

The Architecture of the Marketplace:
The Effect on 17th - 19th Century Urbanism
- Boston, Newport and Providence

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1.

Arrivals on the American Landscape

Taking from the Old World or Leaving it all Behind

This thesis will focus on three of the more prominent market structures in New England: the Faneuil Hall Marketplace in Boston, Massachusetts; the Brick Market in Newport; and the Market House in Providence, Rhode Island. I contend that these market buildings, like most other pre-mid nineteenth century market houses, were catalysts for the urbanization of their respective communities. The three markets sites were conceived and erected as a consequence of profound historical circumstances and encouraged, if not demanded, by merchants and tradesmen. All are architect-designed structures, even if in most cases the designers were considered “amateurs” or “gentleman’s architects”. The human stories that led to the creation of these important buildings are, arguably, amongst the most compelling in the story of this country. What happened in and around these market houses during their earlier years was critical to the making of the nation. This thesis will argue that these market houses are also important in relationship to the development of the surrounding urban environments, as defining architectural structures that, by their very existence, encouraged economic growth and development. There is

room for history in architectural history, and the human history that led to the construction of the three market houses featured in this work is indications of this. To attempt to do full justice to the topic, it is then necessary to delve into aspects of social and political history to best highlight this area of architectural history. This is a daunting task and will take more than a thesis to see it through. As such, the following work is intended as part of a future, more comprehensive examination of the architecture of the marketplace to include other sites within the United States and British America with comparisons to elsewhere. An additional, independent study is intended for the Jamaican-Caribbean region.

There is some semblance of a public market in each major city and in every country. Markets, like places of worship, have always been important features within the societal sphere. In most instances these public markets are outdoor venues not confined within structures constructed for long-term use. Farmer's markets are among these. Public markets housed within structures built expressly for their purpose are many and not new to our era. The Emperor Trajan of Rome had a large covered market built ca. 110 CE, and ruins from the Aztec's market plaza at Cuexomate¹ (1440 - 1519 CE) and the Great Market at Tlatelolco² (1325 - 1521 CE), in present day Mexico City, are still being examined. While it is true that the number of markets designed and built by architects declined over the past half century, many dating from the seventeenth century onwards are still extant. Writer Reay Tannahill summed up the progression of markets over time stating that: "As the towns grew, small markets that had evolved for the neighborly bartering of produce developed into major trading events where coinage, spices, wine and silks

¹ Michael E. Smith, *Life in the Provinces of the Aztec Empire*, http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic795817.files/Smith_1997.pdf

² Charles Phillips, *The Complete Illustrated History – Aztec & Maya*, Metro Books, New York, 2008, p.322-323

replaces baskets of apples and day-old chicks as currency.”³ What Tannahill and other historians have missed is that the trend worked just as evenly in reverse: The existence of the [small] markets encouraged farmers, traders and visitors to the towns. More visitors to the markets attracted additional traders. As the cycle continued, increasingly larger numbers of both groups settled within these towns transforming them into cities. The previous traders became the cities’ merchants. The dwellers remained for the conveniences the cities provided.

In researching the architecture of the marketplaces it was bewildering how little has been written on topic. Material does exist on market sites, ranging from farmers to covered market structures, but just a pitiful few of much comprehensive worth. Two of the three more noteworthy are by Helen Tangiers. Her 2003 publication *Public Markets and Civic Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* is a classic in the field. It is a terrific starting point for background information on the law and regulations that governed the American markets. I will be returning to that publication in the future, particular in reference to her insight on the New York and Pennsylvania markets. Tangiers’ 2008 publication *Public Market* is a more pictorially illustrated book, with a few architectural drawings of market sites arranged according to typology. Both Tangier books lack information about the architectural structure of markets and offers only a bit of their history.

James Schmeichen and Kenneth Carls’ *The British Market Hall, A Social and Architectural History*, 1999, is invaluable source on constructed markets. The book covers all facets of the extensively long British Market scene from medieval times into the nineteenth-century. It is well written and diagrammed with an ample amount of drawings, photographs and architectural diagrams. The book’s subtitled *A Social and Architectural History* is well earned in

³ Reay Tannahill, *Food in History*, Headline Book Publishing, London, 2002, p. 15

that it looks at the markets, not only as building but also in relation to how they were and are being used. John Quincy Jr.'s *Quincy's Market* was also very helpful with regards to the backstories on Mayor Josiah Quincy and the Quincy Markets. Despite the limited amount of text sources, I was able to locate a fair number of journals pertaining to my topic.

The earliest migrants, “settlers”, from England to the Americas, although arriving with virtually nothing, had aspiration of creating ‘homes away from homes’. That could very well be described as the aim of the first shiploads to land off the coast of what is now New England. Timothy Breen, writing in *Persistent Localism: English Social Change and the Shaping of New England Institutions*, alerted us to the near duplicity of the communities built in the Bay Colony by the mid-seventeenth century migrants in their efforts to recreate their “Old World” in the new land.⁴ The Puritans sought escape from English religious and governmental absolutism. What they saw of the Native Americans they appreciated only so much as it saved them from their first winter. In a very short time after their arrival, these escapees from persecution established communities that were as religiously and governmentally rigid as was the England they fled.

Within each new immigrant community, the decision would always have to be made: What from the Old World can we and do we want to replicate, and what do we leave behind? As different as these communities may have been, the answers were usually not too dis-similar: After a place to live (house), next on the list was the place of worship (church, meeting house, etc.). If the community were large, a Town Hall would be included in the planning.

A structured market place, operating within a building constructed for such a purpose, was never the norm in a newly initiated townscape. Markets, as locations for the buying and selling of food, produce and supplies, were developed as communities grew, and usually began

⁴ Timothy H. Breen, *Persistent Localism: English Social Change and the Shaping of New England Institutions*, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 32. No. 1, January 1976, p. 3-28.

as open air, ‘out of carts or wagons’ activities. As was the case in many cities in England, markets were held on a specific day or days, during which time the town square would be transformed from an opened space to erected stalls, pens and shambles. If no town square existed a churchyard or an open field sufficed. Since markets were rarely, if ever, held outside the town limits, as the populations grew the need for spaces for activities also begged for expansion, even as the allotted spaces for marketing contracted due to urbanization. Referring to Salisbury Market, Mark Girouard wrote in *The English Town*:

From the fourteenth century the open space of the market was progressively reduced as stalls of butchers, fishmongers, potters and wheelwrights along the south and west sides gradually grew more substantial, and ultimately became row houses. A similar process reduced other market places all over England.⁵

Girouard points to conjectural diagrams of the market place at Saffron Walden as examples. The illustrations showed the transitioning of the space of the market over time. As the years progressed some market stalls transitioned into permanent structures resulting in a decreased amount of opened space.

He continued:

Houses, which have developed out of stalls, are easily recognizable, because they have no gardens or yards. They form a little island, or two islands divided by a narrow lane, in the middle or to one side of the market.⁶

A structural example of this type of shift from open to built urban space can be seen in the watercolor image by John Thirtle (1777-1839), Haymarket, Norwich (date unknown) (Fig. 1). Dramatic changes in townscapes of this sort resulted from the farmers and sellers opting to settle

⁵ Mark Girouard, *The English Town*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1990, p.15.

⁶ Ibid

in the place where they had come to do business. As the centuries went by and people migrated from one continent to the next and from city to city, these ‘country to market to city settlement’ patterns also continued and contributed to the urbanization of the early American cities. As in England the connection between the markets and urban growth was often a direct path: the sellers attracted the buyers who then chose to move closer to the sources of the goods and materials they wanted and needed. As towns expanded into what was previously farmland, more and more farmers became urban dwellers, merchants and traders, living and setting up businesses in the towns or cities or near the ports. These patterns will be explored in the subsequent chapters with closer attention to the formation of the Faneuil Hall Market Place in Boston, the Brick Market in Newport and the Market House in Providence, Rhode Island.

2.

1607 - 1740: From Plymouth to Faneuil

Puritan Intolerance and the Founding of Providence and the Rhode Island Plantations

On December 26, in the year 1620, religious refugees from England arrived, accidentally, on the shore of what they called Plymouth. Almost ten years later the Massachusetts Bay Company was chartered to facilitate the back and forth transferring of goods from London to the Bay colony that was formally established as Massachusetts by John Winthrop, the leader of the first one thousand to land near present day Salem, Massachusetts on June of 1630. All were English Puritans seeking to escape what they considered to be intolerable conditions in southeastern England. They landed north of what the local Native Americans called Shawmut, a bit of land attached by an isthmus, off the coast into the bay (Fig. 2). This bit of land would later be renamed Boston after the town by the same name in Lincolnshire, England, the original home of some of the Puritans. Boston became the principle town amongst the many established settlements.

As with anything else related to culture and heritage, each group of migrants to the Americas brought their religious beliefs. For many, leaving Europe was a matter of seeking religious freedom. Growing from those original one thousand immigrants, the small peninsula that became Boston was to become one of the largest cities in British North America and the center of one of the largest metropolises in the northeastern United States of America.⁷

One of the perplexing downsides to intolerance is the cyclical pattern it sometimes takes. This was the case with Puritan controlled Massachusetts Bay Colony. As the dominant group in the colony during the early seventeenth century, the Puritans were extremely harsh to dissenters within their ranks and towards anyone with opposing beliefs. Outsiders were generally met with suspicion, if not altogether shunned.⁸ Dealing with outsiders meant contending with change, and that was not something Puritan New Englanders wanted. Change, whether in belief or practice was essentially why they left England. According to Breen, “Like the Catholics proprietors who in the late 1630s tried to create a vast feudal manor in Maryland, the Bay Colonists looked to America as a place to escape the dislocating effects of social change.”⁹ However by resisting social change Puritanism fomented schisms with its ranks, and the harsh policies towards dissenters directly contributed to the establishment of Rhode Island and the Providence Plantations.

The history of Newport and Providence began in Massachusetts. Individuals whose religious or ideological beliefs countered those of the Bay Colony’s founded both locations. In 1631 Roger Williams (Fig. 3), a Cambridge University Divinity graduate, arrived in Boston. Five

⁷ Historical Metropolitan Populations of the United States ...
www.peakbagger.com/pbgeog/histmetropop.aspx

⁸ Timothy H. Breen, *Persistent Localism: English Social Change and the Shaping of New England Institutions*, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 32. No. 1, January 1976, p. 3-28

⁹ *Ibid*, p 17.

years later, in 1636, he fled Salem, Massachusetts, to escape being banished to England for preaching sermons that were at odds with the fundamentalist Puritans.¹⁰ Williams and a few followers traveled south and then to the western side of the Seekonk River, beyond Massachusetts' jurisdiction, where he "purchased land from the Narragansett Chiefs, Canonicus and Miantonomi and named his settlement Providence"¹¹ (Fig. 4).

In 1638 Anne Hutchinson and minister John Cotton were also charged with heresy by the General Court of the Bay Colony. Cotton was cleared from the charges, but Hutchinson was tried, banished, and then excommunicated by the Church of Boston. She with others from Massachusetts followed Roger Williams' route and ended up to the Narragansett Bay area. Roger Williams was apparently instrumental in Hutchinson securing Aquidneck Island from the resident Wampanoag people. They renamed the island Rhode Island, with Pocasset, later renamed Portsmouth, as the principal outpost.

By 1639, due to religious and political differences within the small group, William Coddington and John Clarke, two of Anne Hutchinson's fellow refugees from the Bay Colony, left Portsmouth. They traveled to the southern end of Aquidneck Island and established the town of Newport. By the next year however, the two towns agreed to work together but with each maintaining local authority. Corporation of the two municipalities was a sensible course made all the more practical because of the economical conditions at the time, particularly for Portsmouth. The bulk of financial wealth, in addition to the harbor, was in Newport. In the span of a year Newport had already been established as a colonial town ready for business.

¹⁰ www.rogerwilliams.org/biography.html

¹¹ Ibid

Warwick and the Massachusetts Threat

A fourth town formed was in 1643. Samuel Gorton "...and ten others purchased from American Native [Sachem] Miantonomi a tract of land called Shawomet (later called Warwick) for 144 fathoms of wampum,"¹² Gorton, the principle organizer of the settlement that resulted in the formation of the town, was born in Manchester, Lancashire, England. He was famous for having a rambunctious and confrontational personality. Gorton was imprisoned, whipped and banned from all the pre-Rhode Island towns, including Warwick. In 1643, after two other sachems (chiefs) filed a complaint in Boston claiming that Miantonomi did not have the right to sell the land, the Massachusetts Bay Colony sent soldiers across the border in order to arrest and imprison Gorton. He was subsequently ban from that colony and forced back to England in 1644. Gorton returned to New England in 1648 with a Letter of Protection from Robert Rich, the 2nd Earl of Warwick.¹³

Providence, Newport and Portsmouth did not welcome the formation or existence of Quaker dominated Warwick and particularly its association with Samuel Gorton. Still, the cross border incursion of Massachusetts' soldiers to arrest Gorton presented cause for concern. The northern colony with its Puritanical ideology was a threat. As much as the Narragansett Bay towns wanted to maintain the 'appearance of' individual independence by avoiding consolidation to whatever degree they could, their continued survival directed them towards more rational thinking. "None of the four towns wanted to be swallowed up by Massachusetts"...that was a political fact..."that finally united the four towns."¹⁴

¹² <http://www.geni.com/people/Samuel-Gorton-5th-President-Providence-and-Warwick/6000000002824538463>

¹³ Ibid

¹⁴ Lynne Withey, *Urban Growth in Colonial Rhode Island: Newport and Providence in the Eighteenth Century*, State University of New York Press, Albany, 1984, p.2

During the year 1646,

...an order was issued from the Commissioners of Plantations (Rhode Island) to Massachusetts to suffer the petitioners, etc., to freely and quietly to live and plant upon Shawomet (Warwick) and all other the lands included in the patent lately granted to them, without extending your jurisdiction to any part thereof or otherwise disquieting their consciences or civil peace, etc. In other words, leave us Rhode Islanders alone.¹⁵

Boston as a Sea Trading Port

There were no organized markets in Puritan Massachusetts. Such a system would have been against their anti-government stance. Established markets, even private ones, do require a system of bylaws and policies to maintain equity and fairness. Markets come with rules. To the Puritans, the only rules worth being concerned about were those professed via the Bible. The Puritans did engage in trade with the local native peoples and the occasional Euro-American who wandered or sailed into their boundaries.

