ENVIRONMENTAL PROGRAMMING: FANEUIL HALL MARKET

by

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B.Arch., University of Illinois (1965)

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

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Signature of Author

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FANEUIL HALL MARKET

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GUS JONES, JR.

Submitted to the
Department of Urban Studies and Planning
on May 19, 1978
in partial fulfillment for the requirements
for the Degree of
MASTER OF CITY PLANNING

ABSTRACT

PROBLEM

There are very few people-orientated urban
spaces within American cities.

OBJECTIVE

To illuminate the complexity of view between
planners, designers, and users of the
Faneuil Hall Market for the purpose of
obtaining an in-depth understanding of
issues relevant to the programming of a
people-orientated urban space

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In addition, I would like to thank John Dobie of the Boston Redevelopment Authority; Jane Thompson of Benjamin Thompson and Associates; Roger Lange of Perry, Dean, Stahl and Rogers, Inc.; and John Borne of the Rouse Company.

I also want to thank the users of the Market whom I interviewed. I found them to be very congenial.

Special thanks to Kat Gallagher for typing and editing this thesis for me.
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"We should expect to see conflicting views of the past, based on the conflicting views of the present."

Kevin Lynch, 1972

INTRODUCTION

After my arrival in Boston for the purpose of graduate study in Planning at MIT, I soon discovered the Faneuil Hall Marketplace and was impressed that it attracted so many people. My observation of peoples' acceptance of the Market convinced me that it offered an excellent opportunity for me to analyze issues relevant to the programming of a people-orientated urban space.

Faneuil Hall Market is located within downtown Boston. It is situated between Boston's New City Hall and its Waterfront Park (see map of downtown Boston, page 6). To the North of the Market, on Blackstone Street, exists an open air market. This market is referred to as Haymarket. It consists of a variety of meat and cheese stores that face Blackstone Street and a group of pushcart vendors that sell their produce on weekends. The North End is also located to the North of Faneuil Hall Market. This area is the site of one of Boston's early Italian immigrant communities. To the South of the Market is the Financial District.

Faneuil Hall Market consists of three gable-roofed granite structures designed in the Greek Revival Style by the architect Alexander Parris. Originally, it was built by Mayor Quincy as an extension to the historically famous Faneuil Hall - often referred to as the Cradle of Liberty. The cornerstone for the central building was
laid on April 22, 1825.

Today, after years of neglect and being obsolete as a wholesaling market, Boston's Faneuil Hall Market annexes - Quincy, North and South Markets, referred to as the Faneuil Hall Market - is one of the most dynamic redevelopments within Boston's downtown area. Crowds of people of all ages can be found walking through the Market; buying food from vendors inside Quincy's tunnel-like interior; eating, drinking, singing and dancing; buying Celtic hats, candy and souvenirs; sitting, walking, talking, acting, or just looking.

The central domed building is 555 feet long and 50 feet wide. It's redevelopment now includes two modern glass canopies with shed roofs. Under these canopies are located pushcart vendors that sell a wide variety of items - produce, souvenirs, food, etc. In a couple of cases, the facilities of restaurants and bars located within this building spill over into the canopy space. Thus people can be found sitting at tables eating and drinking. In one instance, one of the restaurants spills over in the South Market plaza, thus providing a European street cafe-type scene.

Flanked on both sides of the central building's interior corridor are vendors. They sell produce, meat, cheese, and fast foods. At the mid-section of this building is a large dome. The first floor has been cut away as a circle to reveal the dome and to provide a two story shaft-like space. On the ground floor, directly beneath the dome, are situated chairs and tables - where crowds of people can usually be found sitting and eating their purchases from the fast food vendors. Within the basement of this building are bars and a number of variety stores.
The South Market plaza is paved with old-fashioned cobblestones. It has trees and modern oak wood benches. Musicians, clowns, and jugglers are often within it entertaining the Market's users. Groups of elderly people can be found sitting and talking to each other. Small children can be found dancing and singing along with the entertainers. When there are no empty benches, people sit on steps, railings or on the plaza's floor.

The South Market building contains modern furniture and kitchenware stores, men and women's boutiques, specialty items and art objects. In addition, there are bookstores, restaurants and bars. This building is a maze that provides a complex range of visual experiences.

The interior renovation of the North Market building is not yet completed. The famous Durgin Park restaurant is located within it.

The renovation of Faneuil Hall Market is one of the largest adaptive reuse restorations done to date within this country. The Boston Redevelopment Authority sponsored its renovation. Members of the historical/architectural team were The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Architectural Heritage, and Frederick A. Stahl, Architects. Benjamin Thompson and Associates were the architects for the project's final adaptive reuse phase. The Rouse Company were the developers.

Soon after I began collecting information on Faneuil Hall Market, I discovered that not everyone in Boston thought that it could be renovated to become what it now is. Upon further exploration, I became aware that some of the people responsible for the Market's renovation had glaringly different views about what the Market should have become. Some of their differences revolved around different
social and economic viewpoints. Other revolved around issues of how the structures and the exterior spaces should have been redeveloped in relation to their historical context.

In order to obtain information on programming issues, I interviewed those who programmed its redevelopment. In order to obtain information on how the users of the Market perceived it, I interviewed some of them. In doing so, it became apparent that many of the issues discussed by the planners and designers were also apparent to some of its users.

While interviewing the planners, designers and users of the Market I could see that many of their views were complex and contradictory. In attempting to sort the information gotten from these people, I discovered that many of the historical and social issues were multi-dimensional and could not easily be slotted into one category.

Thus, this study is an in-depth analysis of contextual issues relevant to the programming of a people-orientated urban space and it illuminates the complexity of view between planners, designers and users of the Faneuil Hall Market.

I acknowledge that the material I select to investigate is a reflection of my own interest. Therefore, others may choose to draw conclusions from this study that differ from my own. However, I have tried to objectively record and discuss the issues. Nevertheless, what makes a study of this type interesting is that it deals with both the intellectual and emotional side of people.

In order to obtain information on the issues, the following people were interviewed:

John Dobie, urban designer with the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA), the project's sponsors;
Roger Lange, Perry, Dean, Stahl and Rogers, Inc.; project manager with the historical preservation and architectural team; the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities (SPNEA), Architectural Heritage (AH), and Fredrick A. Stahl, Architects.

Jane Thompson, Benjamin Thompson and Associates, architects for the final restoration of the project.

John Borne, project manager with the Rouse Company, the developers.

In addition, twenty users at the Market were interviewed.

This thesis is organized into four chapters:

1. HISTORICAL CONTEXT
2. RESEARCH DESIGN
3. CONTEXTUAL ISSUES
4. CONCLUSIONS

Each planner, designer and user was asked to draw a cognitive map of the Market and its immediate environs before the interview took place. A representative sample of user maps is included in the appendix.
Map of downtown Boston showing the location of Faneuil Hall Market, 1978
Faneuil Hall looking east, 1978
"For planning of any sort, our knowledge must go beyond the state of affairs that actually prevails. To plan, we must know what has gone in the past and feel what is coming in the future."

Sigfried Giedion, 1967

CHAPTER 1
HISTORICAL CONTEXT

INTRODUCTION

In order to insure that all readers will have the basis required for understanding why Benjamin Thompson and Associates, the adaptive reuse architect, and Frederick A. Stahl, architect for the historical/architectural team, disagreed on how Quincy Market should have been renovated, a short overview of the Market's past and recent planning and architectural context is provided. In addition, the basic viewpoints taken by each group, as advanced by Roger Lange and Jane Thompson, is included.

PLANNING CONTEXT

Boston grew phenomenally in the nineteenth century. Due to increased population growth, the original Market structure, Faneuil Hall, was inadequate to meet the needs of the people. The accommodations of the Faneuil Hall Market house were not only insufficient for the wants of the inhabitants, but they were notoriously unhealthy and extremely inaccessible.

Mayor Quincy, in his inaugural address, gave prominence to the defects of the ancient town organization and noted that it was in the power of the mayor to remedy this situation.

He first gave his attention to improving the sanitary conditions of the city and established
a system for cleaning the streets and the collection of house offal.  

The next important measure which Mayor Quincy initiated and carried out, and the one by which he is most generally known, was the establishment of a new market-house -- the Quincy Market.  

From a planning perspective, Quincy's actions are historically significant because it was the first time that the city of Boston acquired property by the process of eminent domain. This ranks among the first instances of municipal urban renewal and is a landmark in the history of American urban development.  

Mayor Quincy undertook a major piece of city planning that involved filling the town dock and building over the wharves between it and the Long Wharf, thus creating space for a new two-story granite market house, 555 feet long and 50 feet wide. The cornerstone of the new market house was laid on April 22, 1825 and the stalls were opened in 1827.  

ARCHITECTURAL CONTEXT

Alexander Parris was the "principal architect" for the three Quincy Market buildings. These buildings were among the first structures that used the Greek Revival style. New technological innovations were employed, such as the use of iron columns, iron tension rods, laminated wood ribs for the copper dome. In addition, the buildings are an example of the first large scale use of granite and glass in a revolutionary post and beam technique.  

Although Parris' use of trabeated stone construction and iron columns had precedent, no earlier New England example survives today. Perhaps of greatest technological significance was Parris' design of a radial segmental arch.
dome to crown his center building, one of the earliest American prototypes for domes built even today.  

The Quincy Market buildings had considerable influences on architecture for the next twenty years. The trabeated facades of the Market and the warehouses served to popularize this system of construction.  

RECENT EVENTS

Over the years the Quincy Market buildings deteriorated. Their use for wholesaling activity had become obsolete and unsanitary. In 1956 Boston's city planning board surveyed the area and found that

"the physical plant presented a dreary picture of obsolescence, neglect and vulnerability to fire."  

In 1968 the BRA commissioned SPNEA, AH and F.A. Stahl Associates to serve as consulting architects to these non-profit groups to study the conditions and the potential for private redevelopment of the market buildings owned jointly by the city and the BRA.  

This study convinced the BRA's administrator, Edward J. Logue, that the entire marketplace could and should be preserved.  

As the BRA secured approximately two million dollars of federal funds from HUD for the exterior restoration of the market buildings, it was decided to go ahead with that work, removing later accretions and restoring the facades and roofs to their 1826 design, according to the plans prepared by Frederick A. Stahl. While that work was under way, an agreement was reached with the Rouse Company of Baltimore for the rehabilitation and reuse of the interior spaces.  

VIEWPOINTS

In essences, members of the historical/architectural team saw the opportunity to
renovate Quincy Market as presenting the opportunity to restore an important historical occurrence. Quincy Market is unique in that it is one of the first examples within American urban planning history in which a group of buildings were planned and designed to complement a unified concept. Therefore Roger Lange and other members of his team are of the opinion that the current renovation should have fully respected the original architect's intents.

Over the years, additions and alterations were made to the buildings. Jane Thompson argues that buildings, like people, change over time. She feels that the changes revealed diversity and historic continuity and stated that they were not interested in doing a pure restoration, but were interested in providing modern buildings which meet the needs of today. Therefore, she concludes that it was not necessary to restore the facades and roofs to their 1826 design.

The members of the historical/architectural team also wanted to preserve the Marker's historical/social context, thus they envisioned the Haymarket push cart vendors relocating to Quincy. They wanted the Market to remain essentially a produce, meat and cheese market. Hence, they did not intend for it to become as stylish and commercially successful as it now is. Jane Thompson and John Borne are not opposed to this view, but are of the opinion that in order for it to have been implemented, another development mechanism would have been required.

A detailed account of disagreements on specific issues and further clarification of views is provided in Chapter III, Contextual Issues.
Faneuil Hall looking east, 1930
Rear of Faneuil Hall, Dock Square area, 1926
Plan showing buildings to be demolished for the construction of Faneuil Hall Market: surveyed in 1823
Faneuil Hall Market, view of South Market Street, 1880
FOOTNOTES:


3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.


10. Ibid.


"It is conspicuous consumption. That sort of lifestyle turns me off. I generally don't come down here to shop because I don't like that sort of thing, but sometimes I do end up here."

Interviewee M2

CHAPTER II
RESEARCH DESIGN

INTRODUCTION
This chapter explains the interviewee selection approach and interview presentation format.

CHOICE OF INTERVIEWEES
Hundreds of people, not one organization or any one group of people, influenced the final form of the Faneuil Hall Market. Therefore it was not possible for me to interview all of the people who made contributions.

Hence, I chose to interview spokesmen from those organizations that were directly responsible for the final execution of the project.

Page 3 includes a list of the people interviewed. A reference table which describes the approximate age, occupation, residence and the reasons why a user came to the Market on the day interviewed is provided on pages 21 and 22 of this chapter.

APPROACHING THE USER INTERVIEWEES
All interviewees were selected from people at the Market. A total of twenty people were interviewed -- nine men and eleven women. A conscious effort was made on my part to request interviews from people of diverse age and character. People were randomly requested to participate. None were paid. All interviews were held during the day. Ten interviews took place on a Saturday and ten took place on a Sunday,
all during the month of March. Interviewees were told that I am an MIT student and that I am doing a research project on urban planning.

