

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

U·M·I

University Microfilms International
A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

Order Number 1353722

**“With the richest ornaments just imported from France”:
Ornamental hardware on Boston, New York, and Philadelphia
furniture, 1800–1840**

Ehninger, Jillian, M.A.

University of Delaware (Winterthur Program), 1993

Copyright ©1993 by Ehninger, Jillian. All rights reserved.

U·M·I

**300 N. Zeeb Rd.
Ann Arbor, MI 48106**

"WITH THE RICHEST ORNAMENTS JUST IMPORTED FROM FRANCE"
ORNAMENTAL HARDWARE ON BOSTON, NEW YORK, AND
PHILADELPHIA FURNITURE, 1800-1840

by
Jillian Ehninger

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the
University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Early
American Culture

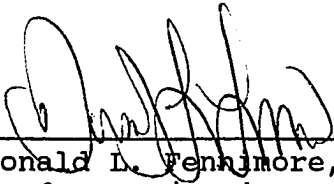
August 1993

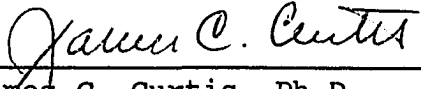
Copyright 1993 Jillian Ehninger
All Rights Reserved

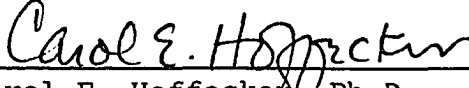
"WITH THE RICHEST ORNAMENTS JUST IMPORTED FROM FRANCE"
ORNAMENTAL HARDWARE ON BOSTON, NEW YORK, AND
PHILADELPHIA FURNITURE, 1800-1840

by

Jillian Ehninger

Approved: 
Donald L. Fennimore, M.A.
Professor in charge of thesis on behalf of the
Advisory Committee

Approved: 
James C. Curtis, Ph.D.
Director, Winterthur Program in Early American
Culture

Approved: 
Carol E. Hoffer, Ph.D.
Associate Provost for Graduate Studies

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

During a full year of researching, reading, writing, and thinking about furniture hardware, I have benefited from the generous assistance of numerous individuals and institutions. I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude toward each of them. First, I am deeply grateful to the Winterthur Program in Early American Culture and to Lois McNeil for granting me a two-year fellowship. The two years I have spent at Winterthur and the University of Delaware have contributed greatly to my intellectual and personal growth, and will always be remembered fondly.

I would especially like to thank Donald L. Fennimore who, as my patient and wise advisor, helped shape my general interests in ornamental metalwork and the Empire period into a specific thesis topic. It was Don who first called my attention to the collection of Henry Kellam Hancock's furniture hardware at the Metropolitan. Researching Hancock and his descendants, rediscovering the private collection of his belongings, and examining his hardware as it had been preserved in its original wrapping

papers for more than 140 years provided the high point of my thesis experience. In discussing and helping me to analyze my findings, Don was most generous with his knowledge, experience, and information. He gave freely of his time, reading drafts, offering suggestions, and making corrections.

I owe a special debt to Jim Curtis who supported my research at every turn. Jim led a stimulating seminar on thesis research and writing during the fall semester which aided immensely in the fulfillment of this paper. Jim, too, was generous with his time, reading drafts and giving unending encouragement and advice. Thankfully, he recommended Pat Orendorf, a skillful computerist who put the final draft in proper format and polished order.

My classmates, Hilary Anderson, Jeff Hardwick, Kristin Herron, Karen Parsons, Elaine Rice, Tom Ryan, Amy Simon, Kip Van Blarcom, and Margaret Watson, gave me tremendous help and support throughout the project, offering ideas, reading drafts, provoking thought, and sharing interesting discussions. In addition, these friends and colleagues were there to commiserate when our spirits were low, celebrate each triumph along the way, and provide needed distractions for fun study breaks.

The staff at the Winterthur Library and the Joseph Downs Collection provided invaluable help in this as well

as many other projects. Neville Thompson was an endless source of information, advice, and assistance. Kathy Coyle, Shirley Griesinger, Jill Hobgood, and Kristina Kromer cheerfully helped track down the necessary resources and arrange inter-library loans. Mary-Elise Haug patiently searched for and found many interesting documents relating to the hardware trade. She and Iris Snyder tirelessly retrieved manuscripts and filled endless microfilm requests. All of the library staff members made long days of research more personable and enjoyable.

Janice Carlson and her assistant, Maruta Skelton, deserve a special thanks for their work in conducting the X-ray fluorescence testing on select examples of the Hancock hardware. They were both happy to share their time and information, and were extremely prompt in processing the test results. I am grateful to Jan and to Winterthur's conservation department for allowing me to include these test results with my paper.

Three Winterthur graduates were particularly helpful and kind to me, and without them this project would not have been possible. Wendy Cooper provided warm encouragement at a decisive moment when I was considering the merits of embarking on this project. Wendy was more than generous in sharing information, going out of her way to send particularly relevant research through the mail.

Page Talbott welcomed me into her home to use her thesis research files and generously devoted time to reading a draft and offering suggestions. Marilyn Johnson shared her experiences and information about the Hancock hardware, intriguing me sufficiently to motivate a three-month search for the descendant's private collection. Without Marilyn's efforts, I probably never would have had the opportunity to study this fascinating collection. The private collector holding Hancock's hardware also deserves a special expression of gratitude for generously sharing the collection with me, permitting me to take a great deal of photographs, and allowing the objects to come to Winterthur for testing.

Peter Kenny spent an entire morning with me in the Luce Study Center, examining the Metropolitan's collection of Hancock's hardware and freely offering his thoughts and suggestions. Elliott Davis tirelessly and cheerfully brought me trade catalogues to study in the Metropolitan's print room. Catherine Bindman and the staff at the Victoria and Albert print room were more than friendly during my research on trade catalogues in London. They kindly allowed me to take photographs as they promptly retrieved volume after volume. David McFadden and Deborah Shinn invited me to visit their busy curatorial offices

and consult their departmental files on the Cooper-Hewitt Museum's collection of furniture hardware.

Many individuals and institutions aided my research through correspondence when I was unable to make a special long-distance trip. These include Mary E. Fabiszewski at the Peabody and Essex Museum, Elizabeth C. Bouvier at the Suffolk County Probate Department, Gary L. Maher at the Genealogical Society of the West Fields, and Diane Shewchuk of Clermont State Historic Site.

I owe a great deal, if not all, of my success to my parents, Jack and Susan Elder, who have always given me their support, encouragement, and pride. My mother was especially helpful throughout this project, always listening to my frustrations via long-distance calls, no matter how long or how expensive; helping me celebrate minor triumphs; and even taking the time to assist in genealogical research.

Finally, I would like to thank Brian for his unending support and understanding during two long years of graduate school. He, too, withstood countless long-distance phone calls and kept me going when my spirits were low. He made many important research trips to New York possible, and provided fun distractions for me as well as my classmates when studying threatened to engulf us. It is to Brian and to the many other people whom I

have had the good fortune to know that I owe the
successful completion of this project.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES	x
ABSTRACT	xiv
INTRODUCTION	1
<u>Chapter</u>	
ONE METALWORK TRADE CATALOGUES	24
TWO THE FRENCH INFLUENCE	48
THREE HARDWARE FROM THE WORKSHOP OF HENRY KELLAM HANCOCK	104
FIGURES	153
BIBLIOGRAPHY	197
APPENDIX: X-RAY FLUORESCENCE TEST RESULTS	209

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Trade catalogue with marbled paper covers
and leather binding. 154
2. Label of Joseph Brauwers attached to a card
table, New York City, ca. 1815 155
3. Card Table, Joseph Brauwers, New York City,
ca. 1815, bearing an identical label to
Figure 2 156
4. Pier Table, labeled and stamped by Charles-
Honoré Lannuier, New York City, ca. 1810 157
5. Detail of a cast ornament depicting Apollo,
mounted on the pier table shown in Figure 4 . . . 158
6. Pier Table, labeled by Charles-Honoré Lannuier,
New York City, ca. 1810 159
7. Detail of a trade catalogue page illustrating a
pattern for an Apollo mount similar to those
shown in Figures 4, 5, and 6 160
8. Pier Table, stamped twice "H. LANNUIER/
NEW-YORK," New York City, ca 1815 161
9. Trade catalogue page illustrating a pattern
for a mount depicting the personification of
Autumn, similar to that shown in Figure 8 162
10. Detail of a trade catalogue page showing
patterns for personifications of Autumn
and Europe 163
11. Cast mounts from a pair of New York-made
rosewood stands, ca. 1820-1835, depicting
personifications of the continents Europe and
Asia and the seasons Autumn, Spring, and Summer . 164
12. Pier table, labeled by Joseph Barry,
Philadelphia, 1810-1815 165

13.	Detail of a trade catalogue page depicting a pattern for a swan mount resembling that shown in Figure 12	166
14.	Detail of a trade catalogue page illustrating a pattern for a mount depicting a boy with a dog .	167
15.	Pier table, attributed to Antoine-Gabriel Quervelle, Philadelphia, ca. 1830	168
16.	Furniture mount depicting a river god, cast brass with mercury gilding	169
17.	Furniture mount depicting two swans and cattails, cast brass with mercury gilding	170
18.	Lion-head drawer pull, cast brass with mercury gilding	171
19.	Verso of Figure 18, showing a drilled threaded hole and burr for attachment	172
20.	Furniture mount with threaded holes drilled into the verso. Detail of Figures 23, 26, and 27 . .	173
21.	Paper-wrapped packet of small iron nails, included in Hancock's package of six furniture mounts depicting river gods	174
22.	Chair ornaments with small spikes on the versos, cast integrally with the body	175
23.	Wrapping papers for a set of "2 French Gilt-Centre Ornaments," marked "TR" on their versos .	176
24.	Wrapping paper containing side or "tablet" ornaments	177
25.	Paper-wrapped bundles of hardware containing cast "Escutcheons" and "No. 25 31 Rings" with a stamped hinge	178
26.	Floral center ornament, marked "TR" on the verso, as shown in the detail in Figure 27 . . .	179
27.	Detail showing the verso of the ornament in Figure 26	180
28.	Stamped brass collar marked "HJ[^f ?]"	181

29.	Paper-wrapped package of hardware, inscribed "22 Bundles No. 5" and containing stamped brass collars marked "HJ[^f ?]"	182
30.	Detail of Figure 29, showing a fragmentary sticker on the inside of the package	183
31.	Wrapping paper found loosely containing six lion-head drawer pulls (see Figure 18)	184
32.	Detail of a single unbound trade catalogue page showing "Barron's Patent Roller Blinds"	185
33.	Detail of a trade catalogue page showing a pattern for a river god mount similar to the one in Figures 16 and 22	186
34.	Detail of a trade catalogue page showing a pattern for a mount depicting a bow with three wreaths	187
35.	Detail of a trade catalogue page showing a pattern for a mount depicting a bow with three wreaths	188
36.	Trade catalogue index page bearing the inscription, "Bock fc ^t Birm ^m "	189
37.	Detail of a trade catalogue page showing a pattern for a furniture mount depicting swans and cattails	190
38.	Drawer pull, stamped brass with a surface coating	191
39.	Detail of a trade catalogue page showing patterns for drawer pulls similar to that shown in Figure 38	192
40.	Trade catalogue page showing patterns for drawer pulls similar to the pattern in Figure 39 and the pull in Figure 38	193
41.	Chair ornaments depicting Venus and Cupid, cast brass with "dead dipping" finish	194
42.	Klismos chair from a set of six, New York or Philadelphia, 1810-1825	195

43.	Detail of a cast brass Venus and Cupid ornament shown in Figure 42	196
-----	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

ABSTRACT

Metalwork on early 19th-century American neo-classical furniture is often attributed to France. Little evidence exists to support or contradict most of these attributions. Few documents survive regarding hardware manufacturers in France, England, and America. Therefore, the study of furniture mounts must be devoted to gathering widely scattered documentary and material resources. Cabinetmakers' account books, inventories, and advertisements often contain references to the importation, purchase, and sale of furniture hardware. Nineteenth-century English metalwork pattern books survive in many museum collections and provide one of the largest sources of evidence about the Birmingham hardware trade. The metalwork objects are themselves documents; physical evidence such as markings and manufacturing techniques provide clues to their origins. A hardware collection from the workshop of Boston cabinetmaker Henry Kellam Hancock (1788-1854) survives intact with its original packaging. The unique provenance of this collection supplies a rare opportunity to study metalwork that was

never mounted on furniture. Research comparing Hancock's collection and other hardware on documented American furniture with trade catalogues provides case studies to inform future analyses of furniture hardware. Although hardware functions as a small part of furniture's larger whole, the metal objects are not merely a sideline. They carry great potential for social, cultural, and economic interpretation and can provide new insight into issues concerning other areas of 19th-century study, including the Industrial Revolution, expressions of taste, cultural exchange, and international trade networks.

INTRODUCTION

Hardware contributes significant functional and stylistic elements to furniture of all periods. Metalwork such as hinges, nails, and screws play a vital utilitarian role in holding furniture together, often sustaining its very structure and existence in three dimensions.

Although the function hardware serves usually manifests itself quite obviously, the small metal objects themselves often remain unnoticed, obscured by the eminence of the furniture they sustain. Style-carrying metalwork such as drawer pulls and escutcheons usually attract more attention, having a higher profile and offering greater visual interest. The more ornamental the hardware, the more likely it is to be noted in furniture books, catalogue entries, and other publications.

Perhaps the most acclaimed examples of furniture hardware in America are the ornamental mounts on early 19th-century furniture in the Empire style. Furniture historians consider these mounts an integral part of the Empire aesthetic and regard their appearance as one indicator marking the transition from early to late

classical styles. Writers discussing American as well as European Empire furniture extol "the gleaming ormolu mounts" at every opportunity, emphasizing them in even the shortest captions or label copy. Indeed, ornamental mounts are important stylistic carriers; past scholarship has duly acknowledged this aspect of the objects.

However, most furniture scholarship on this period, as well as others, does not extend beyond analysis of style and function when considering hardware. Issues of materials, production, and distribution are rarely considered. The wider historical and cultural contexts of these objects are almost never addressed. Thus, the interpretive potential of furniture hardware remains largely unrealized.

The nature of the evidence might explain part of the reason behind this scholarly superficiality. Information about furniture hardware is often difficult to find. The objects are rarely marked and little is known about hardware manufacturers. Few business documents regarding the production, marketing, and distribution of furniture hardware survive. Bits and pieces of evidence exist, but they are scattered throughout various documentary sources. Account books, business correspondence, bills, and inventories periodically contain references to the purchase, sale, and distribution

of hardware. Sometimes these documents mention names or give clues to hardware manufacturers. However, these notations are likely to be overlooked by furniture scholars intent on other issues pertaining to cabinetmaking. Because hardware functions as one small part within the larger whole of a piece of furniture, furniture researchers often regard metalwork as a sideline.

The present study takes early 19th-century furniture hardware as a concentrated focus and presents a beginning effort to compile a larger body of evidence and information. The study gathered a wide variety of documentary and material resources; this paper will enumerate the different types of evidence and demonstrate their potential. A second aspect of the study involved a type of experiment: hardware on a group of documented early 19th-century American furniture was compared with surviving metalwork trade catalogues of the same period. The experiment intended to explore whether or not the furniture hardware could be linked to engraved patterns in the trade catalogues.

The group of furniture selected for this comparative experiment was made by ten different cabinetmakers in three urban centers: Vose, Coates, & Company (1816-1819) and Emmons & Archibald (1813-1825) in

Boston; Duncan Phyfe (w.1792-1847,d.1854), Charles-Honoré Lannuier (w.1803-d.1819), Michael Allison (1773-1850), and Joseph Brauwers (w.1815-1825) in New York; and Joseph Barry (w.1796-1838) and Antoine-Gabriel Quervelle (w.1817-1856) in Philadelphia.¹ Trade catalogues at the Winterthur Library, the Essex Institute, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Victoria and Albert Museum provided the focus for comparisons. Trade catalogues have problematic attribution and documentation issues of their own, as will be discussed in chapter one, but they provide one of the largest sources of information for the study of furniture hardware.

The third and final component of this study examines a collection of hardware once owned by Boston cabinetmaker Henry Kellam Hancock (1788-1854). The unusual history of Hancock's collection provides a rare opportunity to study hardware that was never mounted on furniture. In addition, Hancock's hardware serves as a case study, illustrating the inventory a cabinetmaker had on hand in his shop. Hancock's collection descended in his family after his death, remaining unused and wrapped in the original packaging. Part of the collection is now in the Metropolitan's Luce Study Center and the rest remains in a descendant's private collection.²

Thus, this study will investigate hardware used in early 19th-century America from three different angles: documentary research, trade catalogue comparisons, and object analysis. Each chapter presents case studies based on these three types of evidence. Chapter one will give a brief prefatory explanation of trade catalogues and analyze what they can and cannot offer when used as a source of evidence for study of furniture hardware. Chapter two will consider the validity of a widespread tendency to attribute furniture hardware to France. Analysis of various documents will provide specific case studies illustrating how hardware was imported, how cabinetmakers purchased hardware, and the nomenclature used in the period. Specific trade catalogue comparisons will call attention to non-French sources; connections between metalwork and trade catalogue patterns emphasize that imported hardware on early 19th-century American furniture does not necessarily have to be French--it may be English or even German. Findings presented in chapter two demonstrate the complexity involved in attributing furniture hardware and interpreting trade catalogues.

Chapter three will present in-depth examination of the Hancock collection and show that individual pieces of hardware are meaningful artifacts unto themselves. The objects hold evidence of materials, workmanship, design,

and function. Analysis of casting, stamping, gilding, chasing, and lacquering offer clues to when and where each object was manufactured. Laboratory testing for metals content adds significant information about this collection and prompts further questioning. Study of Hancock's hardware contributes data for comparison with other pieces of hardware.

The overarching point I hope to demonstrate from this research is that a combination of these three approaches results in a fuller, reciprocal understanding of each type of evidence. My findings will illustrate how focusing too heavily on any one piece of the scarce evidence obscures the story.

As scholars begin to devote more attention to furniture hardware, a larger body of knowledge will emerge and facilitate informative comparisons. Hardware on early 19th-century American furniture has not been considered adequately because scholarship on the period in general is incomplete. The earliest major publication devoted to the era was Berry Tracy's 1963 catalogue for the Newark Museum's exhibition, Classical America 1815-1845. Other works followed, such as Celia Jackson Otto's American Furniture of the Nineteenth Century of 1965 and the Metropolitan Museum of Art's exhibition catalogue 19th-Century America of 1970 which consider neoclassicism

within a larger survey. These first broad overviews remain the standard references, although they contain much outdated information.³

With some exceptions, few specialized texts on particular aspects of the Neoclassical period exist. Charles F. Montgomery's American Furniture--The Federal Period in the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum of 1966 remains the best reference devoted exclusively to furniture of the early classical period in America. Duncan Phyfe became the most acclaimed cabinetmaker of the era, his status emphasized by publication of Charles Over Cornelius's Furniture Masterpieces of Duncan Phyfe of 1922 and Nancy McClelland's Duncan Phyfe and the English Regency 1795-1830 of 1939. The luminary Phyfe is one of the few American craftsmen to become the subject of two monographs, even though few documented examples of his furniture are known.⁴

Current scholars are in the process of reexamining and revising the earlier research. In 1980, Wendy Cooper reconsidered American decorative arts in general since the 1929 Girl Scouts Loan Exhibition, devoting the final chapter of In Praise of America to "The Classical Impulse." Various articles in The Magazine Antiques supply the only bibliography on specific neoclassical topics and the most up-to-date research. For example,

Francis James Dallett and Donald L. Fennimore published the two solitary articles on Michel Bouvier. Robert C. Smith wrote a four-part series on Antoine Gabriel Quervelle. Page Talbott presented the first specific information on Boston furniture and cabinetmakers. And Jean Vibert Sloane recently uncovered a Duncan Phyfe bill of sale.⁵

Most of the early and recent scholarship on neoclassical furniture calls attention to the metalwork, especially to "ormolu mounts," but the discussion is generally limited to descriptive comments. When attributions are made, "probably imported from France" has almost become the standard line and little or no evidence is offered to support the assertion. Although the statement may be intended to emphasize the French origins of the Empire style and the French tradition in fine gilt metalwork, this tradition does not provide an adequate basis for attribution. Moreover, taking this routine attribution for granted obscures an important part of the complex and intriguing story of hardware.

Furniture hardware is more than a mere sideline to furniture research. These metalwork objects offer access to larger aesthetic, economic, social, and political contexts important to cultural and historical studies. Studying individual objects as documents in their own

right, attempting to trace their origins, and compiling information from a variety of sources can offer a different perspective on issues pertinent to other areas of 19th century history. From analysis of the objects, we can move outward to consider many different levels, implications, and contexts.

As a first step outward, study of hardware can bring a new understanding to the furniture it ornaments. Cabinetmakers typically subcontracted their hardware; those in urban areas commonly utilized imported goods. The practical constraints surrounding cabinetmakers' purchase of hardware from merchants or overseas factors may have had implications affecting the appearance of furniture.⁶ For example, trade catalogues seem to have sold ornamental mounts in sets of twelve; this marketing system probably impacted the cabinetmaker's business. Purchasing different sets of twelve ornaments would create a limited repertoire for a particular cabinetmaker, influencing the decorative options for his production. A merchant may have exercised this influence if he purchased sets of twelve and then divided them up among his various cabinetmaker customers. This would result in more than one cabinetmaker having access to identical mounts. Either situation has implications for furniture scholars

as they consider the appearance of similar hardware on different pieces of furniture.