Mid seventeenth-century Boston underwent economic hardships that required critical changes in the colonists' economic thinking. The Puritan Revolution in England resulted in the near termination of Puritan migration to the Bay Colony. What money and goods the influx of migrants had brought with them along with the investments they attracted from England all came to a halt. Land clearing and farming that had previously been the economic base of the colonies faltered, leaving the sea as the only viable way out of the dilemma. Fishing developed into a prominent and needed skill. Taking advantage of the abundant supply of timber, a ship building industry also evolved. With ship building came trade and fishing fleets, ventures that transformed Boston into a primary port for trade to the Caribbean and Europe almost a decade

¹⁵ <http://www.geni.com/people/Samuel-Gorton-5th-President-Providence-and-Warwick/6000000002824538463>

prior to the rise of Newport.¹⁶ The prosperity of Boston's ports led to a rapid increase of the population from 1,200 in 1640, 7,000 in 1690 to 17,000 in 1740. By that time Boston was the most populous city in British America.¹⁷

Rhode Island – Religious Freedom and The Burgeoning of Trade

In Rhode Island, the towns of Providence, Portsmouth and Newport eventually accepted Roger Williams' insistence on a clause protecting religious tolerance within the colony as they strove to put together a charter that would secure their official independence from the Bay Colony and ultimately - more importantly - would receive approval from the English Parliament. In the 17th century, the effect of this on the Narragansett Bay, with Newport firstly, was tremendous. The area became a geographical magnet for religious refugees. In 1656 Samuel Gorton had already welcomed Quakers to Warwick, providing them with unconditional sanctuary.¹⁸ Now the entire colony was primed to benefit all who could reach its shores. Almost all. In 1658 Jews seeking refuge from the Inquisition in Portugal were allowed settlement in Newport. This change in the cultural dynamics of the town was to have a profound influence on the socio-economical future of the region and North America at large. A second wave of Portuguese Jewish immigrants arrived in the early 18th century. This included Jacob Rodriquez Rivera (d. 1789), who arrived in 1745, and Aaron Lopez (1731-1782). By the 1770s Rivera would be one of the wealthiest people in Newport. He owned a fleet of ships that he had in service as whaling vessels for the Spermaceti oil and candles business. Rivera partnered with Aaron Lopez, Nicolas Brown and brothers from Providence, and others rich merchants in

¹⁶ Alex Krieger, and Cobb, D., Editors, *Mapping Boston*, The MIT Press, Cambridge Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1999, p.6.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

Newport,¹⁹ to become active participants in the Trans-Atlantic Triangular Trade of molasses, rum and slaves.²⁰

It would not be until 1663 that Charles II of England “legitimized” the status of Newport, Providence, Portsmouth, Warwick and surrounding territories as the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation.

The Growth of the Boston

As Boston’s population grew, the struggle to meet the inhabitants’ need for food and supplies intensified. As a consequence of living in a town with very little land area to farm, even if the desire to were there, a market environment developed along the east bay harbor side of the colony, in the area called Town Dock. This was an open-air market, held once per week. The market grew rapidly to match the equally rapid growth and development of the town. Town Dock was also the port side of Boston, near the area formally known as Bendell’s Cove (see Fig. 2 and **blue** area on Fig. 6). As a result, a four directional trading system was established between the indigenous (Native) peoples and the colonists; the resident colonists and the farmers; the merchants and the residents; and the ships’ traders and the merchants. All attempted to do business in close proximity to one other.²¹ At best it was a system plagued with confusion and fraught with corruption. Despite the objection of the merchants and many residents, Puritans suspicious of governmental organizations and change, a more regulated system had to be put into place. Fava et al (2010) pointed out that:

¹⁹ <http://www.colonialcemetery.com/newport-slavery/>

²⁰ <http://www.RhodeIslandJewishHistory.com> | Jewish Virtual Library

²¹ John Quincy Jr., *Quincy’s Market, A Boston Landmark*, Northeastern University Press, Boston, 2003, p. 5.

Since medieval times...The good planning and development of markets was a constant concern of the municipal governments which, for five centuries, made ceaseless efforts to assure the urban community's social and political health, regulating the ethics of exchanges, guaranteeing the provisioning of the city and good order in the market, mediating in conflicts, controlling resellers and hoarders, supervising the profits of intermediaries, verifying weights and measures, and assuring, in short, the continuity of the old medieval doctrine of 'fair price'.²²

This meant separating the wholesalers from the retailers, and the general business merchandizers from the sellers of agricultural products.

The General Court, the ruling council of the colony, created two positions of "Clerk of the Market" in 1649. These positions were similar to those of the English Market Clerks. They were responsible for carrying out the market regulations and also collecting market tolls, the fees the merchants paid for doing business in the markets. As a way to prevent selling outside the market zone, municipalities since "Classical times" had enacted laws restricting such activities in the name of enforcing a 'market peace'.²³

The Town House Merchant Exchange and Market

In 1657, in an effort to consolidate the town's marketing in a single central location that was sheltered and easily managed, the General Court called for the construction of a market place. The funding for this project was realized when one private citizen, a Captain Robert Keayne, founder of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, donated £300.00 in his 1656

²² Nadia Fava, Manuel Guàrdia, and José Luis Oyón, *Public versus private: Barcelona's market system, 1868-1975*, Planning Perspectives, Vol. 25, No. 1, January 2010, pp. 5-27.

²³ Reay Tannahill, *Food in History*, Headline Book Publishing, London, 2002, pp. 159.

probated will, as start up money.²⁴ The construction contract was given to Messrs. Thomas Joy and Bartholomew Bernad. The balance for the project was raised from the citizenry. The building was completed in 1658 and called Town House (Fig. 5). It was a two and one-half story wooden structure located where the present Old State House stands (Fig. 6) in purple. In honor of Captain Keayne the town maintained its armory rent free, on the second floor of Town House. The ground floor was opened, raised on large wooded piers, and was used as a general merchant exchange and market, opened during limited times. The second floor, in addition to housing the armory, had room for a library, and a court that doubled as a meeting room.

By the very late seventeenth century the Town House market was opened three days per week. A bell was rung at the beginning of market day “at 7:00 A.M. from March to May, at 6:00 A.M. from May to September, and 9:00 A.M. for all remaining months.”²⁵ The market bell was another custom brought over from England. In early Boston “...public sentiment was greatly against this measure, one reason for which was the fear that ‘the Market Cross’ often set up in England and on the Continent might be introduced...”²⁶ Being Puritans, Boston’s earliest European transplants were vehemently against anything reminiscent of an English system being imposed upon them.

James Schmiechen and Kenneth Carls stated that in England “by late medieval and early modern times fairs and markets had been banned from church land.”²⁷ The market cross, as in Norwich (Fig. 7), was at times a fixture in markets most everywhere in England, not as a

²⁴ Abram English Brown, *Faneuil Hall And Faneuil Hall Market or Peter Faneuil and His Gift.*, Lee and Shepard, Boston, 1901, p. 67.

²⁵ John Quincy Jr., *Quincy’s Market, A Boston Landmark*, Northeastern University Press, Boston, 2003, pp. 8

²⁶ Ibid

²⁷ James Schmiechen and Carls, Kenneth, *THE BRITISH MARKET HALLS, A Social and Architectural History*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1999, pp. 3

representative of the Church, but as “a silent reminder that the marketplace had historically been the center for peace and the rule of law.”²⁸ Additionally, the market cross was not always a literal “cross”, but used as ‘markers’ to designate areas of sales for particular types of products.

Architecturally, the English market crosses varied widely. The Norwich Cross with its neo-classical design: Doric columns, copula, arcade topped the cross was probably one of the more elaborate. In contrast, The Wymondham Market Cross in Norfolk, built in 1617, is an octagonal structure with a center peaked roof (Fig. 8). The structure is raised one level and supported at each corner by wooden posts. A curved wooden stairs provide access to the second floor level.

In October of 1711 Town House was destroyed by fire. In an act previously passed by the General Court for the allowance of the construction of the building, it was stipulated that the land was set aside solely for a market. Since the spring of 1696 it had been ordered that a market would be held in Boston every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. With the laws in place for a structure with a market bell, funds would then have to be raised for the rebuilding / replacement of the destroyed Town House. In 1712 it was rebuilt as a brick building. However, before the end of 1714 the second Town House was severely damaged, once again by fire. Again the building was rebuilt, but this time not for use as a market site but rather for governmental activities. It survives to this day and is known as the Old State House (Fig. 9 and Fig. 10).

Marketing activities returned to the streets and now, additionally, push cart peddlers began door-to-door selling through the town. Fifty-six years after the first Town House was constructed the residents of Boston were still divided about a constructed, regulated market place. But for the general welfare and development of the community and the colony at large it was known that, as Schmiechen and Carls put it, “a way had to be found to create a central

²⁸ Ibid, pp. 4

market while maintaining order in the town's streets. The solution...was to bring every species of commodity under one roof."²⁹ In eighteenth century Boston such an endeavor was not simple to accomplish, nor would it be simple to uphold. The following 1709 description of Boston sums up then the city's attitude rather well:

The town of Boston is plentifully supplied with goods and wholesome provisions of all sorts, not inferior to those of England. Though the town is large and populous, they could never be brought to establish a market in it, notwithstanding several of their governors have taken great pains to convince the inhabitants how useful and beneficial it would be to 'em, but the country people always oppose it.³⁰

The 1717 - 1734 Initiative

Boston was a city on a growth trajectory, but the ways and traditions of many of its inhabitants were staunchly against what they perceived growth meant or would bring. This was most evident by the attitudes towards an organized central market for the city. But Boston's growth was unrelenting. By 1710 the inhabitants numbered "12,000, making it the largest town in British North America. It was also considered to be the continent's chief port"³¹. Boston, along with New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore were becoming frequent ports of call for trans-Atlantic traders, for goods as varied as gold and wool from Australia, and slaves from the West African coast. To the 'well to do' of the Boston area, a central market didn't matter much, as they had their food and supplies picked up or delivered. But for the ordinary person, going to the Town Dock area meant trampling through mud and garbage. The need for an organized way

²⁹ James Schmiechen and Carls, Kenneth, *THE BRITISH MARKET HALLS, A Social and Architectural History*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1999, pp. 28

³⁰ Abram English Brown, *Faneuil Hall And Faneuil Hall Market or Peter Faneuil and His Gift.*, Lee and Shepard, Boston, 1901, p. 69.

³¹ John Quincy Jr., *Quincy's Market, A Boston Landmark*, Northeastern University Press, Boston, 2003, pp. 9

to sell and purchase produce and products would not go away with the demise of the Town Dock buildings.

Reay Tannahill stated “imposing some kind of order and guaranteeing the market peace were feasible only if the place of sale was subject to regulation, and the usual practice was to establish different areas for different kinds of merchandise”.³²

In 1717 a discussion about construction a third Town House began with an alliance of factions in the town. The city’s merchants, traders and officials met and discussed the building of a new and permanent market for the Town Dock area, one that could serve the need of community and business alike, but it was seventeen years before the town voted it on. The pro-market vote carried 517 to 399 in March 1734, before £700.00 of tax money was appropriated for the building of three wooden structures: A North Market, a Center Market and a South Market. All three markets opened on June 1734. As before, a bell was sounded to announce each day’s opening. The markets were apparently well received by all except the usual dissenters. This time around, the complaints were mostly about the fact that ‘there was a market in existence’. Butchers complained that selling only in the market would ruin their business. Some residents favored the return of the peddlers (who were banned upon the opening of the markets) because now they had to make the journey to the market place. In the end however, it was an ineffective and confusing regulatory system that resulted in the demise of these markets. Three years after opening, two of the buildings were abandoned and the clerks fired. One market was converted into a storehouse and then rented. The other was dismantled. In 1737 the third remaining market, the Corn Market (center bottom on Fig. 11), was destroyed by fire, set by arsonists allegedly dressed as Native Americans. Boston’s second public market hall experiment

³² Reay Tannahill, *Food in History*, Headline Book Publishing, London, 2002, pp. 160

had failed disastrously. The city would miss the markets but did not want to spend money for its replacement. Three years went by before public conversation returned to the topic of a public market in the colony.

The Birth and Growth of Newport's Region and Economy

Unlike their Bay Colony cousins, the citizens of Newport and Providence were thoroughly business minded and market oriented. From the time of their founding these towns exemplified the entrepreneurial spirits that would later launch them into economic prominence. Markets were quick to take hold in areas outside the Bay Colony. The areas around Newport's Long Wharf and Providence's Market Square were active sites for the loading and unloading of merchant vessels. Buying and selling concentrated around the docks, and it was in these locations that the constructed markets would eventually be established.

Strategically located at the southern end of the Narragansett Bay, Newport is home to a natural harbor located within a cove along the mid-western edge of the peninsula. Providence is located 21 nautical miles at the north of the bay and at the end of the Providence River. While there are certain geo-political advantages to such a location, seventeenth to early nineteenth century maritime trade gave Newport's position the upper hand.

While most colonial residents were yeoman farmers, it was not long before an entrepreneurial/business class developed to take advantage of the natural resource the bay presented. By the late seventeenth century Newport was the most active port in North America, overtaking Boston. As a consequence the town became a world class-trading center. With the emergence of commerce Newport looked for an inexpensive labor force, which, in seventeenth century North America, meant an enslaved population.

“The first African “forced immigrants” arrived in Rhode Island ...around 1652, and the first documented slave ship, the “Sea Flower” arrived in Newport in 1696.”³³ “By the middle of the eighteenth century, upwards of twenty ships per year sailed for Africa from the tiny colony, most of them from the city of Newport. Two-thirds of Rhode Island’s fleet was engaged in the slave trade. Over the next century, more than 60 percent of the North American ships involved in the African slave trade were based in Rhode Island.”³⁴ All the major business personalities of that time and era were involved in the trade as a part of and / or as by product of their trading ventures. In Providence the Brown brothers were the leading traders and slavers. They, as stated above, were business partners with Aaron Lopez and Jacob Rodriquez Rivera, two lucrative trade leaders in Newport. Jacob Rivera introduced the spermaceti oil and candle business to New England. With the Brown brothers, Aaron Lopez and others wealthy investors founded the United Spermaceti Candle Making Company in Newport.³⁵ For much of the second half of the eighteenth century that company was the leading exporter (by profit) from Newport.³⁶

Within fifty years after receiving its charter “enslaved Africans outnumbered white indentured servants in Newport ten to one.”³⁷ In all, perhaps one hundred thousand Africans were carried to the British North American colonies, from the Caribbean to New England, in Rhode Island ships. However, in a small colony like Rhode Island, the slave trade became a crucial economic engine. The trade brought great wealth to some merchants and investors and created opportunities for thousands of others. In addition to the sailors employed in the trade, many others worked in industries dependent on the slave trade, from rope making to iron

³³ <http://www.colonialcemetery.com/newport-slavery>

³⁴ http://www.choices.edu/resources/documents/slavery_reading1.pdf

³⁵ <http://www.colonialcemetery.com/newport-slavery>

³⁶ Lynne Withey, *Urban Growth in Colonial Rhode Island: Newport and Providence in the Eighteenth Century*, State University of New York Press, Albany, 1984, p.122.

³⁷ Ibid

forging, in candle manufacturing and carpentry. Distilling provides perhaps the best example of an indirect business operation to the slave industry and Rhode Island's economic growth. By the 1760s, the Rhode Island city of Newport alone boasted nearly two-dozen distilleries, specializing in transforming Caribbean molasses into rum.³⁸ During that era, the exportation of American rum to Africa, for the buying of slaves, was the second highest grossing export from Newport.³⁹

In *Theaters of Conversion*, Samuel Y. Edgerton described how, over a course of years, the Spanish mendicants trained the indigenous peoples of Mexico and Meso-America the 'art of making' the Spanish cathedrals in the Spanish manner. Edgerton stated: "...the mostly anonymous Indian masons, sculptors, and painters working in this imported style...grew expert in its techniques and conventions"⁴⁰. In the Colony of Rhode Island and the Providence Plantation there was a similar system of training that also took place but unlike the indigenous Meso-Americans who perhaps already had some technical skills to build upon, the Narragansett colonists imported their would be apprentices from Africa at a young age. Unlike the colonies to the south, New England and particularly Newport, [imported] an over-abundance of "young, many times children"... "By bringing an African child to Rhode Island, the Master had five to six years to apprentice that child to become a skilled worker in one of many trades including rope making, barrel making, stone masons, carpenter, furniture makers, shipbuilding, rum making, candle making and silversmith"⁴¹ (Fig. 12).