First each interviewee was asked to draw a cognitive map of the Market and its immediate environs. They were then instructed that they could draw buildings, roads or anything that they felt related to the Market. Other than the suggestion that it might be better to start the map by placing the Market structures in the center of the paper -- in order to allow room for the placement of other elements -- no additional suggestions or comments were made by me. Not everyone followed this suggestion.

Secondly the interview took place. Interview questions were of the structured, open-ended type. My interest was in obtaining qualitative information. In the few cases where both a husband and wife or boyfriend and girlfriend were interviewed, each drew his or her own map and was interviewed without the other having knowledge of what the other had drawn or said.

A representative sample of user cognitive maps is included in the Appendix.

The above procedure was also used in interviewing the planners and designers.
NOTE ON THE PRESENTATION OF THE INTERVIEWS

In order for the reader of this study to distinguish between statements, words and phrases of emphasis made by interviewees and myself, the following presentation format has been established:

- the extracts from the interviews have been set in from the margin of the text
- the interviews have been numbered according to the code set out in the reference table at the end of this introductory section
- D before a phrase means that the interviewee is John Dobie (BRA)
- T before a phrase means that the interviewee is Jane Thompson (Benjamin Thompson and Associates)
- L before a phrase means that the interviewee is Roger Lange (Perry, Dean, Stahl and Rogers)
- B before a phrase means that interviewee is John Borne (The Rouse Company)
- Q before a phrase indicates a question addressed to the interviewee or a statement made in the presence of the interviewee by me
- F before a numeral means that the interviewee is a female
- F after a number means that a friend or another family member of the person being interviewed is speaking
- M before a numeral means that the interviewee is male
- words or phrases emphasized by the interviewees are in [brackets]
- words or phrases which I wish to emphasize are underlined
- explanatory remarks or statements made by me are not set back from the margin
### Reference Table for Interviews with the Users of the Market

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age No. (approx.)</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Why came to Market</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M1 18</td>
<td>undergraduate student</td>
<td>Burlington, Vermont</td>
<td>to look, see people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M2 20</td>
<td>medical student</td>
<td>Brookline, Mass.</td>
<td>to buy some marmalade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F3 50</td>
<td>administrative assistant</td>
<td></td>
<td>tourist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F4 15</td>
<td>high school student</td>
<td>Boston, Mass.</td>
<td>to look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F5 25</td>
<td>graduate student</td>
<td>Brighton, Mass.</td>
<td>to buy a birthday present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M6 35</td>
<td>medical engineer</td>
<td>Boston, Mass.</td>
<td>breakfast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F7 25</td>
<td>housewife</td>
<td>Boston, Mass.</td>
<td>to look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M8 30</td>
<td>mechanical engineer</td>
<td>Charleston, S.C.</td>
<td>tourist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F9 15</td>
<td>high school student</td>
<td>Boston, Mass.</td>
<td>to shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M10 25</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>Worcester, Mass.</td>
<td>to look and shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F11 25</td>
<td>artist</td>
<td>Worcester, Mass.</td>
<td>to look and shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Residence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F12</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>nurse</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M13</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>data processing manager</td>
<td>Boston, Mass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M14</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>delivers newspapers</td>
<td>New Bedford, Mass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F15</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>artist</td>
<td>Westport, Mass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M16</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>jeweler</td>
<td>Cambridge, Mass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F17</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>store manager</td>
<td>Cambridge, Mass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F18</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>bartender</td>
<td>Boston, Mass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F19</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td>Portugal (Europe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M20</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>technical salesman</td>
<td>Framingham, Mass.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"It is just sort of a fun place to come on a Sunday. There is a lot of activity; a lot of different little shops...more personal service than in the big department or discount stores."

Interviewee M13

CHAPTER III
CONTEXTUAL ISSUES

INTRODUCTION

The objective of this chapter is to document and analyze issues relevant to the objective of this study:

- to illuminate the complexity of view between planners, designers and users of the Faneuil Hall Market for the purpose of obtaining an in-depth understanding of issues relevant to the programming of a people-orientated urban space.

This chapter analyzes the complexities of view as expressed by Roger Lange and Jane Thompson in relation to the Market's past and present planning and historical contexts. In addition, John Dobie's and John Borne's views on programming issues are also analyzed. User perceptions of the Market are also included.

The chapter seeks first to illustrate how each planners' and designers' views and goals influenced his/her perception of what the Market should become.

Secondly, the managerial context that existed when the first phase of the Market's final redevelopment was being programmed is documented. The Market's final form-content is then discussed in regard to this context and in regard to each planner's and designer's perception of the need to obtain control of programming uncertainties. Finally, the issue of control is discussed and compared to alternative models of programming.
Thirdly, specific physical planning and design issues are compared to opposing theories on how the Market should have related to its historical context and to present day planning issues.

Fourthly, the Market is investigated as a social and economic force and is analyzed in relation to the people who work within it, surrounding districts and to the people who use it.

Finally, users' perceptions of the Market are provided. Their perceptions of historical, aesthetic, social and political issues are recorded and discussed. Comments on user relation to urban spaces and the psychological need of people to relate to each other in people-orientated urban spaces are also included.

Organization
In order to insure that a reasonably coherent presentation of interviewees' perceptions of the issues is presented, this chapter is divided into five parts:

1. THE GENESIS
2. CONTROL
3. NORMATIVE THEORIES
4. SOCIAL AND SPATIAL PERCEPTIONS
5. USER PERCEPTIONS

In general, the presentation compares different interviewees' perceptions of the same issue. However, in a couple of cases a dialogue developed between the interviewee and myself. (In these cases I probed for additional information by attempting to get him/her to respond to questions that represented my perceptions of issues relevant to the Market.)
"I think initially it was just intuitive reaction."

John Borne

"...they knew about office buildings; they knew about housing, and they knew about shopping centers in the suburbs; they knew about things that were much easier to conceptualize."

John Dobie

INTRODUCTION

The Genesis is concerned with the symbolic value that each planner and designer attached to Quincy Market before it was renovated and how this effected his/her future actions. It documents why some people were able to project what Quincy Market could become and what gave them the insight to do so. Today the Market is a vital place. However, few people initially thought that its redevelopment would cause it to become the dynamic place it now is.

Initial Perceptions

Much research has verified the existing relationship between the environment and the cognitive processes of the individual within urban settings in the fashion that "what is seen is dependent upon what is there to be seen" (Carr and Schissler, 1969). But what is seen, the meanings that one attaches to what is seen, is dependent upon a host of factors -- past experiences, training, goals and values -- to mention just a few.

Therefore, that which is perceived by an individual or a group of people to be a constraint that prohibits action may be perceived...
by another to simply be a condition; in fact, it may be perceived as a rare opportunity. What contextual issues existed, on today's terms, to convince the planners and designers that successful redevelopment could take place?

Faneuil Hall Market is part of the City of Boston's Downtown Waterfront-Faneuil Hall Renewal Plan; thus its redevelopment certainly served to assist the BRA in implementing the plan.

Q -- What evidence existed to support the BRA's belief that the Market renovation would be as acceptable to the public and become as financially successful as it now is?

D -- I don't know if there was any, really. I think people are always surprised when they are told this. I think it was a kind of a seat of the pants reaction, a gut feeling that this was the right thing to do. I don't think there was much evidence at all. A lot of people thought it was a crazy idea.

The Rouse Company is an organization who's principle concern is land development. They have many years experience in the development of shopping centers and numerous other types of large scale projects. Predicting land development opportunities that others don't see is their business.

Q -- Why did Mr. Rouse think it would work? What supportive evidence did he have?

B -- I think initially it was just intuitive reaction. I think that Mr. Rouse felt that it would work based on the fact that he saw an active downtown area that was receiving a lot of investment dollars; money was being put into the waterfront, into the City Hall Plaza; all that kind of stuff was going on....

[But] our market research confirmed that there existed four markets for the project.

Q -- What were the four markets?

B -- Office workers, Boston residential population -- meaning Back Bay, Beacon Hill and the Waterfront, as well as Harbor Towers. There was a closed end residential population....

There was a suburban metropolitan population that was accessible, and then there was a fourth that was sort of a strange combination of students, tourists, convention delegates....
When Jane Thompson was asked why Benjamin Thompson thought the Market could successfully be renovated, she replied:

T  -- Ben thought it would work because he doesn't only think like an architect. [He also thinks like a person in business, a merchant.] He had been with Design Research for 15 years. Therefore he knows how to run a store. He knew the Market and he had a feeling for what people wanted.

As a merchant, an architect and city planner, he saw the forces around it. It had been a market before and it was rightly placed; it had all of the right supports -- consumer market and access.

Roger Lange comments:

L  -- I think Ben knew that something quite powerful could happen here. And I think we knew too. [However, we differ on what that could have been.] I think you will find Ben surprised at the strength of this thing.

....never did Rouse's planners dream that something as good as this could happen. But I think Jim Rouse knew in his gut that it was something special. He is enough of a "high roller" to take the chance.

Though members of the historical/architectural team were also aware of the marketing implications of the Market, their participation in its redevelopment was strongly motivated by their desire to save it because of its historical significance.

As noted in the background portion of a synopsis of the Faneuil Hall Market study prepared by the architectural firm of Stahl, Bennett, Inc.:

"It is an ironic consequence of urban renewal that in 1966 ambitious redevelopment projects of the BRA in the surrounding Government Center and waterfront areas threatened the market buildings with extinction. Fearing the imminent destruction of so valuable a survivor of the country's early commercial life, architect Tad Stahl, a trustee of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities (SPNEA), and Roger Webb, Head of Architecture Heritage (AH), turned to the BRA, proposing a complete preservation-modernization program to re-establish the architectural integrity and commercial vitality of the district. After nearly eighteen months of discussion with Messrs. Stahl and Webb city officials, leaders of the business community and allied professionals, the BRA commissioned the SPNEA and the AH to evaluate the feasibility of rehabilitating and restoring the market area to vital contemporary uses."
It was this study that convinced the BRA's administrator, Edward J. Logue, the entire marketplace could and should be preserved (Eldredge, 1975). (See Historical Context, page

As noted by John Dobie:

D — In the original waterfront Urban Renewal plan -- and the Market is part of the waterfront -- the concept of retention, the recycling of the Faneuil Hall Market was contemplated. That was in the early 1960s.

The BRA felt confident that retention of the three buildings as an architectural element and their eventual reuse as some kind of a mixed use development was important.
There is no inevitability in this development's history nor need this be the only successful way in which a development like this could be done....

...they wanted comprehensive control."

Roger Lange

planning is to set up control mechanisms, thereby increasing predictability. Control can be gotten by "stacking the deck", doing that which has been known to work in the past, selecting people who appear to be the most capable to do the job. Control can also be gotten through flexibility. However, this approach implies that there exists adequate time for reaccessment and that the project can be done in stages.

In order to "objectively" reflect on components of Faneuil Hall Market's form-content, it is necessary to know the managerial context that existed when it was being programmed.

Part 2 will document the fact that control and predictability were perceived to be an issue to those "responsible" for the redevelopment of the Market and will discuss alternative form-contents in relationship to the issue of control.
Before beginning this study, I knew that Boston bankers were originally not willing to provide financing for the Market and that all of the long-term and half of the short-term construction financing came from New York-based lending institutions. It seemed odd that New York lenders were willing to invest when Boston bankers were not.

Therefore the following questions were asked:

Q -- When financing for redevelopment of the Market was first being sought, not many bankers within the Boston area were interested in making a mortgage commitment. Why were they so reluctant?

B -- There were two reasons. One was that the financial climate for real estate investment was so poor at that time that anything looked risky. This project is unique. A project like this one had not been done before. Hence they dismissed it as being a reasonable place to put their money. The second thing is that their perception of this project was one in which there was: a) no retail space there before, therefore they were skeptical about it working; and b) the place had been derelict for such a long time that they saw it that way.

D -- [They knew about office buildings, and they knew about housing, and they knew about shopping centers in the suburbs; they knew about things that were much easier to conceptualize.] But the market concept was far more complex; it was a multi-use concept. Also, part of the problem may have been just plain old Yankee conservatism.

Q -- Why was the Teacher's Insurance and Annuity and the Chase Manhattan Bank willing to invest in Boston?

B -- [It was not that they were enamored with Boston. Rouse put a lot of pressure on them to do it for us. We have working relationships with them on all sorts of other projects. It was a corporate commitment.]

[The problem was to get the Boston banks to make a commitment.] Both of the other institutions set it up in a way that a local commitment had to be made. They wanted to see a local commitment. They were in New York. They felt if the guys in Boston thought it was good, then it would be okay with them.

Q -- How difficult was it to get this commitment?

B -- [It was a problem.] We finally did get
10 or 11 banks here in Boston to contribute the other half of the construction loan.

Q -- Why did you need so many banks?

B -- [Because no one bank would do it. It was very, very hard. We did not prefer to do it that way.]

