freestanding street light also remains.) The center window on the second floor does not have the mullions shown in the views on both Smith receipts; it does, however, extend down to floor level.

On the north facade, there appear to be two new cellar doorways west of the large center doorway, evidently created by lengthening two of the basement window openings. Virtually all of the rest of the building appears the same as it has in earlier views.

The view of the interior of Smith's shop shows eight slender supporting posts — probably of iron — with four on each side of the room. The posts create a wide center aisle, leading to what appears to be a sales desk at the rear. A large, two-tiered gas chandelier attests to the presence of gas lighting in the building; it hangs in the center near the back of the room. The windows are shown with wooden blinds, folded back against the jambs. Between the windows and the central aisle are tables holding bolts of cloth.
By 1855 the number of Old State House lessees listed in the Boston Directory had increased to 29; some shared the same room numbers, however, so the interior space had not necessarily been divided into 29 rooms. In 1858 repairs costing over $2,300 included $1,500 worth of painting and glazing, work on the "ball and vane," "slating," and "covering doors." The rental income from the Old State House increased to $11,125 for 1859-60. On the first floor, tailor Smith occupied the area "from Washington Street back to the Centre Entry of the building" and the "Entire Attic Storey."(10)

Illustration 33, dated c. 1860, is the earliest photograph yet discovered of the Old State House. A similar one by Josiah Hawes is dated c. 1865. Both view the building from the northwest down Court Street, and show more of the north facade and roof than of any other portion of the structure. It seems likely that the photograph labeled "Court St. from Scollay Sq. About 1860" is the earlier of the two, because it shows the Old State House with fewer signs. More importantly, it shows a sign mounted above the belt course, on the north elevation between the west corner and the central doorway — exactly the location of the "C.A. Smith & Co. Cloth and Clothing Warehouse" sign shown in Smith's c. 1850 advertising poster.

Of special interest in this pair of photographs is the presence of two skylights on the north roof slope. The earlier view shows a downspout on the north facade, the familiar four tall chimneys, and a chimney at each gable end — as well as a single ox-eye window in the lower half of the north face of the first stage of the tower. Both photographs show a small portion of the west facade with a glimpse of the iron balcony railing. Part of the awning and northernmost west shop window also appear.

Illustration 34 can be dated 1864-67 by the presence of the sign for John T. Smith's Independent News Room. According to issues of the Boston Directory, Smith came to the Old State House in 1864 and departed in 1867. The view of the Old State House on this receipt has some unlikely features, including three nearly square windows on the third floor and a tower with a small lantern sitting directly on the first stage. However, it does indicate that the appearance of the east facade had not changed much since the Brown, Lawrence, & Stickney firm installed its large shop windows and iron columns c. 1850. Only two significant changes seem to have occurred: the sign across the lower balustrade now touts "Smith's Independent News Room" and semaphores have been attached at the third-floor level near the northeast and southeast corners of the east facade.

In a c. 1866 photograph of the east end of the Old State House (III. 35), the number of signs on the building has increased. The Old State House looks more like a billboard than a building. Since the United States Telegraph Company, whose sign is prominently displayed across the east facade, is not listed with an Old State House address in the Boston Directories until 1866, this photograph probably postdates that year.

Several important east-end changes appear in this view. The portico now has two stairways from State Street up to first-floor level. These stairways do not crop up in the drawings attributed to Rogers, or in the views prior to about 1860. The wide gable-end chimney that first appeared about the time of the Rogers' remodeling now has four chimney pots; these persist in subsequent views through 1880. This photograph shows two downspouts on the north elevation — a pattern not shown (or at least not clearly shown) in earlier views.
Illustration 32. West and North Elevations of Old State House (c. 1855).
Illustration 33. Partial View of North Elevation of Old State House (c. 1860).
Old State House,

State Street.

Illustration 34. East Elevation of Old State House (1867).
Illustration 35. East and North Elevations of Old State House (c. 1866).
Illustration 33 also obliquely shows the north elevation. At basement level, the stonework along this facade has projecting surrounds over lengthened openings. This is the same form that appears in views of the south facade from about 1850 forward.

Finally, in this and other photographs up to 1881, the first stage of the tower features a quoin treatment with more strongly vertical margins than seen in most earlier views.

Illustration 36 shows more clearly than any previous view the central, first-floor doorway leading onto the east portico, the old doorway probably reopened by Rogers. Signage indicates the tenancy of tailor Charles A. Smith and the North American Insurance Company. In 1867 these two parties and Newell A. Thompson & Company — which had occupied a room in the Old State House since 1846 — took a 10-year lease "collectively" that expired on July 1, 1876.(11)

Old State House tenants continued to increase. The Boston Directory of 1870 lists 50 different Old State House occupants.(12) Illustrations 37 and 38 show the Old State House in its most eclectic state. The Classical Revival portico remains, somewhat obscured by signs, and a mansard roof has been added. Illustration 37 dates from 1876. Illustration 38 cannot be dated precisely, but the presence of John E.M. Gilley's sign means that it must postdate 1869, the date of the earliest Boston Directory listing of an Old State House address for Gilley. All of the signs on the east facade that can be read in both views correspond, so the two views must be approximately contemporaneous, the major difference being that the drawing shows the east and south facades, while the photograph shows the east and north facades.

The two main changes chronicled by these views are the creation of the mansard roof, and the alteration of the sash from 12/12 to 2/2.

Illustration 38 exhibits clearly the deterioration of the building in the early 1870's. Thompson & Company, the North American Insurance Company, and Charles A. Smith — who jointly leased the Old State House for the period from 1866 to 1876 — evidently did not invest much money in exterior maintenance.(13) Some of the most obvious areas of decay include: the balustrade on the second stage of the tower, which has very few balusters; the scrolls on the gable steps, which are collapsing; and the portico columns, which appear to be splitting. Too, paint is peeling, and panes are missing from the sash in the tower.

In 1875 the City of Chicago offered to buy the building and preserve it on the shores of Lake Michigan.(14) Only a few months later — in the Centennial Year of 1876 — some members of the Joint Standing Committee on Streets made a strong but unsuccessful recommendation for demolition of the Old State House. Justin Winsor notes the effort in his Memorial History of Boston, and includes mention of the mansard roof. This c. 1870 feature — like Rogers' porticos — represented yet another attempt to modernize the building's appearance.(15) The Joint Standing Committee on Streets did order that the "balcony" (portico) at the east end be removed at the expiration of the 10-year lease in 1876, and it recommended a shorter lease term of five years. The east portico might not have been removed at the time of the Centennial celebration, but it did come down sometime between 1876 and 1880 (see III. 40).
Illustration 39 probably dates to c. 1876; the east portico is still in place. On the west facade the iron balcony is still there, along with the basic format of large shop windows, recessed center entrance, and iron supporting posts. However, the water table at the south end of this facade clearly supports two pilasters: both bases are evident, as are the neck moldings (just visible beneath the word "Company" in the transit sign). Presumably the northwest corner is the same, although only the outermost pilaster is visible because of the signs. This paired-pilaster treatment differs from that in Illustrations 31 and 32, which show only single corner pilasters. As those are drawings, and Illustration 39 is a photograph, it would seem likely that the paired pilasters constituted the actual configuration.

The shop windows have larger panes than are shown in any of the views of the 1850's (Ill. 30-32), and extend out to include the iron posts in interior space. This may mean that the west end was significantly remodeled again between 1850 and 1876. Sash on the second and third floors have become 2/2, and the ox-eye windows have four panes, rather than eight around a small circular pane.

The scrolls on the west gable steps do not appear as badly deteriorated as those on the east gable (Ill. 38). (Interestingly, they do not have exactly the same shape as the scrolls on the east.) Too, the western part of the second-stage tower balustrade has most of its balusters, in contrast to the eastern and southern sections of the balustrade.

Illustration 40 shows the east elevation c. 1880, with the portico gone. Its removal led to several other striking changes. The original, 18th-century treatment of flush doorway with descending steps was not reintroduced, perhaps because of exterior space limitations. Instead, the old center entrance seems to have been "holed out" to create a very wide recessed stairway with a rather awkward classical surround, extending up from the street to the first floor.

Again, on the second floor, the original cantilevered balcony was not replaced. The former central balcony door has been converted here to a window. Its base has been redesigned to achieve a Renaissance Revival character, visually uniting the window with the doorway opening beneath. (In the middle section of the window's base is a sign, "John Wetherbee." Wetherbee, not listed in the Boston Directory as an Old State House occupant before 1877, was treasurer of the East Boston Improvement Company through 1881.) Despite these changes, the window retains the segmental pediment and fluted Corinthian pilasters of the 18th-century balcony treatment, and the mullioned sash of the 1830's also appears intact.

Some repairs evidently were made: Illustration 40 shows that missing balusters were replaced on the tower. However, this was the time when the Boston City Council was debating the very existence of the building, and repairs in general were minimal.

* * *

The building had reached a state of maximum intensity of use by diverse businesses and professional people. Small wonder that many Council members argued that the Old State House was "disfigured," "defaced," and not "a genuine relic."(16)
Illustration 36. East Elevation of Old State House (c. 1866).
Illustration 38. East and South Elevations of Old State House (c. 1876).
Illustration 39. West and North Elevations of Old State House (c. 1876).
Illustration 40. East and South Elevations of Old State House (c. 1880).
NOTES

(1) WPA, p. 245.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid., p. 246.
(4) Ibid.
(5) Ibid.
(6) Ibid., p. 247.
(7) Ibid., pp. 246-47 passim.
(8) Ibid., p. 247.
(9) Ibid., p. 249.
(10) Ibid.
(11) Ibid., p. 251.
(12) Ibid., p. 252.
(13) Ibid., p. 251.
1882-1907: THE FIRST RESTORATION

The year 1881 marked a turning point in the history of the Old State House. The building's steady degradation through "adaptive abuse" was halted by the decision of the Boston City Council to restore the Old State House to an earlier appearance — one that would call to mind its role as the setting of significant events during Revolutionary times.

As the 1876 leases on the building terminated in May 1881, the debate on the question of demolition of the Old State House intensified. In a meeting of the Boston City Council on May 26, 1881, proponents of demolition cited the following arguments: the building impeded traffic; it was producing less and less income; it no longer had an historic appearance; and, lacking original material, it was not a "genuine relic."(1)

Antiquarian and Council member William H. Whitmore strongly defended the building's right to survive, making reference to Philadelphia's Independence Hall as a parallel case. That, too, he observed, was a building greatly altered over the years, but with a similar claim to national historic importance. Whitmore, in calling Independence Hall second only to Mount Vernon in national fame, argued also that the tourist trade generated by its restoration produced a substantial income for the city of Philadelphia.

As to the existence of historic fabric in the Old State House, Whitmore asserted,

The building is substantially what it was originally....The walls are not only intact, but the windows, floors, and timbers are the same. That work was put up to last for generations, and it has lasted. The changes I speak of have been such as are made in every old building; such as the tearing down of partitions and putting in stairways for convenience. The walls are in the same condition, and it is as genuine a relic as can be found....It is just as feasible for us to restore the Old State House as it was to restore Independence Hall, more than that, we have ten times more material than Mr. Etting had when he began there ten years ago.

Whitmore's arguments proved persuasive and in September 1881, the Committee on Public Buildings was given a budget of $35,000 for the restoration work.(2) George Clough, Boston's City Architect from 1873-83, was in charge of the work, which he brought to completion in June 1882.(3)

Clough's work on the building was concentrated more on the upper floors, leased in 1881 to the Bostonian Society, than on the lower floors, which were still "to be let in the interest of the City by the Department of Public Buildings." The Red Line Transit Company and the Old Colony Steamboat Company both leased rooms "fronting on Washington St.," and the Mutual Union Telegraph Company leased the basement until 1894.(4)
The Bostonian Society, formed in 1881 as the Boston Antiquarian Club, used the second and third floors of the Old State House for exhibition and storage of materials relating to the history of Boston, and for an office for the Secretary of the Society, until 1894. By that year, the Society's need for more space for books and exhibits had become acute. It therefore took a lease on the rest of the building, and the companies that had leased space in the west end of the first floor and in the east end of the basement moved out.(5) So, too, did the two city offices that had been in the eastern end of the first floor: namely those of the City Surveyor and the Inspector of Buildings.

These offices became the new quarters of the Bostonian Society's Secretary and Director. There was also a third room acquired with the other two. A newspaper clipping on page 98 in Scrapbook F at the Bostonian Society mentions the "room first entered from State Street," which contained a collection of maps of Boston. The Annual Proceedings confirm a three-room plan on the east end of the first floor. The "outer apartment of those recently acquired, on the lower floor" was used for an exhibition of the topography of Boston...The two inner rooms opening from the topographical room have been fitted up as an office for the Secretary and the Director's Room. In these two apartments has been placed the library of the Society..."(6)

On the basement floor, one more important alteration occurred during the period 1900-04. The East Boston tunnel of the subway system was constructed under the Old State House, and the eastern half of the basement was converted into a subway station. The subway conversion will be discussed at the end of this chapter.

* * *

The Clough Restoration

Illustrations 41-44 show the Old State House as Clough restored it. None of the three are dated, but since they do not show the subway openings, they must date between 1882 and 1903. Gone are the mansard roof, recessed east doorway, and commercial signs.

Roof. "It was, of course, necessary to take off the modern French roof and to restore the old pitch (ed) roof...," the Committee on Public Buildings report of June 29, 1882, observed.(7) Clough found that "All of the early roof above the cornice to the height of eight feet, between the trusses, had been removed; but above that height, forming the apex, the original boarding and jack rafters were found in good condition."(8) Also in "a good state of preservation," according to Clough, were the main cornice and "the ten trusses supporting the roof, which, of course, determined the original outline...."(9) Clough described the roof framing:

These trusses were framed with a king post, and were constructed of oak-hewn timber, the principal rafters being in double sections, the under section of a natural curve; the tie beams of the trusses were about fourteen inches square and formed the sleepers or girders for support of the third floor.(10)
Nearly all of the framing described above can be seen at present, along with certain 20th-century reinforcements that will be described later. Most of the framing that Clough found very likely dates back to the mid-18th century; the same is true of the cornice.

To restore the roof fully to an 18th-century appearance, Clough recreated the dormers that had been displaced by the mansard roof — "the number, position, and proportions being ascertained from the several woodcuts..."(11) and removed "the unsightly chimneys, which in past years have acquired a large number of stoves...."(12) Clough erroneously cites five chimneys "of modern construction" on each side.(13) All views and photographs of the period 1865-80 show only four per side.

It is interesting to note that "It was found necessary to heat the building by steam in order to do away with the chimneys which had been put on during the present century." The steam-heating apparatus required a boiler room; this was put in a "circular sub-basement, constructed of brick, which was built directly under the rotunda," such that it provided "support (for) the partitions of the same...."(14)

Although the 1881-82 Annual Report of the City of Boston(15) mentioned "the entire reconstructing of the tower," Clough reported that its copper roof and "the old vane and lightning-rod were found in a very passable condition." He did find, however, the tower in a "neglected and very unsafe condition, several of the bedplates which formerly received the posts having been removed in the course of adapting the third story to business purposes, while others had been completely burned off." These alterations had left the tower supported only on the heads of two plank partitions. The decayed condition of the wooden trim of the tower made it necessary for him to remove "all of the sash, two-thirds of the pilasters, pedestals, balustrades, and carved finials, and replace the same by new work."(16) Reconstruction of the roof and tower together cost over $4,000 — close to one-seventh of the total restoration budget.(17)

Facades. The basement and first floor, in general, were not restored to an 18th-century appearance. The granite foundation facing and basement-window surrounds of c. 1850 were retained. Indeed, Clough even duplicated the latter to trim the basement windows that he restored on the east elevation.

It appears that, because Clough believed the east balcony doorway and sash to be original, he left it as he found it. The balcony door closely resembles the one in views dating back only to Rogers' work, however; it is possible that Clough left an early-19th century sash in place there by mistake. As for the long-missing balcony itself, Clough recreated one with supporting consoles; it resembled the balcony in the c. 1801 Marston painting, which presumably was original. The large recessed flight of stairs shown at the east end in the 1880 photograph (Ill. 40) was replaced with "substantial brick walls and proper doors and windows."(18)

On the west facade of the building, "the walls of the first story of the Washington street end, which had been taken away for modern improvement, to fit the building for business purposes, were easily replaced with window openings like those above."(19) The same situation applied to the doorway in the west end, which Clough had to reconstruct. Clough adds that "the brick moulded belt courses were easily continued where they had been removed," and the restoration of the exterior was "not of a difficult nature."(20)
Illustration 41. East and North Elevations of Old State House (c. 1883).
Illustration 42. East and South Elevations of Old State House (c. 1886).
Illustration 43. West and South Elevations of Old State House (c. 1886).
Illustration 44. West and South Elevations of Old State House (c. 1886).
Rogers' doorways on the north and south elevations were retained. Clough probably thought they dated to the 18th century — as indeed the triangular pediments with dentils might have, since Rogers apparently didn't redo them. Clough's new doorway on the west appears to be a widened copy of these north and south doorways.

From the second story upward, Clough executed his restoration more thoroughly. Everything has an 18th-century appearance, with a few minor exceptions. The wide chimneys at the east and west gable ends, the clock works and the clock's surrounding decoration, and the mullions on the balcony door remain from the 1830's. (There is some photographic indication, however, that Clough may have worked on the chimneys.)

Illustrations 41-44 also show the carved wood figures of a lion and a unicorn that were installed on the steps of the east gable as part of Clough's restoration. Views dated 1750 and 1770 indicate an historical precedent for those royal symbols. Clough defied historical authenticity, however, when he placed the shield of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the state motto on the west end of the Old State House.

Also on the west facade, a gilded eagle was installed sometime between 1882 and 1893, perched on a ball affixed to the center of the chimney coping. An 1893 guide to Boston remarks, "The gilt eagle with the state and city arms, spread over the western front, was placed to appease over-sensitive citizens who were disturbed, or professed to be, by the restoration of the lion and unicorn, in copies, on the eastern gables." (21) In 1903 the "Gilded Bird of Freedom," made of gilded sheet copper, was taken down and put inside. The soft-coal smoke that issued from the chimney on which it was placed had evidently blackened it so much that it had to be removed. (22)

Some deterioration of the building is seen in Illustrations 41-44, particularly in Illustration 42. The paint of the east facade is peeling badly, and the parging or "cement wash" on the belt course over the southernmost second-floor window is crumbling. There are also cracks in this parging on the second floor of the west facade. Finally, some of the carved keystones around the ox-eye windows are badly eroded.

Sash. Clough restored the sash on the second and third floors, using the c. 1800 Marston painting (see Ill. 12) for the "number of glass in each window." The muntin profiles, he says, came from "a reproduction from the window of the second story, opening upon the balcony at the State-street end." (23) To prove the "original character" of this window, he cites the fact that he found that "The frame of this window, like all other windows about the building, was built solid into the walls and extending back of the same, on two sides and across the top, at least four inches...." (24)

The sash on the second floor and in the large gable-end windows on the third floor were restored to a 12/12 configuration. The third-floor dormers received 6/6 sash: this should have been 8/8 (Ill. 4). The ox-eye windows were outfitted correctly with eight wedge-shaped panes around a small, circular pane. Clough did not even try to introduce historically correct sash on the first floor, however, in keeping with his generally limited treatment of this level. The 2/2 sash on the north, south and east elevations — installed c. 1866 — were retained. The two windows that Clough recreated on the west elevation, after the large shop windows had been removed, received single-pane fixed sash.
Clough does not indicate why he chose a dark paint color for the trim, but that choice is consistent with late Victorian tastes.

**Interior.** Clough's restoration of the interior, despite his good intentions, was not very colonial, and it caused a major controversy. The following discussion traces his work, and his and Whitmore's justification of their decisions.

The two men based their restoration of the interior, including the circular staircase, on a plan found by Whitmore among Isaiah Rogers' papers in Cincinnati, and on evidence they found in the building. When Clough investigated the interior of the Old State House, he found what he took to be "the exact location of all the original partitions of the second story,...the original underfloors," and indications of "original partition caps" and "position of all the doors."(25) "But the most important development of all was the opening up of the original framing in the second floor around the circular staircase...."(26) Whitmore adds, in his report, "The plans of the old building and the indications in the woodwork pointed to a circular stairway between the first and second floors."(27) Illustration 45, printed in the Re-dedication, is a "Plan of Second Floor/showing Circular Staircase Hall...also representing in dotted lines the original Oak framing around the Staircase opening."

The authenticity of Clough's circular stairway (Ill. 46) as a colonial form, and the division of space on the second floor necessitated by its central location, were challenged by one George H. Moore in 1885. Moore quoted from documents cited in "The Revolutionary Period" section of this report to prove his assertion that the circular staircase and second-floor plan Whitmore and Clough restored were not colonial, but rather dated to 1830.(28) Why did architect Clough (and ardent antiquarian William Whitmore, who served on the Committee of Public Buildings and helped to research the building with Clough) misjudge the age of what they found by 90 years?

Although methods of historical investigation of buildings were not as thorough or scientific as they are now, it seems likely that Clough, after four weeks of investigation with the help of a "careful carpenter,"(29) would have looked for colonial details had Rogers' 1830 material been intact and in good condition. The fact that he came across 1830 elements in his investigation, and concluded that they were much older, strongly suggests that by then, even Rogers' work had been reduced to fragments. Apparently, very little remained of either Rogers' interior details or structural changes. The interior had been remodeled extensively during the Victorian period (1841-81) for shops, offices, and a restaurant. Clough obviously met a confused interior, mistook the deteriorated Rogers material for 18th-century work, and restored the Old State House accordingly — back only to 1830, not to 1748.

Moreover, Whitmore firmly believed that Isaiah Rogers merely had repaired, not remodeled, the Old State House. He stated, with regard to the "Rogers' Plan" he had found,

> The reader can judge whether the architect in making his sketch was adapting existing walls to a new purpose or was making entirely new divisions of the entire floor. No description yet recovered throws the slightest light on this vital point. It must also be added that every authority, save one casual newspaper comment at the date, agrees in calling the changes in 1830 'repairs.'
OLD STATE HOUSE — STATE STREET

— BOSTON —

Council Chamber

Ante Room

Ante Room

Ante Room

Ante Room

Representatives Hall

PLAN OF SECOND FLOOR

showing Circular Staircase Hall and the four Ante Rooms adjoining, also representing in dotted lines the original oak framing around the Staircase opening. The Girders A, B, C, D were hung from the Tie Beams of the Roof Floors in the Third Floor by four 1 inch square rods in the partitions at the points E, F.