³⁸ http://www.choices.edu/resources/documents/slavery_reading1.pdf

³⁹ Lynne Withey, *Urban Growth in Colonial Rhode Island: Newport and Providence in the Eighteenth Century*, State University of New York Press, Albany, 1984, p.122.

⁴⁰ Samuel Y. Edgerton, *Theaters of Conversion – Religious Architecture and Indian Artisans in Colonial Mexico*, The University of Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 2001, p.2.

⁴¹ <http://www.colonialcemetery.com/newport-slavery/>

In 1657 Samuel Gorton, the founder of the town of Warwick, authored the first protest against slavery in America.⁴² The earliest documented manumission in Newport (as listed in the Rhode Island Land Evidence Records) was recorded in 1673 when “...thirtieth day of March John Champlin heire to John Card Deceased did declare that he gave his Negro Samerore his Freedom forever Newport on Rhode Island.”⁴³ Newport outlawed slavery in 1774, but it would be another ninety-one years before the practice would officially end in North America. In the meantime, “between 1705 and 1805, Rhode Island merchants sponsored at least one thousand slaving voyages to West Africa and carried over one hundred thousand African slaves back to American and the West Indies.”⁴⁴ “In 1787, the Rhode Island legislature passed a law banning participation in the slave trade, but the industry actually experienced an overall increase between 1787 and the federal abolition of the trade in 1807.”⁴⁵

In Rhode Island as elsewhere during the seventeenth to nineteenth century the enslavement of Africans was about the art of making maximum profits. For the Narragansett Bay towns, the Triangular Trade was a key component of economic and urban growth. Slavery was Newport’s way to energize its markets: The shipping industry and physical markets that were developed because of it, and in turn, the manufacturing, business and farming infrastructure that was needed to support and propel those ventures first for Newport’s and later for Providence’s economies. Building and roads had to be put into place. Outside the towns, the production of crops and livestock to feed the local population and to furnish the out-bound ships for their extensive voyages to Africa, Europe and the Southern colonies became a large and demanding

⁴² <http://www.geni.com/people/Samuel-Gorton-5th-President-Providence-and-Warwick/6000000002824538463>

⁴³ <http://www.colonialcemetery.com/newport-slavery>

⁴⁴ Ibid

⁴⁵ Slavery in Rhode Island | www.newportthisweek.com | Newport This Week

undertaking. As trade and commerce increased, the towns grew into cities. The distribution of essential products would need to be regulated through well-managed, adequately protected structures between the local suppliers and the potential client or agent. As good as the status quo may have been, the merchants and traders recognized the need for a more efficient market system.

3.

1741 – 1776: On the Way to Revolution

Peter Faneuil's Hall and Market

Born on the 20th of June 1700, Peter Faneuil was thirty-eight when he became the eighteenth benefactor to his uncle Andrew Faneuil's estate. Peter Faneuil inherited that distinction after his brother Benjamin broke the uncle's required pledge to lifetime celibacy. Faneuil went on a small spending spree following his uncle's burial, making updates to his mansion, then ordering new silverware, wine and fabrics from Europe, and a teenage male slave from Antigua.⁴⁶

In Abram Brown's words, Peter Faneuil, "from his own experience, realized the disadvantages under which trade was conducted without a local market. He had a fervent desire to see some improvement in this direction, and manifested a willingness to aid in securing it."⁴⁷ Knowing what he did of business and trade, it was to Faneuil's advantage to see a fully functional market in place in Boston. Faneuil's business was business, in particular the building

⁴⁶ Abram English Brown, *Faneuil Hall And Faneuil Hall Market or Peter Faneuil and His Gift.*, Lee and Shepard, Boston, 1901, p. 29-33.

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 65.

of building ships for patrons in England, France and the West Indies. He was also the owner of a trading fleet and had enterprises in England and France. Having traveled to Europe, Faneuil was most certainly aware of the English docksides and docks to quay to warehouse / store (market) operations of the English port towns. There were no such systems in New England. As developed as the eighteenth century Boston ports were, having a constructed market in close proximity would be a tremendous bonus for the merchants and traders.

Peter Faneuil and a friend initiated a private conversation on the topic. Eventually Faneuil made an offer to the town council to pay for the erecting of a market house on Dock Square, if the town would approve it by a vote, and good regulations were put in place for its support and constant use. Faneuil's proposal was brought to a vote. On July 14, 1740 the proposal was approved by only seven votes of a 727 total ballots cast. Opponents against a public market hall were not pleased and, despite the approval by vote of the market hall, asked for more. They requested and were granted an addendum allowing the market people to peddle their wares in or outside the market hall.⁴⁸ To "be at liberty carry their marketing wheresoever they please about the town to dispose of it."⁴⁹

Faneuil chose Scottish artist and friend John Smibert (1688-1751) to be the architect. Smibert's plan was a two-story brick building in the English Renaissance Style. The ground floor was to be used exclusively as a market, and was accessible from all four sides. A brick structure for the use of market activities was a first for architecture in Boston. Later, but prior to the beginning of construction, Faneuil agreed to fund the inclusion of a large hall on the second floor

⁴⁸ John Quincy Jr., *Quincy's Market, A Boston Landmark*, Northeastern University Press, Boston, 2003, pp. 14

⁴⁹ Abram English Brown, *Faneuil Hall And Faneuil Hall Market or Peter Faneuil and His Gift.*, Lee and Shepard, Boston, 1901, p. 82.

in which the town could conduct its business and judicial affairs. Arched windows were featured on all sides of the second floor, to be paired vertically with the openings on the first.

Above the new market hall Smibert centered a copula that housed the bell that signaled the start of the market day. Faneuil ordered a weathervane in the shape of a grasshopper, similar to that of the London Royal Exchange, to sit atop the copula. The weathervane was made from hammered copper by Deacon Shem Drowne, and completed in time for the building's opening in 1742 (Fig. 13). Over the years and re-iterations of Faneuil Hall the grasshopper-vane has experienced many falls and subsequent repairs as the building evolved.

On the night of January 13, 1761 a fire, said to have started at a shop some distance away on Dock Square, spread and destroyed a majority of the Faneuil Hall Market. Efforts to rebuild it began almost immediately. A general lottery was initiated with John Hancock sponsoring £2000.00. The needed money was raised to rebuild the market hall. The more Puritanical factions within the community met this with resistance and used the hall's dilapidated state to delay repairs. They agreed to approve the repairs to the upper hall portion of the structure, but insisted "it is the sense of the town, not with standing, that the lower part shall not be improved as a Markett till further order and Determination of the town."⁵⁰ In effect, they held up payment to the contractors for over four years, until September of 1765, but the repairs continued while money was still being raised (Fig. 14). Changes were made during this rebuilding to make the structure as fireproof as possible, with the use of a minimal amount of wood. The roof was changed to slate from the previous wooden shingles, and the window framing changed of stone. The market reopened in 1763.

⁵⁰ Abram English Brown, *Faneuil Hall And Faneuil Hall Market or Peter Faneuil and His Gift*. Lee and Shepard, Boston, 1901, p. 97.3

Newport and Providence – Urbanization and the [Need for] Market Houses

Schmiechen and Carls noted that: “From medieval times well into the nineteenth century, the most important economic and social center of urban life and a dominant feature of the townscape was the public market.”⁵¹ Reay Tannahill’s made a similar observation, stating: “As the towns grew, small markets that had evolved for the neighbourly bartering of produce developed into major trading events where coinage, spices, wine and silks replaced baskets of apples and day-old chicks as currency.”⁵²

Most certainly there were open-air markets in Newport and Providence, and the size and scope of them had to have increased as the size of the towns increased. Between 1708 and 1774 Newport’s population increased from 2,208 to 9,208. During that same period the population of Providence went from 1,446 to 4,321. In 1708 more than a half of the colony’s inhabitants lived in those two towns, 3,654 of a total 7,181. By 1774, with a total population at 59,706, less than one in four lived in Newport and Providence⁵³. The area had become much more urbanized, yet with a more dispersed population – outside the two primary cities. The physical boundaries had already begun to become blurry. With rural areas pushed further away from the (now) city centers the need for [a] centralized market would be all the more urgent.

“Newport’s need for an adequate granary and market was apparent”⁵⁴ to the merchants. The Proprietors of Long Wharf voted that liberty be granted the applicants to erect a market house where the upper watch house now stand. That request was made in 1753, however the

⁵¹ Schmiechen, James and Carls, K., *The British Market Hall, A Social and Architectural History*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1999, p.5.

⁵² Tannahill, Reay, *Food In History*, Headline Book Publishing, London, 1973, p.159.

⁵³ Lynne Withey, *Urban Growth in Colonial Rhode Island: Newport and Providence in the Eighteenth Century*, State University of New York Press, Albany, 1984, p.15.

⁵⁴ Antoinette F. Downing and Scully V. J., *The Architectural Heritage of Newport Rhode Island 1640-1915*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge Massachusetts, 1957, p. 77.

matter rested until 1760 when the Proprietor set aside land on Thames Street for a market, the upper part to be divided into stores for dry good and the lower part thereof a Market House, and for no other use whatsoever forever: (unless it shall be found convenient to appropriate some part of it for a watch house) A handsome brick building, to be thirty-three feet in front or in width and about sixty-six feet in length.⁵⁵ The original allocated site “measured thirty-eight feet by fifty feet. When Harrison requested a lot thirty-three feet by sixty-six feet it was granted.”⁵⁶ By July 10, 1760 a committee of Newport’s leading citizens met and discussed the building of the market house with architect Peter Harrison.⁵⁷ Undoubtedly the Newport businessmen had Boston’s Faneuil Hall in mind as a ‘model’. The requested building would be similar in width, three bays, to John Smibert’s market hall, but only seven deep compared to Faneuil Hall’s nine. Also missing would be the bell tower and the gabled windows Smibert added to his design. Harrison, being the most capable and well-known designer/architect and as well a fellow businessman in the Newport was thus the logical choice.

Peter Harrison – The Brick Market, Newport

Peter Harrison was born in York, England in 1716 (Fig. 15). It is believed that he may have met Richard Boyle, the 3rd Earl of Burlington who was responsible for the 18th century Palladian revival in England, and his assistant William Kent - late 18th century architect and landscape designer - while both men were working on the York Assembly Rooms. Harrison is

⁵⁵ Antoinette F. Downing and Scully V. J., *The Architectural Heritage of Newport Rhode Island 1640-1915*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge Massachusetts, 1957, p. 77.

⁵⁶ (July 1969) « NATIONAL PARK SERVICE iode Island focus.nps.gov/pdfhost/docs/NHLS/Text/66000019.pdf

⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 83.

also thought to have apprenticed with William Etty and his son John Etty, York architects.⁵⁸

Peter Harrison arrived in Newport in 1739 at the end of his first venture outside of England. In that same year he became a ship's captain and owner, involved in trading and whaling throughout the Atlantic thereafter.

Harrison was as much a businessman as he was an architect, if not more so. In 1746 his marriage to Elizabeth Pelham provided him with a family link to the governor of the Massachusetts Colony, William Shirley, whom Harrison had already befriended. Shirley became Harrison's first architectural patron and through the family and Harrison's Quaker background, network linkages to Newport's rich merchant class and Society of Friends came quickly.

After a return trip to Europe, that included visits to Lord Burlington's Chiswick House and Palladio's Church of San Giorgio, Venice, Harrison returned to Newport in 1749 with books by Inigo Jones, Colin Campbell and many others to amass an architectural library unrivaled by any in then contemporary British America. It would be these books he would consult as he designed his future structures.

Peter Harrison was not trained as an architect. In our [modern] twenty-first century manner of classification he would be considered more a 'gentleman-amateur architect', an architect who did not practice as a profit making activity. Harrison owned an extensive library of over 600 books on architecture, including English copies of Palladio's *Four Books of Architecture*, pattern books of 18th century European designs, and a copy of Colin Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*. Because of his position as a Tory, Harrison's home and library were destroyed during the Revolutionary War. Prior to his commission for the Newport market, Harrison had other important civic commissions. Most notable was the planning of Fort George

⁵⁸ Peter Harrison Chronology, Newport Historical Society, Newport, Rhode Island

and the Harbor at Newport (1745) and the design of the Beavertail Lighthouse at the mouth of the Narragansett Bay (1755). In 1748 he designed and built the much lauded Redwood Library, the seventh oldest in the country, for businessman, trader and Caribbean plantation owner Abraham Redwood. Harrison “created what George Washington later called “rusticated boards”, i.e. to make wood siding appear to be stone through carving and sanded paint.”⁵⁹ Washington later used the same “rusticated board” technique at Mt. Vernon.

Harrison completed the plans for the market during 1759-1760. He designed a two and a half story structure, the first floor as an open shed marketplace, the upper levels to be used as meeting, office and storage spaces. For a design, Harrison turned to Inigo Jones’ Old Somerset House as depicted in Colin Campbell’s *Vitruvius Britannicus*. On the front Harrison omitted the left and right wings from the Somerset House model, changed the order from Corinthian to Ionic, added a hipped roof after removing the roof ornaments, and most importantly, he decreased the number of arches bays from five to three while retaining the double engaged pilasters at the second and third floor corners of the structure. The overall absence of ornamentation results in a less Baroque, more Italianate building. Architect and writer Fiske Kimball suggest that that Harrison’s references went even further back, to Michelangelo’s Palazzo del Senatore in Rome⁶⁰ (Fig. 16).

As prescribed by the merchants, the market house is made of bricks, with a hipped slate roof. All else is of wood. This includes the pilasters and their Ionic capitals, the window trim and the window frames and pediments. The east and western end of the market house features triple bays. The northern and southern sides have seven bays. All the first floor bays are arched. Above, in true Palladian fashion, the bays on the second and third levels are located immediately

⁵⁹ Peter Harrison Chronology, Newport Historical Society, Newport, Rhode Island

⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 84.

above the first floor arches to form perfect verticals. Each second floor window bay is capped by alternating triangular then an arched (eyebrow) pediment, with the triangular always falling on the odd count, or if you prefer, an eyebrow arch at the center of each side of the building. The second floor windows are nine over nine double hung units. The windows on the upper level are twelve paned awnings.

The brickwork on the market house is particularly noteworthy because Harrison did not treat the sides uniformly. He applied a combination of English and American bonding, depending on the orientation as well as on the section of the particular side. Bricks on both the northern and southern sides, on lower and upper levels, are laid utilizing the English bonding method. On the east and western end Harrison became more creative. On the eastern end, facing Washington Square, the present front of the Museum of Newport History, the bricks on the lower floor (referred to as the basement) are laid in the manner of the American bond. The upper floors are in the English bonding pattern. This sequence is reversed on the western end of the structure towards the wharf. At this end the upper two levels are done utilizing the American bond. For the most part the basement level is encased in an English bonding pattern. A rather idiosyncratic situation is noticed over the left archway on the western side of the market house. The brick pattern makes a very sudden shift beginning at a vertical directly at the peak of the beltcourse of the left archway. To the right of the vertical the bonding is English. To the left it is American, (Fig. 17). The change in brick patterns came as a result of major renovations in the early twentieth century 1928 done under the direction of architectural historian and preservationist Norman Isham. "At this time...yellow paint applied in the nineteenth century was removed from

the brick. This necessitated the replacement of the soft brick(s) on the north and east walls of the basement story.”⁶¹

Construction of the market began in autumn of 1762, the upper stories however took longer to be completed, and money ran out before they were. The building committee members paid for the roofing themselves. In August of 1764 they went to the Town Meeting in search of aid for the funding of the rest of the construction cost. Years later the upper stories still lacked floors. “In 1771 windows, doors and other exterior details were ordered and in December of 1772 the building was finally opened to the public”.⁶² The building has since been known as the Brick Market (Fig. 18).