The ornamental hardware applied to early 19th-century American pier tables seems to have been influenced by a type of convention. Countless documented, attributed, and unattributed pier tables are decorated with a center mount on the apron and two smaller mounts on either side. These mounts function as two-dimensional pictures within a three-dimensional surface. The center mount is usually larger with the basic profile of a lengthwise rectangle or a flattened oval. The shape of the smaller side mounts commonly fills the long rectangular space created by the leg attachment. The choices in center and side mounts obviously varied in motifs and type of decoration, but all had basically the same profile shape. Thus, the ornamental mounts functioned as interchangeable parts for tables and other furniture, being different enough to provide variety but standard enough to allow planning.

This ornamental "convention" and the necessity for interchangeability may have influenced the form of pier tables. Applying ornamental metalwork was the last step in manufacturing a piece of furniture and usually comprised an expensive option for the consumer. An identical pier table without the addition of metal

ornaments could be purchased for a lower price. Making the same basic design for plain and ornamented pier tables would have saved the cabinetmaker time and money. Standardized ornaments facilitated the option for greater decoration and expense. The "conventionalized" decoration seems relatively simplified when compared to more elaborate high-style French tables covered with mounts of various shapes, sizes, and patterns. Elaborate applied decoration would have required advanced planning and coordination between the metalworker and cabinetmaker; designs for the furniture and the mounts would have to correlate before manufacture of either was begun. The mounts were therefore more fully integrated with the furniture design.

Because ornamental mounts are acknowledged as an important characteristic of the Empire style, investigating hardware transactions could help reveal one way in which the style was translated to America and interpreted by American cabinetmakers. Much scholarly research focuses on tracing design precedents for American-made furniture to French and English pattern books. Figures such as Percier and Fontaine, and La Mésangère in France and Thomas Hope, Rudolph Ackerman, and George Smith in England all published similar designs.

Deciphering the influences on American cabinetmakers can be extremely difficult.⁷

If ornamental mounts could be documented, however, we could see directly how one element of this style was translated through business transactions. If we attempt to determine whether American cabinetmakers were importing Empire-style ornaments from English, French, or German sources, or a mixture of all three, we can illuminate one way Americans adopted the French style and/or other interpretations of it, and then adapted it to their own unique situation. As Kenneth L. Ames contends in his article, "Designed in France: Notes on the Transmission of French Style to America,"

The ability to distinguish American from French contributions to prominent artifacts of American life may help us talk more intelligently about the attitudes of Americans toward style, culture, France, and their own homes. Differences between French models and the American versions tell us not only something about American artisanry but about American values and preferences as well. In short, this kind of study can help us gauge the nature and extent of America's participation in an international phenomenon while yielding insights into the American character and way of life.⁸

Ornamental hardware is an important indicator of the international quality of the Empire Style. The same mounts and designs circulated between different manufacturers in different countries. Researching the importation of hardware can provide another window on

evaluating the uniquely American aspects of this international style.

Charles L. Venable indicates that previous decorative arts scholarship may have overestimated the degree and importance of French influence in America.⁹ Venable investigates the presence of Germanic design sources through a study of the secrétaire à abattant in Philadelphia. While most scholars have assumed the secrétaire à abattant represented a French influence, Venable demonstrates that immigrant craftsmen from Germany adapted this French form in a unique manner more representative of their native Biedermeier than the French Empire style. The present author believes a similar phenomenon of overestimating French influence may have occurred with furniture hardware. The widespread tendency to attribute hardware on American Empire furniture to France could be another instance of this overestimation.

Venable and other scholars have considered the role of immigrant cabinetmakers in early 19th-century American furniture. This area of research could be enhanced by examining immigrant craftsmen's patterns in purchasing furniture hardware. Business transactions in the hardware trade might highlight differences between the social, cultural, and economic alliances of native craftsmen and immigrants of different nationalities.

Attempting to trace the origins of hardware on an unattributed piece of furniture might point to particular alliances. For example, Venable's consideration of a secrétaire à abattant in the Bybee collection could be augmented by attribution of the hardware.¹⁰ Venable places the Bybee example within a group of six related but unattributed Philadelphia secrétaires, drawing distinctions between German and French features of design and construction. He includes a detailed photograph of the secrétaire's center mount and, in a footnote, relates this mount to similar examples and cites sources for illustrations. Unfortunately, however, Venable takes his analysis of hardware only so far. Investigating possible origins for this mount could help support his main argument. If the mount could be traced to a German manufacturer or trade catalogue pattern, the hardware would illustrate one instance of direct German influence. On the other hand, if an English or French origin were found, Venable's case would be made more complicated.

Moving outward again from the objects, we can see individual pieces of hardware as products of the wider context of international trade. The hardware trade accesses an important facet of the way England, France, Germany, and America came together. If a map could be drawn, showing who manufactured hardware, where the

designs came from, how the marketing network operated, and how American cabinetmakers obtained hardware, the life history of these metal objects would reflect an international web of influences. From the colonial period to well after the Civil War, America remained dependent on England and France stylistically and, in some respects, technologically. Few if any early 19th-century American foundries were producing brasses such as the high-style sand-cast ornaments, stamped drawer pulls, brass molding, and castors frequently found on neoclassical furniture.¹¹ Cabinetmakers had to procure this type of hardware from foreign sources; furniture hardware serves as another reminder that America relied heavily on imported goods well into the 19th century.

Attempts to trace American cabinetmakers' suppliers can disclose important aspects of international trade. The process of distribution from manufacturer through factors and merchants to cabinetmaker reveals trade practices, trade routes, international relationships, political environments, and economic patterns. As Glenn Porter and Harold C. Livesay state in their book, Merchants and Manufacturers: Studies in the Changing Structure of Nineteenth-century Marketing, "very little [has] been done in the way of historical investigations of the distribution of manufactured

goods."¹² Almost fifty years earlier, Norman Sydney Buck proclaimed, "The period from 1800 to 1850 seems peculiarly appropriate for study From the standpoint of the United States, Great Britain was the most important country with which it had trade relations."¹³ Study of the French and English hardware trades holds the potential to make valuable contributions to this neglected area of research.

Accessing yet another level of interpretation, we can view the international trade in hardware within the context of the Industrial Revolution. Since the mid-18th-century, the English hardware industry developed expanding markets, new methods of distribution, enlarged production, increased specialization, and greater use of machinery. In The Impact of Industrialization on an Urban Labor Market: Birmingham, England 1770-1860, Ed Duggan states that historians have largely ignored this aspect of the Industrial Revolution. He notes that a few scholars such as G. C. Allen and W. H. B. Court have investigated Birmingham "but no one has considered Birmingham hardware industries as an integral part of the Industrial Revolution."¹⁴

Duggan claims that the Industrial Revolution is typically identified with large scale factory production such as textiles and iron, and little attention is given

to small scale manufacturing. He explains that Birmingham has been neglected because it developed secondary production, chiefly in hardware, servicing other industries by supplying screws, bolts, tools, and the like. Duggan describes the hardware industry as lacking physical size and technological change. Furthermore, he points out that small metal workshops left few if any records, the one exception being the extensive documents of the nonrepresentative firm of Matthew Boulton and James Watt in Soho. Duggan claims that research on Matthew Boulton's business is valuable in understanding the development of English metalwork manufacture, design, marketing, and exportation.

Studying hardware trade catalogues presents another aspect of the Industrial Revolution. Theodore R. Crom discusses the impact of trade catalogues on the Industrial Revolution in his book, Trade Catalogues 1542 to 1842.¹⁵ Crom views trade catalogues as the earliest form of advertising, entering the scene in the mid-18th century alongside journals and directories. The first half of the 18th century had insufficient production to require a market larger than the local area. Machinery and factory production increased the output and the market territory expanded. Trade catalogues provided the vehicle to reach distant markets. Crom points out that historians

have neglected the impact of advertising on the Industrial Revolution, giving more attention to other factors such as transportation, machine development, banking and finance, chemistry, metallurgy, work force, political climate, and market growth. As described by Duggan, Crom again points out that the English metal manufacturing centers themselves have drawn little notice among economic historians.

Many master's theses from the Winterthur Program in Early American Culture have begun to consider 19th-century furniture within the broader context of the Industrial Revolution. Kathleen Catalano discusses the business aspects of the furniture trade in "Cabinetmaking in Philadelphia, 1820-1840," emphasizing the change in production methods from the 18th-century handcrafted tradition to industrial mechanization during the Empire period. Catalano asserts that the cabinetmaking trade saw extension to new coastal, foreign, and inland markets, new methods of distribution through factors and commission merchants, enlarged production, greater specialization, and increased use of machinery. Page Talbott also addresses the changing structure of the furniture trade and documents many similar developments in Massachusetts in her study of "The Furniture Industry in Boston, 1810-1835."¹⁶ The production and marketing of furniture

hardware parallels and possibly even precedes these developments in cabinetmaking. Hardware may have been among the first parts of furniture to be produced by a division of labor.

Far from being minutiae or esoteric details concerning only 19th-century furniture scholars, the study of hardware relates directly to many of the larger issues raised in current scholarship on the 19th century. As we reconsider earlier scholarship and continue building research on the Industrial Revolution, international trade, the French influence on decorative arts, the transmission of style, the role of immigrant craftsmen in America, and early 19th-century furniture, we need to direct more scholarly attention to furniture hardware. Writings on furniture that merely acknowledge mounts in a descriptive way and give the generalized attribution, "probably imported from France," serve to obscure a story of greater complexity. Although the evidence base for hardware study can be problematic and resources can be difficult to find, the story of hardware holds great interpretive potential.

The study presented here hopes to call attention to the existing sources of evidence, supply specific information through a number of case studies, and emphasize that hardware and ornamental mounts offer more

than simply stylistic motifs and decorative detail. When considered as artifacts in their own right, these objects reveal even broader social and cultural information that deserves more than a footnote or descriptive phrase. The individual histories of these metal objects and the process by which they became parts of furniture are worthy of research and inquiry.

NOTES

¹A list of documented furniture was compiled from files on each cabinetmaker in the Decorative Arts Photographic Collection at the Winterthur Library.

²See hardware from the workshop of Henry Kellam Hancock, on display in the Luce Study Center in the American Wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession numbers Inst.68.8.1 through Inst.68.8.83. The author would like to thank Donald L. Fennimore for bringing this fascinating collection to her attention.

³Berry B. Tracey, Classical America 1815-1845 (Newark, New Jersey: The Newark Museum, 1963); Berry B. Tracey, et al., 19th-Century America: Furniture and Other Decorative Arts (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970); Celia Jackson Otto, American Furniture of the Nineteenth Century (New York: The Viking Press, 1965).

⁴Charles Over Cornelius, Furniture Masterpieces of Duncan Phyfe (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1922); Nancy McClelland, Duncan Phyfe and the English Regency 1795-1830 (New York: William R. Scott, Inc., 1939); and Charles F. Montgomery, American Furniture: The Federal Period in the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum (New York: Viking Press, 1966).

⁵Wendy A. Cooper, In Praise of America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980); the articles referenced in The Magazine Antiques include the following: Francis James Dallett, "Michel Bouvier, Franco-American cabinetmaker," (February 1962), pp. 198-200; Donald L. Fennimore, "A labeled card table by Michel Bouvier," (April 1973), pp. 761-763; Robert C. Smith, four-part series on "The furniture of Antoine Gabriel Quervelle," (May 1973), pp. 984-994; (July 1973), pp. 90-97; (August 1973), pp. 261-268; and (January 1974), pp. 180-193; Page Talbott, "Boston Empire Furniture, Part I" (May 1975), pp. 878-887 and "Part II" (May 1976), pp. 1004-1013; "Seating Furniture in Boston, 1800-1835" (May 1991), pp. 956-969;

"The Furniture Trade in Boston, 1810-1835" (May 1992), pp. 842-855; and Jeanne Vibert Sloane, "A Duncan Phyfe bill and the furniture it documents" (May 1987), pp. 1196-1113.

It should be noted that two exhibitions on the neo-classical period are currently in progress and will be presented after completion of this project. Wendy Cooper is presenting an exhibition at the Baltimore Museum of Art which, incidentally, will include selections from Henry Kellam Hancock's hardware at the Metropolitan, and Gregory Weidman is preparing an exhibition on Classical Maryland at the Maryland Historical Society.

⁶The following argument about shop practices and standardized parts derives from Philip D. Zimmerman, "Workmanship as Evidence: a Model for Object Study," Winterthur Portfolio 16, no. 4 (Winter 1981), pp. 283-307.

⁷The French influence was considered by Lorraine Waxman Pearce in "French Influence on American Decorative Arts of the Early Nineteenth Century: The Work of Charles-Honoré Lannuier," unpublished master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1958. Joan Woodside contributes to this topic, examining La Mésangère's influence specifically in "French Influence on American Furniture as Seen through the Engraved Designs of Pierre de la Mésangère's Collection des Meubles et Objets de Goût Published from 1802 to 1835," unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1986.

See also Donald L. Fennimore, "American NeoClassical Furniture and Its European Antecedents," The American Art Journal vol. XII, no. 4 (Autumn 1981), pp. 49-65 and Page Talbott, "Seating Furniture in Boston, 1810-1835," The Magazine Antiques (May 1991), pp. 956-969.

⁸Kenneth L. Ames, "Designed in France: Notes on the Transmission of French Style to America," in Winterthur Portfolio 12 (Spring 1977), p. 114.

⁹Charles L. Venable, "Philadelphia Biedermeier: Germanic Craftsmen and Design in Philadelphia, 1820-1850," unpublished master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1986.

¹⁰Charles L. Venable, American Furniture in the Bybee Collection (Austin: University of Texas Press and the Dallas Museum of Art, 1989), cat. no. 46, pp. 100-103.

¹¹Donald L. Fennimore, personal communication, March 1993. There is little evidence of pure ornament being produced in America in the early part of the 19th century, although a few scholars speculate that some American brass

founders may have taken castings of imported hardware in attempts to make duplicates.

¹²Glenn Porter and Harold C. Livesay, Merchants and Manufacturers: Studies in the Changing Structure of Nineteenth-Century Marketing (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971), p. ix.

¹³Norman Sydney Buck, The Development of the Organisation of Anglo-American Trade 1800-1850 David & Charles Reprint of the 1925 edition (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1969), p. 1.

¹⁴Ed Duggan, The Impact of Industrialization on an Urban Labor Market: Birmingham, England, 1770-1860 (New York: Garland Publications, 1985). Duggan references George Cyril Allen, The Industrial Development of Birmingham and the Black Country (London: Allen & Unwin, 1929) and W. H. B. Court, The Rise of the Midlands Industries 1660-1840 (London, 1938).

¹⁵Theodore R. Crom, Trade Catalogues 1542 to 1842 (Melrose, Florida: Privately Printed, 1989).

¹⁶Kathleen Matilda Catalano, "Cabinetmaking in Philadelphia, 1820-1840," unpublished master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1972 and Elizabeth Page Talbott, "The Furniture Industry in Boston, 1810-1835," unpublished master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1974.

Chapter One
METALWORK TRADE CATALOGUES

Due to a lack of surviving business documents for individual metalworking firms, trade catalogues provide the largest single body of evidence for researchers pursuing the subject of hardware. Information can be gleaned from trade catalogues through many different avenues. Analysis of these catalogues presents an alternative method for scholars to study the hardware industry, even in the absence of specific documentation on brass foundries. Trade catalogues reveal one aspect of the intriguing story of furniture hardware. This information can be combined with data gathered from object studies and various documentary references to provide a greater understanding of the whole plot. As a prologue to considering comparisons between trade catalogues and furniture mounts made later in this paper, the present chapter will offer some explanation of the unique nature of trade catalogues as artifacts and evaluate the extent of the information these volumes can and cannot reveal.

Hardware trade catalogues are a form of visual communication intended to expand markets and facilitate business transactions. The individual volumes are lightweight and portable with inexpensive bindings, typically made of leather and marbled paper (see figure 1). The catalogues contain varying numbers of pages printed from copper plate engravings. Each page depicts many different patterns alongside corresponding stock numbers and prices. The patterns were numbered to facilitate communication over large geographic areas. Long-distance customers would have found ordering by number quicker and more efficient than reciting descriptions. Short descriptions of patterns occasionally appear in the catalogues but the majority of pages are strictly pictorial. Apparently, few words were required to describe merchandise; customers understood what they would be getting from the picture. For example, patterns seem to have been engraved to scale. Most patterns have no corresponding measurements but some items, such as nails, hinges, drawer pulls, and column capitals and bases, are illustrated in the full range of available sizes. In these instances, dimensions are occasionally included.

The forces shaping the design of trade catalogues were economic and profit-motivated. The copper plate

engraving and printing processes facilitated the greatest possible audience for the particular time period. The same copper plates could be reprinted many times. Prices were written in by hand after printing, allowing the copper plates to be reused even if the price had changed by a later printing time. Through engravings, the manufacturer could provide the customer with an inexpensive representation of the products, rather than sending out costly samples. Sample boards seem to have been the predecessors of trade catalogues, as suggested by two catalogues at the Rhode Island School of Design and the Essex Institute containing actual objects attached to boards.¹ The engraver probably worked from actual pieces of hardware, although he may have used models or even drawings. The first catalogues were probably books of drawings shown to a small audience.² The printing process facilitated a much wider distribution.

We do not know for certain when or where most trade catalogues were produced. With the exception of a few inscribed volumes, most trade catalogues contain no names of manufacturers or publishers, mention no city of origin, and are not dated. Sometimes indexes and price lists are attached but these almost never include manufacturers' names. Indexes and inscriptions describing patterns, prices, and discounts are usually written in

English but Italian and French occasionally appear, probably indicating language adjustments for foreign markets.

Scholars suspect that the anonymity was intentional; it probably indicates the function trade catalogues served and the way the hardware trade operated.³ Agents or factors facilitated trade between the brass foundry and client purchasing goods. Protecting his role as middleman, the factor kept the manufacturer's name secret so that the client could not order directly from the source. Therefore, the few names inscribed in catalogues might just as likely refer to the factor as the brass foundry.⁴

Aside from this frustrating anonymity, many trade catalogues contain clues to their date. The papers periodically contain watermarks; a watermarked paper establishes a secure date range for that particular page which then may or may not be applied to remaining pages within the catalogue. Stylistic features of the designs also provide some indication of date. This approach can be risky, however, because designs persisted: Chippendale drawer pulls are often included in trade catalogues with neoclassical and Empire motifs. Determining when the sheets of engravings in a particular style were bound together in one volume is often difficult. Pages may have

been mailed out individually and then bound by the recipients at a later date. This possibility is suggested by the fact that page numbers frequently fall out of sequence or do not correspond with pagination given in indexes. Some catalogues contain many sheets with the same page number while others have two separate series of numbers, one crossed out and replaced by new pagination.⁵

Despite these inherent difficulties, trade catalogues can offer significant information about imported furniture hardware. A few notable publications on furniture hardware used in America demonstrate the potential uses of metalwork trade catalogues and offered models for the present study. In a 1964 Winterthur Portfolio article, "Samuel Rowland Fisher's Catalogue of English Hardware," Charles F. Hummel shows that "at least five styles of drawer pulls on different pieces of furniture made in Philadelphia between 1760 and 1795 can be traced to patterns in an English metal trade catalogue owned by a partner in one of the largest mercantile firms of the city."⁶ Hummel combines the five traced patterns with documented ownership of the catalogue, paper watermarks, and references in Fisher's travel journals to provide one case study documenting the long-held "theory that the vast majority of furniture brasses used by

American cabinetmakers of the eighteenth century were imported from England."⁷

Donald L. Fennimore followed Hummel's lead in one of the most recent publications on hardware, a two-part article entitled "Brass Hardware on American Furniture" for The Magazine Antiques.⁸ "Part I: Cast hardware, 1700-1850" repeats the assertion that most hardware used on American furniture was imported, chiefly from London, Bristol, and Birmingham, England, through the marketing network of American hardware merchants. Fennimore claims that "Continental manufacturers also sought to supply the American market, although like American makers, they were not able to overtake England's dominance here."⁹

In support of his assertions, Fennimore compares brass handle plates and ornamental mounts to English trade catalogues and one German example.¹⁰ He succeeds in finding several correspondences between designs as well as numbers: for example, one mid-18th-century English handle plate had the pattern number "125" cast into the brass on its verso. "Part II: Stamped hardware, 1750-1850" describes the labor- and timesaving process of producing brass furniture hardware on the drop press. Fennimore relays a brief history of the stamping process, noting that it was an English invention, first patented by John Pickering of London in 1769.¹¹

Hummel and Fennimore's contributions emphasize the importance of trade catalogues as evidence in the study of hardware. However, aside from the good fortune that so many volumes survive, trade catalogues' role in attribution of hardware is problematic because most of the individual volumes themselves are not firmly attributed. Only a handful of early 19th-century furniture hardware manufacturers have been identified and even fewer have been connected to specific trade catalogues.¹² This limitation often obscures the significance of information that trade catalogues are able to offer.

Putting aside this obstacle, trade catalogues can still prove useful to hardware and furniture researchers. Most scholars studying these volumes agree upon English attributions, although it remains uncertain whether the catalogues were produced in the metalworking centers of Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Bristol, or London.¹³ Birmingham and the Midlands region have a long history in the metalworking industry and brass foundries clearly thrived there in the 18th and early 19th centuries.¹⁴ The survival of such a large group of catalogues is in itself significant: no equivalent exists for French metalwork production of the same period. This probably indicates that French founders did not pursue expanding foreign markets in the same way as the English. They seem

to have relied on local markets and over-the-counter sales more than their English counterparts. With this hypothesis in mind, the present study uses these trade catalogues as evidence to highlight the importance of English sources as contrasted with the more commonly assumed and generally unsupported French attributions for furniture hardware.

