### National Register of Historic Places

**Inventory -- Nomination Form**

**1. Name**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Historic</th>
<th>Faneuil Hall</th>
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<tr>
<td>AND/OR COMMON</td>
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**2. Location**

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<tr>
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**3. Classification**

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<tr>
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Faneuil Hall stands at the eastern edge of Dock Square (intersection of Congress and North Streets) in Boston, Massachusetts. To the west of the historic building is Boston's New City Hall, a massive concrete structure constructed in the late 1960's. To the east is the famed Quincy (Faneuil Hall) Market, designed by Alexander Parris and completed in 1826, and numerous brick and granite stores and warehouses dating from Boston's days as a major commercial port (mid-18th through mid-19th century).

In 1740 Peter Faneuil offered to provide Boston with a combined markethouse and public hall; the town accepted his proposal and the building was completed in August, 1742. The structure was designed by John Smibert; Samuel Ruggles was the chief carpenter and Joshua Blanchard the master mason. Originally two stories high, and 40 by 100 feet, the structure was Georgian in style, and displayed unusual architectural pretensions for the times. Both stories had an applied order of Doric pilaster, executed in brick, and the second story was crowned by a fully membered Roman Doric entablature of stone. Open arcades to the public market on the ground floor were echoed by round-arch windows above, and the roof was surmounted by a large central cupola. At the apex of the latter was a famous weathervane, a huge grasshopper with green glass eyes and long antennae, produced by Deacon Shem Downe of Boston. This device was a copy of the one atop the Royal Exchange in London. On the second floor were certain offices for town business, and a great hall large enough to seat 1,000 persons. Faneuil Hall was swept by fire on January 13, 1761, and only its exterior walls were left standing. Reconstruction began almost immediately and the building was reopened in 1763.

As Boston's population grew, the size of Faneuil Hall gradually became a negative rather than a positive feature and in 1805-06 the building was tripled in size by increasing the number of end bays from three to seven, thus doubling its width to 80 feet, and by adding a third story. The architect of this remodeling was Boston's famous Charles Bulfinch. He retained the original architectural scheme in this work, except for moving the cupola from the center to the Market Square (east) end of the building and adding a series of barrel-shaped dormer windows in the new roof. Bulfinch employed an order of Ionic pilasters for the high third floor. The great hall in the second story was widened and its ceiling raised, permitting the installation of galleries that were supported by superposed columns of the Doric and Ionic orders; the result was rather like an enlarged church interior. The arched open arcades that had provided access to the market area on the first floor were filled in with windows corresponding to the arched windows of the second floor. The distinction between the original building and Bulfinch's addition may be observed in the brick material: the old work has rather large bricks laid in Flemish bond with dark headers; the later brickwork is smoother and lighter in color, and lacks the dark headers.

In 1898-99 the City of Boston essentially reconstructed Faneuil Hall, following Bulfinch's general plans for the 1805-06 remodeling but substituting iron, steel, and stone for wood and other combustible materials wherever possible. Despite these efforts, the building is now considered substandard from the point of public safety. The sheet-metal awning which surrounds Faneuil Hall at the second floor level is a later (post-1899) and incongruous addition which was, however, stabilized and improved in 1923.
STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Faneuil Hall in Boston, Massachusetts was a focal point for the organization of colonial protest against the acts and authority of the British Parliament in the years immediately preceding the Revolutionary War. Here, Samuel Adams, James Otis, John Hancock, and other leaders of the opposition to the Crown transformed colonial dissent into direct support for American self-government. During the 19th century, Faneuil Hall heard the voices of William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and other notable leaders of the fight for the abolition of slavery. Popularly known as the "Cradle of Liberty," Faneuil Hall has probably been opened to more advocates of controversial causes than any other public hall in the United States.

As completed in 1742 and rebuilt in 1761-63 (following a disastrous fire), Faneuil Hall was a 2-story brick building in Early Georgian style. In 1805-06 Charles Bulfinch widened the building and raised it a story, thus tripling its size. The City of Boston essentially reconstructed the building in 1898-99, replacing wooden structural elements with fireproof materials wherever possible. Faneuil Hall originally served as a markethouse as well as a public hall, and various shops continue to operate on the ground floor and in the basement. The great hall on the second floor, once used for Boston town meetings, now serves primarily as a museum but is still the site of occasional public gatherings. The attic serves as the armory of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, as it has since 1806.

Historical Background

In 1740 Peter Faneuil, a wealthy Boston merchant of Huguenot descent, offered to provide a markethouse for the town. Opposition to public markets was strong, however—the previous town market had been destroyed by an angry mob in 1737—and the Boston town meeting accepted Faneuil's proposal only by the narrow margin of 367 to 360.

Faneuil Hall was designed by John Smibert, a noted painter turned amateur architect for this one project; Samuel Ruggles was the chief carpenter and Joshua Blanchard the master mason. The building was completed in August, 1742, and on October 13 the Boston Selectmen held their first meeting in their new quarters. So serviceable was the new hall for large public gatherings that the judges of the Superior Court soon requested and received permission to use it for the trial of certain notable prisoners. In May 1747 permission was granted for music concerts once a week.

When a disastrous fire swept Faneuil Hall on January 13, 1761, it was quickly decided to rebuild the hall which had proved so useful to the citizens of Boston and plans were drawn to reduce the fire hazard as much as possible. However, there was no money to finance the reconstruction; consequently, the Massachusetts legislature authorized a lottery and part of the necessary funds were raised in this way. The dimensions of the new building were
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

Howe, Mark Anthony de Wolfe, Boston, the Place and the People. The Macmillan Co., N.Y., 1903.

GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

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VERBAL BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION

Boundaries of the National Historic Landmark designation for Faneuil Hall, shown in red on the accompanying street map, are defined as follows: Westerly by Faneuil Hall Square 125 ft.; northerly by Dock Square 105 ft.; easterly by North Market Street by 125 ft.; southerly by Merchants Row by 105 ft.

FORM PREPARED BY

NAME / TITLE Polly M. Rettig, Historian, Landmark Review Project; original form prepared by Charles W. Snell, Historian
ORGANIZATION Historic Sites Survey, N.P.S.
DATE 12/18/67
STREET & NUMBER 1100 L Street N.W.
TELEPHONE 202-523-5464
CITY OR TOWN Washington
STATE D.C.

STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICER CERTIFICATION

As the designated State Historic Preservation Officer for the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (Public Law 89-665), I hereby nominate this property for inclusion in the National Register and certify that it has been evaluated according to the criteria and procedures set forth by the National Park Service.

FEDERAL REPRESENTATIVE SIGNATURE N/A National Historic Landmark
TITLE DATE

FOR NPS USE ONLY

I HEREBY CERTIFY THAT THIS PROPERTY IS INCLUDED IN THE NATIONAL REGISTER
DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF ARCHEOLOGY AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION DATE
ATTEST:
KEEPER OF THE NATIONAL REGISTER DATE
the same as the old one, 100 by 40 feet, affording accommodations for 1,000 people but too small for ordinary town meetings as Boston increased in population.

On August 27, 1765, a famous meeting of protest against the Stamp Act was held in Faneuil Hall. The previous day a mob of rioters had destroyed the records of the Vice-Admiralty court, plundered the house of the Comptroller of the Customs, and pillaged and almost completely demolished the house of Chief-Justice Thomas Hutchinson. The next morning citizens of Boston met in Faneuil Hall, and voted a resolution condemning the lawless acts. Resolutions were passed protesting against the application of the Stamp Act. Out of the opposition that expressed itself in this and other meetings at Faneuil Hall came the principle enunciated throughout the pre-Revolutionary controversy that Parliament had no right to legislate for colonies unrepresented in that body.

Even after the repeal of the Stamp Act in March 1766, Faneuil Hall continued to be the scene of anti-British agitation. An anniversary celebration of the repeal of the Stamp Act held there in 1767 resounded with violent threats against Parliament. The passage of new revenue acts brought together on June 14, 1768, the most boisterous and boldest meeting yet assembled in the hall; so many angry citizens attended that the meeting had to be adjourned to the larger Old South Meeting House. Carrying their demands almost to the point of open revolt, the reconvened meeting voted to demand the release of Hancock's sloop Liberty, which had been seized for failure to pay duty on its full cargo; it also demanded the recall of the frigate Romney, which was then being used to enforce British customs regulations.

During the remainder of 1768 and 1769 the Sons of Liberty and those superb manipulators of popular feeling, Samuel Adams and John Hancock, continued to use Faneuil Hall as the center of their agitation for colonial self-government. For a time in early 1770's agitation died down, but with the passage of the Tea Act, a series of tea meetings was held which culminated in the famous Boston Tea Party,—the direct cause of the closing of the Port of Boston, the suspension of the charter of Massachusetts, and the dispatch of General Thomas Gage and his troops to force Boston and New England into submission. Faneuil Hall, however, continued to resound with impassioned oratory. There representatives of Boston and her neighboring towns and villages gathered to formulate plans for resistance to military rule and to draft circular letters to the towns of Massachusetts and to the other colonies soliciting their cooperation and support. The action taken at Faneuil Hall and the sense of common cause generated by the circular letters were in large part responsible for rousing the colonies as a whole to a fighting pitch, as evidenced in the general American reaction to the news of Concord and Lexington in April, 1775.

From the end of the Revolutionary agitation to the beginning of the slavery controversy, Faneuil Hall, though still the scene of political gatherings, town meetings, and even court sessions, did not figure prominently in events of national significance. In 1805
the need of more space for municipal and market purposes induced the town fathers to authorize enlargement of the hall. Charles Bulfinch, the leading architect of New England, if not of the country, was chosen to plan the larger structure. Bulfinch tripled the size of Faneuil Hall by increasing the number of end bays from 3 to 7, bringing its width to 80 feet, and adding a third story, allowing construction of galleries at the sides and rear of the great hall.

With the outbreak of widespread opposition to slavery in the 1830's, Faneuil Hall again became the center of events that focused the eyes of the nation on it. Violent and uncompromising opponents of slavery like William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips and the almost equally violent opponents of discussing so divisive an issue both held the stage in the famous old hall. The appearance of Garrison's Liberator and the excitement it created led 1,500 of the wealthier citizens, fearful of the possible ill effects of abolitionism on "confidence," to gather at "old Faneuil" and demand that he and his friends be silenced by law, if necessary. But the hall also witnessed the annual Anti-slavery Fair featuring gruesome exhibits of the alleged cruelties of the slave master. Feeling at times ran so high that to avoid violence public officials attempted to ignore the tradition of opening the hall to all comers, regardless of their political views. In 1837, for example, the aldermen at first refused to issue a license for a gathering to denounce the murder of Elijah Lovejoy, ardent anti-slavery editor of Alton, Illinois, at the hands of a pro-slavery mob. So hostile was public opinion to this action, however, that the aldermen were forced to permit the meeting.

Perhaps the best-known gathering in the hall during this period was that called on May 26, 1854, to demand the release of Anthony Burns, a fugitive from slavery; the angry crowd was addressed by Wendell Phillips, Theodore Parker, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and Samuel G. Howe. Higginson and others had planned to arouse the passions of their devoted followers to such a high pitch that they would storm the court house where Burns was imprisoned in order to secure his release. Through a miscarriage in executing the plan, however, the officers at the court house were able to make preparations to thwart the mob. Undaunted, Higginson, Phillips, and other prominent abolitionists attempted to break in by force. But they failed, although one deputy was shot and killed in the fracas.

Episodes like this reflected the growing anger of the North toward the South, and played no small part in convincing the South that secession was necessary, that it was impossible to live in harmony with abolitionists given to such violence as this. But on the whole, Faneuil Hall gatherings represented the moderate, rather than the extreme, phase of the anti-slavery movement. These gatherings helped to bring famous men into national prominence and to further the cause of the conservative opponents of slavery.

In the years since the Civil War, Faneuil Hall has enjoyed comparative peace. The building narrowly escaped damage from a second serious fire in 1871 and in 1898-99 was almost completely reconstructed, with iron, steel, and stone substituted for
wood and other combustible materials wherever possible. Though the great hall is still used for occasional public gatherings, it now serves primarily as a museum; on display is a collection of portraits (many of them copies of the originals which are now protected in Boston's Museum of Fine Arts) of notable historic figures ranging from Peter Faneuil to Abraham Lincoln. The attic story houses the armory of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, as it has since the enlargement of the building in 1805-06; this area is also open to the public. The ground floor and basement of the building continue to house various commercial operations, which now include a drug store and a gift shop. Faneuil Hall is still owned by the City of Boston and maintained by its Real Property Department.
HISTORIC STRUCTURE REPORT
FANEUIL HALL

Boston, Massachusetts

Prepared for
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
NORTH ATLANTIC REGION

By

Frederic C. Detwiller
The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities
Consulting Services Group
1977
PREFACE

This report was prepared by the Consulting Services Group of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities for the National Park Service, North Atlantic Region, under Contract No. CX 1600-6-0023. This report is one in a set of three prepared under that contract. The other two are Historic Structure Reports on the Old State House and Old South Meeting House, both in Boston, Massachusetts.

The principal author of this report is Frederic C. Detwiller, architectural historian with the Consulting Services Group. A section on the 1875-1900 period was provided by the late Ricardo Torres Reyes of the National Park Service. David M. Hart, past director of the Consulting Services Group, provided the X-ray examination of the building fabric. Dr. Judith E. Selwyn, former Conservation Scientist and past director with the Consulting Services Group, conducted the physical investigation of the wall paint. The report also contains portions of the work of others. These are included as appendices, and are credited to their respective authors at the opening of each section. We are especially indebted to the staff of the Boston Athenaeum, the Boston Public Library Prints and Rare Books and Manuscripts Departments, and to the Massachusetts Historical Society.

All dates appear in New-Style format.
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I. HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF FANEUIL HALL AND ITS SETTING
The significance of Faneuil Hall and its setting is threefold. First, the main hall of the building is almost universally known as the "Cradle of Liberty" — a spirit associated with the room from its very beginning. John Lovell, A.M., seems to have initiated the tradition in his funeral oration for Peter Faneuil (III. 1) — the generous benefactor of the new market hall — "delivered at Faneuil Hall, March 14, 1743, being the first meeting of the inhabitants of Boston, in that place": "...that this Hall may be ever sacred to the interests of truth, of Justice, of Loyalty, of Honor, of Liberty... May Liberty always spread its joyful wings over this place...."(1)

The "Cradle of Liberty" has sustained this tradition through years of trial and tribulation: the stormy town debates over the Stamp Act and the Port Bill of the 1760’s and ’70’s; the years of abuse when it was used as a British barracks and playhouse during the Revolution; the scene of the founding of the ideals of the new Republic and City of Boston; and the sounding board of the abolitionists of the 19th century. The tradition of free speech is continued to the present day, making this aspect of Faneuil Hall its most vital and significant quality.

Secondly, and equally important to the history of Faneuil Hall proper, is the market beneath the hall. This market usage predates even the building itself. When Robert Keayne bequeathed to Boston the original town house on the site of today's Old State House in 1656, he stipulated — in the tradition of English market halls of the 17th century — that "the place underneath shall be free for all inhabitants to make use of as a market place forever."(2) Increasing business required additional market places, however, and in 1734 one was established near the Town Dock. The setting for a new market house (III. 2) was prepared.

Thus it was that Peter Faneuil, in July 1740, proposed "at his own cost and charge, to erect and build a noble and complete structure or edifice, to be improved for a market, for the sole use, benefit, and advantage of the Town, provided the Town of Boston would pass a vote for that purpose, and lay the same under such regulations as shall be thought necessary, and constantly support it for the said use."(3) The maintenance of Peter Faneuil's gift by the Town, in general, has been true to its donor's original intentions. However, its initial intended use as a market has been interrupted in the mid-19th century and again recently by the lease of this space to dry-goods stores, in an attempt to "clean up" its image. Faneuil Hall's ground-floor use as a marketplace for the "Hub" is thus a tradition even older than "The Cradle of Liberty" basis for Peter Faneuil's gift in 1740.

Thirdly, Faneuil Hall is of national architectural importance — unique as one of the earliest Palladian-influenced buildings in Boston and the colonies. In this style, as 19th-century architect Charles A. Cummings notes, "the architecture was...spread over the whole surface instead of being confined to one or two prominent parts," as was the usual case up to that time.(4) To trace the construction history of Faneuil Hall is to review the evolution of architectural styles and building practices of the 18th to the 20th centuries in this country. And associated with the design, erection, rebuilding, enlargement, and restoration of Faneuil Hall building were some of the most prominent men of their respective periods.

The original design of the Georgian Period, ascribed to the renowned painter John Smibert, was altered slightly by a group of tradesmen after a 1761 fire. Among these was the eminent patriot, mason, and architect, Thomas Dawes, who at the time was working with amateur architect Governor James Bernard. In 1806 Charles Bulfinch — chief proponent of the Federal style in America and architect of the State House — was responsible for the sensitive enlargement of Faneuil Hall, which he intended (by his own account) "to conform to the original style of the building."(5) In 1827 Alexander Parris, celebrated as the architect of the impressive Greek Revival-style Faneuil Hall Markets, proposed alterations and
Illustration 1. Peter Faneuil.
Illustration 2. Dock Square and Market Place (1738).
NOTES

(2) Boston Town Records, 1656.
(3) Ibid., 1740.
(6) Bryant, Gridley J. F.: Drawings, Boston Public Library, Prints.
II. OWNERSHIP, CONSTRUCTION, AND USE
PETE'S FANEUIL'S MARKET (1742-1761)

Architectural Attribution. The original design of Faneuil Hall, important for its innovative aspects as one of the early Palladian Georgian buildings, generally has been ascribed to John Smibert, portrait painter. While there seems to be little reason to dispute this attribution, we certainly may discuss some of the sources that influenced its final form. Boston, at the time of Faneuil Hall's construction, was dotted with the steeples and turrets of its important landmarks, all prominently depicted in "A South East View of ye Great Town of Boston in New England in America" (III. 3,4). It was "To Peter Faneuil Esq. this prospect of the Town of Boston is Humbly Dedicated" by its publisher, William Price. Visible in this view are "17 Mr. Faneuil's House" with its summer house near the Beacon above, "23 Town House" (the Old State House), and, most importantly, "56 Faneuil Hall & Market House, a large Brick Building Worthy of the Generous. Founder, Peter Faneuil Esq. who in the year 1742 gave it to the Town for the Use of a Market."(1)

The first record of Smibert's involvement came from Charles Bulfinch. Bulfinch wrote that Faneuil Hall was "completed in a most substantial and elegant manner in September 1742, after a design by Mr. Smibert," in a report attached to his own architectural drawings following the completion of his 1806 renovation, and later presented to the City of Boston.(2) John Smibert settled in Boston in 1730, originally having intended to take a position as "professor of drawing in the proposed College of the Bermudas." He occupied a painting room that was "built by Mr. Smibert."(3) From his "House in Queen's Street, between the Town House and the Orange Tree," he advertised for sale "a collection of valuable prints...being what Mr. Smibert collected...for his own private use and improvement."(4) Smibert's background in the arts, and the fact that the town in 1743 ordered a "picture of Peter Faneuil Esq. to be put in Faneuil Hall" that was to be "furnished by Mr. Smibert," leaves little doubt as to his capabilities and connection with the project.(5)

Others may have been involved in the design of the original Hall as well. It is interesting to note that Peter Harrison - the Newport, Rhode Island, architect of the period who had trained in England and designed King's Chapel in Boston (1749), Christ Church in Cambridge (1759), and the Brick Market in Newport (1760) - was apparently an acquaintance of Smibert. Soon after his arrival in Newport in 1739, Harrison was "introduced to Dr. Thomas Moffatt...countryman and nephew of the painter John Smibert, whose Boston partner was his own brother John Moffatt." Harrison also had his portrait painted in 1756 by John's son, Nathaniel Smibert.(6) It thus seems possible that Harrison may have been consulted in this work, as Faneuil Hall was the only architectural design ever attributed to Smibert.

Mastermason Joshua Blanchard, who was well established as the builder of Old South Meetinghouse in 1729, was very much involved in the construction, and may have had a hand in the design as well. Blanchard also later sold "at his shop in Dock Square...neat chimney pieces" among other architectural items.(7) Boston Selectmen's Minutes for September 2, 1740, record that "Mr. Joshua Blanchard presenting a plan, from Peter Faneuil Esq., of a House for a Market, to be built on Dock Square...the Selectmen accordingly met...Mark'd and Stak'd out a Piece of Ground for that use, measuring in length from the lower or Easterly end fronting the Ware houses in Merchants Row, One Hundred feet, and in Breadth Forty feet, which leaves a Passage Way of Thirty feet Wide Between the Town's Shops and the Market House to be built."(8) The 40-by-100-foot dimensions referred to correspond with the Hall as built. However, Bulfinch - in his report of c. 1806 - reports that "in the progress of the work, the liberal donor was induced to make an addition of a large hall over the market house for public meetings, and for transacting the business of the town."
Finally, on September 10, 1742, "Mr. Samuel Ruggles who was Employed in Building the Market House this Day Waited on the Select men by order of Peter Faneuil Esq. & delivered them the Key of said House, which they accordingly received."(9) A builder like Blanchard, Ruggles may have had a hand in the design, as well as the execution, of the building of Faneuil Hall. Any one—or all—of the above men may have contributed to the original appearance of Faneuil Hall, a design still reflected in the building today.