The Brick Market was constructed on the Long Wharf at the corner of Thames Street, centrally located at the western end of Washington Square almost directly across from the Old Colony House, a work by architect Richard Munday, completed in 1739 the same year of his death and that of Harrison’s arrival to Newport. Washington Square was the center of late 18th century Newport and remains so to this day. Thames Street is the major thoroughfare running north to south adjacent to the harbor (Fig. 19). At the time the Brick market was constructed there were two other markets in operation along Newport’s dockside. One was the slave market, which operated near the center of Long Wharf until 1774 when “Newport outlawed slavery, shattering the Triangular Trade.”⁶³ A smaller market was located on King Street, west of Thames Street (Fig. 20). That market is also no longer extant and no description could be located. After 1774 the slave market was physically removed (Fig. 21).

⁶¹ (July 1969) « NATIONAL PARK SERVICE iode Island
focus.nps.gov/pdfhost/docs/NHLS/Text/66000019.pdf

⁶² (July 1969) « NATIONAL PARK SERVICE iode Island
focus.nps.gov/pdfhost/docs/NHLS/Text/66000019.pdf

⁶³ Newport: History - Earliest Newport, Pirates, Slaves, and ...
www.city-data.com › Cities of the United States › The Northeast

Joseph Brown - The Market House, Providence

After the completion of Brick Market in Newport, in Providence the Brown brothers would also initiate the building of a market house adequate enough to support the needs of their town's business. They too realized the importance of such an architectural structures to support their import and export ventures, and the development of the local economy on a whole. To take from William Jordy, the physical existence of a market house is also "one of several architectural monuments that signaled the ascendancy of a commercial center".⁶⁴ As shippers the Browns owned property alongside the Providence River in the area now known as North and South Main Street. They decided to center their importing-exporting operations at the northern end of the river, but at a point where the ships could still maneuver unencumbered. Ezra Stiles was "pastor at the Second Congregational Church on Church Street, Librarian at the Redwood Library and Co-Founder of what was to become Brown University. When the war started, he left for New Hampshire and later became President of Yale College."⁶⁵ In 1758 he prepared a hand drawn map of Newport featuring a detailed study of the city's harbor with the names of the owners of the wharf listed adjacent to their respective dock. The location of the Brown's dock can be noticed at the lower left corner of the detailed section of the map (Fig. 22). It was from there that they first began the family's shipping operations.

In Providence, ten years after the completion Newport's Brick Market, Nicolas, Joseph, John and Moses Brown of the family firm Nicolas Brown and Company added their voices to the call for the construction of a market house in the Providence area now known as Market Square.

⁶⁴ William H Jordy, Ororato, R. J., and Woodward, W. M., *Buildings of Rhode Island*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, New York, 2004, p. 65.

⁶⁵ newportmapproject.weebly.com/1758---manuscript-map.html

Funds for the market were raised by a lottery approved after a 1771 petition to the Rhode General Assembly. As much as it was to the capitalistic desires of the Brown brothers, Providence's townspeople, unlike the Bostonians, had been asking for a market house. The First Baptist Meeting House in Providence was being erected at this time.⁶⁶ Joseph Brown was the designer of the Meeting House, which, despite later critiques concerning the spatial and overall coherence of his design, is nevertheless regarded as "the most important church built in New England in the years immediately preceding the Revolution."⁶⁷ Joseph Brown was also chosen to design the Market House.

The Market House, Providence was completed in 1773 but opened for business in 1775. It was a publicly funded market, financed through a lottery "the purpose of which, was to erect a public market house for the benefit of the north part of the town and to build a bridge from the south side of the town over to the main street⁶⁸" (Fig. 23). The stalls were sold at auction. Joseph Brown, although the most important architect in Providence in the eighteenth century, was nevertheless a 'gentleman-amateur' architect. As a partner in his family's business, yet not as interested in the business/trade affairs as were John and Moses Brown, Joseph managed the candle works and spermaceti oil operations at Tockwotton, (also called Town Point) at the

⁶⁶ Joseph Brown adapted much of the plans for the First Baptist Meeting House from James Gibbs. The steeple design can be found on plate 30 in Gibbs' book. Their Gibbs presented three designs for the steeple for St. Martin-in-the-Fields.

⁶⁷ William H Pierson, *American Buildings and Their Architects: The Colonial and Neoclassical Styles*, Doubleday and Company, Garden City, New York, 1970, p. 137.

- Pierson credits to the success of The First Baptist Church to James Gibbs' inspiration, and the carpenter James Summer.

⁶⁸ DeSimone, Russell J., "A List of Rhode Island Lotteries (18th and 19th Centuries)" (2002). *Technical Services Department Faculty Publications*. Paper 8. http://digitalcommons.uri.edu/lib_ts_pubs/8

southern end of Providence.⁶⁹ With the Revolutionary War on the verge of beginning, the Browns and Providence would not use the Market House to its fullest potential for near ten years. Joseph Brown designed the Market House with the assistance of Stephen Hopkins, four times governor of the Colony of Rhode Island and the Providence Plantation, later a signer to the U.S. Declaration of Independence. The market (Fig. 24) is a much less ornate answer to Peter Harrison's Brick Market (Fig. 18) and to John Smibert's Faneuil Hall (Fig 13). Zephaniah Andrews was the master mason in charge. The original 1773 design and construction was a two-story building with an opened first floor arcade for use by vendors. The building features an east to west gable roof with two very tall chimneys positioned at approximately one-third and two-third way on the inside of the north and south sides. "A balustrade of closed panels above solid spaces alternating with equal sections of turned balusters above the window openings crowns the eaves along either sided and returns against the gables."⁷⁰ A brick coursing separates the upper stories of the Market House. The second floor was designated as spaces for town officials. In a very short time however, it became obvious that a meeting hall was also needed.

The Meeting Halls – The Spaces Below and Above

Despite the differences in the physical attributes of the markets under investigation, all three functioned in similar capacities for the remainder of the century and well into the nineteenth century. Each structure featured an opened arched arcade on the first floor within which trade and marketing activities took place. The first floor of the Market House, Providence also featured a separate space for merchants. The third floor housed the Masonic Lodge. All

⁶⁹ Charles Rappleye, *Sons of Providence, The Brown Brothers, The Slave Trade and the American Revolution*, Simon and Shuster Paperbacks, New York, 2006, p. 21.

⁷⁰ Rhode Island NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES ...
focus.nps.gov/pdfhost/docs/NRHP/Text/72000001.pdf

three market houses supported office spaces for business transactions as well as for municipal affairs in addition to meetings on the second floors. Merchant Activities in and around the buildings must have been very brisk, considering that the markets were the primary retail sites for the acquisition of food, produce and goods for their respective municipalities. Prior to being occupied by the British, Newport was still the most active port in North America with Boston as a close rival. With laden ships arriving and departing constantly, activities at docksides must have been one of organized chaos. The docks and warehouses along Thames Street and in the Town Dock region were in constant motion with loading, unloading and the ferrying of goods to and from the warehouses, and to the shops and the markets.

With the ending of the British's war with the French in Canada, tension, the consequences of which would affect all aspects of living, began to rise in New England. "At the same time Rhode Island merchants chafed at the restrictions placed upon them by the British government. This tension came to a head in 1763 when the British sent vessels to police Narragansett Bay against smuggling activities."⁷¹ While smuggling was curbed, the merchants and other shippers were not joyous having the Crown's navy watching all their activities. "Several skirmishes broke out between the colonists and the British Navy."⁷² With ill-feelings already on the rise, John Brown organized an attack on the HMS Gaspee. He was arrested and released, but the stage had been set for further conflict to come. "The British exacted their revenge in 1765 during the American Revolution by seizing the town of Newport and occupying it for nearly three years. As a result of this occupation, Newport's maritime trade collapsed. Although the city ranked as a leading whaling center from 1775 to 1850, its economy did not

⁷¹ <http://www.city-data.com/us-cities/The-Northeast/Newport-History.html>

⁷² Ibid

fully recover for nearly a century.”⁷³ With the occupation of Newport by British forces (1765 to 1768), and the strain of the Revolutionary War, Newport’s position as a leading trading and mercantile port diminished. Market activities slowed with the retreat of the shipping and trading industries. As consequence, Newport lost most of its earlier vibrancy. For the city, this trend would continue with the passing of the years (Fig. 25), into the late nineteenth century.

The Revolutionary War also affected Boston. Nevertheless and perhaps because of the size of the Boston Metropolitan area, the Faneuil Hall Market continued to serve the citizenry at capacity. Fifty-nine miles to the south-west, the Market House in Providence was opened for business the year prior to the military start of the Revolution. Marketing was vibrant from the beginning and would remain so throughout the conflict and well into the next century with Market Square enjoying scenes similar to that depicted in Fig. 26.

The upper level (second floor) of Faneuil Hall, the Brick Market and the Market House were designed as meeting spaces for the towns’ leaders and businessmen. Once of the French and Indian War was decided in Britain’s favor, the British Parliament sought to have the American colonies contribute more towards their defense. The British crown was also in desperate need to replenish its monetary chest depleted through the years of conflict with France. To raise money for these purposes, Parliament, King George, impose a series of Acts/taxes on the North American colonist. These began with the Sugar Act of 1764, followed by the Stamp Act and Quartering Act of 1765; the Townshend Act of 1767; the Declaration Act, Tea Act of 1773, the Quebec Act⁷⁴, and finally the Intolerable Act of 1774, which came about as

⁷³ Ibid

⁷⁴ The Quebec Act was not a tax, but a restoration of rights by the British to French – Canadians. The Act offended the American colonist because they view it as infringement of Canada into American soil: With the Act the British crown included Newfoundland within the Canadian territory.

punishment for the Boston Tea Party.⁷⁵ The markets' meeting halls became centers of debate and protestation in Boston and Providence. From its proclamation Stephen Hopkins, then the Colonial Governor of Rhode Island and the Providence Plantation and co-designer of the Market House, with Providence's businessmen argued against the Sugar Act in and around Market Square with the Market House's meeting spaces as their centerpiece. Hopkins subsequently wrote the North American Colonial response to the Sugar Act.

Faneuil Hall is nicknamed the "Cradle of Liberty" because of its role as meeting place for disgruntle conversations that fomented the American Revolution. Within the hall's second floor meeting room, public outcries against the Stamp and Tea Acts were aggressively debated and discussed by the likes of Samuel Adams and John Hancock. It was these discussions, meetings and vocal protest, as well as those following the so called Boston Massacre of 1770 (Fig. 27) in and around the market halls that resulted in the Boston Tea Party of December 1773 and the subsequent call to arms that prompted the War for American Independence. The markets' role in the communities had been expanded to all parts of eighteenth century civic and political life.

⁷⁵ americanmm.weebly.com

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1777 – 1830: From Revolution to Nation Building

Post revolutionary Massachusetts presented a very secure lifestyle for its citizenry. With the war behind them Bostonians returned to and or repaired what was their way of life even as they looked towards improvements. By now there was an acceptance of the Faneuil Hall Market as a place of marketing, business and politics. The renting of stalls became standardized and accepted, and it was not long before the need for more space for the marketers was realized. While a large number of Boston's residents, Tory loyalists, had vacated the city and the new American nation with the British forces, upon their exit many others immigrated to Boston from neighboring states and communities to make the region their home. The cessation of the war also resulted in reinvigorated shipping (building and trading) and fishing industries, all of which intensified activities at the marketplace.

Easier access to Boston via the opening of the Charles River Bridge in 1786 (replaced by the Charlestown Bridge in 1900) and the West Boston Bridge in 1793 (replaced by the Cambridge, now Longfellow Bridge, in 1906) also created positive benefits for those frequenting

Market Square and Faneuil Hall Market. Prior to the construction of these bridges, market goers relied on ferries to and from locations north and west of the larger city. Improvements in access, a rejuvenated and active port, a flourishing and constantly increasing population, these factors describe Boston at the dawn of the nineteenth century. Additionally, the city benefitted from access to its northern region through the 1808 opening of the Middlesex Canal that connected the Concord River, in the city of Lowell, to the port of Boston at Charlestown.⁷⁶

Faneuil Hall was the forum in which Boston's public debates were held. By the arrival of the nineteenth century, the accepted view was that the hall had become too small for town meetings. Once again the need for space propelled the decision makers into action. The first floor market of Faneuil Hall was also cramped. To alleviate some of the market congestion a wooden extension for meat and fish was constructed onto the west end of Faneuil Hall. A vegetables market, known as the Shambles, was constructed adjacent to the market hall (Fig. 28). No additional improvements were made until 1805, when a committee chaired by Charles Bulfinch, a Harvard College graduate and the first American born professional architect submitted a proposal for the repairs and expansion of Faneuil Hall. The Bulfinch plan was approved by vote.

Bulfinch was a master of Neoclassicism, but his alterations of Smibert's English Renaissance design would made be utilizing Federal Stylistic elements. (Fig. 29) Bulfinch widened the building by almost three-fifths, by adding on to its north side. Another story and a half were added to the height. The meeting room was expanded to seventy-six square feet and to twenty-eight feet in height. With the third floor addition, galleries supported by Doric columns were built along three walls. On the exterior, Bulfinch added a third order of pilasters with accompanying arches to synchronize with the original fenestration. The ground floor arches were

⁷⁶ Transportation | The West End Museum
thewestendmuseum.org/history-of-the-west-end/transportation/

closed in to give the building less of a market hall appearance in preference of a statelier look, unknowingly to match the more official capacity the building would take on in the future. The copula was kept, but repositioned to the eastern end of the remodeled building. Bulfinch also discarded the John Smibert's design of a pediment window. Instead, Bulfinch added a lunette over the fourth, central bay. The lunette was positioned within a semi-circular stone banding, beginning and ending inward at the third pilaster. True to his neo-classical inclinations, the architect separated the pediment and rows of pilaster and window bays with an adequately proportioned entablature. Over the second and sixth bays, closer to the acute ends of the pediment, Bulfinch positioned bull's eye windows (Fig. 30). On Smibert's Faneuil Hall, the pediment featured a tall arched window centered above the second (center) bay. Circular windows were positioned over bays one and three. Aside from the similar use of pilasters, a near similarly designed copula, side windows, and the original grasshopper weathervane, nothing much of the Smibert's Faneuil Hall is present in Bulfinch's recreation.

Mayor Josiah Quincy

Boston was incorporated as a city in 1822. Josiah Quincy (Fig. 31) was elected its second mayor in 1823. Once inaugurated he immediately set about changing the look of the city. Seeking to improve health and living standards, Quincy initiated and enforced cleaning up of the streets, neighborhoods and sewer systems. He pushed through and enforced anti-littering and animal leash laws. Quincy went as far as he could on his own, but knew that his biggest contenders would be the harbor. He would have to do something about the conditions at Town Dock.

In 1822 the area around Faneuil Hall was very much as it was at the start of the century. Boston's population had more than tripled since then and was still on the rise. The addendum added to the first Faneuil Hall vote allowing vendors to sell 'anywhere they pleased' was still in effect. With the streets being unpaved, those areas around the Town Dock and Market Hall were in a state of constant muck and mire when it rained or snowed; they were dusty and dirty when it was dry. Quincy had managed to get the streets cleaned; now he had to do the same to the market. Faneuil Hall Market had served its purpose, but the city had out grown it. Quincy, like the market observers, realized that:

...[the] market is a social structure or a spontaneous order which emerges as the result of the interplay of actions of various individuals who are both competing against each other for resources and cooperating with one another in the provision and distribution of goods and services"⁷⁷, and the rapid growth of the population was "[taxing] the existing food distribution [of the] food system beyond its capacity,"⁷⁸ it was up to "the local government...to increase the food supply."⁷⁹

A larger market was needed.