Recent publications by Theodore R. Crom and Nicholas Goodison summarize the evidence for attributing these metalwork trade catalogues to Birmingham. In his book, Trade Catalogues 1542 to 1842, Crom documents the earliest hardware orders placed by trade catalogue number to England: between 1760 to 1764, British cabinetmaker Robert Gillow recorded pattern numbers, prices, and descriptions in his account book as he ordered brasses from various Birmingham founders and James Hewitt of nearby Wolverhampton.¹⁵ Crom demonstrates how inscriptions found in trade catalogues link a handful of the mysterious volumes to Birmingham. For example, he finds names inscribed in different volumes, such as "Timo Smith Birmingham 15 Aug 1766," "Timothy Smith & Son 1823," and "THOMAS POTTS, BIRMINGHAM," listed in Birmingham directories.¹⁶ Furthermore, Crom notes that Birmingham directories often contain local engravers' advertisements for catalogue production. This researcher found one

advertisement for pattern book printing by Birmingham engravers in the 1823 directory.¹⁷

Crom's book provides scholars with a useful research tool. He published illustrations of trade catalogue pages, making these resources more widely available to hardware researchers. Crom provides names of many Birmingham businesses by reproducing engravings from Bisset's A Poetic Survey Round Birmingham; with a Brief Description of the Different Curiosities and Manufactories of the Place: Accompanied by a Magnificent Directory of 1800. His book places trade catalogues within a larger historical context and highlights their role in the Industrial Revolution.

Nicholas Goodison compiled a catalogue of "The Victoria and Albert Museum's Collection of Metal-work Pattern Books" for Furniture History.¹⁸ In his introductory essay, Goodison makes many convincing arguments supporting Birmingham attribution for the majority of the Victoria and Albert's collection. He is able to directly link five catalogues to Birmingham through inscriptions and one through a Birmingham watermark. From these connections, Goodison then expands outward through internal comparisons between the attributed and unattributed volumes. Goodison claims that the same designs found in different catalogues indicate

one manufacturer, while different catalogue numbers for similar designs in different engraving styles indicate different manufacturers.¹⁹ Because the producers of trade catalogues freely copied designs from each other due to loose copyright regulations, Goodison argues that the repetition of patterns indicates a continuous tradition within the same manufacturing region. In support of his assertion that Birmingham dominated the manufacture of brass goods in general and furniture hardware in particular, Goodison quotes Birmingham directory listings of brass founders: in 1770 Sketchley and Adams' listed thirty-three brassfounders and in 1816-1817 Pigot's listed eighty-five, eleven of them specializing in furniture brasswork.²⁰

Goodison's catalogue is an important step toward compiling a foundation of data for future scholarship. His descriptive summaries of each trade catalogue's contents provide an extremely useful research tool, especially when synthesized with study of catalogues in other collections. The illustrations he includes contribute exemplary progress towards making informative trade catalogue images more widely available. At the end of his introduction, Goodison appropriately warns the reader about the problems involved in studying Birmingham brass founders through trade catalogues.

In conclusion, these catalogues are a splendid repository of a hundred years of ornament. By themselves however, they tell all too little from behind their screen of anonymity about the manufacturers of brassfoundry for the furniture trade. They demonstrate the existence of large-scale suppliers of furniture fittings, their exploitation of export markets, and the persistence of styles of design long after fashion in centres such as London had passed them by. It is useful to be able to draw these conclusions: but other, more specific, conclusions will have to await the outcome of further research.²¹

However, Goodison does not place much confidence in trade catalogues as evidence for furniture studies.

I have not included in these notes [on the illustrations] any comparisons with surviving mounts on specific pieces of furniture. There are many such parallels, but they prove little, as long as the issuers of the catalogues remain unknown.²²

The present study takes issue with this assertion and demonstrates that, on the contrary, comparisons between surviving mounts and trade catalogues offer important insights. Connections between mounts and catalogues are necessary in order to establish what the designs actually represented--what quality of metalwork was offered in particular catalogues. The 19th-century audience understood what trade catalogue designs represented. Due to the absence of pattern descriptions, reconstructing connections between metalwork and patterns provides one of the few remaining ways to enter into that understanding. Parallels between mounts and trade catalogues may not

definitively "prove" anything, but these connections do reveal significant additional information about actual metalwork objects as well as about the trade catalogues themselves. Because trade catalogues comprise one of the few sources of information regarding 18th- and 19th-century furniture hardware, they merit in-depth examination and the necessary effort in developing new strategies for interpretation. Simply knowing names of the "issuers of the catalogues" would not eliminate the need for this sort of interpretation.

This point of contention is not introduced here to disparage Goodison's valuable contribution but, rather, to emphasize that adding metalwork comparisons to Goodison's extensive consideration of trade catalogues enlarges the information the source can offer. There are many ways to extract meaning from trade catalogues and mounts. We must ask questions of the parallels that we are able to find between them. The present study obtained information about mounts through four basic types of comparisons: (1) comparing actual furniture mounts with trade catalogues, (2) comparing trade catalogues with surviving mounts, (3) comparing trade catalogues with each other, and (4) comparing mounts to other similar or identical mounts. Goodison's study is extremely valuable in comparing trade catalogues with each other but does not emphasize that we

can analyze hardware and trade catalogues from many different angles. Taken together, bits of information gained from these four types of comparisons augment each other and add up to more specific evidence. The four types of comparisons are described in greater detail as follows, and specific examples demonstrating each type will be provided in chapters two and three.

Comparing Actual Mounts with Trade Catalogues

If an actual metal mount is found to resemble a trade catalogue pattern, comparisons between the object and the engraving must be made carefully. Subtle differences between mount and design hold meaning. If the engraving is identical or nearly identical, the mount can reasonably be assigned the same attribution given to the particular catalogue. The possibility still exists, however, that the design was copied from another source. Within the surviving body of trade catalogues, many designs repeat with only slight variations. This probably indicates that foundries freely copied one another. Copyright laws were only loosely observed; one firm could make another's design their own by simply changing a few small details.²³ Evidence discovered in this study suggests that English founders copied French metalwork designs in this manner.²⁴ The designs copied from

French sources seem to have circulated in turn among the English founders, each one making subtle changes. Thus, the more differences that exist between mount and pattern, the greater the likelihood that the mount is one or more steps removed from the source of that particular pattern.

There is some disagreement among students of trade catalogues regarding the scale of patterns. Hummel maintains that engravers often varied the size of designs in the interest of fitting more on the page.²⁵ Fennimore suggests that patterns were almost always engraved to actual size.²⁶ In either case, certainly some allowances must be made for the engraver's interpretation of metalwork designs; it seems improbable that any metal object could be absolutely identical to its engraved pattern. On the other hand, too far a departure probably does not indicate an immediate relationship.

Once a connection between a mount and a pattern is established, the particular trade catalogue can offer more information about the object. In almost every case, the prices are listed next to the pattern and the number of items sold together is designated on the page. Indexes and short descriptions of the patterns, such as "chair ornaments," "stamp'd ornaments," or "lacquer'd," indicated function, method of manufacture, and period terminology. These kinds of descriptions frequently appear on only one

or two pages within the same catalogue; it is unclear whether the descriptions then apply to subsequent pages as well.

Sometimes a date range for a particular pattern and page can be established through watermarks on the page. Watermarks found elsewhere within the same catalogue may also be useful, but determining whether a date relating to one page can be applied to other pages requires careful consideration. Later bindings were found on many catalogues examined for this study; it is often difficult to determine when, exactly, the catalogue pages were gathered together in the present group and order. Inscriptions within an individual catalogue and its history of ownership, when available, are obviously among the most valuable pieces of evidence trade catalogues can offer.

Comparing Trade Catalogues with Surviving Mounts

Establishing connections between trade catalogue patterns and mounts illustrates the meaning of descriptive phrases commonly found within trade catalogues and establishes what the designs actually represented. For example, a mount corresponding to a pattern described as "chair ornaments with spikes to drive" confirms what was meant by the term "spikes." Connections to actual objects indicates the quality that the particular catalogue

offered. Goodison discusses the issue of quality but does not provide specific evidence in support of his assertions.

Some of the cast ornaments would have been chased, but there is no mention of this in the catalogues. There is no reason to suppose that ornaments were generally as well finished as some of the engravings in the catalogues suggest. Indeed there is plenty of evidence that they were not. Many of the handles, escutcheons and other pieces of hardware which survive on pieces of late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century English furniture are very poorly finished. Equally there is no mention of gilding in the catalogues. This is not surprising because most furniture mounts were not gilt. More often they were polished and lacquered; or, if the ornament was elaborate, they were given a finish which simulated gilding by being dipped in nitric acid, washed, dried and lacquered known as *mis en couleur d'or* This does not mean that none of the ornaments illustrated in these catalogues was well chased and gilt. Many examples survive to prove that this is untrue, but it was only furniture of the best and most expensive quality which was fitted with elaborately chased and gilt mounts.²⁷

More careful consideration of particular connections between high and low quality mounts and trade catalogue patterns in future studies might reveal that a complex range of options was offered or that different manufacturers produced differing qualities. Much more specific data is needed before we can understand what, exactly, the patterns represented. This author maintains that conclusions about the quality of metalwork offered by English trade catalogues must remain tenuous at best.

On a different but related point, many patterns found in trade catalogues during the course of this project have not been seen in the form of actual metalwork. Perhaps metal objects made from these patterns simply did not survive, did not prove popular in the American market, or were given other uses besides mounting on furniture. When analyzed from this perspective, trade catalogues exhibit the range of available choices that American cabinetmakers did not select.

Comparisons Between Trade Catalogues

Studying a substantial number of the surviving catalogues allows a larger pattern to emerge from small bits of information gathered from individual examples. For instance, designs that repeat in many different catalogues may have been more popular than a design that appears only once or twice. Subtle variations observed between repeating designs might show that manufacturers copied each other, again indicating the popularity a design must have had to be worthy of such imitation. In addition to presenting similar designs, some catalogues in different collections contain one or more identical pages, perhaps marking a common origin for each. Other comparisons can be made between prices, indexes or tables of contents, page order, and page numbering. Variations

between otherwise similar catalogues can also be telling; the absence or presence of particular items might indicate adjustments made for different markets.²⁸

The trade catalogues at the Essex Institute have a documented history of ownership in Salem; similarities found between the Essex catalogues and those at the Victoria and Albert and the Metropolitan suggest that catalogues in the latter two collections offered a similar range of objects to what was available in Salem in the same period.²⁹ Comparisons between English trade catalogues and the one German catalogue consulted for this study reveal nationalistic interpretations of similar designs.³⁰ For instance, oval drawer pulls in the German catalogue contained distinctive decorative motifs not seen in any English catalogue. The German catalogue also included many more escutcheons. Conversely, similar motifs such as swans, lyres, and mythological figures inspired by the French Empire style appeared in both the German and English trade catalogues. This suggests an interesting chain of influence between French, English, and German metalwork manufacturers.

Comparisons Between Mounts

Obviously, the furniture mounts themselves are of prime importance. Object studies are vital in analyzing differing qualities of metalwork and techniques of

manufacture. Physical evidence such as thickness, texture, weight, color, gilding, and metals content carry great significance. Determining whether a mount looks similar to a trade catalogue pattern or another mount in a book or photograph does not incorporate differences that can only be evaluated through close object studies.

The number of repetitions among surviving mounts can also be significant. Similar mounts often appear within one cabinetmaker's work, between different examples of American furniture, and across French, English, German, and Italian furniture.³¹ The distribution and marketing of furniture mounts thus becomes an important topic for furniture scholarship. Study of the surviving body of mounts draws attention to the hazard of using ornamental hardware as a criteria in attributing furniture. Most likely, more than one cabinetmaker had access to the same mounts or could purchase them from the same merchant. More specific information detailing how hardware was sold in America will shed light on this issue and its relevance in furniture attribution. If Birmingham manufacturers sold hardware to France, there is a possibility that brasses used on French-made furniture could actually be English. Using French furniture as a basis for attributing brasses to French manufacturers may therefore prove invalid. Repetition among mounts raises questions

regarding the hardware trade and highlights one way in which England, Europe, and America came together.

As the four types of analysis described above illustrate, trade catalogues and ornamental mounts offer much more than a frustrating puzzle of anonymity. The complexity embodied in the catalogues and the difficulties they present are a characteristic that has meaning unto itself. Part of the problem with current research on furniture hardware is that generalized attributions avoid complexity and oversimplify the situation. This project will deliberately draw attention to the complexities inherent to the hardware trade through a series of case studies, concretely demonstrating the four types of comparisons between mounts and trade catalogues outlined here.

NOTES

¹See the catalogue issued by Thomas Potts (w.1829-1833), Birmingham, ca. 1830, at the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, Rhode Island. This catalogue is illustrated in Thomas S. Michie and Christopher P. Monkhouse, "Pattern books in the Redwood Library and Athenaeum, Newport, Rhode Island," The Magazine Antiques, January 1990, pp.286-299. See also Essex Institute Sample Book 739 S19 v.1 and v.2. on microfilm in the Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, M-2019, reel 3.

²An example of a manuscript catalogue made up of drawings and watercolors of personal, household, and hardware items is "The French Peddler's Catalogue" in the Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Folio 89. Little research has been done on this catalogue but the Downs Collection files attribute the volume to France with a Virginia history of ownership, dating from 1800-1809.

³See Theodore R. Crom, "Birmingham Trade Catalogues" in Trade Catalogues 1542 to 1842 (Melrose, Florida: privately printed, 1989) and Nicholas Goodison, "The Victoria and Albert Museum's Collection of Metal-Work Pattern Books" Furniture History, vol. XI (London: Furniture History Society, 1975), pp. 1-30.

⁴For a full discussion of factors, merchants, and international trade, see Norman Sydney Buck, The Development of the Organisation of Anglo-American Trade 1800-1850 David & Charles Reprint of the 1925 ed. (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1969).

⁵For example, a Victoria and Albert trade catalogue, press mark M65e, is made up almost entirely of pages numbered "37" on the copper plate engraving. The engraved page number "37" is crossed out and new sequential page numbers are written in by hand with pen and ink.

⁶Charles F. Hummel, "Samuel Rowland Fisher's Catalogue of English Hardware," Winterthur Portfolio One (1964), p. 197. For Fisher's catalogue, see E. Richard McKinstry, Trade Catalogues at Winterthur A Guide to the Literature of Merchandising 1750 to 1980 A Winterthur Book (New York: Garland Publishing, 1984).

⁷Ibid., p. 188. Significant to this study, Hummel points out that the firm of Joshua Fisher & Sons were in business under various names until 1834. Further research might reveal whether their habits of importing hardware from England continued into the 19th century. See also Samuel W. Woodhouse, Jr., "English Hardware for American Cabinetmakers," The Magazine Antiques (November 1931), pp. 287-289.

⁸Donald L. Fennimore, "Brass Hardware on American Furniture," The Magazine Antiques "Part I: Cast Hardware, 1700-1850" (May 1991), pp. 948-955 and "Part II: Stamped Hardware, 1750-1850" (July 1991), pp. 80-91.

⁹Ibid., "Part I," p. 954.

¹⁰For information on the German trade catalogue, see end note 30.

¹¹Ibid., p. 82, quoting William Costen Aitken, The Early History of Brass and the Brass Manufactures of Birmingham (Birmingham, England: Martin Billing, Son & Co., 1866), p. 68.

¹²See Goodison, "Metal-Work Pattern Books," op. cit., p. 8. The time constraints for this project did not allow access to a potentially informative trade catalogue issued by W. Walker & Sons, Birmingham and now in the collections of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

¹³Crom, Trade Catalogues, op. cit.; Goodison, "Metal-work Pattern Books," op. cit.; Hummel, "Fisher's Catalogue of English Hardware," op. cit.; McKinstry, Trade Catalogues at Winterthur, op. cit.; Gabriel Olive, "Brass Fittings, A Newly Discovered Catalogue," The Antique Dealer and Collectors Guide (April 1977), pp. 88-91; R. W. Symonds, "An Eighteenth-Century English Brassfounder's Catalogue," The Magazine Antiques (February 1931), pp. 102-105; Samuel W. Woodhouse, Jr., "English Hardware for American Cabinetmakers," The Magazine Antiques (November 1931), pp. 287-289; and W. A. Young, Old English Pattern

Books of the Metal Trades (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1913).

For the purposes of this paper and unless otherwise noted, the group of trade catalogues consulted for this study will be referenced as English in origin from this point onward. This decision was made in the interest of clarity and brevity, in full realization that the catalogues are generally attributed to English sources rather than firmly documented to more specific cities or manufacturers.

¹⁴See William Costen Aitken, The Early History of Brass and the Brass Manufactures of Birmingham (Birmingham, England: Martin Billing, Son & Co., 1866); The Resources, Products, and Industrial History of Birmingham and the Midland Hardware District, Samuel Timmins, ed. (London, 1866); William Hawkes Smith, Birmingham and its vicinity as a manufacturing and commercial district (London, 1836); and Henry Hamilton, The English Brass and Copper Industries to 1800 (London: Frank Cass and Company, Limited, 1967).

¹⁵Crom, Trade Catalogues, op. cit., pp. 182-185. See also Goodison, "Metal-work Pattern Books," p. 7.

¹⁶"Timo Smith Birmingham 15 Aug 1766" is the earliest known inscription, found in a catalogue at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession number 35.41.2. "Timothy Smith & Son 1823" is found in a trade catalogue at Winterthur, call number RBR NK7899 Y34* T.C. For "THOMAS POTTS, BIRMINGHAM" see endnote 2. Crom also includes photographs of billheads from Birmingham manufacturers as well as various references in merchants' travel journals in support of Birmingham attribution.

¹⁷Birmingham city directory, 1825, in the Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, microfilm number M-1365.

¹⁸Goodison, "Metal-Work Pattern Books," op. cit.

¹⁹For example, see the discussion of Henry Kellam Hancock's bow-and-wreaths mount and the corresponding trade catalogue patterns in chapter three, pp. 126-127, 129-133.

²⁰Ibid., pp. 7-8.

²¹Ibid., p. 9.

²²Ibid., p. 26.

²³Donald L. Fennimore, personal communication, October 1992.

²⁴See discussion of Lannuier's Apollo mount and the corresponding trade catalogue pattern in chapter two, pp. 75-78.

²⁵Hummel, "Fisher's Catalogue of English Hardware," op. cit., p. 193.

²⁶Donald L. Fennimore, personal communication, October 1992.

²⁷Goodison, "Metal-Work Pattern Books," op. cit., pp. 4-5.

²⁸For example, see the discussion of identical printed index pages with handwritten variations in chapter three, pp. 131-133.

²⁹For information on the Salem trade catalogues, see chapter two, end note 38.

³⁰German metalwork trade catalogue, probably Iserlohn, 1820-1840. Owned by the Missouri Historical Society, Saint Louis, Missouri and on microfilm in the Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, microfilm no. M-1417.

³¹For example, see the discussion in chapter three regarding mounts on European furniture that relate to the hardware of Henry Kellam Hancock.

Chapter Two

THE FRENCH INFLUENCE

Charles-Honoré Lannuier's July 15, 1803 Evening Post advertisement is one of the most acclaimed documents in American furniture scholarship.

HONORE LANNUIER, CABINET MAKER, just arrived from France, and who has worked at his trade with the most celebrated Cabinet Makers of Europe, takes the liberty of informing the public, that he makes all kinds of Furniture, Beds, Chairs, &c., in the newest and latest French fashion; and that he has brought for that purpose gilt and brass frames, borders of ornaments, and handsome safe locks, as well as new patterns. He also repairs all kinds of old furniture. He wishes to settle himself in this city, and only wants a little encouragement. Those who choose to favor him with their custom, may apply to Mr. Augustine Lannuier, Confectioner and Distiller, No 100 Broadway. N.B. A good smart Young Man is wanted as an Apprentice.¹

Lannuier's statement contains significant information for historians studying cabinetmaking, the influence of immigrant craftsmen, the transmission of style, French and American cultural exchange, the history of New York City, and many other related areas of research. Of particular interest to the study of hardware is Lannuier's use of the word "brought." He advertises that he "brought" hardware

with him from France for furniture he intends to make in his newly adopted home.

Because of his French background, students of Lannuier's furniture have long agreed that his stunning examples of ornamental hardware were most likely French in origin.² Lannuier's 1803 advertisement seems to document this logical assumption. Based on his statement, we can imagine that Lannuier did indeed bring some of the ornaments now surviving on his furniture in a load on his voyage from France. Pushing the evidence one step further, we can speculate that Lannuier probably would have turned to the same supplier, using business connections from his background in France, when it came time to restock. Or, we could assume that Lannuier brought all of the ornaments he used with him in one big load.