Original Appearance and Use. Information regarding the appearance of the original Faneuil Hall is fragmentary from early records and views. However, when it is compared with surviving evidence in the building itself, we can gain insight into its 18th-century configuration. As it stood originally, Faneuil Hall apparently differed little from the appearance it had after the fire of 1761, when "some slight alterations were made in some parts of the work, but the size of the building remained the same."(10) One principal exception to this statement is apparent in what is believed to be the only known view of the building in Price's 1743 "View of...Boston" (Ill. 4). In the center of the building is a "steeple" typical of those on meeting houses of the period, which plainly differs from the cupola shown in later views of the building (Ill. 5).

The basic format of Faneuil Hall seems to have been based on English prototypes. Just as they "are usually found in the middle of the main road," Faneuil Hall occupied a position near the center of the Market Place adjoining the Town Dock (Ill. 6). Its open, arched ground floor and central "steeple" were especially reminiscent of the market halls found in English towns during this period, of which the 1682 Amersham, Buckinghamshire, Market Hall (Ill. 7) is typical. And, as with them, the hall and chambers above were intended to be utilized for "convenient meeting places for congregations too large to meet in private houses."(11) Other, colonial examples of public buildings that were likely sources of design inspiration were the Court House of 1709 in Philadelphia, with its open ground-floor arches and central cupola, and Boston's own c. 1711 Town House (Old State House). This latter is more nearly representative of the typical Georgian prototype found in the pattern books such as Gibbs Book of Architecture, London, 1728 (Ill. 8).

The principal influence upon Faneuil Hall's ultimate appearance seems to have come from merchant Peter Faneuil himself, whose expensive home was built with the proceeds of an extensive trade with London. Miss Eliza Susan Quincy, in her early 19th-century journal, records of his estate that "A grasshopper yet glittered on a summer-house which commanded a view only second to that from Beacon Hill."(12) In Price's 1743 view (Ill. 3), grasshopper weathervanes are discernable on both Faneuil's summer house and Faneuil Hall. The grasshopper was the symbol of the Royal Exchange in London (Ill. 9), and this arced building, with applied pilasters and central cupola, seems to have provided the inspiration not only for Faneuil's weathervanes but also for Faneuil Hall Market House itself, as their similarity of form would suggest. With the above-cited sources accounting for the form of the building, the details of its pilastered arcades easily could have been supplied by the builders, using pattern books available in the colonies. One particularly likely source is "Plate N," entitled "How Arches may be Used over One Another" (Ill. 10), in William Salmon's Palladio Londonensis, or, The London Art of Building. This work was published in various editions from 1734 on past mid-century—one of the most popular mid 18th-century builder's sources in the colonies. Salmon cites his sources: "The Beauty resulting from these Observations is sufficiently seen in those noble Piles of Building, the Banqueting House at White-Hall, and the new Treasury in St. James Park."(13)
Illustration 5. Town of Boston (1789).
Illustration 6. Dock Square Area (1789).
Some further account of the details of the exterior and interior configuration of Faneuil Hall may be gleaned from the Boston Town Records, Selectmen's Minutes, and other sources. By September 6, 1742, Mr. Faneuil had "Signified that the House designed for a Market was now finished excepting a Small addition which would not hinder the Improvement of it...."(14) This "Small addition" was very likely the steeple with weathervane visible in the 1743 Price "View of Boston" (Ill.3), which apparently contained a bell. On the occasion of the death of Peter Faneuil, who died early in 1743 shortly after the completion of the building, a "Hatchment with the Arms of Peter Faneuil Esq." was "voted to be placed at the West End of Faneuil Hall...and that the Bell on the said House to be Tolled from 1PM until the Funeral is over."(15) The Faneuil cupolas with their vanes were not without their vicissitudes. In August of 1743, after a violent flash of lightning, it was discovered that "the upper Summer-House... lately Peter Faneuil's, deceas'd... was struck first in the King-Post under the Vane, and riping up the Lead of the Cupolo on the Southerly Part, descended and broke thro' the Roof, tore off the Cieling, split several Posts and Studs, Shatter'd the Window-Frames & Sashes, and broke all the Glass-Windows except about 10 or 12 squares; so that the Floor was covered with Rubbish."(16) Likewise, in 1756 the Selectmen voted "to fix up the Vane upon Faneuil Hall Market which was thrown down by the great Earth Quake, the 18th of November last & to repair the Steeple."(17)

On the interior, some idea of the appearance of the market, hall, and chambers above also may be gained from early records. The only general description of the whole Market House at this period seems to be that of Captain Francis Goelet, who visited the port of Boston during a voyage from New York to London and concludes his journal entry of October 11, 1750, with a brief account of the town, including Faneuil Hall. "They have but One Markett which is all Built of Brick about Eighty Foot Long and Arch'd on Both Sides being Two Stories heignt, the upper part Sashd which Comprehends Several (of) the Publick Offices (of) the Towne, at the southernmost End is the Naval Office, the Middle the Surveyars the Marketts offices."(18)

The market on the ground floor apparently was opened in 1742; on August 20 of that year, Peter Faneuil informed the Selectmen that "the Market house was now finished (except some small trifles which should be done)... that they might take Care for having the same Opened & Improved under such proper Regulations as they think fit."(19) It is known that the market stalls were improved gradually, the first apparently as early as December of 1742, when the Selectmen voted Mr. Anthony Hodgson "Liberty to Improve One Stall in the Market for Selling Cheese Butter & Flour Three Days in the Week...."(20) By 1748 John Hammond had leased stalls No. 14 and 15, as did others soon after:21

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Stalls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1748 March 22</td>
<td>Abraham Cutting</td>
<td>No. 17 &amp; 18 (1/2 of)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1748 March 22</td>
<td>Henry Coattery</td>
<td>No. 4 &amp; 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1748 March 22</td>
<td>Peter Row</td>
<td>No. 7 &amp; 22</td>
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<tr>
<td>1748 March 22</td>
<td>James Jarvis</td>
<td>No. 8 &amp; 21</td>
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<tr>
<td>1748 March 22</td>
<td>David Stanley</td>
<td>No. 10 &amp; 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1748 March 22</td>
<td>Eliza Hager</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1749 May 1</td>
<td>Moses Davis</td>
<td>No. 1 &amp; 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1749 March 22</td>
<td>Benjamin Bigelow</td>
<td>No. 18 &amp; 19 (1/2 of)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1749 May 1</td>
<td>Daniel Dana</td>
<td>No. 26 &amp; 25 (1/2 of)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1749 March 1</td>
<td>John Robinson</td>
<td>No. 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1749 January 31</td>
<td>John Stoddard</td>
<td>No. 14 &amp; 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1749 January 31</td>
<td>John Reed</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In addition to the stalls and the "Marketts Offices" on the ground floor was the "Naval Office" referred to by Goelet. In February of 1743 it was voted by the Selectmen that "the office below Stairs on the North Side" be let to the Naval Officer.(22) In 1746 "the Selectmen Let to John Overing Esq. the Office on the lower floor under the Stairs in Faneuil Hall (lately Improved for the Naval Office)."(23) By 1751, just prior to the fire that gutted the building, there were "two offices at the east end on the lower floor, one of which was improved as a Naval Office, the other as a Notary Public."(24)

The market had from the beginning, as described in the Boston Town Records of September 13, 1742, "a spacious and most beautiful Town Hall over it, and several other convenient rooms which may prove beneficial to the town for offices, or otherwise; and the said building being now finished...," the townspeople began to occupy and improve it.(25) Little is known of the interior appearance of this "spacious and most beautiful hall," except for something of its ornamentation. On December 7, 1743, the Selectmen wrote to Christopher Kilby, Esq., that they were desired by a vote of the Town "to procure the Picture of Peter Faneuil Esq. to be put up in Faneuil Hall at the Expençe of the Town, which Picture being now furnished by Mr. Smibert, we find upon Enquiry that a Frame for said Picture can be got in London Cheaper & better than with Us, We therefore beg the favour of You Sir to procure & Send a Neat Gold Carved Frame of Eight feet in length & Five feet in Wedth by the first Ship...."(26) An additional embellishment of the new hall was voted by the town, and on March 21, 1744, the Selectmen took action "respecting the Arms of Peter Faneuil Esq. Carved by Mr. Moses Deshon...to Purchase & fix the said arms up in Faneuil Hall."(27) Little else is known with certainty of the appearance of the hall proper, before the fire of 1761.

In addition to the hall were the chambers designed as "convenient rooms...for offices, or otherwise...." There were at least three rooms used for town offices; the Selectmen's Chamber; and an armory from the very first years. First to utilize their space were apparently the Selectmen, who on October 6, 1742, voted "That the Town Clerk remove (from the Old State House) the Books & Papers belonging to the Town directly" to Faneuil Hall and that Mr. Savell provide Coal &c. for the Selectmen at their meeting there on Wednesday next...October 13, 1742 (being the first time of meeting there)."(29) Within a month, Mr. Savell was to provide the Selectmen with "two pair of Brass Candlesticks with Steel, Snuffers, and a Poaker for the Town Use."(29) By February the following year, "A Table being wanting in the Select mens Seat in Faneuil Hall for the Clerk to Write on and for the Counting of Votes," it was voted, that John Jeffries, Esqr, Mr. Hancock, & Mr. Cooke be desired to get One made and provide a Green Cloth to Cover the Same."(30) Shortly thereafter, it was voted "that Mr. Hancock be desired to provide Six Chairs for the Selectmen's Chamber in Faneuil Hall."(31)

Soon after the Selectmen occupied their new quarters, it was voted "that the town Clerk copy the Town vote for Removing all the papers &c. belonging to the Town & give it to the Assessors & acquaint them that the East Most Chamber in the Upper Story in Faneuil Hall is appointed to them."(32) The room at the opposite end of Faneuil Hall was soon in use as armory after a motion was made on February 23, 1743, "that the Fire arms, cutlasses &c. belonging to the Town House Chamber be forthwith removed to Faneuil Hall for the Towns use" and "that Mr. Savell see it done directly & put them up in the West Chamber & deliver the Key to the Town Clerk."(33) Use of the hall below as a drill floor had its origin within a year when, in 1744, Colonel Pollard was "granted liberty to meet in Faneuil Hall to train a company of Cadets in the Exercise of the Fire lock, Provided they make good all Damage which may be done to the Room."(34)
The Minute Book of the Court of General Sessions on July 14, 1747, records an early improvement to the building when it was:

ordered that the sum of 12 shillings and nine pence bills of last tenor be allowed & paid out of the County Treasury unto Mr. Benj. Russell for Setting up a Bar in Faneuil Hall, p. order of the Judges of the Superior Court for the Tryal of persons indicted for Murther as p. Acct on file.

After the loss by fire of the Old State House or "Court House" on December 9, 1747, the Selectmen voted "that Liberty be and is hereby granted to His Excellency the Governor, & the Hon'ble his Majesty's Council to improve the Chamber in Faneuil Hall, the Selectmen usually Set in to do Business...until they can be better provided." At the same time, Josiah Willard, Esq., Secretary, was "allowed to make use of the office under the Stairs in Faneuil Hall which hath been Improved for the Naval Office."(35) On January 13, 1748, Benjamin Russell billed the Province for "fixing up shelves and cases for the Clerk's Office for their papers at the Market House" and "177 feet of Planks for ditto."(36)

The methods used to heat and light these offices are revealed by a bill sent by Thomas Hubbard in March 1748 to the Province's officers (who were still in temporary quarters at Faneuil Hall) for "...4 Iron Potts, 4 pr. Pott Hooks,...4 Tin Covers for the Iron Potts,...and 1 Doz. Iron Candlesticks," as well as "1 Water Pott." Soon afterward, the Governor and Council moved back into the rebuilt State House. By December of 1748, Abraham Belknap was forced to plead for reimbursement for "100 Bushells Charcoal" and "Stove for the Speaker," lamenting that "...I have not charged the Province one farthing since this time Twelve month and have done all the Labouring Service myself, by Sweeping up both Houses, bringing up water and Makeing Charcoal fires in the Potts, which you are, Gentlemen, Sensible it was a great deal of Trouble that I was at last Winter...."(38)

One of the last public occasions for use of the original Faneuil Hall was prepared for on September 24, 1760, when the Selectmen recorded that: "Whereas there is to be on Friday next a publik rejoicing on Accot. of the Success of his Majesty's Troops in the Intire Reduction of Canada by their late Success against Montreal therefore, voted, that Faneuil Hall be Illuminated on Friday Evening & that Mr. Willard make provision therefore."(39)
NOTES


(2) Bulfinch, Charles, in Place, op. cit., p. 124, Drawings B.P.L.


(5) Report of Record Commissioners of the City of Boston, Selectmen's Minutes 1742-3 to 1753, letter to Christopher Kilby, 7 Dec. 1743, p. 11.

(6) Bridenbaugh, Peter Harrison, American Architect, p. 73-77.

(7) Advertisement, 1762, Dow, op. cit., p. 91.

(8) Selectmen's Minutes, 2 Sept. 1740, p. 252.

(9) Ibid., 10 Sept. 1742, p. 360.

(10) Snow, History of Boston, 1826, p. 247.


(12) Quoted in Drake, Old Landmarks and Historic Personages of Boston, 1872, p. 54.


(14) Selectmen's Minutes, 8 Sept. 1742, p. 358.

(15) Ibid., 1743, p. 9.


(17) Selectmen's Minutes, 1756, p. 38.

(18) Gollet, Francis, The Voyager and Travels of,... of the City of New York, Merch't. in The History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery, volume II, p. 54.

(19) Selectmen's Minutes, 20 August 1742, p. 356.


(21) Brown, op. cit., p. 95.

(22) Ibid., 23 Feb. 1742/3, p. 6.

(23) Ibid., 28 Jan. 1746.


(26) Selectmen's Minutes, 7 Dec. 1743, p. 42.

(27) Ibid., 21 March 1743, p. 55.


(31) Ibid., 1742/3, p. 366.


(33) Ibid., 23 Feb. 1742/3, p. 6.

(34) Ibid., 1744, p. 69.

(35) Ibid., 24 Sept. 1760, p. 126.

(36) Ibid., 16 Dec. 1747, p. 179.


(38) Ibid., p. 58.

(39) Ibid., p. 55.
FANEUIL HALL REBUILT (1761-1805)

Tradesmen Concerned in the Rebuilding — 1761-68. The decade of the '60s began with disaster, when, as tersely noted in the Selectmen's minutes of January 14, 1761, "The Last Night between the Hours of 10 & 12 o'clock Faneuil Hall was Consumed by Fire; the Selectmen met at Robert Stones in King Street."(1) As reported in the Boston News-Letter, the fire, which began in a row of shops on the north, "from one store occupied by the Hon. Thomas Hubbard, Esq. to the Swing Bridge...communicated itself to the stately Edifice Faneuil Market, the whole of which was soon consumed, excepting the brick walls which are left standing." Faneuil Hall apparently lacked the protection afforded by fire-resistant slate roofs, which preserved some houses; it was reported that on those roofs, "when great flakes of fire fell thereon, they immediately run off without doing any mischief."

The destruction of Faneuil's gift was much lamented:

The loss of Faneuil Hall Market must be great to this town, as it was a noble building, esteemed one of the best pieces of workmanship here, and an ornament to the Town. It was built nearly 20 years ago at the sole expense of the late generous Peter Faneuil, Esq.; the capacious Hall which bore the Founder's name would contain about 1000 of the inhabitants at a meeting. There were convenient apartments for the officers of the Town to transact their respective business therein; besides two offices at the east end of the lower floor, one of which was improved as a Naval Office, the other as a Notary Public. The other part was very commodious for a market. The records, papers, etc., with such other things as could be removed, were mostly saved.(2)

The devastation wreaked by fire was "oftentimes" attributed to the burning of charcoal in "pots"; the News-Letter reminded its readers "to see that their Pots, of Fire are extinguished before they leave them." Soon after the fire, on January 26, it was voted that Mr. Williston have the Town Ladders...Carried to the Walls of Faneuil Hall & fix them there & see that the Potts & other Iron Ware are taken down from off(f) the Walls."(3)

At their first meeting after the fire, the Selectmen voted to "return to their Former Chamber at the East End of the Town House," above the Council Chamber, which was reciprocally agreed to by the House of Representatives.(4) After some debate, whether the Faneuil Hall Market "be repair'd or rebuilt," it was decided that "the Selectmen be desir'd to take such Methods, as may be necessary for the security of the Walls of Faneuil Hall Market."(5)

The first of the "Tradesmen Concerned in the Repairs of Faneuil Hall" was "Mr. Dawes" who was voted to "secure the Walls of Faneuil Hall from the Weather in the best manner he can & anything Else that may be for the Preservation of Sd. Wall."(6) This was undoubtedly Thomas Dawes, bricklayer, architect, and later patriot, who reportedly had assisted in the construction of ex-Governor Shirley's house in Roxbury. He had drawn an architectural elevation of the Old State House that was published in 1751, and made later repairs as well. He also would soon embark on the rebuilding of another fire casualty, Harvard Hall in Cambridge, in a joint venture with amateur architect Governor Francis Bernard.(7)
Measures for rebuilding the Hall soon were adopted. On March 23, 1761, the Town accepted the proposal of the Committee for repairs that "it is for the interest of the Town to have Faneuil Hall repair'd, and that the best method of repairing the same is to have the Roof Slated, the Window Frames of Stone and the Ornaments with as little Wooden work as possible, and as to the ways and means of defraying the charges, they think it is best to apply to the General Assembly for a Lottery." At the same time, it was voted that although it would be "necessary in order effectually to Repair Faneuil Hall, to Repair in some measure the lower part of Said Buildings; It is the Sense of the Town notwithstanding that the lower part shall not be improved as a market, till the further Order and Determination of the Town."(8)

With respect to these initial decisions by the town, it is clear that some changes from their original intentions were instituted. The Selectmen were desired by the Town "to receive proposals from Masons, Carpenters, for the Repairing of Faneuil Hall," even as they were gaining approval of the General Assembly for their fund-raising lottery.(9) A law, empowering the taking of land by the Town in fire-devastated areas, was invoked "to take such steps as the Law directs for widening the Street between Faneuil Hall Market, and Messrs. Bromfield, Waterhouse, and Gibb's Stores," and a strip of "land which formerly belonged to Thomas Palmer, Esq.," in Corn Market, also was taken.(10) Soon, tradesmen began to express interest in undertaking the work of rebuilding.

Work apparently was under way when, in October 1761, "Mr. Nathaniel Brown was directed to deliver unto Mr. Moses Pitcher (Glazier) all the Sashes saved from Faneuil Hall Market, at the late Fire, which said Brown had the charge of."(11) Later that year, at another meeting, "Henry Christian Geer (Stone Cutter) attended, and requested of the Selectmen that he might have the doing of the Stone Cutters work at Faneuil Hall Building, and agreed to wait for his pay, as the other Tradesmen imploy'd on said Building have engaged to do."(12) "Geer," or Geyer, was a prominent artisan who advertised that he had "imported a fine Assortment of Free-Stones...fit for all sorts of Architect Work;...viz. for hearths, jambs, steps, tombs, paving, sinks, spouts, and all other sorts of Connecticut Stones,"...also..."Slate-Stones, fit for hearths or graves;...Chegnecto (Nova Scotia) Stone for underpinning: and all sorts of Stones which Geyer manufactures in the best manner," all available at his shop "near the Tree of Liberty, South End, Boston."(13) Despite the obvious qualifications of the stonecutter, "the Undertakers for the Repairs of Faneuil Hall, having represented to the Selectmen that great charge and difficulty as well as loss of time must ensue" by carrying out the order "that the Frames for the Windows of that Building should be of Stone"; this original specification was deleted in favor of cheaper and more easily available wooden window frames.(14) There was still much work remaining for Geyer, however, since it was said of the exterior of the rebuilt hall that "the whole entablature of the order, the capitols, bases, impostes, and keystones are of freestone."(15)

It is apparent that the building was finished enough by October 7, 1762, for the Selectmen to vote "that Messrs. Scollay and Savage be a Committee to see things put in proper order in the Selectmen's Chamber at Faneuil Hall; and that the Town Clerk is to follow their directions in the removal of the Books, Papers, &c. from the Town House (Old State House) to said Chamber." On October 27 was a "Meeting of the Selectmen, at their Chamber in Faneuil Hall, being the first time since the late Fire."(16)

Work progressed slowly, however, on other parts of the building. On May 11, 1763, the Selectmen voted that Messrs. Scollay and Austin be a "Committee to see that the Market under Faneuil Hall be repair'd in the manner it was formerly finished, saving that the Doors be hung outside the Walls."(17) Work actually seems to have been delayed for a time, since at a meeting on June 10 of that year, "Captain (Onesiphorus) Tileston (Housewright) and Mr. (Samuel) Ruggles (Builder), attended, and acquainted the Selectmen they were ready to comply with the Vote of the Town and their Agreement with the Selectmen as to "repairing
of Faneuil Hall; upon which they were desired to provide the necessary Stuff and proceed in the work as fast as possible."(18)

By 1765 it was clear that the project was not without its difficulties. In that year the Selectmen were petitioned by "Capt. Onesiphorus Tileston and others employed in repairing Faneuil Hall, praying that the Town would grant them some relief on account of the length of Time they have already and are still like to be out of the Money due to them...."(19) As of 1766, work still was not complete on the rebuilding and improvement of the building and its surroundings. At that time "the Selectmen agreed with Mr. Adams Knox to supply the Town with what Stones & Gravel may be wanted for paving the Ground at the South side & East End of the Market" with "Mr. Jackson & Newell appointed to order the Pavement around the Market repaired...."(20) It appears that the interior of Faneuil Hall proper was not finished completely until after January 13, 1768, when "Mr. (William) Burbeck who carves the capitals for Faneuil Hall was sent for, when he engaged to get the Carved Work finished and put up before the latter end of next month — he was at the same time told that he should have his pay out of the Money raised by the present Lottery."(21) It was this same William Burbeck who carved the Corinthian capitals for the interior of King's Chapel in 1754.(22)

Finally, a clear account of the "Tradesmen Concerned in the Repairs of Faneuil Hall" is given in the Boston Town Records for 1766:(23)

The Committee Appointed the 18th of September last to Liquidate the Accompts of the several Tradesmen concerned in the Repairs of Faneuil Hall — — Reported — That having carefully Examined the following Accompts they are of Opinion that they are Just and reasonable, and the several Persons are at this Time Entitled to the Payment of their Respective Demands — Vizt.

