

**The Architecture of Charles Bulfinch on Historical Blue Staffordshire  
Part 1: The Early Buildings, 1790-1807**

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Article 3 of 4, December, 1985

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July, 2012



# The architecture of Charles Bulfinch on historical blue Staffordshire

## Part I: The early buildings, 1790-1807

BY HAYDEN GOLDBERG

A MAJOR ATTRACTION of American historical blue Staffordshire, aside from its intrinsic beauty, is its link with the early history of this country. In that vein, collectors often wonder at some of the views the English potters chose to portray, and especially regret their omissions. Why, among the dozens of public buildings that they pictured, did they neglect such historical ones as Independence Hall in Philadelphia and the Old State House and Faneuil Hall in Boston? The answer, I believe, provides an insight into attitudes prevailing at the time but not today. It was the new, not the old, the future, not the past,

that excited Americans of the period. Of the several dozen buildings portrayed on dark blue Staffordshire in the 1820's, only about half a dozen were built before the American Revolution. Most were built after 1800, and thus provide a survey of "modern" Federal and Greek revival architecture, by many of the leading architects of the day, among them Charles Bulfinch.

Nearly fifty major public buildings—state capitols, courthouses, prisons, churches, hospitals, school and university buildings, banks, and insurance companies from Maine to Washington, D.C., and as far

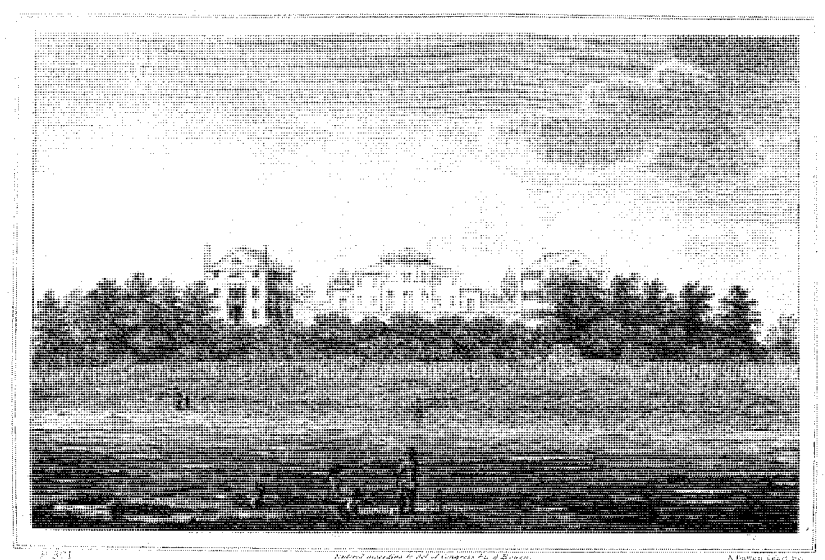
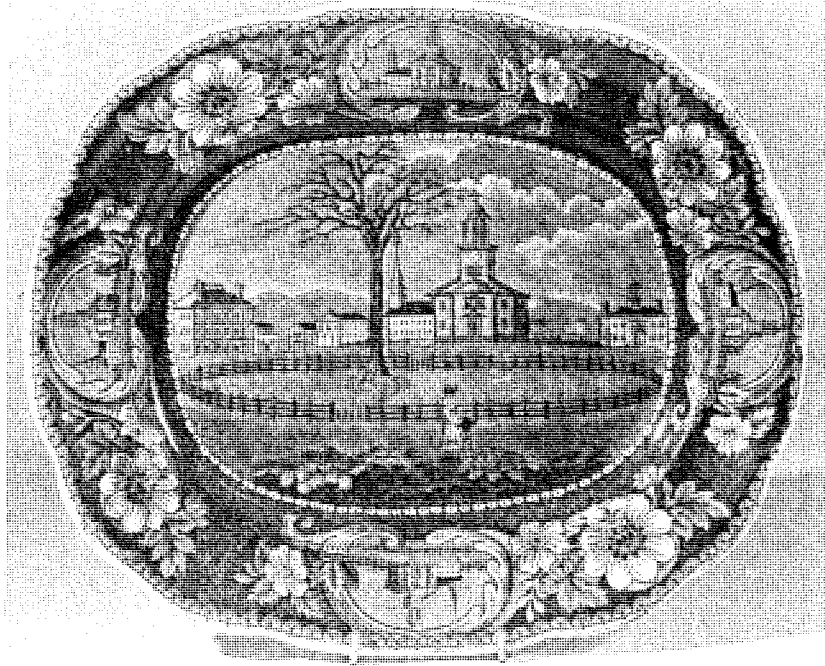
Pl. I. Transfer-printed earthenware objects by John Rogers and Son (1815-1842), Longport, Staffordshire, 1825-1830, decorated with a view of the Boston statehouse. See also Fig. 7. Impressed on the bottom of the plate at the left, "ROGERS"; printed on the the bottom of the spittle cup (extreme right) are the seal of the United States and thirteen stars. Length of platter, 18¾ inches. Charles Bulfinch (1763-1844) designed the statehouse and several of the other buildings depicted in this view, which is based on a watercolor of 1804 (see Fig. 6). The pattern was extremely popular both in this country and in southern Europe, where the statehouse may have been mistaken for Saint Peter's in Rome. Despite the ready availability of most pieces decorated with the view, it also appears on some of the great rarities of historical blue Staffordshire, such as those illustrated here. *Except as noted, the objects illustrated are in the collection of the author and photographs are by Helga Photo Studio.*