All of these indications were found in the restoration of 1881

Illustration 45. Plan of Second Floor, Old State House (1893).
Whitmore felt that Clough's "careful examination" of existing material in the building and the floor plans (which he thought represented the first and second floors of the Old State House as they existed prior to Isaiah Rogers' "repairs") provided sufficient evidence that the Old State House originally had a circular stairway from first to second floor, and two legislative chambers with anterooms on the second floor.

In addition to restoring the Rogers staircase, Clough evidently retained yet another feature of Rogers' plan — the curved wall on the east end of the Representatives' Chamber. Illustrations 45 and 47 show the curved partition, and can be compared with Illustration 18. A later view of the Representatives' Chamber, Illustration 48 shows Clough's work and later electric light fixtures.

Along with the framing of the circular stairway, Whitmore and Clough found "existing pieces of wood mouldings..., such as pieces of cornices, bases of pilasters, pieces of old wood mantels, and wood wainscoting connecting with the same, besides the positions of all the old wood grounds upon the brick walls, giving the heights of the cornices, wainscoting, etc...."(30) With this evidence they formed "A very definite idea...of the treatment of the interior wood finish...."(31) Some of the material they found was, very likely, 18th-century material, but in general the interior wood finish that Clough installed was most unacademic.

Illustration 49 depicts the east end of the Council Chamber c. 1893, as restored by Clough. Note that the floorboards run north-south. The trim details chosen by Clough are exceedingly unacademic — Federal Period motifs, rather than 18th-century designs. A somewhat later view of this end, probably from the early 1900's, is Illustration 50. Here the floorboards run east to west, and electric lighting has been installed.

The west end of the Council Chamber is shown in Illustration 51, with Clough's work intact. A later, 1936 photograph (Illustration 52) shows the center doorway on the west wall of the Council Chamber as Clough restored it.

Naturally, Clough and Whitmore studied early views of the Old State House, and performed first-hand investigation of the fabric of the building itself, in preparation for their restoration work. It is interesting to note that they also made sketches and a careful study...of all the buildings erected in this vicinity, of about the date of the Old State House; among them several dwellings at the North End, Christ Church, Hancock House, King's Chapel, Royall House at Medford, the Gov. Shirley House at Roxbury, and several public and private buildings at Salem, Newburyport, and Portsmouth...."(32)

The stair balusters, according to a footnote by Whitmore, were "copied from those in Gov. Shirley's house, still standing in Roxbury."(33)

After he completed the restoration, Clough reported that:

The circular staircase has been replaced, the legislative hall and Governor's chamber also restored upon the second floor, with its wooden cornices and dado, carved wood mantels and door-caps, with four anterooms adjoining, and large circular rotunda about the circular staircase between and connecting the legislative departments. The first floor and basement have
been fitted up for office accommodations, to be let in the interest of the city by the Department of Public Buildings, under the order of the City Council. A circular sub-basement, constructed of brick, has been built directly under the rotunda, which supports the partitions of the same, and affords an excellent boiler-room. A steam-heating apparatus has been put in, which heats the entire building. The unsightly chimneys, which in past years have accommodated a large number of stoves, have been removed. The exterior and interior of the building have been refitted in a thorough and substantial manner, and the building will stand for many years to come."(34)

(It should be noted that the circular stairway was extended down to the basement.)

Clough's restoration work looks completely Colonial Revival, of the early type — rather free in design, not scholarly. His work is vitally important, therefore, as an example of a very early restoration.

Completion of the restoration work was celebrated on July 11, 1882. The proceedings at the rededication of the Old State House consisted of short addresses by the mayor, the governor, and a few other notable men, but primarily of a lengthy oration about the Old State House. The rededication proceedings, along with relevant appendices, were published by order of the Boston City Council in 1882. As controversy over the authenticity of the restoration grew, the rededication publication was reissued in new editions (the sixth being printed in 1893), with material added by Whitmore as he defended the 1882 restoration against George H. Moore's charge of historical inaccuracy. The Re-dedication is of vital importance, not only because it contains the arguments about the 18th-century plan of the buildings, but also because it offers much information on the history of the building itself. Appendices F, G, and M of the 1893 edition are especially valuable. Appendix F is a letter from Clough to Alderman William Wookey, Chairman of the Committee in charge of the restoration of the Old State House, in which Clough explicates his research methods and his discoveries. Appendix G has two items: the report of the Committee on Public Buildings on the restoration and renovation work, submitted to the City Council; and the architect's statement of the restoration costs, along with the names of the "mechanics" and firms who did the work. Appendix M contains, after a prefatory note by Whitmore, excerpts from Moore's address before the Bostonian Society in 1885, "Prytaneum Bostoniense," in which he boldly states his chief objection to the 1882 restoration: "No such division of the space on the second floor as the present existed at any time during the official use of the building by the Legislature (—) Colonial, Provincial, Revolutionary, or State."

The Subway

In 1903-04 and 1907 subway tunnels were excavated under the eastern part of the Old State House (III. 53-56). The construction of the East Boston subway tunnel (1900-04) — and of a related subway station in the basement of the east end of the building — were "among the misfortunes of the Old State House," according to
Illustration 47. East End of Representatives' Chamber, Old State House (1893).
Illustration 48. West End of Representatives' Chamber, Old State House (c. 1930).
Illustration 49. East End of Council Chamber, Old State House (1893).
Illustration 50. East End of Council Chamber, Old State House (probably early 1900's).
Illustration 51. West End of Council Chamber, Old State House (undated).
Illustration 52. Detail of Center Doorway, West Wall of Council Chamber, Old State House (1936).
Illustration 53. "Detail Plan, Section E, East Boston Tunnel" (1902).
Illustration 54. "Washington St. Tunnel, Section 6, Ventilation Opening for Boiler Room" (1907).
Illustration 55. "Washington St. Tunnel, Section 6, Plan at Elevation W-W" (1907).
Sinclair Hitchings. In the 1969 report for the Architectural Heritage group, Elizabeth Amadon recounted the chronology of the subway. The first tunnel and station occasioned very little outcry, protest, or publicity. Although the owners of the nearby Sears Building and the Ames Building did complain about possible damage to their structures' stability, due to the subterranean excavation and/or vibrations of the subway, no evidence has appeared of complaints of danger to the Old State House.

The Bostonian Society was given a new lease to all of the space in the building, except the subway station, in 1903. Curtis Guild, then president of the Bostonian Society, said that he believed the subway station would "not seriously injure the building."(36) The reports of the Chief Engineer in the Boston Transit Commission Annual Report, Fourth (August 15, 1898) indicated some of the changes in the Old State House walls that would be caused by the subway and station construction. The easterly ends of the north and south walls were to be opened up to permit pedestrian access to a "lobby." These alterations took place in 1903. To accommodate the ceiling of the station, the "floor of the room over the station lobby was raised about 19 inches and replaced with concrete and steel."(37) The raised floor in turn required that all first-floor windows on the eastern half of the building be shortened from the bottom. This nonhistoric action was counterbalanced somewhat by the installation of 12/12 sash in these windows.(38) Illustration 57 shows this alteration. This photograph is undated, but must have been taken between 1903 and 1909; it shows the subway entrance on the north, opened for use in 1905, but not the Chandler remodeling of 1909. Although the first-floor windows on the western half are not shown clearly here, other photographs on file at SPNEA reveal that at this time those windows stayed their original length.

Other subway alterations in Old State House fenestration included a change in the east elevation's basement. Instead of a center doorway flanked by windows with 2/2 sash, three small nine-light windows were created directly beneath the three windows on the first floor. These basement windows were constructed with granite surrounds to match those on the basement-level openings around the rest of the building.

Illustration 57 is also the earliest to show a flagpole on the roof, just behind the east chimney.
NOTES


(2) WPA, p. 256.
(3) Ibid., p. 261.
(4) Ibid.
(6) Ibid., pp. 7-8.
(8) Ibid., pp. 155-56.
(9) Ibid.
(10) Ibid.
(11) Ibid.
(12) WPA, p. 261.
(13) Re-dedication, p. 156.
(14) WPA, p. 261.
(15) Ibid.
(16) Re-dedication, p. 156.
(17) WPA, p. 161.
(18) Re-dedication, pp. 157-58.
(19) Ibid., p. 155.
(20) Ibid., p. 156.
(21) WPA, p. 261.
(22) "Gilded Bird of Freedom Goes," (untitled), October 9, 1905, SPNEA clipping file.
(23) Re-dedication, p. 154.
(24) Ibid., p. 155.
(27) Ibid., p. 158.
(29) Re-dedication, p. 154.
(30) Ibid., p. 155.
(31) Ibid.
(32) Ibid.
(33) Ibid., p. 62, n. 20.
(34) WPA, p. 261.
(35) Re-dedication, p. 213.
Illustration 57. East and North Elevations of Old State House (c. 1906).
The subway became an issue in the history of the Old State House again in 1905, when it was announced that a tunnel was to be built under the Washington Street end of the building. There had been a proposal that part of the western end of the first floor and basement be used as a subway station to serve the new line. Such a use no doubt would have entailed some radical alteration of the lower portions of the west end of the building.

Two years later, in 1907, a number of Bostonians rallied to support legislation that would more securely protect the Old State House from such encroachment. Among others, William Sumner Appleton, founder of the SPNEA, was invited to "a hearing on the petition for legislation to prohibit use of the Old State House for commercial purposes and to promote its preservation, on Friday, March 8, 1907." The legislation referred to in the message above was passed. Chapter 385 of the Acts of 1907, State of Massachusetts, is titled, "An Act to Provide for the Preservation of the Old Provincial State House in the City of Boston." The Act settled the subway question. The Boston Transit Commission was permitted to continue use of the basement under the eastern end of the Old State House for a subway station, and to use the space under the western end and beneath the basement floor for transit purposes...provided that no entrance or stairway to the tunnel or subway adjacent to the Washington Street front thereof, and no part of the walls of the old state house above the grade of the sidewalk shall be disturbed.

The second section of the Act called for restoration of the Old State House "as nearly as possible to its provincial condition," so that it could be maintained as "an historic and patriotic memorial." The City of Boston and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts were to share equally the costs of restoring and preserving the building. Provision also was made for enjoining and restraining violation of the Act.

The Chandler Restoration

To accomplish the work, the City Building Department turned to Boston's foremost restoration architect. Joseph Everett Chandler was chosen by the Boston Society of Architects to assist George Morrison, Superintendent of Public Buildings, in drawing up the plans. Chandler already had established a reputation for his work restoring colonial buildings. He worked primarily on domestic buildings, but noted in his book The Colonial House (1916) that even public buildings of the colonial period, including the Old State House, were built on a domestic scale.

According to newspaper articles, Chandler's mandate was "to bring the building back to its original condition, both interior and exterior." As another article in The Boston Herald put it, he was to restore the Old State House "to its original provincial style." The work "original" seems ambiguous, but the Herald article goes on to
specify that the entrances on the west, north, and south "will be made as nearly as possible like those made in 1713." The 1713 date is problematic, since no known views of the Old State House between 1713 and 1747 show much detail. It appears more likely that Chandler used the Massachusetts Magazine views of 1791 and 1793 as inspiration.

Chandler's 1908 drawings (Illustrations 58-66) furnish primary evidence of his work on the Old State House, as discussed below.

**Exterior.** Chandler's treatment of the exterior of the Old State House affected primarily the basement. He removed the granite foundation facing and tall basement windows of the mid-19th century. He replaced the stone work with a molded brick water table and brick foundation facing all around, and shortened the basement windows. His shorter openings have jack arches like the windows on the upper stories, but do not extend above the water table. In a 1910 letter to Richard W. Hale, Chandler says that he restored "the water table and substructure down to grade" with brick, thereby replacing the granite that had been installed in the 19th century.(6) Chandler noted on Sheet No. 2 (Ill. 59) of the drawings on both north and south sides, "Remove old Granite Base Course and Window Trim." Precedent for brick foundation facing can be seen in buildings contemporary with the 1748 build of the Old State House, but it is difficult to verify from early views the existence of that treatment on the Old State House itself (see Illustrations 4, 12, et al.).

Illustration 58, "Basement Plan," shows that new light wells were to be constructed for the western windows on the north side of the Old State House, to compensate for the light lost when the old Victorian windows were made smaller. On the south side, one new basement window is shown, just to the west of the south doorway. As this window is to open into a lavatory, it is to have ground glass (Ill. 61). The westernmost basement opening on the south side is shown with a note: "This light area to be suspended across Boiler Room stairs...." (Ill. 61). (The boiler room, which Clough had located in an area below the circular stairs, evidently was moved to the west end.) Finally, Illustration 66 shows that Chandler remodeled the doorways to the subway station.

Chandler also shortened the first-floor windows on the western half of the Old State House (Ill. 60-62) to make them conform to the first-floor windows on the eastern half of the building, which had been shortened when the subway station was built.

Illustration 67 helps confirm that Chandler's work was done substantially as his plans (especially Illustration 62) show. On the north, south, and west doorways (Ill. 65, 68), Chandler's restoration resulted in the removal of earlier material, some installed by Rogers and some by Clough.

The west elevation, shown in Illustration 60, includes a banner with the motto of the Commonwealth on the parapet. The motto that Clough installed was removed, but the motto designed by Chandler does not appear on the Old State House in any views observed so far, including Illustration 68. Chandler apparently planned to "Use old shield...," the angular one installed at the time of Clough's 1882 work, but later views show an entirely different oval one. The eagle was reinstalled on a new perch — an extension of the chimney — that apparently would protect it from smoke. The scrolls in the gable parapet steps are shown in a slightly modified design, which does not seem to have been executed. Illustration 68 also shows that Chandler changed the downspouts on the south facade; here they are square, whereas earlier photographs show them as round.
Illustration 58. Basement Plan, Old State House (1908).
Illustration 59. First-Floor Plan, Old State House (1908).
Illustration 60. Washington Street (West) Elevation, Old State House (1908).
Illustration 61. State Street (South) Elevation, Old State House (1908).
Illustration 63. Longitudinal Section, Looking North, Old State House (1908).
Illustration 64. Section through State Street Entrances, Old State House (1908).
Proposed alteration in lower end of building
Restorations of the Old State House
State Street, Boston
Geo. W. Morrison, Supt. of Public Buildings
Old Courthouse, Boston
Joseph Everett Chandler, Architect
31 Beacon St., Boston
Nov. 2, 1908

STATE STREET ELEVATION - SOUTH
Opposite side of only same as this.

Proposed alteration in lower end of building.
Restorations of the Old State House.
State Street, Boston.
Geo. W. Morrison, Supt. of Public Buildings.
Old Courthouse, Boston.
Joseph Everett Chandler, Architect.
31 Beacon St., Boston.
Nov. 2, 1908.

STATE STREET - EAST
Scale: ½ = 1'.0
Position of present openings with stone lintels etc. indicated by dotted lines.
Illustration 67. West and North Elevations of Old State House (c. 1930).
Illustration 68. West and South Elevations of Old State House (c. 1910).
The Bostonian Society's Committee on Rooms reported that among the 1909 alterations to the Old State House was "...the reconstruction of the historic balcony on the east end," and photographic evidence confirms Chandler's rebuilding of the Clough balcony.(7) The balustrade and console brackets of the Clough balcony clearly differ from those of the Chandler balcony (Ill. 69).

Finally, Chandler removed all paint from the brick exterior surfaces of the Old State House. Evidence for this exists in his 1910 letter to Hale:

> Regarding the possible restoration of the Old South Church about which you asked me and which restoration would be chiefly removing the paint from the present brickwork and bringing it back to the old surface, I will say that I have conferred with the man who did the work on the Old State House and he estimates roughly that there are in the building about 14,000 square feet, or 1,500 square yards of brickwork, and that it would be worth $3. a yard to do, or $4,500 for this part of the work, and that painting the tower and trims white or nearly so would cost $500. more, making in all $5,000.(8)

That the paint on the exterior walls was indeed removed is confirmed by a report in the Bostonian Society Annual Proceedings of 1910.(9)

Interior. Most of Chandler's work inside the Old State House focused on Keayne Hall, the large room at the west end. Plans called for "a wooden paneled dado and a new cornice...while the columns down the center of the room will be of square wooden fluted design...and the deforming radiators will be concealed beneath window seats."(10) Chandler's drawings confirm the existence of all of the above items, and also note "Columns — All New," "Window Finish — All new," and "New Architraves" around the two doors on the curved wall at the east end of the room (Ill. 59). "The whole interior will be painted in white," according to the Boston Herald of October 26, 1908.

An example of Chandler's interior work is seen in Illustration 70. This doorway opens from the rotunda into Keayne Hall. The architrave with bolection molding is part of Chandler's 1909 restoration; the rest of the doorway is Clough's work. The square, fluted columns shown here correspond with Chandler's plan for Keayne Hall.

Chandler also made several changes in the Old State House's basement. Illustration 58 shows a stairway "Down To Boiler Room" on the south side of the southwest corner room of the "Janitor's Room." A partition and some steps south of the circular stairs were removed, and a previous opening closed. Toilet fixtures are shown in the plan, and in fact, the room is still a rest room.

Structure. No major structural revisions in the Old State House occurred during the 1909 work, but Chandler's drawings indicate a few changes in, and additions of, structural elements. In the west end of the basement (Ill. 58), four old cast-iron columns are shown positioned to support the four square fluted columns on the first floor (Ill. 59, 63). Chandler called for the addition of one New 6" Cast Iron Column, in line with these but to their west. This column's function was to support two six-inch, steel I-beams that were placed under the new west entryway (Ill. 64, 65). The I-beams were run diagonally out from the column to the west wall to support the new
granite platform that Chandler introduced as the top step of the doorway. Interestingly, a note on Illustration 65 indicates a previous column in this location. Perhaps one of Chandler's predecessors sought a similar support system.

Concerning the steps themselves, Chandler's drawings (Ill. 64, 65) specify reinforced concrete under all three sets of rebuilt granite steps. The north and south entries, being downhill from the west door, each had an additional flight of iron stringers on the upper level. These Chandler retained: both entries have enclosed vestibules, and the old iron steps didn't show from the outside.

Over the west entryway, Chandler indicated the location of steel I-beams and steel angles to be "riveted on each side to take floor Joists" of the second floor (Ill. 65). The need for a new structural member to carry second-floor joists over the Chandler entry probably means that the Clough entry (see Ill. 43) had a supporting member that was removed in the 1909 remodeling.

Apparently Chandler did no work in certain areas of the building. The drawings as found do not include the tower, attic, or second floor. Most probably Chandler did not disturb Clough's work or earlier material in those areas, except for the second-floor sash and the third-floor sash in the central windows on each gable end.

In January 1910 the Bostonian Society's Committee on Rooms stated in their annual report that "the finishing touches are being made on the Old State House...." As the 1907 Act specified, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the City of Boston had shared equally in paying for the Chandler work. The following paragraph from the report is a quick summary of highlights of Chandler's restoration:

Briefly stated, the alterations consist of the substitution of brick for stone in the basement story, the placing of new doors and vestibules on the west end and on the north and south sides, the reconstruction of the historic balcony on the east end, new window sashes throughout the building, the entire refinishing of the lower west hall, and the removal of paint from the exterior walls of the building.(11)

Chandler's attempt to reproduce the "provincial" appearance of the building resulted in full-blown Colonial Revival details of great charm. It appears that he used the 1791 Massachusetts Magazine engraving (Ill. 11) as his guide for some of the details, in particular the scroll capitals of the engaged columns flanking the west doorway. His treatment of the columns themselves, however, did not follow the engraving. In addition to this mixing of details, Chandler's Colonial Revival style — like so much of the Colonial Revival work — somewhat exaggerates colonial motifs. For example, the vestibule ceilings of all three entries have both paneling and a Greek key relief. The fluted engaged columns back up against wood rustication. The door jambs also are paneled. And the cornice of the triangular pediments is heavily molded.

1921 Fire

A fire in the Old State House on April 13, 1921, burned primarily the roof timbering and third floor, especially on the north side. Ceilings and interior walls sustained water damage. An article in the Boston Evening Transcript of April 14,
Illustration 69. East and South Elevations of Old State House (c. 1910).
Illustration 70. Doorway to Rotunda, Keayne Hall, Old State House (undated).
1921, stated that "The flames ate into the air spaces in the walls and mushroomed on the third floor, where they crept along under the peaked roof....At one time flames burst from the gable windows at the ends of the building and the heat destroyed the large clock in that end facing State Street."(12) That statement is not entirely accurate, however; the Simon Willard clock was not destroyed. The clock's works, in fact, still remain in an area over the eastern end of the attic. The article asserted that "much of the roof timbering along the north and east sides" of the building would have to be replaced, and that "a complete renovation of the interior will be necessary." Another article reported that "Practically every ceiling in the building will have to be replaced, as well as many of the walls, and a complete renovating of the interior will be required."(13)

In Illustration 71 one can see clearly that the damage was most severe on the northern side of the third floor. The lower rafter of one of the roof trusses (far right in photograph) shows more charring near the eave than farther up. The radiator shown still survives and has an 1877 patent date; similar radiators appear in early views of the Council Chamber.

Illustration 72 shows how the fire caused lath and plaster in the attic to fall away from the furring. This reveals purlins and roof sheathing that appear to be completely uncharred above a certain level. The upper and lower rafters of the visible trusses, however, look badly charred along the entire length of the portions shown in the photograph. It is clear that the fire burned inside the walls, since the front surfaces of trim pieces show minimal damage.

A substantial portion of the ceiling area in a post-fire photograph (Ill. 73) of the "second-floor west room," or Representatives' Chamber, retains only a few laths and no plaster. The moldings and walls show less damage, however. Clough's interior trim is shown here; the windows have thick-muntined sash, which shows more clearly in the original photograph.

Illustration 74 views the "second-floor east room," or Council Chamber. The ceiling shows extensive cracking and water damage, but the plaster has not fallen. Of particular interest is the east balcony doorway: the heavy mullions as shown in views from 1837 onward are still there. The radiator seen here was removed in 1943 to its present location in one of the window alcoves.

That the tower suffered little damage from the fire is evident in Illustration 75. Except for broken sash, the rest of the material on the eastern side of the tower remained intact. However, the window glass — blackened to the point of opacity — indicates the extent to which the interior of the tower was soiled by smoke.

Although it is not necessary to detail the museum cases and exhibits that were in the Old State House at this time, it is interesting to note that the Evening Transcript article mentions that the 1803 deed by which the State transferred ownership of the Old State House to the City, "escaped damage."