Onesiphorus Tileston Esq. (Housewright) £1237, 6, 2
Mr. Samuel Ruggles (Builder) 451, 14, 6
Mr. Temple Decoster (Housewright) 319, 17, 3
Thomas Dawes Esq. (Bricklayer, Architect) 337, 14, 9
Mr. James Orr 48, 19, 2-1/2
Mr. Josiah Waters (Painter) 170, —, 7
Mr. Edward Winter (Blacksmith) 40, 10, 9
Mr. Moses Pitcher (Glazier) 130, 10, 4
(689.) Mr. Joseph Shed (Carter) 42, 4, 0-3/4
Mr. Timothy Thornton (Paver) 32, 14, 8
Thomas Drowne (Weathervane Maker) 12, 18, 5-1/2
Mr. John McLean (Watchmaker) 82, 6, 3
Isaac Greenwood (Ivory Turner)

£ 2963, 2, 4-3/4

Besides which there is an Accompt of Mr. Henry Christian Geyer amount to

£173, 4, 1 (Stonecutter)
Of Mr. Ebenezer Messinger 48, —, — (Turner)
Of which the Committee have not had Opportunity of being satisfied
And John Scollay Esq. his Accompt

£3572, 3, 3

(Also: William Burbeck (Woodcarver) £176, 1768)
Insight into the possible roles played by these men is gained from knowledge of their occupations through other sources. In addition to Thomas Dawes, Jr., who possibly drew upon his architectural abilities in addition to his experience as a bricklayer, the other builders and housewrights seem to have had their own occupational areas of specialization. Captain Onesiphorus Tileston, "Housewright," who was paid the largest sum, may have done all of the framing and rough carpentry — as at King's Chapel, where he had been employed "to frame the Roof with its Floors...the Gallery Floors, etc."(24) Samuel Ruggles, "Builder," may have been responsible for the joinery and interior woodwork, with Temple Decoster, "Housewright," acting as he had at King's Chapel "as an Overseer or Director, and as a Draftsman for the Workmen."(25)

Of further interest is Ebenezer Messinger, "Turner," who earlier had agreed "to turn all the balasters that shall be wanted to go round the Top of King's Chapel Church, agreeable to a plan drawn by Mr. Peter Harrison." At King's Chapel, he also turned "in a neat and handsome manner" all the balusters surrounding the communion table and the "20 Corinthian Pillars" of the sanctuary.(26) And Thomas Drowne, son of Shem Drowne, certainly was involved in the rebuilding, as he left a personal account inside the grasshopper weathervane (Ill. 11) to be found by later generations:

To my brethren and fellow grasshoppers, Fell in ye year 1753, 1755 Nov. 13 (sic), early in ye morning by a great earthquake by my old Master above. Again Like to have Met with my Utter Ruin by Fire but hopping Timely from my Publick Scituation Came off(t) With Broken bones, & much Bruised. Cured and fixed (by) Old Master's Son, Thomas Drowne June 28th 1768, and Though I promise to Discharge my Office, yet I shall vary as ye wind.

This grasshopper weathervane stood upon a cupola of new design, first seen in Paul Revere's "View of a Part of Boston," 1770 (Ill. 12). The new cupola was very likely based on one of James Gibbs "Drafts of Steeples," as seen in Plate 31 (Ill. 13) of his Book of Architecture.

Appearance and Use c. 1768-1805. Necessary improvements and repairs continued to be made in the area around the building as well as to the building itself (Ill. 14, 15). In 1770 the town decided "that the Passage Way leading from the North part of Faneuil Hall Market into Ann Street and Union Street, is so narrow as often times to obstruct the passing of Carts, Trucks, and other Carriages thereby endangering the Limbs and Lives of the Inhabitants and is a public Nuisance." They thus voted "that the Selectmen be impower'd to fill up the Dock from the South East Corner of the Town's Land to the Warehouse occupied by the Heirs of the late John Fayerweather...for the present accomodation of Faneuil Hall Market" (Ill. 6).

Hard use of the hall proper also led to necessary repairs. Not only was it used for sometimes-boisterous town meetings, but in 1767, as in other years, it was determined "to Illuminate Faneuil Hall, and provide for drinking the King's Health."(28) The sentiments of the population began to change, however. On September 30, 1768, British Col. Dalrymple of the occupying forces asked "the use of Faneuil Hall for one Regiment to lodge in," which was to continue until the barracks on the Common were completed on October 27.(29) This request was granted, despite local opposition. Even after the British troops left, Faneuil Hall continued to receive hard use. The hall proper was full to overflowing on March 6, 1770, the day after the Boston Massacre; it was recorded that "Faneuil Hall not being capacious enough to receive the Inhabitants who attended: Voted that this Meeting be Adjourned to Dr. Sewall's (Old South) Meeting House."(30) After the siege of Boston in 1775, and the use of the Hall as a playhouse prior to the evacuation of March 15, 1776, the building was undoubtedly in a state of disrepair.
Illustration 14. Reconstructed Elevations of Faneuil Hall (c. 1761-1805).
Illustration 15. Reconstructed Plans of Faneuil Hall (c. 1742-1805).
Therefore, soon after the Revolution's end in 1782, "The Committee appointed to bring in an Estimate of the Charge of mending the Windows in Faneuil Hall & placing the Seats as they formerly stood, Reported as their Opinion that the said Hall might be put in as good Repair as it was formerly for the Sum of Two hundred pounds...John Rowe having in this Meeting generously offered to the Town a Box of Glass for the Repairs of the Publick Buildings...Moved and Voted that the Selectmen be directed to take orders for the Repairs of Faneuil Hall, and putting the same in its former State."(31) It thus seems plausible that the main hall at this period had window seats, probably of the type that still exists in the northeast anteroom on the main floor. It was after the Selectmen had "ordered that the Town Clerk publish an advertisement relative to the Repairs of Faneuil Hall..." that a contractor was selected to do the work. To implement their plans they decided in August "to allow Mr. Edward Blake One hundred & five pounds to be in full for his doing the Carpenters work finding Stuff & Nails for repairing Faneuil Hall...and to allow Thomas Osborne Seven Shillings for each Square he sets in, he finding the glass, also 6P for cleaning & painting the whole of the Sashes in the Hall Chamber, & Stair case."(32) In January 1783, at one meeting of the Selectmen, Josiah Waters — a tradesman concerned in the repairs of 1761 — "attended and offered to paint Faneuil Hall...."(33) The Town treasurer's accounts for 1784 reveal that £30 was paid for "Glaziers Accounts for Schools & Faneuil Hall" and £90 for "Repairs for Deer Island & Faneuil Hall."(34)

Other features were being added to the interior of the main hall at this time in order to beautify it and enhance its usability. As early as 1767, two portraits were to be exhibited there — those of Col. Isaac Barre and the Hon. H. S. Conway, which had "arrived from London...to be placed in Faneuil Hall."(35) In July of 1783, the Selectmen appointed Mr. Dorr "a committee with some person for 3 curtains for Faneuil Hall," and in 1790 "Mr. Christian Gullager" was granted permission to "place the Bust of President Washington in Faneuil Hall...& there to remain."(36)

Improvements also were proposed and repairs made to other parts of the building. In 1783 the Selectmen were refitting their room, when they voted "that an arm chair and seven other Leather Chairs are procured for the Selectmen's Chamber & the Hall."(37) The rooms of Faneuil Hall apparently were heated with the same fuel as they had been prior to the fire of 1761, since in 1777 Mr. Dorr was "appointed to purchase 2 Chaldrons of Coal for the Selectmen's chamber and the Assessors Room."(38) The market below likewise underwent changes. After having decided in 1761 that the market "be repaired in the manner it was formerly finished, saving that the doors be hung outside the walls," it was decided in May 1778 to take the doors off the hinges "that the Market House be kept open and free from incumbrances, till further orders of the Town."(39) Stalls again were let and improved, as indicated by the following list of those who had stalls in Faneuil Hall Market beginning on September 23, 1776:40

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Lease for</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>1 &amp; 11 at</th>
<th>6/8 per month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Mayo</td>
<td>a Lease</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nathaniel Faxon</td>
<td>for two</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Hildredth</td>
<td>stalls</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lemuel Burrel</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremiah Parker</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elijah White</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harry Coolidge/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shuball Hewes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The exterior, too, required attention after the war. At the time of the repairs of 1783, plans were made for "immediate repairs to the Wire at Faneuil Hall," possibly for a lightning rod or ground for the weathervane. (41) Again, in 1786 a committee was formed "to order necessary repairs atop Faneuil Hall" and authorized "to purchase a suitable Bell to be hung in the Cupola," to replace that apparently lost in the 1761 fire. (42) This last order probably was not carried out, since as late as 1798 a committee still found it necessary to "recommend that a Bell be provided and erected in the Cupola of Faneuil Hall to announce the opening and closing the Market House." (43)

The year 1789 gives us a clear overview of the appearance and use of the building at that time. The Massachusetts Magazine in March of that year contains a rather complete architectural description of the building, in addition to a very exact northeast "View of Faneuil Hall in Boston, Massachusetts" (ill. 16) taken from the Town Dock, delineated by "W. Pierpont" and engraved by "S. Hill." The editor notes that "To give the representation a more lively appearance, the Light is thrown from an opposite direction." In a brief history of the Hall, which closely follows that in the Town Records, the writer informs us that, "In 1775 and 1776, when the British Troops were in possession of the town, the Hall was converted into a Theatre, a stage being erected under the auspices of Gen. Burgoyne." Then the account continues:

The following is an architectural description of Faneuil Hall as it now stands, viz:

FANEUIL HALL, in Market Square, is a large brick building. - In the lower story, which is improved as a Market, are two ranges of columns of the Tuscan order, which support the floor of the large Hall above. In the first story are nine arches on each side, a Tuscan pilaster, on the outside between the arches, and double ones at the corners. The whole entablature of the order, the capitols, bases, imposts, and keystones, are of free stone. The second story is of the Dorick order entire. The Hall has eight arched windows on each side, and is completely finished in the Ionick Order. (44)

Recent findings indicate that some of the capitals of these pilasters of the "Ionick Order," carved by William Burbeck and evidently painted a Federal green toward the end of the century, may survive in today's hall.

About this time, Faneuil Hall was being utilized for such festive occasions as the receptions for Washington, Lafayette, and other visiting dignitaries, as well as for Independence Day celebrations. In addition to the scheduled public meetings, in 1785 liberty had been "granted to Mr. Wells, Mr. Payne & others who are forming a Comp y of Cadets to make use of Faneuil Hall two evenings in a week, they not interfering with the evenings of the first Comp y who now make use of the Hall for carrying on Military exercises." In 1791 the men of the Independent Light Company also were "granted use of Faneuil Hall on Tuesday or Friday Eve." (45) Another, lesser-known use for the Hall was allowed in 1789 when, "upon the application of a number of respectable Inhabitants, the Blacks are permitted to make use of Faneuil Hall for the purpose of public worship, one day in the week, provided it be on a Tuesday or a Fryday & in the Afternoon." In 1795 local Frenchmen as well were "permitted use of the Hall for entertainment on their New Years." (46)
Illustration 16. "View of Faneuil Hall in Boston, Massachusetts" (1789).
The market-level offices in 1789 apparently were still occupied by the "Naval Officer - Thomas Melville, Esq; Office Market-Square" and the "Collectors of Impost & Excise... Office, Market Square."(47) The chambers continued in their old use as storage areas and town offices. In 1789 the "Officer's of Police" were "directed to employ 3 suitable persons, to bring all the (Town) Lamps to the Chamber over Faneuil Hall" where they apparently were stored. There was at least one new tenant. This was the Historical Society, which was voted the use of the "Room at the West End of Faneuil Hall to deposit Books & Papers therein" in 1792.(48) In the Pocket Almanack of 1794 it is recorded of the Historical Society that "their collection of Books, Papers, and Curiosities is kept in an upper Chamber at the West End of Faneuil Hall. Communications, and donations of Books, or Curiosities for the Museum, will be thankfully received." The same Almanack informs us that the Selectmen "meet at their Chamber at the East end of Faneuil Hall, every Wednesday afternoon, for transacting the prudential Affairs of the Town; and the last Monday of every Month for the examining and allowing such Accounts as may be exhibited against the Town."(49)

"Accounts...against the Town" were often likely to be for repairs for Faneuil Hall, and as such were directly under the control of the Selectmen. Toward the end of the 18th century, improvements again were proposed, and some implemented. In 1790 Mr. Nathaniel Heath was to be allowed "Seven Pounds, in part for Materials & repairing the Roof & Cupola of Faneuil Hall," while it was recorded the following year that "A Committee of the Ancient & Honorable Artillery Co. apply to the Selectmen that Faneuil Hall may be repainted." With this request in 1791, two new figures appeared in the record with respect to repairs on Faneuil Hall. One was Deacon Boardman; the other was none other than the illustrious architect, Charles Bulfinch. "Mr. Bulfinch appointed a Committee to contract with some Person to Paint Faneuil Hall & the Selectmen's Room, as early as possible — the Said Committee to receive proposals sealed up & to contract with the lowest bidder."(51)

In 1795 a Mr. Nazro was directed to procure "six more chairs for the Selectmen's Chamber of the same kind with the present," and the men who used these chairs clearly kept charge of the affairs of the Town.(52) Among the Selectmen in 1803 who were "Auditors of Accounts against the Town" was Thomas Dawes, who had been a tradesman connected with the repairs of Faneuil Hall in 1761. Since then, the bricklayer-architect had designed the Brattle Street Church in 1772, and executed the rebuilding of the interior of the Old South Meetinghouse after the war, in 1782. On the occasion of George Washington's visit in 1789, he designed a colonnade for the west end of the State House in conjunction with a triumphal arch, designed by Bulfinch, that spanned Washington Street.(53) In 1803 "Charles Bulfinch, Superintendent of Police" had his "Office in the Selectmen's Chamber, Faneuil Hall," where Thomas Dawes was one of the "Auditors of Accounts."(54) In 1804 Dawes, appointed to have charge of the building of Stoughton Hall at Harvard, selected Bulfinch to execute the building. It was modeled after Dawes' own design, Hollis Hall, built by him in 1772.(55)

A Town Meeting in 1798, at which "The Hon Thomas Dawes Esq. was chosen Moderator...," the "Committee relative to the Market Reported" that they had been "appointed to consider the Expediency of setting the Stalls in the Market and what other measures are proper to be taken for regulating the same." They recommended that "the Stalls and other Stands within the Market Square be let by the Selectmen..." and that "the Names of the Occupier shall be painted at full length in a conspicuous place on their stall..." as a type of consumer-protection measure. In addition, they ordered that "every person improving a stall shall furnish himself with scales and weights..." and recommended the installation of a bell in the cupola to announce opening and closing hours of the Market, after which "the Market House shall instantly be shut and within half an Hour after, the Market place shall be cleared of every Article of whatever description of Name."(56)
Thus it was, with the burgeoning success of the Market at the close of the 18th century, that additional space was needed. As early as 1761 it was advertised that "Any Person or Persons inclined to undertake the digging and making of a cellar of their own charge, under Faneuil Hall, for doing which they are to be allowed a Lease of the same for such a Term of Years as shall be equivalent to the expense they are at...." However, it appears that this project was not completed. By 1799 the need evidently had caused some action. In that year were appointed "Mr. (Charles) Bulfinch along with Sturgis & Mr. (Thomas) Tileston" (son of Onesiphorous Tileston, who worked with Dawes on the building in 1761), "a Com... to view the Ground under Faneuil Hall & to Report as to the practicability of digging a Cellar." The old building, which had withstood the elements for more than 40 years since its rebuilding in 1761, clearly was showing its age: in 1802 "Mr. Hunnewell was desired to attend the repairs of the Roof of Faneuil Hall, to prevent its leaking." At least temporary expansion apparently had taken place by 1803, when it was "Agreed with the present Occupiers of the Stalls West of Faneuil Hall, that they should continue to improve said stalls for one Year...." Finally, the stage for the renowned enlargement of Faneuil Hall was set when, "At a Meeting of the Selectmen March 20, 1805...The Board came to the choice of a Chairman for the Year ensuing by ballot when it appeared that Charles Bulfinch Esq. was unanimously chosen."
NOTES

(1) Selectmen's Minutes, 14 Jan. 1761, p. 133.
(3) Selectmen's Minutes, 26 Jan. 1761, p. 135.
(5) Ibid.
(6) Ibid., 29 Jan. 1761, p. 135.
(7) WPA, Old State House, Province Records, Harvard University, Mass. Archives, History of the Ancient & Honorable Artillery.
(8) Boston Town Records, 23 March 1761, p. 54.
(9) Boston Town Records, 1761, p. 59.
(10) Selectmen's Minutes, 19 March 1761, p. 142, p. 190.
(12) Ibid., 1761, p. 170.
(17) Ibid., 11 May 1763, p. 263.
(18) Ibid., 10 June 1763, p. 151.
(19) Ibid., 1765, p. 175.
(20) Ibid., 1766, p. 217.
(22) Annals of King's Chapel, p. 168.
(23) Boston Town Records, 1766, pp. 170-1.
(26) Ibid., p. 167.
(29) Ibid., 30 Sept. 1768, pp. 311-3.
(30) Boston Town Records, 6 March 1770, p. 2.
(32) Ibid., 20 March 1782, p. 170, 14 August 1782.
(33) Boston Town Records, 1784, p. 31.
(34) Selectmen's Minutes, 22 Jan. 1783, p. 204.
(35) Boston Gazette, 26 Jan., 20 May 1767, in Dow, Arts & Crafts.
(37) Ibid., 12 March 1783, p. 208.
(40) Town Records, 1778, p. 19.
(41) Selectmen's Minutes, 13 August 1783, p. 221.
(42) Ibid., 26 July 1788, p. 317.
(43) Boston Town Records, 1798, p. 43.
(44) Massachusetts Magazine, volume 1, No. 3, p. 133 March 1789.
(45) Selectmen's Minutes, 21 Sept. 1785, p. 280; 31 August 1791, p. 158.
(47) Boston Directory, 1789.
(48) Selectmen's Minutes, 13 May 1792, p. 88; 28 May 1792, p. 178.
(49) Pocket Almanack, 1794, and the Massachusetts Register, pp. 34, 70.
(50) Selectmen's Minutes, 24 June 1790.
(51) Ibid., 11 May 1791, p. 150.
(52) Ibid., 10 May 1795, p. 280.
(53) Eckley, Rev. Joseph, Obituary of Thomas Dawes 1809, Boston Athenaeum;
Kirker, Bulfinch; History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery;
Massachusetts Magazine.
(54) Boston Directory, 1803.
(57) Boston Gazette, 28 Sept. 1761, in Dow, Arts and Crafts.
(58) Selectmen's Minutes, 1799, p. 22.
(60) Ibid., 20 March 1805, p. 259.
Bulfinch Renovation — 1806. In May of 1805 the Selectmen, with Charles Bulfinch as chairman, "laid before the town a proposal for...enlarging Faneuil Hall," and on May 23 it was voted by the Town of Boston "that the Selectmen be empowered and directed to proceed to enlarge Faneuil Hall...." (1) Bulfinch himself gives the best description of the reasons behind — and the results of — the enlargement and renovation of the building, in his two manuscript drafts that also include a brief history of Faneuil Hall. The first of these statements apparently was written shortly after completion of the project; a second, revised version accompanied the original drawings that the architect donated to the city in 1839 (III. 17-20). A partial composite of these two statements by Bulfinch records that: (Parentheses indicate draft "No. 2" located at the Boston Public Library.)