If the Market had been designed to be leased and managed by a number of individual store owners, would they have been able to get financing? Would they have been able to pressure banks into lending money the way the Rouse Company was able to?

When Roger Lange was asked the following question, he replied:

Q -- Why were the Boston bankers not originally interested in financing the Market?

L -- [Because they have traditionally been and remain blockheads who are incapable of looking in their own neighborhood and seeing something with potential. They don't know a good thing when they trip over it on the way to work every day.]

Another factor to consider is the Bicentennial. The city of Boston was certainly a focal point for this event. What sort of image would three derelict old buildings have presented to the many visitors that would come to Boston to celebrate this event?

Other Proposals

The following discussions include comments regarding responses to the BRA's public request for developers.

Q -- Was the Rouse Company the only one that responded to the BRA's advertisement for developers?

D -- No. When we advertised for bids, the Rouse Company was one of several groups that expressed an interest in the redevelopment of the Market.

As I recall, all of the concepts were generally the same, though there were some differences. Some people felt that housing should go into the upper floors of the buildings; others felt that offices were appropriate.

Q -- Why was the Rouse-Thompson proposal accepted?
D -- Ultimately I think it was accepted because of the background of the Rouse Company, its strength and the quality of previous work they had done. It became apparent that Ben Thompson, at least in my view, had a good grasp of the larger issues that affected the project. From the very early stages, his models and drawings seemed to capture the life, the vitality and the activity that could take place in this part of the city. [Thompson presentations were dynamite.]

Q -- How many other proposals were there?

D -- To the best of my recollection there were three. There was a local developer that hired an architectural firm in San Francisco to do plans and drawings. Their proposal was similar to the Ghirardelli Square concept in San Francisco. So they certainly knew about retailing, shopping centers and all of those things. But...he just did not have the financial back up. His architect never got paid. [It was just a fly-by-night proposal.]

The other proposal was made by Roger Webb. Webb we know. He has a track record. He had done the Old City Hall. But again, he had no where near the substance that Jim Rouse had.

The above comments make it apparent that the BRA was interested in selecting an architect-developer team with the capability of "delivering the goods". The project's first developer was Van Arkle-Moss; Benjamin Moss was disqualified after failure to meet the scheduled construction start -- due to his inability to obtain financing. Because the BRA wanted to get the project implemented, and due to it's uncertain nature, a decision was probably made to eliminate proposals that would have required more management and time to implement than the present scheme did.

Q -- What were some of the differences between the Thompson and Webb schemes?

D -- Very little, as I recall. The exterior work had essentially been done; so with regard to the exterior of the building neither had a great deal to play with.

Thompson had a better sense of the market concept, whereas in the Webb scheme they were promoting an office building investment with some retailing on the ground floor. They certainly did not capture the market feeling that Thompson was instantly able to grasp.
Due to the degree of uncertainty that existed when the Market was redeveloped, it would seem that flexibility in programming would be desirable.

As noted by John Borne, when asked to describe what consumer markets were shown to exist by market research:

B -- Although we were wrong in terms of the distribution of these markets, we were right in that they were all supportive.

When asked if his lenders imposed any controls:

B -- No. But we knew that in order to achieve certain loan amounts that we would have to generate certain levels of income.... in order to finance the project and our costs.

Q -- Did this in any way influence the type of tenants you selected? The type of merchandise to be marketed?

B -- [Absolutely.] This was sort of a chicken and egg problem. When we started, we thought that the costs would be a lot less than they are now. As the costs go up, obviously it is necessary for us to get higher and higher rents in order to make it worth doing.

An interesting fact is that the majority of stores and vendors that rent space within the Market have short term leases. The vendors that sell under Quincy's glass canopy lease their space on a monthly basis. This makes it possible for a larger number of people to participate. It also makes it less costly for them to get out if their venture proves to be unsuccessful. In addition, it allows for flexibility in selecting tenants and deciding what is to be merchandised. Would this be true if the bulk of the Market consisted of ventures requiring high capital investment? Apparently the flexibility in marketing strategy provided by this approach made it possible for the Rouse Company to adjust for the distribution error in the market survey, thus providing a measure of control.
Alternative Forms

Roger Lange is of the opinion that the present market solution is not appropriate. He argues that what has been created represents an autocratic form of control -- that is, it is not a place where each merchant is "doing his own thing", but is a place where they are required to submit to the greater good as defined by the Rouse Company.

L -- It was a redevelopment project, first and foremost. And the issue for the public agency was not to create the best development you can get for the long term health of the city. [It was deal the land, get the lease written and get the land off the books.]

You could have changed the rules by changing the development mechanisms.

...you could have looked for a way to put more individual entrepreneurs in there and you would not have had the type of comprehensive control where one guy is the heavyweight that can knock everybody in the head.

I don't know if there is any development mechanism that is ideal for this; but all I am trying to suggest is that during the formative stages of the project's history there were choices and there were roads taken and by definition roads not taken.

There were any number of times it could have gone differently, for whatever reasons, however hair-brained. [There is no inevitability in this development's history nor need this be the only successful way in which a development like this could be done, even if you define it as a success, I am sure there are ways one can improve upon the procedural model that underpins it.]

[Obviously what the redevelopment agency wanted here was not a lot of headaches; they wanted comprehensive control.]
"To begin with historical preservation is traditional. It must seem evident to anyone that the serious issues of environment revolve about either the preservation of the past or the control of the future. But that is wrong. We preserve present signals of the past or control the present to satisfy our image of the future."

Kevin Lynch, 1972

INTRODUCTION

The term normative theories relates to notions each planner and designer had about specific planning and design issues. Part 3 will describe and analyze each planners' and designers' viewpoint on them.

CLARIFICATION OF VIEWPOINTS

In order to ensure that the reader will be able to fully appreciate why differences in viewpoint occurred, the following information is provided:

Roger Lange

Roger Lange stated that his views on how the renovation of Quincy Market should have related to its historical context pertain to the Market only and that his views may differ under different circumstances.

L -- I want to make it very clear that I am not talking about all historical projects; I am talking about this one. In most cases I wouldn't support a restoration.

Essentially Mr. Lange argues that what is important about Quincy Market is that it was designed and planned as a unit, not to express individual capitalist incentives.
The Market is an example of one of the first urban planning situations within America in which a municipality took private property by the process of eminent domain (see Chapter I, Historical Context).

As noted in the real estate, marketing, development and disposition strategy for the Faneuil Hall Market prepared by John Bak, Gordon Hall III, Frederick A. Stahl and Roger S. Webb (second printing, October 1969, p.29):

iii. Private High-Risk Capital
If HUD grants and city participation are both not forthcoming, and charitable gifts or investments are not available [underlining mine], there remains the possibility of sale of the property to a private developer with sufficient confidence in final success of the undertaking to venture his own capital in the project. Uncovering and motivating such a developer would appear to be a difficult prospect....However, if the rental market were to strengthen sufficiently and the competition for similar tenants were not too intense, such a developer might be found. Once again, the likelihood of delay and the possibility of quality compromise are obvious and would seem to militate against this approach. [underlining mine]

In essence, members of the historical-architectural team were primarily interested in restoring the market back to its original design and planning context.

L — Suffice it to say that Tad Stahl and Ben Thompson are fundamentally different in their architectural approach to the reuse of historical buildings. [The premise of this project was, wherever possible, to solve the problem of adaptive reuse within a historically valid vocabulary. The reasons for that were that this district was seen to be a unique historical resource.]

Jane Thompson

Jane Thompson argues that one dilemma in trying to keep old buildings is that it is difficult to find a present day use for them, to find something that will justify them economically, and that it makes no sense to support old buildings for the sake of keeping them around.

Her view is that the preservationists were
looking at buildings only and were not concerned with how people would use them.

T  -- So they went down a path that said we will get support for fixing up the buildings, which they did, which was fine. Although we don't agree with what they did.

[It takes a certain projective imagination to understand what attracts people and brings them together, what provides certain kinds of satisfaction.]

Hence, she concludes that all they saw was pretty granite and nice windows, and that was what they wanted to save.

T  --- You know a building is an abstraction; it isn't anything until something happens within it.

She further states that she feels that the historical-architectural team took the attitude that there was one point in time, and that point was the day the buildings were built and what happened afterwards was not relevant.

T  -- ....the buildings had accumulated changes over time, there had been fires, things had been torn down, the roof lines had been built up. All of these changes constituted a record of almost a century of architectural changes. [These changes constituted a diversity which made the whole place very rich in history.]

....buildings live and they change.

....to simply say that you are going to eradicate what you don't like is what people were doing ten years ago. They couldn't stand Victorian architecture, so they got rid of it. [A whole 50 years of architectural history has virtually been wiped out because of this.]

Doing that is a corruption of the understanding of architectural history.

....there were drawings that apparently were drawn as visualizations before the project was really built. [But what does it matter? 1825 doesn't mean anything to me.]

THEORIES

Differences in viewpoints revolved around the following areas of concern:

1. walk to the sea
2. windows
3. glass canopies
4. building cornice lines and facades
Walk to the sea

As planners, the BRA was interested in improving the visual accessibility of one of the city's most important natural resources -- the ocean.

Q -- What were the BRA's basic goals? What was it trying to achieve by renovating the Market?

D -- [One of our goals was that we felt that it was important to establish the Market as a link between Government Center and the waterfront...the walk to the sea.]

Q -- Why is this walk to the sea notion important?

D -- I know from having grown up in Boston that many people don't have any perception of the fact that the downtown area is as close as it is to the lovely waterfront that we have. This is especially true after the building of the Central Artery.

You might say that the walk to the sea concept was one of our planning goals.

Hence, the BRA theorized that putting trees in the South Market plaza would destroy visual access to the ocean. The historical/architectural team were against the trees because they felt that they would distort the Market's historical context -- trees had never been there before.

Q -- Were there any major areas of disagreement between the BRA-architect-developer team?

D -- I would say that the strongest disagreement occurred with the proposal to put the trees in the South Market Street; whether there should or should not be trees there.

The BRA originally felt that they should not be there, that they would destroy the walk to the sea concept. We thought that the space should be a harder kind of space.

Q -- Did any major disagreements occur between the architect-developer BRA team about how the Markets should be redeveloped?

B -- There were obviously some areas of disagreement. One of them was comical in a way. However, it was one of the more serious discussions. It dealt with the trees in the South Market plaza. Putting the trees there was strongly contended as being a prostitution of the historic purity of the project. In order to provide a comfortable place for the
people that use the place, the trees ought to be there.

However, Mr. Lange argues that the architectural history of Boston does not extend from the City Hall Plaza to the waterfront -- the walk to the sea -- but in a direction perpendicular to the walk to the sea notion. 

Windows

At the time Quincy Market was designed and built, glass technology was not as sophisticated as it is today. Hence, the architect had to design the windows with many small mullions.

As glass technology advanced over the years, the merchants often replaced the many mullioned window openings with double hung windows -- thereby providing a less obstructed light source as well as operational windows.

The historical/architectural team argued that it was historically valid to restore the windows with the mullions.

T -- Stahl's architectural drawings called for replacing the small-paned windows. You see that in Colonial buildings. We were not trying to make a Williamsburg out of the place by trying to duplicate every detail that was there. [We were trying to make it a workable and livable place for people.]

One of the most important things in modern architecture today is the fact that you have windows that you can see out of, that you can open, and that you can easily clean.

It is not a market if you air condition it....it loses that whole quality.

Glass canopies

There exist artistic drawings of the Quincy Market building that illustrate it without canopies. However, the merchants needed to protect the entrances to their stalls from inclement weather. Thus they installed canopies. First the canopies were made of canvas, then wood, and finally metal. In later years, a couple of the merchants enclosed their canopy
portion with glass panels.

Roger Lange argues that the continuous glass canopies now attached to Quincy are a symbolic expression of the Market's autocratic leasing arrangement, and reflects the developer's desire for additional rentable floor area and that they are not a valid expression of the buildings' historical context. He is of the opinion that the original architect did not design the building with the intent of having permanent canopies attached to it.

Q -- Why are you opposed to the canopies?

L -- There are two reasons. First, they disfigure the buildings to the point where [it is difficult to perceive their original form.]

Secondly, it was never intended that they be of a permanent nature.

Q -- But there exist photographs which show permanent canopies attached.

L -- That's right. [But they never were designed by one hand and built to the tune of 520 feet long. They were always a series of discrete individually expressed elements along the facade, each meeting its own purpose in its own way.]

In fact, those canopies are merely an excuse for being able to enlarge the ground floor area of the building. [The most lucrative part of the project.]

[The logic stems from the marketing program out and it is an example of how you don't use history as the parti.] Their decisions about the market forces were grafted onto the building instead of looking at the building and saying how much space does this happily generate and what can I adapt to the space which is available. [It is a contorted way of dealing with an interesting building.]

Jane Thompson states that the glass canopies were proposed by Benjamin Thompson during their first submission to the BRA in 1970 and at that time the Rouse Company was not the designated developer. She says that the canopies are attached for practical design and planning considerations and that they did not originate from the developer's desire to increase the rentable floor area.
Jane Thompson replies to the question Why are the canopies attached to Quincy?