Two more documents important within the history of early 19th-century furniture mention hardware specifically. Joseph Brauwers, also a French immigrant cabinetmaker in New York City, labeled a pair of card tables: "JOSEPH BRAUWERS,/NO. 163 William - Street, New York,/(EBENIST, FROM PARIS)/CABINETMAKER/With the Richest Ornaments, just im-/ported from France." (See figures 2 and 3.) Brauwers' statement is straightforward. From his label, we can safely deduce that the two ornaments of

flower baskets flanked by peacocks, four flower wreaths, and eight sets of capitals and bases mounted on his card tables were indeed "imported from France."³

Thus, Lannuier and Brauwers provide two specific documented instances of immigrant cabinetmakers in early 19th-century America importing ornaments from France. This kind of documentation is extremely rare; little evidence exists to support French attribution for other examples of furniture hardware. In the face of this lack of evidence, we might wonder what further applications Lannuier and Brauwers' valuable might documents have. Can we conjecture from their statements that other cabinetmakers in America were ordering ornaments from sources in France? This appears to be the direction taken by scholarship on early 19th-century furniture. In 1963, one of Brauwers' card tables appeared in the Newark Museum's exhibition, Classical America. The entry in the exhibition catalogue (still one of the standard references on this period) describes Brauwers' label as "an important documentation of the importation of French ormolu and brass ornaments for furniture."⁴

Perhaps the widespread tendency to attribute hardware on American Empire furniture to France stems from assuming that Lannuier and Brauwers' documented circumstances are representative of a larger trend.

Although this could still prove to be the case, the present author maintains the possibility that the application of Lannuier and Brauwers' prominent documents may have been over-estimated. The rarity of this kind of documentation could be interpreted as indicative of an exception as opposed to a more general rule. Either way, the situation of Lannuier and Brauwers cannot apply to every instance. With this possibility in mind, the following chapter will attempt to widen the view of imported hardware, draw a larger picture of the hardware trade, and consider more varied sources of evidence.

Aside from Lannuier and Brauwers' documents, what other evidence exists to support the argument that mounts on American Empire furniture were imported from France? First of all, the French influence upon the style of early 19th-century furniture is renowned. Decorative arts produced in the late classical period are described as representing "the Empire style," a widespread terminology that calls the Napoleonic Empire in France (1804-1815) to mind. In actuality, "the Empire style" was already in progress in France by 1800, developing out of the neo-classical trend of the late 18th century. Neo-classicism was clearly an international phenomena, but scholars often relate the later neo-classical taste for more accurate and larger-scale representations of the antique to Napoleon's

military campaigns in Italy and Egypt. The fact that the stylistic origins of American Empire furniture are associated with France perhaps influences perceptions that the Empire-style hardware on the furniture must also be from France.

The practice of applying ornamental hardware to furniture is a distinguishing characteristic of the late neo-classical style in both Europe and America. France had a long tradition of complementing furniture with metal mounts. In the 18th century, royal patronage of the extensive French guild systems coordinated cabinets made by the ébénistes with elaborate gilt bronze mounts from the ciseleurs-doreurs. Ebénistes were strictly prohibited from making their own mounts and had to submit a special application to the ciseleurs-doreurs. This system of enforced specialization was put into practice during the reign of Louis XIV and refined metalworking flourished in France because of it.

After the French revolution and during the rule of Napoleon, the French metalworking tradition continued but became simplified. The strict guild rules collapsed and cabinetmakers were finally allowed to take responsibility for their own metalwork. The austere Neo-classicism of Napoleon's Imperial style led to a scaled-down use of metal, calling for gilt bronze appliques against dark

mahogany furniture. François-Honoré-Georges Jacob (1770-1841), known as Jacob-Desmalter, "Ebéniste, Fabricant de Meubles et Bronzes" to the Emperor, reported to the government in 1808 that his staff numbered 332 employees. Of the total, 117 devoted themselves to making bronze mounts. The division of labor included sculpting models for ornaments and molding, casting, chasing, gilding, and mounting.⁵

Beyond the renowned French stylistic background and long-standing tradition in high-style metalwork, little specific evidence about 19th-century French hardware is available. With the exception of two monographs written on the famous bronzeworker Pierre Gouthière (1732-1813/14) and his apprentice Pierre-Philippe Thomire (1751-1843), only limited scholarship exists for this area and few 19th-century French metalworkers have been identified.⁶ High-style artist-craftsmen operating on a large scale, such as Gouthière, Thomire, and Jacob-Desmalter, have received more attention than small-scale workshops selling furniture hardware to cabinetmakers over-the-counter or via exportation. Little documentation survives to inform us of French hardware manufacturers' products, business practices, and customers. French furniture mounts are largely anonymous; craftsmen rarely signed or marked their wares. With the

exception of one hand-colored volume known as "The French Peddler's Catalogue" in the Joseph Downs Collection, no early 19th-century French trade catalogues for furniture hardware were identified during the course of this study.⁷ Aside from comparing mounts with metalwork found on documented French furniture, research conducted for this project did not uncover a way to verify whether furniture hardware used by Lannuier, Brauwiers, and other cabinetmakers in America was actually made in France.⁸

Two recent publications have drawn attention to this subject, however, and deserve some mention here. In 1984, Penelope Hunter-Stiebel wrote Elements of Style: The Art of the Bronze Mount in 18th and 19th Century France to accompany an exhibition held at the Rosenberg and Stiebel Gallery in New York City. Proclaiming that "no catalogue or exhibition has ever been devoted to the general stylistic development and function of the bronze mount in France," Rosenberg and Stiebel intended to spur interest in the field with a general treatment of the subject. Hunter-Stiebel's catalogue provides a good summary of the French tradition in high-style metalwork. Nonetheless, she does not identify any 19th-century manufacturers and considers the Empire style only briefly.⁹

In 1987, Pierre Verlet, a former curator at the Louvre and an expert on 18th-century French furniture, published the first extensive survey of French gilt bronzes, Les Bronzes Dorés Français du XVIII^e Siècle. Verlet describes the technical processes involved in bronze making and summarizes the history of French metalworking from the reign of Louis XIV (1638-1715) through the end of the 18th century. Verlet considers the entire range of 18th-century bronze objects, from clocks to candelabrum, with furniture mounts comprising one full chapter. Verlet's work has yet to be translated but it serves as a model for the study of furniture hardware and metalwork in general. Verlet published photographs of signatures, marks, and other inscriptions found on objects. He compiled lists of attributed objects and craftsmen's names discovered in such documents as account books, inventories, designs, and engravings. Nevertheless, Verlet identified few manufacturers of furniture mounts and his research extended only briefly into the 19th century. Similar information on 19th-century French metalworkers awaits future researchers.¹⁰

Of course, the French did not have a monopoly on metalworking. The English metal trades grew rapidly during the period 1650 to 1750 in the Midlands region and

especially in the city of Birmingham. English manufacturers cultivated export markets at an early date as they endeavored to compete with the French tradition in fine metalwork. Matthew Boulton's Soho manufactory in Birmingham was one of the largest and most famous metalworking firms in England. The abundant documents surviving from his business provide valuable insights regarding large-scale English manufacturing, export marketing, and competition with the French.

Recent research by Nicholas Goodison explores Matthew Boulton's production from 1768 to 1782 when he ran the biggest metalworking firm in Birmingham. Boulton was an entrepreneur rather than a craftsman: "His tasks were to ensure adequate finance, to produce ideas, to initiate production, to pursue efficiency and to create markets."¹¹ Goodison claims that Boulton consciously set out to compete with the French dominance of the market. Contrary to previous assumptions, Goodison's study of the Boulton papers reveals that furniture mounts comprised a very small concern of his business and were only infrequently produced. Boulton focused primarily on metalwork such as clocks and mounts for porcelain.

Boulton seems to have been among the first to use term "ormolu" for his gilt mounts; before the 1770s the word was not generally used by other English manufacturers

or retailers.¹² The objects Boulton called ormolu were not themselves new; Boulton's production derived from an English metalworking tradition in place before his time. But his new and deliberate use of the word "ormolu" provided a marketing device aimed at competing with French goods. Goodison defines ormolu as "metal, normally brass but sometimes bronze or copper, which has been gilt by the process of mercurial gilding This is an English definition, and it is the meaning which Boulton himself most frequently gave to the word."¹³ An interesting parallel exists between the way Boulton used the word "ormolu" and the way we use it today. Twentieth-century writings referring to metalwork on American furniture as "ormolu" immediately draw French connotations. The etymology of "ormolu" derives from a compilation of the French, or moulu, meaning literally "ground gold." In the 18th century, the French used or moulu in reference to "gold ground to a powder in preparation for amalgamation with mercury in the process of fire or mercury gilding;" Diderot defined or moulu as gold in amalgam with mercury prepared for gilding silver or bronze.¹⁴ Thus, the original French meaning referred to the gilding, not the gilt object.

The Oxford English Dictionary defines ormolu as

Originally, Gold or gold-leaf ground and prepared for gilding brass, bronze, or other metal; hence, gilded bronze used in the decoration of furniture, etc. Now, An alloy of copper, zinc, and tin, having the colour of gold.

According to this definition, use of the word today in conjunction with the decorative arts carries great potential for confusion. Technically speaking, if the original or period meaning of ormolu is intended, it should be used exclusively in reference to objects that are gilt. Conversely, if the modern O.E.D. definition is intended, "ormolu" denotes a specific alloy having merely the color of gold. Alloy contents and the presence or absence of gilding can only be determined through scientific testing. Proper use of this word, therefore, seems almost impossible; the period meaning and the modern usage oppose each other. To avoid confusion, the particular meaning intended for the term should be specified. This author maintains that the best and easiest way to be clear when describing gilt or gold-colored objects is simply to choose another word or words.¹⁵

The fact that "ormolu" does not appear in period references to furniture mounts and hardware provides another reason for selecting an alternative. The word was not included in any trade catalogues consulted for this project. All of the inventories, account books, and other

documents studied during this project employed the terms "ornaments" or "French ornaments."¹⁶ In light of this evidence, it seems the best way to relay the most information with the least potential for confusion when discussing metalwork is to combine period terms with specific descriptions of materials and technique. For example, a catalogue entry or label that describes furniture with "gilt brass ornaments" or "stamped and lacquered metal capitals" is much more informative than the simple catch phrase "with ormolu mounts."

These subtle distinctions might seem nitpicking, but period terms are important. Distinguishing the language that early 19th-century people used to describe their objects divulges significant aspects of their thought. The words chosen for advertisements, inventories, account books, and trade catalogues reveal what people in the period thought was important about the objects, what attributes and stylistic features they deemed worth mentioning. Along similar lines, it is essential to consider the importance and meaning our culture places on the French connotations of "ormolu" and the cachet of the attribution "probably imported from France." Our own attraction to French goods and the value we place on French style must be separated from analysis of what was significant in the period.¹⁷

Interpreting period terms, however, can be tricky. For instance, references to "French ornaments" in inventories and other documents might lead a researcher to think that the period description indicated a French origin. Although this might be the case, period uses of the word "French" in connection with American decorative arts such as furniture, upholstery, and textiles as well as metalwork probably do not always signify "imported from France."

For example, Thomas Emmons' 1825 Boston inventory contains four interesting uses of the word "French":

2 Set 15 inch French Castors \$8. & 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ doz 14
 inch do. 12.25 20.25....
 French ornaments one set of Caps Bases & vases 3
 inch 7.
 2 Setts Caps, vases & Bases 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ inch \$12, 4 pair
 Caps& Bases 2/ 3/8 \$3 15.
 1 pair do. 2 inch @.50 4 pair Base rings 7 $\frac{1}{4}$
 inches 5.50 8.
 1 Lot french ornaments 5, & 47 moulding Lots
 15.66 20.66
 187 $\frac{1}{4}$ yds French Lace 1/9¹⁸

Emmons' French castors, French ornaments, and French lace may or may not have been French-made. The word might just as likely refer to the stylistic attributes of these objects. Without more specific information the exact meaning behind "French" in Emmons' inventory is impossible to determine.

Fortunately, in Emmons case, some additional information is available. His name appears in the day

book of William Greenough, a Boston hardware merchant who seems to have sold English imports.¹⁹ Some significance might also be attached to the fact that Henry Kellam Hancock was one of the appraisers signing Emmons' inventory. As will be discussed in chapter three, at least some of Hancock's hardware may have been English. Hancock and Emmons were neighbors in 1825, Emmons occupying a "homestead" at "No. 705 Washington St." and "estate" at "No. 581 Washington," while Hancock is listed in the directory for that year at 667 Washington Street.²⁰ Conceivably, the two cabinet makers could have purchased their hardware from the same source. Based on this limited evidence, it does seem possible that the appraisers for Emmons' inventory were referring to the "French" style of English-made hardware rather than specifically describing French-made products.

The 1835 inventory of John Hancock & Co., the Philadelphia business of Henry Kellam Hancock's youngest brother, contains a large proportion of hardware.²¹ Most of John Hancock's hardware relates to the upholstery trade, but some may have been intended exclusively for woodwork. Again, the significance of the adjective "French" in certain entries remains unclear. The descriptions most relevant to this discussion include: "1 French Ornament for Bed 8.00 / 2 Brass Rings for D^o 2.00"

and "8 sets" of "6 French Ornaments," priced from 25 cents a piece to \$1.66. The "8 sets" of "6 French Ornaments" are each listed in conjunction with four-digit numbers, most likely indicating the trade catalogue pattern numbers from which they were ordered. The presence of trade catalogue numbers would suggest an English rather than French source for the hardware.²²

The "8 sets" of "6 French Ornaments" were probably intended for window drapery cornices or another function related to upholstery; the ornaments are listed in the inventory between entries for textiles and entries for bedding pillows, mattresses, and the like. Another reference to "French Ornaments" appears among "14 pairs Crimson & Yellow Bracelets," "2 Brass Ornaments," and "6 Doz Spike Ornaments." The fact that no chests of drawers, secretaries, or pier tables appear in this inventory suggests that these "ornaments" were not intended for furniture. Interestingly, this inventory's use of the word "ornaments" suggests that cabinetmakers and upholsterers used the same terms for slightly different types of hardware. "French ornaments" could signify either furniture mounts or metalwork decorating upholstery.

Duncan Phyfe's New York inventory of September 8, 1854 also contains hardware and curious applications of

the word "French."²³ The inventory of Phyfe's "First Floor of Shop" included: "1 lot Brass \$5.00," "1 lot French Ornaments 2.00," and "1 lot Castors 2.50." His "Large Front Room" on the second story contained "4 Mahogany Chairs (French) \$4.00." In addition, an 1847 sale catalogue recording an "Extensive Auction Sale of Splendid and Valuable Furniture . . . at the Furniture Ware Rooms of Messrs. Duncan Phyfe & Son" utilizes the word "French" abundantly, including one reference to ornaments: "1 splendid French secretaire with French caps and bases, French plate glass, with amboyna wood and red Morocco, balance hinges, &c." Other descriptions include "French Castors" on two French bedsteads, "French couches," "French chairs," and a French secretaire (without ornaments).²⁴ These descriptive uses of "French" are particularly noteworthy because they are written in reference to furniture made in Phyfe's shop, not goods imported from France.

Lannuier's 1819 New York inventory provides an interesting contrast to the inventories of Duncan Phyfe, John Hancock & Co., and Thomas Emmons. At his death, Lannuier's shop contained

Stock in Furniture & ca/Furniture in store
\$2739.
Hardware in ditto \$105[ripped]
Ornaments in ditto \$293.59
Woods of all kinds & Benches \$1096.

Silks, Fringes & ca. left on hand by D.A. Smith
\$900.²⁵

Of the four cabinetmakers, Lannuier is the most likely to own hardware, ornaments and silks made in France. Interestingly, the word French does not appear in association with any of these items. Nor is the word ormolu used. It is notable that the total of Lannuier's hardware and ornaments, \$398.59, is worth over fifty percent of the "Household Furniture & other Things/desired to his wife and appraised at \$748." The ornaments alone were worth nearly three times as much as the hardware. By contrast, Thomas Emmons' entire stock in all types of hardware only totaled \$489.58 six years later. The difference in value probably indicates the number and/or quality of Lannuier's ornaments.

If the adjective "French" did not necessarily mean "imported from France" in these documents, what could the word have signified to the early nineteenth-century Americans who wrote it? "French" is often included in period descriptions of decorative arts; common examples referring to furniture include: French bed, French secretaire, French chairs, and French foot. In the case of French foot or French bedstead, the word clearly meant "French in character" or "French look alike," not that the foot or bed were imported from France. The characterization "French" indicated specific stylistic

qualities to the 19th-century mind; the period connotation can no longer be completely understood by modern readers. This study maintains the possibility that period references to "French ornaments" might indicate a French quality to the hardware rather than a specifically French origin.

American interest in French style is a particularly intriguing cultural phenomenon. The reasons behind widespread descriptions of "French" objects in the early 19th century and the meaning these objects held are beyond the scope of this paper. Although scholars often relate American's affinity for France to the War of 1812 and the new nation's changing attitudes toward Britain, the appeal of French styles and imported French goods point to complex cultural trends. Study of material culture makes one thing clear, however; early 19th-century Americans wanted French things or at least French look alikes. Immigrant cabinetmakers like Lannuier and Brauwers were able to capitalize on this demand for "the newest and latest French fashion."²⁶

In his 1803 advertisement, Lannuier plays up the fact that he can make "all kinds of Furniture . . . in the newest and latest French fashion." As discussed above, Lannuier advertises his access to imported ornaments "as well as new patterns." In a sense, Lannuier even sells

himself as an import; he is "just arrived from France, and . . . has worked at his trade with the most celebrated Cabinet Makers of Europe." Lannuier was marketing "French" to a New York audience.

Joseph Brauwers' seems to have followed in Lannuier's footsteps approximately eleven years later. His label is another interesting example of "French" being marketed in America. Surprisingly, Brauwers deviates from standard practice and does not acclaim the part of his furniture that he makes himself; to use a modern analogy, Brauwers gives the most "air time" to his supply of the "Richest Ornaments," not the goods he produces as a craftsman. Out of the label's total of twenty words, the first eight communicate Brauwers' name and address: most importantly, he wants the customer to know where to find him. Two words relate his profession: "EBENIST" and "CABINET-MAKER" Three words, "EBENIST," "PARIS," and "France," overtly endorse his French affiliation. Finally, another eight words are devoted to the imported ornaments. If meaning can be interpreted from a tally of words, it seems Brauwers regards communicating his ability to obtain imported ornaments equally important as stating his name and address. His label announces him as cabinetmaker and entrepreneur, attempting to capitalize on his retailing connections. The importance Brauwers (and,

by extension, his customers) placed on these ornaments attest to the important role metalwork played in creating the French style. Customers would seek Brauwers out because he was the man who could obtain this style.

What were Brauwers' retailing connections and how did he import his ornaments from France? Unfortunately, no written evidence survives to document Brauwers business transactions. However, documents relating to other craftsmen reveal the workings of the import trade and the sale of imported goods. The account books of Charles Watts in New York and William Greenough in Boston illustrate two specific instances of the way merchants imported large quantities of hardware into the United States and then resold individual items to many different cabinetmakers.²⁷

Charles Watts (d.1811) started out as a cabinet and pianoforte maker in Charleston, South Carolina, probably before 1790 when he formed a partnership with Thomas Wallace, a native of Scotland. On March 5, 1790, Watts and Wallace advertize themselves as "Cabinet and Piano Forte Makers, From London."²⁸ In 1802, Watts is listed in partnership with Robert Walker but by 1803, he is listed alone and for the last time in Charleston directories.²⁹ Sometime after 1803, Watts moved to New

York City where he appears with his wife, two children, and four slaves in ward five of the 1810 Census.³⁰

Watts' New York City account books begin in 1805 and continue through 1811, documenting his activities as a merchant and cabinetmaker. His accounts, papers, and correspondence show that he was quite successful financially, owning property in both Manhattan and Charleston which he leased to renters. His success in real estate probably earned him the opportunity to buy and sell on credit in overseas trading. He imported large quantities of hardware and mahogany, and then retailed the goods to cabinetmakers, craftsmen, and other merchants in both New York and Charleston.³¹ Two of his New York City customers are cabinetmakers considered in this study, Duncan Phyfe and Michael Allison. A third is Jacob Brower, a surname often associated with Joseph Brauwerts.³²

Watts imported at least two orders of "brass work" from the firm W. L. Messenger & Co. in 1808 and 1810, shipping the goods through his agent, James Chapman, in Liverpool. Watts recorded the inventory of these shipments in his account book under the headings, "Adventure in Hardware" in 1808 and "Messenger & Co. Brass work."³³ Entries under various customers' accounts

include three- and four-digit numbers following descriptions of their purchases.

For example, "Robert Walker, Cab^t Mak^r Chⁿ" purchased "20 sett Lot brass casters No. 0324, 0325, 0328," "Charles Middell, Merchant" purchased "2 doz bed keys #624 & 626," and "M. Allison Cab^t M^r Vesey St." bought "knobs #5712." Interestingly, the description, "knobs 5712," also appears under the account of "James Lineacree, Cab^t Maker--Albany." These two identical references demonstrate how more than one cabinetmaker could have access to the same hardware in different geographic locations. The three- and four-digit numbers used in Watts' account books probably refer to item numbers in hardware trade catalogues. While it makes perfect sense that Watts would record his hardware using the catalogue numbers he quoted to place his order, this author was not able to make any specific connections between extant trade catalogues and Watts' descriptions.

Watts was probably selling bail-handled drawer pulls and cloakpins in the Federal style rather than Empire-style cast ornaments, but his account books and papers demonstrate the complex trading network behind hardware imported into the United States and illustrate how merchant-cabinetmaker connections functioned in the hardware trade. Watts records bills of exchange,

complicated international shipping arrangements, shipping cargo code marks, and advertising and custom house payments. His papers reveal frequent business and personal correspondence to and from Liverpool, Glasgow, London, Edinburgh, and Charleston. Clearly, the challenge of importing goods in the early 19th century was too large for most individual cabinetmakers to undertake simply for the motivation of filling their hardware needs. As Watts' roster of clients shows, the majority of cabinetmakers probably did not import hardware themselves but relied upon local hardware merchants instead. Only very successful cabinetmakers like Watts were able to venture into trading and importing as a way to make more money and gain increased occupational status as a merchant rather than a craftsman.