Although the hall was sufficient for a number of years for the transaction of the ordinary business of the town, yet on every interesting occasion, when large numbers of the inhabitants were assembled, it became necessary to adjourn to some larger building, and, the Old South Church being most capacious and most conveniently situated of any, the proprietors of that house were ready to allow the town the use of it, while the questions to be considered were of great political importance; but upon the increased population of the town, and the frequent occurrence of questions of a local nature which, however, interested and called together a great number of the citizens, the proprietors of the places of public worship became unwilling to admit such large numbers to the free use of their buildings; (in consequence of which) in 1805 the Selectmen offered to the town a plan for the enlargement of the hall, (proposed by their Chairman Charles Bulfinch Esq.) which was accepted, and they were directed to carry it into effect. The work has proceeded with uncommon dispatch (under the direction of C. Bulfinch & Jon. Hunnewell Esq.) and without any unfavorable accident, and in twelve months has been completed, we believe, to the very general satisfaction (of the inhabitants).

The great hall is 76 feet square and 28 feet high, with galleries on three sides, upon Dorick columns. The ceiling is supported by two ranges of Ionick columns, the walls enriched with pilasters and the windows with architraves, &c. Platforms under and in the galleries rise amphitheatrically to accommodate spectators, and the whole appears well calculated for sight and sound. A noble painting of Washington by Stuart, (the gift of Sam'l Parkman and another of Peter Faneuil Esq. by Henry Sargent Esq. occupy conspicuous situations on the west end) over the Selectmen's seat. Above the great hall is another, 76 feet long and 30 feet wide, devoted to the exercise of the different military corps of the town, with a number of apartments on each side for depositing their arms, where those of the several companies are arranged and kept in perfect order. This military hall is lighted by large semi-circular windows at the ends, and lutherns through the roof at the sides.
The lower story is appropriated, according to the original intention, as a market, and the cellars are let for various purposes of business. The income of the stalls and cellars will produce a permanent and handsome interest upon the money expended in the enlargement.

The building also contains convenient offices for the Selectmen, Board of Health, Assessors, and Town Treasurer.

On the outside it has been the aim of the agents to conform to the original style of the building, that with the additions it should appear a uniform and consistent pile.

For this large undertaking, the Committee on Town Accounts — which included Thomas Dawes and Samuel Brown — had recommended "that the Town of Boston Vote a Tax for $80,000," including an estimate of $10,000 "Towards Expence of Enlarging Faneuil Hall" in 1806. This appropriation undoubtedly was utilized by Mr. Jonathan Hunnewell, "mason," "bricklayer," and president of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, as the probable chief contractor for the rebuilding. An additional expense was incurred in 1807 with the appropriation of $350 Dollars for the purpose of procuring an elegant picture with frame complete of Peter Faneuil Esq - to be placed in a suitable position in Faneuil Hall... Mr. Henry Sargent to paint the same in the best manner & to complete it as soon as possible...." At the same time "Mr. Oliver & Mr. Wright" were appointed "a Committee to examine the Accounts of the Agents for the enlargement of Faneuil Hall." In September of 1807, "The Chairman was desired to advertise the two Easterly cellars under Faneuil Hall to be leased at Auction on Thursday the 17th," the income of which would help defray the expense of rebuilding. It was recorded in 1809 that Faneuil Hall had "lately been enlarged at the expense of fifty-six thousand dollars...," and there remained in 1810 "balances due on...the enlargement of Faneuil Hall" of $6,000.

From early descriptions, views, Bulfinch's architectural drawings, and other sources, we may glean a fairly clear impression of the appearance and use of the newly enlarged Faneuil Hall. It is clear that the Hall as expanded in 1806 was nearly four times larger than the original structure. Its width was doubled via an addition of equal size to the north, and its height was doubled. This form differs little from what we know today. As shown in his architectural drawings (III. 17-20), Bulfinch extended the same freestone Tuscan and Doric entablatures with their pilasters and capitals around the new portions of the building, and continued the hierarchy of the orders by adding Ionic pilaster capitals to the third story. Two chimneys appear at the roof level, with the ridge crowned with what appears to be the original cupola, simply relocated from the middle to the east end. At the east and west ends, the arched windows of the old hall are duplicated at the third-floor level. However, on the north and south sides, square-headed openings light the gallery level; a row of lunettes lights the armory floor.

Comparison of the Bulfinch drawings with early views and with the existing building reveals that certain variances from the original design occurred, in addition to later documented changes. On the exterior, Bulfinch's "East End" elevation shows that he originally intended no center entrance on this main facade — a fact explained by the stair configuration shown in his ground-floor plan. The retention of the north wall of the building precluded a central opening at the west end as well. There is no certain evidence that the building was constructed in this manner. The earliest view, by Abel Bowen in Shaw's 1817 History of Boston (III. 21), shows the east facade of the building essentially as Bulfinch designed it.
Illustration 17. Faneuil Hall -- "East End" (c. 1805).
Illustration 19. Faneuil Hall -- "Ground Floor" (c. 1805).
The same evidence suggests that the actual execution of the center lunette and ocular openings of the gable-end tympanum differed slightly from the plans. Likewise, it indicates that the decorative semicircular architrave above the lunette — although not shown in Bulfinch's plans — was applied when the building was constructed. Minor modifications also occurred in the openings of the cupola.

The interior configuration of the 1806 building is shown most clearly in the "Section" by Bulfinch (III. 18), although this also differs somewhat from the present building. Little is shown at the basement level, but one may assume it was finished in much the same way as Boylston Market, which Bulfinch designed in 1809 based on Faneuil Hall precedents. His original specifications for Boylston Market survive, giving a "Description of the manner in which the (Boylston) Market House & Hall are to be built...according to the plan as delineated on the several drawings by Mr. Bulfinch."(7) As at Boylston Market, Faneuil Hall probably had "in the cellars...brick piers of two feet square to support the timbers of the Market floor," with the "cellar floors to be of plank laid in ten inch ranging timber," and tenant spaces "subdivided by...plank partitions."

At the Market level, as shown in the "Section" of Faneuil Hall and described in the Boylston Market specifications, were "pillars to support the timbers of the next floor...sixteen inches square from the floor up to the stalls and from thence turned" in the Tuscan order.(8) These stalls of the market apparently consisted of low dividers between "pillars," probably constructed in a manner similar to the "plank partitions" specified for the cellars of Boylston Market. While Bulfinch shows no doors or sash in the ground-floor openings in his drawings, it appears that these were detailed in the same way as those for Boylston Market, since Bulfinch cites Faneuil Hall Market as his prototype:

All the doors in the arches that communicate with the (Boylston) market floor to be made of double boards to open in two parts with semi-circular windows in the arches over the doors and iron grates inside of the windows instead of shutters - The fasteners, hinges &c. of the doors to conform to those in Faneuil Hall Market."(9)

Bulfinch's "Ground Floor" plan (III. 19) shows an entirely different stair configuration from the present one, with only two entrances and four windows in the east end. With the exception of the central opening, these openings correspond to those shown in the 1817 view by Bowen, which also appears to show windows where the present doors flanking the central openings exist. As at Boylston Market, Bulfinch undoubtedly specified that "In the arches over...doors are to be fan light sashes" with "windows of four panes wide & fanlight tops to correspond with those over the...doors." The office partitioned off at the north side of the east end possibly was intended for the Clerk of the Markets. Shown dotted at the west end of the "Ground Floor" is a space equal to half the size of the new market, which was undoubtedly proposed expansion space. The same area appears in Illustrations 23 and 24, and is labeled "Meatstalls" in S.P. Fuller's "Ground Plan of the Market House..." (Ill. 25), made in 1823 to show the proposed new markets to the east. In 1809 a visitor described Faneuil Hall, stating that "the basement (Ground Floor) story is open, and is used as a Market House." It was here that the town put to use their "Two compleat Scales & Beams for Faneuil Hall Market," ordered procured in 1801 when it also was desired "to have the two others repaired and any new weights added that may be wanting." One of these new scales was undoubtedly that which Mr. Benjamin Dearborn offered to the Town: "for the use of Faneuil Hall Market, one of his Patent Vibrating Steel Yards." The Selectmen voted to accept this gift "and propose that the Beam be marked Town of Boston, presented by Benjamin Dearborn."(10)
The floor above the market, the "Principal Story" delineated by Bulfinch (III. 20), greatly resembles the building as we know it today. It has the "Town Hall," two major anterooms "20 by 21" feet, and two lesser antechambers extending beneath the gallery. Discrepancies between Bulfinch's plan and the building as we know it exist in the configuration of the stair, entry hall, and balcony. However, these changes may represent still other departures from Bulfinch's plans, and may have been a part of the structure as built. A chimney with a fireplace in each anteroom is shown in the southeast corner area, and a similar arrangement probably existed on the northeast. According to the 1809 visitor's account, "on the principal floor is the town-hall, seventy-six feet square and twenty-eight feet high, with a gallery on the sides; and adjoining, are offices for the selectmen, board of health, and assessors."(11) To these offices and that on the floor below, one was added in 1813: "on the application of the Board of Health — Voted that the room adjoining the office of the Clerk of the Market, be appropriated as an office for the use of the Superintendent of the Burial Grounds."(12) Later, in 1816 the Selectmen reported that "a number of citizens...forming a nightly patrol about Dock Square, Union, & Elm Streets - agreed...to make use of the lobby of the Selectmen's Room as their place of meeting."(13) In 1817 Shaw confirms in his History of Boston that an office for the town Treasurer also was here, as stated earlier by Bulfinch.

The main hall, as built, was described clearly by Bulfinch in his statement accompanying the original drawings, and it retains much the same appearance today. Some areas, however, are obscured at present by later paintings. The "Section" (Ill. 18) shows five swag panels in the west wall between pilasters, in the bays between the galleries. Although these differ slightly in detail from the present ones, again the change might have been made at the time of construction. No platform or other furnishings are shown, but a clear description of the hall is provided by Shubael Bell in his "Account of the Town of Boston, written in 1817:"

...The West side where is the seat of the moderator and the boxes or pews for the selectmen and public Officers, is ornamented with emblems, inscriptions and mottos commemorative of national events and public characters. On the right of which is a full length picture of the father of our nation, Washington from the pencil of Stuart; on the left a likeness of Peter Faneuil, the liberal donor to the town, of the Hall that commemorates his name....(14)

The hall apparently also was furnished with a number of benches for spectators, since in 1811 the Selectmen reported that "On application from the committee of the Third Baptist Church— Agreed to loan that Society the benches belonging to Faneuil Hall, while their house is repairing on condition that they agree to repair any damage that may happen to them."(15) These benches may not have been returned, for in 1819 the Selectmen again reported "The Chairman was authorized to procure a set of benches for the Hall, provided they do not cost more than 100 dollars."(16)

Above Faneuil Hall proper, as described by Kendall in 1809, "the attic story has a hall, in which the military corps assemble to exercise; and small apartments, in which they deposit their arms and equipment."(17) Bulfinch's plan of this floor (III. 20) shows the "Hall for Military Exercise 40 by 76" feet "and 10 Armouries," 18 feet long by various widths, flanking it.
Illustration 25. Plan of Quincy Market and Faneuil Hall (1823).
Very soon after completion of the enlarged Faneuil Hall, improvements and alterations were made to the building and its surroundings. In 1813 the Selectmen recorded that the "expences of paving and flagging on the north side of Faneuil Hall— building new vegetable stalls, & fish boxes amounted to $2224.25."(18) The new shed for the vegetable stalls is visible in Bowen's 1817 view (Ill. 21). In 1817 the "abutters on the South side of Market Square subscribed $150...to new pave (the pavement south of Faneuil Hall) wholly instead of repairing as formerly ordered."(19) Later, in 1819 "The Committee of the Market were authorized to make such repairs or alterations to the covering of the stalls at the west end of the market house as they may deem expedient."(20)

Improvements were made as well to Faneuil Hall itself. In February 1817 the Selectmen recorded that "Boston Light Infantry Co. are permitted to take down a partition between the two rooms occupied by them, on condition that the same shall be replaced when required by the board."(21) In June of the same year, "It was agreed that the military hall over Faneuil Hall should be painted, & Mr. Phillips was desired to have it done, not to exceed sixty dollars cost."(22)

The exterior of the building also needed repair by 1819, when "The Committee of the Market were authorized to have gutters put at the north and south sides of the roof of the market house."(23) This project led to the discovery of the need for further repairs:

The Chairman reported that the carpenter previous to proceeding to making the gutters for the Market House had examined the roof of the building, which was found in so bad a state as to require new covering. The Board after making the enquiries necessary on this subject were of opinion that the roof would answer until another season without subjecting the building to any essential damage, and considering also the cost of a new covering would be great, for which there was no appropriation, directed the Chairman to suspend any further proceedings on this subject.(24)

Soon after this — in April 1820 — a proposal for an addition to the building was made, when the "application of Samuel Parkman Esq. & others, to erect a portico at the east end of Faneuil Hall, was referred to the committee of the Market." There is no evidence that this proposal got beyond the planning stage. Some areas of Faneuil Hall were undoubtedly still used, as formerly, for storage of town property, since at the same meeting the Selectmen voted "that the Chairman instruct the superintendent of lamps to discontinue lighting after Saturday next, to place the ladders burners &c. in Faneuil Hall & let the lamps remain in the streets."(25)

It appears that about this time, after 15 years of use, the building received the first of its many "face liftings." In May 1820 it was voted "to have the Selectmen's room repaired, by painting, papering, etc."(26) Soon after, in 1821 the assessors were "authorized to repair their room in such manner as they think proper, & present their bill to this Board for allowance," while it was at the same time recorded that "sixty dollars has been expended for the clock in the Selectmen's room...."(27)

The expanded use of the armory areas is reported the same year, in the minutes of a meeting on July 3, when "The Committee on John A. Savels & others petition reported that they may have a room for an armory during the pleasure of the Selectmen, they fitting it at their own expense." The main hall also received attention at the same meeting, when it was written that "Mr. Bell having the best proposals for whitewashing Faneuil Hall, voted, that he be directed to proceed in that business the day after tomorrow, and that the Committee of the Market & Mr. Loring superintend the whitewashing and painting."(28) Shortly thereafter, these proposals were recorded, and the contractor selected to do the work.
These proposals, together with surviving evidence at the building, give some insight into the probable early color schemes of the main hall.(29)

Proposals for painting Faneuil Hall were received from the following persons, viz.
Baker & Horton— 14 cents per yard & $2.00 for blinds.
Ebenezer Jackson— 35 pr. ct. discount from the rules of work.
Ballard & Cary— 1 coat 9 cts— 2 do. 14 c.— 3 do. 18 cents, yard.
Russell & Redding— 13 cts. stone—green 25 cts.—
J. & J. Prouty— 15 cts. light—green 37½ c—blinds 37½
ebenezer Jeffers— 15 c do d 25 do. $3
Jeremiah P. Smith 14 d blinds $2.50
Louis Lincoln— 16 do d 20c mahogany 25c

Mr. Jer. P. Smith was selected, & ordered to proceed to paint the Hall, under the direction of the committee appointed the 3d. Inst.—

From these documents, we know that in 1821 the color scheme of the main hall consisted of "stone color," "light," "green," and "mahogany," while some of the items painted were "blinds." Insight into how these colors were used has been gained from an examination of the structure. It appears that the majority of the woodwork was a tan or cream color during this period, with the blinds of the antechambers exhibiting an intense emerald-green color. The doors and dado cap retain evidence of early greens as well as mahogany graining. This mahogany-grained treatment of the doors and other woodwork at an early period is still visible in mid 19th-century photographs of the interior, and is consistent with Bulfinch's specifications for Boylston Market in 1809. Here for the main hall he specified "The dado to be made of clear boards three feet high and to have caps and bases with large & handsome mouldings, a mahogany ornament in the cap— and mahogany mop boards...In the center of the partition which divides the Hall from the entry is to be a folding door about five feet wide— and a door on each side...These doors are to be of mahogany...."(30) While the Selectmen called for whitewashing the interior plaster of Faneuil Hall proper, this whitewash may have been tinted or, as at Boylston Hall, the walls may have been "coloured." At Faneuil Hall, unfortunately, the original plaster has disappeared, along with any evidence of paint or whitewash.

The earliest interior views of the main hall (ILL. 26-28), none of which date before c. 1830, show two different central chandeliers at different times, one with a plaster rosette. One view by Bowen, however, shows no ceiling ornament or chandelier. None of these views may be considered entirely reliable. A treatment similar to that used at Boylston Hall is plausible. There Bulfinch specified "The ceiling to be of Stucco with three central ornaments, connected, of a suitable size to suspend Chandeliers from," although at Faneuil Hall it appears there was only one central ornament and chandelier.(31)

Other improvements took place during this period in the furnishing and decoration of Faneuil Hall proper. One decorative feature not shown on Bulfinch's 1805 drawings is a niche that appears later in the center of the west wall. On either side of this niche hung the paintings of Faneuil and Washington visible in the earliest views (ILL. 26-28). According to the Picture of Boston of 1833, in this niche "Between these paintings is placed a marble bust of John Adams." The bust is dated 1818 and signed by the sculptor M. J. Binon.(32)
Appearing at about the same time as the bust of Adams was another important decorative feature still found in the hall. The American Eagle perched above the shield of the Republic — roosting on the center of the gallery railing at the rear of the hall (III. 29) — was removed here from the parapet of the United States Bank, built from a design by Bulfinch in 1798 and demolished in 1824. Made of artificial stone by Daniel Raynerd, the eagle is shown in its original location in Asher Benjamin's American Builder's Companion of 1806 (III. 30), an architectural design book on which Raynerd collaborated.

In the fall of 1821, further improvements to Faneuil Hall were contemplated. In September of that year "the Committee on the Market was instructed to inquire if any improvements can be made in Faneuil Hall so as to increase the income to the town, without injuring the building."(34) By October the Selectmen had advertised "for proposals for painting the outside of Faneuil Hall," and having "preferred the proposal of Mr. Smith," they decided to proceed with the work "in the present season...." However, soon after, on October 17, 1821, the committee that was instructed to have the outside of Faneuil Hall painted reported "that they had employed a carpenter to examine the building, and finding that considerable repairs will be necessary previous to painting; as those repairs will cause delay...they recommend dispensing with the painting until next spring."(35)

Parris Repairs — 1827. With the reorganization of Boston's government and its incorporation as a city in 1822, and the construction of the huge new Faneuil Hall Markets complex in 1824-25 (III. 31-33) under Mayor Josiah Quincy, attention was diverted from the needs of the outdated and deteriorating Faneuil Hall. Finally, in 1827 the new city government turned its energies to renovating Faneuil Hall, with Mayor Josiah Quincy recommending the building as "the most suitable location" for consolidating the widely scattered city offices.

Thus it was that Parris made an elaborate proposal for additions and alterations to Faneuil Hall in 1827. The city appropriated funds and approved the project, which allocated "for the extension of Faneuil Hall at its West end, $22,000" and "for the alterations in the lower floor and cellars of Faneuil Hall, to make them capable of being leased, $5,300." In May of 1827, it was "Ordered, That a Committee of both branches of the City council be appointed, with full authority to cause old Faneuil Hall to be extended and altered in conformity with a plan submitted by Alexander Parris, for the accommodation of both branches of the City Council and its offices..." and "that the committee above appointed be authorized to raise by way of loan, for the extension and alteration of Faneuil Hall, a sum not exceeding twenty thousand dollars...."(38)

The proposed elaborate addition to the west end — which was to be of three stories with a "Freestone cornice, to agree with the old part," "battlements," two arched rooms "twenty seven by seventeen feet each," a "circular part, with a plain dome ceiling," and a "circular staircase" surmounted by a "skylight on roof" — apparently proved too extravagant for the proposed budget. The city dropped the scheme for the addition, utilizing the old courthouse on School Street for offices and the Old State House as City Hall, while restricting the work at Faneuil Hall to the renovation of the existing building.
It is clear both from early views and evidence surviving at Faneuil Hall that some of Parris' specific suggestions concerning the building were carried out. Extracts from his "Proposal for alteration..."(39) and his "Specifications of work, in alterations in Faneuil Hall Market-House, on the ground story, and materials for the same"(40) are outlined below:

Proposal for alteration...to Faneuil Hall, per plan.
(Work relating to the new addition probably was not implemented.)