Quincy approached the City Council with his ideas for an expanded market site, some of which would have to be created after the land was acquired (or assumed) from the present owners. After his second presentation to them, the City Counsel accepted Quincy's idea for a market square if he could show them how the land could be acquired. A Market Committee was formed, and after a long period of dealing and negotiating with the various property owners and an appearance before the state legislature for an extension of the city's eminent domain authorities, the property for the market site, from the eastern end of Faneuil Hall to the end of the

⁷⁷ Virgil Henry Storr, *The market as a social space: On the meaningful extraeconomic conversations that occur in markets*, <http://www.ihika.org/ki/>

⁷⁸ James Schmiechen and Carls, Kenneth, *THE BRITISH MARKET HALLS, A Social and Architectural History*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1999, pp. ix

⁷⁹ Ibid

docks, was acquired with only one family group, the owners of the Nathan Spear's Wharf, refusing to sell at the city's price. Instead of appealing the singular group, and because the city council was unwilling to use its eminent domain authority, Quincy would eventually plan the Faneuil Hall Markets around the Nathan Spear's Wharf. Later he appropriated the streets to the wharf via eminent domain, thus forcing the Spear family into a sale.

Mayor Quincy formed a Building Committee. All structures to the immediate north, south and east of Faneuil Hall, comprising predominately of warehouses, were demolished and cleared. The harbor was portioned, drained and appropriately dumped to accommodate the buildings (Fig. 32 and Fig. 33). Asher Benjamin, a student of Alexander Parris, took on the role as designer. His first designs called for three parallel wooden structures all 500 feet long. The two on the outside would be composed of individual warehouses that would be rented out to merchants. The central structure would be a covered vegetable market, open on all sides.

The Market Buildings

Later in the year 1824 the Market Committee adopted new plans for the market place. Benjamin altered the design to enclose all sides of the central building. A usable cellar would run its entire length. The plans were later change to expand the building from one to two stories, and to construct it with stone.⁸⁰ Soon afterwards Benjamin resigned from the position as architect and was replaced by his mentor Alexander Parris (Fig. 34). Parris was a Greek Revivalist who had worked with Charles Bulfinch. Now in charge of the Faneuil Market designs, he radically changed Benjamin's design, particularly that of the central building. First it was decided that the North and South Market sites would be divided into individual lots to be sold at auction to

⁸⁰ John Quincy, Jr., *Quincy's Market, A Boston Landmark*, Northeastern University Press, Boston, 2003, p. 68

merchants for shop or warehouse purposes (Fig. 35). The merchants would have to agree to build according to Paris' designs.

The side buildings, the North and South Market buildings, with their individual townhouses, were Federalist in style (Fig. 36 and Fig. 37). The individual townhouse designs were finalized at four and one-half stories with either four or three bays across. The three bay designs have the entry way in the center with a faux duplicate doorway immediately above on the second floor. The four bay designs have dual entryways. However, the doorways to the right led to a floor-thru passageway, allowing access to the rear of the buildings (Fig. 38).

After the many changes to the design, the two-story plan with a full basement for the central market building was finalized and construction began (Fig. 39). The first floor is two feet above ground level. The building is Greek Revivalist and has a central elliptical dome, allegedly modeled after (the technique of) sixteenth century French architect Philibert de l'Orme.⁸¹ The dome itself is a double-sheathed (in copper) design. It is 70 x 50' and its design is such that all the weight is transferred downwards onto and throughout the massive granite walls of the building. There is an oculus, 46 feet above the second floor. Atop the dome is a windowed cupola, which at one time housed a lantern (Fig.40).

The lower portion of the market building is constructed of gray granite. The rest of the exterior is white granite, including eight massive full-length columns (four at each end) that support the identical east and west porticoes. Each column measures twenty-three feet nine inches in height, three feet six inches diameter at their bases, and two feet ten inches at their necks. Inside on the first floor there are one hundred twenty cast iron and iron-core re-enforced wooden columns, sixty on each side of a twelve passage way. Iron was used because of its

⁸¹ This reference to l'Orme was accreted by John Quincy Jr., in *Quincy's Market, A Boston Landmark*, Northeastern University Press, Boston, 2003, p. 9.

superior ability to sustain compression. Every third pole has a cast iron suspension that extends from concrete supports upwards through the columns to trusses that support the second floor. The other remaining columns have iron tie-rods that connect the trusses, through the floor to a beam on the underside, where the other end is connected via a second tie-rod. In that manner, the cellar level is unencumbered by columns, resulting in a wide, open space.

All three buildings are the same length: 535' long. The center building, Quincy Market, and the North Market are 50' wide. The South Market is 65' wide.⁸² Once the buildings were completed, Mayor Quincy had the road and pedestrian way surrounding the market square paved with granite, brick and other stones. Parris and Quincy positioned the eastern ends of the market houses in close proximity to the newly created wharf (Fig. 41). The merchant and trading vessel then had unfettered access to the nearby dock.

The Influence of War on Newport's Decline and Providence's Growth

The American War for Independence left Newport beaten. The city's population had decreased and it had lost its position as the area's market leader. The Trans-Atlantic Trade was over, but exportation of spermaceti candles and oil rebounded. The practice of slavery still existed in the colony, but the activities of the slave ship had been curtailed. The economy would, in time, regenerate itself, but the Newport's era as an import-export powerhouse had passed. "French troops remained in the area until 1783 to ensure that it stayed in U.S. control. This time of instability left the city out of the industrial leaps that had occurred in other parts of the

⁸² The extra fifteen feet was due to the redesign ordered by Quincy after the Nathan Spear's Wharf family's reluctance to sell in mid-1824. This fifteen-foot widening and the subsequent narrowing of the roadway between Quincy Market and North Market building resulted in the (right sided) alignment of Faneuil Hall and the Quincy Market buildings.

country, and Newport began to rely increasingly on its image as a summer resort.”⁸³ The French occupied Newport, by invitation, in 1780, as an assurance against the return of the English.

Providence’s town fathers, although likewise disrupted by the inconvenience of war, had been able to re-invent their economic infrastructure in way Newport could not. They had forest and farmland they could resort to, and manufacturing was a new wave that Providence was primed and ready to ride.

Expansion of the Market House

Market Square, Providence was most certainly the location of more than one market house, but no records have yet to be found on any other. The square was the central area of commerce and trade for the area. The Market House, by its size and proximity to the river, provided the Browns and the other marketers using it with tactical advantages upon which they capitalized. As the Revolutionary War raged, Providence as a whole would find itself advantaged by geography as well.

In 1797 Joseph Brown added a third story to the Brick Market to accommodate the St. John’s Lodge for Masons. Around the same time “the first floor was...raised several feet to provide a basement level. At that time the opened arched arcade was fitted with glass windows, offices were installed on the first floor, while the opened bulkhead entrances allowed market activities to continue in the new basement.”⁸⁴ Brown placed a large bull’s eye window centered in the east gable of the building (Fig. 42). An equally large clock is positioned in the similar position within the west gable (Fig. 43). The bay proportions to the Providence market are akin to the Brick Market in Newport: seven bays wide and three across. The second and third floors

⁸³ Ibid

⁸⁴ Ibid

windows on the Market House are all the same sizes however: twelve over twelve double hung set in window openings that have slightly arched brick coursing above. A row of brick modillions and dentils, the most decorative aspect of the structure aside from the roof balustrade, runs along the north and south. The basement windows are (horizontal) six over six double hung. Above them, on the first floor, are large twelve over twelve double hung topped by succeeding triple arched cut-up (Fig. 44).

Providence's Growth and the Birth of Industry

It took Providence twenty years to catch up to Newport...In 1774 a census was taken in Rhode Island, Newport as nearly twice as densely populated as Providence.⁸⁵

Providence was spared the torments of the Revolutionary War that Newport and Boston underwent. As a result, while those cities lingered during the war years, Providence was able to play catch-up in many fronts. The sea was off limit to trading, as were many of the traditional New England areas. It was a time for the business class in Providence, the Brown Brothers in the front of the pack, to become more inventive in the ways of business and trade.

Samuel Slater has been called the “father of the American factory system.”⁸⁶ He was born in Derbyshire, England and immigrated to New York. In England Slater had worked in a cotton mill and memorized Richard Arkwright’s design component for the mill machines. From New York, Slater went north to Providence where he met Moses Brown. Brown, an entrepreneurial Quaker merchant, funded Slater’s “America’s first water-powered cotton spinning mill in Pawtucket, Rhode Island. “In 1793, the firm of Almy, Brown, and Slater hired local artisans and

⁸⁵ Lynne Withey, *Urban Growth in Colonial Rhode Island: Newport and Providence in the Eighteenth Century*, State University of New York Press, Albany, 1984, p. 11

⁸⁶ www.pbs.org/wgbh/theymadeamerica/whomade/slater_hi.html

laborers to construct a wooden building suitable for manufacturing cotton thread operated by waterpower. Slater Mill became the first successful cotton-spinning factory in the United States.⁸⁷ (Fig. 45). With Brown's further investment, Slater enlarged Slater Mill to include villages, housing for workers, additional modern mills and company stores. Most certainly the raw materials and end products to and from the mills and its systems would pass through Providence and the Market House.

The connections between the expansion of the Providence region and the interconnectedness with Nicolas Brown and Company and the Market House are nearly seamless. While the Browns were definitely not the only players in Providence during the growing years of the eighteenth century, they were the all-stars. It was the same in Newport twenty-five years earlier with the small group of wealthy merchants that owned and controlled the bulk of the mercantilism and other business ventures that called for the construction of the Brick market; like Peter Faneuil's vision in 1740 Boston. It was the merchants who saw the need to expanded markets as a way to maximize profits, but also as the linkage to municipal development.

⁸⁷ History | Slater Mill
www.slatermill.org/home2/history/

Conclusion: Toward the End of the Century

With the new American nation in place, and the New World's version of the Industrial Revolution already off to full speed – even if only in the northern portion of the country, the need for adequate market places did not wane. The nation would expand, and with that would come trade and mercantilism. As new territories were inhabited the development of towns and their supporting infrastructure would need to be constructed. As it was in seventeenth century New England, markets, as the points of distribution for food and goods would have to be considered as would other structures desired by communities: churches and schools for example. The market halls of the north-east would serve as examples for westward bound development.

This thesis aimed to show the relationship between architectural market places and the urbanization of the communities they serve. Markets, because of their role as the supply hubs for food and needed goods, attract [the] customers to their vicinities. As the customers frequent the markets the geographical areas around them attract more retailers and merchants. The markets then expand to serve the increasing crowds that in turn attract more customers and other merchants. There is a symbiotic relationship between the two sides: merchant/marketers and buyers/customers. Invariably people, attracted to the markets, will relocate to be in closer

proximity to them. Their towns will subsequently become cities, which would then need additional or re-designed markets to better serve the growing populations.

The Brick Market in Newport ceased being a place for food and mercantile retailing in 1853. In that year through to 1900, it served as Newport's City hall. Newport would not again be the shipping and trading powerhouse it was from the 1650s through to 1765, but its importance as a port remained and the Brick Market would remain an example of Best Business Practices through architecture for other towns and cities to emulate.

A distinguishing feature to the profile of the Market House, Providence, was an addition made in 1833 by architect James C. Bucklin. Bucklin was allowed to design the shallow two-story extension to the east end of the building to provide an entrance and stairway to the third-floor Masonic Hall. The addition was designed to be congruous to Joseph Brown's as much as possible, but it did change the Market House's character from that of the more familiar 'shed and hall' market structure, a change that is not necessarily a negative. The two-story addition took away the rectangular prism quality that the Market House had. Bucklin's addition acts as an "introduction" to what Joseph Brown created (Fig. 38 and Fig. 40). The Market House, a rather plain and unornamented building, has been serving its community as marketplace and in a host of other capacities including that of Providence's City Hall, until the completion of the present City Hall in 1878. After that time the building was leased to the Providence Board of Trade until the early twentieth century. The function, not the designed-form, of the building was what mattered.

The Faneuil Hall Market Place was opened in the spring of 1856 with no cost incurred on the taxpayers of Boston and none to the city. Immediately the City Counsel voted to close

Charles Bulfinch's Faneuil Hall to market activities and to use it only for municipal and public meetings. For the Faneuil Hall Markets, this would be only the first act in the life of what was already an American landmark. The Faneuil Hall Markets would serve as an active site for the city and metropolis. The complex continued to be useful as a Market Place through the nineteenth century and into the next. Market place all around the nation would feel the blows of social, economical and historical forces. In Boston's case it would be a combination of all. The city of Boston would 'sleep', but the market buildings would wait for it to return from its nap. The symbiotic relationship would endure.

The market square of Boston remained as a principal meeting place for Bostonians from its beginning, throughout the nineteenth century and to the present. Charles Bulfinch's reinterpretation of John Smibert's first version of Faneuil Hall Market and Meeting House continued to be a useful venue for the city and region. The building would be cared for and protected inside and out. By 1898 plans were in place to replace the wooden interior portions of the structure with "fire-resistant" iron technology. F. W. Chandler led the fireproofing work.⁸⁸ The Faneuil Hall Market Place ended the nineteenth century in good form, celebrating its one hundred fifty-eighth year in 1900. The testing years for it and the other markets were still to come.