west as Ohio—are known to be of Bulfinch's design, and the private houses were probably more numerous still.<sup>1</sup> At least twenty of his buildings, spanning his more than forty-year career and providing an excellent survey of his work, are depicted on dark blue Staffordshire, ten times the number by any other architect.

The son of a Boston physician, Bulfinch was educated at the Boston Latin School, the oldest high school in the United States, and at Harvard College, from which he graduated in 1781. With no particular career in mind, he went to work as a clerk in the countinghouse of Joseph Barrell, a family friend. In a brief account of his early years, written late in life for his children and grandchildren, Bulfinch tells us that business was slow because of the Revolutionary War and he "was at leisure to cultivate a taste for Architecture."<sup>2</sup> Since there were no professional architects nor schools of architecture in Boston at the time, he presumably taught himself from English architectural books that belonged to his mother's family or were in the library at Harvard. Those hours of leisure in the countinghouse constituted the total professional education of one of America's greatest architects. When a relative in England left Bulfinch's parents a legacy of about £200, they sent Charles on a nineteen-month trip to England and Europe. "This tour was highly gratifying . . . particularly the wonders of Architecture,"<sup>3</sup> he wrote and that is all we know about what buildings he saw and how they impressed him. Even by New England standards, Bulfinch was inordinately taciturn.

The earliest Bulfinch building portrayed on Staffordshire pottery of the 1820's was the Congregational Church in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, built between 1790 and 1793. James and Ralph Clews's



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Fig. 1. *Winter View of Pittsfield Mass.*, on a platter by James (1790–1861) and Ralph (b. 1788) Clews (w. together 1815–1834), Cobridge, Staffordshire, 1827–1829. Printed on the back are the seal of the United States, "WINTER VIEW OF PITTSFIELD MASS," and "CLEWS"; impressed is "CLEWS WARRANTED STAFFORDSHIRE." Transfer-printed earthenware; length 12¾ inches. In front of the meetinghouse, designed and built by Bulfinch, 1790–1793, is the locally famous Pittsfield Elm, whose preservation required relocating the church from its originally intended site. The ceramic view gives pride of place not to Bulfinch's revolutionary design, but to the elm, protected from future encroachment by a fence.

Fig. 2. *Insane Hospital*, drawn and engraved by Abel Bowen (1790–1850), c. 1825, from Caleb H. Snow's *History of Boston* (Boston, 1825). Engraving; image size, 3⅞ by 5⅞ inches.

Fig. 3. *Insane Hospital Boston*, on a plate by John and William Ridgway (w. together 1814–1830), Hanley, Staffordshire, 1825–1830. Printed on the back, "INSANE HOSPITAL/BOSTON" with "BEAUTIES OF AMERICA" above and "J&W RIDGWAY" below. Transfer-printed earthenware; diameter 7 inches. The hospital's central building, shown here, was designed by Bulfinch as a country house for Joseph Barrell in 1792 and remodeled by the architect in 1817. See also Fig. 2.