Another article said that the old copper state motto, which "was taken down when the building was being painted and could not be found afterward," was found in a closet on the third floor.(14) The paint job referred to may have been painting done as part of the Chandler work. This reference may explain why the 1910 photographs show that the motto was not on the building at that time.
Other photographs of the area that suffered fire damage are on file at the headquarters of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

1922-1940

Illustrations 76-93 document the Old State House as it appeared in 1932. After the fire an automatic fire alarm system was installed in the Old State House, but not until 1933 was the system extended to cover the entire building. At the same time the wiring throughout the building was checked and new lighting was installed on the third floor, which at this time was divided into two areas — Blackstone Hall on the east and Winthrop Hall on the west. More modern lighting had been installed in the office of the Secretary (now called the Director) of the Bostonian Society and in the Library during the preceding year.

Other recommendations for fireproofing the Old State House included "wire netting instead of the present wooden laths, and fire stops in the walls, constructed of either brick or hollow tile." Wire lath is currently visible in many areas in the attic.

In 1936 the Old State House was reroofed. A letter — from Fitz-Henry Smith of the Bostonian Society to the mayor of Boston, John Fitzgerald — urged that the roof work be completed before the annual meeting of the American Bar Association, scheduled to be held in the Old State House in August. The Superintendent of Public Buildings wrote in a subsequent letter that although getting more expert slate roofers had been difficult, roofers had been hired and would work a double shift in order to finish the job by August 22. The "cupola" and exterior trim also were painted. The several directors of the Bostonian Society at that time protested to the City of Boston that the City's proposal to clean the exterior of the building "would in all probability have been of little lasting benefit and might have resulted in considerable harm to the old plaster and brick work." The Willard clock in the eastern gable was overhauled in 1936, and the building was floodlighted. On the interior, the walls of the exhibit halls were painted and the ceiling "whitened."

The reroofing of the Old State House was done as a WPA project. Another significant project undertaken by the WPA was the aforementioned documentary research on the history of the building. The focus of the search was on documents that might provide enough information for a restoration of the building "to its original condition." A committee was formed in the mid-1930's to oversee restoration of at least some portion of the building to its original state, but members concluded that "Adequate, comprehensive, and authoritative information and plans are entirely lacking for the basis of such a restoration." By 1938 the WPA researchers had turned up over 2,000 documents, but no original plans of the building. Their compilation of documentary material pertaining to the Old State House remains, nevertheless, a most valuable source of information about the history of the building.
Illustration 73. Representatives' Chamber, Old State House (1921).
Illustration 75. East Face of Tower, Old State House (1921).
Other photographs of the area that suffered fire damage are on file at the headquarters of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

1922-1940

Illustrations 76-93 document the Old State House as it appeared in 1932. After the fire an automatic fire alarm system was installed in the Old State House, but not until 1933 was the system extended to cover the entire building.(15) At the same time the wiring throughout the building was checked and new lighting was installed on the third floor, which at this time was divided into two areas — Blackstone Hall on the east and Winthrop Hall on the west.(16) More modern lighting had been installed in the office of the Secretary (now called the Director) of the Bostonian Society and in the Library during the preceding year.(17)

Other recommendations for fireproofing the Old State House included "wire netting instead of the present wooden laths, and fire stops in the walls, constructed of either brick or hollow tile."(18) Wire lath is currently visible in many areas in the attic.

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NOTES

(1) Scrapbook G, p. 201; Scrapbook H, p. 70, Bostonian Society.
(2) Postcard, 1907, SPNEA Clipping File.
(4) Article, Boston (name cut off), August 27, 1908. SPNEA Clipping File.
(5) Article, Boston Herald, October 26, 1908.
(6) Old South Association File, Boston Athenaeum.
(8) Old South Association File.
(10) "Old State House Restored to its Appearance in Colonial Days." Boston Globe, October 10, 1909.
(12) "Old State House Swept by Fire Caused by Cigarette." Boston Evening Transcript, April 14, 1921.
(13) Article, Boston Evening Transcript, April 15, 1921.
(14) Article, SPNEA Postcard File.
(18) Article, Boston Evening Transcript, April 15, 1921, p. 6.
(19) Letters on file at the Bostonian Society.
(22) Ibid.
Illustration 76. "Ground-Floor Plan, Old Provincial State House" (probably 1932).
Illustration 77. "First-Floor Plan, Old Provincial State House" (probably 1932).
Illustration 78. "Second-Floor Plan, Old Provincial State House" (probably 1932).
Illustration 79. "Attic-Floor Plan, Old Provincial State House" (probably 1932).
Illustration 80. "West Elevation, Old Provincial State House" (1932).
Illustration 81. "Doorway on Washington Street (West) Entrance, Old Provincial State House" (1932).
Illustration 82. "South Elevation, North Elevation Similar, Old Provincial State House" (1932).
Illustration 84. "East Elevation, Old Provincial State House" (1932).
Illustration 85. "(Partial East Elevation,) Old Provincial State House" (1932).
Illustration 86. "Elevation of Tower, Old Provincial State House" (1932).
Illustration 87. "Detail of...Vestibule and...First-Floor Foyer, Old Provincial State House" (1932).
Illustration 88. "Detail of Main Staircase, Old Provincial State House" (1932).
Illustration 89. "Stair Stringer Nosing and Volute, Old Provincial State House" (1932).
Illustration 90. "Column, Cap, Base, Entablature, Beam & Cornice, Whitmore Hall, Old Provincial State House" (1932).
Illustration 91. "Details of Wood Finish in Robert Keayne Hall, Old Provincial State House" (1932).
Illustration 92. "Detail of Council Chamber..., Detail of Robert Keayne Hall, Old Provincial State House" (1932).
Illustration 93. "Detail of Cornice in Council Chamber & Representatives' Hall, Old Provincial State House" (probably 1932).
In 1942 the question of restoration came up again, and reference was made to the 1936 discussion. Despite the lack of documents, the decision was made that "what could be done, should be done." Preparations got underway for "changes" to be made in the following year.(1)

In July 1943 restoration of the Council Chamber was undertaken by the architectural firm of Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn. Restoration of this room was not completed until late in 1944, the same year during which a recommendation was made for painting and calcimining the interior of the building. (2) Illustrations 94-100 are copies of interior elevations — showing the changes made in the Council Chamber by Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn — and of full-scale drawings of the new fireplace details. Conover Fitch, who kindly retrieved these drawings from storage vaults, observed that the full-scale drawings appeared to be by Perry himself.

In general the restoration designs of Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn are more academic than are those of George Clough, and look considerably more Georgian. Illustration 101, of the eastern end of the Council Chamber, shows the 1943 Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn restoration work, including a new floor. The western wall of the Council Chamber, as shown in Illustration 102, has the Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn center doorway and shows more of their 1943 remodeling. Discussion of the details of the 1943 restoration as they currently appear follows in the section "Dating of Extant Elements."

In restoring the Council Chamber to a more nearly colonial appearance, Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn covered and moved the radiators to different locations under the windows and, as shown by a note in their drawings and by subsequent photographs, buried the pipes. Where necessary, the interior face of the exterior wall was bricked up. They also cut a chase, probably to conceal the heating pipes for the third story that were left exposed before 1943 (Ill. 51). This is inferred from notes in the City Building Department's jacket for the Old State House for the period 1942-1944: the exterior brickwork at the windows was described as "loose due to pounding around windows cutting chase in walls." The Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn interior work was therefore supplemented with exterior repairs. The exterior brickwork was repointed with cement grout. In addition, the deteriorated parging on the belt courses at the second- and third-floor levels was replaced.

* * *

Another "Authentic Restoration for Old State House," relating primarily to the east end of the building, was designed (Ill. 103-105) by architect George Sherwood and carried out under Boston Superintendent of Buildings George F. Donovan in 1956. (3) A Boston Traveler article of the time included a photograph that shows staging to the top of the east gable and around the eastern part of the south side of the building. The "general overhauling on the exterior with original bricks" probably used old but not original bricks. According to the Traveler article, the exterior walls were restored with water-struck brick, selected with "great care, to harmonize with original brickwork below; and great thought has been given to the pointing of the joints of this brickwork."
The Building Department jacket is more explicit about the work done in 1956-57. (All of the following discussion is based on items in the jacket for the Old State House on file at the City Building Department under "208 Washington Street.") In April and May the Building Inspector, M.J. Caddigan, described the condition of the east and west walls: "Parapet wall at each end at several points above 3-brick belt course is seriously deteriorated." In addition, he mentioned loose and fractured brickwork around the circular windows and around the clock; loose brick beneath the bluestone cap on the parapet wall; and the need to brace the lion, unicorn, and flagpole. He recommended replacement of the lintel over the "first-floor window left side" (presumably on the east wall), and the raking and repointing of all brickwork. In October 1956 there was an additional recommendation for pointing on east and west elevations, and replacement of parging on north and south elevations. Sixteen recommendations were sketched out in a letter from Inspector Caddigan dated October 25, 1956:

1. Rebuild entire parapet above roofline west end  
2. Rebuild all other wall areas indicated in red 8" deep (no drawings in jacket)  
3. West chimney  
4. Flue — terra-cotta  
5. Remove one course of brick below all window sills to a depth of 8"  
6. Repair copper gutter  
7. Repoint all existing brickwork  
8. Eagle  
9. Provide steel /s covered with fabric flashing  
10. Remove all staff beads and replace with new  
11. Remove bed mold of main cornice, north and south, and replace or salvage  
12. Remove and replace 500 defective bricks  
13. Repair six window sills — coat with L.C. copper  
14. Muntins in 2 south windows  
15. New molded brick water table at northwest corner  
16. Replace four existing rubbed brick lintels with new to match

One of the major 1957 alterations in the appearance of the Old State House was replacement of the clock with a sundial (III. 106). The clearest early representation of the east end of the Old State House showing a sundial is Marston's painting of c. 1800 (III. 12). Installation of a sundial was intended to create a more 18th-century appearance for the building. Exactly what constituted an 18th-century appearance was a matter of some confusion, however. Edwin W. Small of the Boston Historic Sites Commission wrote a letter to the Boston Sunday Herald of January 6, 1957, entitled "Provincial Condition for Old State House." In it, he debated the issue of what "provincial" means, and concluded that it referred to the appearance of the building before 1798. Small somewhat optimistically said that "most of the exterior brickwork remaining in the building today is that of the Second Boston Town House as erected after the great fire of 1711." He observed that "urgent repairs to the walls" were needed first, and that "attention can then be given toward achieving a reasonably accurate restoration of the interior on the basis of scientific study and historical research." Although no such ambitious restoration was undertaken, the sundial did seem a step in the right direction.

The gilded eagle, installed on the west chimney of the Old State House in 1882, was moved to a location under the west attic window in the mid-1930's. In 1958 it was removed and reinstalled, and again in 1964; in 1964 it was regilded.(4)
Illustration 94. "East Wall, Alterations to Council Chamber, Old Provincial State House" (1943).
Illustration 95. "West Wall, Alterations to Council Chamber, Old Provincial State House" (1943).
Illustration 96. "North Wall, Alterations to Council Chamber, Old Provincial State House" (1943).
Illustration 97. Details of Mantels, Council Chamber, Old State House (1943).
Illustration 98. Details of Mantels, Council Chamber, Old State House (1943).
Illustration 99. Details of Sections 1 to 11, Council Chamber, Old State House (1943).
Illustration 100. Details of Sections 1 to 11, Council Chamber, Old State House (1943).
Illustration 101. East End of Council Chamber, Old State House (c. 1966).
Illustration 102. West End of Council Chamber, Old State House (c. 1966).
Note 1. Remove existing circular wood sash and frame, and replace with new to match. Install copper pan flashing under lower portion of wood frame. Cover wood frame with lead coated copper.

Note 2. Remove existing brick and wood lintel; install one 6 4 x 3 1/4 x 1/4 for every 4" of masonry wall thickness. Flash over top of 23 with fabric; re-lay existing brick.

Illustration 103. Part of a Drawing of West Elevation, Indicating Work to be Done, Old State House (1856).
Illustration 104. Part of a Drawing of East Elevation, Indicating Work to be Done, Old State House (1956).
Illustration 105. Part of a Drawing of East Gable and North Elevation, Indicating Work to be Done, Old State House (1956).
NOTE:
A. Submit shop drawing showing method of attaching sundial to brick wall to the Boston building department for approval.
B. All anchors or supports shall be of a non-corrosive material.
C. Do not fabricate until full-size details have been received from the architect.
D. The lettering (1713 A.D. + 1110) and the sun's rays shall be cold leaf; the balance shall be painted as directed.

See allowance.

CAST STONE KEYS AT CIRCULAR WINDOWS
The Building Department jacket for the Old State House shows that in June 1958 a permit was issued for removing loose and defective brick and masonry, and for construction of staging for inspection of the Old State House. Less than two months later, another permit was issued for putting steel angles over the second-floor windows, removing loose brick on the parapets and rebuilding the caps, replacing two circular windows, lining the chimney with eight-by-12-inch flue lining, and painting the "entire front return."

The most recent item in the jacket is a note dated April 1, 1968, expressing concern over the possibility of unsafe conditions of the circular stair. In 1969 the weak condition of the circular stairway again was emphasized in a report on the Old State House prepared by Architectural Heritage (Frederick A. Stahl and his associates). That report included a Summary of Investigations of the building by LeMessurier Associates (John Coote and Juris Anderson). Some of the working plans used for structural work done in 1975-76 are included here as Illustrations 107-112.

The most recent alterations to the Old State House are taking place at the basement level on the east end, in the subway station. A complete set of plans and drawings for this work is available at the Bostonian Society. The remodeling of the interior of the subway station is of little importance to this report, but the basement window openings and subway entrance that also are being reworked (Ill. 113) are relevant. The primary subway entrance will be located at the eastern end of the south facade. An emergency exit will be located at the eastern end of the north facade. On the north and south elevations, the basement window openings have been rebuilt with new brick jack arches, in line with Chandler's basement windows on the west half of north and south facades. On the east elevation, the three basement windows have lost their functional properties: behind each sash is a metal box painted black to create an illusion of interior space.
NOTES

(2) Ibid., Vol. XIII, 1944, p. 10.
(3) Article, the Boston Traveler, November 1, 1956, p. 45.
(4) Loose newspaper clippings, Bostonian Society scrapbook (unlabeled).
Illustration 107. "Half Section thru Roof Frames beneath Tower.

- **SCALE**: 1/4" = 1'0" (1/12 = 1'0'')
- **TOWER CORNER**: Post 2'9" from frame
- **FRAME CENTRE**: Post
- **PAIR 8'x8' (TOWER SUPPORTS)**
- **4'x12' BMS (ADDED LATER)**
- **4'x5' PURLINS 2'-0"%**
- **4'x8' (ORIG)**
- **3-7/16" THRU BOLTS 8'x8'**
- **8'x8' LOWER Rafter**
- **NOTCH IN LOWER Rafter**
- **3'-1/2" STEEL NOTCH EA. SIDE**
- **EVIDENCE OF SLIGHT RELATIVE DISPLACEMENT BETWEEN UPPER AND LOWER RAFTERS. THIS MEMBER ROTATED SLIGHTLY.**
- **NO STRAP**
- **ATTIC FLOOR**
- **ATTIC FLOOR**
- **4'x12'' (NOT ORIGINAL)**
- **8'x11'' CENTRE POST**
- **UPPER ATTIC FLOOR**
- **8'x8''**
- **LOWER ATTIC FLOOR**
- **STEEL STRAP W/ 2'-1/2" GAP BETWEEN POST & BM BOLTS 11'-0"x11''**
- **BRICK WALL 20'' 19'-6'' HANGING**
- **ROD HANGER**
- **MEMBER SAG 3'-1/2''**

**HALF SECTION THRU ROOF FRAMES BENEATH TOWER**
NOTES
1. NEW MEMBERS SHOWN SPANNED
2. RE-NAIL ANY LOOSE JOINTS
3. COFFER MAY USE NEXT LARGER STUD
JUMBER SIZES 1 x 6 NOM.

NEW 3' x 5' WEDGE TIGHTLY BETWEEN PURLINS

2' x 3 1/2''

PURLINS 3 1/2'' x 4 1/2'' U.N.O.
4' x 5''

ENSURE THIS IS TIGHTLY WEDGED
1 x 7 NOM.
ADD MEMBER TO MATCH EXISTING HANGERS JOINED

STRENGTHENING DETAILS
SUPPLEMENTARY ROOF TRUSS LOCATED BETWEEN MAIN TRUSSES AND END WALL

ENGLISH FINISH

NEW 3' x 5' 2'' MEMBER NORTH AND WEST TIGHTLY

NOTES

1. Steel gusset plate to be 3/8" thick.
2. Bolt gusset plates to wood members in 1 1/2 thru 4" flat head lag bolts.
3. Bolt gusset plates to steel members w/ 3/4" flat head lag bolts.
4. Plate overlap is necessary between gusset plates and wood members to suit field conditions.
5. Metal be red in convenient straight cuts with overlapping surfaces. Field require bolts. 1" long.
6. Use 2 & 4" rafters to establish optimum tie location to minimize puncture, subject tie to straight force.
7. Shear web shall field measure and show all dimensions.

1 Par 3 1/2" x 3" x 5 1/2" L.
2 Par 3 1/2" x 3" x 5 1/2" L.

Existing strap do not remove.

Illustration 111. Plan at Second-Floor Stair Landing, Showing Added Floor Beam (1974).
SUMMARY

This brief discussion of the site of the Old State House, and of the chronology of major architectural changes in the building from 1712 to the present, serves as an overview of the history of the building.

17th Century

The site on which the Old State House stands has served a public purpose since the 1640's. Documentation strongly suggests a marketplace at the intersection of present-day Washington Street and a wide "way" — now State Street — that led west from some early wharves. Even then this latter street divided to embrace the north and south sides of the site, such that the shape of the lot, relatively long and narrow along an east-west axis, was as it is now.

In about 1658 a wooden Town House was built on the site. Robert Keayne, who left money to construct a town house, specified that the building house "some necessary things of public concernment..., a marketplace..., a convenient room or two for the Courts to meet in both winter and summer, and also for the townsmen and commissioners of the town; ...and a gallery or some other handsome room for the elders to meet in and confer together."

About six weeks after this frame Town House burned to the ground in 1711, the freeholders and other qualified residents of the Town of Boston met and voted to concur with a proposal put forth by the General Assembly that a new Town House be erected "in or near" the place where the former Town House had stood.

The First Period, 1712-1747

By May of 1712 a cornerstone for the new building on the old Town House site was laid, and — despite the ravages of Revolutionary vandals, fires, and time — some portions of the exterior brick walls of the present Old State House probably date to this build. The years from 1712 to 1747 comprise the first period in the history of the Old State House. Although all depictions of the building in this earliest period are relatively imprecise, taken together they do suggest a rectangular building with a gambrel roof, central tower or cupola, stepped gables, and two ox-eye windows at third-floor level in the east end. It appears that the south facade had a single central entrance, and that the east facade had a second-story balcony. Documentary evidence indicates that at least some of the basement space was rented for storage, and that the first floor — used as a merchants' exchange — was a single, large, open room with a row of 10 columns down the middle and two small offices on the north side, under two stairways. These stairways led to three chambers on the second floor: a chamber for the royal governor and his council on the east; a larger room for the General Assembly in the middle, with stair lobbies on either end; and a smaller chamber for the Suffolk County courts on the west. Some use may have been made of the third or attic floor for committees of the General Assembly and for meetings of the Selectmen of the Town of Boston. In 1747 fire destroyed all of the building except the exterior walls. These were saved, and the Old State House soon was rebuilt within them.
The Revolutionary Period, 1748-c. 1800

From 1748 to c. 1800 the Old State House, as it was rebuilt after the 1747 fire, changed relatively little. The 1748 build retained the surviving brick walls, with exterior dimensions limited to 110 feet by 36 feet to enable traffic to flow in an east-west direction around the building. Some of the changes that did occur reflected political events. Figures of a lion and unicorn — symbols of royal authority — appeared in the steps of the east gable around 1748. In July 1776 they were pulled down, not to reappear until the 1882 restoration. Inside, a gallery was built in the Representatives' Chamber in 1766, which permitted the public to witness debates on such inflammatory issues as taxes, duties, and the impressing of sailors. After 1776 the Representatives' Chamber was enlarged to the west, to accommodate the increased number of delegates to that House of the newly formed state government.

In views of the Old State House during this period, the roof is shown clearly as a pitched roof, with five dormers on each slope. The tower has three stages, the upper two with round-headed windows on all four sides. Scrolls appeared in the gable steps on both east and west ends in the views of the 1790's. Although each of the many views up to c. 1860 shows the scrolls with slightly different curves, scrolls remained the decorative motif in the east gable steps until their replacement by the lion and unicorn in 1882. Later scrolls still remain in the west gable steps. One architectural element that appears to have survived from the 18th century — possibly even from 1714 — is the swallow-tailed banner weathervane atop the tower.

The east elevation of the Old State House appears to have had an entrance to the first floor that — due to the slope of the site to the east — was at the head of a flight of stone steps. Above the entrance was a balcony, with a door leading out from the Council Chamber. This door was ornamented with a dentillated segmental pediment supported by a pair of fluted Corinthian pilasters. From this balcony many significant public announcements were read, including the Declaration of Independence on July 18, 1776. A balcony in that location has been one of the constants in the appearance of the east facade, absent only for about 50 years (1830-82). In the gable peak on the east end, above the third-floor window over the balcony, was a sundial; this apparently was replaced by a clock c. 1825.

Fenestration on the first, second, and third floors was very nearly the same in the second half of the 18th century as it is today. The window openings are in the same locations, but the first-floor windows were longer then, having been shortened in the early 20th century to accommodate the subway station. Sash very likely was 12/12, except in the dormers, the ox-eye windows, and the round-headed windows of the tower.

Openings at the basement level were changed a number of times. It appears that during the second half of the 18th century there were two small doors on the basement level in the east end, on either side of the stone stairway. On the south elevation (and probably the north as well) views show small, wooden-shuttered openings and bulkheads.
The north, south, and west doorways apparently were flanked by slender engaged columns and surmounted by triangular pediments. The capitals of the columns, or "colonets," as Hugh Morrison called them, were shown on the west doorway in 1791 as scroll brackets. On the south doorway a 1751 view shows rather strange, flattened capitals. The doorways have undergone a series of revisions and alterations since 1748.

Other exterior elements from this period — including the brick belt courses, the jack arches over the windows, the quoined corners of the first stage of the tower, and the four keystones of the ox-eye window surrounds — remain substantially unaltered even today.

In 1798 the state government moved to the State House built by Bulfinch, and the Old State House, as it was then called, underwent nearly a century of adaptation and revision.