T -- For several reasons. First, when it was used for wholesale purposes -- which is what it was really conceived for -- you did not have the kind of public traffic to deal with that now exists.

The original concept was programmed around the three buildings -- the central building and the North and South units. You had circulation in the streets before, not through the buildings, as it is now.

As you know, even now it is terribly crowded there and there is nothing that you can do about it. You are trapped with that 20 foot wide corridor. [The canopies improved the circulation problem somewhat.]

Old photographs of the original market show that a tremendous amount of activity took place outside of the market buildings.

T -- Also in our scheme we wanted to extend the whole life of the Market out into the street. That was what the old canopies did when the merchants drove up to the building.

[We wanted to continue that and to create a circulation pattern where you would have action, where you could go back and forth in three corridors rather than one where you got stuck in the middle and couldn't cross over and explore the market.]

Q -- Are there any other reasons why you felt the canopy was necessary?

T -- Yes, there are. When the Market was originally built, the street needed to be wide for vehicular traffic -- wagons, carts, horses and so forth. And it worked fine. [But when you take out the vehicular traffic and fill it with people -- which are a lot smaller and take up a lot less space -- you have an entirely different situation.] The canopies serve to relate the space to a people scale. Also they help to tie the space and the buildings together.

The next design consideration is unlikely to be noticed by the casual observer.

T -- Also, I would like to bring to your attention that the first floor of Quincy is raised. [The canopies serve as a transition into the building.]

Building cornice lines and facades

Over the years the various merchants had extended their top floor space by building additional
floors. In some instances they modified the buildings' facades to suit their particular needs.

The following dialogue is in reference to the North and South Market buildings.

Mr. Lange's views:

Q -- Why did you disagree with Thompson's notion that the roof lines and facades should not be restored to their original pattern?

L -- [Because of the greater good.] There were loft additions and there were facade changes. Some of the additions and changes were ill-advised at any age.

[The simple fact is that the sum total of those additions and changes frustrated one's ability, particularly a lay person's ability, to perceive the uniqueness, the intactness, and the rare urban experience that the Markets offered at the time of their original construction.]

You must understand what a major step it was in Boston in 1825 to achieve the sweeping change to the city that the Market did.

Q -- Today's planning context is different than it was in 1825. The people who use the building today have different needs. Shouldn't adaptive reuse relate to what is needed today?

L -- [I want to make it very clear that I am talking about this project. I am not talking about all projects. In most cases I don't support a restoration.]

The story that would have been told by leaving those adaptations would have been a gross distortion of the historical facts.

Q -- What story would have been told?

L -- It would have told that some merchant got rich and went to Venice and saw a nice facade and brought a piece of it back and stuck it on the building, or that somebody bumped up a loft because he needed more space.

[Such a story is an interesting one, I agree. But I think a more interesting story is the fact that in 1825 a Mayor and his architect designed one of the great urban spaces of the Western world, using all of the tools that urban renewal had to bear 150 years later.]

Jane Thompson is of the opinion that the merchants increased the height of the top floors because they provide non-functional floor space and that by restoring the roofs to their original
shape a mistake of the past has been reproduced.

T -- I will tell you one thing that they did and it was very expensive and it is costing the Rouse Company and the City dearly and that is when they took off the roofs and put back the dormer windows.

They have created 40-50,000 square feet of absolutely unusable space. You go up into them; they can't lease those spaces because they are cramped and dark. Why do you think the merchants made the changes? [Those attic spaces are garrets.]

Apparently this is the only area in which the BRA disagreed with the architect, as noted by Mr. Dobie:

D -- It is important that I point this out: the Market is on the National Register of Historic Places. When this is the case, a long review with the National Advisory Council on Historic Preservation has to take place. Basically what this means is that virtually everything that was proposed to be done to the exterior of the buildings, the streets, etc. had to be determined by them whether or not it would have an adverse effect on the historical properties of the buildings. So, in a sense, once you submit to them a lot of things get locked in. If you want to deviate from what was originally approved, additional reviews are required.

At the time we made our submission, the roof lines, the glass canopies on the outside and the location of the flower market north of Faneuil Hall Market were discussed.

Q -- Were there any disagreements over the way the preservationist team was proposing to renovate the buildings?

D -- Well, Thompson originally proposed not to alter the cornice lines of the buildings, to restore them back to form one continuous line, the way they originally were. Over the years, the market buildings were owned by different individuals. They modified portions of the roof line and the facade to suit their own needs.

Some of the later changes made to the buildings were good, some were not. A portion of one facade had orange and turquoise porcelain enamel panels on it.

I think that basically what Thompson was proposing was that selective retention should take place, take away the bad facade portions and leave the good portions. [But what was good and what was bad? Value judgments had to be made.]

Basically Thompson's concept to not
restore the different roof lines back
to one continuous cornice line was over-
rulled by the BRA. We were spending the
money on the restoration and we felt
that the Market ought to be restored
as a unit.

What is really important about these
buildings is that historically they
were built as part of a unified whole.
Therefore, we felt that they should be
restored with even cornices.
View of Faneuil Hall Market looking west, 1829
Faneuil Hall Market after fire, 1925
Faneuil Hall Market after fire, 1925
"People's perceptions of the Market have got to be more than buildings. They should be a nice backdrop for something else that is going on there...."

Jane Thompson

Part 3 is concerned with how the planners and designers related to the retailers that were selling at the Market before its renovation, the way the social and economic forces generated by it have affected those that own shops and pushcarts and those that own stores near it. Part 3 investigates how the Market affects the Haymarket vendors, surrounding neighborhoods and districts. Therefore, it is concerned with the issue of who benefits and who doesn't benefit.

ISSUES

Areas of concern are the following:

1. retailers
2. Haymarket
3. Bull market
4. parking
5. summary and benefits of the project

Retailers

The wholesalers that lately occupied Quincy Market were required to move out by the Food and Drug Administration. However, a number of retail
businesses remained. In many cases, these were subsidiaries owned by the wholesalers. Thus the Market was partially occupied by cheese, meat and vegetable vendors at the time the BRA had advertised for a redeveloper. Some of these vendors are still at the Market.

Those that remain were given a three year rent stay that related to what their rental levels were before renovation.

The following question was directed towards John Dobie:

Q -- Despite the fact that the original vendors got reduced rentals, many of them got pushed out. Why did this happen?

D -- [No, that is a popular misconception.] It is important to remember that some of the wholesalers had retail operations as part of their major operation. They had to get out because their facilities did not meet current health standards. However, a good number of them are still at the Market today.

John Borne sheds additional light on the retailer question:

Q -- The original food vendors in Quincy were given a three year stay at approximately what their rent levels were before the renovation. Is that correct?

B -- They were given a three year deal at a substantially reduced rate. I think it related to their original rent....

Q -- In spite of this, I have heard that many of them have been pushed out of the Market. Is this correct?

B -- [No. They are still there, the ones we made the deals with.] I think there are 10 or so of the original people at Quincy. There was a period of time when a lot of doubt crept in as to whether or not anything would happen. During that period of time I know that a number of tenants finally gave up and moved out. That was the period between when the BRA and the Rouse Company sort of had the building.

Roger Lange is asked to comment about retailers:

Q -- I was told that most of the retail activity that took place before the Market was renovated was owned by the wholesalers. That is, in many cases the retail activities were subsidiaries of theirs.
That is correct. [And all but three of them are now gone and those three are enjoying a brief holiday from the merciless economics that underpin the project.]

Why is it that only three remain?

Because they are the only ones who could put up with all of the "horse shit" that it took. They are the survival of the fittest, they are the toughest, they are the people who could sell meat while there was sandblasting going on outside and put up with the BRA's intricacies.... Mort Barrington is the toughest man you would ever want to meet.

Haymarket

The Haymarket push cart vendors are located North of Faneuil Hall Market, over on Blackstone Street. Because of an act that was passed through state legislation in the early 1800s, Blackstone Street is now closed on Fridays and Saturdays.

Since most people consider an open air Market like Haymarket to be the preferred form of a market, it is natural for them to want to know why Haymarket did not become a part of the Faneuil Hall Market.

The following comments are intended to shed some light on why Haymarket is not a part of the Faneuil Hall Market:

Why is it that you feel that Haymarket should have been incorporated within the Faneuil Hall Market?

Because it was always one of the goals of our study that the pushcart market, Haymarket, be accommodated within the Market buildings.

[We wanted the Market to have a direct association with the sale of produce and foodstuffs, and that is not the way the development has emerged.]

The Haymarket, I think, is being subtly altered and ultimately will be moved. The conditions for its continued existence are not hospitable.

Why is it that you think that the Haymarket will eventually be moved?

Well, I can see it happening. The Haymarket is becoming a zone for entertainment and less of a zone for buying food. It has to do with what the vendors sell and the kind of crowd that
is down there. It is obvious that the Haymarket is beginning to accept the spill from the Faneuil Hall Market. People are beginning to realize that spending income and the entertainment activity that can happen in this area is a far more lucrative short-term market than one where people buy six heads of lettuce for a dollar.

[Look, it is no accident that adjacent to Haymarket there is a proposed hotel site. And there "ain't" going to be no hotel with $65 or $75 rooms with squash and cucumbers being sold on its front door steps.] Believe me, there is, and there has always been, pressure to move the street market.

Q -- Are there any other reasons why you thought it was important that Haymarket should become a part of Faneuil Hall Market?

L -- Yes. The commitment that drove the people behind the sponsorship of the restoration -- Architectural Heritage, F.A. Stahl, the downtown business community, the Chamber of Commerce and other activist groups -- was based on the idea that the area would principally reintegrate the pushcart market into the fabric of the city, not become the type of retail success it now is.

It was obvious to us that if parts of the Haymarket had spilled over into Faneuil Hall, it could still be limited to continuing on Fridays and Saturdays. It could have been supplemented by a flea market on Sundays. Faneuil Hall could have been augmented during the week with various open space activities. It could have been seasonally punctuated with ice skating, Christmas trees, pointsettias, etc. All of this could have been done without violating the buildings. Other cities have successfully done this sort of thing.

The Haymarket vendors operate on a cash basis and they do not pay for cleaning up the debris generated by their operations. The city does. Their moving into the Faneuil Hall Market would have meant one of two things: (a) they would have placed themselves in a controlled work environment and would have lost their ability to come and go as they please, or (b) the Faneuil Hall Market would have had to be much more loosely organized than it now is.

Q -- Did the Haymarket vendors indicate that they wanted to move into Faneuil Hall?

L -- NO! Those people have not been convinced that in the long run their standing their ground is futile.
Park Place in Seattle is an example where the old market has been sustained. But here, I think that type of solution was perceived to conflict with what the BRA considers to be the highest and best use of the area.

Also, I believe that part of the problem associated with integrating the pushcart market into Faneuil Hall is the maintenance issue. The city now gives them a free ride. It cleans the street, takes away the trash and all the rest. If they had moved into the Market, the developer would have had to do it.

**Bull market**

The pushcart area located under Quincy Market's glass canopies are referred to as the bull market.

As noted by Roger Lange:

L -- [The Haymarket is what Rouse says the bull market is -- the last bastion of free enterprise capitalism. Anybody that can get a peddler's license and has the gall can play the game, as long as he can shove his way in.]

The bull market has turned out to be one of the most profitable of leased spaces within the market. Some of the pushcart vendors are grossing better than three times as much per square foot than is grossed for high quality retail space elsewhere in Boston.

Regarding the bull market, Roger Lange comments:

L -- Everybody in the Rouse Organization is walking around looking at it and trying to figure out why it is so successful; and asking themselves How can somebody selling cookies gross $325 a square foot when the cookies only cost a quarter?

John Borne indicated that a number of the pushcart owners in the bull market were so successful that the Rouse Company saw fit to help them get established in the South Market building.

B -- We created a thing called the bull market which is a short term lease operation. Here about 30 people put in no investment except their own wares and goods. About 10 of these people have graduated into some of the small shops that we built for them in the gallery. We built those shops for them and they pay us back over a period of time for the work we did, so they made no basic
capital investment.

The whole idea was to spawn some unique tenants who had a very personal kind of product and, as a matter of fact, we pride ourselves that we have generated a great number of new businesses, young businesses. A number of young women have started businesses here, which is interesting. There are a lot of them in the gallery. A higher number of tenants have started new businesses here than in any of our other shopping centers.

L -- [That bull market which Rouse is now articulating as a seed bed for future tenants and a breeder for capitalism was not a planned thing; it is just one of those curious accidents of development chemistry that happened to click.]

Parking

Apparently a parking garage did not get built for both political and economical reasons.

Waterfront and North End residents did not want one built because they felt that doing so would only increase the number of cars in the area, not reduce them. The Rouse Company did not want to take the financial risk, particularly since they did not know in the beginning that the Market would attract as many people as it now does.

L -- Between the time it was proposed to build a parking garage we have learned what they do, they don't eliminate needs, they create them.

Q -- Did the BRA establish any goals that have not been achieved?