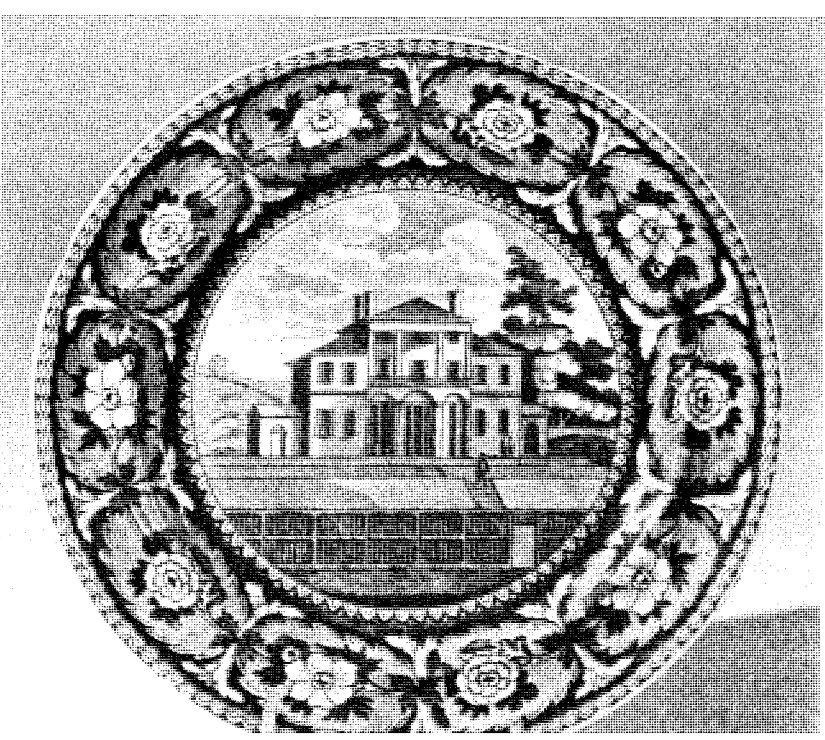




Fig. 4. *Hartford State House*, on a slop bowl and teapot by Ralph Stevenson (w. 1815–1840), Cobridge, 1820–1829. Printed on the bottom of the slop bowl, “State House”; and on the bottom of the teapot, “State House/HARTFORD.” Transfer-printed earthenware; height of teapot, 6 inches. Dating from 1793–1796, the state-house was the first of the four capitols Bulfinch designed. It cost about \$52,500, of which \$31.60 was paid to the architect.

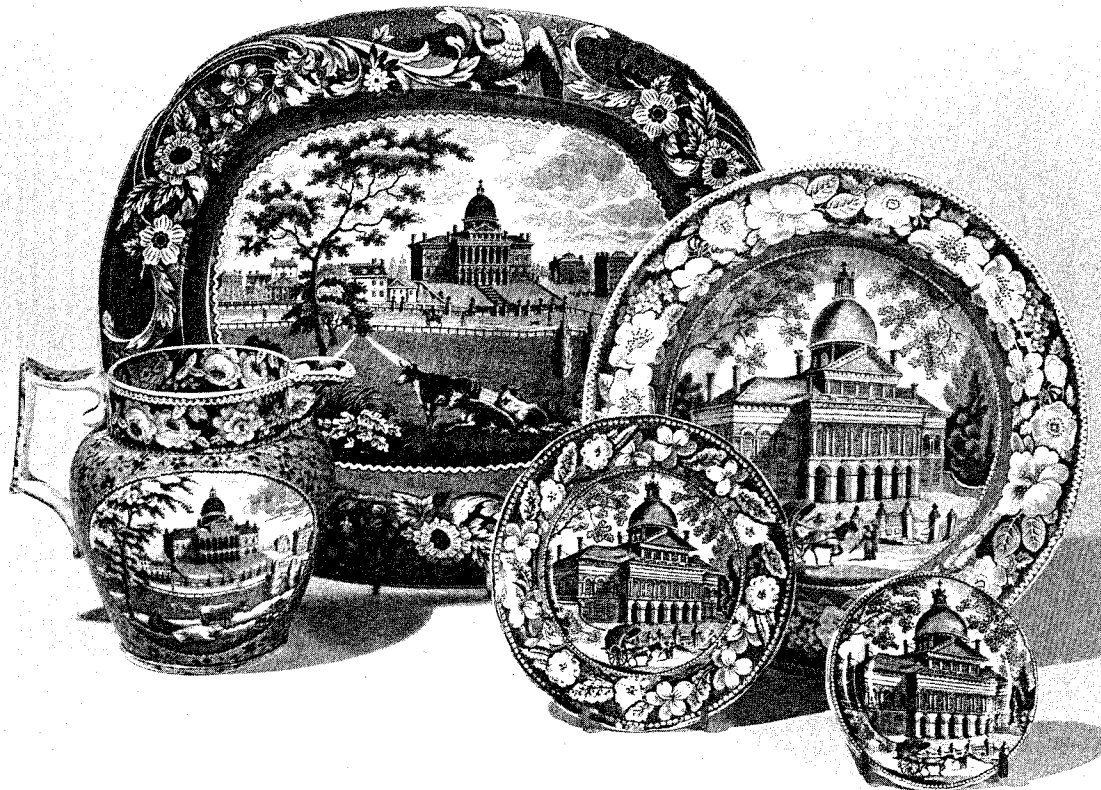


Fig. 5. Transfer-printed earthenware objects decorated with views of the Boston state-house. The pitcher and large platter on the left are by Joseph Stubbs (w. 1790–1829), Burslem, Staffordshire, 1825–1830; the tea plate, soup plate, and cup plate on the right are by Enoch Wood (1759–1840) and Sons (1819–1846) of Burslem, 1825–1830. Printed on the bottom of the platter, “State House/Boston” in script in oval cartouche; impressed on the tea plate and cup plate are “ENOCH WOOD & SONS/BURSELEM” and the seal of the United States. Length of platter, 15 inches. See also Fig. 6.