Although not as extensive as Charles Watts' documents, the day book of William Greenough of Boston records similar transactions in hardware from August 25, 1820 to October 23, 1821.³⁴ Greenough's listings in the Boston directory read "Greenough, William, hardware, 10 Dock Square" from 1816 until 1826 when he changed addresses and briefly entered a partnership with John Gardiner. His business continued until 1840 when it became "Greenough, William & Co. (W. W. Greenough) hardware 14 Merchants row," probably a partnership with

his son. Greenough sold hardware and "ornaments" to many Boston cabinetmakers, including Emmons and Archibald, Isaac Vose & Son, Timothy Hunt & Co., Solomon Loud, Samuel Beals, Nathaniel Bryant. In addition, Greenough sold and exchanged goods with other Boston hardware merchants. The full names and occupation of these clients are revealed in city directories: Samuel Cook, Thomas Cordis, [Stephen] Fairbanks & [Henry] Loring, Joseph Goddard, [John] Leverett [Jr.] & [Milton] Johnson, Montgomery Newell, Jeffrey & James B. Richardson, and [Josiah] Salisbury & [Aaron P.] Cleveland.

Greenough's accounts offer two clues suggesting that his hardware was imported from Birmingham, England. Greenough paid a number of bills converted from British Sterling. One example is "Redout Lewis & Barney C^r for amount of Invoice for Meteor dated June 20th amtg to £155.5.2 Stg \$690.04." Greenough references the firm Redout Lewis & Barney three other times in three different spellings. The same firm's name appears with a complete address in the account book of George Newbold (d.1858), a New York City ironmonger, merchant, and banker. Newbold's entry reads "Ridout Lewis & Barney Birmingham/Ges Lewis & Co Little Knight Riden Street London."³⁵ Another intriguing payment is made by Greenough to "Lee & Francis By Amount of Invoice dated 12th February received pr.

Herald amounting to £243.1.1 Stg \$1,080.24."

Interestingly, a firm named "Francis and Lee, merchants, 15, Long reve - Street" is listed in the 1825 Birmingham directory.³⁶ Greenough frequently references ship names, such as the Meteor and Herald, in his book and seems to have recorded one cargo shipping code, the block letters "CW."

Greenough's payments to other creditors in dollars probably indicate financing provided by American traders. Some of these creditors' names can be found in Boston directories. "S. J. North" might be Stephen North, a trader listed in the Boston directory of 1821. "Lincoln & Todd" are probably "Lincoln, (Henry) & Tidd (William D.) merchants."³⁷ On many occasions, Lincoln and Todd advanced Greenough money through notes and certificates.

Interestingly, Greenough never uses the word "French" and does not include trade catalogue numbers. Unfortunately, he does not specify the kind of ornaments he sold; we cannot determine whether they were stamped or cast. Items he commonly sold include: paw castors, bed screws, bed caps, commode knobs, escutcheons, table fasteners, brass wire, flush bolts, astragal molding, bed keys, hinges, screws, tacks, brass balls, quadrants, locks, cloak pins, and clock balls. One especially intriguing entry records "brass beading (damaged)" sold to

Thomas Emmons. In conjunction with the present project, it is interesting to speculate whether Greenough could have sold hardware to Henry Kellam Hancock at an earlier or later date and whether Greenough might have sold the hardware listed in Thomas Emmons 1825 inventory.

Aside from purchasing goods sold by import merchants like Greenough and Watts, a group of auction catalogues at the Essex Institute illustrate another way cabinetmakers and merchants could obtain hardware. Various Boston and New York City auction houses published the Essex Institute catalogues from 1818 to 1838. The volumes seem to have come to the Institute, together with a group of trade catalogues, from the collection of Robert Peele, Jr., a Salem hardware merchant.³⁸ In his book, The Development of the Organisation of Anglo-American Trade 1800-1850, Norman Sydney Buck states that the number of auctions increased after 1814.³⁹ After the War of 1812 and the end of American embargoes against trade with Britain, Buck claims that radical changes in the marketing system occurred. British manufacturers sent their surplus stock accumulated during the war to the United States. This led to a more speculative market, not based on orders placed by importers but on the manufacturers' production capacity. A larger number of goods were delivered in bulk to port cities and immediately sold at auction.

Obviously, the political events surrounding the War of 1812 and their aftermath must have had an impact on the importation and sale of cabinet hardware. The trade in ceramics for this period has been investigated more thoroughly; further research into the hardware trade could benefit from using this scholarship as a model.⁴⁰

After considering case studies of how Watts, Greenough, and Peele obtained imported hardware in New York and Massachusetts, a clearer picture emerges of the way manufacturers, shipping agents, merchants, trade catalogues, and cabinetmakers came together in the hardware trade. These documents provide informative background material relevant to understanding the statements Lannuier and Brauwers made in the advertisement and label, discussed at the beginning of this chapter. Through Watts and Greenough, we gain insight into the efforts required to import metal goods. Taken collectively, pieces of information supplied by these documents combine with the trade catalogues discussed in chapter one to provide a greater understanding of how the hardware and ornaments found on early 19th-century American furniture came to be there.

If trade catalogues were a medium through which hardware was imported from England, how do Lannuier and Brauwers' "documented" French mounts compare with trade

catalogue patterns? The mounts on Brauwers' card tables were not found in any trade catalogues consulted for this study. This absence of connections with English patterns tends to uphold the French attribution of Brauwers' hardware.

Surprisingly, however, patterns related or identical to many of Lannuier's mounts appeared in English trade catalogues quite frequently. The meaning of connections found between Lannuier's "French" mounts and trade catalogue patterns remains uncertain. These connections emphasize the complexity involved in interpreting trade catalogues and relationships found between trade catalogue patterns and metalwork. Rather than attempting to simplify this complexity by making generalized attributions, the following discussions of trade catalogue connections will instead place the many circuitous possibilities at the forefront. The complicated task of attributing furniture hardware highlights the complexity and breadth of the story hardware can tell.

Two labeled Lannuier pier tables at the Metropolitan Museum have center mounts depicting Apollo in a chariot being pulled across the clouds by four bees (see figures 4, 5, and 6). A pattern for this mount appears in a trade catalogue at the Victoria and Albert Museum which

carries the inscription, "R. Smith & Co., Birm, 1822," and is watermarked, "1822" (see figure 7).⁴¹ In the absence of other factors, the connection between this mount and trade catalogue pattern might be interpreted as evidence for an English attribution.

However, matters are complicated by Lannuier's statement regarding French hardware in his advertisement and his French background, the 1822 watermark and inscription in the trade catalogue, Lorraine Waxman's discovery that the same Apollo mount appears on a French table in the Louvre, and the presence of a similar mount in the Cooper-Hewitt Collection with a French provenance.⁴² The first problem is that the trade catalogue is dated after Lannuier's death in 1819. This difficulty could be explained away, however, by the fact that patterns in English trade catalogues are often found to repeat in different volumes and at different dates.⁴³ The 1822 Apollo pattern may have been in circulation for an indeterminate amount of time and could well have appeared in earlier catalogues. Arguing from the opposite point of view, if Lannuier's mounts and the other Apollos prove to be French, the presence of this 1822 pattern in an English trade catalogue could be interpreted as one instance of an English manufacturer copying French metalwork. Perhaps one Apollo mount found its way to

England and was copied by an English brass founder for this 1822 trade catalogue.⁴⁴

Some scholars might argue that the English pattern probably would not have been produced in the same quality of metalwork seen in Lannuier's Apollo mount and the other known examples. Lannuier's two Apollo mounts and the Cooper-Hewitt mount visually appear to have been gilt.⁴⁵ Nicholas Goodison points out that no references to gilding are made in English trade catalogues and he states that English furniture mounts were only rarely gilt.⁴⁶ Goodison's points might be interpreted simplistically to support an argument that the presence of gilding indicates French manufacture.

The present author believes that, in general, furniture scholarship of the past has regarded fine gilt metalwork as French-made while assuming English work was mostly inferior in quality. No business documents survive to prove that English brass foundries were indeed producing gilt furniture mounts. However, the absence of documents and lack of trade catalogue references to gilding do not prove that the English manufacturers were not producing metalwork of this quality. Indeed, some findings presented in this study indicate that the English may well have been producing gilt hardware for export to the United States.⁴⁷ The case study of the Apollo

mounts highlights the present author's contention that judgements based on evaluation of quality cannot prove valid until a larger body of mounts are connected with English trade catalogues or manufacturers with some certainty.

Two more mounts used by Lannuier relate to trade catalogue patterns.⁴⁸ A pier table stamped with Lannuier's mark displays side mounts of two female figures personifying Autumn and Summer (see figure 8). The English trade catalogue that contains the Apollo pattern also has a design for a mount depicting the personification of Autumn (see figure 9). Again, the meaning of the connection between Lannuier's mount and the English pattern is unclear; the conflicting arguments made in analysis of the Apollo mount must also apply here.

The case of the Autumn and Summer mounts is made even more complicated, however, by the existence of an anonymous German trade catalogue with an American history of ownership.⁴⁹ The German catalogue contains patterns for mounts of the Seasons and Continents (see figure 10). The Lannuier Autumn and Summer mounts correspond with these patterns, and the German pattern of Autumn is very close to the same pattern in the Victoria and Albert trade catalogue. In the absence of either trade catalogue, the connection between Lannuier's Autumn and Summer mounts and

the individual trade catalogue patterns might be interpreted as evidence for either an English or a German attribution. This quandary again points to the complexity involved in using trade catalogues to make attributions.

Donald L. Fennimore used this German trade catalogue to attribute six mounts on two New York side tables at Winterthur to Iserlohn, Germany, the attributed origin of the trade catalogue (see figure 11).⁵⁰ Interestingly, the Summer and Autumn mounts on the Winterthur tables are similar to Lannuier's mounts. The six Winterthur mounts have the initials "GA" cast into their versos. The relationship between the Winterthur and Lannuier Autumn and Summer mounts needs to be explored further through in-depth object studies, but the mounts attributed to Germany seem to be of lesser quality than Lannuier's. The Winterthur mounts have thinner gilding and are not as finely worked.⁵¹

No conclusions about the quality and attributions of these two sets of Autumn and Summer mounts can be offered here, but it should be pointed out that the relationship between the two sets of mounts reveals valuable information for the study of hardware. First of all, the two sets of mounts demonstrate that designs circulated widely between different manufacturers. If the Lannuier mounts are indeed French, other French examples

like them may have been copied by an English manufacturer, thus explaining the presence of the Victoria and Albert trade catalogue design. The mounts and/or the designs may then have been interpreted by the German manufacturer at a later date. The Victoria and Albert trade catalogue is watermarked 1822 and contains the inscription, "R. Smith & Co., Birm, 1822." Fennimore dates the German trade catalogue to 1820-1840.

The complexity involved in this chain of influence and design transmission underscores the point that trade catalogue connections must be interpreted with extreme caution. A pattern for a mount appearing in a given trade catalogue does not automatically indicate that the corresponding mount came from that catalogue, or even originated in the country the catalogue represents. As stated in Chapter 1, differences in sizes, subtle variations between designs, quality of gilding, and many other factors must be carefully analyzed.

Two further examples of connections between trade catalogue patterns and furniture mounts used by cabinetmakers in America support the argument for English manufacturers copying French metalwork. The correspondences between these mounts and trade catalogues are not enough to make English attributions. However, the evidence still holds meaning for hardware studies.

A labeled Joseph Barry pier table at the Metropolitan has a swan mount that resembles three patterns found in three different English trade catalogues, one at the Metropolitan and two at the Victoria and Albert (see figures 12 and 13).⁵² The patterns in the three trade catalogues are identical. Although each pattern clearly relates to Barry's mount, the metalwork does not match the patterns exactly. The basic design of two swans facing each other and drinking from a fountain is the same, but small details vary. For example, the trade catalogue patterns show swans with more rounded wings and fuller legs, leaves with different veining, and two spiral flourishes ending in an acorn rather than a leaf.

Watermarks and inscriptions found in the three catalogues assign a date range for the swan patterns and attribute their origin to Birmingham, England. The Metropolitan's catalogue contains a watermark of 1813. This catalogue and one of the two Victoria and Albert catalogues (M61e) contain nearly identical indexes, each bearing an inscription, "Bock fc^t Birm^m." This rare evidence definitively links the two catalogues to Birmingham. The inscribed Victoria and Albert catalogue contains no watermarks but the second Victoria and Albert catalogue (M65L) is watermarked 1817.

Again, the meaning of the relationship between Barry's swan mount and the trade catalogue patterns is unclear. Given the subtle differences between Barry's mount and the patterns, it seems unlikely that the metalwork is directly related to these particular catalogues. However, this relationship still yields valuable information for the study of hardware. The differences between Barry's swan mount and the trade catalogue patterns may be evidence of one manufacturer copying the design from another, subtly changing different details in order to make the design his own. The Metropolitan and Victoria and Albert patterns may have been copied from designs of another English manufacture, or they could have been adapted from French sources. If Barry's swan mount is French, these Birmingham trade catalogue connections would constitute one example of an English manufacturer copying and slightly altering a French design.⁵³

Two side ornaments, one depicting a boy and the other a girl, mounted on a pier table (1831-33) attributed to Antoine-Gabriel Quervelle match patterns in two different English trade catalogues (see figures 9, 14, and 15).⁵⁴ A trade catalogue in the Essex Institute contains a pattern for the mount of a boy, wearing a hat and accompanied by a dog. A Victoria and Albert trade

catalogue contains designs for both the boy and the girl, shown on the same page. Although the trade catalogue comparisons were made through photographs rather than through direct observation of the mounts themselves, the existence of these patterns lends compelling evidence for an English attribution of the two mounts.

The attribution is again made more complicated, however, by the appearance of similar mounts on two French-made secretaries at the Strasbourg Museum.⁵⁵ In light of this evidence, a French attribution might be considered appropriate. Nevertheless, we cannot rule out the possibility that the mounts on even documented French furniture might still be English-made. English manufacturers may have exported metalwork to France and French cabinetmakers could have purchased imported hardware for their furniture, just as their counterparts did in America.

In his article, "The furniture of Anthony G. Quervelle, Part I: The pier tables," Robert C. Smith attributes the mounts on this attributed Quervelle pier table to France: "The gilt-brass mounts, probably French, are rare because they represent children wearing contemporary rather than classical clothing. Like other mounts on Quervelle's furniture they partially overlap framing fillets of brass inlaid in the wood."⁵⁶ Smith's

statement is typical of many furniture hardware attributions in print that offer no supporting evidence. It should be noted that "Fillets of brass" are widely available in English trade catalogues.

The relationship of the Lannuier, Barry, and attributed Quervelle mounts with trade catalogue patterns draws attention to the complexity involved in interpreting trade catalogues as evidence. If a French origin could be proved for Lannuier, Barry, and Quervelle's mounts, the existence of related patterns in English trade catalogues would demonstrate that English manufacturers were copying French designs and marketing them to foreign and/or local consumers. This would indicate that Matthew Boulton's tradition of export marketing and capitalizing on French design continued into the 19th century. If so, these trade catalogues would present one manifestation of the cultural and economic relationship between England and France. Further study of French metalwork, English trade catalogues, and mounts on American-made furniture, could characterize ways in which the relationship between France and England impacted American furniture and American consumers.

Evidence uncovered for this study suggests that American cabinetmakers obtained their hardware from a variety of different sources. The circumstances

surrounding a cabinetmaker's purchase of hardware in all likelihood represent more complex factors than a single allegiance to French, English, or German sources.

Even the Frenchman Lannuier may have had occasion to use English hardware. A brass table catch on a labeled Lannuier dining table at Winterthur bears the incuse number, "3513."⁵⁷ Although this number could not be linked directly to a pattern matching Lannuier's catch, devices of this design are commonly found in English trade catalogues and the number "3513" is similar to many four-digit trade catalogue numbers seen over the course of this project. As no French trade catalogues containing four-digit numbers and no documented French hardware containing stamped numbers of this sort is known to the present author, it seems reasonable to attribute Lannuier's table catch to an English origin. Lannuier's ornaments may well have been exclusively French imports but he might have had occasion to purchase more utilitarian hardware, such as this table catch, on demand from a local merchant selling English imports, a merchant not unlike Charles Watts.

Michael Allison seems to have used both English and French hardware on his furniture. The account book of Charles Watts shows Allison purchasing English hardware on more than one occasion.⁵⁸ An Allison pier table in the Winterthur collection contains column capitals and bases,

a star border, a guilloche border, and stringing that Donald Fennimore has attributed to Birmingham through trade catalogues connections. However, Fennimore attributes the center mount of this same table to France.⁵⁹ The present author has found Allison's center mount in photos of a French-made secretary in the Strasbourg Museum.⁶⁰ The existence of this similar mount on French furniture seems to support the French attribution for Allison's mount. Nevertheless, a small possibility still exists that this mount could have been English-made and exported to France.

Charles Watts' accounts also show that Duncan Phyfe purchased English hardware. In other instances, however, Phyfe seems to have used elaborate French-style ornaments. For example, a Phyfe bed listed in Montgomery Livingston's 1813 bill of sale contains a large floral center mount, four side medallions, and capitals and bases.⁶¹ An 1816 card table Phyfe made for James Lefferts Brinckerhoff bears a mount depicting crossed rose branches. This mount also appears on labeled and attributed examples of Lannuier's furniture. As Jeanne Vibert Sloane describes, "The supposition is that both cabinetmakers patronized the same retailer of [metal mounts]."⁶²

These instances showing Allison, Phyfe, and Lannuier combining French and English hardware suggest the complexity behind the story of furniture hardware. Simply pigeonholing individual cabinetmakers as patrons of exclusively French, English, or German sources obscures a larger context. Clearly, different circumstances may have called for different purchasing patterns. In addition to using imported metalwork, some American cabinetmakers may have had occasion to buy certain types of American-made hardware from a local brass founder. American cabinetmakers' hardware purchasing patterns hold significant data for furniture studies, as well as other subjects in 19th century history.

Tracing the occurrence of similar mounts on different pieces of furniture made by different cabinetmakers emphasizes that more than one cabinetmaker could obtain mounts from the same source. As shown by the day book of Boston hardware merchant William Greenough, many cabinet makers could buy hardware from the same merchant. The appearance of the same firm name in the books of Greenough and George Newbold in New York City demonstrates that merchants from different cities (and perhaps even different countries) could buy hardware from the same factors or manufacturers. Repetition of the same patterns in different trade catalogues make the widespread

availability of designs apparent.⁶³ Research for this project detected many examples of similar or identical mounts appearing on French, New York, Boston, and Philadelphia furniture. Recurring mounts provide valuable information for furniture scholarship and a few scholars have begun to incorporate this data into their research.

In Furniture in Maryland 1740-1940, Gregory T. Weidman discusses an eleven-piece parlor suite attributed to Charles-Honoré Lannuier. The arm and side chairs in this suite bear a metal mount depicting crossed rose branches. The same mount appears on a labeled card table that Lannuier made for Stephen Van Rensselaer of Albany. Weidman emphasizes the similar mounts as one of seven factors supporting attribution of the Maryland furniture. While Weidman's attribution is probably accurate, it is interesting to recall that the same mount of crossed rose branches appears on the Duncan Phyfe card table discussed above.⁶⁴

J. Michael Flanigan discusses metalwork in conjunction with furniture attributions in American Furniture from the Kaufman Collection. He analyzes brass inlay on a desk and bookcase and a pair of klismos-type side chairs, relating them to a group of Philadelphia case pieces with similar inlay decoration. Flanigan notes that this brass inlay group has been associated with Joseph

Barry on the basis of his 1824 newspaper advertisement mentioning "2 Rich sideboards Buhl work and richly carved."⁶⁵

In another entry, Flanigan addresses the ornamental mounts on a Philadelphia card table and discusses of a group of related card tables with similar brasses and mounts. Interestingly, Flanigan does not mention that the center mounts on these card tables resemble the mounts on the Lannuier chairs discussed by Weidman and the Phyfe table discussed by Sloane. This group of mounts appear very similar when compared through photographs.

Henry Hawley considers the same group of Philadelphia card tables in his article, "Philadelphia Tables with Lyre Supports" in The Bulletin of The Cleveland Museum of Art.⁶⁶ He notes the connection between the Lannuier mount and the example on the Philadelphia tables, and makes additional connections between other metalwork ornamenting these tables and similar examples appearing on other furniture. In addition, Hawley traces many of the Philadelphia card tables' mounts to designs in trade catalogues in the Winterthur collection.

Hawley's article is the most comprehensive work combining furniture scholarship and hardware study

discovered during the course of this project. Some research on the Victoria and Albert trade catalogues done by this author contradicts a few of Hawley's points.⁶⁷ However, his article serves as a model for future studies in this area. Research for the present paper was conducted in hopes of supplying more information to facilitate additional studies like Hawley's.

Hawley, Flanigan, and Weidman each demonstrate ways in which studying hardware can augment furniture attributions. Furniture scholarship that does not address hardware or simply reports that the "ormolu mounts" were "probably imported from France" may be obscuring a story of greater interest and significance. Specific studies of hardware that question the meaning of "ormolu" and investigate the exact nature of materials used in manufacture unveil another avenue for understanding both metalwork and ornamented furniture. Questioning how hardware was imported and exploring each phase of an object's life history leads outward to larger historical contexts of manufacturing, international trade, marketing, and merchandising.