D -- Well, parking is one real continual problem. We have on board a developer for the building of a parking garage. We have already reviewed the design with the Historic people in the Massachusetts Historic Commission and have gotten the final approval to go ahead with the construction of a (611) car parking garage. Construction is programmed to start this spring. It is not going to be an all day commuter parking garage, but will be geared towards the Market. Most of the people who come to the Market drive to it.

Q -- Why was the garage not built at the time the Market was being renovated?

D -- Rouse did not want to build one.

Q -- Why?

D -- Pure economics.
Summary and benefits of the project

Each of the interviewees was asked to summarize those benefits that they felt had been generated due to Quincy Market's redevelopment.

John Dobie, as urban designer with the BRA, indicated that one of the BRA's main functions was to increase the city's tax base and that it seemed as though the Market had created new redevelopment interest in the downtown area.

We realized that they represented an opportunity to create a new nucleus of retailing activity in that part of the downtown area.

Interestingly enough, some of the real estate people I have talked to say that because of the Market, business is increasing in certain areas.

For example, the old Gilcrest building on Washington Street was going out of business, and that we know as a fact. The building was mostly vacant. Now, the building's owners are happy to admit that they plan to take the market concept and translate it into a vertical retailing scheme. Many merchants have already begun leasing space there. So it seems as though renovation of the Market has created a new faith in the downtown shopping area.

Jane Thompson, as spokeswoman for Benjamin Thompson, stated that one of their basic goals was to provide a modern-day and workable environment that related to people's needs. She noted that she thought it was artificial for the historical/architectural team to tear down very good examples of Victorian architecture and to install fake reproductions of the original design.

In addition, she pointed out that there was a fire at the Market and that when it was rebuilt in the late 1800s people had an entirely different sense of light and space than when it was built in the 1820s, so they built higher floors, bigger windows. Hence, she
commented that by tearing down parts that existed, the historical/architectural team is presenting to the public a false and confusing sense of history; that what they have done is tantamount to putting up St. Patrick's Cathedral to look like the Cathedral of Chartres when it is not.

For benefits, she cited that the Market provides a place where some of the basic psychological needs of people are met -- the need to relate to people on a one-to-one basis, and to be around other people in a structured environment. She is not of the opinion that it has to be structured the way it is at Faneuil Hall Market in all cases, nor does she believe it has to be structured.

In addition, she noted that it appears as though the Market's success has generated new redevelopment interest in the waterfront area.

She noted that, based on her own personal observation, it appears that there exists a genuine sense of community amongst the merchants, and that they relate to each other more positively than merchants in many other places within the city do.

Roger Lange is saying that you should not have the canopies so that people can look at the pretty, expensive granite and that should be gratification enough for people all over the world.

What he is looking at is building surface; he is not thinking about the dynamics of the Market or what people will be doing there or where they will be sitting or how they will walk around -- he truly isn't.

Peoples' perceptions of the Market have got to be more than buildings. They should be a nice backdrop for something else that is going on there and I think that is a social and environmental thing.

I think that people need places where some form of social interaction can take
place -- the Market is that kind of place for some people. We don't have street corners where people hang out any more. People need a way of plugging in. The City has practically designed out every form of social interaction that used to spontaneously arise.

Comments regarding the social structure of the merchants at the Market:

T -- There is a neighborhood feeling among the people who work there. I think that one real objective in a commercial place like that is to get everybody feeling that they belong to a community and that they are all dependent upon each other and that if one's fellow customers are messing up, everybody else is going to suffer and that they really have got to act as a social unit.

Roger Lange, as spokesman for Frederick A. Stahl and as a member of the historical/architectural team, is essentially of the opinion that the Quincy Market Building has been desecrated because glass canopies are attached to it. He feels that they destroy the true historic meaning of the building, that they are a symbolic expression of its autocratic leasing arrangement and that the Market is a place where everybody is required to submit to the greater good as defined by the Rouse Company.

During our discussion on alternative development forms, Mr. Lange stated:

L -- Another thing you could have done was to look for a way to put more individual entrepreneurs in there and give up some degree of comprehensive control, and eliminate the adverse implications of those big long canopies.

In addition, Mr. Lange feels that it is unfortunate that Haymarket did not spill over into the Faneuil Hall Market. It is his opinion that this would have been a way for the city to knit together the rich and the populous Boston.

He noted that a more appropriate market form would resemble Newbury Street -- a place where everyone is "doing his own thing".

Q -- Why do you say there is no diversity? There are many individual entrepreneurs at the Market.

L -- The diversity is not like Newbury Street's diversity. It does not grow
out of a creative retail combat between different entrepreneurs, each marching to his or her own drum. [A very clear totalitarian threat runs through a development mechanism in which individual good is defined by the greater good.]

Mr. Lange further suggested that the Market provides an artificially sanitized environment for tourists and suburban visitors to the city, that it is not a place for Bostonians, that the jobs it creates are low paying and are not comparable to jobs that alternative development forms could have created. However, Mr. Lange concluded:

L -- There are hundreds of people who care very deeply and had a role in this thing over the past ten years. [That is good and is something very unique about Boston.]

On the balance, I feel very good about it. It is still the Market: people are still buying and selling down there; the buildings are still there and it has been a happy success.

When John Borne, project manager with the Rouse Company, spoke of benefits generated by the project, he mentioned the fact that small entrepreneurs have gotten started in business, Boston has increased its tax base and that the Market provides a place for people to come and enjoy themselves.

Q -- What regional groups of people benefit from the Markets?

B -- [The benefits of the project are many.] The project generates quite a bit of public tax money and that goes into two major areas: one is the city tax and the second is the Mass. food tax. The South Market and Quincy buildings will generate about 24 million dollars worth of sales. I would say that 20 million of it is food. Eight percent of that is tax money. That is at least 2 million dollars a year, I would say, that goes to both local and state municipalities.

There there is a big tourist population that comes, but there is also a lot of public monies that come from HUD and so forth. It is a national thing. People from all over the world use it.

[Your question is difficult to answer only because there are so many different groups of people who use this place.] If you wanted to say that the people
who come to the singles bar on Friday evening was a public or a group, then they receive a public good -- whether that is significant or worth talking about is a different issue.

Then there are the many families that come down here, from who knows where, on holidays and weekends....they bring their kids down and then it becomes a family outing, so I wouldn't know how to focus on that, but that sure is different from the singles bar.

At lunch time, there are a tremendous number of office workers who come here for lunch; and I don't know what that means either. [But one of the successes of the project is that it appeals to so many different groups of people over different time cycles. That is, it is alive in the evenings, alive on Sundays, alive on holidays and so forth. And that is part of the reason that it works.]
"I enjoy the people, the crowds; I like the excitement that you can feel in the air."

Interviewee F9

P5
USER PERCEPTIONS

INTRODUCTION

In Part 5 it will be seen that user perception of Faneuil Hall Market is as complex and as varied as that of the planners and the designers. Many of the issues that they argued about will also be found to concern many of the Market's users.

A fair number of users related to the Market's past historical-social context and compared it's atmosphere to the type of atmosphere generated by the Haymarket, as did members of the historical/architectural team. Fifteen of the twenty users interviewed drew or noted Haymarket on their cognitive maps.

Part 5 will also show that a few of the users relate to how Faneuil Hall Market has been renovated in relation to its historical context. In this regard, interviewee F11 stated that she originally thought that there was something inappropriate about the glass canopies attached to the central building, but changed her mind when she saw an old photograph that showed canopies attached to it. (For additional comments, see p. 67.) Similar to the view expressed by the members of the historical/architectural team she, too, related to the building's "classical shape". However, her change in view had nothing to do with present day adaptive reuse issues. Are the canopies appropriate because they existed in
the past, or are they appropriate because they solve planning and design problems associated with how the building is now being used?

It will be seen that users' views and actions are often found to be contradictory. Interviewee M2 stated that one aspect that he did not like about the Market was the conspicuous consumption type of lifestyle portrayed by it. But when asked why he came to the Market he replied that he came to buy some marmalade. When I asked him if he would allow me to interview him, he was coming out of a store that sells small jars of English-made preserves at exorbitant prices.

Interviewee Fl also noted that she didn't approve of the lifestyle portrayed by the Market. But when asked why she came to the Market she replied that she thought that a friend of hers, from out of town, ought to see it. It is rare that a person takes a visitor to a place that

he/she truly disapproves of.

Many of the notions advanced by the adaptive reuse team on how and why people use the Market and its buildings will be found to closely correspond to those expressed by the users.

Organization

The varied and complex views of users' perceptions of the Faneuil Hall Market are presented in three sections:

1. PRACTICAL, AESTHETIC AND HISTORICAL PERCEPTIONS

2. SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL PERCEPTIONS

3. SPATIAL AND SOCIAL PERCEPTIONS OF THE DISTRICT
"These seem to be more interesting than new buildings; more texture to them somehow."

Interviewee M6

P5/S1
PRACTICAL, AESTHETIC AND HISTORICAL PERCEPTIONS

INTRODUCTION

Section 5 documents what the users of the Market like and don't like about it, why they come. It records their perceptions of the Market's design and historical context.

Why users come

Seventy percent of the people interviewed said they came to the Market to look.

The two days in which the interviews were held, the weather in Boston was sunny and warm and it seemed like spring. Boston had just recently gotten over experiencing the largest snowfall of the century.

Q -- Why did you come to the Market today?

F9 -- To meet my sister and to shop around, just to see. It is a beautiful spring day and I just wanted to get into it.

M1 -- Mostly just to look, [to see it]. Not being from the city, I happen to like seeing all of the people...to see the whole setup.

M20 -- Today we came solely to look, to see the sights, just to walk around and have something to do.

F19 -- To see how it was; someone told me it was a very interesting place, so that is why I came.

Thirty-five percent of the people interviewed were tourists and people that came because they brought friends, relatives or children to see the Market.

Q -- Why did you come to the Market today?

F3 -- Touring. My relatives suggested that I come down here. [I am greatly impres-
...and I am surprised at the number of people and the variety of shops. It reminds me of Paris.

M14 -- To see what it was like. This is my very first time and it was a great pleasure coming through, and I really enjoyed it. I wish I had my wife with me....I have often spoken of coming down here. Today is a nice day and I said to my daughter, "What can we do?", and she said, "Let's take a ride down to Faneuil Hall," and I said ["That is just where I wanted to go."]

Okay. I am here and I really enjoyed it. It is something different to me because I never, very rarely, get a chance to go anywhere....most of the time I am always down at the Cape.

F17 -- Any time anybody from out of town comes to visit me I take them here.

Asking people what it was that they liked about the Market was tantamount to asking them why they came to the Market.

F9 -- I enjoy the people, the crowds; I like the excitement that you can feel in the air.

M13 -- It is just sort of a fun place to come on a Sunday. There is a lot of activity; a lot of different little shops....more personal service than in the big department or discount stores.

M16 -- There are a lot of places to eat....shop....and there are a lot of people....activity.

F18F -- I am not a great shopper. I like to look. I like the buildings. I like the area. It is nice....I am a voyeur.

One woman, an artist, when asked why she came to the Market commented:

F11 -- Because I have a guest from out of town; and we were shopping in the North End and I thought that she should see Quincy Market.

Q -- Why did you think it was important for her to see Quincy Market?

F11 -- Well, I thought it was important because it seems to be a very successful venture. Even though I consider it to be somewhat pretentious, it is apparently a successful marketing idea.

All interviewees seemed to agree that the Market is a vital and captivating place:

F3 -- I think it is a lively, vital place.

M20 -- We just came down to look and have a good time.

M13 -- One of the reasons we came down is because of the street entertainers. Especially in the summer, the Shakespeare
brothers, jugglers are here -- that type of thing. You never know what you are going to find....

What users don't like

A fair number of the interviewees complained about the inconveniences caused by the crowds of people.

Q -- What is it you dislike about the Market?

M6 -- Crowds of people on Saturday afternoon....

M6F -- It is too crowded. You just can't do anything.

M14F -- I will tell you what I don't like. I think it is too narrow inside. There is not enough room to pass down the middle. Otherwise, I think it is [fantastic]. It is really great for the people.

Additional comments:

Q -- Is there anything you dislike about the Market?

F5 -- Well, I will tell you one thing which I dislike. In the summer it gets too hot under the glass portion of Quincy Market. [It is like being in a steam bath.] But besides that, it is a lot of fun to come down here.

M10 -- [There are not enough places to sit down.] With all of these food vendors, you know, there is never any place to sit down and eat.

Only a few people mentioned prices of articles as being something they disliked about the Market.

Q -- What is it you dislike about the Market?

M20 -- No, I haven't seen anything I don't like about the Market. Everything is a little expensive, if you want to buy clothes or something like that. We just came down to look around and have a good time.

F18 -- I like it down here at night. Some of the stalls are closed. It is not as crowded, so I prefer it at night, except the prices are inflated.

Q -- The prices of what?

F18 -- The drinks. If you are going out for a drink, the last place you would really want to come is down here.

Q -- Then why do people come?