*Winter View of Pittsfield, Mass.* (Fig. 1) provides us with the only surviving contemporary picture of this meetinghouse. No Bulfinch drawings of the church survive, and the source of the potter’s view is unknown. The architectural style of the Pittsfield church, familiar enough to us today, was revolutionary in its day. By placing the main entrance on one end of the building and the pulpit at the other end, Bulfinch reoriented the entire interior plan of meetinghouses, which for 150 years had been either square or wide and shallow. Another innovation was to place the bell tower on the roof of the church rather than making it an engaged extension. But the most personal touch was to top the tower with a graceful cupola rather than the traditional spire. In the ensuing years, cupolas became a virtual trade-mark of Bulfinch, for they appear on nineteen of his buildings, including seven of his nine

churches. In addition to his own churches, Bulfinch’s neoclassical style was spread to rural builders throughout New England by his disciple Asher Benjamin (1773–1845) in the *Country Builder’s Assistant* (published in 1797). Several copies of Bulfinch’s Pittsfield meetinghouse by other builders are still standing, but the Pittsfield building was partially destroyed in 1851 and the last vestiges were torn down in 1939.<sup>4</sup>

As early as 1791, Boston real-estate developers conceived of a new, fashionable neighborhood out in the country near John Hancock’s farm on Beacon Hill. The first gentleman to decide to build a house up there was Dr. John Joy Jr. (1751–1813), who promised his wife that they would live in town part of the year. Dr. Joy’s mansion was the first house designed by Bulfinch; it is also the least characteristic, exemplifying the heavy Palladian vocabulary of



an earlier day rather than the refined neoclassicism Bulfinch had absorbed in England. In the years that followed, Bulfinch built nearly five dozen houses on Beacon Hill and on the streets facing the Common. In the process, he transformed Boston from a crowded little town of haphazard, disparate buildings into a rational city of harmoniously scaled residential blocks with uniform façades. The Joy house and several others by Bulfinch on Beacon Hill are pictured on historical blue Staffordshire in views of the Boston statehouse by John Rogers and Son and Joseph Stubbs, which I will discuss later.

The third Bulfinch building that survives on historical blue Staffordshire was originally the country house he built for Joseph Barrell, the merchant who had employed him in 1782 and allowed him the leisure to indulge his early interest in architecture. In 1790, incensed by rising property taxes in Boston, Barrell bought a tract of land across the Charles River in what is now Somerville, and hired his former clerk to design a country house for him. Indulgent as ever toward his protégé, he permitted the young architect unprecedented freedom, and the result was Bulfinch's earliest neoclassical masterpiece and one of the most innovative buildings in American architectural history. Until then Bulfinch had been inhibited in his preference for "modern" French and English styles by the ultraconservative tastes of his Federalist patrons in Boston. Although his earlier houses introduced tentative refinements learned in England from the works of Sir William Chambers (1726-1796) and Robert Adam (1728-1792) Bostonians' enduring taste for Palladianism of the colonial period required Bulfinch to top his houses with the heavy, hipped roofs and widow's walks that tradition demanded. In the Barrell house Bulfinch introduced the clean, unadorned façade with a convex central section topped by a simple balustrade which hides the roof. This became known ever after in New England as the Bulfinch front.<sup>5</sup>

The Barrell house was the most talked-about building of its day. The diarist Nathaniel Cutting predicted that it would be "infinitely the most elegant dwelling house ever yet built in New England."<sup>6</sup> Newspapers and magazines extolled its beauty, and it even inspired a poem, "Reflections of [*sic*] Viewing the Seat of Jos. Barrell, Esq."<sup>7</sup>

In 1816 the Barrell heirs sold the estate to the Massachusetts General Hospital, whose trustees commissioned Bulfinch to redesign and enlarge the house for use as an asylum for the insane. Officially known as McLean Hospital, the insane hospital was demolished in 1896, but it was one of seven buildings by Bulfinch included in their *Beauties of America* series by John and William Ridgway of Hanley, Staffordshire, who were among the most prolific potters of American views on dark blue Staffordshire (Fig. 3). They may have based their view on an engraving by Abel Bowen, published in Caleb H. Snow's *History of Boston* of 1825 (Fig. 2), as suggested by Ellouise Baker Larsen,<sup>8</sup> but there are many differences between that view and the Ridgways' so this cannot be determined for sure.