Even though limited evidence exists to determine the origins of many examples of furniture hardware, valuable information can be gained by devoting attention to these small pieces of metalwork. Connections between

hardware and trade catalogue patterns may not offer definitive proof, but establishing relationships between trade catalogues and actual metalwork objects provides insights regarding both media. Trade catalogues offer more information about date ranges and period nomenclature for hardware while the objects can help define the quality of metalwork trade catalogues offered. Further research might clarify the meaning of the trade catalogue connections presented in this paper by uncovering additional examples of metalwork or similar patterns.

Trade catalogue designs and the marketing of hardware reveal an interesting chain of influence between France, England, Germany, and America that fits into the broader context of 19th-century cultural exchange. The imported hardware on early 19th-century American furniture is one manifestation of the relationships between these cultures. As scholars continue to investigate the cultural, social, economic, and political issues of the 19th century, some may wish to include reference to material culture in their investigations. This author hopes that they will include a consideration of furniture hardware in their research.

NOTES

¹New York Evening Post, July 15, 1803. On microfilm at the New York Public Library.

²For examples of Lannuier's ornamental hardware and a full discussion of his work, see Lorraine Waxman, "French Influence on American Decorative Arts of the Early Nineteenth Century: The Work of Charles-Honoré Lannuier," unpublished master's thesis, University of Delaware, June 1958.

³These tables date to ca. 1814. One of the pair is now in the Winterthur collection (accession number 62.237) and the other is held privately. For the second table and an interpretation of Brauwers' label, see Benjamin Ginsburg, "Bronze mounts and a new label," The Magazine Antiques (April 1963), p. 459. Donald L. Fennimore dates Brauwers' peacock mount to 1800-1814 in "Brass Hardware on American Furniture, Part I: Cast Hardware, 1700-1850," The Magazine Antiques (May 1991), p. 948. See also Donald L. Fennimore, Copper and Its Alloys in Early America: A Catalogue of Copper, Brass, Bronze, and Paktong Artifacts Selected from the Winterthur Museum Collection, manuscript in progress for forthcoming publication.

Brauwers' peacock mount was NOT found in any trade catalogues studied for this project, but a similar mount appears on an Austrian global work table pictured in Charles Venable, "Philadelphia Biedermeier: Germanic Craftsmen and Design in Philadelphia, 1820-1850," unpublished master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1986. Venable reproduced the photograph from Georg Himmelheber, Biedermeiermöbel (Düsseldorf: Vogel, 1978), p. 105, plate 37.

⁴Berry B. Tracey, Classical America 1815-1845 (Newark, New Jersey: The Newark Museum, 1963), p. 75, cat. no. 16. The suggestion that Brauwers' label has a wider application is made in the introductory essay, "The Decorative Arts: Furniture," p.29. Here it is said that

Brauwers' label "hence documents the importation of French metal mounts at least to New York."

⁵Penelope Hunter-Stiebel, Elements of Style: The Art of the Bronze Mount in 18th and 19th Century France, exhibition catalogue (New York: Rosenberg and Stiebel, 1984), p. 52 quoting from Denise Ledoux-Lebard, Les Ebénistes Parisiens, 1795-1870 (Paris: De Nobele, 1965), p. 251. Hunter-Stiebel's catalogue contains a good survey and summary of the French tradition in metalworking. See also: Denis Diderot, Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers par une société de gens de lettres (Paris: 1751-1777); Svend Ericksen, Early Neo-Classicism in France (London: Faber & Faber, 1974), pp. 95-96, 271 ff; Peter Johnson, "Ormolu, as Applied to Furniture," Art & Antiques (April 20, 1974), pp. 24-26; Alan Rubin, "Ormolu Mounts and Objects D'Art," Discovering Antiques Issue 34 (1981), pp. 812-816; and F. J. B. Watson, "Puzzles and Problems in French Furniture Mounts," Apollo (March 1972), pp. 196-200.

⁶Jacques Robiquet, Vie et Oeuvre de Pierre Gouthière (Paris: Société de Propagation des Livres d'Art, 1920-1921) and Juliette Niclausse, Thomire: Fondateur-Ciseleur (1751-1843) (Paris: Librairie Gründ, 1947). Alfred de Champeaux began a Dictionnaire des Fondateurs, Ciseleurs, Modeleurs en Bronze et Doreurs depuis le Moyen Age jusqu'à l'époque actuelle (Paris and London, 1886) but only completed the sections A through C. This volume sounds intriguing, but was not consulted for the present project. Currently, 18th-century French hardware has received more scholarly attention than that produced in the 19th century. It should be noted here that the Victoria and Albert Museum plans to hold an exhibition devoted to 18th-century furniture metalwork in September 1993.

⁷See Chapter 1, endnote 2.

⁸The Cooper-Hewitt Museum contains a large group of unattached furniture mounts. Their collections were not available for study during the course of this project. Most of the mounts have not been photographed or catalogued but some information is published by James I. Rambo, "Some Gilt Bronze Furniture Mounts in The Cooper Union Museum," Chronicle of The Museum for the Arts of Decoration of the Cooper Union vol. 2, no. 2 (June 1950), pp. 36-55. Further investigation of the Cooper-Hewitt's collection and its provenance might provide one way to study documented French furniture hardware and attribute French origins to examples similar to those with a firm

French provenance. Part of the Cooper-Hewitt's holdings were obtained from M. Léon Decloux (1840-1929), a Parisian architect who seems to have specialized in collecting 18th-century French metalwork. The Museum also has a group of mounts from the cabinetmaking shop of John Hewitt (see endnote 34) and a collection donated by Jacob H. Schiff.

Two other infrequently used but potentially informative resources regarding imported hardware are: shipping records held by the National Archives in Washington, D. C. and New York City Customs House papers at the New-York Historical Society.

⁹Hunter-Stiebel's Elements of Style, op. cit., was among the first sources consulted for this project; perhaps the present paper can testify to the fact that Rosenberg and Stiebel's publication is accomplishing their goal of spurring interest in the field. See also Penelope Hunter-Stiebel, "Exalted hardware, the bronze mounts of French furniture, Part I: Baroque, regence, and rococo" The Magazine Antiques (January 1985), pp. 235-244 and "Part II: Early neoclassicism, Louis XVI, and Empire" (February 1985), pp. 454-463.

¹⁰Pierre Verlet, Les Bronzes Dorés Français du XVIII^e siècle (Paris: Grands Manuels Picard, 1987). Verlet's success at discovering metalworker's names in French archives indicate that his results might be duplicated by a researcher focusing on the 19th century.

¹¹Nicholas Goodison, Ormolu: The Work of Matthew Boulton (London: Phaidon Press, 1974).

¹²Ibid., p. vii and p. 23.

¹³Ibid., p. vii and p. 63.

¹⁴John Hayward, "English Ormolu of the Eighteenth Century," The Magazine Antiques (December 1956), pp. 558-561, quoting Denis Diderot, Dictionnaire des Sciences, Vol. XI (Paris, 1765). See also Goodison, Matthew Boulton, p. vii.

¹⁵The Oxford English Dictionary lists four period uses of "ormolu" seeming to indicate that the word was more commonly used in reference to objects or freestanding ornaments, as opposed to metalwork mounted on furniture. This was probably the way Matthew Boulton used the term, especially in light of Goodison's discovery that furniture mounts were only a small part of his business.

¹⁶See discussion below of the inventories of Thomas Emmons, John Hancock & Co., Duncan Phyfe, and Charles-Honoré Lannuier and the account books of Charles Watts and William Greenough.

¹⁷These comments apply specifically to antiques dealers and auction houses who are by nature more interested in appealing to the demands of the current market than debunking longstanding myths.

¹⁸Suffolk County Probate Records, Suffolk County Probate Court, Boston (No. 27606, May 23, 1825), on microfilm in the Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, M-162. Reference to this inventory was published by Page Talbott, "The Furniture Trade in Boston, 1810-1835," The Magazine Antiques (May 1992), p. 849.

¹⁹See pp. 70-73 for a discussion of William Greenough and his account book.

²⁰*Ibid.*, and Boston Daily Advertiser, (Boston, Mass., 1825).

²¹"Inventory of John Hancock & Co. Stock Philad. 1835." The author would like to thank Wendy Cooper for sharing this inventory, courtesy of David H. Conradsen. John Hancock was the youngest brother of Henry Kellam Hancock (see chapter 3). For more information on John Hancock & Co., see David H. Conradsen, "Upholstery in Philadelphia: 1790-1840," master's thesis in progress, University of Delaware, 1992.

²²Only one early 19th-century French trade catalogue was discovered during the research for this project. Most surviving trade catalogues with this type of numbering system seem to be English, not French. See the discussion of trade catalogues in chapter one and end note 2.

²³Inventory of Duncan Phyfe, September 8, 1854, The Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, and published in Nancy McClelland, Duncan Phyfe and The English Regency 1795-1830 (New York: William R. Scott, Inc., 1939), pp. 332-339.

²⁴Extensive Auction Sale of Splendid and Valuable Furniture on Tuesday & Wednesday, April 16, & 17, [1847],...at the Furniture Ware Rooms of Messrs. Duncan Phyfe & Son, New York: Haliday & Jenkins, [1847]. The

Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, shelf no. 55.510, coll. 61, box 18.

²⁵Inventory of Charles-Honoré Lannuier, October 23, 1819. The Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, shelf no. 54.37.31.

²⁶Lannuier's Evening Post advertisement, 1803, op. cit. For a fuller discussion of Americans' fascination with France, see Lorraine Waxman, "French Influence on American Decorative Arts," op. cit.

²⁷Charles Watts Cash Book (1810-1811) and Account Books (1802-1815), The Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, shelf nos. 81x15 and 69x212.1-.6; Watts and Jones Families' Correspondence and Papers (ca. 1800-1850), The New-York Historical Society, Guide to the Manuscript Collections No. 1549; William Greenough Day Book (August 25, 1820 to October 23, 1821), The Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, shelf no. 73x290. The author would like to thank Page Talbott for calling Greenough's account book to her attention.

²⁸This and all other background information on Charles Watts during his Charleston period and his relationships with other Charleston cabinetmakers was taken from E. Milby Burton, Charleston Furniture 1700-1825 (Charleston, S.C.: The Charleston Museum, 1955), p.125-128.

²⁹Watts' account books make clear that his association with Robert Walker continued. The New-York Historical Society holds many letters from Walker, including a few large orders. See the letter of August 1809 in particular. On one occasion Walker sends back that which he cannot sell (letter of May 1810). In addition, Walker was the "Attorney for Charles Watts" who settled his estate and inventory. Burton, op. cit., reports that two of Walker's labels survive, the only known examples from a Charleston cabinetmaker (as of 1955). One label, mounted on a clothes press, mentions Charles Watts: "ROBERT WALKER/(LATE WATTS AND WALKER)/CABINET-MAKER,/No. 39, CHURCH-STREET, CHARLESTON;/Has, at all time, on hand, a large and handsome/Assortment of every Article in his Line./Orders from the Country speedily and carefully/executed in the neatest manner." Burton notes that Robert Walker's inventory totaled over \$37,000.

Burton relates that Robert Walker's tombstone states he was born on January 24, 1772, at Cupar in Fifeshire, Scotland. Burton records Walker's association with another Scottish cabinetmaker, Thomas Wallace; Walker was appointed guardian of Wallace's children. Burton's information that Walker, "being a good Scotsman," held membership in the St. Andrew's society might also apply to Watts; Watts' account book records payments to the same society. Burton reports that Walker advertised "Mahogany Boards, Plank Veneers, Sattin Wood, Holly..." in 1810. This lumber was probably obtained through his ongoing association with Watts.

³⁰Third Census of the United States, 1810, Population Schedules, New York, New York City (National Archives, Washington, D. C.) microfilm roll 32, vol. 7.

³¹Watts' New York customers include cabinetmakers Michael Allison, Peter Allison, Elbert Anderson, Jacob Brower, William Dove, William Mandeville, John T. Dolan, and Duncan Phyfe. Merchants referenced in his accounts include Henry Floyd Jones and Charles Middell in New York and Mr. Jo. Macadam & Co. and John Waslett in Charleston. Charleston customers include cabinetmakers John Gross, John McIntosh, P. Moore, J. Neville, and [Thomas] Wallace.

³²See Benjamin Ginsburg, "Bronze mounts and a new label," op. cit. and Brauwers' file in the Winterthur Museum's Decorative Arts Photographic Collection.

³³Items in this inventory include screws, nails, table and quadrant hinges, tacks, casters, commode knobs, drawer knobs, bed screws, escutcheons, locks, bed caps, and bed keys. Also of interest to furniture scholars is Watts' entry regarding an "Adventure [in] Hair Seating" of 1809.

³⁴Greenough, op. cit. Four other potentially interesting account books that were not consulted during the time constraints of this project are catalogued as including hardware: Humes & Rogers, day book, 1811-1815; Samuel Harvey, papers, 1771-1848; and James Stokes, business papers, 1783-1828, all at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; and Frederick and Philip Rhineland, letterbook, 1774-1783, New-York Historical Society, Guide to the Manuscript Collections, no. 1590. The Rhineland letterbook is catalogued as containing correspondence to William & Alexander Walker & Co., Birmingham; further investigation might reveal whether

this firm is the same as the William Walker & Co. trade catalogue held at the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

Cabinetmaker John Hewitt also apparently sold hardware during one period of his career. For information on him, see Marilyn Johnson, "John Hewitt, Cabinetmaker," Winterthur Portfolio vol. 4 (1968), pp. 186-205; Carpenter's Record Book, 1801-1812, v. 1 [attributed to John Hewitt by Marilyn Johnson], New Jersey Historical Society and on microfilm in the Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, M-491; and Allan Nevins, Abram S. Hewitt, With Some Account of Peter Cooper (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1935).

³⁵George Newbold Correspondence and Papers (1801-1858), The New-York Historical Society, Guide to the Manuscript Collections no. 1590. These papers also contain references to the Birmingham firms Robert Perry, Thomas Potts, Wallis & Lloyd, and William and Thomas Cotterill.

³⁶Wrights Directory of Birmingham, 1825, The Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, microfilm no. M-1365.

³⁷"Tidd" seems to have been a typographical error unique to the 1821 edition of the Boston Directory.

³⁸Peabody & Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts, call nos. 739.4 M67 vols. 1-12, on microfilm in the Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, no. M-2019, reel 7. The provenance of the Essex collection of auction and trade catalogues provides important documentation about the way hardware merchants conducted their business relationships and import trade. The volumes were passed down through three generations of hardware merchants in Salem, starting with Samuel Curwen (1715-1802) (Donald L. Fennimore, personal communication, October 1992). Mary E. Fabiszewski, the Essex Museum Library Cataloguer, believes that the other two merchants owning the catalogues were most likely Robert Peele, Jr. (1767-1842), and Robert Peele, 3d (?-1874?).

Fabiszewski found that the will of Robert Peele, 3d, and his wife leaves "all old books, papers etc." to the Essex Institute. She speculates that this might be how the Institute acquired the collection, but could find no documentation of this provenance in the Institute's annual reports after the death of Mrs. Robert (Elizabeth) Peele, 3d in 1882. See correspondence in the author's files, December 14, 1992, and Samuel W. Woodhouse, Jr.,

"English Hardware for American Cabinetmakers," The Magazine Antiques (November 1931), pp. 287-289. Further investigation might document this provenance and provide more information about this rare case study of American hardware merchants.

³⁹Norman Sydney Buck, The Development of the Organisation of Anglo-American Trade 1800-1850, David & Charles Reprint of the 1925 ed. (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1969.) This book is the most valuable source explaining the methods, dealings, and origins of international trade that this author discovered during the course of this project. Time constraints, rather than the relevance of the information, did not allow the issues presented by Buck to be adequately investigated for the present paper. Future research in this area would certainly be beneficial and advisable. See also Glenn Porter and Harold C. Livesay, Merchants and Manufacturers: Studies in the Changing Structure of Nineteenth-Century Marketing (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1971).

The author would like to thank M. Jeff Hardwick for calling Buck's research to her attention and for sharing his unpublished B.A. (Honor's) thesis, "A Comparative Study of Staffordshire Ceramics of the Nineteenth Century in America and South Africa," University of California, Berkeley, December, 1989.

⁴⁰See, for example, George Miller, "George M. Coates, Pottery Merchant of Philadelphia, 1817-1831," Winterthur Portfolio v. 19, no. 1 (1984); Miller, Martin, and Dickinson, "Changing Consumption Patterns, English Ceramics and the American Market From 1770 to 1840," forthcoming publication as part of the 29th Winterthur Conference; Susan H. Myers, "Marketing American Pottery," Winterthur Portfolio, v. 19, no. 1 (1984); and Arlene Palmer Schwind, "The Ceramic Imports of Frederick Rhineland, New York Loyalist Merchant," Winterthur Portfolio, v. 19, no. 1 (1984).

⁴¹Lannuier pier tables, dated ca. 1815, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, accession nos. 53.181 and 68.43. Trade catalogue M65e, the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

⁴²Lorraine Waxman, "French Influence on American Decorative Arts," op. cit., plate XLII, p. 189, taken from Les Nouvelles Collections de l'Union Centrale des Arts Decoratifs au Musée du Louvre, Pavillon de Marsan Series 6, Suite de Metal, Plate 28, Courtesy of the New York Public Library.

The Cooper-Hewitt Apollo mount, accession number 1904-20-10, is identical to Lannuier's mount except for the fact that it has only two bees whereas Lannuier's mount has four. Because the Cooper-Hewitt mount was examined through an exhibition case, it could not be determined whether the mount was originally cast with only two bees or whether a break has occurred. For more information on the Cooper-Hewitt collection of furniture hardware and its provenance, see endnote 8.

⁴³See the case of Henry Kellam Hancock's bow-and-wreaths mount and frequent appearance of matching trade catalogue patterns, discussed in Chapter 3, pp. 126-7. 129-133.

⁴⁴The fact that five examples of this mount were discovered during the course of this project can perhaps be viewed as an indication of the ornament's popularity. These widespread appearances lend support to the argument that a French Apollo mount could have found its way to England where it was copied by an English founder. The five Apollo mounts known to this author are: the two on Lannuier's ca. 1815 pier tables at the Metropolitan, the Cooper-Hewitt example, the mount on the Louvre table, a mount on an unattributed looking glass at Clermont State Historic Site in Germantown, New York, and a mount on a Boston pier table at the Gore House, 281 Beacon Street.

The author is grateful to Elaine Rice for the information about the Clermont looking glass and to Page Talbott for her files on the Gore House pier table.

⁴⁵The author studied Lannuier's two Apollo mounts and the Cooper-Hewitt example while they were on display at the two institutions. The other examples were studied only through photographs.

⁴⁶Nicholas Goodison, "Metal-Work Pattern Books," op. cit., pp. 4-5.

⁴⁷In addition to the Apollo mounts which appear to be gilt and their relation to the Victoria and Albert trade catalogue, as well as the other mounts addressed in this chapter, see the discussion of Henry Kellam Hancock's gilt hardware, Chapter 3, pp. 111-114.

⁴⁸See the marked pier table illustrated in Sotheby's sale catalogue, November 17, 1980, lot 1354. The mounts correspond to a trade catalogue in the Victoria and Albert Museum (pressmark M65e) and a German metalwork trade catalogue, probably Iserlohn, 1820-1840, owned by the

Missouri Historical Society, Saint Louis, Missouri, and on microfilm in the Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, microfilm no. M-1417.

⁴⁹See endnote 48 above for information on the German catalogue.

⁵⁰Pair of New York rosewood stands, 1820-1835, Winterthur Museum, accession nos. 57.946.1,.2. Fennimore dates the "GA" mounts to 1825-35. See "Cast Hardware," The Magazine Antiques, op. cit. and "Copper and Its Alloys," manuscript in progress, op. cit.

⁵¹While these connections were included here to support an argument about the complexity involved in attributing hardware, it must be noted that the objects need to be studied more carefully; measurements could not be taken for all of the mounts, most of them were not examined off of the furniture, and none but the "GA" mounts have been scientifically tested for gilding and alloy content.

⁵²Joseph Barry pier table, 1810-1815, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession no. 1976.324. Metalwork trade catalogue, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession no. 1972.656.2. Metalwork trade catalogue, The Victoria and Albert Museum, pressmarks M61e and M65L.

⁵³One bit of evidence suggesting that Barry's mounts might be French is supplied by a mount depicting the head of Athena(?) in the Cooper-Hewitt collection. The Cooper-Hewitt mount has a French attribution and appears to be similar to the head of Athena(?) mount attached to the carved woodwork on the Metropolitan's pier table. The Cooper-Hewitt mount is known to the author only through photographs, but comparisons made between Barry's mount and the Cooper-Hewitt photograph suggest that the mounts are related.

⁵⁴The pier table attributed to Quervelle is in a private collection and was not located during the course of this project. The table is illustrated in Robert C. Smith, "The furniture of Anthony G. Quervelle, Part I: The pier tables," The Magazine Antiques (May 1973), figures 10 and 11, p. 991.

Patterns for the mounts appear in a trade catalogue in the Essex Institute, call number 739.4 S19.2 v. 13, inscribed "Brass Foundry J. S. & Son Book 1385 off Cast Brass - 20 p. ct. disct. off Stamped Brass - 32 1/2 disct. for prompt payment" and watermarked "J. Corbett"

for 1812, 1816, and 1817, on microfilm in the Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, no. M-2019, reel 5, and another in the Victoria and Albert Museum, press number M65e, watermarked "S E & C / 1822".

⁵⁵Illustrated in Léon de Groër, Decorative Arts in Europe, 1790-1850 (New York: Rizzoli, 1985), plates 169 and 194.