⁸⁸ FANEUIL HALL Boston Landmarks Commission Study Report
www.cityofboston.gov/images_documents/Faneuil%20Hall%20%23176_tcm3-41987.pdf

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Images



Fig. 1 Haymarket, Norwich, John Thirtle (1777-1839), Watercolor, Norwich Castle Museum
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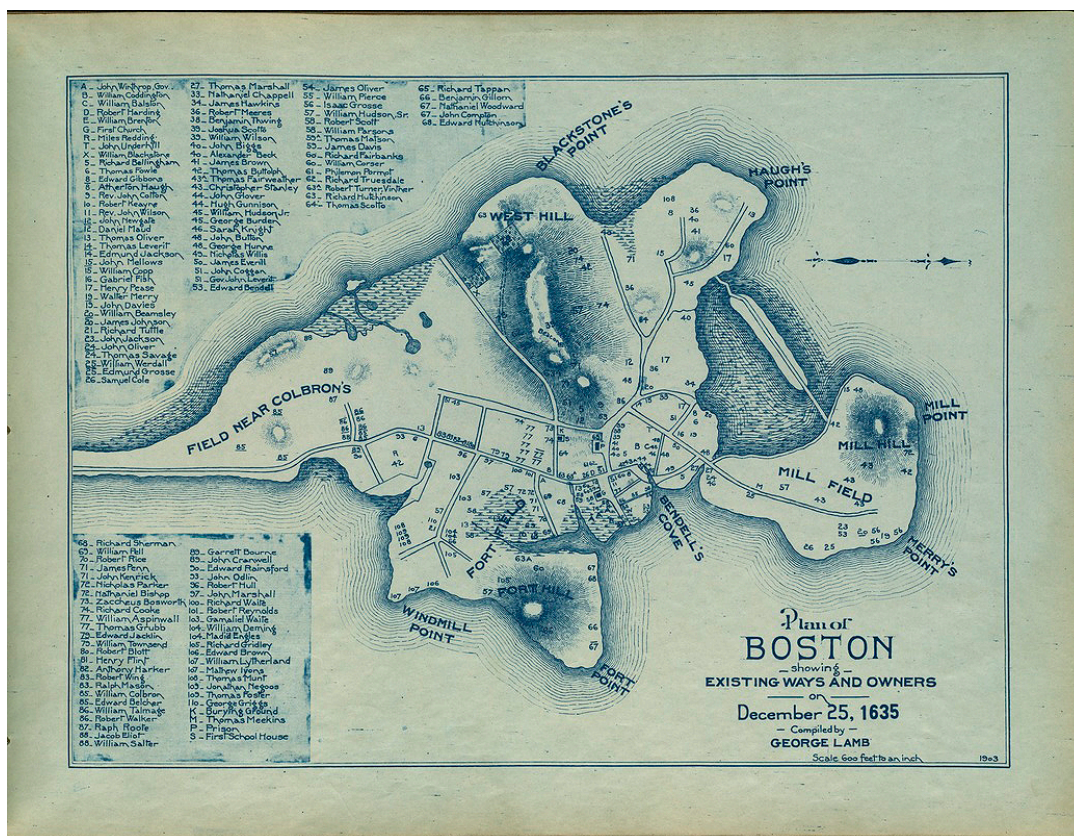


Fig. 2 Plan of Boston showing existing ways and owners on December 25, 1635
 George Lamb, 1903 <http://ark.digitalcommonwealth.org/ark:/50959/9s1619677>



Fig. 3 Portrait of Roger Williams
www.rogerwilliams.org/biography.html

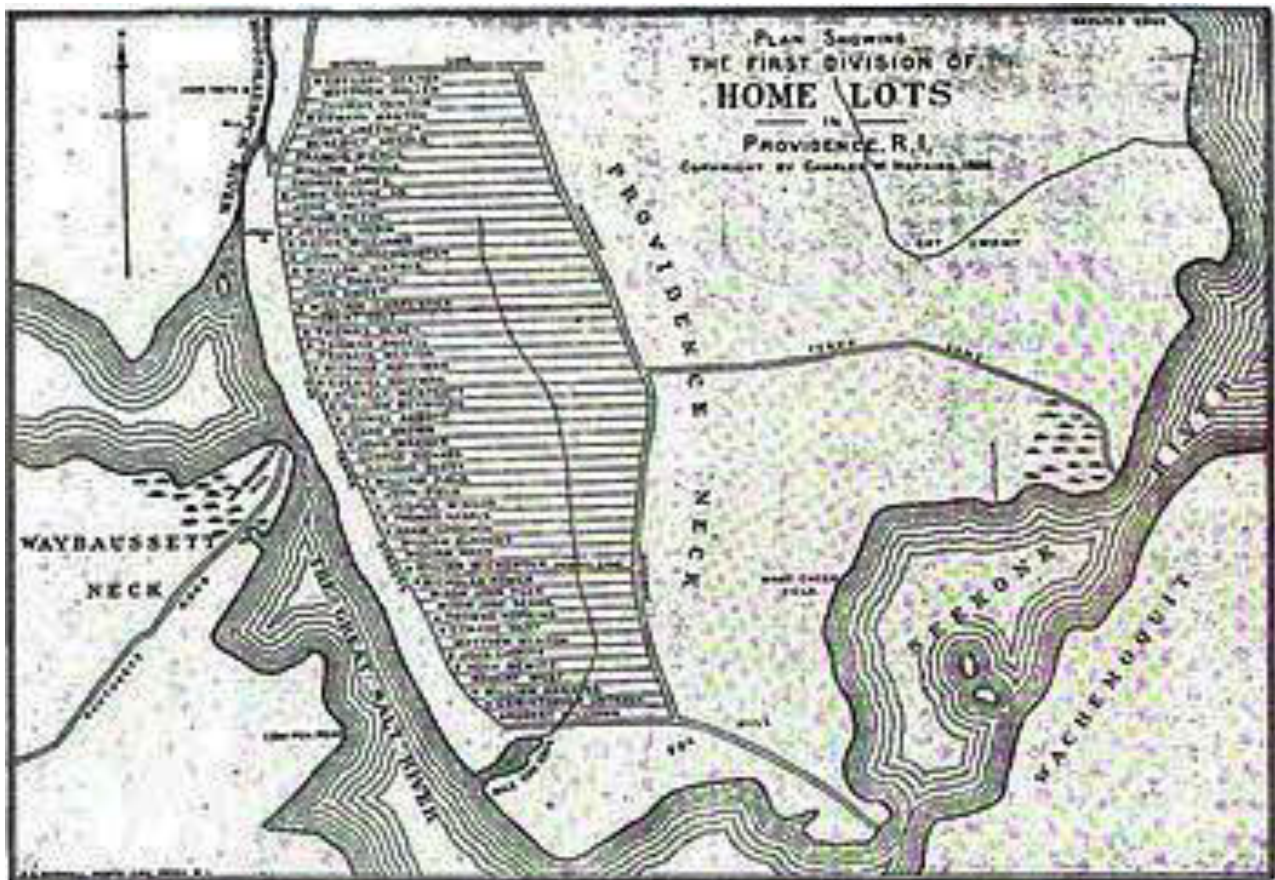


Fig. 4 Original Providence Town layout c.1640

www.en.wikipedia.org



Fig 5. Boston's First Town House and Merchant's Exchange (Market), Drawn from the Original Specification for Thomas Joy and Bartholomew Bernard, 1657 by Charles A. Lawrence, 1930. www.columbia.edu



Fig. 6. 1722 Map of Boston by John Bonner, featuring Town Dock in blue and the Old State House in purple. www.masshist.org



Fig 7. Market Cross, Norwich, UK

en.academic.ru



Fig 8. Wymondham Market Cross,
Norfolk, England
www.explorenorfolkuk.co.uk



Fig. 9. The State House | Old State House, Boston, MA, 1712.
 1793 engraving by Samuel Hill,
 Massachusetts Magazine - New York Public Library.
<http://digitalgallery.nypl.org>



Fig. 10. The Old State House (rear), Boston, MA, 1712
www.thefreedomtrail.org



Fig. 11 A Plan of Town Dock, 1738 (1737), featuring “Corn Market” (lower middle).
James Blake, surveyor: 1854 copy by Francis Jackson after an 1817 copy by
N.G. Snelling from the original.
www.benfranklinworld.com/colonial-boston-marketplace



Fig. 12 George Potter and Family served Tea by a slave, Rhode Island, 1740
<http://www.colonialcemetery.com/newport-slavery/>



Fig. 13 Faneuil Hall featuring promenades and slave baring a load, Boston, MA, 1742
 A sketch by John Smibert (1688-1751), architect.
www.marjorierwilliams.com

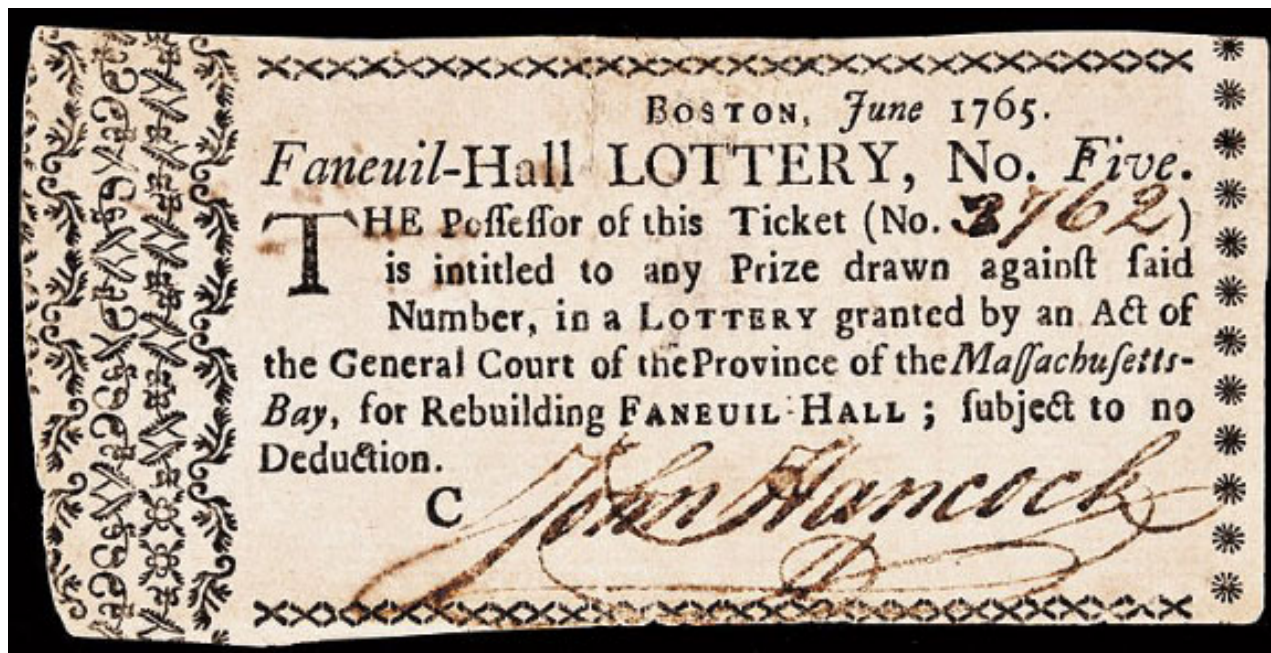


Fig. 14 Faneuil Hall Rebuilding Lottery ticket – signed by John Hancock, June 176510a
www.liveauctioneers.com



Fig. 15 Peter Harrison (1716 - 1775), architect, portrait by Nathaniel Smibert, 1756
 From the Redwood Library original, Newport Historical Society, Used by Permission.



Fig. 16 The Brick Market (1762 – 1772), East and partial north view, Newport, RI,
Peter Harrison, Architect
Photographed by author



Fig. 17 The Brick Market, Newport, RI (1762 – 1772), Peter Harrison, architect
Northwest end of the building, showing change in brick patterning beginning
at the top of the arch after 1928 repairs.
Photographed by author.



Fig. 18 The Brick Market, south side, Newport RI, Peter Harrison, architect
Photographed by the author



Fig. 19 The Brick Market as it appeared in 1772, Newport RI
Newport Historical Society, Used by Permission.

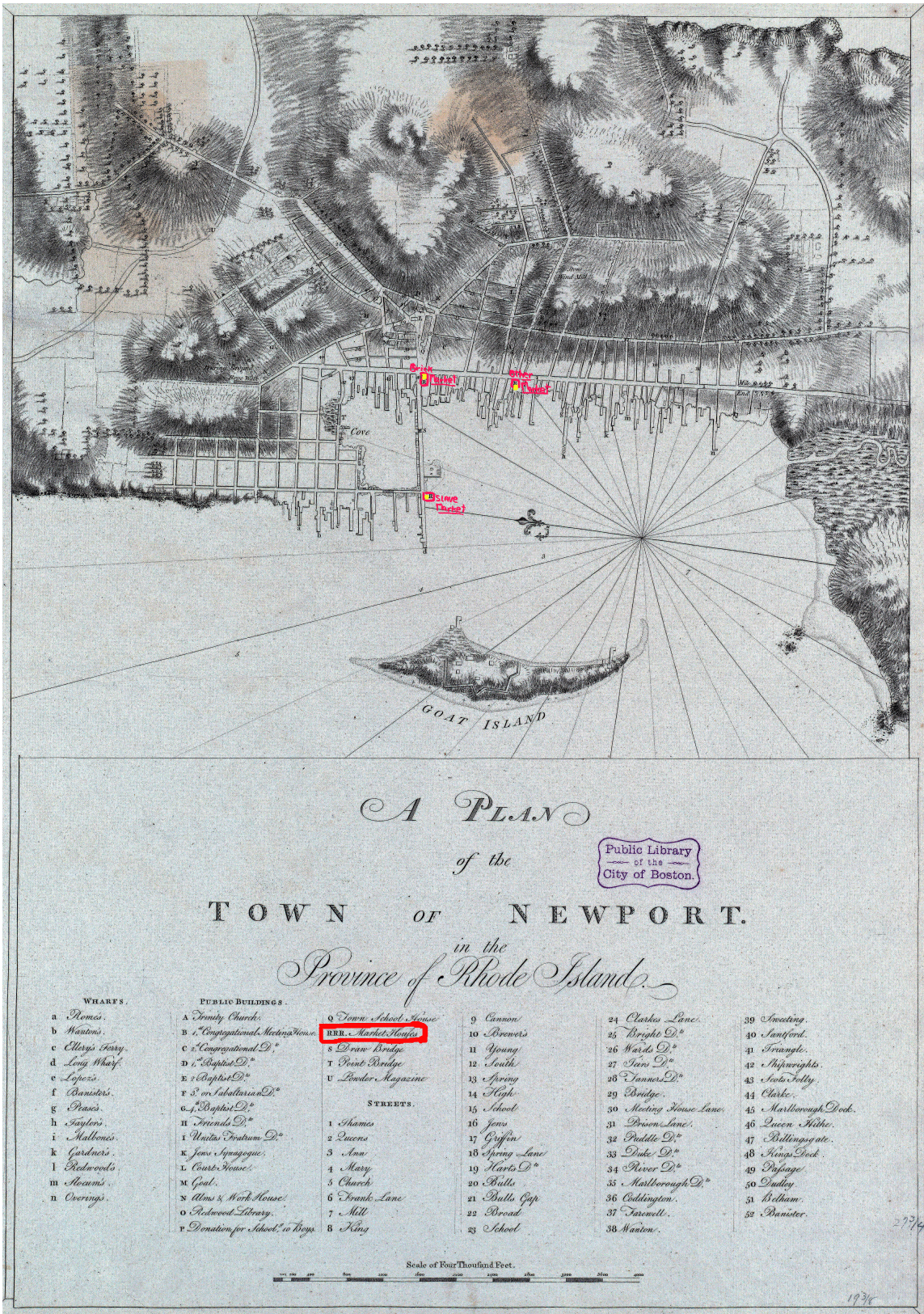


Fig. 20 Old Plan of Newport RI, featuring The Brick Market (in, a second market (to the right) and the slave market along Long Wharf (lower center) www.raremaps.com



Fig. 21 Detail of 1777 Plan of Newport featuring Thames Street and Long Wharf. The Brick Market (in yellow) is at the intersection of the two. A second market (also in yellow) is to the right. Notice the removal of the (slave) market from Long Wharf.