The Early Commercial Period, c. 1800-1829

By 1804 the building had been modified, both inside and out, to accommodate shops. The first-floor west end of the Old State House — as it appears on a trade card of that time — had two doorways rather than one, and arched windows. The same view appears to show three doorways on the south facade of the Old State House, and the Salmon painting of c. 1830 shows at least three doorways on the north facade. The large first-floor doorway and steps on the east were removed.

The second and third floors were used by the Order of Masons from 1820-29. Some offices of the city government — for example, the Board of Health, with Paul Revere as President — also occupied rooms in the Old State House.

The City Hall Decade, 1830-1840

In 1830 the City of Boston had the Old State House remodeled for use as the City Hall. Architect Isaiah Rogers and his assistant, William Washburn, added one-story Classical Revival porticos to the east and west facades. They also restored a single, central doorway to the first floor of the west facade, and may have reopened the old first-floor east doorway, to lead onto the main level of the portico. During this period, the c. 1825 clock face in the east gable was surrounded by decoration.

The interior also was remodeled in accord with the taste of the time, most probably as it is shown in the "Rogers' Plan" (Ill. 18). Rogers' design included a circular stairway in the middle of the first floor. The west end of the first floor housed a post office; the middle portion of the first floor, an area for merchants; and the east end, a reading room and newsroom. City officials had their offices in small rooms around the stair rotunda on the second floor, and on the third floor. Larger rooms on the second floor were designed by Rogers for the Mayor and Aldermen on the east, and for the City Council on the west.
Rogers' work was in no way a restoration. His intent was not to restore the building to any previous plan or appearance, but rather to render it "suitable and convenient" for use by the government of the City of Boston. Nor was his work limited to "repairs," as the architect of the 1882 restoration thought likely.

Use of the Old State House as the City Hall lasted only 10 years.

The Victorian Era, 1841-1881

From 1841 to 1881 the Old State House was leased for commercial use, and was occupied by an ever-increasing number of offices, shops, and even a restaurant. The 1830 portico on the west elevation was removed in the late 1840's, and a rather fancy iron balcony was installed across the facade at second-floor level. The doorways and windows at first-floor level here were remodeled after 1848: by 1850, views show a single center doorway flanked by large shop windows.

Large store windows also appear on the east facade c. 1850, but at the basement level beneath the east portico, which remained until c. 1880. At this time it was removed and a large entranceway built, with stairs rising from the street to the first-floor level into a deeply recessed doorway.

At some time in the 1840's the basement windows on the north and south facades were lengthened and given projecting granite surrounds, and the entire foundation was faced with granite. On the north and west slopes of the roof, early-Victorian era views show four tall chimneys. These remained even after the Old State House acquired a mansard roof, 2/2 sash, and even more signs between c. 1866 and c. 1870. In America's Centennial year, the building was in its most eclectic state.

In the late 1870's, as in nearly every other period of the building's history, the Old State House was criticized for obstructing traffic and threatened with demolition. After considerable debate, the City of Boston was persuaded in 1881 to budget funds to restore the Old State House to a more "historic" appearance, and to lease the second and third floors to the newly formed Bostonian Society.

The First Restoration, 1882-1907

Restoration of the upper levels of the building was completed in 1882 under direction of City Architect George A. Clough, with considerable assistance from antiquarian William H. Whitmore. By 1894 most of the entire building was leased to the Bostonian Society, which has used the space ever since for the storage and exhibition of items pertaining to the history of Boston, for its own offices, and for a valuable reference library. Subway tunnels running under the east, north and west sides of the basement were constructed in 1900-04 and 1907, and a subway station — still in use — opened in 1905 in the eastern half of the basement.
Clough's restoration, although based on architectural and historical investigation of the building, was not strictly colonial. In restoring the circular stairway and associated plan on the second floor, he was going back only to what was very likely Rogers' 1830 plan. Clough redesigned the entire interior, but only Whitmore Hall, the staircase and second-floor anterooms, the Representatives' Chamber, and the attic remain largely as he left them.

Concerning the exterior, Clough restored a pitched roof with dormers. However, he put 6/6 sash in the dormers, not 8/8 as shown in the 1751 view. He replaced, but evidently did not redesign, most of the material on the exterior of the second and third stages of the tower. Finally, he introduced 12/12 sash on the second floor, and recreated a balcony on the east elevation, second floor.

On the east facade at the basement level, he took away the shop front, but retained the arrangement of a center doorway flanked by two windows. He replaced the shop front with granite foundation facing and projecting window surrounds to match those introduced on the north and south facades in the 1840's. At this time, the first floor had original windows but 2/2 sash. When the subway station was constructed 1900-04 in the east half of the basement, the ceiling there was raised 19 inches, and large doorways were opened at the east end of north and south elevations. The raised ceiling caused the interior height of the first floor to be diminished, at least at the east end; window openings there had to be shortened, but the installation of 12/12 sash in them helped minimize their divergence from the original, longer, 12/12 windows on the second floor.

A large flagpole mounted on the roof just behind the east chimney appears in a c. 1906 view, and a flagpole remains in that position at present.

The 20th Century

The Massachusetts legislature passed "An Act to Provide for the Preservation of the Old Provincial State House in the City of Boston" in 1907. Not long afterward, another major restoration of the Old State House was undertaken, this time by Joseph Everett Chandler, a well-known colonial-restoration architect. He worked primarily on the western end of the first floor: outside he shortened the windows and installed 12/12 sash to make them match the first-floor windows on the east; inside he remodeled Keayne Hall. He also shortened the basement window openings on the north and south elevations, which had been elongated during the mid-Victorian commercial period. On all the basement elevations, he removed the granite foundation facings and window surrounds, and restored a brick water table above a brick foundation. Above the basement, Chandler rebuilt Clough's balcony on the east elevation, but did not alter its doorway's pediment or sash. He did redesign the north, south and west doorways, which remain today substantially as he reconstructed them. And he had all paint removed from the exterior brickwork.

In 1910, sash throughout the Old State House was altered: Clough's thin muntins were replaced with muntins of thicker, Colonial Revival profile. A fire in 1921 damaged the attic, especially the north side. The tower was soiled by smoke, and the second floor sustained some water damage. Repairs were made immediately. Some
years later, in 1936, the slate roof was renewed. And in 1942-43 the firm of Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn restored the Council Chamber to a more "colonial" appearance by removing Clough's trim and substituting their own reproduction work. The balcony window/door dating from the 1830's was not altered.

In 1956 architect George Sherwood designed a sundial that was installed in the east gable end of the Old State House, and repaired and restored deteriorated areas of brickwork on the east and west facades. The firm of Stahl/Bennett worked on the stabilization of the tower and roof framing in 1975, and strengthened the circular stairway. Currently, the MBTA is renovating the east-end subway station.
II. **DATING OF EXTANT ELEMENTS**
MASONRY OF EXTERIOR WALLS

Original Brickwork. About two-thirds of the brickwork of the exterior walls appears to date from the 18th century, much of it probably from 1712. Although some areas have been so heavily reworked as to make their age uncertain, other areas show three types of evidence that — taken together — strongly indicate an 18th-century date. These three characteristics are:

- bricks typical of the period, laid in English bond
- early lime mortar, still exposed to view in many areas, covered by repointing in others
- remnants of paint still on the bricks or mortar, sometimes present in a good number of layers

Areas having old paint layers on early-looking bricks and mortar must predate by a good many years the stripping of the paint in 1909. They could not date from the 1882 restoration, because it is most unlikely that Clough would have taken the trouble to duplicate perfectly 18th-century bricks and mortar, only to then paint them all. This line of reasoning also rules out the brickwork's dating to the mid-19th century or to the Rogers period; it is almost unthinkable that such perfect 18th-century-type masonry would have been created at any time between 1830 and 1881 and then painted over. The most logical conclusion is that the early-looking brickwork with lime mortar and remnants of paint predates the first known painting of the brickwork in 1773 (see section, "The Revolutionary Period").

The following areas show these types of evidence of an early date:

- The north and south facades, excepting Chandler's 1909 basement story and water table; Chandler's patches directly beneath the first-floor windows on the western half of each facade; and Chandler's large patches above the subway area.

- The brickwork between the windows on the east facade. Admittedly, these bricks could date from 1773, when most or all of the east wall was rebuilt (see section, "The Revolutionary Period").

- Probably most of the second and third stories of the west facade. Paint is found on the brick here, and — under the recent cement repointing — lime mortar. It looks as though a small area of lime mortar may still be exposed in the small area over the third story window.

- Possibly two vertical zones on the first story of the west facade, between the outer corners of the facade and the windows. Although completely repointed with recent cement mortar, these two zones appear to be of the early brick. The earlier views of the west facade show these as areas that might have escaped the constant series of alterations here, being just outside the area occupied by so many different doorways and shop windows. Later photographs, from the periods of Clough and Chandler, show them as obviously older brickwork sandwiched in between later masonry.
Early Jack Arches. Most of the windows on the north and south facades have early jack arches of finely gauged brick voussoirs, with those on the first floor scored to imitate horizontal joints. Some of the arches have been partly or wholly replaced with later brick of various unidentified dates. The early work can be distinguished by its orange-brown color, fine vertical mortar joints (made possible by very careful gauging of the shapes of the bricks), and matte-like rubbed surface. The early arches have been preserved best at the second-story level, where the cornices have offered protection. Two fine examples do exist at first-floor level, over the first two windows to the west of the north doorway; these can be contrasted with the later type in the next window to the west.

None of the early type of arch has been identified on the more heavily rebuilt east and west elevations.

Later Brickwork. Since there have been so many repairs, especially to the gable ends, it is hard to inventory and date all later patches of brickwork. However, the following areas have been identified:

- The belt course across the east facade between first and second floors is of Victorian brick, probably Clough's work. It obviously postdates 1880, since a photograph taken that year (Ill. 40) clearly shows no belt course in this location.

- The jack arches of the windows on the heavily rebuilt east and west elevations are not original work, as mentioned previously. Illustration 114 shows three windows on the east elevation whose jack arches were rebuilt in 1957 on steel angles. (The upper pair of S-shaped tie-rod anchors dates from 1975.) Later patches of brickwork also can be found as repair work in the original arches on the north and south elevations. All later arch brickwork is more reddish-purple in color than the original; it has wider vertical mortar joints, and a shinier surface.

- Chandler's 1909 brickwork is found in a good number of locations and is identifiable in several ways. The bricks are good reproductions of the building's early bricks, but more purplish. A good number of Chandler's header bricks have a yellowish glaze. Also, Chandler used light gray, fine-textured mortar, which contrasts slightly with the older lime mortars. The following areas consist of Chandler's brickwork:

  - All above-grade walls of the basement, up to and including the water table.

  - On the north and south facades, a large area around and above the subway entrances, which were redesigned by Chandler; the area beneath the western windows of each facade (which windows Chandler shortened); and in two small strips beside Chandler's doorway on each facade.

  - On the east facade, most of the first story (up to balcony level in the center), and a patch directly beneath each of the two second-story windows.

  - On the west facade (recently repointed with Portland cement), most of the first story, except for the two older patches just in from the corners.

Still later brickwork is seen in the third-story gable-end wall of the east facade, which George Sherwood almost entirely rebuilt in 1957. The newest brickwork of all is being introduced right now into the area of the redesigned subway entrances.
Parapet Copings and Chimney Caps. All photographs from before the 1882 restoration until quite recent decades (well after the 1909 Chandler restoration) show brownstone coping stones on all parapets, with neatly halved joints where they meet end-to-end. These appear in as late a photograph as one at the Bostonian Society showing the east end and automobiles of 1949 or later.

George Sherwood's plans for repairs in 1957 (Ill. 103, 104) call for replacing almost all these stones with wood copings covered with lead-coated copper. Indeed, this arrangement is found on the entire east parapet, except under the unicorn. Here, and under the south scroll of the west parapet, examples of the old brownstone copings remain, with their neatly halved joints. On the west parapet, except for the one length of brownstone, the copings are brown-tinted cement of uncertain but rather recent date.

On both east and west chimneys are light-colored stone caps (the east one covered over with cement) that are almost surely the ones Sherwood specified to be reset in 1957 (see Ill. 103, 104). These appear to be the ones shown in photographs taken in the early 20th century, including some before 1903 when the subway was built. It is not clear how much farther back they date.

Granite Steps and Doorway Piers. Chandler's 1908 drawings for his redesigned north and south doorways show the lowest three steps in each doorway as "Old" granite steps to be kept in place (Ill. 59), while the top two are labeled "New." It is probable that the old steps survive from Isaiah Rogers' redesign of the doorways (Ill. 18), since they seem to be the ones shown in all views after 1830.

It is also possible that some of the granite blocks Chandler used as pedestals under his columns on all three doorways — or as jamb pieces of the north and south doorways — are older material, perhaps moved from other locations. The jambs, if older, must have been moved forward by Chandler, since Rogers' plans and pre-Chandler photographs show jambs set back from the granite pedestals (Ill. 18, 43).

Light Wells. The light wells around the west end of the building were built as part of Chandler's reworking of the foundations, as shown on his drawings (Ill. 58).
EXTERIOR WOODWORK

Chandler Materials. A large portion of the woodwork of the exterior walls is Chandler's, as explained in the section on the Chandler Restoration. This includes:
- all three doorways
- the balcony on the east wall
- all first- and second-story window sash, and the sash of the two central windows in the attic gable ends

Materials Predating Chandler. The casing of the center window in the east wall at first-story level is Clough's (see section, "The First Restoration"). The sash in this window is Chandler's. The mullioned window/door leading onto the balcony is of the Greek Revival period, first appearing in a view of 1837.

The really exciting discovery, however, is that some wooden, early Georgian-style features of the exterior walls are 18th-century material. They therefore probably date to just after the 1747 fire, when all but the brickwork had to be renewed. These wooden elements include the segmental pediment, entire entablature, and Corinthian pilasters of the east elevation's balcony doorway treatment. These elements are assembled with handmade nails, as judged by several pulled from the Greek fret on the soffit of the entablature, and from the neck molding directly beneath the capital of the north column (Ill. 115). In the latter case the molding covers a seam between column and capital, attesting to the date of these two elements as well as its own.

All these early features are covered by an enormous number of paint layers, which — although confused by weathering — one count put at 57. They include, near the bottom, a buff paint containing very fine sand. Later on in the sequence can be seen dark browns of the 1880's, followed by a later, distinctive salmon color.

Thus, in spite of everything that has happened to the building over two and a half centuries, one of the most prominent and well-known features — backdrop for the reading of the Declaration of Independence in 1776 — survives in good condition.

At least portions of the modillioned cornices of the main walls also almost certainly date from the 18th century, and probably from 1748. The lead-coated copper gutters date from the repair program of 1975, but the modillions, soffit board, and molding below the modillions look very old and laden with paint, as seen from a distance. At several points, the inside of the box cornice could be seen from within the attic: on its back side the soffit board looks quite early. And at one place along the south wall, the cornice interior is quite accessible: handmade nails can be seen projecting through it, presumably holding a modillion.

Materials Post-dating Chandler. As for recent woodwork, the four ox-eye windows (sash and casings) in the gable ends are the work of George Sherwood, who specified their renewal in 1957. They have very few paint layers, and are obviously from that time.

George Sherwood specified the replacement of only the finial at the outer south corner of Chandler's east balcony as part of his work. However, both of the finials at the outer corners are probably Sherwood's: they do not match exactly those against the brick wall (Ill. 116), which date from 1909, and have fewer paint layers.
ROOF, DORMERS

In 1882 Clough removed a mansard roof and built the present roof (Ill. 117), which employs the 1748 roof trusses and accurately reproduces the contour of the roof that existed during the Revolution. The dormers also date from the 1882 restoration, but the slate on their cheeks — not an historically correct treatment — indicates they are somewhat freely imitative of those that existed on the roof 200 years ago. The window casings of the dormers show a paint sequence going back to the dark browns of the Clough restoration, while the sash has the accompanying 1882 black as the earliest layer.

The roof boards are interesting. On the lower two-thirds of the roof, where Clough removed the mansard roof and built the present one, most of the boarding is typical of the 1880's. One of these boards, seen through a hole in the attic plaster (on the south slope, in the fifth roof bay from the west end), is signed "E.(?)H. Porter, July 11th 1882" (Ill. 118, f). On the upper one-third of the roof, which had been above the mansard roof, some much older roof boarding survives, interspersed with Clough repair work. These boards — seen from within the garret above the third-floor ceiling — are wider, roughly sawn with an up-and-down saw, and more heavily charred by fires. Although no wrought nails have been found protruding through these early-looking boards, the boards still might date to 1748. The nails could have been pulled, or the boards could be the lower of an original double layer, so that no slate or shingle nails would have protruded through them. (There is at present only one layer of boards.) Then again, handmade nails may yet be discovered.

Some of the present roof slates date from the repairs of 1975, but most are those applied in 1936 and rehung in 1975.


Illustration 117. Old State House: Roof and Parapet, Looking West from Tower.
SPECIAL EXTERIOR DECORATIVE FEATURES

Lion and Unicorn. The present lion and unicorn are apparently those installed in 1921 as replacements for those applied in 1882, when the building was restored to its "colonial appearance." No record of more recent replacement has been found.

Parapet Scrolls. The scrolls on the parapets of the west gable are apparently those installed by Clough in 1882. No record of more recent replacement has been found.

Figurehead Keystones. The 16 figureheads that comprise the four keystones of the four ox-eye windows on the gable ends are cast-stone replacements made by George Sherwood in 1957. They are weathering fairly well. Concerning the original figurehead keystones, some are stored in the attic, and a number are at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Some of those in the attic are badly eroded and partly missing.

Sundial and Clock. The sundial, like much of the east gable end on which it sits, dates from George Sherwood's 1957 program of repairs. The sundial replaced the early 19th-century clock face and surrounding decoration. However, most of the garlanded decorations, and parts of the face and hands, are stored in the attic. More importantly, Simon Willard's signed and dated clock works remain undisturbed behind the sundial.

Weathervane. The swallow-tail banner weathervane is probably a prize remnant from the 18th century, as discussed in the section, "The Revolutionary Period."
TOWER

It was not possible to examine every element of the tower, since some portions of the exterior are accessible only from staging, and some interior portions, such as the ogee roof, are entirely covered with interior finish boarding. Exterior paint color sequences were confused by weathering. Thus, an inventory of the dates of different elements can be done best when the tower is staged for exterior woodwork repairs. The partial disassembly of exterior woodwork elements for repair would permit not only their thorough study, but also examination of the internal parts of the structure. Areas not needing to be opened now for repairs can await full investigation until a later time.

This said, there are some elements clearly datable to the following periods: 18th century (probably 1748); c. 1830 (approximately the time of Rogers’ remodeling); 1882 (Clough’s restoration); post-1921 (after the 1921 fire); and 1975 (steel reinforcements by Stahl-Bennett). Aside from Stahl-Bennett’s easily identified steelwork (III. 109), those elements postdating the 1921 fire are those that show neither charring nor the smoke that appears on adjacent older elements. Photographs taken just after the fire (III. 75) show that the tower was well blackened on the inside with smoke, even to the top. At the level of the first stage (III. 86, C-C), heavy charring occurred. Much of the charring visible inside the first stage apparently relates to the 1921 fire, rather than the 1832 fire, because some elements secured with a late type of cut nail are charred, and the nails are charred as well. In some cases, these cut-nailed elements protected the woodwork underneath them from charring.

First Stage (III. 86, C-C). It is likely that although the tower stood firm through the 1921 fire, the heavy rebuilding of the first stage occurred shortly after that fire, and as a result of it. No record has yet been found, however, to document precisely the apparently large amount of material that is circular-sawn or machine-planed, wire-nailed, uncharred, and unsmoked. Certainly this material does not predate the 1921 fire. It includes the two corner posts on the north side of the tower, the upper portion of the southeast corner post, most of the braces and studs, and most of the inner layer of sheathing boards. Also included are the girts, horizontal beams in the outer walls halfway up the first stage, supporting the joists for the upper floor of the first stage. By contrast, the southwest corner post, and the lower portions of the southeast one, appear to be hand-hewn, are well charred, and were merely cased with wire-nailed vertical planks, while the other posts were replaced. They are probably 1748, and in that case, could have been charred by an earlier fire as well.

The nails securing the exterior layer of matched boarding to the inner layer of sheathing are of wire type, projecting through the uncharred inner layer. This shows clearly that the present matched boarding of the first stage was applied after 1921. The fact that it does not have paint layers going back to the Clough colors confirms that it is not 1882 material taken off and reapplied after the 1921 fire.

The oculus windows, however, date from 1882 and were reapplied after the fire. (The oculus at the upper level on the south side was not inspected.) They have the Clough colors as their lowest layers: black sash and brown casings. The water-table board at the north side of the tower, just above the dormer, also has the Clough brown. The quoins, seen from a distance, also look as if they have more paint than the sheathing.
Another survival of pre-1921 material has occurred where the ridge of the roof intersects the east and west faces of the first stage. Here are seen charred sheathing boards (west side only), studs, and other light framing members. Most of these pre-1921 framing members are secured with cut nails, except where they adjoin post-1921 beams, and are wire-nailed.

The most important exception to the general rule that the outer tower walls were rebuilt after 1921 is seen at the cornice level of the first stage. Here the topmost horizontal board of the inner layer of sheathing, on all four walls, is clearly very early. This suggests that at least a portion of the feature on the exterior of this horizontal board — the cornice — may date to 1748. This topmost sheathing board is charred, shows rough up-and-down saw marks, shows the char marks and nail holes where the previous studs had been, and most importantly, shows the inner ends of handmade nails (plus cut nails) that probably secure elements of the cornice. Early framing may exist immediately above this sheathing board, concealed by the ceiling of the first stage. There is thus a good probability that the cornice of the first stage incorporates 18th-century materials.

The floor (both boards and framing) that divides the first stage of the tower into two stories is entirely of post-1921 vintage, established by a lack of smoke as well as by the usual wire nails. It must have been installed at the same time as the girts, already mentioned, that support it.

The previous floor was about six inches higher. Remnants of its charred boarding and framing can be seen around the outside surface of the pre-1921 matched-board "silo" that enclosed the stair. Also visible is a continuous cut where the rest of the boards fitted. Below the level of the earlier floor, this surface is much more severely charred than it is above.

Both the fire of 1832 and that of 1921 were concentrated in the attic. It seems probable that the charring of the stair "silo" occurred mostly in the 1921 fire; the floor would have protected the areas above it.