The Old State House in Hartford, Connecticut, designed in 1792, is the oldest surviving Bulfinch building and was his first government commission. It was

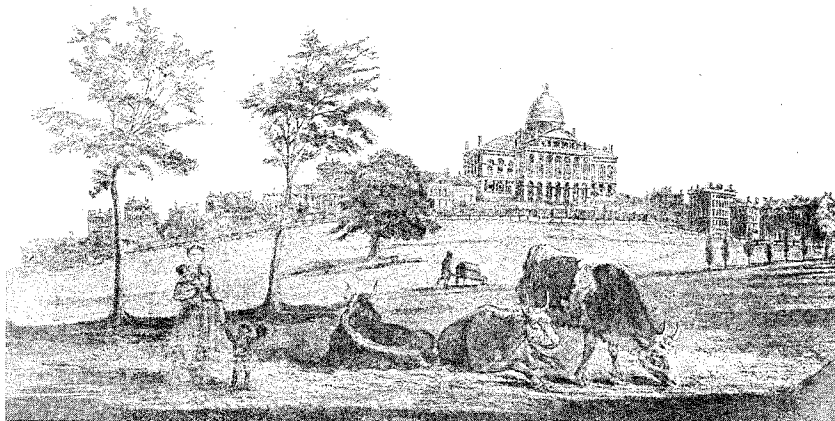


Fig. 6. *Boston Common in 1804*, after a watercolor (now unlocated) of the same title signed "Dobbins." Photolithograph; image size, 5 $\frac{1}{16}$  by 7 $\frac{7}{8}$  inches. *Bostonian Society*, Boston, Massachusetts; photograph by courtesy of the society.

completed in 1796 except for the roofline balustrade and the cupola, which were added later, the cupola copied from John McComb Jr.'s (1763-1853) New York City Hall. Bulfinch's drawings do not survive, but his inspiration for the design was certainly the Liverpool Town Hall in England.<sup>9</sup>

Except for a view of the capitol in the background of a portrait of Colonel Jeremiah Halsey (1743-1829), the on-site supervisor of its construction,<sup>10</sup> the earliest known representation of the building is the view produced by Ralph Stevenson of Cobridge, Staffordshire, in the 1820's (Fig. 4). It shows the Old State House as it appeared after 1814, when the balustrade was added, but before the cupola was erected in 1827.

The next Bulfinch building depicted on Staffordshire was the Massachusetts statehouse in Boston. Bulfinch actually designed it in 1787, but his plan was not approved until February 1795. The cornerstone was laid on the brow of Beacon Hill on July 4

Fig. 7. Transfer-printed earthenware pitchers decorated with a view of the Boston statehouse, by John Rogers and Son, 1825-1830. See also Pl. I. Printed on the bottom of the pitcher at the right are the seal of the United States and thirteen stars. Height of large pitcher, 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The view is based on the Dobbins watercolor (see Fig. 6). The pitcher on the left shows the buildings to the left of the statehouse (which is printed under the spout on both pitchers), while the pitcher on the right shows the buildings to the right of the statehouse.





Fig. 8. Transfer-printed earthenware objects decorated with views of the Boston statehouse. The leaf-shape dish, syllabub cup, and gravy boat are by John and William Ridgway, 1820–1829; the small plate is by Ralph Stevenson and Williams, 1820–1829. Printed on the bottom of the gravy boat, "STATE HOUSE/BOSTON"

with "BEAUTIES OF AMERICA" above and "J & W RIDGWAY" below; printed on the bottom of the plate, "STATE HOUSE/BOSTON" and "RS.W" and impressed "STEVENSON." Length of gravy boat, 6 7/8 inches. The view of the statehouse on all these pieces is based on the print shown in Fig. 9.

of that year, and although building costs had increased by nearly 50 percent in the intervening years, the statehouse was built substantially to Bulfinch's original design.

The Boston statehouse marked a turning point in Bulfinch's career. Until that time, his occupation could be best described as that of a gentleman, and his designs for churches and public buildings could be considered the civic duty of a gentleman of means. For designing the Boston Theater (built 1793–1794), for instance, he was presented with a gold medal and lifetime free admission. Gratitude and a sense of personal accomplishment were very likely his greatest rewards for the plans he drew for the houses of his friends and relatives. He himself wrote of that period, "On my return to Boston, I was warmly received by friends, and passed a season of leisure, pursuing no business, but giving gratuitous advice in Architecture."<sup>11</sup>

However, bankruptcy, in which Bulfinch lost the only house he ever designed for himself, turned the gentleman amateur into a professional architect. As the architect of the statehouse, Bulfinch received \$600.91, including expenses, and \$800 as a member of the supervisory committee that oversaw its construction. Although it was barely enough to support his family of nine in thrifty, genteel comfort, those fees were some of the largest he received from his practice of architecture until he moved to Washington, D.C., in 1817 to complete the United States Capitol.

The Boston statehouse, airier, more graceful, and more purely neoclassical than Somerset House (begun 1776), the great new government building in London which was its acknowledged inspiration, is one of the crowning achievements of American architecture. Its cleanness of line, its smooth, uncluttered surfaces, its coherence of elements, and its human scale make it quintessentially Bulfinch. Justly

admired and endlessly imitated—especially for state capitols across the country—it remains to this day his most famous building.