The Newport Map Project newportmapproject.weebly.com/1777---plan-of-newport.html

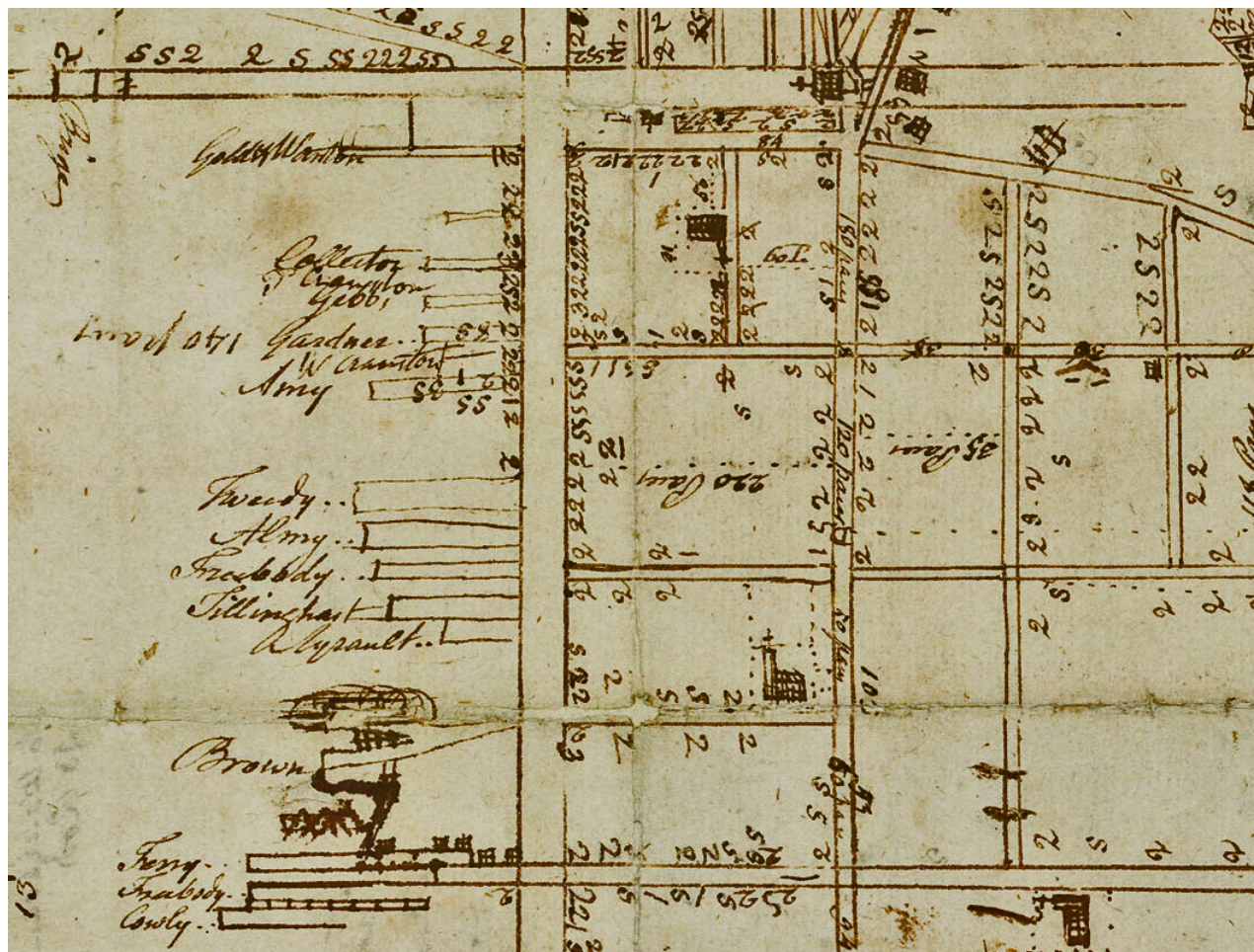


Fig. 22 Detail from Ezra Stiles' 1758 Map of Newport RI showing the harbor with the names of the wharf owners written alongside the docks.

The Newport map Project.

newportmapproject.weebly.com/1758---manuscript-map.html

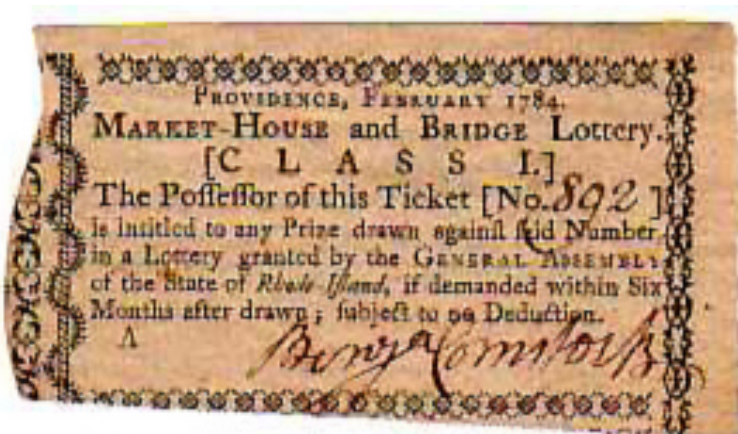


Fig. 23 1784 Lottery ticket for the financing of the Market House and a bridge, Providence, RI.

http://digitalcommons.uri.edu/lib_ts_pubs/8



Fig. 24 The Market House, Providence RI, 1773, Joseph Brown, architect w/Stephen Hopkins.
West end and south side. Photographed by Nekoro Giscombe

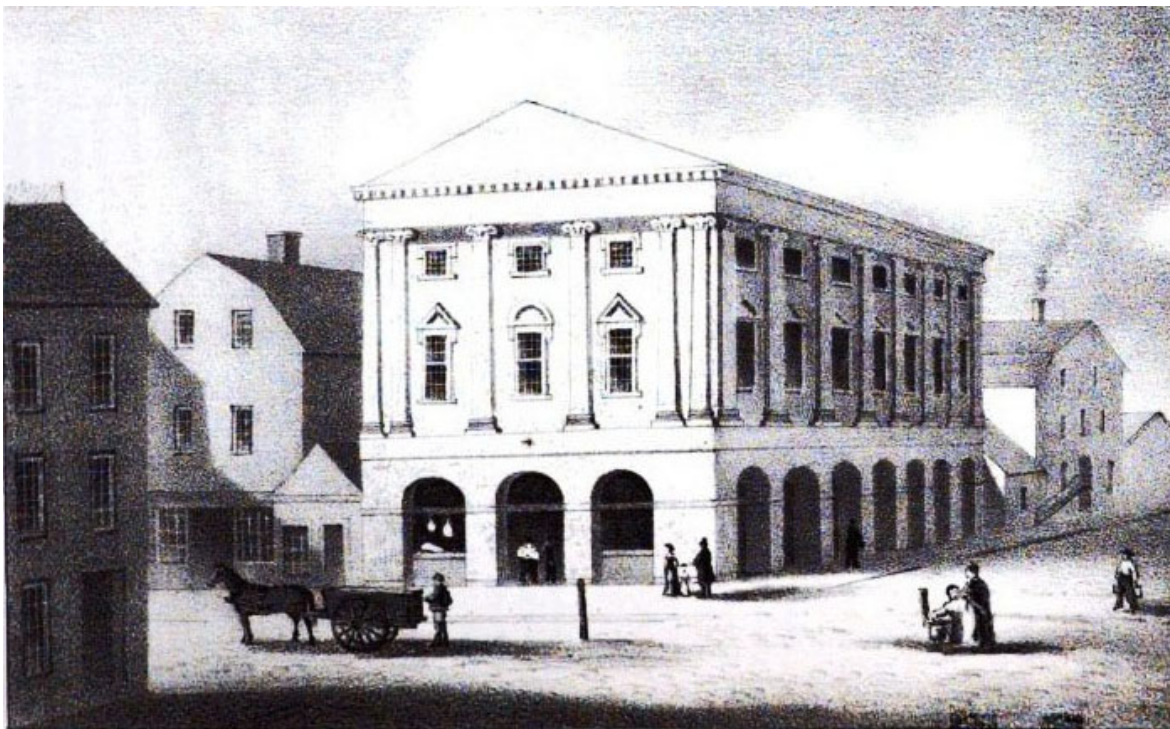


Fig. 25 The Brick Market as Newport's City Hall, 1853

de.mobilytrip.com



Fig. 26 Market Square, Providence with the Market House 1844.
quahogannex.wordpress.com



Fig. 27 The “Boston Massacre” as depicted by Paul Revere,
 copied by Henry Pelham, colored by Christian Remick
 and Printed by Benjamin Edes. The Old State House is
 featured in the background.
imagesfromamericanhistory.com



Fig. 28 [map]. 1900. "Plate E MHS Digital Image." Massachusetts Historical Society.
 Featuring "Meat Market" and "Vegetable Market" (the Shambles) to the west and north (adjacent) of Faneuil Market. web.mit.edu

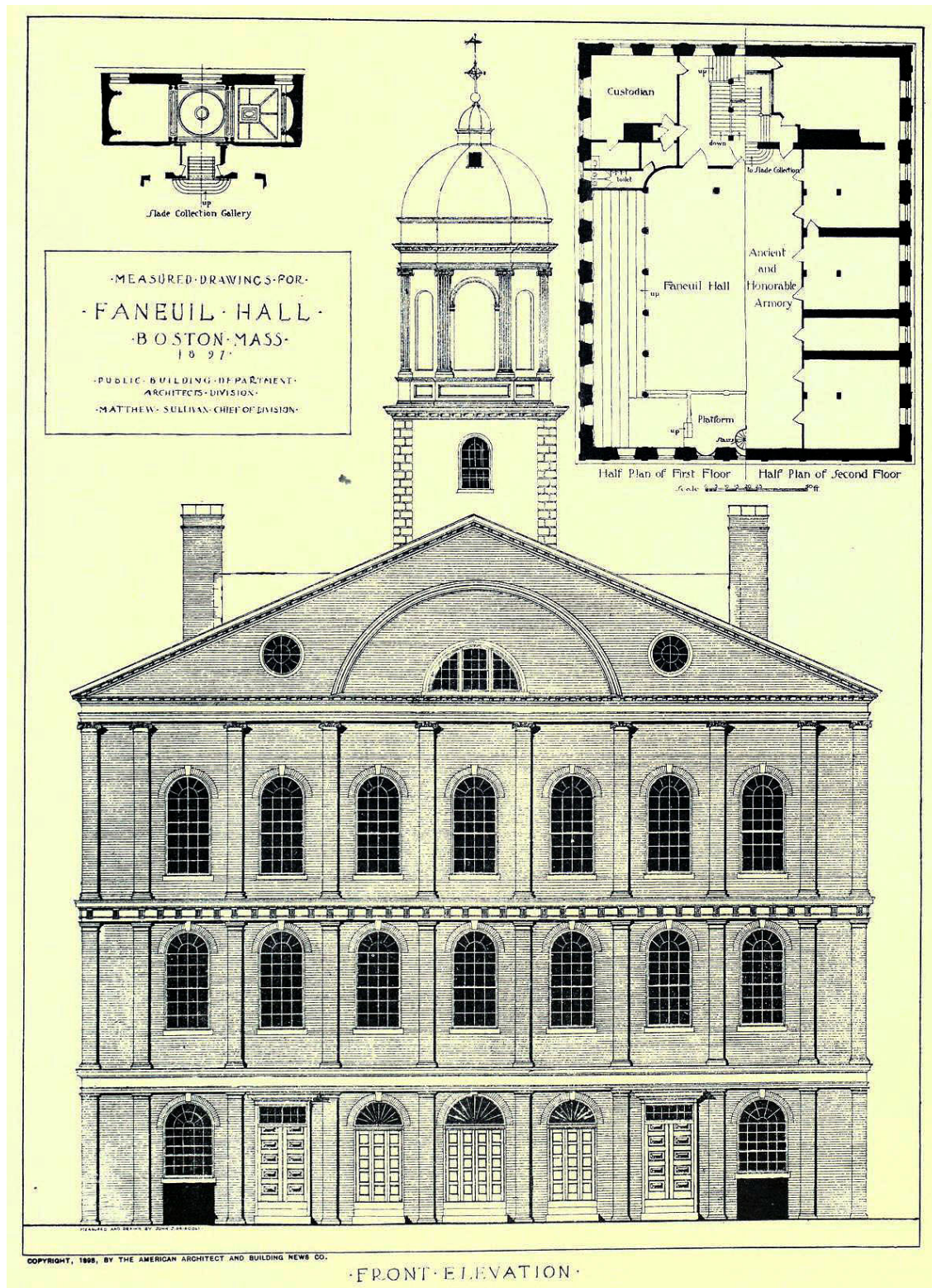


Fig. 29 1897 Front elevation and Half Plan for First and Second Floor of Faneuil Hall, Charles Bulfinch (1763 - 1844), architect
 Matthew – Sullivan, Public Building Department, Boston, MA
archimaps.tumblr.com



Fig. 30 Faneuil Hall, eastern and (partial) southern views. Charles Bulfinch, architect.
Photographed by author.



Fig. 31 Mayor Josiah Quincy, Portrait by Gilbert Stuart, 1824
datab.us



Fig. 32 (top) 1814 Map of Boston with Faneuil Hall Market identified in green.

www.bostonlibrary280.wordpress.com

(lower) 1842 Map of Boston with Faneuil Hall (in green), Faneuil Hall Market Place in pink, and the Old State House in purple, showing changes in coastline to accommodate the markets.

www.isites.harvard.edu.

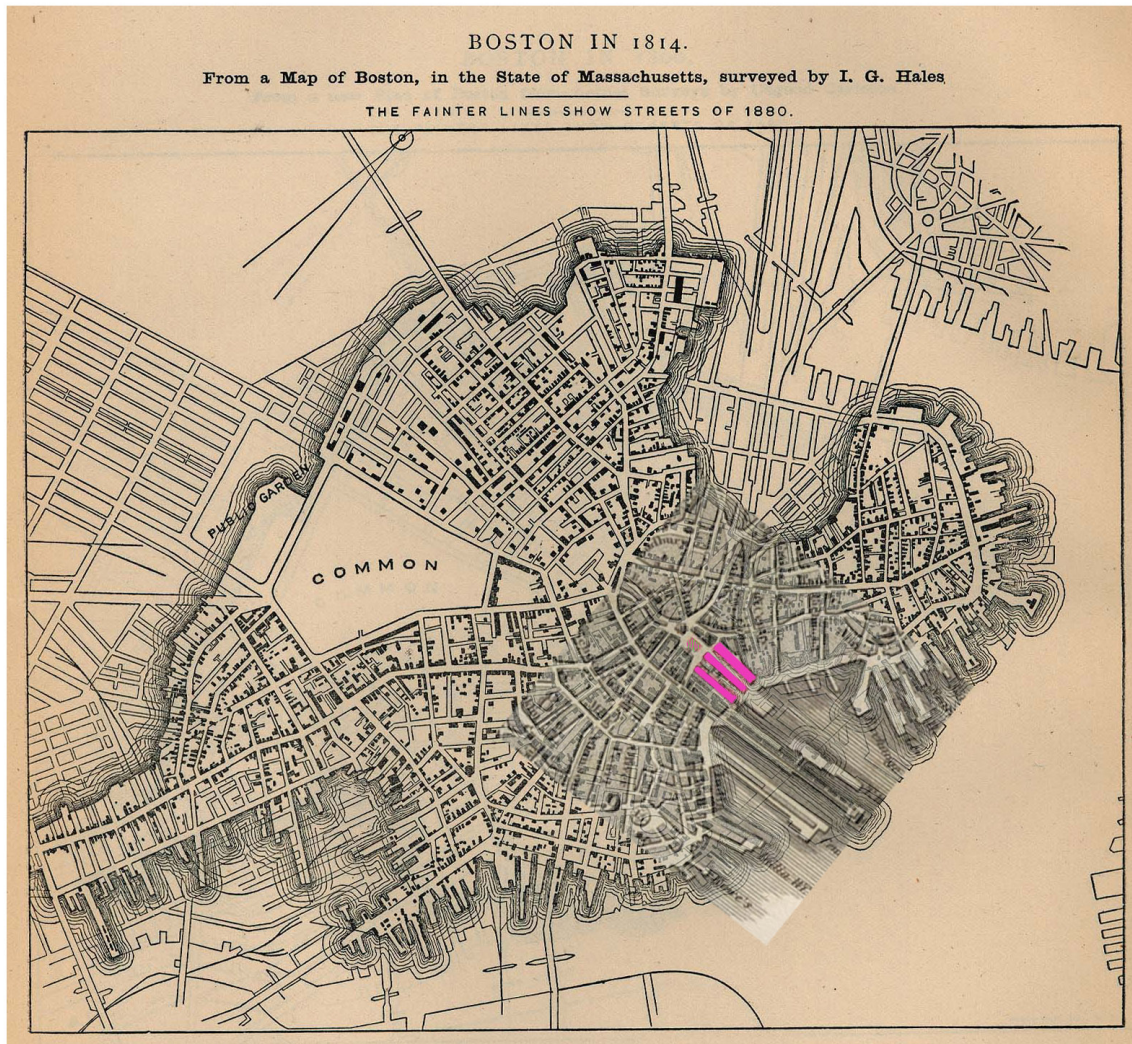


Fig. 33. 1814 Map of Boston with lines showing “streets of 1880”, featuring Faneuil Hall Market (pink and green stripes) and overlaid with section of 1842 Map of Boston, featuring Faneuil Hall Markets in pink.
www.bostonlibrary280.wordpress.com / www.isites.harvard.edu.