F18 -- Because you can go to several bars with without having to brave the elements. This is especially advantageous in the winter. If you don't like where you are,
you can go somewhere else. You can go from Lily's to City Side to....

If this survey had been taken in the summer months -- peak tourist season -- there probably would have been more comment about parking.

Q  -- Is there anything you dislike about the Market?

F11  -- It just infuriates me that a place where they want to draw you to, there are not very many options for parking.

M13  -- Not really....I would like to see some parking for suburbanites....other than that, I think it is well laid out -- a good concept.

In reference to the South Market Building:

Q  -- What is it that you dislike about the Market?

F11  -- I think the layouts of the stores are not very efficient in terms of shopping.

Q  --

F11  -- [It doesn't flow very well.]

Q  -- You mean it is too crowded?

F11  -- No. [It is not possible to get into all of the stores from the inside.] You have to go outside sometimes and around to get into an arcade; you can't cut across. There is not a logical way you can go and survey all of the shopping areas.

Only one interviewee mentioned that fact that it is not possible to survey all of the shops in the South building in a continuous manner as being an inconvenience. This situation would seem to be an inconvenience only in inclement weather.

City managers' intents

Almost all interviewees associated renovation of the Market with city managers' intent to bring more money into Boston and their desire to provide a nice place for tourists to visit.

Q  -- What do you think the city managers were trying to achieve when they sponsored this project.

F5  -- [Money.]

Q  -- Do you think that they were attempting to achieve anything else?

F5  -- Probably they wanted to revitalize the area, bring in more people, more money....
Q -- Is there anything else?

F5 -- Well, I suppose they were interested in creating a certain amount of nostalgia, you know...revive the old parts of the city, but they were interested in money more than anything else.

Q -- What do you think the city managers had in mind when they sponsored this project?

F7 -- I think they thought of making money.

Perceptions on design and the Haymarket

Some people did associate and contrast Faneuil Hall with Haymarket.

Q -- Is there anything you dislike about the Market?

M1 -- It seems a little contrived. Do you know what I mean?

Q -- What do you mean?

M1 -- Well, it is modern. But in a way it is too clean.

Q -- What is wrong with it being clean?

M1 -- It makes it seem exclusive. I have this feeling that it is a little too exclusive. I remember when I went to Haymarket [I really enjoyed it].

Q -- What is it you like about Haymarket?

M1 -- I liked all of the people there selling vegetables. It just seemed like a relatively friendly atmosphere.

Q -- Would you say the atmosphere here is unfriendly?

M1 -- No, but it doesn't seem to be quite the same. It could be just the face of it, because it is so nice and new. I remember Haymarket as being sort of a rustic old place, people running around yelling at each other.

M6 -- These seem to be more interesting than new buildings; more texture to them, somehow. I don't know. I guess the other possibility, as far as restoration goes, would be a Colonial Williamsburg type of thing. That could have been done.

Q -- Do you think reproduction of exactly what existed in the past would be equally as acceptable to people as the present design is?

M6 -- I don't know. [In a sense this is more vital. People are really here and using it.]

Q -- The Markets could have been restored to look exactly as they did in the past. Don't you think?

M6 -- I guess in a sense they were trying to relate to the past by keeping the market
place food oriented. I am not sure that they succeeded in that regard. Although, I suppose, in modern day terms it has a lot of what people want.

Historical context

Only a few of the interviewees voluntarily mentioned issues relevant to the restoration of historic buildings. One woman, an artist, did comment about the glass canopies attached to Quincy. She noted that she originally thought that they distorted the true historical meaning of Quincy, but changed her mind when she saw an old photograph of Quincy that showed awnings attached to it.

Q -- What else do you like about the Market?

F9 -- I think it is good because it is restoring history, Faneuil Hall....

The above interviewee was not asked to comment on the historical context of the Market.

F9 -- I am studying U.S. history in school. I love history.

Q -- Would you please comment on the restoration of Quincy in regard to its historical context?

F11 -- In that regard, my first impression upon coming down to Quincy Market was that there was something irreverent about the way it was renovated because of the glass panels on the sides of the buildings. I felt that they destroyed the [classic shape] of the building as I had seen it for many years when it was empty and going down hill, and then I saw an old photograph of the building and I realized that where the glass canopies for the vendors are now there were originally awnings which were like tents, the exact same shape, which probably housed the trucks and whatever; and so I decided that the renovation was true to the [original feeling] of the building after all. But it was a while before I felt that.
"...in a way, it is too bad this place just can't simply be a place where you can come and enjoy the people, the architecture."

Interviewee F11

P5/S2
SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL PERCEPTIONS

INTRODUCTION
The following dialogues include discussions on the lifestyle and behavioral needs of people in public places. Two interviewee's perceptions on how the Market relates to the psychological needs of people are recorded. (In addition, some of my personal perceptions on the cultural and psychological significance of the Market are included.)

Q -- What is it that you like about the Market?

M2 -- Well, I have mixed feelings about it. I think it is a nice place, but it is over-commercialized. It is an attractive place to shop, but I have mixed feelings about it.

Q -- Then what is it you would like to have seen done differently?

M2 -- I don't think you can change it. It is the sort of lifestyle that it portrays.

Q -- What type of lifestyle are you talking about?

M2 -- [It is conspicuous consumption. That sort of lifestyle turns me off.] I generally don't come down here to shop because I don't like that sort of thing, but sometimes I do end up here.

The following interviewee is an artist and has her studio in Boston.

Q -- Is there anything that you dislike about the Markets?

F11 -- Quite a bit.

Q -- What are some of them?

F11 -- I dislike that fact that you can buy almost anything here; it leaves nothing to be discovered any where else. I mean, you need no longer go to Europe to find anything; you can't bring fancy
candies home because you can buy them in Quincy Market.

....in a way, it is too bad this place just can't simply be a place where you come and enjoy the people, the architecture.

[There should be places where people can socialize and see each other.]

Q -- You mentioned Europe. What is the difference between this environment and the street cafes in Europe? You have to buy things there, too. The coffee is not free. As a matter of fact, you pay more for coffee in Paris when you sit out on the sidewalk.

F11 -- Right. I have not been able to think it through so that I can throw in a specific difference. It is certainly something that has gone on there for a long time. There it is a tradition.

Perhaps before, Americans only had money to spend on necessities, and now they have a lot of money to spend and those who are selling a product jump right in.

But in other places where you can only spend your money on necessities, you still have to have that social outlet of seeing people in a somewhat structured situation, passing them on the street and having coffee. I don't think that has ever been so much a tradition here.

Q -- The majority of Americans are European descendants. Do you think the tradition of providing places where they can see other people, sit and talk to each other, has been taken away from them?

F11 -- I don't know about that. I think they came here for a variety of reasons....

Q -- No. I mean in terms of taking away the European sidewalk and street atmosphere...the sidewalk cafes. Do you feel that is something Americans have been deprived of?

F11 -- Oh, perhaps, sure. [Yeah, I think that is it.] I think the Market was created in recognition of the fact that people are deprived of their social needs.

[But what has been created is artificial.] It is not an integral part of our society. It should not be like that.

Apparently the interviewee is making a distinction between a user made urban environment and a planned environment.

Q -- Then you think that the environment created here is contrived, whereas in the European context this type of urban space more accurately reflects the true psychological and social needs of the people.
F11 -- Yes, that is right. But I do think that sometimes in areas where an entire ethnic group has re-established a community in America you can still find places that meet traditional social and group needs. In places where there is a mix and a desire to disguise your ethnic characteristics, it's possible to lose those traditions. I don't know if that is answering your question.

Q -- Yes. What you said is good. I think Americans have been deprived of outdoor places that would allow them to sit, to drink coffee, to talk to each other or just to look at other people. Apparently, the psychological need for this type of space is very strong.

I think what happened was that many of the Europeans that came here had to work in factories and sweat shops and, under the guise of efficiency, public leisure spaces were taken from them. The bosses wanted to produce more, so the workers had leisure time taken away from them.

The small immigrant businessman, with the desire to make as much money as possible and probably removed from traditional social and communication links, most likely found it difficult to rationalize having strangers that didn't spend much money sitting around the shop. And therefore he eliminated spaces that tended to create loitering. Of course, this was not true in all cases. As you mentioned, in certain ethnic communities, where tradition is strong, places for people to sit and watch each other still exist.

F11 -- That is right. In my unprofessional opinion, shopping centers are popular because people have to have a place where they can see other people.

Q -- Do you think it is possible to create places where people can see other people that are not consumer oriented?

F11 -- I don't know. I don't know if that is possible. I don't know enough about politics.

Q -- Why do you bring politics into it?

F11 -- Because of the systems, political systems and whatever. I think that has a lot to do with it.

Q -- I guess, in a sense, the political structure does have something to do with it.

With regard to what we were referring to before, do you see this environment as being too autocratic?

F11 -- I don't know if it is too structured.
Do you mean too capitalistic?

Q -- In a sense.

F11 -- I don't know if it is possible in our tradition to have places for people to meet and simply enjoy seeing each other.

Q -- A lot of people meet other people in the singles bars here at night.

F11 -- That is fairly contrived too.

Q -- Why do you say that?

F11 -- This is getting so complicated. Well, I think the conventional methods for meeting people have been broken down, removed, whatever, and therefore something has to take their place.

I think people have the need to feel as though they are conforming to a certain group, whether it be a church, community or a neighborhood group, whatever. If none of those, then a singles bar, disco dancing, folk dancing, any of those sorts of activities can take the place of belonging to a community, a large family.

Q -- Why do people come to the singles bars here and not elsewhere?

F11 -- Because they don't fit in anywhere else. The people that come here at night, I can't imaging them going to Harvard Square or Newbury Street.

Q -- Why is that?

F11 -- They don't fit in.

Q -- Why don't they fit in?

F11 -- They don't fit into the norm. Not that they couldn't go to both of those other places and blend in. It is just the type of people I see here I haven't really seen before.

Q -- What type of people are you referring to?

F11 -- I mean that I see mostly people who I would consider to be from the suburbs.... I see a lot of tourists, too, and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish.

I feel that this is a place that attracts a lot of people who would not go to some other sections of the city.... those sections have certain connotations or stigmas attached to them or whatever you want to say.

These people are the type of people who must have a new kitchen and a new bathroom when they move into a new apartment. They would not put up with the old structures. [The Market is new; therefore this type of person is attracted to it.]

John Borne mentioned that surveys done by the Rouse Company indicate that most of the
people who come to Faneuil Hall Market, particularly at night, don't venture very far from it. They feel secure only within the Faneuil Hall Market district.

Roger Lange indicated that he felt that the Market provides sort of an artificially sanitized environment for their suburban visitors, and that a problem urban designers are faced with is to find ways to use a development like the Market to generate interest in other parts of the city.

A strong sense of place does provide a sense of security, and one reality is the fact that all parts of our inner cities are not perceived by all people to be safe, particularly at night.

Traditionally the downtown areas of cities have been thought of as neutral zones -- places where people can come without having to worry about any sub-cultural norms being imposed on them. As long as the person observes the behavioral guidelines established for behavior in public places, he or she can act as he or she pleases.

As noted by interviewee F11: They don't fit in. Does this mean that areas like Newbury Street and Harvard Square can be identified as areas where some people do fit in? If this is the case, perhaps it may be too much of a psychological commitment for those who perceive themselves as not fitting in to attempt to relate to what is going on at Newbury Street and Harvard Square. These areas just may not be considered neutral zones by all people.

To add to this argument, if the city is to be a diverse place and attract people with different lifestyles and behavioral ideas, its urban spaces must offer different cultural and social amenities to different people.

Since it is not possible for one urban space
to be all things to all people, it can be expected that some people will reject the atmosphere portrayed by a particular place.

By the same token, it may not be realistic to expect all people to be interested in spending their leisure time in all parts of the city, particularly when they may perceive the possibility of bodily harm. Even if this was not an issue, unless they were interested in observing and participating with people that possess lifestyles and behavioral characteristics different than their own, there may not exist any incentives for some people to explore certain parts of the city.

As our cities are racially and ethnically segregated, and as crime has become more rampant within our inner cities, it has become difficult for all people to observe and participate with people different from themselves.
"I don't think that redevelopment of the outlying waterfront area is going to affect the neighborhood feeling that exists there. If anything, it will bring them closer together.

They seem to be surrounded. I think the expressway is referred to as the wall. It cuts them off from the rest of the city and helps to define the neighborhood boundaries.

Interviewee F17

not opposed to the renovation of the Market, they did perceive it as something that is contributing to the destruction of the neighborhood sense of the North End.

The following interviewee is a woman who once lived in the North End. Her view is that the Market is another link in the gentrification of this Italian neighborhood.

Q -- What is it that you like about the Market?
F15 -- Do you mean the Quincy Market?
Q -- Yes.

F15 -- I think they have done a really good job of restoring it. It is a lot of fun.

....I also think they are destroying the atmosphere of the North End. [The people who come here are infiltrating the North End.] People park their cars there and walk through it on their way to the Market.