To build ten cellar door ways as per plan, in old and new parts, with curbs of stone; the two in the new part to have uprights and curbs of granite...

...stop four cellar doors in old part, per plan.

To whitewash ceiling in lower story of old part.

To cut away window jambs in old part, per plan.

...provide and set ten granite window sills, in lower story of old part.

Specifications of work, in alterations in Faneuil Hall Market-House, on the ground story, and materials for the same.

To clear off the upper floor, and relay it with selected refuse boards, well planed, and none over twelve inches wide.

To put up plank partitions, planed on both sides, grooved and tongued.

To divide Stores, as per plan.

To line all the walls, and make lining doors to all the arches in division wall, to close them for coal or fuel closets.—All the above partitions and linings to be of merchantable plank and boards, and none over eight inches wide.

To make new all the door and window frames, with circular heads, grated with iron bars.

To make, hang, and fasten all the doors, shutters, and sashes.

To make all the cellar doors, windows, flaps, frames, and sashes, and to box up headways for the same.

To make inside plank steps to all the cellar doors.

To find all the materials, paint and glaze all frames, doors, shutters, and sashes.

The above to be executed in the style of the stores in North and South Market street.
Illustration 32. Quincy Market Interior (c. 1861-68).
Illustration 33. Quincy Market Display (c. 1860's).
The original appropriation for the addition may have been expended partially on the upper floors of Faneuil Hall, since a number of features still extant there are characteristic of Parris' work at "Quincy Hall" in the new Faneuil Hall Markets. These include: the plaster rosette seen in mid 19th-century photographs on the ceiling of the main hall; the elaborate Greek Revival decorative details of the Slade Gallery on the top floor beneath the cupola; and certain trim and door details in the anterooms.

Finally, in 1833 it was recorded that "During the summer of 1827, the city government thoroughly repaired the building and divided the lower story, which had formerly been used for a market, into eight elegant and convenient stores, which give to the city upwards of $4,600 per annum. The building was at the same time painted a light Portland stone color" (Ill. 34).

A view published in two advertisements in the "Boston Annual Advertiser" in the City Directory for 1828 and again in 1830 give insight into the nature of these changes, as well as the use to which the new stores were put by their tenants. Illustration 35 — of the south side of the newly renovated market — shows stone impost at the spring line of the arches only at the entrance doors to these stores, numbered "1, 2, 3, 4." The impost are missing at the new windows apparently installed by Parris in his renovation. Typical of the new tenants were "Henry Messinger, Hat & Fur Commission Store" at "No. 2," "Rice & Revere, Stoves and Grates" at "No. 3," and "William H. Milton, Clothes Warehouse" at "Faneuil Hall." Other occupants of the building at this time were the "Directors of House of Industry (the city poor house) Faneuil Hall," and the "Overseers of the Poor, Office Faneuil Hall," as well as the military companies, which retained their old rooms.(42)

The mechanics of Boston had been associated with Faneuil Hall since 1802, when it was recorded that "At the request of the Comm from the Mechanick Association, liberty is granted them to make use of Faneuil Hall on the 16th of December next; being their Anniversary Meeting."(43) In 1830 the city indicated to the "New England Society for the promotion of manufactures and the mechanic arts...a disposition to allow them the use of Faneuil Hall" if they "should be induced to persevere in their public sales." This was to be "in lieu of that (Quincy) Hall over the new Market House in their present occupation," which had been used by the Society since 1826.(44) Between 1826 and 1832 an estimated five to six million dollars worth of merchandise was sold at the Society's semiannual sales in Quincy Hall, and in 1837 the first Mechanic Fair was held there under the auspices of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association.(45) The large scale of this exhibition required both Faneuil and Quincy Halls, and as reported in the Boston Daily Advertiser of September 18, 1837:

The articles are tastefully arranged in the two halls, which are united for the occasion, at the second floor, by an arched bridge, ornamented with flowers.

These fairs subsequently were held approximately triennially. In the "Events in Boston during the year 1839," listed in the 1840 Boston Almanac, is the fact that:

The exhibition of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association opens at Quincy Hall. The articles for exhibition include the whole of Quincy Hall, which is united at the western extremity by a bridge to Faneuil Hall."(46)
Bridges of different designs appear in at least two views of Faneuil Hall during the 19th century, in 1850 and 1856 (ILL. 36, 37). One of the structures prior to these — described in 1844 as a "strong, light, and airy, self-sustaining bridge," designed and executed by T. Willis Pratt — was awarded a Gold Medal by the Association. The exhibition utilized both the upper floors of Faneuil Hall and the second floor of Quincy Hall, with the temporary connecting bridge apparently being the focal point of the exhibitions. During one such exhibition in 1856, a visitor descended from Armory Hall (in Faneuil Hall) and crossed the bridge to Lancer's Armory, apparently at the west end of Quincy Hall. A view of the interior of Faneuil Hall during this exhibition (ILL. 33) was published in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper of October 11.

Alterations by Gridley J. F. Bryant — c. 1840-1853. The heavy use of both Quincy and Faneuil Halls toward mid-century increased interest in the improvement of the latter's old main hall. Too, the members of the Boston community took great pride in the landmark. Independence Day orations had become a ritual after the Revolution, and those were often delivered in the "Cradle of Liberty." Various prominent citizens participated in the event by delivering addresses on July 4th, including Thomas Dawes, Jr., 1787; John Quincy Adams, 1793; and — from a newly installed podium in the enlarged Faneuil Hall — Adams' son Charles Francis Adams, 50 years to the day after the oration of his father. Perhaps brought about by the demand placed on the hall, which was beginning to serve as the sounding board of the abolitionists led by William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips, an improvement was proposed to better serve orators. This new feature of the hall is shown in detail in a "Plan of a part of Faneuil Hall, Boston, showing a proposed Rostrum for Public Speaking" (ILL. 39). The architectural drawing is signed by Gridley J. F. Bryant and dated "Boston October 22nd 1840." Gridley J. F. Bryant studied under Alexander Parris, architect of Faneuil Hall Markets and of the improvements of Faneuil Hall in 1824-27. His father, Gridley Bryant, supplied the granite for construction of the new buildings. It is certain that Bryant's design for a rostrum was executed. It is visible in its original form in an 1848 engraving, the "Interior view of Faneuil Hall" by Nichols (ILL. 27); in the 1851 Gleason's Pictorial view of the Webster Convocation at Faneuil Hall; in slightly altered form in an engraving in Harper's Weekly of 1867 (ILL. 40); and in a c. 1860-75 stereo view (ILL. 41) by Boston photographer Allen.

Other major improvements were proposed, and some implemented, at mid-century in Faneuil Hall. In 1850 the children of Boston donated to the city the important and decorative clock made by Howard and Davis at 34 Water Street. It remains in place at the rear of the gallery below the eagle (ILL. 28). The gift of this clock, which apparently replaced an earlier one, on January 14, 1850, was well covered by the press. The Daily Evening Traveller, Daily Evening Transcript, and the Boston Herald all covered the ceremonies, which were presided over by the mayor and the governor. The earliest views of the clock and the eagle above seem to be the "Fourth of July Festivities at Faneuil Hall, Boston" in Gleason's Pictorial of 1854 (ILL. 42) and a stereo view (ILL. 43) by the American Stereoscopic Company c. 1861-1878.

Not long afterward there appeared at the west end of the hall the large painting that later would cause so much consternation to those who undertook restorations of the building. At some time between the "Webster Convention at Faneuil Hall," pictured in Gleason's Pictorial of 1851, and the "Exhibitions of the Massachusetts Mechanics' Charitable Association," when the painting first appears in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper on October 11, 1856 (ILL. 38), this imposing decorative feature makes its first appearance. In
Illustration 35. New Dry-Goods Stores in Faneuil Hall (1828).
the same year, *Boston Sites and Strangers Guide* reports that in addition to the well-known portraits of Faneuil and Washington at the west end, "there has recently been added (G.P.A.) Healy's picture of Webster making his celebrated speech in reply to Hayne."(54)

The views of Faneuil Hall proper at this time give insight into other features of the architectural and decorative detail of the interior of the building. In 1838 one writer records that "of a Saturday night, when the (Quincy) Market House is lighted with gas, it presents an animated and lively appearance," but actual views of the interior of Faneuil Hall suggest that this room was still lighted with a single large, candle-powered chandelier as late as 1851.(55) The change to the gas sconces that line the gallery rail in views from 1853 onward (III. 44) seems to have occurred in conjunction with the installation of the Healy painting, which also appears in all subsequent views.

Some of these interior changes undoubtedly were part of a rather ambitious proposal to alter the hall made by Gridley J. F. Bryant in 1853. Most of his plan was not implemented, however, due to opposition from the tenants of the armories and other concerned parties. The plan did cause at least minor changes in the armories, as recorded in their History:

The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company for years occupied a room as an armory in Faneuil Hall, being the first armory on the right as you pass into the upper Hall, and immediately joining the armorer's room. In 1852 a plan was started in the city council for enlarging the large hall of Faneuil Hall, by removing the rooms occupied by military companies over the Hall, raising the ceiling one story, and adding a gallery. All the companies occupying these rooms, including the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, were accordingly notified to provide themselves with other quarters. The officers of the corps for that year, Col. Brinley (1828) being in command, remonstrated against the removal of the headquarters of this ancient Company from the Cradle of Liberty, with which spot its history was so connected, and the order of removal, so far as regarded this corps, was suspended. During the next year, the city government, wishing to carry out its plan, and feeling the force of the remonstrance, directed the Company to occupy the rooms heretofore occupied by the Washington Light Infantry and the New England Guards, being the two upper rooms at the easterly end of the building, at the head of the stairs, and united by a passageway. The city council granted three hundred dollars for the repairing of these rooms, and the Company occupied them—the southeast room was fitted up as equipment and drill room, and the northeast room for a Company meeting room. These rooms were designated as the "new armory"....

The new armory was occupied for the first time April 19, 1854, at which time resolutions conveying thanks to the city government were adopted.(56)

The proposal to alter the hall drastically, which was prevented, was carefully outlined by Bryant in his "Report on Improving the Interior" of 1853. Bryant's report makes it clear that some changes already had taken place since the views of 1848 and 1851 were made, and more major ones were contemplated. This proposal was accompanied by important drawings dated February 2, and March 9, 1853 (III. 45-48), which detail both existing and proposed conditions.(57)
Although not entirely complete, the drawings and report of 1853 by Bryant give much information about the appearance and use of Faneuil Hall at mid-century. Plans of the basement and market floors are not included in the set, and a "Perspective View of the Interior of the Structure" is apparently missing. However, the plans of the "Principal Story" of the hall proper, the gallery or "Second Story," and the "Present Third Story showing Armories" are extremely useful.

The "Principal Story" (ILL 45) shows the stairs, the anterooms, and the main hall with its "Rostrum for Public speaking" designed by Bryant in 1840. He reports that "The entrance staircases to the building, being, it is believed, as commodious and as safe as they could be in any other way devised, it is not proposed to disturb them." As shown sketched in lightly with pencil on the plans, Bryant adds in his report that "The anterooms, washing rooms, water closets, &c., on each side of the staircases, are all well located and arranged, and therefore no change need be made to them."(58)

For the main hall, Bryant's report details his proposed enlargement that was not implemented. However, it also gives information about some existing conditions, as well as changes that were implemented: "The design of the alterations further contemplates that the West or speakers end of the building shall be finished, as at present, in a style corresponding with the other sides, unless it be decided to retain the large picture by Mr. Healy, now in the Hall...The 'perspective view' shows the picture in its present position in the Hall...." Bryant intended to relieve the plainness of the west end, where he planned to omit the orders of the other three sides, "...by the introduction of the smaller pictures, that now adorn the walls, around the great painting...."(59) It is thus clear that Healy's great painting was in place by 1853, and that the arrangement of paintings at the west end of the hall probably acquired its present appearance under Bryant's supervision.

The rostrum, also at the west end of the hall, received attention, too:

It has long been considered of the utmost importance, that some way should be devised by which speakers and distinguished guests could enter the building at the west end thereof, without being compelled to approach the rostrum through so dense a crowd as usually fills the building on any important occasion. It is suggested that sufficient room be spared from the lower story of the building either in the southwest or northwest corner thereof, to construct a lobby and private staircase, by which this objection would be obviated.(60)

Apparently a spiral stair was built at the rear of the rostrum to satisfy this need, although it was placed at the center, rather than in either corner. This stair appears in subsequent views of the hall (Harper's Weekly engraving of 1867 (ILL 40) and the c. 1861-75 stereo view by photographer Allen (ILL 41)).

Bryant also discusses the main platform of the rostrum:

The present rostrum (of 1840) being in keeping and design with the Hall, and sufficiently commodious, it is not proposed to make any changes thereto. There should be introduced, however, upon its two front outer corners or pedestals, two massive candelabras, designed with historic emblems...The present wire netting fence, around the outside of the rostrum, should be removed, and, if anything is necessary to separate the rostrum from the audience, a massive baluster fence and railing may be substituted.
Late 19th-Century Improvements — c. 1875. The Harper's Weekly view of 1367 (Ill. 40) and the Allen Stereo of about the same time (Ill. 41) show that "the two massive candelabras" Bryant recommended were installed promptly. However, "the present wire netting fence" he designates is also obvious, indicating that this feature probably was retained until the existing platform was installed.

Bryant's new platform first appears, but without the proposed "massive baluster fence," in views of the 1870's (Ill. 49). It might have come shortly after an estimate of the cost of repairing the hall was made in 1871, at the time of Faneuil Hall's temporary adaptive use as a post office during the reconstruction period following the great Boston Fire of 1872. It was ordered on May 16, 1872, "to paint Faneuil Hall—building, cleanse and whiten the walls and ceiling of the same and cause the pictures in the hall to be renovated." This was followed, in 1378, by a slight rearrangement of the portraits.

The mid 19th-century views of the main hall's interior give further insight into its decoration. In 1853 Bryant proposed "that the walls be tinted a light stone color, the orders of columns with their entablatures the same as the walls, and the panels of the ceiling blue and gold."(64)

It is not certain whether these recommendations were effected, since they relate to the proposed work, most of which was not carried out; much of the evidence has since disappeared. Stereo views and other photographs of the 1860's to 1880's do give some indication of the color scheme during this period, and paint-color analysis of surviving fragments of woodwork support the photographic evidence. Illustrations 43 and 44, from the 1860's and '70s, clearly show a dark color — probably mahogany graining, as indicated by color investigation at the site — on doors, trim, dado, stair rail, balusters, and gate in the hall and foyer. At the balcony level, the dark color of the dado carries across the bases of the pilasters. The door trim here is stark white, in contrast to the neutral ("stone"?) color of the walls and upper part of the pilasters. In Illustrations 50 and 51, from the 1880's, the columns supporting the gallery are clearly marbled. However, this decoration had disappeared by c. 1887, when Stebbins photographed the hall as decorated for the America's Cup awards.

Photographs of the front of the hall are equally revealing. The rostrum, in Illustration 41 of c. 1861-75, is a light color, while the face of the surrounding platform beneath the wire fence is dark — probably mahogany-grained — as is the dado. In a slightly later view (Ill. 50), probably after c. 1875, the face of the altered platform seen today is clearly grained in the more popular light-oak manner of that period; evidence of this is found on the present platform. Another notable feature visible in Illustration 50 is the "cannon"-type stove of polished metal, visible at the left, roped off between the second set of columns. The pipes from two of these stoves, one on each side, are visible in a postcard dated 1902; this undoubtedly was made from an earlier view looking toward the rear of the hall. In most of the views of this period, the hall is furnished with simple Windsor side chairs, while the rostrum displays three early Victorian horsehair-covered sofas and an Empire saber-leg armchair for the speaker. Three busts are visible at the rear of the platform, beneath the great Webster painting, as at present.

The third floor shown on Bryant's "Present Third Story Showing Armories" of 1853 (Ill. 46) differs somewhat from that shown by Bulfinch in 1806, and shows in detail the use of these spaces. The main "Drilling Room" at that time had a row of iron tie rods down the center, as seen both in the plan and in Bryant's "Transverse Section looking West" (Ill. 47), which shows in detail the wooden trusses with their iron reinforcement. In Illustration 46, the armories on the south side of the "Drilling Room" are identified from west to east, after
one unlabeled (probably storage) room, as belonging to the "Soul of Soldiery," "Boston Light Infantry," and "Washington Artillery." On the north, similarly labeled, are the "Independent Cadets," "Boston Light Guards," "Ancient and Honorable," and a "Work Shop." The two main armories, one over each "Committee Room" shown on the "Second Story" plan by Bryant (III. 45), were occupied by the "Washington Light Infantry" and the "New England Guards." On Bryant's plan also are visible the steps leading to "The most impressive of the office rooms... that directly under the dome." This was described in 1899 as having been "formerly the quarters of the old city guard, but had been long abandoned because of the sagging of the timbers."(65)

It was this "sagging of the timbers" and other structural deficiencies of the building that were of primary concern to the city in the latter part of the 19th century. On July 16, 1874, the city ordered "That the Committee on Public Buildings be directed to make thorough repairs of the roof and upper story of Faneuil Hall, and any incidental which may be elsewhere required, at an estimated expense not to exceed $3,000...." In 1875 this appropriation "to strengthen the floor and roof of Faneuil Hall" apparently was reduced to "an estimated cost of $2,500," and a drawing of the "Detail of Construction of Roof" (III. 52) "measured April 15, 1875" shows that the insertion of tie rods and supplemental reinforcing was contemplated, if not actually implemented.(66) This drawing shows in great detail the early roof framing, which subsequently would disappear.

Throughout the 19th century, Faneuil Hall retained pretty much the layout (III. 53) and appearance it had gained under the hand of Alexander Parris, who had altered the ground floor and painted the exterior "a light portland stone color" in 1827. The earliest photograph of the exterior — Illustration 54 — is dated certainly before 1860 by the presence of the "Old Feather Store," which was torn down in that year. This photograph shows part of the building from the northwest. The only discernable feature (other than the paint) that differs from that we know today is the presence then of the louvered blinds closing the tower openings. Since this feature was also present in the view of the West Church in Asher Benjamin's American Builder's Companion of 1806, and is present in most detailed views of Faneuil Hall prior to 1860 (III. 31, 36, 37, 55, 56), we may surmise that these were early, possibly original, details that disappeared c. 1860. About the same time, too, the tympanum lunettes were changed: Illustration 57 is the first to show the tripartite division seen today.

Views of Faneuil Hall from the southeast (III. 37, 57, 58), dating from the 1860's, also document the blinds on the cupola. In addition, they show only four dormers on the roof; chimneys with their long axis running north-south, Greek Revival-style; a multiple-paneled door at the main entrance to the Hall; and canvas awnings shading the sidewalk around the building. These awnings protected the markets, which were reintroduced in 1858 as replacements for the dry-goods stores of 1827.(67) Many of these features would be altered or disappear altogether by the end of the century.

By the time the Heliotype Printing Company of Boston published their c. 1880 view of Faneuil Hall from the southeast (III. 59), the blinds in the cupola had disappeared, probably c. 1875. Wires leading to the cupola may have been installed after 1879, when it was ordered "to allow the Telephone Dispatch Company to place wires on Faneuil Hall and Market House." In this view, the weathered paint of the pilasters appears to have been a dark color, contrasting with the light-colored ground. A c. 1885 view (III. 60) shows the building painted a monochromatic light color. By c. 1895, this had been supplanted by a reverse scheme, with light-colored pilasters against a darker ground (III. 61). In 1881, architect Charles A. Cummings gives his critique of the structure, saying of the 1806 alterations that "a certain blankness and monotony of effect was the result which did not belong to the old hall, and which has not been ameliorated by painting the walls a dusty brown color."(68)
Illustration 53. Faneuil Hall and Quincy Market (1874).
Illustration 54. Old Feather Store with Rear of Faneuil Hall (c. 1860).
Change was coming to Faneuil Hall, however, in the form of rebuilding at the end of the 19th century, and restoration during the 20th century. Both exterior and interior would be altered to meet the functional and taste requirements of the new era.
NOTES

(1) Boston Town Records, 23 May 1805, pp. 184-5.

(2) Bulfinch, Charles, MSS draft quoted in The Life and Letters of Charles Bulfinch, Architect, by Ellen S. Bulfinch. Also, indicated by brackets, MSS draft "No. 2" (attached to drawings for 1806 enlargement) given to the city in 1839 and kept at Boston Public Library Print Department.


(4) Selectmen's Minutes, 4 Feb. 1807.

(5) Ibid., 2 Sept. 1806, p. 349.

(6) Kendall, Travels through Part of the U.S., 1809, p. 242; Boston Town Records, 21 May 1810, p. 271.

(7) Bulfinch, Charles, "Description of the Manner in which the (Boylston) Market House & Hall are to be Built," in Kirker, Bulfinch, pp. 244-7 from the original in Boston Public Library Rare Books.

(8) Ibid.

(9) Ibid.


(11) Kendall, op cit.