No fewer than five Staffordshire potters pictured the Boston statehouse on wares destined for this country—the greatest number of depictions of any American building. Foremost among them was John Rogers and Son of Longport, who produced nearly fifty forms (several unique in Staffordshire for the American market) that show the statehouse (see Pl. I and Fig. 7). One of the most beautifully designed and executed of the scenes on Staffordshire, the Rogers view is of unparalleled interest to students not only of Bulfinch's architecture but also of the expansion of Boston at the opening of the nineteenth century. Based on a watercolor (now unlocated) of Boston Common and vicinity done in 1804 (see Fig. 6), the complete Rogers view shows fourteen buildings in whole or in part. Of those, ten were designed by Bulfinch and attest to his pre-eminence as the architect of Federalist Boston.

The venerable large house to the left of the statehouse (see Pl. I and Fig. 7, left) was John Hancock's, built in 1737 and the oldest building on Beacon Hill. To the left of the trees is Bulfinch's John Joy Jr. house of 1791, with its columned portico and classical pediment. The white house with a hipped roof and pedimented doorway at the crest of the hill is not by Bulfinch, but the roofs immediately to its left are part of the architect's six Higginson houses (1803), the first row houses on Beacon Hill. The house to their left is the four-story mansion that Bulfinch built for Thomas Perkins in 1804. Although the house was oriented to afford a view of Dr. Joy's famous garden and the Common, the entrance was actually on Mount Vernon Street. Judging by its location, the house behind Perkins's and to the left is presumably the one Bulfinch built between 1800 and 1802 for one of his perennial patrons, Jonathan Ma-

son (1756–1831). Bulfinch designed the house just to the left of Dr. Joy's garden wall in 1804 for John Phillips, the first mayor of Boston. To its left is the house the architect designed for Charles Paine between 1803 and 1804, and, at some distance, is 29A Chestnut Street, which was built to Bulfinch's design in 1799 and 1800.

The house immediately to the right of the statehouse (see Pl. I and Fig. 7, right) was identified by R. T. Haines Halsey as the Joseph Coolidge house,<sup>12</sup> but he is surely in error. The house that Bulfinch built in 1791 for Joseph Coolidge Sr., his sister's father-in-law, was located on low land behind Beacon Hill and would not have been visible to the artist who drew the sketch on which the print in Figure 6 is based. The house in the view is also wrong both in shape and location to be that of Joseph Coolidge Jr., designed by Bulfinch as a wedding present for his sister in 1796. Instead, it is the pre-Revolutionary mansion of William Molineux, a merchant and patriot. Upon the death of Molineux in 1774, the house passed to Charles Ward Apthorp, an uncle of Bulfinch and himself an amateur architect.

The large mansion to the right of the house just discussed was designed and built by Bulfinch for Thomas Amory, a Boston merchant, in 1803 and 1804. After Amory went bankrupt on the very day of his housewarming, the house was rented and later subdivided, and then passed to a succession of prominent Bostonians, including Abbott Lawrence (1792–1855), the founder of the city of Lawrence, and George Ticknor (1791–1871), the great publisher and a founder of the Boston Public Library. When Lafayette made his historic visit to America in 1824, the Amory house was his residence during his stay in Boston.

The Amory house stands at the top of Park Street, which Bulfinch laid out and developed as a residential street of uniformly scaled houses overlooking the Common. Next to the Amory house in the ceramic view is the only Park Street house in the Rogers view that was not designed by Bulfinch—the home of Josiah Quincy (1772–1864), the second mayor of Boston. The building on the extreme right is one of Bulfinch's most significant contributions to urban planning, Park Row. Of pure classical design, Park Row consisted of four identical, attached houses with a continuous balustrade at the top and a wrought-iron gallery running the length of the second story, matching those elements on the Amory house at the top of Park Street. Each house had an arched passageway, which permitted carriages to enter from the street, a favorite functional device of Bulfinch's period. Bulfinch later continued the Park Row concept along the Tremont Street side of the Common in a handsome colonnade of nineteen middle-class town houses, disparagingly referred to by the aristocrats on Beacon Hill as "Codfish Row."

Two other Staffordshire potters used the same source as the Rogerses for their Boston statehouse wares. Joseph Stubbs of Burslem, who produced a series of American scenes with a distinctive eagle border, made a large platter and footed compote with the complete view, and beautiful milk jugs, a mug, and a tea plate with an abbreviated version of the scene enclosed by a border of roses (see Fig. 5,

left). Of Stubbs's fourteen different American scenes, the statehouse is his only Boston view. Enoch Wood and Sons of Burslem, the largest maker of Staffordshire blue American scenes, eliminated the neighboring houses and the Common from the view, and added a horse and carriage in the foreground (see Fig. 5, right), but the statehouse itself is clearly based on the one in Figure 6. It is an uncharacteristically sharp and detailed image for Wood, whose views are generally less distinct and more romantic in spirit. Wood used the statehouse view twice: once on dinner, soup, and cup plates, and somewhat earlier with a different border, on parts of a recently identified tea set.<sup>13</sup>