Two doorways lead off the staircase in the first stage of the tower (on the north at the lower level, on the south at the upper level). Surviving portions of the sheathing on the back side of the stair "silo" sheathing indicate that these doorways had led into small partitioned spaces. The partitions that had enclosed the other sides of the spaces have been removed, but their traces remain as paint lines and other such evidence. At least at the upper level, it seems clear that these partitions were removed after the 1921 fire, since the worst charring marks coincide fairly well with the locations of the missing partitions, which apparently were in place and limited the progress of the fire. At the upper level the remaining sheathing boards are cut-nailed. At the lower level they are wire-nailed, and the evidence concerning charring is confusing.

Second Stage (Ill. 86, B-B). The four corner posts of the second stage of the tower extend down into the first stage of the tower, and are supported by two 1748 roof trusses. These posts are hand-hewn and charred, and they appear early. Reinforcing planks have been applied as casings, with wire nails, sometime after the 1921 fire. In the second stage itself, much framing is probably 18th-century. This could be determined better whenever the exterior matched boarding around the base of the second story is repaired.
As for exterior finish woodwork, Clough's statement that he replaced most of the trim on the tower is borne out by the fact that among a good sampling of the woodwork elements reachable without staging, none were found that appear to predate 1882. The earliest paint color scheme yet found is chocolate brown with black on the sash. This corresponds to the color values seen in the photographs taken just after the 1882 restoration. A type of cut nail with a round knob on the head secures some elements of the chocolate-brown trim, such as the north pilaster on the east face. Other elements similarly dating back to the dark-brown period (i.e., exterior window-casing moldings, at least those sampled) are secured with wire nails and have no earlier nail holes. (The pieces behind the moldings also show only holes for the wire nails.) Since the paint layers are very nearly the same on these cut- and wire-nailed elements, it seems probable that both date to 1882. Certainly they all predate the c. 1910 Chandler period, since Chandler used white, and no dark colors have been used since. All window-casing moldings, pilasters, and other items thought to date to 1882 found so far have machine-plane marks, as would be expected for this late date.

The sash in the second stage are definitely Clough's work of 1882. His assertion that he replaced them all, and the presence of black as the lowest exterior coat, make it clear that they are not earlier. The black also shows that they do not postdate c. 1910 Chandler, when an unbroken tradition of lighter sash colors began with Chandler's white. Evidence of the 1921 fire exists as newer muntins pieced in where the sash were broken during the fire (lll. 75).

The cut-nailed interior window casings and matched boarding adjacent to the sash have almost the same paint layers as the sash, and almost certainly date from 1882. Below the sash on all four interior walls are later, wire-nailed matched boards with very few paint layers. These look perhaps 50 years old and could be part of repairs done after the fire. Meanwhile, as will be described in the section on the tower stair, the matched boarding that forms the staircase is older than either of the above two types, and is clearly integral to the c. 1830 stair.

Third Stage (lll. 86, A-A). At this level, those samples of exterior woodwork that were examined also appear to date from 1882. They have dark brown as the lowest coat, except for the black sash. And the pilasters are secured by the same large cut nails with round knobs on their heads as were seen in a pilaster on the second stage. One pilaster was pulled loose and definitely has only the holes relating to these nails, as does the backing board behind it. These elements, like those on the second stage, are machine-planed. The tongue-and-groove matched boarding below the windows is cut-nailed, and looks Victorian. One of the knob-headed cut nails was found in the framing of a window in the third stage, where an interior matched board was pried loose. This suggests that Clough did some framing work here.

The cornice looks older than 1882, but it could not be reached. A number of loose dentils from it were found in the interior of the third stage, however; these have — like the other exterior woodwork inspected — the paint color sequence going back only to dark browns. These dentils retain badly rusted cut nails and show no signs of earlier nails. Older elements might be found in the cornice, should it be disassembled.

The balustrade will need disassembly and repair, at which time some early pieces may be discovered. So far, none have been identified. The metal urns with their finials almost certainly postdate 1882, for example, since there are no finials
seen in photographs of the Clough period (Ill. 41). (The present finials appeared about 1903; earlier ones had existed at least as far back as 1751 (Ill. 4).)

The interior of the third stage has mostly turn-of-the-century matched boarding on the walls. Although this latter is wire-nailed, it must date back at least to 1910, since one board is inscribed "F. McGrath, 6-16-1910." An older type of cut-nailed matched boarding, probably relating in date to the stairs, is found beneath the windows of the north and east walls.

**Tower Stair.** The tower stair is of Greek Revival design, and may well date to Rogers' remodeling. In any event, the 1830's or thereabouts would be the period of these stairs. This date is reinforced by the character of the lath on the underside of the stair, as seen from inside the lower story of the first stage of the tower. These lath are half sawn/half split, as is characteristic of the period in question. The nails securing the treads and risers to the outer "silo" of vertical matched boards are well-developed cut nails lacking uniform heads — also characteristic of the Greek Revival period.

The original portion of the stair silo (from the third-story ceiling upward) consists of random-width matched boarding — secured with cut nails — having quite a few paint layers. The nails in this boarding look typical of the 1830's. In this area virtually the entire stair construction (except for some patches in the matched boarding, etc.) seems to be of a piece, having more paint layers than the 1880's matched boarding and other trim elsewhere in the tower. Along with original treads, risers, and railings, the stair has a tall, interesting newel post in the upper levels.

Below an uneven horizontal seam at third-story ceiling level, the early matched boarding is not seen. Rather, the "silo" consists primarily of a narrower, uniform-width matched boarding still secured with cut nails, but having fewer paint layers. (A still later wire-nailed strip covers most of the seam, and covers paints on both the earlier and later boarding.) This later matched boarding is an integral part of the partition that divides the tower staircase from the large third-story room. The other side of this partition — facing south into the third-story room — is of plaster, with fully sawn, circular-sawn lath. It also features baseboards and other woodwork associated with Clough's remodeling of 1882 (see section on attic). Both the earlier and later types of matched boarding show paint blistering, undoubtedly caused by the 1921 fire.

The question arises as to whether the spiral staircase before Clough was at least partly exposed to view along the east, south, and west sides, where it is now enclosed by the silo. This would make sense in light of the decorative nature of the stair. What is clear, however, is that at least for some time prior to perhaps 1900, the stair definitely was exposed on the north, from what is now the landing at the top of the stairs from the second story. The east-west partition (with two doors) that now encloses the stair here, and the north-south partition that divides off a closet under the stair (Ill. 118, g), are both made up of wire-nailed boarding, having uniform width and very few paint layers. This most recent matched boarding butts awkwardly against the plaster soffit of the stairs, and is an obvious addition.

One interesting but still undated feature of the staircase is a circular opening in the "silo," directly in line with the lower oculus on the south elevation of the tower. This opening allows the oculus to indirectly light the enclosed stair. The eight-paned window that fits the opening was found lying nearby in the tower.
Ever since its reconstruction after the fire of 1747 — and perhaps even as first built in 1712 — the Old State House has been framed internally in 10 structural planes. The roof trusses form the visible element of each of these planes, spanning 32 feet over the Council Chamber and Representatives' Hall and (above the staircase) supporting the tower. These charred but still sturdy trusses of hand-hewn timbers have doubled upper chords, of which the lower component is curved (Ill. 107). They are very similar in this respect to those in King's Chapel, which was built in almost the same year (1749) as the Old State House was reconstructed.

In plane with the 10 trusses are 10 north-south girders framing the floors of the second story. The joists run east-west and frame into these girders. The girders were originally supported on "ten pillars of the Dorick order" (see section, "The Revolutionary Period") rising through the first floor. This floor, like the one above it, is framed with north-south girders in the 10 structural planes and east-west floor joists. Posts or piers in the cellar support the first-floor girders, being located directly below the posts rising through the first story. The 10 structural planes align naturally with the areas of masonry between the windows on the north and south walls.

Through the years, those who have wished to change the plan or appearance of various spaces have felt free to change the location of posts or to eliminate them altogether. However, insofar as the story has been reconstructed, new posts have always been located in plane with the roof trusses and floor girders. In general, where a post has been omitted, some other provision has been made within the same structural plane to provide for support of the girders of the first and second floors.

As the building was rebuilt in 1748, the first floor was a merchants' exchange, with columns down the center in the structural planes.(1) The first known alteration of this pattern was by Rogers in his 1830 remodeling. In his 1830 plan as republished in the Re-dedication (Ill. 19), Rogers has done away with the columns down the center of the eastern half of the first floor. (This area would become Topliff's News Room.) Instead, he called for two rows of five columns each. Thus, each second-floor girder was now supported by two columns at about the third points, rather than by one column at mid-span. Each pair of columns is in one of the structural planes, except the easternmost pair, which are well to the east of the last structural bay. These last two probably served only some secondary function; perhaps they terminated, as the other columns did, some sort of partitions that look like newspaper shelves in the plan. There is no indication of how Rogers might have rearranged supports in the cellar under this area. There is also, admittedly, no proof yet found that Rogers did in fact carry out exactly this plan.

As for the west half, the facsimile of the Rogers' plan shows a large meeting room (the City Government's Hall of the Common Council) on the second floor above the new post office on the first floor. Both are shown as large open spaces; no indication is given as to the way Rogers planned to support the floor of the meeting room. One guess — and it is only a guess — is that columns did exist in the post office, being of so little visual importance that they are not shown.

There is more evidence of Rogers' handling of the staircase area. Just to the west of the staircase he shows a pair of columns supporting the second-floor girders in each of the fourth and fifth structural planes (counting from the west). These must
be the "pillars" described in this area in 1838 by Abel Bowen. (2) These are presumably replacements for two previous columns that had stood at mid-span. The floor girder in plane five, however, and that in plane six (along the east side of the stairs) had to have a section removed at mid-span in order to accommodate the circular stairs. This may be inferred from the fact that on opening up the area in 1882, Clough found the configuration shown in Illustration 45, in which the two floor girders were cut to accommodate the stair and its framing. He also found four iron tie rods supporting the four cut ends from the roof-truss tie beams directly above. (The top ends of the rods are visible under the attic floor.) The rods pass down through the circular partitions around the stair rotunda in the second story, as shown in Illustration 45.

That Clough thought this to be the original 18th-century arrangement is not so significant as the fact that he did find it. The entire arrangement almost certainly dates back to Rogers' installation of the circular staircase, unless the tie rods are a later reinforcement. Rogers probably looked at his plan for the first floor and concluded that neither the curved partitions to the east of the stair, nor the two columns in plane five to the west of the stair, were adequate to support the girders. (The two columns are shown as being closer to the north and south walls than the innermost tie rods above, and thus would have been of limited effectiveness in supporting the sawn-off ends of the girders.) The curved partition also appears to come a little closer to the north and south walls than the similar partitions above (with their concealed tie rods). Another possibility is that Rogers merely thought the first-floor partitions were not rigid enough.

In any event, Rogers' work shows his recognition of the 10 north-south structural planes of the building. He continued to provide support in those planes wherever he removed — as he probably did — some or all of the 10 earlier columns down the building's east-west centerline.

The poster of about 1850 advertising Charles A. Smith's clothing store (Ill. 32) includes an interior view of that store, in the west end where the post office had been. This shows that the original center line of columns had been replaced by two offset rows, as had been done in the eastern portion of the building. These new columns appear in the four structural planes in this part of the building. Thus, in this period, the original structural bays continue to control the placement of supports, at least in the west end.

Later, in 1881, Clough also worked within the original structural system: when he created Whitmore Hall in the east end of the first floor, he did away with the c. 1830 double row of columns and reintroduced the old arrangement of columns at mid-span (see Ill. 119, a, b, c; and "Dating of Extant Elements," Whitmore Hall). There is admittedly some question about the farthest plane to the east, where there is no column.

It is possible that Clough returned to a single row of columns in the west end as well. The only evidence yet found to support this is Chandler's 1908 drawings, which show a row of "Old Cast Iron Columns" in the basement of the west end in the structural planes at mid-span (Ill. 63). Probably these did not date back to the period of Charles A. Smith's clothing store. This store existed on the floor above this row of columns, and had, as already described, two rows of columns, which would have been required two rows of columns or piers in the cellar. Our guess is that no third row down the centerline of the basement would have been necessary at that time. It
seems more likely that Clough installed the central row of iron columns that Chandler found (and which still survive) in the course of restoring the story above to this same early structural arrangement.

In the staircase area, Clough left in place the tie rods, which he presumed to be Rogers', supporting the second-floor girders from the roof trusses.

In 1909 Chandler created Keayne Hall, in the west end, installing four new columns in the structural planes there at mid-span (Ill. 59). Our guess is that they replace Clough columns in these same locations. They survive today.

NOTES

(1) WPA, p. 202, and section, "The Revolutionary Period."
(2) WPA, p. 241.
COUNCIL CHAMBER

Most of the Council Chamber is Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn’s work of 1943 (Ill. 94-102). No features postdating that year have been found. Mrs. Cabot, who came to the Bostonian Society in 1957, said the floor there is the one called "new" in the 1943 drawings.

Older features surviving in the room include the upper moldings of the cornice, which appear in the 1943 plans as "existing work to remain." These have more paint layers than the rest of the cornice, and match Clough’s 1882 work in the Representatives’ Chamber. They must have been part of Clough’s complex design, of which all but the topmost elements were replaced by Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn with the present, simpler moldings.

Since the 1943 plans call for only selective replastering of wall areas, one can infer that some areas of 1882 wall and ceiling plaster survive as well.

The brickwork of the fireplaces — faced with Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn’s 1943 marble — was shown as "existing old work" in the 1943 drawings (Ill. 100), and it in fact does appear in earlier photographs showing the Clough restoration.

The doors and door casings all date back to 1882, but were reworked by Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn. Their drawings call for rebuilding the center doors according to a simpler design (with fewer stiles and panels); they also specify the application of new moldings to the panels on both sides of all the doors, to replace Clough’s rather unusual molding design (Ill. 95, 99), mentioned already in the discussions of other rooms. Also, the side doors of the Council Chamber were rehung, as specified, so as to swing into the small anterooms. The 1882 design of the doors can be seen in pre-Perry photographs (Ill. 49-52). The old parts of the doors have many earlier paint layers than the 1943 modifications, and paint lines show clearly where the push plates had been, as seen in older views. The hinges are shown in older views, and paint lines indicate their previous locations on the side doors. The brass box locks — like the hinges and like locks in the Representatives’ Chamber — are Clough’s rather good copies of colonial hardware.

The door heads (Ill. 99), as shown by paint layers and the 1943 drawings, are Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn’s.

One important older item in the Council Chamber is the mullioned doorway, with two French doors, sidelights, and a transom (Ill. 94), leading onto the balcony. This is shown as existing work in Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn’s drawings, and appears — as near as one can tell — in all interior and exterior photographs of the building. The paint layers on the mullions and on the muntins of the door appear to correspond, and to go back much farther than even Clough’s work. The best guess is that the entire doorway dates to about the time of Rogers. The muntin profile is stylistically somewhere between Federal and Greek Revival. It was from these French doors that Clough said he got his model for the sash he installed elsewhere in 1882; he believed that the doors were 18th-century.

The other sash, though not so old, nevertheless have more paint layers than the 1943 woodwork, and they appear in photographs taken immediately after the 1921 fire (Ill. 74). They are clearly the work of Chandler, who installed new sash throughout the first and second stories (see chapter, "The Chandler Restoration"). A late-Victorian photograph of the Council Chamber (Ill. 49) shows Clough’s 1882 sash, which had a narrower and partially concave muntin profile.
This room appears the same today as it did in a late-Victorian photograph that shows the east wall of Clough's 1882 restoration (Ill. 47). The floor is of fairly narrow, cut-nailed, softwood boards. This same type of flooring appears in the second-floor anterooms around the stair, also little changed since Clough.

The Chamber's side doors (to the two anterooms) are missing, having been removed and stored in 1976. The center doors are unchanged, as shown in the oldest photograph of them, Illustration 47. They, like those in the Council Chamber, exhibit a remarkably correct-looking reproduction brass box lock — remarkable, at least, for 1882.

The sash are not part of Clough's restoration since documents prove that Chandler replaced all the sash of the first and second stories in 1909 (see section, "The Chandler Restoration"). Two facts confirm this. The present sash have fewer paint layers than the 1882 woodwork. And a late-Victorian interior photograph, Illustration 47, clearly shows sash of a narrower and partly concave muntin profile. These previous sash were undoubtedly those that Clough, as he reported, modeled on the sash in the mullioned doorway to the balcony. The present sash appear in the photograph taken directly after the 1921 fire (Ill. 73).

The north fireplace has been blocked up to accommodate the flue of the boiler. The 1907 plans for the construction of the Washington Street subway line includes plans for the present boiler room. They show that the previous boiler under the stair rotunda, offset to the south, and the planned boiler room, at the east end of the building, both used the same flue on the east end wall (Ill. 56). This is probably the present flue that runs up through the north fireplace. As explained in the chapter on the history of the heating system, the boiler room offset under the rotunda probably dates to c. 1903; it was preceded by Clough's circular boiler room of 1882 directly under the rotunda. It is uncertain what flue this 1882 boiler room would have used. It is thus not perfectly clear when the fireplace in the Representatives' Chamber was closed.
KEAYNE HALL

Keayne Hall's woodwork and cornices correspond perfectly to Chandler's 1908 designs for the creation of this memorial room, and show no significant later alterations. The sash are those that Chandler installed when he shortened the window openings (see chapter, "The Chandler Restoration"). Studied with a hand lens, paint samples from this sash have about the same sequence as found on the rest of the woodwork.

The only older elements we have found in Keayne Hall are the doors to the stair hall (Ill. 70), which — with molding profiles typical of Clough's work — must date from 1882. One of Chandler's 1908 drawings (Ill. 59) notes that these doors are to receive new "architraves" (i.e., the bolection moldings there today).

The floor is almost certainly Chandler material. Its boards are much wider (more colonial in appearance) than those of the 1882 flooring seen on much of the second story. Too, it shows no signs of having been altered, which would have been the case if it coexisted with the very different spatial arrangement that preceded Chandler. It thus does not appear to predate Chandler's creation of this room.

As for being more recent than Chandler's work, this seems unlikely. It is more worn than the 1943 floor in the Council Chamber. Mrs. Cabot never heard any stories suggesting that it was more recent than about the Chandler era. And it appears in a photograph marked with the date 1922, as well as photographs from c. 1940.
STAIRCASE, HALL

The entire staircase and stair hall (Ill. 46), including doors and floors, is Clough's restoration work of 1882. The stair to the third floor also dates from 1882. Supporting evidence for these judgments is as follows:

- The documents make it clear that Clough built the stair and stair hall (see section, "The First Restoration").

- With the possible exception of the two outside entrances, Chandler did not alter the stair hall in 1909. It appears in its present form in pre-1909 photographs, and the stair appears in Chandler's drawings (Ill. 59) as "Old Circular Stairs."

- There is no physical evidence of any significant alteration in the stair area.

- The staircase and most of the stair-hall trim are highly characteristic of Clough's rather free and heavy-handed Colonial Revival style, including the unusual door panel moldings he used elsewhere.

The doorways that lead from the stair hall into the north and south entrance vestibules (Ill. 119, dd), however, contain material from several different periods. The pilasters (Ill. 120, aa) that flank the existing door casings — and a related length of soffit — have many more, earlier coats of paint than do the casings, and are undoubtedly the work of Clough (1882). The casings themselves (Ill. 120, bb) butt up against the pilasters and the soffit, and have about the same paint layers (mostly whites) as the paneling in the vestibules, which is definitely Chandler's. The casings are thus almost certainly Chandler's addition to Clough's doorways. Chandler's drawings are rather ambiguous concerning this work, but two physical facts support this assumption. The first is that the pilasters within the stair hall do not stop at the casings; their surfaces (and paint layers) turn 90 degrees to run through the wall (Ill. 120, c), turning again onto the vestibule wall to form pilasters there. The second fact is that the architrave molding on the pilasters — located just above the pilaster cap, at the same height as the topmost molding of the cornice — has a slightly different profile than that molding. If both features had been installed at the same time, this mismatch logically would not have occurred. Apparently these doorways did not have doors as built in 1882; when doors were desired in 1909, it was necessary to add casings for them. These were double doors; they are now stored in the basement, having been replaced by the present ones in 1976.
Illustration 120. Old State House: South Entrance, East Pilaster in Rotunda and Door Casing.
VESTIBULES

All three vestibules (north, south, and west) are Chandler's designs, as shown by his 1908 drawings. The only exceptions are — as described in the previous section — the north and south vestibules' doorways to the stair hall (Ill. 119, dd), which feature Clough's 1882 pilasters on either side of Chandler's 1909 door casings. Earlier materials may survive behind Chandler's paneling. The ticket booth in the south vestibule was installed in 1976. A portion of Chandler's paneling removed at that time was stored on the third floor.

SECOND-FLOOR ANTEROOMS

These four rooms, off the circular stair, are essentially unchanged from 1882 — attested to by such woodwork details as the characteristic Clough molding profile seen on their door panels. Portions of three of the rooms (northwest, southwest, and northeast) appear in pre-1909 photographs. The closets high on the walls of the northwest, southwest, and southeast rooms date from the 1880's work; on the plaster in the latter room is the outline of a previous plumbing tank and the inscription "James Sullivan, plumber, April 1882" (Ill. 121, a).

The floors are of the relatively narrow, cut-nailed, softwood boards seen in the Representatives' Chamber, which is also an unaltered Clough room.

The baseboard on the east, and most of the north, wall of the northwest room (Ill. 121, b) is later, for some unknown reason, possibly connected with the fire.

The sash are those installed throughout the first and second stories by Chandler.

Two small interior windows were removed in 1976, one on the west wall of the southeast anteroom, which lit the closet, and one on the east wall of the southwest anteroom, which lit the bathroom. Both of their outlines are still visible (Ill. 121: c,d).
If one were to remove the north-south partition (Ill. 119, g) that separates Whitmore Hall from the Library and Director's Office, one would have the single space designed by Clough in 1882. This is supported by the following evidence.

The doors leading to the stair hall feature Clough's unusual panel molding on both sides (Ill. 119, e). Their paint layers, on the Whitmore Hall side, go back through various off-whites to one or two bright whites. The three columns in Whitmore Hall (Ill. 119: a, b, c) likewise have Clough's characteristic panel molding and the bright whites as the lowest coats. Too, they are made up with cut nails typical of 1882. The casing of the mullioned window in the center of the east wall of the building (Ill. 119, f), located in the Library, also has these whites on its interior finish boards, and must be Clough's: its first appearance in exterior photographs occurs just after the 1882 restoration (Ill. 49).