⁵⁶Robert C. Smith, "The Furniture of Anthony G. Quervelle," op. cit., p. 991.

⁵⁷Locking plate on an extension dining table, marked with stamp of Charles-Honoré Lannuier, 1810-1819, Winterthur Museum, accession no. 71.6d.

⁵⁸See discussion of Charles Watts above, pp. 67-70.

⁵⁹Donald L. Fennimore, Copper and Its Alloys, manuscript in progress, op. cit. Michael Allison pier table, 1816-1835, Winterthur Museum, accession no. 74.2.

⁶⁰Mahogany secretaire with metal mounts, Strasbourg Museum, Palais de Rohan, illustrated in Léon de Groër, Decorative Arts in Europe, 1790-1850 (New York: Rizzoli, 1985), plate 194.

⁶¹Phyfe bed from the Montgomery Livingston bill of sale, March 13, 1813, illustrated in Berry B. Tracey, Classical America 1815-1845 Exhibition Catalogue (Newark, New Jersey: The Newark Museum, 1963), no. 17, p. 42.

⁶²Jeanne Vibert Sloane, "A Duncan Phyfe bill and the furniture it documents," The Magazine Antiques, May 1987, p. 1109. For similar mounts used by Lannuier, see the labeled pair of card tables in New York Furniture Before 1840 (Albany: The Albany Institute of History and Art, 1962), p. 32, and a set of chairs attributed to Lannuier in Gregory R. Weidman, Furniture in Maryland, 1740-1940 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1984), catalogue nos. 61 and 62.

⁶³See the discussion in chapter three regarding patterns repeating in trade catalogues at the Victoria and Albert Museum, Essex Institute, and Winterthur Library.

⁶⁴Gregory T. Weidman, Furniture in Maryland, op. cit. See also Lorraine Waxman Pearce, "The Work of Charles-Honore Lannuier, French Cabinetmaker in New York,"

Maryland Historical Magazine vol. 55, no. 1 (March 1960), pp. 14-29.

⁶⁵J. Michael Flanigan, American Furniture from the Kaufman Collection (Washington, D. C.: National Gallery of Art, 1986), p. 220. See also Deborah Ducoff-Barone, "Design and Decoration on Early Nineteenth-Century American Furniture: A Case Study of a Philadelphia Secretary Bookcase," The Decorative Arts Society Newsletter vol. IX, no. 1 (March 1983), pp. 1-8 and Beatrice B. Garvan, Federal Philadelphia 1785-1825 The Athens of the Western World (Philadelphia: The Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1987), p. 75.

⁶⁶Henry Hawley, "Philadelphia Tables with Lyre Supports," The Bulletin of The Cleveland Museum of Art, vol. 75, no. 1 (January 1988), pp. 1-27. See also Beatrice B. Garvan, Federal Philadelphia, op. cit., pp. 34-35.

⁶⁷For example, on page 2 Hawley makes the statement that the stamped circular mount of "spirally arranged members terminating in small bosses" is "of such unusual design that it may indeed be of some help in defining a category of American furniture." The present author has found that patterns for this spiral mount appear quite frequently in trade catalogues at the Victoria and Albert Museum and in the German trade catalogue on microfilm at Winterthur. The prevalence of these patterns contradicts Hawley's assertion that the design is unusual. In addition, unknown to Hawley, patterns for the crossed rose branches and the cornucopias mounts appear in Victoria and Albert trade catalogues M65e and M65l.

Chapter Three

HARDWARE FROM THE WORKSHOP OF HENRY KELLAM HANCOCK

An unusual collection of hardware survives intact from the workshop of Boston cabinetmaker Henry Kellam Hancock (1788-1854) and provides a rare document for study of the hardware trade, furniture craftsmanship and the Empire style. The hardware passed down through Hancock's descendants, preserved in the original wrapping papers, until 1968 when Mrs. Sarah L. Smith, widow of Hancock's great-grandson, Edward Hunting Smith, donated a representative selection of 83 pieces to the American Wing at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. One of Mrs. Smith's descendants retains the largest portion of Hancock's hardware, together with the original wrapping papers, in a private collection.

Henry Kellam Hancock was born in 1788 in Roxbury, Suffolk County, Massachusetts and is listed in Boston city directories as a "cabinet and chair maker" from 1816 to 1854. He married Mary Ann Slack, daughter of cabinetmaker Samuel Slack, in Roxbury in 1829. Hancock was the oldest child in a family of at least three brothers associated

with cabinetmaking. His second brother, William (1794-1849?), is listed as an upholsterer in Boston intermittently from 1820 to 1849 and his youngest brother, John (1803-1835), worked as an upholsterer in Philadelphia. A number of labeled examples of William's Grecian couches and John's rocking chairs survive in various museum collections. The only furniture known to be made by Henry is privately owned by descendants. Of this group, ornamental hardware appears on only one example, a large mahogany bed with stamped rosettes. Interestingly, these rosettes do not appear in the hardware collection.¹

Three surviving documents, a will, codicil, and newspaper advertisement, offer information about Henry K. Hancock's life, his family connections, and his cabinet- and chairmaking business. In his will dated February 23, 1849 and codicil dated September 30, 1853, Hancock provided for his two heirs: his wife, Mary Ann Hancock, and his minor daughter, Hannah K. Hancock.² He left them a combined total of \$14,000, in care of his named trustee, Ellis Gray Loring, Esquire. This relatively large sum and the complexity of Hancock's ten-article will indicate the financial success he attained in his lifetime.

Hancock also mentions three of his eight siblings in his will. He gave Ann Bracket (b.1790) and Belcher

Hancock (b.1800) small legacies of \$250 each, but then revoked the sum in his codicil, "believing the circumstance of my said brother and sister to be improved." Apparently, Hancock engaged in business transactions and owned real estate in Northampton, Massachusetts with his brother, Ebenezer Hancock (b.1792). Henry left "all the claims and demands which I shall then have against the said Ebenezer; together with all the right, title, interest and estate which I shall then have in and to the real estate in Northampton, Massachusetts" to the care of Loring.

On October 29, 1851, Hancock placed an advertisement in the Boston Daily Evening Transcript announcing his retirement:

HENRY K. HANCOCK respectfully returns his thanks to his friends and the public, for the liberal patronage received from them for thirty-six years past. He hereby gives notice, that it is his intention now to retire from the business of Cabinet and Chair making and consequently offers for sale all his FURNITURE at reduced prices, consisting of Wardrobes, large and small sizes Extending Dining and other Tables, Library Cases[,] Commodes, Secretary and Book Cases; French Vase and other pattern Beds[t]eads; Wardrobe Bedsteads; Spanish pattern Rocking, Cabriole, parlor and other Chairs; Bureaus; Cabinets, Bagatelle Tables, & c.

All remaining on hand the 13th of November will be offered at auction[.] Also, to the trade and others, he offers for sale all his STOCK and TOOLS at reduced prices.

Likewise his workshops, in Kellam place, fitted expressly for the business, but will

answer for other uses requiring extensive room, are to be let, connected or separate from his warerooms.³

This advertisement affords a glimpse into Hancock's business and the kind of furniture he produced. The forms he describes may have been fitted with hardware and ornaments similar to those that survive. At an earlier date, metalwork often ornamented "Wardrobes," "Secretary and Book Cases; French Vase and other pattern Beds[t]eads;" and "parlor and other Chairs." "Extending Dining and other Tables, Library Cases[,] Commodes, Secretary and Book Cases; French Vase and other pattern Beds[t]eads; Wardrobe Bedsteads; . . . Bureaus; Cabinets, Bagatelle Tables, & c." would certainly have employed hardware such as the brackets, catches, hinges, bed caps, hooks, and drawer pulls that Hancock left behind. Hancock's description of the "extensive room" in his separate but apparently adjacent warerooms and workrooms, suggests that he ran a relatively large operation employing several workers. Census information gathered by Page Talbott shows that in 1820 Hancock had twelve employees with six of them working in manufacturing and in 1830 he had five employees in ward twelve.⁴

Hancock's advertisement prompts an unanswerable question: why was the surviving hardware not sold with his furniture or auctioned off to the trade with his stock

and tools? Obviously, the hardware was not included, or at least did not sell, in the advertised November 13 auction. This seems odd considering that the functional hardware could have proven useful to fellow cabinetmakers. However, it makes sense that the ornamental mounts would not have sold; they were long out of fashion by 1851.⁵ The reasons Hancock retained the hardware and why his descendants kept it together, carefully wrapped in the original papers, can only be left to speculation. Perhaps Hancock or his wife and daughter attached a sentimental meaning to the artifacts remaining from his cabinetmaking shop. Interestingly, when the Metropolitan's curators examined the collection in 1968, Marilyn Johnson remembers finding the 1851 advertisement on top of the wrapped bundles, stored inside a wicker chest in Mrs. Smith's basement.⁶

Hancock's collection contains many varied examples of metalwork necessary for furniture production in the early 19th century. As a group, these objects show the various "parts" or "raw materials" a cabinetmaker might have had on hand in his shop. For descriptive purposes, Hancock's inventory can be broken down into three basic categories of hardware: utilitarian, functional as well as decorative, and entirely decorative.

Approximately one quarter of Hancock's hardware consists of exclusively utilitarian devices for use on a variety of furniture forms. This category includes brass quadrant hinges, H-shaped hinges, and card table hinges; short and long hooks; nine inch latches with knobs and slides; spring knobs with latches; dining table brackets; and handles with spring releases. The functions of a few of the mechanical devices are not immediately apparent. Comparisons with images and descriptions found in trade catalogues reveal the purpose as well as the names for various objects. For example, the handles with spring releases are called "handles for a tilt top table" in many trade catalogue patterns. This hardware facilitated the movement of tables of this particular type. Trade catalogues identify two odd-looking cylindrical gadgets as "Roller ends with brackets."⁷ These devices apparently operated window blinds; their presence in a cabinetmaker's stock is a bit surprising.

Another quarter of Hancock's collection contains hardware intended to perform functional as well as decorative roles. Drawer pulls, for example, provide an essential operation but do not necessarily have to be made of decorated brass. Hancock stocked many different varieties of both cast and stamped drawer pulls. Other objects in this category include candle cups with hinged

arms, bed caps, cloak pins, bail handles, and portable desk handles. Based on comparisons with trade catalogues, two decorative but otherwise nondescript flat open bars served as brackets for bell pulls. Again, these objects are not commonly associated with the cabinetmaking trade. Perhaps their presence and that of the "Rol[l]er ends with brackets" might relate in some way to Henry's two upholsterer brothers, William and John.⁸

The last half of Hancock's collection is devoted solely to ornaments, some of them cast and some stamped. The cast examples include center and side ornaments for pier tables, ornaments for chair crest rails, ornamental escutcheons, and column capitals and bases. The stamped ornaments include a group of small collars, a number of identical escutcheons, and a variety of rosette patterns with attached spikes.

The fact that these objects have remained together as a group and were never applied to furniture contributes a valuable resource to decorative arts historians and conservators alike. The life history, provenance, condition, markings, and inscribed wrapping papers make this collection an important document for the history of hardware. Information gleaned from Hancock's collection illuminates several aspects of the hardware trade. Furthermore, this collection serves as a case study

against which other examples of furniture hardware may be compared.

In contrast to hardware attached to furniture, Hancock's brasses were never subjected to the heavy dirt, tarnish, and wear that naturally occur over time. Nor did his brasses experience the well-intended cleaning, polishing, and varnishing that disturbs or destroys original finishes. Stored through the years wrapped in the original papers, relatively protected from air and light, each object remains as near as possible to its original color and finish. Thus, the variety of colors and surface coatings found within Hancock's collection demonstrate the wide of range of finishing treatments practiced by 19th-century hardware manufacturers.

Coatings were commonly applied to metalwork for practical as well as aesthetic reasons in the final steps of the manufacturing process. Fire gilding comprised the most expensive option for coating metals in the 19th century. The technique involved applying an amalgam of gold and mercury onto the surface of a base metal such as brass and then heating the object sufficiently to cause the mercury to vaporize, leaving a microscopically thin layer of gold behind. Mercury fumes are toxic and many workers died as a result of this process. Mercury gilding

is prohibited today except under carefully controlled circumstances.⁹

As a less expensive option, a layer of varnish or lacquer applied to the metal protected it from tarnishing and, with the addition of dyes, could give an appearance resembling gold. Various 18th- and 19th-century references record many different recipes for metal coatings. Examples include "A Varnish for Brass to make it look like gold" and "lackers" with the addition of dyes such as turmeric, saffron, dragon's blood, or red sandal wood to impart differing colors.¹⁰ Samuel Timmins describes "dead dipping," another type of finishing process involving acid baths of varying strengths which turned the brass a dull lemon yellow color.¹¹

Thus, hardware with a golden appearance must be carefully scrutinized because it may or may not be gilt. The Metropolitan's collection of Hancock's hardware represents at least five different color groupings. Determining the exact nature of these colors and surfaces is next to impossible with the naked eye. For this reason, a selection of eighteen pieces of both cast and stamped hardware from the private collection was tested at Winterthur's conservation laboratory using "energy dispersive x-ray fluorescence" (see Appendix).¹² This

analysis scientifically determines the presence or absence of gold and the composition of the metal alloy.

The results of Winterthur's XRF testing emphasize that attempting to determine a gilt or non-gilt surface through visual analysis can be misleading. Of the ten cast ornaments tested, seven of them appeared virtually identical in color and texture when compared visually side by side. Twenty-power magnification revealed no differences. Of the seven ornaments with visually identical surfaces, only four registered gold during the testing; these are: the three center ornaments depicting a river god, a river goddess, and swans with cattails, and the lion-head drawer pull and ring (see figures 16, 17, and 18). Each of the four gilt ornaments contained mercury along with the gold, thus "confirming the use of the mercury gilding process."¹³

Hancock's non-gilt cast ornaments probably have a colored lacquer coating, tinted with some type of organic material to resemble gilding. None of Hancock's stamped hardware registered gold during XRF testing; these objects' gold appearance is probably due to a tinted lacquer as well. Interestingly, the gilt ornaments may also have a colored coating, in addition to mercury gilding. A pamphlet published in Paris in 1776, the "Genuine Receipt for making the Famous Vernis Martin,"

describes a "Gold Lacker Varnish" which enhanced the gold on gilt metalwork and gave a "pleasing but magnificent appearance."¹⁴ Hancock's gilt and non-gilt cast ornaments may have been treated with the same coating; this would explain the difficulty in visually distinguishing between them. Ultraviolet light can be used to detect the presence of organic materials such as those used in lacquer but cannot identify specific substances. This author's tests examining Hancock's hardware under ultraviolet light were inconclusive.

These findings are significant because most 19th-century hardware does not retain its original finish. Further laboratory analysis of the coatings could confirm or refute speculations offered here and might even reveal specific components of the period lacquers. Understanding period finishing techniques helps conservators interpret and, to some extent restore, the original intent of both the metalworker and the cabinetmaker. Almost all 19th-century hardware mounted on furniture has degraded over time. Data found in analyzing the colors and surfaces on Hancock's hardware could help conservators determine the cleaning, polishing, and coating treatments for other less well-preserved examples. In addition, study of metal coatings might offer clues to the origin of Hancock's hardware and the circumstances of its production.

The unadulterated condition of Hancock's ornamental mounts demonstrates that period mounting mechanisms were intended to be invisible. Nails driven through 19th-century furniture ornaments are probably not original; in the period, mounts were always attached from behind.¹⁵ Most of Hancock's cast mounts have small threaded holes drilled halfway through their backsides (see figure 20). Tiny iron or steel pins threaded at one end screwed into the holes. In Hancock's collection, each bundle of this type of cast ornament included individual paper-wrapped packets of these small pins for attachment (see figure 21). Two different kinds of cast ornaments in Hancock's collection show an alternative method of attachment: small triangular spikes are cast integrally with the body (see figure 22 and discussion of the river god and bow-and-wreaths mounts below).

In addition to the surface coatings, the high proportion of marked objects found within Hancock's collection and the rare survival of many of the original wrapping papers contribute significant documentation to the study of hardware. Most furniture hardware is not marked, but eight different kinds of marks appear on different varieties of Hancock's hardware. The wrapping papers keep sets of hardware together in packages and display inscriptions stating the item number, listing the

quantity of items, and briefly describing the contents. For example, three typical inscriptions read: "No. 19 2 French Gilt-Centre Ornaments," "No. 36 2 Tablet Ornaments," and "No. 38 3 Escutcheons" (see figures 23, 24, and 25). In many instances, the package contains an additional thin paper carrying another four-digit number handwritten in ink. These inscriptions and marks offer clues about the origins, manufacture, and life history of this hardware.

Marks found in the Hancock collection include three different types of letters or initials. Three kinds of center ornaments for pier tables have the initials "TR" cast into their backsides (see figures 26 and 27).¹⁶ The mark "IR" was cast into the backplate of one candle arm at the Metropolitan. And a large group of stamped collars each have "HJ[F?]" embossed on one corner (see figure 28). These three sets of initials most likely indicate the names of different foundries or manufactories. "TR" and "IR" could not be connected with a known manufacturing firm in Birmingham during the course of this project but "HJ[F?]" might refer to the Birmingham partnership of Thomas Hands and William Jenkins.

Hands and Jenkins were two Birmingham metalworkers who joined production between 1791 and 1797 and parted sometime before 1805. Each continued working separately

after 1805, Jenkins in a new partnership with his son. Due to the large initial investment required for manufacturing a stamping press, one of the two partners probably continued to operate the Hands and Jenkins stamping dies, or the machines may have been divided between them after the partnership ended. The "HJ" initials are the most frequently encountered mark on hardware; they appear on the bails of numerous stamped drawer pulls on American furniture. The mark "HJ^R" or "HJ^F" is also known but appears less often; "HJ^R" might reference a "J.[enkins?], Junior" and "HJ^F" could indicate "H. J. fecit."¹⁷

The wrapping paper around Hancock's group of "HJ^F?" collars is one of the most significant findings in the private collection of his hardware. The paper is inscribed "22 Bundles No. 5" (see figure 29). The Metropolitan has two of these collars and forty remain in the private collection, still in their packaging. Inside the inscribed wrapping paper, four collars are wrapped together in another set of papers to form one bundle. Forty-two of these collars (or ten and one half bundles) survive between the Metropolitan and the descendants; either Hancock used the other forty-six collars (eleven and one half bundles) or they are otherwise missing. Given their small size (11/16" high by 1 1/2" wide by 3/4"

diameter), these collars were probably intended as interchangeable capitals and bases for small columns, perhaps inside a secretary or on either side of a clock face. If this was their purpose, each bundle would have provided a complete set of two capitals and two bases, one of each ornamenting a set of two columns.

Inside the inscribed wrapping paper, fragments survive from a green label that was once glued to the paper (see figure 30). Portions of the label were torn away but the remaining letters read: "In. by 1/8 No. 6/Br_s Sa[r?]t_ _ s/B[?]_R_ _ _ H." All of the letters are printed but the numbers "1/8" and "6" are written in by hand with pen and ink. "Br_s Sa[r?]t_ _ s" might have been "Bros." and a family name, as in the name of a business. The word BIRMINGHAM fits perfectly within the spaces between the existing letters "B[?]_R_ _ _ H" in the label's last line. "In. by 1/8" could be dimensions, as in "[number now missing] In[ches] by 1/8 [inches]" or, "1/8" could be a price. Oddly, the "No. 6" on the label and the "No. 5" in the inscription do not correspond.

Reference to Birmingham in the context of these stamped collars is not particularly surprising because stamping is a manufacturing process that was invented in England.¹⁸ The other letters on this fragmentary label, "Br_s Sa[r?]t_ _ s," probably indicated the factor or

middleman distributing the hardware rather than the manufacturer. The initials "HJ[F?]" stamped on the objects most likely indicate the name of the manufactory, and this mark obviously bears no relationship to "Br_s Sa[r?]t_ _ s." The fragmentary name has not yet been connected with any known business in Birmingham.

Another important wrapping paper in the private collection, found loosely holding six lion-head drawer pulls, bears an almost undecipherable inscription in French: "2 Galures[?] No. 5[?]0 Moyennee [P or T?]ette de Lion a Mufle" (see figures 31 and 18). In slang, "Galure" can mean an old type of hat; the Collins Robert French-English Dictionary gave one meaning for "galure" as "hat" or "headgear." Heath's Standard French and English Dictionary defined "Mufle" as "snout (of lion, etc.)" or "muffle," defined in English dictionaries as the fleshy bare part of the upper lip and nose of ruminants and other mammals. Unfortunately, the uncertain reading of this difficult handwriting allows only a partial translation, but "Galures...de Lion a Mufle" surely refers to the lion-head pulls. This wrapping paper contains the only French inscription found within Hancock's collection; however, it forms the most compelling evidence suggesting that at least one set of Hancock's hardware may have been imported from France.

From the opposite point of view, it is worth noting that lion-head pulls frequently appear in English trade catalogues. At least two Winterthur trade catalogues contain references to "Cast Lion Heads and Rings" and "Stamp'd heads with Cast rings, screws and burs for drawers."¹⁹ As the latter catalogue describes, Hancock's lion heads have threaded holes for screws below a projecting burr. No exact matches could be made, however, between Hancock's pulls and trade catalogues consulted for this project.

As noted above, all other wrapping papers on Hancock's hardware contain English inscriptions. But could the word "French" in the inscriptions, "French Gilt-Centre Ornaments," indicate that the ornaments were imported from France? Was the English-speaking inscriber noting the place of manufacture in his labeling, or was he merely describing the style of this hardware? These unanswerable questions again demonstrate the complexity involved in interpreting period descriptions, as discussed previously in chapter two (see pages 60-67). This dilemma also illustrates the problems faced when hardware attributions are made. Even in the case of Hancock's collection, under circumstances where some evidence is available, the decisions are largely subjective.