(12) Selectmen's Minutes, 24 May 1813, p. 91.


(16) Ibid., 9 June 1819.

(17) Kendall, op. cit.

(18) Selectmen's Minutes, 8 June 1813, p. 92.


(20) Ibid., 9 June 1819, pp. 70-1.


(22) Ibid., 11 June 1817, p. 234.

(23) Ibid., 11 Aug. 1819, p. 92.


(25) Ibid., 7 April 1820, pp. 132-3.

(26) Ibid., 3 May 1820, p. 136.

(27) Ibid., 25 April 1821, p. 191.

(28) Ibid., 3 July 1821, p. 204.


(30) Bulfinch, Charles, "Description of the Manner in which (Boylston) Hall and Market House are to be Built," Boston Public Library.

(31) Ibid.

(32) Bowen, Abel, Picture of Boston, 1833, p. 71.


(34) Selectmen's Minutes, 19 Sept. 1821, p. 218.
(36) Quincy, Josiah, Municipal History of Boston, Boston, 1852, p. 211.
(37) History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Co., p. 27.
(38) "Proposal for alteration and addition to Faneuil Hall," *5357.62, Municipal Affairs of Boston, 1827, No. 12, Boston Public Library.
(39) Ibid.
(40) Ibid.
(41) Picture of Boston, 1833; also Homan's History of Boston, 1856, p. 137.
(42) Boston City Directories, 1828, 1830.
(43) Selectmen's Minutes, 1802, p. 166i.
(44) Municipal Affairs of Boston, 1830, Appendix pp. 14-5, "Leasing of Chambers over the Market."
(46) Boston Almanac, 1840, p. 38.
(48) Catalogue of the Exhibition (Eighth Mechanic's Fair), Boston, 1856.
(49) Massachusetts Historical Society, M.S.S. Collection E 187, Thomas Dawes, Jr., An Oration delivered 4 July 1787.
(51) Bryant, Gridley J.F., "Plan of a part of Faneuil Hall Boston... Boston, October 22nd 1840," Boston Public Library Print Dept.
(55) A Trip to Boston, 1838, p. 49.
(57) Documents of the City of Boston for the Year 1853, City Document No. 16, "Report on Improving the Interior of Faneuil Hall," 14 March 1853, pp. 3-8. Also Drawings in Boston Public Library, Print Department.
(58) Ibid.
(59) Ibid.
(60) Ibid.
(61) Ibid.
(62) Brown, Faneuil Hall and Market, p. 159.
(65) Brown, Faneuil Hall and Market, p. 213.
(66) Boston Public Library, Print Dept.
A Fire Hazard. Early in 1875 the Boston Transcript published an article calling the attention of the city government to the need for preserving from fire, the works of art owned by the city and deposited in Faneuil Hall. Nineteen of the 25 paintings decorating the main hall were copies of works hanging in the Athenaeum and Boston Public Library. Five others, however, were originals, all by celebrated masters and all especially valuable by way of their association with illustrious men of the Revolution. These were portraits of General Washington and General Knox by Stuart; the portraits of Samuel Adams and John Hancock by Copley; and the portrait of John Quincy Adams by Page. Finally, there was the original Healy painting, "Webster's Reply to Hayne."

What the writer of the Transcript article pointed out was the great danger to Faneuil Hall from fire because of the peculiar nature of the business on the market level. A certain degree of security existed because of the open space around the building, which would give the Fire Department an advantage in case of a conflagration. Someone suggested that this advantage would be significant, were it not for the combustible nature of the merchandise stored in the market. The manner of heating the building was dangerous, too, and as the Transcript writer said, the wonder was that the whole building had not burned down already.

On January 31, 1876, the subject of the unsafe conditions of Faneuil Hall reached the City Council, where it became a hotly debated issue. An order was introduced into the Board of Aldermen for a special committee to examine the condition of the paintings in Faneuil Hall and report whether they were in a proper and safe place.

After a close examination of Faneuil Hall, the committee determined that the whole building, built of combustible materials, was unsafe for paintings and people, especially the market place. It also noted that a fire in the neighborhood, itself crowded with mercantile businesses, would be very difficult to put out; it could spread to Faneuil Hall with great ease where the street was comparatively narrow. During reception days and other celebrations, Faneuil Hall always was completely packed with people. In case of fire it would be impossible to get the crowd out of the building without loss of life.

A definite solution to the problem of fire hazards was to make Faneuil Hall a fireproof building. This would be a very costly and difficult project, due to the construction of the building itself and its surroundings. After an almost year-long debate among the Aldermen, the problem of preserving the five original paintings was solved by moving them to the Museum of Fine Arts — a building of stone, iron, and glass. The special committee appointed to consider the subject of the preservation of the works of art in Faneuil Hall was authorized to have copies made of the five portraits, to hang in Faneuil Hall.(1)

1894-97 Proposals. While the removal of the five original paintings to the Museum of Fine Arts solved the problem of their preservation, the fireproof problem of Faneuil Hall remained unresolved for many years, and the condition of the building deteriorated considerably.

On May 17, 1894, the Boston Post published an article critical of the neglected condition of Faneuil Hall. A sketch of the building had the following caption: "Faneuil Hall With its Leaning Tower (as it may look soon if repairs are not made)." Faneuil Hall "is in danger of destruction," the writer said — not by the hands of man, "but because of the apparent neglect of the city government, whose duty is to see that all public buildings are kept in a proper condition."
According to the Post, the Superintendent of Public Buildings had made a thorough examination of the structure and issued the following statement:

I have made a personal examination of the building, and I find the condition dangerous, more especially in the room in use for a kitchen, where dinners are prepared. At present there is no protection from fire in this room, and it should not be used by caterers until measures are taken to make it fireproof.

Every caterer who has to provide a dinner in the building brings his own range, and it is often run in a careless manner, overheating the flues and ceilings. I consider this a vital point of weakness in the building which should receive immediate attention. I would recommend that this room be made fireproof, a tile floor provided, magneso-calcite placed on the walls and ceilings, and a range be placed in the room ready for use.

I estimate the cost at $2,500. I would further recommend that a charge be made for the use of this range if provided.

I have caused an estimate to be made of the fireproofing of the whole building covering the floors, walls and ceilings with magneso-calcite, put shutters on the outside, four skylights in the roof, and provide an iron staircase with an 8-inch wall, straighten up the tower, which now leans twelve inches, wire the entire building for electric lights. The cost of the above, with all the mechanical work, I estimate at $32,000 complete.

I would recommend the fireproofing of the kitchen as above. I would also advise the removal of the sheathing from the market ceiling and substitute for these magneso-calcite. I would also put the same material on the basement ceiling, and provide tinned shutters for the windows on the north and south sides of the building with metal doors.

The staircase should be protected by placing fire stops of terra cotta blocks between studs, covering the whole with metal lathing or adament. The cost of this work which I recommend is $9,000.

Several months previously, said the writer of the Post, the Fire Commissioner decided not to use the bell of Faneuil Hall for alarm purposes because the tower was unsafe. ("It is now in an almost toppling over condition.") Until that time, the bell on Faneuil Hall had been connected to the city fire alarm system and was rung for all fires in the city proper, north of Boylston Street.

A Post reporter who visited Faneuil Hall on May 16 found the building in a "most dilapidated condition interiorally and exteriorally... The city appeared to attach considerable importance to the market privileges, but neglected the building which is as sacred as the most sacred of shrines."(2)

On June 25, 1894, the City Council ordered that the Inspector of Buildings be requested to report to the Council "what repairs were needed on the tower of Faneuil Hall so that the fire-alarm bell there located may be rung as heretofore."(3) A week later the Board of Aldermen ordered that the Superintendent of Public Buildings be requested to report to
the Board, as soon as practicable, an estimate of the cost of improvements needed on Faneuil Hall, with reference to the safety of the structure.(4) The Superintendent of Public Buildings provided a detailed cost estimate for safety improvements on August 13 amounting to $9,000, but apparently nothing was done about the matter during 1894.(5)

The Committee on Market Department — which received the order relative to the construction and safety of Faneuil Hall for public and market purposes — filed a report on March 21, 1895. This report was obtained from John S. Damrell, the Inspector of Buildings. In his report the Inspector opined that the building was in a very unsafe and unguarded condition, so far as protection from fire was concerned. He made several recommendations and suggestions. The Committee urged that these be carried out immediately, and recommended the approval of an appropriation of $29,000 for implementing the recommendations.

Inspector Damrell made reference in his report to the construction, condition, and existing occupancy of Faneuil Hall. In terms of its construction, he said Faneuil Hall was a "second-class building." The usage of the basement and first story rendered them highly inflammable. The main hall and its anterooms were less vulnerable, yet their condition was considered dangerous, too. This also applied to the upper hall and anterooms occupied by the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. "Without any sentiment whatever as to its danger or safety, the actual conditions are such as to demand action in the interest of safety and economy."

The alterations and repairs suggested by Damrell would not affect the economic interests of the lessees; could be made without injury to tenants; and would maintain the design and symmetry of the architecture.

His fireproofing recommendations were summarized as follows(6):

1. The ceiling of the basement story to be wire, lathed and plastered; fire stops be put in on all vertical walls, one foot below the ceiling, and the ceiling be furnished with automatic water sprinklers; the wearing floor of the market be removed and a fire stop consisting of cement or plaster, full one inch thick, be laid from wall to wall, cutting off all air drafts, and the wearing floor laid over that; a fire stop full twelve inches wide, of terra cotta, to project beyond the face of the sheathing of said wall above floor and below ceiling of the said market, and the ceiling be covered with metal sheathing and furnished with automatic sprinklers, the same as below.

2. The wearing floor of Faneuil Hall proper be removed and all unsound timber, if any, be replaced, and the floor covered with at least two inches of cement or plaster.

3. To move the incline upon the north and south sides of Faneuil Hall proper and introduce fire stops in the hall, as recommended for the market below.

4. Do away with all hollow partitions in the main corridors surrounding staircases, and construct an eight-inch brick wall from the cellar to the grade of Faneuil Hall floor proper, the openings through said wall in the cellar and market to be enclosed in metallic doors of the same pattern and style of architecture that now exists.
5. The partitions above Faneuil Hall to be constructed of expanded metal lathing.

6. The floor in the story occupied by the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company to be fireproofed with Salamander or magnesocalcite, and the sheathing around trusses be removed and expanded wire lath substituted, and plastered.

7. Remove the chimneys in the anterooms as now constructed, and rebuild in another locality, as to be hereinafter described.

8. Reconstruct the rooms now used for kitchen or restaurant purposes and allow nothing of the kind within the building.

9. Substitute electric lights and have the building properly wired for same.

10. Build an incombustible staircase in place of the wooden one that now exists, with incombustible corridors.

11. On the north side of Faneuil Hall, increase the sidewalk five feet in width, and construct two outside staircases for the use of Faneuil Hall proper.

12. All stoves in the building for heating purposes be removed and replaced by boilers, and the building be heated by steam, the boilers to be located in the basement, with chimney as hereinafter designated.

13. The belfry to be righted and secured and made safe against all question as to strength, and covered with corrugated iron, moulded to conform to its present style.

14. All windows in the roof and upper stories to be glazed with wire glass.

Cost estimate for the work:

**Mason Work**: Including Brick wall enclosing main stairs, foundations, concrete for basement floor, to be made of Portland cement, wire lathing and plastering  $6,500.

**Metal Work**: Twenty-seven (27) doorways to be metal covered, metal ceiling in market and rooms, covering the entire tower with metal, repairing roof, with four (4) metal skylights, 10' x 10'  $3,000.

**Iron Work**: New iron stairs, landings, and corridors, with two outside staircases on the north side of Faneuil Hall  $4,000.
Carpenter work, painting, electric lighting, tiling, fireproofing, and plumbing — $3,675.
Steam-heating plant — $5,000.
Salamander No. 4 or magneso-calcite on three floors, putting on same — $3,500.

Total estimated cost — $29,675.

Despite the urgency of the matter, nothing was done about Damrell's proposal.

Early in 1897 the City of Boston again was discussing the feasibility of making Faneuil Hall fireproof. The building was a menace to the valuable property contained within its walls, much of which was irreplaceable. And as the main hall was the gathering place of multitudes on the occasion of the discussion of any great public question, it was a serious menace to life in the event fire should break out when the building was so occupied. If panic were to occur, loss of life would be certain. The building had but one stairway — the steep main-entrance flight — as the small spiral one behind the rostrum in the hall could not be considered. The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, located on the topmost floor, appointed a committee to consider the matter of fireproofing, and intended to effect this improvement if possible. The brick outside walls of Faneuil Hall were considered safe, but the interior finish was thought to resemble kindling wood in its old and dry condition. The Ancients had many old and valuable relics in the armory, and the committee felt that if a fire occurred while a meeting was being held in the armory that hardly a man could get out alive, and all the relics in the museum would be endangered, a place visited each year by several thousand people from Boston and other cities. The city appears to have considered this danger to property, from the fact that several years ago most of the valuable paintings there were removed, many of them being placed in the Art Museum. A plan suggested is that of taking out all the inside fittings of the halls and of the market underneath, and rebuilding the interior of the building with metal and stone in a way to make the inside fireproof as far as any building can be made so. It is felt that in rebuilding all of the interior finish should be an exact copy in design of the present style.(7)

Fireproofing and Renovation — (1898-99). Despite the unsafe condition of the building, imminent danger from fire, and evident signs of weakness in the sagging of timbers and leaning of the bell tower, nothing was done until 1898. Since the interior was of wood and plaster, it was decided to reconstruct the building with fireproof material, but following the original lines as closely as possible.

An original appropriation of $80,000 proved insufficient, so the funding was increased to $104,500, in addition to $15,000 for electrical lighting, heating, plumbing, painting, and plastering, and $1,500 for purchasing chairs and other necessary furniture.(8)

The architectural drawings and specifications for the reconstruction work were prepared in the Architect's Department of the City of Boston, of which Professor Francis W. Chandler of M.L.T. was the consulting architect. Frank W. Howard was the Chief Architect, while Arther E. Anderson of the Architect's Department supervised the construction work. On July 1, 1898, Mayor Josiah Quincy signed a contract for the labor with the construction firm of Woodbury and Leighton, builders of such city landmarks as the Boston Public Library, Harvard Medical School, Bowdoin Square Theatre, and additions and alterations in the State House.
On October 18 Faneuil Hall was closed to the public so the fireproofing project could begin (Ill. 62), and a year later — early in October 1899 — the Hall was ready for use (Ill. 63).(9)

On April 16, 1899, the Boston Sunday Globe printed an article illustrated with a sketch of Faneuil Hall, showing the progress of the reconstruction work. The sketch had the following caption: "Historical Faneuil Hall as it appears today, roofless and undergoing internal improvements. The exposed (roofless) portion when roofed-in will form the new Hall of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery." Faneuil Hall, the article said,

is roofless. The historic building is undergoing internal improvements calculated to preserve it in its original state for many years to come, and to insure it against loss by a conflagration it has been rendered as near fireproof as it is possible by the substitution of steel and concrete for wood in its floors and partitions. The roof was entirely removed in the progress of these improvements and a new one of steel will be placed in its stead.

Just before the removal of the roof, a false roof was built about 25 feet below the original one to protect the interior of the building. Above this false roof, the floor of the new Hall of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery was built of steel girders and concrete. At the time the article was written, the side walls and gables had been "trued" and braced, and shortly thereafter the steel trusses required to support the roof would be installed. (The work of setting in place the steel gallery supports and cross girders was already almost finished.(10))

A long, detailed, and illustrated article in the Sunday Globe of September 17, 1899, had the following suggestive title: "How Faneuil Hall now Looks Inside: Old Cradle of Liberty Has Been Renovated and Strengthened—Pictures and Descriptions of the Spick and Span Interiors—Elegant Quarters of the Famous Ancient and Honorables." So well advanced was the fireproof construction that the Architect's Office at City Hall predicted that the building would be open to the public between October 1 and 15. The work had been in progress just about a year. For more than two months, however, construction had stopped because of the inability to get the necessary iron on schedule.

The specifications for the fireproofing project of Faneuil Hall have not been located. What follows is a description of the work as extracted from the article by the Sunday Globe.

The peculiar construction of Faneuil Hall gave the architects a difficult task. Their general scheme called for removal of wood and other combustible material, and replacing them with steel, iron, stone, and concrete while preserving the original lines. This was accomplished by making several important changes that were minor but absolutely necessary.

It is safe to say that not within the time of two generations has Faneuil Hall looked as attractive as it will when its doors are thrown open in a few weeks. It is safe to say also that Bostonians who have been familiar with the interior of Faneuil Hall for the past quarter of a century will open their eyes in astonishment when they visit it and view the results of the rehabilitation.(11)
The main entrance to Faneuil Hall had always been unsatisfactory. So unpretentious were the doorways that many visitors inquired as to their location while standing in front of them. This disappointing feature was a reminder that the principal purpose of building Faneuil Hall was to provide a market, and that the hall proper was an afterthought.

Because of the extremely awkward rise of the steps in front of Faneuil Hall, the main entrance was always a hindrance to a correct conception of the building. These stairs were replaced by new Milford granite steps that extended across the three door openings and tied them together, making "one grand imposing entrance" (III. 64), where before there were three separate doors. The old lanterns and wrought-iron brackets that had embellished the entrance since 1806 (c. 1850?) (III. 64) were taken out, "reproduced identically," and fitted for electric current.

Inside the entrance, the remodeled stairs leading up to the hall presented "a very handsome appearance" (Ill. 55). The old wooden balusters and treads were replaced by cast-iron copies, but the "same old cherry handrail" was reused. The stair columns, like all other columns throughout the building, were reproduced in steel and finished in cement. The floors of the hallways were composed of "terrazzo" — a broken marble of variegated colors, laid in cement and rubbed down to achieve a smooth, polished surface — with a border of gray Knoxville marble.

The "large wooden doors" leading into Faneuil Hall proper were "preserved" and "thoroughly cleaned." Although they had been "in place since 1806," the doors were not at all warped, and presented just as good an appearance as new ones. The "original wrought iron hinges" on which they had swung for almost a century were in good condition, and were retained. The "old cut glass knobs," of a design that was almost extinct, also were retained. With these exceptions, the fittings of the doors were recast in bronze.

The anterooms adjoining the entry at the east end of Faneuil Hall received attention, too. According to the Globe, the custodian's room in the northeast corner was "embellished by a very handsome mantel standing about eight feet high and the full width of the chimney breast, which is seven feet." This fireplace had "a facing of green marble." The present Art Commission and National Park Service room was treated somewhat differently. The Globe reported that "The corresponding room on the other side of the hall has a smaller mantel, with a fire opening composed of old Dutch brick pattern." A "very complete toilet room for men" was installed "back of the Custodian's Room, with the women's toilets up one flight."

On entering the main hall, one was "immediately impressed with the chaste beauty" of the room. The immense canvas that formerly covered the entire rear of the hall had not yet been replaced, and for the first time in years the beauty of this particular piece of Bulfinch architecture was disclosed.

The steel-and-concrete Doric columns supporting the gallery were surmounted by "the original balustrade." Ionic columns above carried the entablature "in exact duplicate of the old." The caps of the columns were "picked out in gold, presenting a brilliant decorative effect."

On either side of the hall, as well as in the gallery, the steps consisted of "steel stringers with wrought iron risers and treads of hard pine." The risers were "perforated to allow the escape of warmed air," since the hall was heated by means of "galvanized iron ducts" that extended the entire length under the treads. The steps in the gallery, "which previously were of unequal rise and tread," were made uniform in the rebuilding.
Important alterations were made in the speaker's platform at the rear of the hall, with the intention of returning to the original plan. After 1840 the speaker's platform had been extended to connect with the side steps. As "this extension buried the bases of two of the columns on either side, having no advantage except to enlarge the platform space," it was decided in 1899 to retain only the central platform, as existed before 1875, in mistaken belief that this was Bulfinch's "original design." This design left the bases of the columns exposed and also a space between the platform and the steps on the sides of the main hall. The stairway of the exit from the rear of the rostrum to the street was "encased in expanded metal and thoroughly fireproofed."

The wall at the rear of the speaker's platform, before the famous painting of Webster's reply to Hayne was put back in place, presented to view "a very beautiful appearance" as one entered Faneuil Hall. The full view of the Bulfinch design was best seen on this rear wall, the fluted pilasters with their decorated capitals and swag panels between the windows standing out in prominent relief.

The first-story windows retained their semicircular heads and keystones consisting of carved busts (said to represent Dollie Bidwell, a celebrated English variety star who had made Faneuil Hall her headquarters a century before). These were surmounted by a "festooned panel which, like the caps of the columns" were "picked out in gold." In the center of the wall, and on a line with those panels, was the niche for the reception of a bust or statue. It had been suggested that it would be very appropriate — provided the wall was not recovered by the Healy — to place in that niche a bust of Peter Faneuil, where the bust of Adams once had been.