The other interior window casings are much older, having many more layers of paint, and they easily could date from Rogers' work. All were shortened at the time the subway was built in 1903, and all were fitted with Chandler's sash in the 1909 restoration.

The plaster cornices seen around the entire set of rooms, and over the three columns, are so stylistically integral with the Clough woodwork beneath them that they can be safely judged to date from 1882. At the two points where the ends of the later north-south, matched-board partition butt up against these cornices (Ill. 119, hh), the cornices — and the plaster wall surface directly below — run cleanly behind the matched-board work, along with at least one layer of paint.

Some of the built-in bookcases in the offices could be as old as the remodelings of 1894. There are also two rows of free-standing bookcases that divide the Director's Office from the Library. Sandwiched between these is a most interesting partition (Ill. 119, i). It consists of hinged glass windows above chair-rail level, with a wall below. The wall is of plaster on the side of the Director's Office, and of matched boarding on the Library side. This windowed partition is almost certainly Clough material. The south (Library) side of this partition appears, with almost certain clarity, in general exterior photographs taken shortly after the 1882 restoration. In these, one just barely can see through the central window of the east facade. The clearest view, more so in some printings than in others, is that published in the first volume of the Proceedings of the Bostonian Society and in the Re-dedication. (In relating the partition to the window in these views, one must remember that in 1903 the window was shortened.)

Earlier exterior photographs (Ill. 40) show a very wide doorway where the window is now, such that the partition could not have existed prior to 1882.

As for physical evidence, the partition is somewhat inaccessible because of the bookcases, but at least in the Director's Office one can see convincing indications that the partition dates from 1882. Its finish moldings are secured with cut nails similar to those used in the columns in Whitmore Hall. The window casings on the Director's side match the casings of Clough's doors to the stair hall, and their earliest paints appear to be the bright whites of 1882. Furthermore, the plaster cornice and wall surface on the east wall of the Director's Office turn west onto this partition (Ill. 119, j); no finish plaster passes behind the east end of the partition. The Clough

SECOND FLOOR PLAN
cornice continues west along the north side of the partition and then returns (Ill. 119, k) along the south side. As yet no evidence has been seen that suggests the partition did anything but end where the cornice returns, just to the east of where the bookcases end now. However, much more evidence will be opened to view when the bookcases are removed, as is the present plan. If indeed the partition simply ended, it must have left both the Library and Director's Office open on the west, forming one room with what is now Whitmore Hall.

The 1882 partition was extended further west at a later date by a short matched-board partition with sliding door (Ill. 119, l). (The door may be later.) This partition abuts the previously described, north-south, matched-board partition that runs between the north and south walls of the building, abutting 1882 plaster cornices. (The west side of this latter partition was covered with plywood by Mrs. Cabot sometime after 1947.) The evidence is confusing as to whether there is a difference in date between the north-south partition of matched boarding and the short east-west section. However, they are both early enough to have cut nails (seen in their wooden cornices). As already mentioned, they are later than Clough's 1882 cornices, which pass under them carrying — at least at the ends of the north-south partition — one or more coats of paint. In the section, "The First Restoration," documentary proof is given that by 1894 there were three rooms in this area: an "outer apartment," now Whitmore Hall, used for an exhibit of the topographical history of Boston; and "two inner rooms opening from the topographical room." This indicates that the matched-board partitions existed then, and that there was a doorway from the Director's Office into Whitmore Hall. A photograph in the Bostonian Society's Proceedings for 1942 shows the north-south partition (along the east side of Whitmore Hall).

In addition to the installation of these matched-board partitions, two major changes have occurred in this Clough-designed space. In 1903 the floor was raised 19 inches to accommodate the new subway station. Beneath the wood floorboards there is now a masonry floor structure that is probably the "fireproof floor" installed at that time, as described in the chapter, "The First Restoration." The area of concrete flooring near the doors to the stairs, bearing the bronze label of the "W. A. Murtfeldt Company, Artificial Stone Walks, 31 Mill Street, Boston," also may be part of this 1903 installation. The windows were shortened at that time, too. Only the floor area directly adjacent to the doors from the staircase remained at its earlier level. In this area, one of Clough's square columns (Ill. 119, a) was left at its full length and in its correct proportions. The other two columns in Whitmore Hall (Ill. 119: b, c) were cut off at the bottoms to fit the raised floor, such that their proportions are now a little awkward. Where the wire-nailed baseboards of one shortened column were removed for inspection, early paint layers on the stiles and panels of the column were found to pass down below the present baseboard location (Ill. 122).

The floor itself is edge-nailed and hard to date, but probably was installed in 1903.

Another important change that might have occurred c. 1903 was the removal of the easternmost of the columns running east-west down the center of the room. This column would have stood in what is now the Library. It would have supported the north-south floor girder of the easternmost structural plane (see section, "Original Wooden Structural System"). This would have placed it about nine feet, seven inches east of the north-south matched-board partition (Ill. 119, m). The column probably would have been topped by an entablature that spanned the room and intersected the room's cornice directly over the mullioned window on the east wall (Ill. 119, f).
Clearly a column stood in this location in the 18th century: documentary sources include it when they speak of 10 columns supporting the second floor. These were replaced c. 1830 with double rows of columns, which in turn were replaced by Clough with a single row c. 1882. The main question is, therefore, whether or not Clough reinstalled a column and entablature in this particular location. Physical evidence suggests that he did. Some of this can be seen on the west wall of the Library. This wall is the north-south, matched-board partition that runs along the east side of the easternmost surviving column. The cornice above the column has been cut off where it appears to have continued further east (Ill. 119, n). From the evidence now visible, it is not clear whether or not this was done in conjunction with the installation of the matched-board partition. This will become much clearer when the bookcases are removed, as is the plan.

As a second piece of evidence, the plaster cornice over the mullioned window (Ill. 119, f) — where the column's entablature would have ended — has a profile slightly different from that around the rest of the room (it has a very strange bed molding). This area could be a patch made when the intersecting cornice over the missing column was removed.

Paint evidence has not been found on the ceiling or cornices to substantiate this patching theory. However, this might be accounted for by replastering at that time, or by the use of calcimine paints, which are frequently washed off. In the Bostonian Society's Annual Proceedings for 1937 it is reported that the walls of the exhibit rooms have been "painted" and the ceilings "whitened" — a likely reference to a distemper or calcimine. In 1944 the Proceedings relate the need for "painting and calcimining" the whole interior of the building, further confirming that calcimine was used in the building, which could confuse paint evidence on ceilings (see section, "The Chandler Restoration").

There is no obvious patch in the floor where a column was removed, but the floor may postdate the column's removal. At the time of the forthcoming remodeling, a hole or two should be dug in the ceiling to look for an east-west patch line in the ceiling plaster — corresponding to the missing cornice — and signs of a column.
Illustration 122. Old State House: Whitmore Hall, Second Column from West, South Side.
ATTIC, GARRET

The present woodwork and plasterwork of the attic almost all stems from two periods. Most dates from the restoration of 1882, when Clough removed the mansard roof and the many small attic offices. The rest of the woodwork and plastering (except for a few items) is repair work done after the 1921 fire (Ill. 71, 72, 118).

1882 Materials. Clough's work is typical of the 1880's. All nails are of a late cut type. Lath is circular-sawn on four sides. Finish boards are machine-planed. The style of detailing is mostly early Colonial Revival — chamfered post and door casings, slightly incorrect cyma-astragal moldings, and so forth. The paint layers on this work consist of a series of whites.

Included among the Clough materials are the interior trim of the dormers; the dormer sash; most of the baseboarding; a good proportion of the plaster on the east and west walls, and on the south side above the level of the knee wall; the wooden soffits of the rafter casings on the south side; the casings of the king posts; and the curved partition around the tower stair (Ill. 118, a).

As for the floor, not all areas have been dated, since there are a good many seams that could represent patches. Some 1921 or later patches are evident, especially along edges. However, the majority of the floor seems to be Clough work, having fairly narrow circular-sawn boards with late cut nails.

1921 Materials. The 1921 work is easily identified by the use of wire nails, metal lath, a baseboard molding not exactly matching Clough's, and the presence of very few paint layers. It was simply replacement material for Clough work that had burned, or for Clough's wood lath where this was considered a fire hazard. The newer work is found mostly on the north side of the attic, where the fire was concentrated, but also on the south side. Here, much of Clough's wooden lath was replaced on the knee wall along the eaves, and on some areas of the sloped ceiling. Clough baseboard was taken off and reapplied during this work, since it now overlays the metal lath and shows such evidence of reuse as paint layers that pass behind the present miters.

This period also saw alteration of the rafter casings along the north side (Ill. 72). Clough's wooden soffits must have been badly charred, as they were not replaced. The new plaster on the sides of the casings simply was turned under to form a soffit.

The ceiling plaster is of 1921 vintage toward the north, with some 1882 plaster surviving more toward the south. The flat part of the ceiling is framed mostly with wire-nailed 1921 joists toward the north, and mostly with cut-nailed 1882 joists toward the south.

Materials Predating 1882. Earlier materials include the roof trusses of 1748 (see section, "Original Wooden Structural System") and some early-looking, up-and-down-sawn purlins in the roof area near the ridge. Some of the roof boards in this area also look as if they date from the 18th century (see section, "Roof, Dormers").
The king posts have been cut down in width where they pass down through Clough's 1882 casings in the attic (Ill. 118, b). On surfaces that were not cut down, the king posts show earlier lath marks. Plaster predating Clough's (underlying his lath) can be seen directly on the brickwork of some portions of the west end wall, and could probably be found on the east also. These indications are typical of various bits of evidence relating to earlier room arrangements in the attic. No attempt has been made to sort out this evidence, since it is so fragmented.

The interior casings of the central windows in each end wall of the attic (Ill. 118, cc), though at least partially made up with cut nails, still appreciably predate 1882, as attested by earlier paint layers.

The two doors to the stair area (Ill. 118, dd) are much earlier than 1882, having more paint layers and being of Federal design and construction. Parts of each casing on the side toward the stair also have more paint layers than the outer finish boards that match the rest of Clough's work. It is uncertain whether these doors were in this location prior to 1882, or were reused from some other place.

Materials Postdating 1921. The sash of the two central windows on the east and west ends match Chandler's sash elsewhere on the building, and have only paint layers later than Clough's 1882 dormer sash. Evidently Chandler treated each end wall as a whole when changing the sash in 1910.

George Sherwood's 1957 ox-eye window casings and sash (Ill. 118, eeee) are easily inspected from inside the attic (see section, "Exterior Walls").

Missing Partitions. Documents from 1882 onward clearly refer to three or more spaces in the attic used for different purposes. No physical evidence of substantial partitions that would have cut up the now undivided attic space has been found. Rather, it seems that the partitions were very light dividers. No real partitions show up in the 1921 fire photographs.
BASEMENT

The east end of the basement contains the 1903 subway station now undergoing remodeling.

In the west end of the basement, early foundation walls are visible in some areas, although covered over in other areas by recent wall-surfacing materials. The various types of masonry seen in different parts of these walls are hard to date.

Some of the wooden elements are more easily dated. These include the hand-hewn, and apparently 1748-vintage, girders of the first-floor construction, running north to south. These show old whitewash in some areas where portions of the later casings have been removed. The casings have soffits consisting of machine-planed matched boarding, and are made up with late cut nails. They look as if they date to the period of Clough (1882).

Also probably dating to Clough's restoration are the iron columns (Ill. 63) supporting the much older floor girders. These are discussed in the section on Original Wooden Structural System. At the extreme western end of the cellar is a newer column supporting the granite floor of the west vestibule. This column, and the I-beams above it, were installed by Chandler (see his 1908 drawings, Illustrations 63 and 65).

The partitions throughout most of the west end of the cellar consist of several types of turn-of-the-century matched boarding, covered with more recent asbestos material as fireproofing. If this fireproofing is ever removed, the areas of matched boarding could be dated more precisely. These partitions appear in 1907 drawings for the construction of the Washington Street subway line (Ill. 55). The boarding is of utilitarian character, and probably could be sacrificed if the conservation facility being proposed for the cellar should so require.

The rotunda in the basement gives every appearance of being integral to the construction in 1882 of the first-floor rotunda and the present circular staircase by Clough. The rotunda consists of plastered, curved brick walls; the segmentally arched door openings with early Colonial Revival plaster moldings look like the work of the 1880's. Several of the doors to the west rooms have Clough's identifiable panel moldings. On the east side, the wall surface and door openings have been altered to conform with the plan of the subway station, probably in 1903.

The ascription of a date of 1882 to the rotunda (except for the alterations on the east) also can be achieved by a process of elimination. Since the Rogers plan of 1830, and Abel Bowen's description of this remodeling, indicate only a half-rotunda on the first floor, there was almost certainly no full rotunda there until the present one — Clough's. Therefore, there would have been no need for a full rotunda of supporting walls in the cellar. By the same methodology, the rotunda could not postdate Clough, because these curved cellar partitions were necessary to support his documented first-floor rotunda.

The two present toilet rooms in the cellar, opening off the rotunda, both appear as toilet rooms in the 1907 subway plans (Ill. 55). In his restoration plans of 1908 (Ill. 58), Chandler calls for a partition and steps to be removed from the south toilet room, and for the sealing up of a door that had led to the east. A clear indication of this erstwhile door is visible in the toilet room.
HEATING EQUIPMENT

Boiler. The present boiler was installed about 1973 and is of no historical importance. The present boiler room location, under the southwest corner of the building, dates to 1908: the 1907 plans for constructing the Washington Street subway line (Ill. 54) include plans for this new boiler room. The previous boiler room, shown as existing in the 1907 plans (Ill. 55, 56), was under the stair rotunda, offset toward the south. Both boiler rooms, as shown in the plans, used the same flue in the west end wall of the building; this is probably the present flue, running through the blocked-up north fireplace in the Representatives' Chamber.

According to the documentary record, a still earlier circular boiler room was built by Clough in 1882, directly under the stair rotunda (see section, "The First Restoration"). The location of this earlier room would have conflicted with the construction of the East Boston tunnel in 1903; the boiler room thus was moved southward, out from directly under the rotunda (Ill. 55).

Early Radiators. Several photographs of the Council Chamber that predate about 1910 show decorative Victorian radiators consisting of many small vertical pipes in three rows. They once were probably used throughout the building; none exist now in any first- or second-floor rooms. Examples of these do survive in the attic (two on each end wall, disconnected). They bear a patent date of 1877. Perhaps they were reused from the lower rooms when the steam heating system was extended to the third story in 1909 (see section, "The Chandler Restoration"). These were present in the attic in 1921 when the post-fire photographs were taken (Ill. 71). Another attic feature appearing both in the 1921 photographs and today is a set of noteworthy Victorian-style radiators, each consisting of a single row of large vertical cylinders joined by horizontal finned cylinders at the top and bottom. Their patent information is hard to read but could be deciphered. These stood in some of the dormer alcoves, as shown in a 1921 picture. Although they are now disconnected, another just the same is still connected in the cellar, in the room at the top of the boiler-room stairs.

Another type of early-looking radiator is still used to heat much of the cellar. These radiators consist of long lengths of pipe suspended horizontally along the ceiling or against walls from special fixtures.

The present radiators on the first and second floors appear in photographs after about 1910, such as the 1921 fire photographs (Ill. 50, 74). Those in the Council Chamber were cased by Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn in 1943, in paneling that matched their other work in this room. Two radiators on the north and south walls were moved from between windows into the window-seat area. The radiator in the first-floor stair rotunda was cased at some time after being photographed by Arthur Haskell in 1933. The radiator in the northwest second-floor anteroom (the Commission Room) has been moved into the window alcove since the 1921 fire photograph of this room. The cased window-seat radiators in Keayne Hall are Chandler revisions of 1909 (see section, "The Chandler Restoration").

Extant Plumbing Fixtures. The oldest of the extant plumbing fixtures — the two sinks and toilet in the south cellar bathroom — look as if they could be as much as 50 years old. Their type is still very common, however, and of no special interest. All of the other plumbing fixtures are more recent. The equipment installed when plumber James Sullivan signed his name and the date 1882 in the plumbing tank closet in the southwest second-floor anteroom has all disappeared.
SUMMARY OF DATING OF EXTANT ELEMENTS

Brickwork. The north and south walls date from 1712, except for Chandler's 1909 foundations, subway station entrances (now being relocated), and patches of brick where he shortened the first-story windows. The east and west walls have been heavily rebuilt over the years, even in the 18th century, but probably retain some areas that date from 1712. The foundation of the east wall is Chandler's, as is the foundation and most of the first floor of the west wall.

Exterior Woodwork. The three exterior doorways are still Chandler's work, except for some older granite work left in place. The balcony on the east wall is his, too. All the sash of the 12/12 windows in the brick walls were installed by Chandler, who also put in the present exterior-window casings at first-floor level in the western half of the building (occupied by Keayne Hall).

The cornices are probably largely 18th-century material, and the pediment and pilasters above the east balcony are of this same period. These 18th-century elements most likely date to 1748, when everything except the brick walls of the building was rebuilt.

The window/door leading onto the east balcony is work of the 1830's, dating from shortly after Isaiah Rogers' redesign of the east end wall. Except for Chandler's window casings on the first story in the western half of the building, the casings of most of the windows in the brick walls predate 1882, and easily could date back to the Rogers period.

Roof, Dormers. The roof is a 1975 relaying of a 1936 slate roof. The dormers and their sash date from the 1882 restoration by Clough.

Tower. The tower contains some framing and exterior trim (portions of one or more cornices) dating from the 18th century, probably 1748. However, most of its exterior woodwork is an accurate reproduction dating from 1882. The first stage was heavily rebuilt after a 1921 fire.

Inside the tower is an interesting spiral staircase dating from around 1830, and several generations of matched boarding from c. 1830 and later.

Structural Members. Some heavily charred, hand-hewn wooden structural members probably date back as far as the rebuilding after the fire of 1748. Among these are several posts in the tower, and the first- and second-floor girders (10 on each floor, running north-south), and — most importantly — roof trusses of a distinctive and slightly archaic design seen also at King's Chapel (1749).

The iron tie rods that suspend the second-floor stair rotunda from two of the roof trusses probably date from Isaiah Rogers' remodeling of 1830.

Although the common joists of the first and second stories could not be inspected, it is safe to say that a large percentage of structural members throughout the building generally date from the restoration of 1882, when most of the present partitions were built.
Interior. The cellar is a mixture of utilitarian elements, some of which probably date from 1882. These include the iron posts and wooden casings on the first-floor girders overhead. These girders are hand-hewn and probably date to 1748. The rotunda at cellar level has plaster door casings; those on the west probably date to 1882, with those on the east from 1903, when the subway station was built.

In the western half of the first floor, Keayne Hall is Joseph Everett Chandler's work of 1909. In the eastern half are the two end offices and Whitmore Hall next to them. Taking these three latter spaces together, one has Clough's room of 1882, with a rather odd partition of windows above and matched boarding below extending west from the east wall. (This partition is now obscured on both sides by bookcases.) The floor was raised in 1903 to accommodate the subway, at which time two of the three square 1882 columns down the east-west axis of the space were shortened. A fourth such column appears to have existed at the east end of this line of columns, but is no longer extant. It probably served an important structural function, and should be replaced if this is so. At the center of the first floor is the circular staircase. This — including the stairs to the second floor and the stair rotunda rising from cellar to first floor — dates from the restoration of 1882.

The second floor is substantially as remodeled in 1882, except for materials renewed after the 1921 fire. The Representatives' Chamber is intact from the 1882 restoration. The Council Chamber was redesigned by Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn in 1943; a few elements survive from the 1882 restoration.
III. CONDITIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS
MASONRY CONDITIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Exterior Walls. Badly eroded mortar joints are found in a number of areas. The brick foundation at sidewalk level has suffered from rain splashback and needs selective repointing, especially toward the west end of the north and south walls (Ill. 123). Selective repointing is also needed on the east wall in several areas.

The cement wash or watershed on the belt courses — particularly those at second-floor level on the north and south walls — is deteriorated and should be replaced. The belt courses themselves need some repointing. The new cement wash, once cured, probably should be treated with a water-repellent or coated with a liquid waterproofing membrane.

Mortar Color. A philosophical problem arises in choosing the appropriate mortar color for repointing, repair, or rebuilding. One could use only the white lime mortar that was original to the building, and which has survived in at least half of the wall area. Or, in the areas built by Chandler — such as the foundation and the areas directly beneath the first-floor windows — one might use a slightly grayer mortar, matching Chandler's, to preserve a visual indication of the Chandler work. The latter course seems preferable. The Chandler mortar color is light enough not to break up the design of the building, but dark enough to provide the inquisitive viewer with information as to the building's history and a sense that the building has changed over the years. During the formulation of the new mortar, care should be taken to match the original color of the Chandler mortar, which was probably slightly lighter than the present dirty and stained color.

As for the much more recent gray cement mortar on the west end and in the portions of the east parapet rebuilt by George Sherwood in 1957, there is no historic reason to preserve this color. Since the mortar is in good condition, however, practicality suggests its color be repeated for all minor repointing in this area. (Small patches of white mortar in these areas would look strange.) The color can be changed when major repointing or rebuilding becomes necessary.

Water Penetration Through Brickwork. Water is seeping through the exterior wall at the northeast corner of the building at second-story level, spoiling the plaster and new paint inside the Council Chamber. This condition undoubtedly relates to the poor condition of the brickwork and mortar in this location, where repointing is urgently needed.

A second area of serious water penetration is at foundation level in the western half of the building.

In the cellar here, where plaster does not entirely cover the foundation walls, severe dampness and even dripping water can be seen during wet weather. At present no areas are evident where structural stability is threatened, but the mortar is deteriorating in some places. Continued water soaking of portions of the foundation will threaten the stability of the hand-hewn, first-floor girders, whose ends are bearing on the foundation walls at water-table level. Along the north wall, the plaster of the space set aside for conservation activities has failed in places due to wetness (Ill. 124), and very wet conditions are visible through a hole in the wall of the
Illustration 123. Old State House: South Wall, West End, Brickwork Needing Repointing.

north bathroom. Capillary action through the northern brick foundation walls of the rotunda has spoiled the plaster to a height of six feet; Illustration 125 shows this, as well as standing water ("a"). Along the south wall, there is severe dampness in the masonry constructions in and around the head of the boiler room stairs.