A view of the Boston statehouse engraved by Abel Bowen from a sketch by S. Dearborn, served two other Staffordshire potters (see Fig. 9). The Ridgway firm used the Dearborn view on several pieces of the Beauties of America dinner set, and Ralph Stevenson used it on one of his two series of historical views (see Fig. 8). Stevenson apparently used yet another, still unidentified, view of the statehouse on one side of a small cream pitcher, which is among the greatest rarities of historical blue Staffordshire.<sup>14</sup>

Bulfinch, as we have seen, designed most of the houses on Park Street, which had been opened to residential development by the demolition of an old almshouse of 1686. He was also engaged to design a new home for the poor, which he made a model of enlightened charity (see Fig. 10). A housing development of spacious, well-lighted apartments, the Leverett Street almshouse overlooked a walled garden by the Charles River. Only the statehouse was more highly regarded among the public buildings in Boston in its day, but a mere twenty-four years later, in 1825, the Bulfinch almshouse was torn down to make more profitable use of the valuable land. Two Staffordshire potters pictured the almshouse on their wares. John and William Ridgway showed it on the four sizes of round and oval soup

Fig. 9. *New State House*, drawn by S. Dearborn and engraved by Bowen for Charles Shaw's *Topographical and Historical Description of Boston* (Boston, 1817). Engraving; image size 3½ by 5½ inches.



ENGRAVED FOR THE HISTORY OF BOSTON.

NEW STATE HOUSE.

ABEL BOWEN, PAINTER.



Pl. II. Transfer-printed earthenware objects decorated with *Alms-House Boston*. The wash pitcher and soup-tureen tray at the left are by Ralph Stevenson, 1825-1830; the soup tureens at the right are by John and William Ridgway, 1825-1830. Printed on the bottom of the soup tureens, "BEAUTIES OF AMERICA/ALMS HOUSE/BOSTON/J&W. RIDGWAY"; printed on the bottom of the soup-tureen tray, "ALMSHOUSE/BOSTON" in cartouche. Height of large tureen, 15 inches. The almshouse was built by Bulfinch between 1799 and 1801. Both Stevenson and the Ridgways based the view on the print shown in Fig. 10.

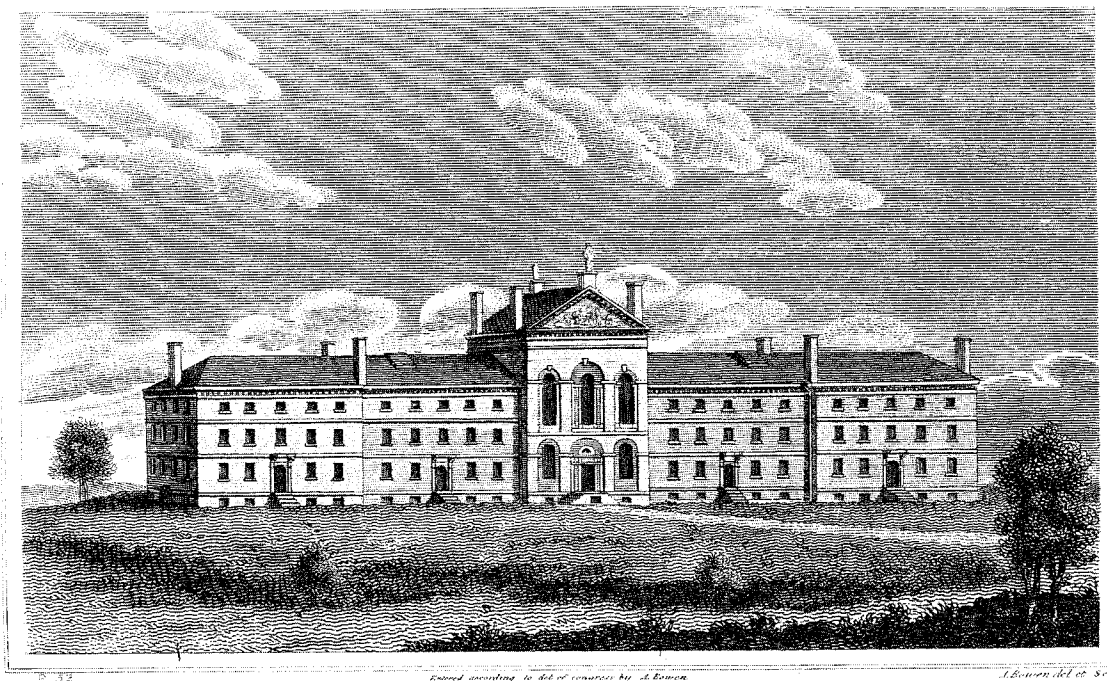


Fig. 10. *Alms-House, Leveret Street*, drawn and engraved by Bowen, c. 1825, from Snow's *History of Boston*. Engraving; image size, 3 1/16 by 5 3/4 inches.