According to the Globe, the simplicity of the Bulfinch design lost "nothing in effectiveness by the treatment of colonial colors" on the interior. White and gold and soft buffs, rich reds and greens were the "prevailing colors throughout the building" in 1899.

The decorative feature of the hall ceiling (Ill. 66) consisted of a "conventional lotus leaf design. Previously this design was recessed in the ceiling," but such positioning could not be duplicated under existing conditions and arrangements for lighting, the Globe relates.

Attention was given to preserving the Bulfinch architecture in the several apartments of the upper story of the building as well. Somewhat changed during the rebuilding were the quarters occupied by the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. When completed, their main hall would be "18 feet wider on account of the reconstruction of the roof trusses." The trumpet-shaped dormer windows now terminated "in a semicircle in the ceiling." In the committee rooms next to the hall, decorative features were preserved "by using the old materials as models."

After the restoration, the room under the belfry — designated the Commandery, or officers' quarters — presented "a most unique and charming appearance" (Ill. 67, 68). This had been known as the Slade Room. Because of "the leaning over of the belfry and the sagging of the timbers, this room had been almost lost." It was considered "one of the most beautiful rooms of the building from an architectural point of view." The Globe reports that "Considerable difficulty was experienced in preserving its correct proportions and details because it was all in plaster and very much cracked." The detail was entirely Greek Revival in style, of the Ionic order with (according to the Globe) "honesuckle" as the principal decorative feature. The "original columns with their carved Ionic caps" were preserved and replaced, and consisted of double columns in antis.
Concerning the cupola, an "exact duplicate of the original design" — built c. 1761 and moved to the east end by Bulfinch in 1806 — was reconstructed in iron, steel and copper (Ill. 63). The steel bell that was cast in Philadelphia in 1806 and placed in the belfry on April 15, 1867, was retained.

In arranging for the lighting of the main hall, a system similar to that used previously was devised. The old gas fixtures on the front of the gallery entablature featured very handsome cast-bronze brackets, which were "carefully preserved and repolished." They then were "surmounted by glass globes" in which the electric light bulb was placed. The lighting of the side galleries came from the back of the galleries, along the upper entablature, and consisted of "bulbs set in decorated cusps, producing a soft, reflected light."

Electrical sockets were installed in the face of the speaker's platform for extending lights to the reporters' tables. The newspapermen who had been "obliged to report night meetings in Faneuil Hall" were reminded of "the inconveniences which the insufficient lighting has put them to in the past."

Lighting in the Slade Room under the belfry, according to the Globe, was "somewhat novel." The electric bulbs were "entirely concealed," and when the light was turned on, there was "a soft reflected glow." Lighting for the Company hall was "entirely from the ceiling."

The Globe article continues: "A modern plant has been installed in the building" to supply heat and ventilation above the market story. The plant consisted of a 10-foot blower and central heating coil located in one of the rooms of the gallery floor formerly used for storage purposes." This fan was driven by a "direct-connected motor," and supplied air "through a system of ducts and dampers to either the main Faneuil Hall or the Ancient's hall at the top of the building."

The air to the main hall was brought in "through special openings in the cast-iron risers at the sides of the Hall and in the rear gallery; air into the rooms in the Ancient's quarters was brought "through registers in the ceiling and galvanized iron ducts connecting with the roof space," from which air was to be extracted "by means of an eight-foot fan located in the belfry, and discharging the air out of doors."

Mains were run "to take steam from the plant of a cold storage company nearby." Dampers were arranged so that the entire air supply could be delivered to either hall, or could be "divided between the halls at will." The improved ventilation would "add greatly to the comfort of those using the hall, since it was probably the worst ventilated hall in the city," adds the Globe. In the winter, heated only by stoves, it had been especially uncomfortable.(12) Faneuil Hall was built at a time when little attention was paid to ventilation, and the means of heating were most crude. Neither system was made adequate until the remodeling of 1898-99.

Architectural drawings in the collection of the city of Boston Building Department for "Preserving and Restoring Faneuil Hall" (Ill. 69-71), dated 1890 to 1898, give further insight into alterations made at this time. In addition to the changes mentioned by the Globe, they show on the "Third Floor Plan" a new spiral stair leading from the "Committee Room" at the Armory level to the anterooms below. This stair was but one step toward other improvements that would follow.
NOTES


(4) Ibid., 2 July 1894, p. 1056.

(5) Ibid., p. 1187.

(6) Documents of the City of Boston for the Year 1895, Boston, 1896, III, Doc. 82, pp. 1-4. For the construction and condition of Faneuil Hall, Damrell makes reference to a report made to the Committee on Streets and Sewers, June, 1894, but this report has not been located.


(9) Ibid., Vol. 76-2 (1898), p. 1039.


(11) Ibid.

Early 20th-Century Improvements. Despite the extensive scope of the rehabilitation of Faneuil Hall in 1898-99, there remained aspects of the building that required upgrading to meet the standards of the 20th century. According to Frank C. Brown, restoration architect, who worked on the building in the first quarter of this century:

It was about 1911 when there came an edict from the Building Department demanding that more exit facilities be provided, both from the Hall itself, and the large attic above it, which had long been used as an 'Armory' by the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. The Building Department had expected to have installed the usual stock iron balconies and fire escapes upon the exterior of the building. To prevent this disfigurement, the Boston Society of Architects proposed an alternative method, providing the required facilities within the structure, without affecting the Hall itself, or appearing on the exterior of the building....The better solution was drawn up, urged and finally accepted, later becoming incorporated into the more extensive improvements required in rebuilding, strengthening, and completely fireproofing the lower stories of the structure.

This completion of work begun in 1898-99 was aided by the discovery of the early Bulfinch plans (ILL 17-20), discovered in the course of research for the project.(1)

The improvements to Faneuil Hall, according to the Christian Science Monitor, were proposed by Mayor James M. Curley, who wanted to further "fireproof the floors and ceilings of the old building and to repaint it outside and inside, as well as to remove the unsightly coat of paint which covers the brick walls...."(2) Curley was advised in this venture by the Boston Society of Architects, which suggested "that none of the restoration should be undertaken, except under the control of architects thoroughly familiar with colonial architecture...." and who requested authority from the mayor to have "authority to control the preparation of drawings and specifications, and to superintend the execution of the proposed work." Accordingly, appropriations were ordered by the city to cover the costs of "the Boston Society of Architects' recommended alterations, estimated at $50,000."(3)

These recommendations also proposed

that the present stalls in the old market be removed and replaced by concrete structures; that the sidewalls and ceiling of the large market room be constructed of non-combustible material; that the floor of that market be made of concrete; that every awning of canvas be removed and awnings of iron framework and glass encircle the structure (ILL 72); that the outside walls be treated with sand-blast to remove all paint to restore the bricks to their color of (1742); that all woodwork within and without and all passageways be painted white, and, finally, that emergency exits be installed at the rear of the building to the armory of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company on the third floor.(4)
Illustration 72. Faneuil Hall -- East End, showing new awning (c. 1904).
These recommended improvements apparently were not completed entirely in their original form, and what did occur was implemented piecemeal in succeeding years. Some work seems to have started shortly thereafter, since the Globe reports that the large painting of "Webster's Reply to Hayne" — apparently reinstalled at some time subsequent to 1900 — was the subject of some controversy: "In 1912 alterations in the hall were made and at that time it was proposed to cut down the picture...." Protests by descendants of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (in one corner of the painting) and by the artist's descendants were successful. A compromise was reached, via the substitution of a narrow new frame for the heavy, elaborate one of the 1850's that overlapped the Bulfinch pilasters. The dispute was not yet settled, however. When the project recommenced in 1923-24 after a lapse of over 10 years, Ralph Adams Cram — of the preeminent Gothic Revivalist architectural firm of Cram and Ferguson — was in charge of the renovation. He, too, suggested removing the Healy painting.(5) Public opinion again won out, as one irate Bostonian put it in a letter to the Globe, "because a good many of us have an idea, Mr. Cram to the contrary notwithstanding, that it is worth more to see 'one Daniel' in all his glory than three colonial window frames...."(6)

The extent of the work done at Faneuil Hall in the first quarter of this century becomes clear when one analyzes the architectural drawings of Cram and Ferguson, Architects, for the "Restoration of Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mass." dated April 10, 1923. These drawings are all signed as well by "Frank Chouteau Brown, Consulting Architect." Some of the work delineated in these drawings apparently was not carried out immediately; other improvements not shown would be incorporated in the project.(7) Copies of these plans are in the SPNEA Collection.

The 1923 drawings of Cram and Ferguson proposed in brief: the installation of a sprinkler system throughout the building; repairs to exterior stonework, woodwork, and sash, primarily at the ground-floor level; addition of a reinforced-concrete canopy supported by iron columns; reconstruction of the market floor with its supporting columns and footings, along with alterations in the basement; and installation of fire stairs with related egress doors and interior vestibules.

The proposed changes, annotated on the plans of April 10, 1923, are outlined by Drawing as follows:(8)

**Drawing**

**No. 1. Basement Floor Plan:** The "names marked on the stalls are of tenants, October, 1918" except as noted otherwise on the plans.

a) New sprinkler system.

b) New lighting.

c) "New concrete floor over entire basement (except where marked 'Horrigan and Doe') with granolithic finish" "Electric lights in this portion (northwest corner) are to be replaced in their former location."

d) "New steps and entrance" at the north side, east end, having a "granite curb" with another on the east side, north end.

e) "New Columns and Footings, See Drawing No. 11."
f) "New granolithic step...at bottom of steps to stalls where grade is lowered sufficiently to make it necessary."

g) "Valve pit...wall to be extended to sidewalk slab" on south side. "See Drawing No. 8."

h) New supporting structure relating to fire stair, north side.

i) "New location of refrigerator wall."

No. 2. **Ground Floor Plan:**

a) "All pilaster bases...are new granite" at this level.

b) New sprinkler system.

c) New awning: "Awning columns are to be placed directly opposite centers of building pilasters" at "curb line."

d) New fire stairs, west end: "Cast iron stairs with Masons Safety Treads." "T.C. (Terra-Cotta) Partition" closes windows (See Dwg. No. 19).

e) At center of west wall, "New Doorway & doors" with "Wall shown dotted to be removed" and "present entrance to be removed," with "new granite steps and threshold" at "Exit I."

f) At center of east wall, "Entrance "A," "B," "C" to Hall, are to be "new door" to "use old door frame" in all three doors.

g) At the four market entrance doors, "D" and "E" at the east end, and "G" and "H" at the west end, it is noted to "remove present wood vestibule" on the exterior, "use old door frame," and insert "new doors" with a "new vestibule" on the interior.

h) New "Terrazzo floor over entire area."

i) New fire stair, north side with associated "New doorway & door."

No. 3. **First Floor Plan:** (Hall level)

a) "Awning Roof" of reinforced concrete and skylights.

b) New sprinkler system.

c) At west end, "circular stair to be removed: space to be covered with platform." "New stairs" are to be installed to platform, with "cast iron stairs...down" to ground-floor exit.

d) "Existing radiator" at sides of platform to remain, with a "new trap door" to provide access to crawl space beneath platform.
No. 4. Second Floor Plan:

a) New sprinkler system.

b) Spiral stair and dumbwaiter, existing (?) shown in "Commissary."

c) New fire escape shown on north side adjoining "Commissary."

No. 5. Third Floor Plan:

a) New sprinkler system.

b) "Section through fire escape," north side.

c) "Typical plan, framing around fire escape," north side.


No. 7. South Elevation and Framing Plans Around Fire Escape Stairs:

a) Exterior sprinklers over window openings.

b) New "Canopy roof lights" in "reinforced concrete roof."

c) "All new stone work is shown by stippling," shows partial frieze repair at second-floor (hall) level. "New granite bases" on entire first floor, 8 new caps on pilasters. 12 new bases shown on second floor pilasters. (See note Drawing No. 10).

d) "New fan to match old" on 3 windows. "New sash to match old" one window, first floor.

e) "New flashing for all projecting members of all horizontal wood string courses and cornices."

No. 8. West Elevation and Plan of Valve Pit:

a) Exterior sprinkler.

b) Repairs to stone frieze "shown by stippling," "new granite bases" first floor, 8 new caps on pilasters. 6 new bases, 4 new caps on second-floor pilasters.

c) New canopy as noted on drawing No. 7.
d) "New granite threshold & steps," center exit "I."

e) One "new sash and glass to match present windows in market."

f) New doors and fanlights as noted on drawing No. 2

g) New flashing as noted on drawing No. 7.

h) Curved gable architrave "wood to be repaired and reflashed."

i) Plan of valve pit, south side basement.

No. 9. **North Elevation:**

a) Exterior sprinkler.

b) Canopy as noted on drawing No. 7.

c) Repairs to stone frieze "shown by stippling," "New granite bases" first floor, 3 new pilaster caps. 10 new bases, one new stone cap, second floor.

d) "New entrance to basement store" as noted on drawing No. 1.

e) New flashing as noted on drawing No. 7.

f) One "new fan to match old" on window, first floor.

h) New "Fire escape exit 'J'" and entrance detail. "Existing stairs to be removed," "north side."

No. 10. East Elevation and Door and Vestibule Details:

a) Canopy as noted on drawing No. 7.

b) Repairs to stone frieze "shown by stippling." "New granite bases," first floor. "Granite pilaster bases are to be 2'-0 high and are to extend about 8" below top of inner edge of sidewalk at highest level." 9 new pilaster caps shown, first floor; 9 new pilaster bases, 3 new caps, second floor.

c) New entrance doors and hardware to Market and Hall as noted on drawing No. 2.

d) New flashing as noted on drawing No. 7.

e) Curved gable architrave to have "new upper member and new flashing."
No. 11. Ground Floor Framing Plan with Basement Column, Beam, and Footing Details:

a) Rebuild some "old steel column" types "1a" and "1b" (rectangular) with "old steel to be thoroughly cleaned," with new concrete and wire reinforcement.

b) Some new column types "2" and "3" (round) with four new footings, east end.

c) "Existing ("Rubble" pencilled in) wall to remain" at center.

No. 12. Details of Sidewalk Canopy and Fire Stair, West end:

Shows details of changes to platform, "new work," "old work," and "New base" to pilaster behind.

Certain revisions apparently were made in the plans for the project, as subsequent events and evidence suggest. The "Application for Permit for Alterations, etc." filed with the Boston Building Commissioner on October 17, 1923, gives some indication that the project was not implemented all at one time. In its "Detail of Proposed Work," it is stated that it includes "The Restoration of Faneuil Hall for the City of Boston as shown on plans dated April 10, 1923, and called for by Specifications by Cram & Ferguson and Frank Chouteau Brown, Architects, excepting that the canopy shown thereon over the sidewalk around the building is to be omitted." The estimated cost was to be $145,000.(9)

By December 14, 1923, the structural work in the basement and market areas (III. 73) was complete to the point that Cram and Ferguson wrote to the "Chief Inspector, Building Department...enclosing report on the footing test at Faneuil Hall..." and requesting "permission to unload."(10) On January 2, 1924, Fay, Spofford & Thorndike, Consulting Engineers, billed the Building Department for visits to the building during December 1923 — "in passing upon the suitability of existing column foundations of Faneuil Hall," and for "preparation of report to Building Commissioner."(11)

By September 19, 1924, Cram was able to write to the Boston Herald, thanking them for writing "most appreciatively of the restoration of Faneuil Hall, now in process...." He magnanimously asserts that "The whole scheme was initiated by the Boston Society of Architects shortly before the outbreak of the world war, and to them belongs the primary credit." He also praises "the persistent, enthusiastic and generous support of Mayor Curley and the manner in which the city council has cooperated from the beginning." Cram adds "already Faneuil Hall shows something of its original and inherent quality, and when the work of restoration is completed, the public will be able to see that they have there not only an historical monument of priceless value, but a unique architectural monument as well."(12)

As completed, it is clear that the finished work differed somewhat from Cram and Ferguson's 1923 plans. Despite the permit application's statement that the canopy around the building was "to be omitted," the canopy matching Cram and Ferguson's designs appears in photographs of Faneuil Hall made shortly after completion of the project (III. 74, 75). The fire stair on the north side of the building, which was to provide egress from the armories, and the related new basement entrances at the northeast corner must have been dropped, since no evidence exists of their construction. However, the need for these seems to have been obviated by an elevator that was installed from the custodian's room to the
headquarters of the Ancient and Honorable, replacing the spiral stair of 1898. This elevator was not shown on Cram and Ferguson's April 10, 1923 plans, but the Boston Herald reported, on April 6 of that same year, that "Mayor Curley yesterday gave orders that the appropriation of $215,000 for improvements and restorations of Faneuil Hall shall be stretched to provide an elevator to the quarters of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company." The Herald adds that "he also directed that provision be made for restoration of the old paintings on the walls."(13) The elevator was not installed until 1935-36, according to drawings of that date in the Boston Building Department; the heating system apparently was updated at the same time.

Recent Alterations. Except for routine maintenance, and interior improvements to the market tenant spaces (a typical layout of which is shown on a c. 1934 plan (HL 76)), little work was undertaken at Faneuil Hall (HI. 77) until the Waterfront Renewal projects of the 1970's.

Prior to this, in 1965, the U. S. Department of Agriculture published a marketing research report in which the existing market facilities were described:

This historic structure is 81 feet wide and 103 feet deep, and it contains three floors and a basement. Only the basement and first floor of the building are used for food handling activities.

The first floor of the building is slightly above street level. Interior space of the first floor is divided into stalls. These stalls range from 12 to 30 feet in width and average 14 feet in depth. Glass-fronted coolers and display cases face the aisles which extend the length of the building. Most stalls have small mezzanine cubicles used for office space.

The basement of the building is divided into units of various sizes by stone partitions. Each unit has one narrow opening at street level. All merchandise must move through this narrow passageway, down steep stairs, into the basement work and sales area. The reverse process must be repeated when merchandise is sold. There is no access between individual units. The sidewalk surrounding the building is about 10 feet wide with an 8-inch curb and a covered canopy.(14)

Schematic plans (III. 78-82) made c. 1970 by Architectural Heritage, Inc., show the layout of the tenant areas on the ground floor and basement levels, as described above. However, the covered canopy, as well as half of the market stalls, would disappear during renovations made to the building in the 1970's. Waterfront Renewal proposals being made at that time included the restoration of Faneuil Hall Market ("Quincy Hall"), the North and South Market buildings, and Faneuil Hall (III. 83). Work on the latter was implemented in 1975-76. The project was funded partially by the City of Boston and partially by an historic preservation grant from the National Park Service through the Massachusetts Historical Commission. This work was carried out by Stahl/Bennett, Inc. It is described in their architectural drawings dated November 4, 1975, as well as in a "Completion Report" filed by them with the National Park Service shortly after the work was finished, under the firm's new title: Perry, Dean, Stahl, and Rogers. The work was performed under contract to the City of Boston's Public Facilities Department. It consisted primarily of an exterior renovation and an updating of interior fireproofing, with Cousins Company of Medford, Massachusetts, being the general contractor.(15)
Illustration 73. Faneuil Hall -- East End Repairs (c. 1923).
Illustration 77. Plan of Faneuil Hall, Faneuil Hall Market, and North and South Markets (c. 1938).
As extracted from their "Completion Report," this work can be outlined as follows:

1) The "large concrete and steel canopy, approximately fifty years old, extending completely over the sidewalk around the perimeter of the building, had deteriorated sufficiently to represent a danger to pedestrians from falling pieces of concrete, thus requiring removal...."

2) "The canopy removal revealed that the frieze of the brownstone entablature had been stuccoed brick, rather than the cut stone which was used for the mouldings of the cornice above and below the frieze. This indicated that the cornice (frieze) had been painted, even in the Georgian building....Sufficient evidence of stucco in the brick window and door reveals remained to suggest that Bulfinch had at least employed a typical Adam-inspired device of stuccoing and painting the masonry reveals...."

3) "The slate roof of the building itself had deteriorated, as well as the related sheet metal work, flashing, gutters, and downspouts, which required repair and replacement...The existing shingles were removed and sorted, all of those in good condition were retained and re-used. Black Buckingham slate from Virginia was found to match the existing, and was cut to the exact size and thickness. Sufficient slate was retained to cover one (the north) side of the gable roof, and the new slate was installed on the other...At the same time, all deteriorated flashing was replaced to match."

4) "The dome of the cupola was repaired and regilded with gold leaf; a flagpole projecting through the dome was removed, and the famous and invaluable original grasshopper weather vane...was restored, re-secured, and alarmed after an apparent theft by a workman in 1975."

5) "Gutters, leader boxes and...downspouts were fabricated of lead-coated copper to early 19th-century design and replaced in their original location. Bronze snow guard railings were replaced to the design and support spacing shown in early views of the building."

6) "The brickwork...was left undisturbed except for repointing and subsequent cleaning essential to maintain and improve the overall weather resistance of the walls...A typical early 19th-century sand-lime mortar formulation was used with sufficient cement to deter future mortar erosion. Cleaning was done with mild, 5% solution of non-ionic detergent in water, sprayed onto the surface at low pressure, assisted by manual scrubbing...."