Given the fact that the building sits almost entirely over subways and other excavated space, the nature of the problem cannot be rising damp fed by subterranean water. Rather, the water appears to be coming from two sources: defective downspouts and drains, and rain water on the sidewalks. Directly outside the damp area at the head of the boiler room stairs, for example, the downspout is broken off. Even without this inflow, the drain pipe to which the downspout should be connected does not drain during rains. Other drainpipes are broken as well (Ill. 126), and are contributing to deterioration of the mortar. As for sidewalk water, the sidewalks simply abut the building's brickwork, and there is every reason why water should penetrate here. There is also standing water in the south gutter during wet weather (Ill. 127). Clearly a first remedial step is to reconnect and clean the entire gutter/drain system.

Runoff from the walls and sidewalks still remains a problem. In a rural setting it would be a simple matter to excavate around the foundations, waterproof their outer surfaces, and backfill over drain tiles with gravel. However, the urban siting of the Old State House would make this very difficult. Immediately beneath the sidewalks, intertwined with or closely abutting the building's foundations, is a maze of subway tunnel construction, public utilities conduits, and the like. Therefore, the solution to try first is the installation of a waterproof apron around the building, just beneath the sidewalks. Some type of membrane could be used, as in the construction of outdoor brick terraces over occupied space. The membrane or flashing should extend at least six feet away from the building; should slope away from the building; and should be turned up vertically into the joint between the sidewalk and the building, being very carefully sealed at this point.

This work should be undertaken when the sidewalks are taken up during the forthcoming conversion of the south branch of State Street to a pedestrian walk.

Parapets. The parapet walls, by virtue of their thinness and severe exposure on both sides, soak right through in prolonged wet weather. During rains, and even long afterward, the west parapet can be seen from the street to be thoroughly soaked, contrasting sharply with the portions of the wall below roof level. Sometimes efflorescence is seen on the parapet walls under drying conditions, and some bricks have spalled. The west parapet (III. 128) has particularly severe efflorescence on its west face under certain weather conditions. Unfortunately, the moisture penetrates down by capillarity far enough below roof level to wet portions of the plaster and furring at both ends of the attic and the wooden roof construction where it contacts the masonry. Wetness all around the ox-eye windows is causing them to deteriorate, and undoubtedly had much to do with the reason their sash and casings had to be renewed in 1957. Although the woodwork near the roof is holding up remarkably well under these damp conditions, the wetting of wood and spoiling of plaster do tend to justify some corrective action.
One step that clearly should be taken is to repair or replace some portions of the cap flashing where the newly relaid roof abuts the parapet walls. Unlike the new lead-coated copper base flashing here, the cap is of old lead and split in some places (III. 129). However, this defect does not account for the soaking-through of the parapet walls, nor does the slightly imperfect but still good condition of some of the stone, cement, and lead-coated-copper-covered copings. Rather, the walls soak through because they are thin and wetted on both sides.

Some alternative solutions are mentioned below; there are undoubtedly others. None of those discussed here seem really safe or effective. Selection of the proper one will require much additional discussion.

One choice is to do nothing. The present condition has existed for a long time, and the tradition of repairing periodically the damage to the parapets could be continued.

Another alternative would be to apply Hydrozo or another water-repellent to both sides of the parapets. This should be done on a test section first, to assess its effect.

A third approach involves the injection of a chemical damp-proof course into the walls at the roof line, using silicones in the way some English restorationists have done. (It would be very difficult to insert an equivalent metallic through-wall flashing.) This would not protect the parapets themselves, but only the interior woodwork and plaster at the roof line and below. It also might create a concentration of water in the bricks just above the treated area, with attendant greater damage during freeze-thaw and wetting cycles.

Illustration 126. Old State House: North Wall, West End, Broken Drainpipe.
Illustration 127. Old State House: South Wall, Standing Water in Gutter.

Illustration 128. Old State House: West Wall, Parapet Efflorescence.
Illustration 129. Old State House: East Parapet, Junction with North Roof Slope, Old Flashing.

Illustration 130. Old State House: East Wall, Upper Surface of Balcony.
WOODWORK CONDITIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Rather extensive woodwork repair is necessary. Illustrations 116 and 130-135 show some of the poorer — but typical — conditions of the woodwork in different areas. Work is required in all areas, but the tower is naturally the most weathered. Joints on railings are open; railings are loose on their mounting brackets; balusters and finials are split and partly missing; dentils are missing from the tower; wooden cornices and soffits — especially at the top stage of the tower — are locally rotted; window sills are cracking; old brittle caulking is falling out around window casings, and so forth. Old gutter leaks have damaged parts of the cornices of the north and south walls; most noticeable is a rotted area on the south wall, above the third window from the east. Paint has built up on woodwork all over the building, to the point where selective stripping is needed to facilitate woodwork repairs and to improve the life expectancy of new paint. The recent paint job (1975) was quite sloppy and included little preparation.

The best course of action would be to erect staging around the entire building sometime soon, and correct all these conditions and the masonry problems, too. The railings on the tower will require at least partial disassembly. The cornices on all three stages of the tower need, at minimum, repairs to their crown moldings, and the cornice of the topmost stage should be taken apart and reconditioned. Limited carpentry repairs also will be needed on the cornices of the north and south walls. During this work the condition of hidden framing members should be assessed, and repairs made as necessary. The posts of all balustrades especially should be opened for inspection. The age of each woodwork element that is removed should be assessed, such that a decision can be made either to replace or recondition it, based on its age and importance.

Either organic solvents (e.g., a typical methylene chloride/methanol paint remover) or heat should be used to remove the paint. However, the latter should not be employed on site because of the danger of fire, and both must be used with excellent ventilation. Alkaline paint removers must not be used, because they are very difficult to neutralize well enough so as to not affect new paint.

Concerning repair techniques, fairly extensive piecing-in with new wood and epoxy adhesives will be required, as well as some consolidation of old wood and filling of holes and cracks. After repairs, woodwork elements should be dipped in a water-repellent wood preservative, back-primed, reattached with galvanized nails, and given two finish coats of an alkyd resin paint.

Woodwork left in situ should be reconditioned in the above manner, to whatever extent is practical and necessary in each case. Selective in situ paint removal should be done only with a non-flammable, water-washable, organic-solvent type of remover. One such is 5F5, manufactured by Sterling-Clark-Lurton of Malden, Massachusetts. Edges of remaining paint should be smoothed primarily with paint remover, rather than sanding.
Areas that definitely should not be stripped include the pediment, pilasters, and surrounding woodwork of the doorway/window leading onto the east balcony (except for the few spots where it is necessary). The reason for this is that here the paint layers date back to the 18th century, and they are in good, tight condition. Limited repairs, followed by caulking and painting, will preserve these elements very well. The flashing over the segmental pediment consists of pieces that are too large, however, such that at some points on the curve of the pediment, the flashing extends up the brick wall hardly any distance at all. Although no damage seems to be occurring, this could be redesigned with a larger number of smaller pieces, to provide more consistent coverage. The flashing seems to be in good condition where it extends out over the pediment.

Whenever staging is erected around the tower, the flashing along its south side, where it abuts the dormer, could be redesigned to provide better coverage — more like the equivalent flashing on the north side of the tower.
Illustration 131. Old State House: East Wall, Door Opening onto Balcony, Sash Conditions.
Illustration 132.  Old State House:  Tower Railings.
Illustration 133. Old State House: Topmost Cornice of Tower.

Illustration 134. Old State House: Topmost Cornice of Tower, Paint Removal.
Illustration 135. Old State House: Tower, Second Stage, Cracks in Window Sill.

Illustration 136. Old State House: Cracks in Balcony Floor.
ROOF CONDITIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Slate Roofs. The slate roofs were renewed in 1975, via the relaying of slates applied in 1936. These roofs are in excellent condition. Parts of their flashings were replaced at that time with new lead-coated copper, although some older flashing survives. Defective older cap flashing at the east parapet wall has been noted in the section on Masonry Conditions.

The gutters and downspouts also were renewed in 1975 with lead-coated copper, but the downspouts on the south elevation are already defunct. One of the underground drains backs up and overflows, even though the downspout above it is broken off. Too, the downspout above the new subway station has been disconnected to facilitate work there. These conditions all should be corrected.

Metal Roofs. Four small metal roofs exist at the Old State House: one that serves as the floor of the east balcony, and one on each of the three stages of the tower. The topmost roof of the tower could not be inspected, but, like the others, it is almost certainly a flat-seam copper roof.

These roofs are generally in good condition, except for a few defects that probably can be patched. Two small cracks in the east balcony floor were noted (Ill. 136); they most likely were caused by the flexing of the metal that occurs when people walk on the balcony. A few less obvious cracks may exist, but those found look as though they could be patched with small pieces of copper riveted and soldered in place. Any joint that has opened — a particular problem around the outer edges of the copper roofs — should be resealed.

Uncertain conditions exist under the posts of balustrades on the east balcony (Ill. 130) and two lower stages of the tower. Most of these posts need to be opened up or removed for repairs (see section on Woodwork Conditions), at which time the condition and configuration of the copper beneath should be checked. To insure protection of the framing beneath, the copper ideally should be completely continuous and leak-proof beneath the posts. If this is not the case, the amount of patching required to remedy the situation may justify replacement of the roofs.

Another defect is the not-so-perfect condition of the roof edgings (Ill. 137). At a few points these edgings have bent upward, such that they are no longer weathertight. Their construction consists of edge strips face-nailed into the topmost vertical element of cornices, with the roofing sheets folded over the edge strips so as to form a clip. The nails, although exposed to the weather, appear to be reasonably well protected by paint and by the folded drip-edge above.

When cornices — particularly the topmost cornice on the tower — are opened up for woodwork repairs, the roof edgings will be disturbed. At that time a decision must be made whether to replace any of the roofs, or to patch with sheet copper, rivets, and solder. One of the controlling factors in this decision will be the age of the roofs, which can be determined best when enough of each of them is opened to see the character of the nails in the cleats. In the places already inspected, the edgings are secured with wire nails. If any areas of really early roofing are discovered, they should be recorded and, if possible, preserved in situ.
STRUCTURAL CONDITIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Between 1969 and 1975 the structural engineering firm of LeMessurier Associates/SCI conducted repeated investigations of structural conditions at the Old State House. In conjunction with the present report, a further visit was made by a staff member of this firm (see Appendix B). As a result of this company's written findings up to 1975, extensive reinforcements were carried out under the program of repairs directed by the architectural firm of Stahl/Bennett, Inc.

Below is a summary of the findings of the structural engineers; a description of the reinforcements that have been carried out; and an outline of several repairs that still need to be done.

Foundations. The structural engineers determined that the foundations were solid, because they consist almost entirely of steel and concrete subway construction. The authors of this report likewise have observed no evidence of serious structural instability of the foundations. The biggest problem associated with the foundations is the vibration from the subway. This vibration will accelerate the deterioration of the brick walls over the course of many years, although it does not pose any serious or immediate threat. A proposal has been made to isolate the building from its foundation by means of rubber cushions. Although this practice is well known in the field of construction, it would represent a drastic and perhaps dangerously innovative measure if applied to the Old State House. If funds are available to be spent in reducing subway vibrations in the Old State House, the best approach — also widely used — would be to mount the subway tracks under the building on rubber. The problem here, as stated by an MBTA official, is that train service on two lines would have to be stopped for the duration of the work — a price the City is unwilling to pay. It thus seems impossible to eliminate the vibration within the foundation.

Masonry Walls. Outward Movement of End Walls: In 1975 the most recent in a long series of repairs to the gables were carried out, based upon the engineers' recommendations. The parapet walls were tied to the roof trusses at two points on each end of the building, using tie rods and S-anchors matching two existing ones on the east end. Counting the existing ones, this makes a total of two tie-back points at the west end of the building, and four at the east. Holes for two additional rods higher up on the west gable were drilled, but the rods were never inserted. These rods probably should be installed. An additional criticism of the rods as installed is that the method of securing them to the rafters seems rather insubstantial.

A broader recommendation about tying back the gables relates to the fact that there is outward movement of larger portions of the end walls than just the parapets and attic areas. Vertical cracks at the east end of the north wall (Ill. 138) and at the west end of the south wall (Ill. 139) indicate active outward movement of the east and west end walls, at an unknown rate. In both cases, an outward lean of these end walls is visible; the cracks on the side walls rise through almost the two full stories, widening as they approach the cornice. They then pass through the jack arches of the second-story windows at the end of each side wall. Illustration 139 shows how the brickwork seems to have moved west relative to the cornice.
Illustration 137. Old State House: Copper Roofs of Tower, Bent Edging and Opening of Joints.

Illustration 138. Old State House: North Wall, East End, Crack in Brickwork (follows arrows).
Illustration 139. Old State House: South Wall, West End, Crack in Brickwork (follows arrows).

Illustration 140. Old State House: Council Chamber, North Wall, Crack in Plaster.
The fact that movement is active is shown by cracks in the plaster of the Council Chamber (Ill. 140) and Representatives' Chamber (Ill. 141, 142) that correspond exactly in location to the cracks in the exterior brickwork. Although these cracks existed prior to 1975, they clearly have extended and widened since the walls were painted in that year. In several places the 1975 paint shows clearly the pattern of a dried layer that has been broken, rather than just a wet layer that has flowed into a preexistent crack. Illustration 142 shows the corner of the south and west walls (labeled "a" and "b") in the Representatives' Hall; at "c," a piece of 1975 paint still spans the crack, though it has been torn and twisted since its application.

Glass telltale should be epoxied over these cracks (on both the exterior and interior wall surfaces) to ascertain over the next several years the rate of movement. Some rather extensive system of ties probably will be necessary. Most likely the end walls should be tied across their entire width to the attic floor and second-floor diaphragms. Additional ties at the corners, perhaps L-shaped reinforced concrete beams, might be considered.

In conjunction with this tying of the walls, a number of shear cracks of various ages along the north and south walls will need repointing.

Jack Arches. Several of the jack arches above the windows show old repairs, and some were rebuilt by George Sherwood in 1957 (see section, "The New Council Chamber and Later Work"). Several more arches now need at least partial rebuilding.

In some instances, they appear to have failed through erosion of their mortar. In several cases — above the windows at the east end of the north wall and the west end of the south wall, especially — the failure of the arches is attributable to the aforementioned spreading of the walls and the formation of vertical cracks up through the window bays. On the east end wall, both factors may be combined. Several of the wooden window casings are now noticeably stressed by the masonry above, being no longer supported by an arch.

Wherever the early, orange-brown brick is found in arches that require rebuilding, the bricks should be numbered carefully and reused in order. It would be a good idea to conceal rust-resistant steel angles under each rebuilt arch — as George Sherwood did on three windows of the east end wall — to insure continued support in spite of any future spreading of the arch.

Boiler Room Area. The present boiler room is an integral part of the Washington Street subway construction of 1907 (Ill. 54-56). It sits below the southwest corner of the foundation of the Old State House, which is supported solidly by the boiler room's ceiling of concrete-clad steel beams. The fact that this concrete cladding is cracked in places (Ill. 143) does not represent a serious problem, since the I-beams inside carry the load. However, in the part of the boiler room that extends beyond the foundations of the building — under the sidewalk — the I-beams themselves are rusting out (Ill. 144). The reinforced-concrete framing around the opening in the sidewalk is also badly eroded (Ill. 145). The situation is to the point where the sidewalk easily could collapse under the weight of a vehicle. Rebuilding of the sidewalk supports over the boiler room is clearly in order. Waterproofing should be done at that time to prevent continued wetting and erosion of the steel and concrete sidewalk supports.
Other areas of the sidewalk, supported over open spaces that are not part of the Old State House, were not inspected but probably have similar problems. When other concrete work is done in the boiler room, cladding should be hacked away to check the condition of the steel beams.

Wooden Framing. The first floor of the east half of the building — occupied by the two offices and Whitmore Hall — is supported by iron posts, steel beams, and brick arches, all installed with the advent of the subway (Ill. 53). The first floor of the west half — containing Keayne Hall — is supported by wood girders spanning the building from north to south, and carried at mid-span on iron posts. The joists run east-west.

The second floor also contains east-west joists, which rest upon transverse (north-south) wood girders supported by wooden columns within Keayne and Whitmore Halls. The middle two girders at this level were cut when the 1830 staircase was installed, and the cut ends were hung by rods from the corresponding two roof trusses. The wooden structure is in remarkably good general condition. Its most important weak points were reported by the engineers and reinforced in 1975.

This investigation included detailed calculations that proved the old roof trusses to be capable of supporting the roof and attic floor. They did show, however, that the two middle trusses — also supporting both the cut second-floor girders and the tower — were overstressed. Light trusses of steel (Ill. 109) therefore were bolted to both sides of the old trusses in these two bays. These will assume an increasing share of the weight of the tower as the old trusses continue to weaken. They also include vertical tension rods that pick up the lower chords of the old trusses, from which hang the old tension rods supporting the second-story floor and partitions around the 1830 staircase (Ill. 145). Two other old trusses had deep checks in their top chords, and were reinforced with bolts as shown in Illustration 112. A number of purlins at the west end of the roof were found to be sagging or weak, and also were reinforced. In one instance, this action completed an older, cut-nailed, triangular reinforcement (Ill. 108).

The performance of all these repairs should be monitored over the coming years in case any further problems become apparent.

As for the circular staircase, which was both moving and sagging, the engineers devised a method of reinforcing the soffit with plywood so as to connect the two strings of the stair in a rigid, structural way. This, with other repairs to the surrounding second-floor framing (Ill. 110, 111), has produced a motionless, and apparently very satisfactory, result. Its performance should continue to be observed over the years, and its long-term success under the heavy loads of visitation would be of interest to preservationists everywhere.

The framing of the first and second floors was found adequate in 1975, except in the staircase area, and was not strengthened. It is this element that seems to require one further reinforcement. The easternmost girder of the second-floor structure is apparently unsupported across the entire 32-foot width of the building. In the section on Whitmore Hall, tentative evidence is presented to the effect that there had been a column or pair of columns here until at least 1882. If this is so, it would be historically appropriate to recreate this column — as argued in the next section, on
Illustration 141. Old State House: Representatives' Chamber, South Wall, Cracks in Plaster.
Illustration 142. Old State House: Representatives' Chamber, Intersection of South and West Walls, Chip of Twisted 1975 Paint.
Illustration 143. Old State House: Boiler Room, Cracked Concrete Cladding over Horizontal Steel Beams.
Illustration 144. Old State House: Boiler Room, Deteriorated Concrete-Clad I-Beam Supporting Sidewalk.

Illustration 145. Old State House: Boiler Room, Deteriorated Reinforced-Concrete Framing around Sidewalk Opening.
Interior Conditions and Recommendations. Such a column would seem to be of utmost structural importance unless, on opening the ceiling during the coming renovation of this area, it is found that some other provision was made to take the weight of the second floor in this area.

As for the tower structure itself, the first stage was rebuilt almost entirely sometime after 1921, and it appears very solid. The upper stages are sheathed internally, and are harder to inspect. Therefore, a watchful eye must be kept during repairs to the exterior woodwork of the tower for signs of rot or other structural weakness. However, no signs of incipient failure have been observed by either the engineers or the authors of this report.
INTERIOR CONDITIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Attic. The most important recommendation concerning the interiors is to replace the plasterwork and wood trim that was removed in the attic when the structural work was done in 1975. The wood trim is lying about, ready to be put back. As it is, the attic looks terrible, and constitutes a fire hazard. Naturally, appropriate fire stops and fire-resistant materials should be used.

Whitmore Hall and First-Floor Offices. Another area meriting attention is the eastern half of the first floor. The current plan for this space is to remove the north-south, matched-board partition (Ill. 119, g) that divides Whitmore Hall from the two east-end offices. This would turn the three rooms into one, to be used for an exhibit of the history of the Old State House.

This plan is commendable, in that it will restore the room to its original size as remodeled in 1882 by Clough (with the exception of the raised floor of 1903). There is another partition here, however, which should be retained. This open-ended partition, now hidden by bookcases, runs west from the east end wall (Ill. 119, i), separating the two offices. It consists of windows on the upper half and matched boarding below, and is almost surely Clough's work of 1882. (This can be positively confirmed when the bookcases are removed and holes are being made in the ceiling for new lighting fixtures.) This partition would not block light, probably not interfere with displays, and even might serve as a useful divider. More importantly, its retention will help illustrate the type of changes that comprise the building's architectural history — the very subject of the exhibit to be installed there.

A further recommendation about Whitmore Hall concerns a column that probably existed in 1882. In the section, "Original Wooden Structural System," the building's 10 north-south structural planes are described. Each consists of a roof truss above and columns below, supporting floor girders. The section also discusses various rearrangements of columns through the years. In the portion about Whitmore Hall, it is noted that the current supports in this area for the floor of the Council Chamber are columns dating back to Clough's restoration of 1882. It also is pointed out that there is no column (Ill. 119, m) where the easternmost girder of the second floor presumably exists, although there probably was one here in Clough's time. It seems likely that the north-south floor girder is not properly supported, now that there is no column beneath it. This situation has not caused noticeable problems to date; perhaps the Council Chamber has been little used for large assemblies in recent decades. During the forthcoming remodeling, a hole in the ceiling plaster should be made, large enough to assess fully the structural situation here. In all probability, one or more columns will be found necessary to carry the second-floor load down to the heavy steel beams below.

In addition to having structural value, a column with entablature matching the rest of Clough's colonnade in Whitmore Hall would be welcome both aesthetically and historically. This is especially true if Whitmore Hall is enlarged to include the Library and Director's Office. All that needs to be done to be sure of historical correctness, is to check for more positive evidence of Clough's missing column and cornice. This can be done by making some holes in the plaster just prior to the coming renovation.
**Basement.** The basement rooms appear a little shabby, partially because of water damage to plaster (already described) and partially because they are used mostly for storage. So much change has taken place here already, that these spaces could be treated rather freely should new uses be contemplated for these rooms.

**Display Rooms.** On the first and second stories, the rooms open to the public are in good condition, with the exception of plaster cracks attributable to the outward movement of the end walls. These cracks will be deactivated by previously mentioned repairs to the exterior brickwork, and can be filled permanently anytime after those repairs are made. The rooms were repainted in 1975, in generally appropriate colors. No thorough paint study has been done. Although the extensive changes made here probably have obliterated all 18th- and many 19th-century paint layers, such a study might discover a few remaining fragments, and seems worth doing.
UTILITIES: CONDITIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Electric Wiring. According to Thomas Parker — Executive Director of the Bostonian Society — the wiring was all renewed in 1975, except for the wiring in the ceiling light fixtures in the attic. This old and brittle wiring should be replaced.

Plumbing. The plumbing in the building consists of three toilet rooms and a hot-water heater. Although functional, it is old and intermittently troublesome. Mechanical parts of toilets have caused some problems; the hot-water heater does not always work properly.