ALMS-HOUSE, LEVERET STREET.

tureens they made for dinner sets (see Pl. II, right), and on a tall, handled vase. Ralph Stevenson used it on two platters, a coffeepot, and the cover and tray of a large soup tureen, as well as on a large wash pitcher and bowl set (see Pl. II, left).

Charles Bulfinch's fame today rests on his elegant houses, government buildings, churches, and college halls, but in the opening decade of the nineteenth century, he was equally sought after as an architect of commercial buildings. He produced eleven banks and insurance company buildings, the Boylston Market, and an international trade center, but none of them survive; and although Snow's *History of Boston*

contains engravings of seven public buildings by Bulfinch, not one of his commercial structures is pictured. Only about a dozen out of more than 250 scenes on historical blue Staffordshire are of commercial buildings, of which the only one by Bulfinch—India Wharf—escaped identification until 1984.<sup>15</sup> By happy coincidence, the Staffordshire view, on a tea set made by Enoch Wood and Sons, probably about 1819 (Fig. 11), is the only depiction of the original appearance of India Wharf, which was designed and built between 1803 and 1807 and bulldozed away in 1962. The ceramic view reveals for the first time the balustrade around the roof of



the building below the central pedimented section of the façade, the entrances to the shops facing the water, and the chaste marble work in the pilasters and the stringcourse across the face of the building. In the left background of Wood's view is the Broad Street group of warehouses and stores, and on the right, several of the India Street stores, the only known depiction of either of those Bulfinch buildings. We are thus afforded a rare glimpse of neoclassical commercial architecture by one of America's greatest architects.

Had Charles Bulfinch's career ended after the first decade of the nineteenth century, his contributions would still be unrivaled and his fame secure. He had put his unmistakable stamp upon urban domestic architecture, and the Bulfinch front had become a hallmark of restrained elegance. He had been the pioneer of city planning and the housing development. He had created humane living environments for the indigent. He had revolutionized New England ecclesiastical architecture, and above all he had designed the Boston statehouse, the most admired building in America. All these impressive achievements were soon documented on the dark blue Staffordshire earthenware that was shipped to this country in such profusion in the 1820's. However, neither Bulfinch's accomplishments nor his innovations were at an end. In 1818 he was about to embark on a new and purified American architecture, and in the decade that followed he produced a second revolution in the form and substance of public buildings in this country. These changes, too, were documented by Staffordshire potters, as shall be seen in Part II of this article.

<sup>1</sup> The exact number of private houses Bulfinch designed is impossible to document, for he kept no journals and few drawings or plans, and he was the most widely copied architect of the period.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Ellen Susan Bulfinch, *The Life and Letters of Charles Bulfinch, Architect* (Boston, 1896), pp. 41–42.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> Edmund W. Sinnott, *Meetinghouse and Church in Early New England* (New York, 1963), pp. 77–78.

<sup>5</sup> Bulfinch also altered the traditional interior, which had consisted of a wide central through hall flanked on either side by square rooms. Instead he placed three rooms across the front of the house so that the finest view from the house was not wasted on the hall. The central room was elliptical and the adjoining rooms were square. This flow of living space, providing both continuity and variety, was an ideal of neoclassical design. The double flying staircase Bulfinch placed in the hallway behind the elliptical room was considered a marvel in its day.

<sup>6</sup> "Extracts from the Diary of Nathaniel Cutting," *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, vol. 12 (1871–1873), p. 63.

<sup>7</sup> The poem first appeared in *Massachusetts Magazine: or, Monthly Museum of Knowledge and Rational Entertainment*, vol. 6, no. 11 (November 1794), p. 693.

<sup>8</sup> *American Historical Views on Staffordshire China*, 3rd ed. (Garden City, New York, 1950; reprinted New York, 1975), p. 88, No. 170.

<sup>9</sup> Harold Kirker, *The Architecture of Charles Bulfinch* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1969), pp. 55, 60. An article on the Old State House appeared in *ANTIQUES* for March 1980, pp. 626–633.

<sup>10</sup> The portrait of Halsey, by the Reverend Joseph Steward (1753–1822), is illustrated in *ANTIQUES* for November 1985, p. 1017, Pl. VIII.

<sup>11</sup> Bulfinch, *Life and Letters of Charles Bulfinch*, p. 58.

<sup>12</sup> *Pictures of Early New York on Dark Blue Staffordshire Pottery* (New York, 1974), p. 216.

<sup>13</sup> The discovery of the plate by Enoch Wood was published in *ANTIQUES* for January 1984, pp. 281–282.

<sup>14</sup> The pitcher was recorded in *American Antiques Collector*, June–August 1940, p. 6. Its whereabouts today is unknown.

<sup>15</sup> *ANTIQUES* for January 1984, pp. 282–283.

Fig. 11. *India Wharf and Broad Street Stores*, on a teapot by Enoch Wood and Sons, c. 1819. Transfer-printed earthenware; height 6 inches. The top is a replacement. The source for this view is not known. On the other side is a view of the Exchange Coffee House in Boston.