The North End, which used to be a very integral area, is changing. It is becoming a pathway from the Wharf area to here. Tourists walk from one area
to the other. The North End has lost its feeling.

Q -- Don't the tourists buy from the stores in the North End and eat at the restaurants there?

F15 -- They do. But the area has turned into a tourist area. This is also causing it to lose its flavor. I am surprised that the people in the North End have put up with this. They were always a very tightly knit group. In fact, they always did protect their own. That is why we lived there. It was a very safe area. When we lived there we didn't have to lock our doors....it was very safe.

[I really love the Italian influence and I am surprised that they are putting up with it all.]

I am not totally negative about it; what they did, they did very well. [I just don't like the fact that they have done it.]

M16 -- This place is a destination point for tourists. Also, people who live in the city come here. I think of this place as being patronized by residents as well as by tourists.

Q -- I see. So you feel that both groups benefit. Are there any groups you perceive as not benefiting from the Market?

M16 -- I don't think of this area as a residential area. No residential area was ruined here. It is all commercial buildings. So if they didn't have to relocate people, I guess it is all right. right....

It's been a long time since I've been in the Boston area. I know that the old market and the North End had a nice sense about them. I don't know if this is going to ruin them or not. I guess if this created some danger of ruining the North End, its neighborhood sense, there would be a problem with this.

The interview that follows is with another person who used to live in the North End. She essentially agrees with interviewee F15 on the relation between redevelopment within the Faneuil Hall-Waterfront renewal area and the
buildings are being burned?

F17 -- [To discourage development.] There are many apartments in the North End that have no bathroom. That is why they had the YMCA. They used it as a public bathhouse.

[The income difference between people living in cold water flats in the North End and those that live in Harvard Towers or Lewis Wharf condominiums is incredible. You know, you are talking about $8,000 a year income as opposed to people who can afford to live in $95,000 two bedroom condominiums. All of this redevelopment is going to wipe out their neighborhood.]

Q -- So what do you think can be done?

F17 -- [I don't think anything can be done. It is a neighborhood; they are people.]

When I lived down there, I felt very safe. It is very family oriented, you know. Kids "hang" in the streets there....

I don't think that redevelopment of the outlying waterfront area is going to effect the neighborhood feeling that exists there. If anything, it will bring them closer together.

They seem to be surrounded. I think the expressway is referred to as the
wall. It cuts them off from the rest of the city and helps to define the neighborhood boundaries. Then on the far side there is the bridge into Charlestown, so it is a very enclosed, tight-knit neighborhood.

I don't think street crime is high in the North End. They probably leave their area for that. There is a sense of watching out for your neighbor over there.

It is seen that the two women interviewed became deeply involved when they talked about the North End and that they have strong feelings and memories of it.

This study does not include interviews with spokesmen from the North End, hence their perceptions of how redevelopment within the Waterfront area is effecting their neighborhood is not known.
"So they went down a path that said we will get support for fixing up the buildings, which they did, which was fine. Although we don't agree with what they did.

It takes a certain projective imagination to understand what attracts people and what brings them together, what provides certain kinds of satisfaction.

You know a building is an abstraction; it isn't anything until something happens within it.

I will tell you one thing that they did and it was very expensive and it is costing the Rouse Company and the city dearly and that is when they took off the roofs and put back the dormer windows.

They have created 40-50,000 square feet of absolutely unusable space."

Jane Thompson

"The logic stems from the marketing program out and it is an example of how you don't use history as the parti. Their decisions about the Market forces were grafted onto the building instead of looking at the building and saying how much space does this happily generate and what can I adapt to the space which is available. It is a contorted way of dealing with an interesting building.

The simple fact is that the sum total of those additions and changes frustrated one's ability, particularly a lay person's ability, to perceive the uniqueness, the intactness, and the rare urban experience that the Markets offered at the time of their original construction.

You must understand what a major step it was in Boston in 1925 to achieve the sweeping change to the city that the Market did."

Roger Lange

CHAPTER IV
CONCLUSIONS

INTRODUCTION

Apart from providing the opportunity for me to obtain an understanding of how and why the

Faneuil Hall Market works, this study has provided the opportunity for me to obtain insights into issues associated with the programming of a people-orientated urban space and has enabled me to gain a better grasp of issues relevant
to the restoration of historically important buildings. Many architects and planners are currently being faced with the problem of how to relate the restoration of such buildings to their historical context and yet relate to current needs.

This conclusion will summarize and discuss the historical argument. In addition, social and practical issues and the implications of this study for future urban planning will be noted.

HISTORICAL

Roger Lange, as spokesman for the historical/architectural team maintains that the Quincy Market buildings should have been faithfully restored to reflect their original planning and design context. He adopts this view because Quincy Market is historically valuable due to the fact that it was designed as a unified planning concept. Therefore Mr. Lange is of the opinion that later additions or changes made to the buildings are aberrations. However, he does qualify his view by saying that it applies to Quincy Market and that for another historically important group of buildings he may choose to relate to them differently.

Nevertheless, Mr. Lange is essentially saying that that which happened in the past (in this particular case) is more important than that which is happening today and that present day needs should be subdued in order that the glorious past can be appropriately celebrated.

L -- It is more important for what it was originally than for any of its later changes....I don't buy the argument that the obligation of our age is to sit still and not make choices, that doing so is elitism....It was a unique opportunity for us to restore it.

Jane Thompson, as spokeswoman for the adaptive reuse team, does not see the three buildings at the Faneuil Hall Market as being the most important forces there. To her they are merely a
backdrop for people. Her view is that that which is happening today is important, not that which happened in 1825. Therefore she stated that they were interested in providing modern buildings which would meet the needs of people who would use them today. Hence, she concluded that they were not interested in restoring them exactly the way they were in 1825. To do so, she commented, is impractical.

Thompson is also of the opinion that the historical/architectural team distorted the true historical continuity of the buildings when they removed good examples of Victorian architecture and installed fake reproductions of the original design.

--- Buildings change, so do people....

Rare art works sometimes lose their value when altered. But did European cathedrals become less important historically when additions were attached to them? The Faneuil Hall structure that we know today is not the original structure, but is an enlarged version of the original. Like people, buildings do change. Nevertheless, the key question is did past alterations to the Quincy Market buildings lessen their historical value and, if so, for whom?

Let's reflect on the historical planning and design context that existed when Quincy Market was first built. At that time it was quite possible that Parris intended that Quincy be seen as a building without canopies. But whether or not this was a realistic intent is another matter. Originally Quincy was built as an extension to Faneuil Hall. At that time the interior spaces within Quincy probably adequately met the needs of the populace. But as Boston's population increased it is most likely that more people used the Market. Thus as consumer
demand increased the merchants expanded their facilities. Hence they related their stalls to the outdoors, thereby reducing the need for people to come inside. When this was done, it became necessary for them to protect their products from inclement weather, so they installed canvas canopies — a perfectly normal response to a utilitarian need.

Is a good building one that is incapable of being adapted to meet the changing needs of its users? Is it more valid to have a building that doesn't meet its user's needs in 1978 than it was in 1825? Did the Quincy Market building become less valuable historically when the merchants attached canopies to it?

However, we do not know what Parris' reaction was when the merchants attached canopies to the building. His view could have been that they distorted his design. He could also have concluded that they met a realistic and current need. Hence, Parris might have criticized himself for not taking this future need into consideration.

Mr. Lange is not opposed to the first stage of canopy development because he feels that it expressed individual needs. Each merchant installed his canopy as he saw fit. However, during later years continuous and permanent canopies were installed. Whereas Mr. Lange is opposed to the glass canopies that presently exist, Jane Thompson points out that within today's planning and design context she feels that they are relevant.

Let's probe the question of Parris' original intent a bit further. Parris used inventive techniques in the building of Quincy. Because he did so is one of the reasons the building is historically important. Did Parris design inoperable windows with many mullions and small
panes of glass because he liked such windows, or did he do so because of technological limitations? The merchants certainly seized the opportunity to install operable windows when it presented itself.

Now let's look at the window issue in relationship to today's planning context. If they had been restored as fixed windows with small panes of glass, it would have become necessary to air condition the buildings. Where would the cooling mechanisms and the chillers have been placed? Within the South Market Plaza or on top of Quincy? Certainly this equipment doesn't have anything to do with the true historical context of the Market.

It was argued that the glass canopies do not represent individual diversity and that they did not occur out of individual need. But it was also argued that Quincy Market is historically important because it was originally planned as a unified whole. The roof line and facade changes represented diversity and occurred out of individual needs, but it was argued that they be restored to exhibit the unified whole that existed in 1825.

Nevertheless, it is important that old buildings remain a part of our urban landscape. Part of the Market's success is due to the fact that people have been deprived of visual references to past built environments. The availability of past references provides a basis for people to relate to present day needs and goals. Older buildings serve to increase the legibility of our cities. Legibility provides a sense of security. The renovation of Quincy Market has improved the legibility of Boston's downtown.

Legibility is important not only within a physical context, but also within a social
context. I believe this is why the historical/architectural team wanted to preserve the
Market's social-historical context.

Historical preservation can serve at least three functions. First, it may serve a
symbolic function -- to knit together certain sentiments and social values, and also to
strengthen them. Second, it may serve to improve the legibility of our cities -- though
the symbolic value of older buildings may vary from generation to generation, due to different
socially conditioned standards of taste and beauty. And third, it may serve a utilitarian
function -- to serve as an instrument for the achievement of certain social and economic ends.

Both of the views on the preservation and the redevelopment of Quincy Market expressed
within this study have merit. However, there are also disadvantages to both of them.

The view that that which happened in 1825 is not important and only that which is happening today is somewhat more complex than it first seems. If everyone adopted this view, no one would be interested in the preservation of antiquated buildings and in Quincy Market's case there would have not been a group of people interested in saving it for its historical value. More than likely, the three Market structures would have been demolished and the city of Boston would not have this dynamic people-orientated space that it now has.

Disregard for present day planning issues do not take into consideration how people will use the Market or what they will be doing. Had this view been fully implemented, it is doubtful that the crowds of people that now flock to the Market would come there. The city of Boston would have had three antiques that
mostly visited by out of town tourists. New interest in its downtown and waterfront areas would have not been generated. Instead of increasing its tax base it would have taken on an increased tax liability.

If the adaptive reuse approach had been implemented in its entirety, the changing roof lines would have remained. This would have caused far more confusion for some of the users than the glass canopies now do. Such would have made it more difficult for a lay person to relate to Faneuil Hall Market's historical planning and design context and the Market would not have served the function of knitting together sentiments and social values as adequately as it now does. The same can be said with regard to the facade changes.

In addition, it is questionable if Faneuil Hall Market needs more visual complexity than it now has. A well designed urban space should be visually coordinated. The Market needs something to help tie its complex organization together. If it can be argued that the glass canopies serve to tie the Central and the South Market buildings together, one should also be able to argue that consistent roof lines serve as a framework that helps to express the Market's three structures as belonging to one coherent urban design concept.

Nevertheless, it is apparent that complexity of view in the programming of the Faneuil Hall Market, in relation to its historical context, balanced out and that diversity in viewpoint has positively given those who participated in its programming the opportunity to gain a better understanding of issues relevant to the restoration and redevelopment of historically important buildings.
SOCIAL, PRACTICAL AND SPATIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Two other issues that were discussed in this study pertained to how the Market is leased and who benefits. Mr. Lange maintained that its leasing arrangement is autocratic and that it is designed to benefit suburbanites and tourists.

However, it might also be asked to whom does downtown belong? Does it belong only to Bostonians? Don't the people who live in Watertown or Waltham have the right to have access to it? If it is agreed that the Market is a historical resource, is it a resource that belongs only to Bostonians? Isn't it also a regional and national resource?

Redevelopment of Quincy Market has made it possible for a fair number of small entrepreneurs to start their own businesses. For many it is their first time in business. As noted by John Borne:

"About 10 of the people that were in the Bullmarket have graduated into some of the small shops that we built for them in the gallery. We built those shops for them and they pay us back over a period of time for the work we did, so they made no basic capital investment.

How many people these days get to start a business when they do not have the capacity to provide all of the initial capital outlay? Certainly no one is advocating that all small stores be under one roof, controlled by one owner. However, there do exist historical precedents for this type of leasing arrangement -- for whatever that's worth. Many 19th century office buildings had galleries that contained small shops. In some American cities this arrangement still exists.

It can also be argued that the Market complex has generated a Market demand that very few shops the size of those in Quincy would normally have exposure to. The clustering of a variety of shops serve to increases consumer interest.
in the Market.

I will carry the above notion a little further because in the planning and designing of the urban spaces it is important not only to have theories about how things should work, but also to understand how they actually work.