At present some plumbing-system changes are being discussed, such as installing facilities for caterers, etc. The faulty elements just mentioned can be upgraded in conjunction with these changes.

Heating/Air Conditioning. A mechanical engineer examined the building for the purpose of assessing the present heating system and possible future ones. His report is included as Appendix C, and the results of his inspection are summarized further and discussed here.

At present the building is heated by a two-pipe steam system fed by a gas-fired boiler. The question is whether to upgrade the present two-pipe steam system or to remove it, and install a modern environmental control system offering air conditioning and year-round humidity control.

Upgrading of the Present System

Clearly, at least some upgrading of the present system is necessary. The Whitmore Hall/Library area is always too hot in winter, while the rest of the building is chilly and the attic unheated completely. The present system, if retained, should be fitted with better controls, such as individual radiator thermostats of the mechanical type to replace the present radiator valves. The attic contains two types of nonworking but historic radiators, probably dating back to the 1882 Clough restoration. These should be reconnected if it is thought desirable to smooth out the very wide annual temperature swings in this area, which is now used for storage of paintings and artifacts. (Even if these radiators are not reconnected, they should be retained, in their original location whenever possible.) An attic fan or window air conditioners in two or three of the dormers could cool the attic in summer. Insulation over the flat part of the attic ceiling would help, too, although it also might produce dangerous levels of snow accumulation on the roof.

The several types of old-style radiators in the cellar are working, and also should be retained. The c. 1909 radiators on the first and second floors — though less interesting than the Victorian radiators in the cellar and attic — are part of the history of the building. At least samples of them should be kept in storage, regardless of future changes to the heating system.
Full Environmental Control

A full environmental control system is probably possible, and could be designed along several lines, depending upon the exact heating/cooling loads involved. The biggest problem would be to arrange for heat rejection for the air-conditioning system. Ideally, an arrangement could be worked out to tap into the chilled water supply of a neighboring office building, although the administrative problems of getting a chilled water line across one or more streets could be overwhelming. If this is not possible, heat rejection equipment will be necessary. The attic seems to be the only location for this, unless a variance somehow could be obtained to put heat-rejection equipment in the basement, using street-level air for cooling. A rather unattractive method of getting air into attic-located equipment probably would be unavoidable, such as the replacement of some of the dormer windows (or possibly dormer cheeks) with louvers. Weight loads and vibration levels of the chilling equipment to be installed also would have to be assessed, with respect to the bearing capability of the attic floor (i.e., roof trusses).

Two types of heating/cooling equipment are possible. A ducted air system would have the advantage of better humidity control, but would require fairly large ducts running to all spaces. A system based on fan-coil units would need only small pipes for refrigerant or water, but would not, in itself, offer much opportunity for humidity control.

Perhaps some combination of the two types of systems would fit the building best. Linear diffusers (elongated, slot-type registers) could be installed around the perimeters of the ceilings of the second-story rooms, adjacent to the exterior walls of the building. Air ducts along the sides of the attic would connect these with heating/cooling/humidifying/dehumidifying units housed in the attic. These units would obtain heat via a hot-water line from the basement, and would cool air by rejecting heat through louvers in the dormers.

Getting conditioned air from an attic-housed unit to the first floor is more of a problem. One could sacrifice some spaces on the exhibit floor for large ducts from attic to cellar, where air distribution equipment could be located. Alternatively, one might locate a chilling unit in the attic, with refrigerant lines to a fan-coil type of unit in the basement. This basement unit would be connected to the primary heat source in the basement, such as Edison Steam. Conditioned air from this unit could be distributed by duct work into floor registers in Keayne Hall. Getting ducts up from this basement unit into Whitmore Hall and the offices would require permission to infringe on the subway station, which immediately underlies the floors of the east end of the building. Alternatively, individual fan-coil units might be installed in the Whitmore Hall area.

If air conditioning and year-round humidity control are installed, the windows probably would have to be upgraded with some type of double glazing. Ultraviolet light-absorbing plexiglass could be affixed inconspicuously to the interiors of the windows. This would both help control air leakage and condensation, and protect exhibits from ultraviolet light.

If windows are blocked, some intake of outside air may be needed for ventilation. This should not be done at street level because of automobile exhaust fumes. Perhaps the air that enters as visitors continually open the north and south doors would be sufficient for the whole building.
The west end of the basement has been proposed as a likely spot for a conservation facility. Ventilation would have to be improved for this to occur; opening the windows in the light wells only draws in heavily polluted air. Another problem that would have to be overcome is the high humidity levels caused by water penetration of the basement walls (see section on Masonry Conditions).

Which Course to Follow?

The decision as to whether to upgrade the present steam system or convert to a full environmental control system must be made on the basis of subjective judgments. How much is one willing to disturb the building in order to protect a certain number of paintings, prints, and other hygroscopic materials in the collections? A curator of collections would feel that a full environmental system in the Old State House is worthwhile, in spite of the proliferation of equipment in the attic and elsewhere. Clearly, the collections now are being subjected to severe annual temperature and humidity cycles (especially those in the attic), and to pollutants entering through open windows in summer. Paintings above radiators are drastically overheated and dirtied. Every professional standard of museum climatology is being ignored.

On the other hand, persons primarily interested in buildings would elect to leave the present system intact. This is the approach advocated here. The attic has considerable architectural merit, and should not be cluttered with equipment. A better idea would be to restore it and outfit it for study-storage of the more durable objects in the collections, including fragments of the Old State House itself. The radiators are also interesting, especially those in the attic; if they are to be retained anyway (and they are), they might as well be used. Too, an old building seems more authentic if it does reflect the varying temperatures of the seasons and the noises of the city, without the familiar "white noise" produced by modern air-handling equipment. Insofar as the Old State House can remain environmentally archaic, it enhances the visitor's perception of the building as a genuine antique, and his experience of this antiquity as well. It may even be more comfortable and healthful for Freedom Trail followers moving quickly through the building in summer not to experience a large temperature drop.

In short, there is no objectively correct answer. Should one emphasize the building or the collections? Only the Bostonian Society can decide which course it prefers.

Even if it is decided to emphasize the building, there is still the subjective question as to which equipment intrudes the least. If one sees 1909 radiators and steam pipes as objectionable, the present system is certainly intrusive — Whitmore Hall and the Library contain almost a maze of pipes. But if one believes that the modern equipment and ductwork required for complete environmental control infringes too greatly upon historic spaces, then the "maze" may seem preferable. A compromise may be possible; perhaps fan-coil units, with less-obvious pipelines than at present, could be used in certain areas for heating alone.
SUGGESTED PERIOD FOR RESTORATION

The architectural history section demonstrates clearly to what extent the building's history is one of continual remodeling and restoration. To return the building to its appearance as of any early date would require extensive reconstructions of an almost wholly conjectural sort, particularly on the interior. Here almost no material survives that predates 1882, and documentary evidence is extremely sketchy.

Given the extent to which the building was transformed three times in the Colonial Revival image, one must think of the Old State House as expressing the Colonial Revival period as eloquently and as significantly as it expresses any other. Clough's interiors of 1882 represent one of the earliest restorations in America, and are so unacademic as to be picturesque. This is especially true of the spiral staircase — of Federal conception and Georgian detailing, and based on Greek Revival physical evidence. Chandler's Kayne Hall, and his complete revision of the trim of the exterior walls, illustrate the Colonial Revival at a later, less Victorian but still freely interpretive, stage; it also constitutes major work by the leading restoration architect of the period in New England. Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn's Council Chamber of 1943 provides the final chapter, of full-blown colonial academism executed by the nation's leading restorers of their day. (Their experience at Williamsburg may account for the slightly Virginian look of the fireplaces.)

All this work clearly merits preservation, leaving little opportunity for the would-be restorer of today to alter the building. The question, then, is whether to preserve the still-later Colonial Revival manifestations of 1957: George Sherwood's sundial, and the few other items applied at the same time, including the wood and lead-coated-copper parapet copings and two new finials on the east balcony. Here, there is no way to avoid making a subjective judgment. If there is any doubt among those responsible for the building, preservation of all items is the safest course, leaving the decision to the future.

There is, however, a strong reason for considering a return of the east wall to its appearance just prior to 1957. Simon Willard's signed town clock survives in the attic, its works intact and portions of its face and surrounding decorations present as fragments. Indeed, the face may predate the present clock works (see section, "Early Commercial Period"). Reportedly, there are only about a dozen Simon Willard town clocks in existence, of which only six or fewer are in their original locations. The importance of this clock thus far outweighs the importance of the reproduction sundial. It crowned the east facade for 13 decades, six times longer than the sundial. It survived both Clough's and Chandler's heavy restorations. It fits the space far better than the sundial. Most of all, it is a genuine 1830 clock, while the sundial is but a reproduction — and, in terms of its details, a highly conjectural reproduction at that. Missing elements of the clock would have to be reproduced, to be sure. But these elements are documented so precisely in photographs, measured drawings, and by fragments, that no guesswork would be involved.

It is the recommendation of this report to restore the clock, and to preserve all elements up through the Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn period. This would entail the preservation of the present rectangular steps on Chandler's south doorway, instead of the planned return to semicircular steps not seen here since about 1800. The lower
three steps on the north and south doorways definitely predate Chandler's doorways, as his drawings show them as existing material to remain. They probably date back to Rogers. They certainly form an integral part of Chandler’s design.

Taken to the limit, the argument that Chandler’s and earlier material all should be preserved would mean that the Chandler subway entrances should not be undergoing the present alterations. However, in this case, the aesthetic value of the new subway entrances far outweighs the historical value of Chandler’s subway openings. Perhaps it is the strictly utilitarian character of Chandler’s subway entrances that makes them the least important element of his designs. Moreover, they represented even in 1908 an unwanted intrusion on the building’s design, forced onto it by the arrangement of the subway station.

All portions of Chandler’s brick basement walls — on all four elevations — should be preserved.

In keeping with the policy of doing away with alterations postdating 1943, the two broken-down finials at the outer corners of the east balcony should be replaced with two more nearly matching the Chandler-period ones against the brick wall. Likewise, whenever serious work is required on the parapets, all of George Sherwood’s copper-covered wooden copings, and all of the cement copings, should be replaced — with brownstone copings laid over through-wall flashings and fitted, like the surviving old ones, with halved joints. English "Red Hollington" brownstone would be a good choice of material, being of excellent quality and having a color close to the existing stones.
SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

Masonry. Selective repointing of the exterior brickwork is required. Mortar colors should be varied according to the age of each area of brickwork being pointed. The belt courses need repair and selective renewal of the cement wash on their upper surfaces.

The foundation should be waterproofed as well as possible, by means of a membrane laid underneath the sidewalks when these are replaced as planned.

The parapets probably should be treated in some way to minimize water penetration through the brick. At present rain soaks through them, wetting adjacent interior woodwork and plaster; on drying, they sometimes effloresce badly.

Exterior Woodwork. Most of the woodwork needs at least some repair. Conditions are worst on the tower, which should be surrounded by staging to permit disassembly of deteriorated railings and portions of cornices. Some selective paint stripping will be necessary to permit effective woodwork repair and repainting.

Roofs. The slate roof is in excellent condition, having been relaid recently. A few cracks and minor defects in the copper roofs of the east balcony and the tower should be patched, or at least inspected more carefully when balustrades are removed for repair.

Structural Conditions. Cracks indicating active outward movement of the east and west end walls should be monitored by means of some type of telltale. Probably the end walls will have to be tied back into the second-story and attic-floor diaphragms.

Structural reinforcements done in 1975 to the roof — especially to the two trusses that support the tower — should be observed closely over the coming years.

Concrete and steel supports for the pedestrian sidewalk above a portion of the boiler room are so deteriorated that they are dangerous; they must be replaced soon.

One column in the library seems to be missing, and probably should be replaced. This can be confirmed when the ceiling plaster is reworked in conjunction with the planned remodeling in that area.

Fragments. The attic and cellar contain many items relating to the building, such as doors, balusters, and portions of the decorations of the clock. These should be carefully identified, catalogued, and placed in safe storage.

Heating System. A decision must be made between the upgrading of the present steam system to provide more even heating, and the installation of a year-round, museum-type, temperature-and-humidity-control system. This choice must be based upon a decision as to which feature to emphasize: the preservation of the collections, or the maintenance of a picturesquely old-fashioned ambiance.
Fire Protection. In 1975 the building was fitted with a combination smoke and rate-of-rise fire-detection system. A Halon system should be installed when funds are available.

Missing plaster in the attic should be replaced, for additional protection. Finally, wiring in the attic light fixtures should be renewed.

Period for Restoration. The building has been changed so extensively, and so often, that the most sensible policy is to preserve all the changes as an architectural story. Materials dating from the restorations of 1882, 1909, and 1943-44 are important: the first of these restorations was one of the earliest in America, and the latter two were the work of leading practitioners. The restoration work done in 1957-58 (replacing the 1825-30 clock with a sundial, and minor exterior repairs) seems less important. The largely conjectural sundial should be removed, to permit the restoration of the very important Simon Willard town clock. Its works are intact in the attic, along with some parts of the face and surrounding decorations; photographs and drawings exist to provide all other information.

Aside from the sundial, very few other exterior items would be changed if everything prior to 1957 is preserved. The present rectangular steps on the south facade, now considered for replacement, would remain.

As for interiors, we recommend leaving Keayne Hall, the stair hall, and the Council and Representatives' Chambers as they are. The attic needs to be finished off with plaster and woodwork, having been opened up for the 1975 structural repairs but never closed in. This constitutes a fire hazard, as mentioned, and its usefulness and attractiveness are impaired.

The current plan for the Whitmore Hall/Library area is to remove the north-south, matched-board partition here, which would recreate the single space that had existed when this area of the building was redesigned in 1882. This plan is fine, but the east-west partition that divides the Director's Office from the Library almost certainly dates from 1882, and should be left in place.

Finally, although extensive change has obliterated most of the evidence, a comprehensive paint study should be considered for at least the first and second floors.
APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

List of Burgis views that include the Old State House
(Attributed to William Burgis)

"A North East View of the Great Town of Boston," possibly 1723. BPP, p. 34.
"A South East View of the Great Town of Boston...," 1725. BPP, pp. 36-37.
"A South East View of the Great Town of Boston...," 1743 revised. BPP, pp. 40-41.
JAN 16 1978

Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities
141 Cambridge Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02114

Attention: Morgan Phillips

Reference: Old State House
LeM Job No. 9407

Gentlemen:

The following report outlines conditions observed during visual inspections of the Old State House building, and makes recommendations for further study or remedial action.

Inspections were carried out by the writer on 5 January 1978 accompanied by Morgan Phillips and Sarah Chase of the Society, and on 11 January 1978 accompanied by Juris Anderson of LeMessurier Associates, who had previously inspected the building in 1969 and 1973.

Inspection was limited to observing cracks in the building perimeter walls and the roof over the boiler room.

Observations

Cracks in the perimeter brick walls occur predominantly in the north wall at the northeast corner of the building and in the south wall at the southwest and southeast corners. All four corners of the building are out of plumb, leaning outwards 1-3 inches at the top, and the west end wall is noticeably bowed in plan above the second floor. Crack patterns, and the lean at the corners, suggest a stretching of the walls of the upper story relative to the foundations. The cause of such movement is difficult to determine but probably results from foundation settlements and/or movements due to expansion and contraction of the walls from thermal effects. Areas where brickwork has been repointed indicate that additional earlier cracking has taken place, which has not since reopened. Crack patterns are shown on the accompanying sketches.
The cracks are not recent in origin, but there are indications that at the southwest corner there may have been some movement since the building interior was repainted in 1975. This is evidenced by lack of paint intrusion into the cracks and Mr. Anderson's opinion that the cracking may be wider at this location than when previously inspected.

The cracks do not, however, suggest any recent drastic movements that would cause concern for the immediate stability of this corner.

The brickwork has weathered badly in many areas resulting in spalling and loss of mortar, and generally is in need of re-pointing. Water intrusion has occurred at the northeast corner at the second floor.

The roof of the boiler room under the sidewalk consists of reinforced concrete supported on concrete encased steel beams, constructed about 1907. Severe corrosion of some steel beams and reinforcing bars has occurred due to moisture penetration from the sidewalk.

Some beams and rebar have completely disintegrated due to rusting. This is in a potentially dangerous condition.

Recommendations

Movements in building walls can generally be categorized under three broad headings.

A. Seasonal and reversible movements.
B. Unidirectional but self-limiting movements.
C. Progressive and continuing movements.

Cracks produced by type C movements may, if left unchecked, eventually lead to structural distress. A program of crack width monitoring should be started to check if progressive movements are taking place. This will determine the need for, and urgency of, any structural repairs. Additionally, sealing of the exterior of the cracks should be carried out by repointing or epoxy grouting to prevent ingress of moisture leading to leakage and freeze-thaw deterioration.

Crack movements can be monitored on interior surfaces simply by drawing pencil lines across the crack at various locations and angles and taking direct but accurate measurements of offset or length change with an Engineer's steel rule. For exterior work

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Attn: Morgan Phillips
Re: Old State House, #9407
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glass telltales should be installed bridging over the crack and cemented rigidly to the brickwork on each side. The glass will crack under any slight movement. Subsequent movements can be monitored from ground level by use of binoculars. More sophisticated techniques are available using strain gauges but are not warranted in this situation.

Regardless of the outcome of these measurements, it would seem prudent, if it is seriously intended that the building should last for another century or so, that the structure be strengthened in areas that have already shown weakness. Potential methods for increasing strength and stability involve improving the connection between perimeter walls and the second and attic floor diaphragms, and installation of steel dowels in the masonry running across major crack lines. Dowels would be installed in holes drilled longitudinally through the walls at the corners and grouted into place.

Parts of the boiler room roof under the sidewalk are in a dangerous condition and may collapse if subjected to a heavy load such as from a truck wheel mounting the sidewalk. Deteriorated areas should be replaced and a waterproofing membrane installed over the structure to prevent recurrence of the problem. Further inspections are required to determine the precise areas of deterioration. This should include the chipping away of concrete from encased steel work where the concrete is badly cracked or spalled so that the condition of the steel can be seen. If it is not possible to carry out immediate repairs, temporary shoring should be installed in the deteriorated zones. We understand that there are other areas where rooms extend under the sidewalk and these should also be inspected.

Vibrations due to subway trains running directly beneath the structure are noticeable within the building. These will not by themselves cause structural deterioration but will certainly exacerbate any weakness existing from other causes. Vibrations can be drastically reduced by installing continuous welded rails in the subway in place of the existing jointed type, and setting the rails on vibration isolators. Such installation involves the use of existing and well proven railway technology, and the MBTA might be approached on this issue.

The following summarizes our recommendations:

- Further inspect the boiler room roof and other underground areas
- Shore rusted out areas of boiler room roof or replace defective structure
13 January 1978
Attn: Morgan Phillips
Re: Old State House, #9407
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- Repoint brickwork and seal existing cracks
- Monitor existing cracks in walls at corners of building
- Strengthen the building corners
- Reduce vibrations from the subway

Very truly yours,

LeMESSURIER ASSOCIATES/SCI

John A. Coote

JAC:mt
CRACKS SHOWN ARE DIAGRAMMATIC ONLY. NOT TO SCALE.
SOUTH ELEVATION

CRACK

EVIDENCE OF EARLIER CRACKING

CRACKS

MISCELLANEOUS CRACKING AT THIS END

CRACKS SHOWN ARE DIAGRAMMATIC ONLY. NOT TO SCALE.
S.P.N.E.A.
141 Cambridge Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02114

Subject: Old State House
Attention: Mr. Morgan Phillips

Gentlemen:

As a result of a brief inspection of subject project, it is our determination that air conditioning of said project appears not to be viable for the following reasons:

A. There appears no way to provide air distribution to the First Floor Library and Display Areas from the Basement Level, since the possibility of pulling in contaminants from ground level is very great.

B. The upper level could be air conditioned, with units located in the Attic, with duct distribution provided at the exterior. However, this would require the removal of glass in 3 or 4 dormer windows, which would appear not to be in keeping with the building exterior.

Air conditioning through a ducted system was considered since control of relative humidity would be easily accomplished.

C. As an alternative to a ducted system, a two pipe fan coil system was considered. (i.e. two-pipe - either heating in winter or cooling in summer).

This system would require a hot water heating system and chilled water cooling system with the cooling system located in either Attic or Basement.

Continued........
The condensing portion of the cooling system, however, would require ducting through the Attic dormers and would impose considerable weight and potential vibration on the Attic Floor.

This system would also preclude a central control of relative humidity since such could not be built into the system.

Consequently, it is our determination that central air conditioning of the subject project does not appear feasible at this time - pending a more detailed study of the building and the Owner's specific requirements.

Very truly yours,

ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN ENGINEERS, INC.

Daniel B. Levenson, P.E.
President
Illustration 146. Old State House: Paint Sample from Neck Molding, North Pilaster, Balcony Doorway.

Illustration 148. Old State House: Layers of Paint on Dentil from Tower Cornice.
APPENDIX D

Paint Analysis

Paint analysis in the Old State House was limited to scrutiny of the patterns of sequence in the paint layers, for the purpose of determining the relative dates of various elements of the building. Two areas, however, have paint layers of particular interest. Portions of the trim around the east balcony doorway bear between 57 and 60 layers of paint. This, taken with other evidence cited elsewhere in this report (see index that follows), seems to indicate clearly that the earliest layers and their substrates date from the 1748 build of the Old State House. The second paint sample of significance comes from a dentil found in the tower. The dentil, as already described, is probably part of the material installed at the time of George Clough's 1882 restoration.

The east balcony-area paint sample was taken from the neck molding of the pilaster on the north side of the doorway (Ill. 84, 115). The paint chip (Ill. 146) shows six to seven generally ocher- and earth-pigment hues adjacent to the substrate. The layer indicated by "A" is a light gray, and clearly has grains of sand embedded in it. A letter written in 1773 describes the Old State House as freshly refurbished, with "The whole of the outside (being) painted of a stone color." Evidently the paint was not only of a color resembling stone, but also of a stone texture.

Illustration 147 shows the underside of this paint chip from the pilaster neck molding on the east end of the Old State House, and displays the unpolished appearance of the paint layers. It should be noted that the small red "dot" to the left is a foreign intrusion — possibly a drop of paint from some higher surface.

Paint layers on the dentil (Ill. 148) indicate that the dentil probably was not on the building before 1882. Illustration 133 shows a portion of the tower cornice where the dentil might have been. The earliest layers are a dark chocolate brown, very probably applied in 1881-82. Weathering makes this sample more difficult to read than those from the pilasters and other elements of wood trim around the east balcony.

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