7) "The woodwork was completely renovated and resecured throughout the exterior. It was actually replaced, to an exact match, only where the wood was deteriorated to the degree that it could not be adequately resecured. Two missing Bulfinch Ionic capitals were exactly recarved and installed. Scores of missing dentils were recut and installed. Sash and frames were scraped of loose and peeling paint, recaulked and reputtied. Cracked panes of glass were replaced with panes having the necessary imperfections to match early 19th-century glass." (Several second-floor sash were also replaced.)
8) "The paint scheme of recent years had consisted of a dark battleship gray on the cornices and a Victorian yellow cream on the sash and frames. Research indicated a warm, light gray as the initial color. This was compared with a virtually identical color... reformulated by the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities for the restoration of... The first Harrison Gray Otis House of 1795, which was also designed by Bulfinch... It was matched (Benjamin Moore 16-66 and Sherwin Williams custom color mixed to match) and reused for the cornices, sash, frames, and window reveals of Faneuil Hall... (For the exterior doors of 1923-24), the color chosen was a dark brown-gray based on the original coat, Cabot No. 0538...."

9) "...The interior work was related to installation of new electrical circuitry and fire protection systems... Rate-of-rise operation smoke detectors were installed in all hall areas, including large concealed soffit spaces in the attic area. New long life battery-operated emergency lights and manual fire extinguishers were installed.

10) "...The entire immediate environs of Faneuil Hall... were converted into a pedestrian plaza paved with granite cobblestones and granite paving blocks. Trees were laid out in a simple rectangular block pattern of rows between Faneuil Hall and Congress Street to the West, and benches and contemporary lighting standards were installed. Historical information kiosks, created as part of the Bicentennial preparations, were also installed." This work was performed by others under separate contract, and not as part of work on Faneuil Hall itself.

Under separate contract, work also was done at about the same time on the interior north side of the market floor. This area, one half of the market-floor space, was cleared of the accretions of the previous 50 years. A new drugstore was installed, with dropped ceilings, new wall and floor surfaces, and display windows that replaced some early sash. This space is currently empty. The entire building is under study, and proposals are being developed jointly by the City of Boston, the National Park Service, the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, and others, for the sympathetic adaptive reuse of this historic space.
NOTES


(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.


(6) Boston Herald, 14 Sept. 1927.

(7) Drawings for "The Restoration of Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mass.," Cram and Ferguson, Architects; Frank Chouteau Brown, Consulting Architect, 10 April 1923. Courtesy of Hoyle, Doran & Berry, Architects, successors to Cram and Ferguson. Scale: 1"=1'-0".

(8) Ibid.

(9) "Application for Permit for Alterations, Etc.," 17 Oct. 1923, Boston Building Department.

(10) Letter, Cram and Ferguson, Architects to the Boston Building Department, 14 Dec. 1923.

(11) Bill, Fay, Spofford & Thorndike, Consulting Engineers to Boston Building Department, 2 Jan. 1924.


(13) The Boston Herald, 6 April 1923.


(15) "Completion Report" on work at Faneuil Hall 1975-6 submitted to the National Park Service by Perry, Dean, Stahl, and Rogers, 1977.
III. INDIVIDUAL ELEMENTS
This portion of the study of Faneuil Hall relies primarily on annotated drawings and photographs to delineate the fabric types and dates of the various components of the building mentioned in the first portion of the report.

EXTERIOR

The exterior of Faneuil Hall features material from several different periods, as indicated in Illustrations 84, 86, 88, 90, and 92. Some of the brickwork and trim and the weathervane date back to the building’s construction in 1742. (The joint between the slightly darker 18th-century brickwork and the lighter Bulfinch work is faintly visible in Illustration 89, on the first two stories to the left of the third window from the right.) Other periods that produced significant amounts of material were c. 1806, when Bulfinch enlarged the building; 1827, when Alexander Parris remodeled it; 1898-99, when major fireproofing efforts were undertaken; and 1975-76, when extensive repairs were made.

Roof. In 1975-76, the slates were removed from both north and south slopes of the gable roof. Those that were salvageable were relaid on the north slope, giving a mottled appearance (Ill. 91); new slates were laid on the south slope. A new bronze snowfence — a copy of that seen in early views — was installed on both slopes, and new lead-coated copper gutters and downspouts were manufactured to match their early 19th-century predecessors. The cupola is an 1898-99 reconstruction.

Masonry. The brick walls of the first two stories of the southern half of today's Faneuil Hall date from 1742; they survived the 1761 fire that destroyed the interior of the building. The walls of the northern half and the gallery and armory stories date from the Bulfinch enlargement of c. 1806. The form of the present-day market level dates from 1827, when Alexander Parris installed stores in this area. His work obliterated exactly half of the impost used by Bulfinch in his market-floor arches — Parris retained only those on every other arch, on both north and south elevations (Ill. 87, 91).

Field investigation c. 1975 of the 1806 brownstone entablature above the market level indicates that while the architrave and cornice are of cut stone, the frieze was originally of stuccoed brick. The same inspection suggested that Bulfinch also had employed stucco on the reveals of the enlarged Hall's windows and doors — a typical Adam-style device.

Wood Trim. The current arrangement of the wood trim dates from the Bulfinch enlargement, with the trim on the market level dating from the Parris remodeling. However, spot repairs and replacements have occurred continuously since then — especially during the 1975-76 restoration.

Grounds. The granite cobblestone and bollards surrounding Faneuil Hall are recent additions.

INTERIOR

The fireproofing of the interior of Faneuil Hall in 1898 was a truly cataclysmic event in the architectural history of the building. It involved both the wholesale removal and disposal of many components of the early work, and the zealous preservation of certain other elements. Therefore, a special discussion of the early features that survived the renovation is felt to be essential here.
The best delineation of the building's appearance just prior to the restoration were drawings made by the Boston Public Building Department between 1890 and 1897 and now in the SPNEA Collection (Ill. 69-71). (These were published by the American Architect and Building News of 1900, in its Georgian Period publication of the same date.) Examination of both documentary sources and the building itself makes it clear that — despite the almost complete gutting of the building — certain components of the decorative details and interior woodwork were salvaged and reinstalled.

The important early components that survived the rebuilding are as follows:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Documentation</th>
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<tr>
<td>Stair rail—main stair</td>
<td>Boston Sunday Globe, 17 Sept. 1899</td>
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<tr>
<td>Large doors to Faneuil Hall</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>HL Hinges on large doors to main hall</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cut-glass knobs on doors</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gallery balustrade</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<td>Columns with Ionic capitals — Slade Room</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gaslight brackets on gallery entablature face</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bell in cupola</td>
<td>A.E. Brown, Faneuil Hall and Market</td>
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<tr>
<td>Platform of main hall, eagle, and clock</td>
<td>Field Investigation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pilasters, capitals and dados — main hall</td>
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<tr>
<td>Doors to anterooms (some)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Doors to armories (some) and cupola door</td>
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<tr>
<td>Doors to Slade Room under cupola</td>
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<tr>
<td>Window seats and blinds in Custodian's Room</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blinds in Park Service Room</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Exterior walls and trim to cornice</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Weather vane</td>
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</table>
In addition to this recycled material, other early elements not reinstalled in Faneuil Hall might have survived through reuse elsewhere. According to the American Architect and Building News article mentioned previously:

When last year the Boston City Government decided to make Faneuil Hall fireproof, so far as the nature of things allowed, it was necessary, of course, to take out and replace a considerable amount of the interior woodwork. Instead of tearing it out roughly and allowing the street arabs to carry it away for firewood, the director of the Architect Division of the Engineering Department (save the name!), with a nice perception of propriety and fitness, had it carefully removed, and now draws attention to the fact that this material can be obtained and utilized for some more worthy purpose...some of this material could be used, not only to architectural advantage, but still more to the salvation of that patriotic essence that has absorbed into its pores and the speeches of so long a line of patriots, the applause of so many enthused thousands.(2)

The ultimate fate of this early material is not known, but the News suggests as potential repositories "sundry memorial halls and historical-society buildings" then under construction "in various places." These items most likely would consist of elements that we know were not reused in Faneuil Hall. These include the columns and capitals of the market, stair hall, and main hall; the balusters of the main stairway; and possibly portions of the old podium, floorboards, and framing.

Another important account of the 1898-99 renovation is given in an article, "Reconstruction of Faneuil Hall," in the 1898-99 Annual Record of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. This was "compiled from facts kindly furnished by Mr. Arthur E. Anderson, who, on behalf of the architect's department, had charge of the work."(3)

Anderson fills in details of the renovation not given in the Globe article of September 17, 1899. He reports that:

New foundations were substituted for the old ones, which were found to consist of rubble stones laid up dry, resting in the upper layer of dark mud. These stones all had to be removed, the contractors first shoring up the floor, taking down the old columns and excavating until blue clay was reached. Upon this was laid a concrete foundation....(4)

Anderson asserts that:

All flooring, joists, girders, and all accumulations of years were taken away. New steel beams and girders were placed in position, rivetted and fastened; brick arches built and filled up with cinder concrete, making the connection between the market and Faneuil Hall thoroughly fireproof, as in fact, will be the whole structure above the market story.

He adds that all this was done with "scarcely any disturbance to the marketmen."(5)
Other interesting features of the early building were discovered in the course of work as well. According to Anderson,

The floor of Faneuil Hall through the center of the building was fairly level, as the center girder rested on columns which stood directly on top of the original wall on the North Market Street side. This wall is topped with a number of courses of brick, and in some parts of the cellar is lined with brick for the whole height. Here were found several of the sandstone bases of the outside pilasters, having the same detail as the present outside bases. (6)

Here we have apparent indication that Bulfinch duplicated in granite the original detail of brownstone, such that the present granite bases are not exact reproductions of the early work.

Further insight is given by Anderson into the method of construction used in the early work:

The side columns mentioned as supporting the floor of the armory and the roof trusses were solid, with the exception of a hole, about four inches in diameter, bored vertically through the center to prevent checking. The fluting and entasis of these columns were worked out of solid wood by hand; so were the capitals and bases.

Anderson also mentions that "Unmistakable evidences of the fire which visited the building in 1761 were visible as the old work was torn away to prepare for the reconstruction." He reports further that in one of the floors, apparently under the main hall, was found "...a girder of the uniform depth of sixteen inches, which had been cut away to eight inches at the center in order to make room for a domed ceiling in the room below."

In the armory hall, Anderson states that the old floor had sagged so much that "at some early date, a floor had been built on top of the old floor in order to bring it up to level. Of course, this only made matters worse, as it added weight without increasing strength." In order to remedy this situation, Anderson installed under the newly enlarged armory hall, "plate and angle girders, two feet nine inches deep, and three feet on centers, with a span of eighteen feet, weighing three tons each."

Finally, the newly rebuilt Faneuil Hall was described thus:

The entire structure, with the exception of the market floor, now consists of a steel frame rivetted together, with terra-cotta partitions and brick arches. The walls and ceilings are covered with metal lathing and are plastered with Windsor cement. All cornices and decorated ceilings are run in plaster of Paris. The fluted columns are in Keen's cement, also caps, bases, and dadoes.

The old structure was thus assured of a continued existence, its basic form preserved with the threat of destruction by fire much diminished. Despite the loss of much of its early fabric, many important elements survived the rebuilding and remain for us today in a relatively stable environment.
Illustrations 93–95 give an overview of interior changes that have occurred over the years. These are discussed in detail below.

**Stair Hall.** The stairway and columns (Ill. 96) were rebuilt in 1898–99 of steel and concrete to match the c. 1806 Bulfinch design. The balusters were at the same time reproduced in iron. However, the "same old cherry handrail" reportedly was reused. While the center door to Faneuil Hall proper (with butt hinges visible to the left) is apparently a replacement, the wide doors with their HL hinges on the second-floor landing — although "cleaned" before reinstallation — clearly date to the Bulfinch building (Ill. 97). The old doors to the gallery on the landing above, as well as some of those to the anterooms, survived the 1898–99 rebuilding. The characteristic Georgian-panel configuration of some anteroom doors indicates that they may even predate the Bulfinch building; their lack of paint layers could be explained if they had been stripped at some point.

**Market Floor** (Ill. 98). Illustration 99 illustrates the typical appearance of the market after 1923, when the market floor was rebuilt. The signage, meat hooks, piping, refrigeration units, and service counters all reflect the functional requirements of market activities — the use for which Peter Faneuil gave the original building in 1742. The concrete fireproof covering installed in 1923 has cracked away in places, revealing the 19th-century, cast-iron, Tuscan-order columns beneath.

The southeast corner of the market contains a well-preserved Colonial Revival meat stall (Ill. 100) — one of the last surviving elements of a market tradition that has been retained almost continuously in Faneuil Hall for 235 years. The pictorial signs of the second quarter of the 20th century are not only period pieces in themselves, but help to recall the market tradition. Unfortunately, similar material on the north side of the floor was removed c. 1975, as part of an attempt to "clean up" Faneuil Hall Market's image at the time of the Waterfront Renewal project. The result was merely another anonymous sales space (Ill. 101). The false ceiling, imitation wood paneling, and "Discount" image is hardly appropriate for the space. This work had a deleterious effect on the exterior of the floor as well — all windows here were blocked up, with some early sash removed to create display windows.

This tenancy recalls the dry-goods stores present in the market between 1827 and 1858, which were replaced by the traditional use until the 1970's. Even in 1968 Walter Whitehill, in his *Boston, A Topographical History*, reported that "a recent proposal that the markets be removed and the hall prettied up for the tourist trade has aroused vociferous opposition." He then quotes a poem by Francis W. Hatch that was published in the *Boston Globe*, one verse of which well expresses the sentiment of the people:

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

Happily, the interior surface coverings spawned by this remodeling were removed in December 1977 as part of a renovation of the ground-floor market area by the city.

**Main Floor** (Ill. 102). The Custodian's Room (Ill. 103), in generally good condition, exhibits features characteristic of several periods of the building. The heavy fan-topped shutters on the windows have the heaviest accumulation of paint in the building — about 24 to 26 coats — indicative of their late-18th or early 19th-century origin. The Georgian-style
window seats (Ill. 104) and dado, although having only about half the paint accumulation, are characteristic of the same period, and may have been stripped of their earlier paint layers. The Colonial Revival mantel and chimney piece apparently were installed during the 1898-99 rebuilding. The door casing at left belongs to the door of the c. 1923-24 elevator. Plaster wall surfaces date from 1898, when all partitions were reconstructed of terra-cotta, and floors of terrazzo. (The linoleum floor surface was applied still later.) The lighting fixtures are post-1898.

In the opposite corner from the Custodian's Room, and in equally good condition, is the Boston Art Commission and Park Service Room (Ill. 105). The majority of work visible here dates principally from the renovation of 1898-99, when the mantel was installed. All plaster and structural work also dates from this period. However, three of the shutters with circular tops (having a paint chronology similar to those in the Custodian's Room) certainly predate this rebuilding — as does the early 19th-century safe, constructed in a manner similar to those found in Alexander Parris' market buildings of 1824-26.

The main hall includes c. 1898-99 columns of steel and concrete (Ill. 106) that duplicate Bulfinch's originals of 1806. The structure of the building, floor, partitions, and ceiling, as well as all plaster surfaces, date to this rebuilding. The pilasters on the outer walls, as well as the balcony railing and portions of the window trim and rostrum, survive from the early building. The paintings are in general 19th-century copies of originals at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts; the large G.P.A. Healy painting of "Webster's Reply to Hayne," c. 1850, is an original. The ornamental plaster rosette in the ceiling was reproduced in 1898-99 from an earlier example, being slightly elaborated with the addition of electric light bulbs around its circumference. The swag panels of 1898-99 duplicate the Bulfinch design exactly, with one extra added on each side at the gallery ends. The gallery stair, rails, and balcony risers all were reproduced in iron during the rebuilding. The original c. 1852 gaslight bracket fixtures on the face of the gallery were reused in 1898-99, having been wired for electricity. Paint colors are 20th century. The room is in good condition, with one exception: the base of the pilaster to the left of the platform has become separated from the wall.

The majority of structural and surface material in Illustration 107 dates from the c. 1898-99 rebuilding. There are important exceptions. The pilasters of the end and side walls are reused material; at least one, and probably more, of the capitals (Ill. 108A) almost certainly predate even the Bulfinch building of c. 1806. These may be those carved by William Burbeck as early as 1788. Other pilasters and capitals (Ill. 108B) date from the Bulfinch era. The gallery railing is also reused material, as are the clock of c. 1850 and the c. 1798 eagle by Daniel Raynerd, which surmounted the U.S. Bank by Bulfinch before removal to Faneuil Hall upon the bank's demolition c. 1824. Other notable, reused early material consists of the pilasters below the gallery, whose dados have a panel characteristic of the Georgian period, and the four large, single doors at the hall and gallery levels. The folding seats, like most of the other furnishings, were installed after the rebuilding of c. 1898-99. Some of the paintings seen in Illustration 107 are apparently original, and should be studied further. The paint color scheme is recent.

Gallery Floor (Ill. 109). The gallery itself is treated in the previous section in connection with the main hall. Another room on this floor is the Commissary, or kitchen (Ill. 110). Most work visible here is material reproduced in 1898-99. The majority of it appears to have been modeled after Greek Revival details characteristic of the Parris period alterations, although the window trim appears to be earlier and reused. The turn-of-the-century electrical fixture, stove, cupboards, and 1870 patent Eddy Refrigerator — with its early graining visible at the far right of Illustration 110 — are all important examples worthy of preservation. The ornamental rosettes in the ceiling, apparently reproductions of c. 1898-
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
PROPERTY PHOTOGRAPH FORM

SEE INSTRUCTIONS IN HOW TO COMPLETE NATIONAL REGISTER FORMS
TYPE ALL ENTRIES -- ENCLOSE WITH PHOTOGRAPH

1 NAME
HISTORIC
Faneuil Hall
AND/OR COMMON
Faneuil Hall

2 LOCATION
CITY. TOWN
Boston
VICINITY OF

COUNTY
Suffolk
STATE
Massachusetts

3 PHOTO REFERENCE
PHOTO CREDIT
Polly M. Rettig, Landmark Review Project
DATE OF PHOTO
April, 1975
NEGATIVE FILED AT
Historic Sites Survey, N.P.S., 1100 L Street N.W., Washington, D.C.

4 IDENTIFICATION
DESCRIBE VIEW, DIRECTION, ETC. IF DISTRICT, GIVE BUILDING NAME & STREET

south and east (left and right) elevations

PHOTO NO. 1
1 NAME

HISTORIC
Faneuil Hall

AND/OR COMMON
Faneuil Hall

2 LOCATION

CITY, TOWN
Boston

VICINITY OF

COUNTY
Suffolk

STATE
Massachusetts

3 PHOTO REFERENCE

PHOTO CREDIT
Polly M. Rettig, Landmark Review Project

DATE OF PHOTO
April 1975

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Historic Sites Survey, N.P.S., 1100 L Street N.W., Washington, D.C.

4 IDENTIFICATION

DESCRIBE VIEW, DIRECTION, ETC. IF DISTRICT, GIVE BUILDING NAME & STREET

north and west (left and right) elevations

PHOTO NO. 2

INT.: 2983-75
Name

Historic
Faneuil Hall

And/or Common
Faneuil Hall

Location

City, Town
Boston

Vicinity of

County
Suffolk

State
Massachusetts

Photo Reference

Photo Credit
Polly M. Rettig, Landmark Review Project

Date of Photo
April, 1975

Negative Filed At
Historic Sites Survey, N.P.S., 1100 L Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Identification

Describe view, direction, etc. If district, give building name & street

Interior of great hall - view to east

Photo No. 3

Int: 2983-75
Subject: Faneuil Hall, 1740-42, 1805-06 east (side) elevation and north end (right)

Negative No. 4626

By Charles W. Snell

Locality: Boston, Mass.

Date: 9/22/67

By Charles W. Snell
Negative No.

Subject Reneuil Hall, 1740-42, 1805-06, North and West (Side) elevations

By Charles W. Snell

Date 9/22/67

Locality Boston, Mass.
Negative No. 4629

Date 9/22/67

Locality Boston, Mass.

By Charles W. Snell

Subject Faneuil Hall, 1740-42, 1805-06 North end (with tower) and west (side)

elevation 1740-42, 1805-06 North end (with tower) and west (side)
Subject: Faneuil Hall, 1740-42, 1805-06 South end (left) and east (side) elevation

Date: 9/22/67  Locality: Boston, Mass.  By: Charles W. Snell
8. Peter Faneuil, "the topmost merchant in all the town," gave to Boston the hall which bears his name, for use as a public market and meeting place. Faneuil Hall was completed in 1742.

National Park Service photograph
Faneuil Hall, 1740-42, 1805-06
North end (left) and west (side) elevation
Boston, Mass.

N.P.S. Photo, 1967