Normally in the planning of a shopping center there are at least two magnet stores. These two stores are usually of the type that provide essential consumer needs. Typically, they are placed at opposite ends of the shopping complex, with the smaller stores scattered in between, the logic being that as a person goes from one magnet store to the next, he/she will look into the smaller stores and see something that he/she will want to buy. Of course, the merchandise that the magnet stores and the smaller stores sell is not selected so that they creatively destroy each other, but to complement each other as a whole. Quincy Market is unique, as shopping complexes go, because it does not have any magnet stores, hence each small shop must be a magnet in itself. That is, they each have to offer something unique enough that a person will want to look. Since there are no magent stores, the promise of seeing something new and unique at the next store helps to pull people through the buildings.

It should also be pointed out that if the Market had been designed like the shops on Newbury Street, users would have been less compelled to look or go into all of the shops. It is a rare day that any one individual makes it a point to go into all of the shops on Newbury Street, but is quite common at the Faneuil Hall Market. One reason this is not normally done at the stores on Newbury Street is because it is possible to see what is on the inside from the outside.

In a way it is like going to the Louvre and trying to see all of the paintings in one
day. It is not possible. So you have to go back.

There are many reasons why the Market works and I will not attempt to note all of them. Accessibility is a factor. The multiplier effect due to people telling their friends about the Market is another contributing factor. A recent survey taken by the Rouse Company indicated that 42.7% of the people surveyed learned about the Market from friends.

As noted by Kevin Lynch (1978):

"The simplest form of legibility is identity, or sense of place: the degree to which a person can recognize and recall a place as being distinct from other places, having a vivid or unique character of its own."

B -- The image of this place is so strong that the people who come here feel extremely safe and secure.

The fact that the buildings are old also contributes. Many people have never experienced buildings like those at the Market. Thus they are awed.

M6 -- These seem to be more interesting than new buildings; more texture to them somehow.

Q -- Do you think that the users of the Market are aware of its historic context?

B -- That is hard to say. I have noticed a couple of reactions. One kind of reaction comes from a group of people that used to know the Old Quincy Market area before it was renovated. They cannot believe the transformation.

Q -- I see. They are awed by the fact that you were able to create so much interest with what were old and dilapidated buildings.

B -- Yes. But the other reaction sort of dismisses its real historical presence. This group of people just think that it is fun to be in the area, to see the older buildings, to see the people and stuff. But I don't think they have any understanding of where it all came from.

Q -- To these people it is just an enjoyable experience to be at the Market?

B -- I think so.

Q -- Do you feel that the location of the Market contributes a great deal to its success?

B -- [Absolutely!]
I think it is very important that the Market is absolutely in the Center and very visible to the Boston scene. There is so much activity around here; the area is accessible by the Expressway and the Metro. It's very important where it is located.

There also exist psychological and behavioral relationships that relate to the type of merchandise that is sold, the type of atmosphere that is generated and the people the Market "actually serve" — not those that some people might think it ought to serve.

Good architecture and urban design presumably incorporate at least two sets of principals of spatial organization:

1. technical

2. facilitation of the transference of some aesthetic experience

Comments were made about what is sold and how the merchandise is displayed, the fact that a squash never touches a cucumber. Some people stated that the Market is contrived. However, I am not certain what is meant by the word contrived. Does it mean the fact that it's formulation is not a natural people response to a need but was programmed and developed by city planners, and is therefore a fake? My response to such a comment is that in this day and age it is unlikely that an urban space of the magnitude of Faneuil Hall Market would ever get built without city planners being involved. If such a space ever did come about without such involvement is yet another question.

It can also easily be argued that an inner city park is a contrived urban space. However, this is one of the many reasons some people like parks. The same can be said for the Faneuil Hall Market. Some people enjoy seeing flowers or trees arranged to express a certain aesthetic affect; some like to see buildings and urban spaces arranged for the same reasons.
unique. It is a unique experience to be at the Market as opposed to being in some place in Boston they are overly familiar with and tired of. That interior space over there is unique, I think. I have never been in a place like that before. It is fun to be in.

Returning to what is sold at the Market, how things are displayed and what things cost; Thorstein Veblen in his book entitled *Pecuniary Canons of Taste* advances notions on the meaning of architecture and of objects in the more affluent sectors of society. His theories are related to a group of people he refers to as belonging to the "Leisure Class".

One of Veblen's notions is that any valuable object, in order to appeal to the sense of beauty, must also conform to the requirement of beauty and expensiveness, and that the mark of expensiveness is accepted as one of the features of beautiful articles in order for them to be beautiful. Other notions are that the substitution of pecuniary beauty for aesthetic beauty has been especially effective in architecture and that in order to appeal to the cultivated sense of utility, an article must contain a certain amount of indirect utility. Other notions about color, form, complexity, the organization of objects in space, are advanced in his book.

The above mentioned view is certainly one aspect of the Market's marketing strategy but it is not the only one. While there are many items at the Market that cater to pecuniary taste there are many that do not. A complex assortment of marketing strategies are in operation. The sophisticated atmosphere generated by some of the restaurants differ from that generated by Durgin Park, or that of the many food vendors which line the interior of the central building.

Nevertheless, architecture and the design of
urban places are dependent upon symbol-making. This aspect of urban design is an important dimension of the built environment. It is just as important that planners and architects understand the meaning of symbols to the users of a commercially-orientated development as it is for them to understand the importance of symbols to those who live in low-income housing.

Another issue that came up during the interviews with the users was that the Market is consumer-orientated and portrayed a certain lifestyle. My response to these comments is, aren't all markets consumer-orientated? There is no admission charge to get into Faneuil Hall Market. The truth of the matter is that many people go there just to be with other people and to look. On almost any warm day, groups of elderly people can be found sitting on benches talking to each other and enjoying the sights.

Also, the notion that the Market portrays a certain lifestyle is highly subjective. The atmosphere generated inside Durgin Park is certainly different from that of the singles bars or that of the more expensive restaurants. If a survey was taken of the people inside Durgin Park at any given time, it more than likely would be found that people who adhere to a variety of lifestyles are there. The same would probably hold true for the singles bars. About all that can really be said is that it appears that the Faneuil Hall Market appeals to middle- and upper-income people and not those with low incomes. All middle- and upper-income people cannot be classified as adherents of one lifestyle.

The Market's success is partially due to the fact that it not only appeals to people with a variety of interests, but offers something for almost every age group -- babies in strollers,
small children, teenagers, single people, people with children, elderly people.

Faneuil Hall Market has a strong sense of place, but it is complex and not easily pigeonholed into one category. Its image is dynamic and not static.

However, the fact that Faneuil Hall Market is perceived by some people to portray a certain lifestyle is not in itself a negative factor, either. A city is a place where there exist people of many diverse characters. This is one of the many reasons why cities are interesting places to be. The basement of discount department stores may have great bargains for some people, but not everyone is interested in shopping in them either. What is important is that there be places which cater to the needs and desires of people with different viewpoints and interests.

As noted by Roger Lange, when asked why he thought it important that the North End remain an ethnic community:

L -- I think that the essence of this city is its uniqueness among American cities in its ability to sustain different lifestyles and the apparatus which surround those lifestyles.

....I do support it and I realize the adverse implications.

....I am troubled by what I have seen in other cities that have chosen to abandon the concept of being different or sustaining differences.

Both the Haymarket and the North End display a form of diversity that is unique within American cities. Haymarket is a remnant of one of the first open air markets and the North End is one of the few original ethnic communities that has remained reasonably intact within this country. Both, in their own rights, can be viewed as historical resources. If it is valid to maintain buildings because of their historical context, it is also valid to rede-
velop the city in such a manner that those who want to can continue to live and work within their community.

Haymarket and the North End both represent two serious planning issues in relation to the implementation of the Faneuil Hall-Waterfront redevelopment plan.

PLANNING

Faneuil Hall Market's success is not due only to its location, the fact that it is cleverly designed or the many other reasons previously mentioned. The fact that people desperately need to relate to people on a one-to-one basis is another reason for its success.

T -- I think that it is the presence of the merchants rather than the department store concept where somebody shipped a lot of stuff in and some salesgirl comes along and says Now I am selling blouses or Now I am selling shoes.

M13 -- It is just sort of a fun place to come on a Sunday. There is a lot of activity; a lot of different little shops.... more personal service than in the big department or discount stores.

The annihilation of the "ma and pa" stores by supermarkets and large department stores has effectively alienated buyer and seller from each other, while it is even doubtful in most cases that in the long run they enabled people to buy produce at a lower price. City planners should encourage the re-entry of small stores into neighborhoods.

People-orientated urban spaces have also been programmed out of existence. The success of Faneuil Hall Market clearly indicates that the psychological needs of people that are fulfilled there cannot be met elsewhere in Boston. As a matter of fact, the Market has almost taken on a ritual significance for some people. I was surprised when I last visited the Market to find vast numbers of people sitting in the South Market plaza.
City planners should develop mechanisms that will encourage private developers to build people-orientated spaces. State and city build buildings and public spaces should also be considered.

This study illustrates the complexities involved in the programming of a people-orientated urban space. It also illustrates a planning process that was capable of sustaining diverse views. Quincy Market's redevelopment incorporates views held by members of the historical/architectural and the adaptive reuse teams. Because it does, its redevelopment respects its basic historical context as well as relates to present day design and planning needs. Though it can not be stated that the assemblage of different views is required for the successful programing of all people-orientated urban spaces, it certainly appears that such has enabled the Faneuil Hall Market to become the quality urban space it is.

The fact that Faneuil Hall Market provides a wide range of activities is one of the reasons why it is used by an array of people. Different people come to the Market for different reasons. Hence, different users come with different goals. This contributes to why the Market is perceived differently by different users. The same holds true for the planners and designers of the Markets' redevelopment. Since each of them were motivated to become involved in the project's redevelopment for different reasons, each have different notions of how it should have been redeveloped.

However, at different points in times the Market may be perceived differently by the same person. Personal reflection on past observation may cause the change. In fact, certain aspects of the Market may even be different. Hence, people's perceptions of the market are often in a constant state of flux. At one point in time an individual may have convinced himself that the Market portrays a certain life-style. While at another
point in time he/she observes something that conflicts with his/her previous conclusions. He/she may than conclude that his/her first perception was entirely wrong or only partially correct. Of course, not everyone that goes to the Market analysis in-depth why he or she goes there. Most likely, very few people do. But, this constant and complex shifting of the Market's image helps to create the quality that makes it the exciting people-orientated urban space it is.

Because of this complexity in views, goals and images, it is not possible to establish a set of guidelines for the programming of all people-orientated urban spaces. Each will have a planning and design context of its own. What is needed is not a set of rules but planners and designers that possess the ability to creatively integrate a complex range of planning and design issues.
"A cognitive map is a product -- a person's organized representation of some part of the spatial environment. Examples include a sketch map showing the route to one's house; a child's painting of his house and his neighborhood. Most importantly, a cognitive map is a cross section representing the world at one instant in time. It reflects the world as some person believes it to be. It need not be correct. In fact, distortions are highly likely."

Roger M. Down and David Sted, 1977

APPENDIX
COGNITIVE MAPS

Each person interviewed was asked to draw a cognitive map of the Market and its immediate surroundings before he/she was interviewed. A representative sample of maps drawn by the users are included in this Appendix.

Approaching the interviewees by first asking them to draw a map was found to be an effective way of preparing them for the interviews. It also helped to make them feel more comfortable. It appeared that most people enjoyed drawing a map and considered doing so somewhat of a challenge. However, my asking people to draw a map and to be interviewed at the Faneuil Hall Market may have been perceived as being another one of those unexpected events that people expect when they come to the Market.

As already known by people who have used this technique before, I discovered that the most interesting maps were not drawn by people that have professional drawing skills. It was also discovered that people who don't normally draw didn't feel comfortable drawing with a fixed medium -- they preferred something erasable. The only problem with this was that I was not careful to select a pencil that would yield a dark line for photographing (thus map F15 was darkened).

In general it was found that people who
drew maps that included elements beyond the immediate area of the Market also related to those elements. For example, if a person drew Haymarket, he/she talked about it. Essentially three types of maps were drawn.

1. Building
2. District
3. Global

Building-type maps were drawn by people who were visiting Boston for the first time and were not familiar with the area. In the two cases in which this type of map was drawn, only the central Quincy Market building was drawn.

District-type maps usually included at least two of the Market’s structures, Faneuil Hall, The Expressway, Congress Street, North Street, Haymarket, the Waterfront Park and Government Center.

It is interesting to note that of the nine people that drew district type maps, seven did not draw the South Market building -- though

INTERVIEWEE M6
Example of a district map that is partially a global map
in most cases they were aware of North Street.

Global type maps generally included all of the elements found in the district type, but also included the North End, the Aquarium, Beacon Hill and, in one case, the Combat Zone.

Both of the women who related extensively to the North End (Interviewees F15 and F17) drew global-type maps.

Though the Custom House Tower and the Sixty State Street building were frequently drawn, no user map included other buildings immediately south of the Market area. Places to the north most frequently cited were Betty's Rolls Royce and the Haymarket.
Example of a district map

INTERVIEWEE F9
Example of a district map

INTerviewee F5
Example of a district map
INTERVIEWEE F7
Example of a district map

INTERVIEWEE F17
Example of a district map with elements normally included in a global map noted
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