Fig. 34 Alexander Parris (1780 – 1850),
 Architect en.wikipedia.org

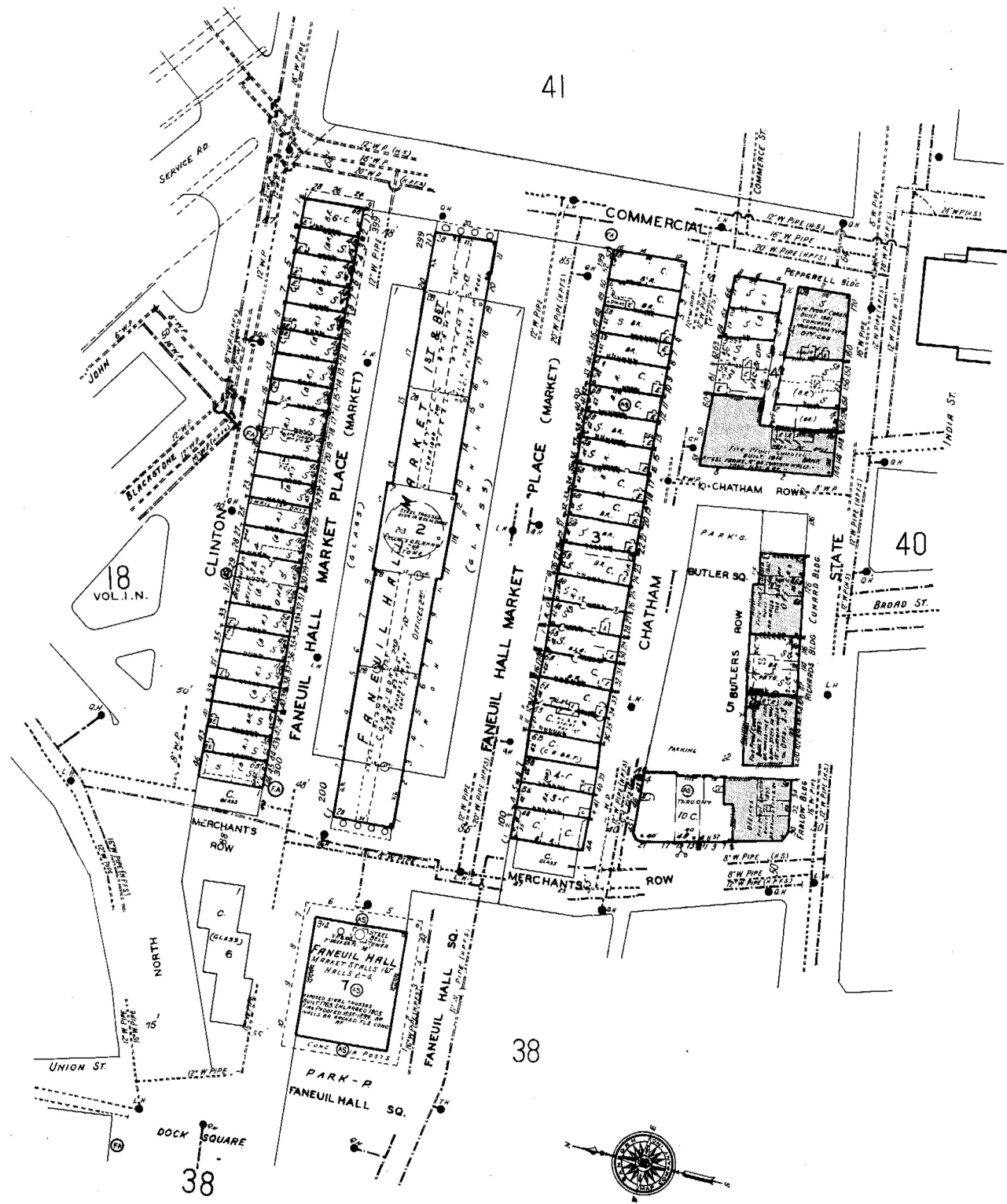


Fig. 35 Sanborn 1988 Map of Faneuil Hall Markets, Boston, Massachusetts

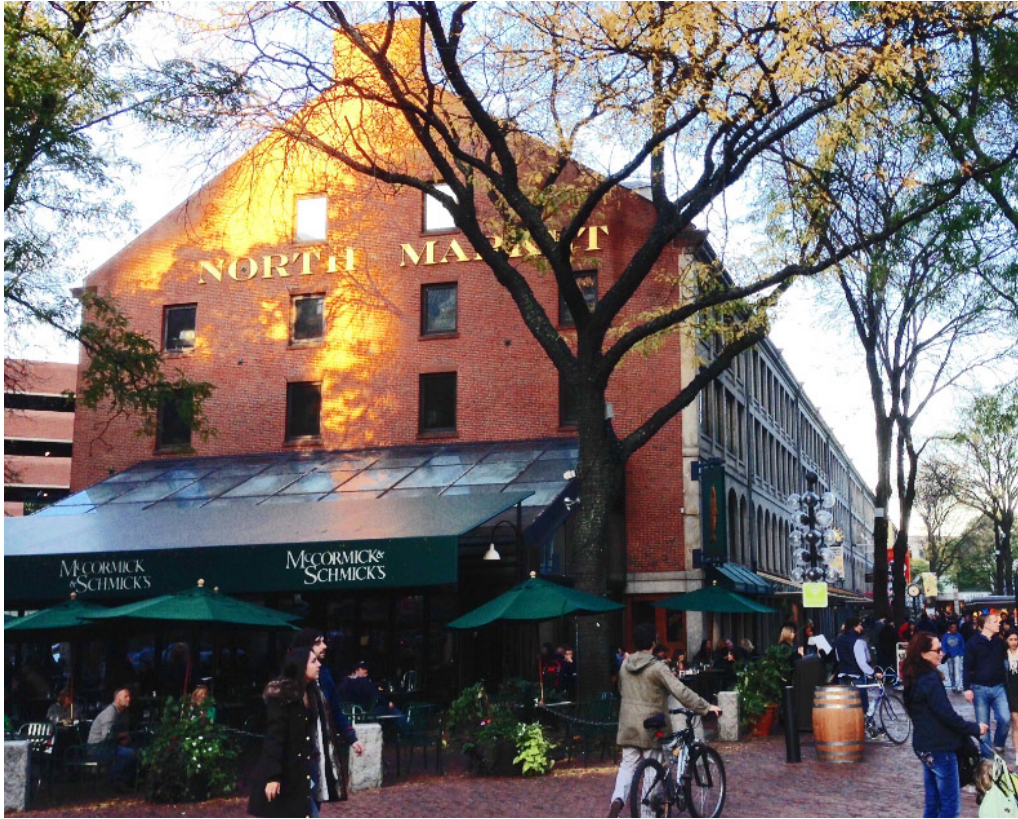


Fig. 36 Faneuil Hall Market/Quincy Market Place, North Market, Boston, MA
Alexander Parris, 1830-1856 Photographed by the author



Fig. 37 Faneuil Hall Market/Quincy Market Place South Market, Boston, MA
Alexander Parris, 1830-1856 Photographed by the author



Measured drawings by Architectural Heritage, 1968, of North Market building, 1824.

Left, front elevation of one store unit, North Market Street;

right, rear elevation of one store unit, on what is now named Clinton Street.

COURTESY OF ROGER WEBB.

Fig. 38 Measured drawing by Architectural Heritage, 1968, of North Market, 1824

Scanned from: John Quincy Jr., *Quincy's Market, A Boston Landmark*,
Northeastern University Press, Boston, 2003, p.101

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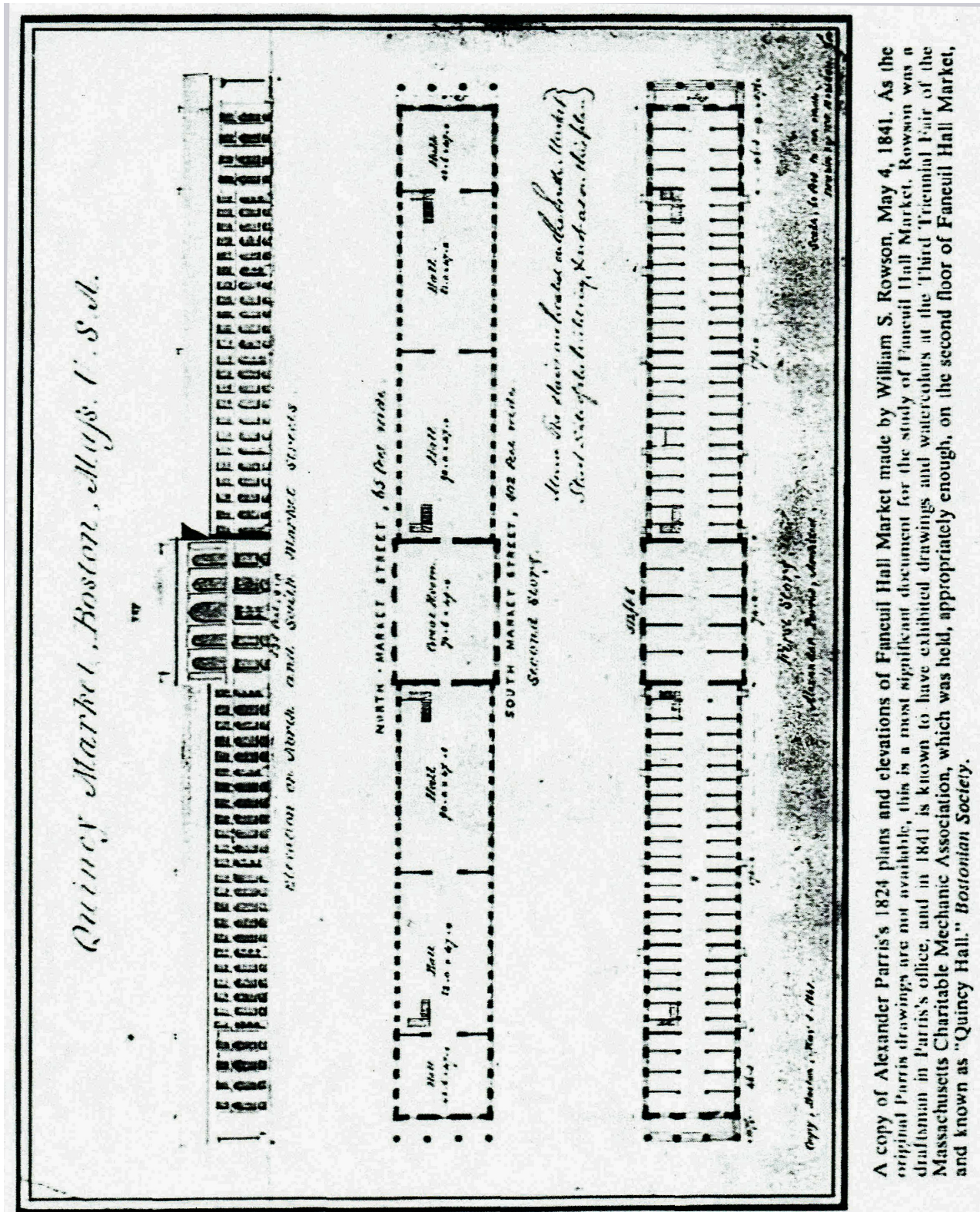


Fig. 39 1841 Plan of Quincy Market, William S. Rowson, copied from Alexander Parris' <https://www.cityofboston.gov/.../Quincy%20Market%20Study%20...>

A copy of Alexander Parris's 1824 plans and elevations of Faneuil Hall Market made by William S. Rowson, May 4, 1841. As the original Parris drawings are not available, this is a most significant document for the study of Faneuil Hall Market. Rowson was a draftsman in Parris's office, and in 1841 is known to have exhibited drawings and watercolors at the Third Triennial Fair of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, which was held, appropriately enough, on the second floor of Faneuil Hall Market, and known as "Quincy Hall." *Bostonian Society.*



Fig. 40 Quincy Market in 1830, Boston, MA, Alexander Parris, architect en.wikipedia.org



Fig. 41 Faneuil Hall / Quincy Hall Marketplace, 1824-1826, Boston, Alexander Parris, architect www.iboston.org



Fig.42 The Market House, 1773 East end
featuring the C. Bucklin's 1833
addition.
Photograph by Nekoro Giscombe



Fig. 43 The Market House, 1773
West end.
Photograph by Nekoro Giscombe



Fig. 44 The Market House, Providence RI, 1773, South side featuring the 1833 East end addition by James C. Bucklin. Photograph by Nekoro Giscombe

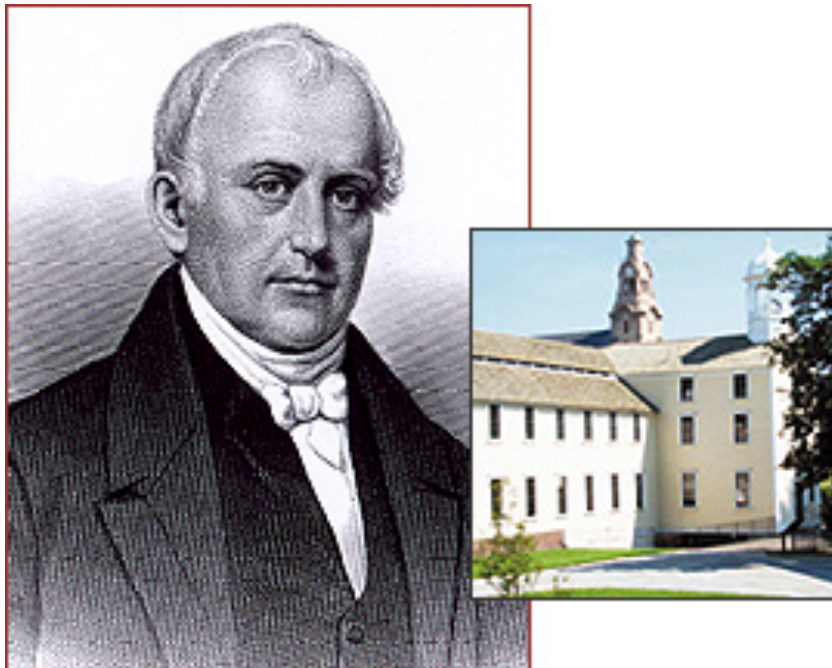


Fig. 45 Samuel Slater / Slater Mills
www.pbs.org/wgbh/theymadeamerica/whomade/slater_hi.html