Other marks found on Hancock's hardware convey only numbers and require even further interpretation. At the Metropolitan, two of the cast ornaments have handwritten numbers in brown ink on their versos: a small center mount with anthemion ends is inscribed: "29[9?] . . ." and a smaller side mount of a flower bouquet contains "34[9?][blob]." The number "330" is stamped twice on one of Hancock's portable desk handles, once on its verso and once on the verso of the bail. A roller blind end has two separate stamped marks: "6441" inside the cup and "63/6441" on the back of the bracket.²⁰ In the private collection, another roller blind end has five different numbers stamped and cast into its backside: "6441 27 27 11 11."

Interestingly, the private collection also retains a trade catalogue page, illustrating "Barron's Patent Roller Blinds" "By the King's Royal Letters Patent" (see figure 32). Unfortunately, no numbers appear on this page to directly link Hancock's roller blind ends with Barron's, but the presence of this page amongst Hancock's papers and books suggests that he may have ordered at least these two pieces of his hardware from a trade catalogue. This is the only trade catalogue page known to have belonged to Hancock; the location of the volume from which the page was torn is unknown. Further research

might discover an identical page in one of the many surviving trade catalogues in various museum collections. No such volumes exist with the rest of Hancock's belongings in his descendant's collection.

Between wrapping paper inscriptions and marks on the objects, four different types of numbers or numbering systems exist within Hancock's stock of hardware. The numbers can be grouped into four sets: (I) one- and two-digit numbers on the outer wrapping papers, (II) four-digit numbers on some papers found inside the wrapped bundles, i.e., "3445," (III) two handwritten three-digit(?) ink numbers on the backs of two ornaments, and (IV) the incuse numbers, "330," "6447," and "6441 27 27 11," stamped in the backs of the portable desk handle and the roller blind ends. None of the different numbers seem to correspond with one another. The complex arrangement of these number sets probably represents the intricate marketing processes the objects underwent, from the time of their manufacture until the time they came into Hancock's possession.

The frequent appearance of two sets of numbers on the outer and inner papers within individual packages of mounts seems to indicate two different suppliers or sources. A merchant or factor supplying Hancock directly might have inscribed the outer wrapping papers, carefully

describing the contents of each package and listing the quantity contained therein. The numbers on the outer wrapping papers (set I) might be the merchant's numbering system for Hancock's order. For example No. 29 in "No. 29 2 French Gilt-Centre Ornaments" might indicate the 29th item in Hancock's hardware order. This number set includes one- and two-digit numbers progressing in sequence; the wrapping paper inscriptions are: No. 5, No. 17, No. 19, No. 20, No. 22, No. 22 [&] No. 23, No. 23, No. 25, No. 26, No. 27, No. 30, No. 36, No. 38, No. 47, and No. 49. The sequence suggests a numbering system assigned to an invoice rather than pattern or stock numbers.

By contrast, the four-digit numbers on the inner wrapping papers (set II), the handwritten three-digit numbers on the two versos (set III), and the incuse numbers (set IV) resemble 19th-century trade catalogue pattern numbers, commonly found in three, four, and even five digits. Trade catalogues often list pattern numbers such as "299," "330," "6441," and "3445." It seems reasonable that the manufacturers might have marked the wares with their catalogue numbers, for the benefit of both foundry workers and clients such as Hancock. Having the numbers either cast or written onto the objects would help both the worker filling the order as well as the client taking inventory after receiving shipment. Further

research might connect these mounts and numbers with trade catalogue patterns and numbers but no such connections could be made during this study.²¹

If we assume that the one- and two-digit numbers in set I represent invoice numbers, they would indicate that Hancock placed a large order of 49 types of items. An order of this size does not seem implausible; Hancock's 1851 advertisement suggests that he operated a relatively large-scale business. Numbers 22 and 23 repeat in conjunction with different items, possibly indicating more than one invoice and more than one order. Some invoice numbers in the sequence are missing, suggesting that Hancock used the hardware in these bundle numbers.

The survival of wrapping papers listing the quantity of ornaments Hancock purchased obviously has implications for furniture attributions. The number of ornaments found in the papers minus the quantity noted in the inscriptions indicates the number of ornaments Hancock used; unattributed examples of Boston furniture with ornaments similar to those remaining in Hancock's collection might have come from Hancock's workshop. The provenance of the related hardware could be used as one piece of evidence supporting a Hancock attribution for the ornamented furniture. However, we can account for almost all of the examples of Hancock's hardware referenced in

the original wrapping paper inscriptions. In the majority of the cases, either the entire number of objects listed in the quantity given on the wrapping papers remain inside the paper bundles or all but one piece of hardware remains and the missing example is now owned by the Metropolitan. The four exceptions to this situation are: 1) the twenty-six small stamped drawer pulls with the wrapping papers inscribed "No. 22 No.23 31 Rings;" two are now owned by the Metropolitan, so a total of three are unrecorded; 2) the "HJ[F?]" collars discussed above with eleven and one half bundles unrecorded; 3) the twenty-six stamped escutcheons with the wrapping paper inscribed "No. 49 2 Doz + 4;" one is now owned by the Metropolitan, so a total of one stamped escutcheon is unrecorded; and 4) two cast escutcheons depicting crossed leafy branches with the wrapping paper inscribed "No. 26 4 Escutcheons;" one is now at the Metropolitan, so a total of one cast escutcheon is unrecorded.

Research undertaken for this project linked more than eight patterns of Hancock's hardware to engravings in English trade catalogues at Winterthur, the Essex Institute, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Victoria and Albert Museum. These connections constitute convincing evidence that trade catalogues may have been the source for Hancock's mounts. In addition, trade

catalogue connections provide more information about the Hancock mounts. Through related trade catalogue patterns, we can gather evidence for dating and attribution, as well as gaining some sense of a particular design's popularity and cost. Finally, connections between mounts and trade catalogues are reciprocal: mounts can supply more information about trade catalogues themselves, as described in chapter one.

Hancock's collection includes a bundle of five center mounts depicting a river god (or other classical figure) reclining among cattails. These mounts match pattern number 10402 in a trade catalogue in the Winterthur Collection (see figures 16 and 33).²² The size and configuration of the mounts and the engraved pattern match exactly. Both the pattern and the objects measure $6 \frac{1}{4}$ by $2 \frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Another of Hancock's ornaments, the bow with three wreaths, corresponds to pattern number 10231 in the same catalogue (see figure 34). However, this relationship is not as firm as that of the river god pattern. The measurements of the bow-and-wreaths ornament, $5 \frac{1}{2}$ by $1 \frac{5}{16}$ inches, only correspond roughly to the measurements of pattern number 10231, $5 \frac{5}{16}$ by $1 \frac{3}{8}$ inches. And, a few minor variations occur between the engraved pattern and the actual ornament: in the pattern, the two outer

wreaths are shown with leaves whereas the ornament has flowers on all three wreaths. Interestingly, the bow-and-wreaths pattern is engraved in a different, more linear style than the river god pattern and does not seem to match the majority of the patterns in the catalogue.²³

The same trade catalogue contains portable desk handles similar to Hancock's. One page in the catalogue shows two different types of portable desk handles in six different sizes. Pattern number 330 roughly corresponds with the Hancock example marked "330" on its handle: the engraving measures 3 15/16" wide across the top, 3 3/8" wide across the middle, and 1 15/16" high while the actual brass handle measures 3 1/4 inches long.²⁴

Many utilitarian items similar to hardware in Hancock's collection also appear in this Winterthur trade catalogue. "Roler ends with brackets," bolts, hooks, quadrant hinges, brackets, and all sorts of hinges appear repeatedly throughout this and almost all other trade catalogues consulted for this project. Utilitarian hardware is usually too indistinct to specifically assign to one individual metalwork catalogue. However, its ubiquitous presence in trade catalogues does seem to indicate an English origin.

The general profile of Hancock's collection fits the contents of this particular trade catalogue and other

comparable catalogues surveyed in this study. Much of Hancock's hardware could conceivably have been ordered from a trade catalogue very similar to Winterthur's. The connection with the river god and link between portable desk handle pattern number 330 and the mark "330" makes the argument for trade catalogue origins even more convincing.

The Winterthur Library attributes this particular trade catalogue to Birmingham, England.²⁵ Many of the pages have watermarked paper; a total of five different types of watermarks are found throughout the book, two of them including the dates "1822" and "1824."²⁶ The book combines at least two different styles of engraving and the binding is of a later date.

Strangely, Hancock's river goddess mount is NOT found in this trade catalogue. The river god and goddess were probably intended as companion mounts for two matching pier tables. It seems odd that this mount would not have been included in the same trade catalogue. However, the page containing the river goddess may simply have not survived or may have been left out of the later binding. The case of Hancock's river god and goddess illustrate the importance of recognizing a later binding and the possibility that a particular volume may not be complete.

Winterthur's trade catalogue is indexed, an important feature that reveals the period names assigned to each item type. The river god pictured on page 91 corresponds to the first page of the section entitled "Ornaments," running from pages 91 to 101. Descriptions are also significant. Above the river god at the top of the page, "10/Dozen" is handwritten in ink.²⁷ Three pages ahead, the handwritten inscription, "per Dozen," appears again and "Brass ornaments with pins at the back for Furniture" indicates the functional mechanism of this type of ornament. As the catalogue describes, the river god mount has threaded holes bored into its backside; small pins were meant to screw into these holes. Many of Hancock's bundles of hardware in the private collection still contain small individually wrapped packages of iron pins (see figure 21).

The bow-and-wreaths mount on page 96 also falls within the indexed "Ornaments" section. However, this ornament has a different mounting mechanism than the river god. Small triangular spikes are cast into the verso of the bow-and-wreaths mount. The coinciding description on page 96 reads "With Spikes to drive." Thus, together with their trade catalogue connections, these two mounts demonstrate two different kinds of mounting mechanisms,

"Brass ornaments with pins at the back for Furniture" and "With Spikes to drive."

The bow-and-wreaths mount also matches designs in four other trade catalogues. A trade catalogue at Winterthur, one at the Metropolitan, and two at the Victoria and Albert contain identical pages that include this pattern.²⁸ Each page bears the same inscription, "With Spikes to drive," and each pattern shows the same minor variations from Hancock's mount: the engravings depict leaves, not flowers, on the two outer wreaths (see figure 35). The engravings and pattern numbers on these four trade catalogue pages are identical but, interestingly, the handwritten prices vary. In Winterthur's trade catalogue, the bow-and-wreaths pattern is number "6464," priced at "6/." One of the Victoria and Albert catalogues (no. M65L) has substantially lower handwritten prices for all the patterns: the bow-and-wreaths mount is marked "5/" instead of Winterthur's "6/." The Victoria and Albert page is watermarked twice, "1817," and Winterthur's trade catalogue is dated to ca. 1813 by McKinstry.²⁹ The price for the bow-and-wreaths mount seems to have fallen after 1817.

As noted above, the bow-and-wreaths pattern appears in a different variation in another Winterthur trade catalogue; this catalogue depicts the bow-and-

wreaths design on a slightly larger scale, in a different style of engraving, and on an entirely different page of patterns.³⁰ The price in this catalogue is given as "6/9," but the size difference could explain the variation in cost. As mentioned before, the watermarks for the catalogue are 1822 and 1824.

The second Victoria and Albert catalogue including the identical page and the bow-and-wreaths pattern contains no watermarks whatsoever; Goodison dates the catalogue to ca. 1810.³¹ The Metropolitan's catalogue contains watermarks for 1813 and 1814. Through the watermarks of these five trade catalogues, we can establish a date range for this mount extending from ca. 1810 to 1824 or later. The catalogues show how prices varied and how the same pages and the same designs were kept in circulation over time.

The Victoria and Albert catalogue containing the lower priced bow-and-wreaths mount (M61e) has an engraved index form identical to the indexes in the Winterthur and Metropolitan catalogues. All three indexes have the important inscription, "Bock fc^t Birm^m," engraved below the title, "Index to Book of Brass Work," thus firmly establishing Birmingham as the place of printing (see figure 36). Again, minor variations occur between these three otherwise identical catalogues: different additions

are written in by hand at the bottom of the printed index and the handwritten page numbers are in a slightly different sequence for each indexed category. For example, the Victoria and Albert catalogue has "Chair Ornaments" running from pages 74 to 83, with the bow-and-wreaths mount appearing on page 78. The Metropolitan's catalogue has "Chair Ornaments" on pages 75 to 85, and Winterthur's catalogue shows "Chair Ornaments" from pages 74 to 84.

The similarities, differences, and repetitions encountered through tracing Hancock's bow-and-wreaths mount to different trade catalogues and comparisons between the catalogues' index forms reveal something about the way trade catalogues worked and the way brasses were marketed in Birmingham. From the four catalogues at Winterthur, the Metropolitan, and the Victoria and Albert, we can see that identical pages were printed up and distributed in different groupings. "Bock" in "Birm[ingha]m" engraved a number of the same fill-in-the-blank index forms and then different compilations of the specified brass patterns were included in each catalogue. The page numbers were written in by hand and could be changed according to whether the recipient wanted to choose between more "Chair Ornaments," "Bell Pulls," or "Cupd. Turns." Index categories in some books were left

out entirely. This approach allowed the catalogues to be tailor-made to different subscribers.

Comparing the four identical pages containing the bow-and-wreaths patterns with trade catalogues in the Essex Institute shows that many of the same patterns repeated in different volumes, even though the entire page was not exactly the same. Identical designs as well as identical pages repeat between three Essex Institute catalogues and Nicholas Goodison's illustrations of Victoria and Albert trade catalogue pages.³² Numerous other instances of such overlaps occur throughout the body of trade catalogues studied for this project. There is no way to determine whether recurring patterns were reissued in another format by the same manufacturer, or whether they were copied by a competitor.

Other similar but not identical designs recur in varied forms throughout the surviving trade catalogues. For example, pairs of dancing classical female figures holding cymbals appear in many of the trade catalogues consulted. Sometimes these female figures are identical but other times related designs reveal subtle variations. Interestingly, no actual metalwork corresponding to this frequently appearing design was found during the course of this project (see figure 14).

Hancock's mount depicting two swans with cattails appears in the same Victoria and Albert trade catalogue that had the bow-and-wreaths pattern priced as 5/ (see figure 37). The swans are on page one of a series of unnumbered fold-out pages. These sheets seem to be bound in their original marbled paper covers; a leather reinforcement binding is the only modern addition (see figure 1). Hancock's swans match pattern number "2087" at the price of "16/." This page is watermarked "8 [?] 7." The third page is clearly watermarked "1817" and the fourth has both "817" and "1817." Notably, Hancock's swans share similar design features with Joseph Brauwers' "imported from France" peacock mount (see figure 3 and the discussion in chapter two).

Hancock's small capitals marked "HJ[^f?]" correspond to patterns in at least four different trade catalogues. A catalogue at the Metropolitan features patterns for this style of stamped capital with ribbed designs. Similar capitals in a Winterthur trade catalogue are described as "Stamp'd Capitals and Bases of a fine Burnish'd Gold Colour." A page of related capitals in another Winterthur catalogue reads "Capitals and Bases Per Doz Sett." A Victoria and Albert trade catalogue page reads "Capitals & bases, & Quarter Columns pr. doz. set" and is followed in page number sequence by patterns for

clock ornaments, perhaps indicating the intended use of the "HJ[F?]" collars.³³

"Pr. doz. set" probably indicates twelve sets of two, or possibly twelve sets of four, capitals and bases. Unfortunately, this grouping does not correspond with the organization of Hancock's package. The wrapping paper is inscribed "22 Bundles;" four collars make up each bundle so the inscription must indicate a total of eighty-eight collars. The sum of eighty-eight does not relate to twelve sets of two or twelve sets of four. None of the trade catalogue patterns mentioned above have inscriptions referencing "HJ[F?]" or "Br_s Sa[r?]t_ _ s." However, the frequent appearance of these and other similar designs probably indicates the widespread marketing of this pattern.

Hancock's small ringed drawer pulls with stamped backplates match patterns in yet another Winterthur trade catalogue (see figures 38 and 39).³⁴ Hancock's pulls match one size out of six different sizes offered; his is the second-to-largest example, number 8821 sold at 21/. The page is watermarked, "BEVAN/1820." The design matches the backplate exactly, but the pattern does not include Hancock's twisted ring or decorated stamped hinge. A Victoria and Albert trade catalogue offers a more direct relationship (see figure 40).³⁵ Pattern numbers 1177 to

1180 picture the same backplate, complete with twisted ring and decorated hinge. These pulls are available in four sizes and the catalogue is dated ca. 1840. The Victoria and Albert catalogue also shows this backplate design (without a ring) as an ornament on a page of "Deep Star Ornaments with Spikes." Interestingly, this is the same catalogue that contains a design corresponding to the "HJ[F?]" capitals, as described above. In addition, many stamped rosettes pictured here are akin to those in the Hancock collection. Four different patterns for cast capitals and bases resemble, but are not identical to, Hancock's examples. Again, we have an English trade catalogue that seems to correspond to the general profile of Hancock's collection.

The Winterthur catalogue containing the stamped pulls has the name "Timothy Smith & Son/1828" handwritten on the index page.³⁶ McKinstry attributes Winterthur's catalogue to the Birmingham firm, Yates & Hamper, on the basis of a price list on the last page: "LIST OF/PRICES of BRASS CORNICE RODS, &c./MANUFACTURED BY YATES AND HAMPER,/BIRMINGHAM,/AND 75, LONG ACRE, LONDON." However, attribution to this firm may or may not be correct, given that the sheets could have been bound at any point. The papers contain many different watermarks, the earliest date being 1808 (found on the fragmentary index page) and

the latest being 1823 or 182?. The index page may have been printed first and then pages could have been issued at a later date. It is worth noting that the eight styles of pulls pictured on page 31 do not correspond to the index which reads "Bordering, pierced" for page 31. This probably indicates that the pages were compiled and bound together at a later date.

Based on trade catalogue comparisons and the fragmentary label found in the "HJ[F?]" collars, it seems likely that the stamped brasses and utilitarian hardware in the Hancock collection are English. Patterns for three types of cast "French Gilt-Centre Ornaments" in the Hancock collection, the swans and cattails, the bow and wreaths, and the river god, also appear in English trade catalogues. And, a river god mount similar to Hancock's is found in a photograph of an English table.³⁷ This evidence could legitimately be used to support an English attribution for the cast ornaments as well.

However, because of the complex nature of the evidence, this author is not ready to make any definitive statements about the origins of Hancock's collection of cast ornaments. While the swans-and-cattails, the bow-and-wreaths, and the river god mounts appear to be English, Hancock's lion-head drawer pulls seem to be French; they clearly relate to a French inscription found

on their wrapping paper. X-ray fluorescence testing proves that the lion-head pulls are mercury gilt, as are the mounts depicting the river god, the river goddess, and the swans with cattails. The surface coatings and coloring of these four gilt pieces of hardware are identical. Unexplainably, the four gilt mounts are also visually identical to three other examples that tested negative for gilding: the escutcheon and the column capital and base (see Appendix).

The results of the XRF testing, the French inscription found with the lion-head pulls, the word "French" in the inscriptions "2 French Gilt-Centre Ornaments," and the English trade catalogue patterns can be interpreted in two ways. The French inscription, the use of the word "French," and the mercury gilding could be used as evidence to support a French attribution for all of the mercury-gilt ornaments, and perhaps even for the objects with a visually similar surface color and coating. Conversely, the English trade catalogue patterns combined with the results of the XRF testing could be used to establish that English manufacturers were indeed producing mercury-gilt furniture hardware and that English trade catalogues represent a higher quality of metalwork than has generally been assumed. Advocates supporting a French attribution for these ornaments might argue against this

point, reasoning that the English trade catalogue patterns could have been copied from French metalwork; thus, Hancock's ornaments could be examples of French-made furniture hardware and the related trade catalogue patterns could have been copied from similar examples, intended for production in lesser quality brasswork.

The two points of view are presently unreconcilable. Further research on French and English hardware manufacturers, examination of additional trade catalogues, and more XRF testing might shift the balance of evidence in either direction. The question of quality is perhaps the most pressing issue. As more examples of furniture hardware are scientifically tested, scholars will be better equipped to make judgements concerning metals content and surface coatings such as lacquering and mercury gilding. At present, attributions based on preconceptions about the quality of French as opposed to English metalwork are invalid. As analysis of the Hancock ornaments shows, scientific testing is the only legitimate way to determine whether an object is gilt or merely gold-colored and whether it is made of brass or bronze.

In the private collection, one of the Hancock river god mounts was found tied to the outside of the paper-wrapped bundle. This mount was tarnished with age and did not appear to have been gilt; in fact, it

contrasted dramatically with the four examples kept protected by the wrapping papers and did not even appear to be from the same color group. Unfortunately, this mount was not included in the XRF testing, but there is no reason to doubt that it was originally the same color and in the same condition as the other five river god mounts, including the one that tested positive for mercury gilding.

Hancock's tarnished river god mount offers a valuable lesson for students of metalwork. The mount demonstrates how differences between the present and original condition of a metal object could lead researchers astray. If one of Hancock's river god mounts had been attached to a piece of furniture, it probably would have a similar appearance to the mount that was kept outside of the paper-wrapped bundle. In addition to tarnishing, an attached mount probably would have been cleaned, varnished, and soiled repeatedly throughout its life history. Thus, the original appearance would have been dramatically altered. If a 20th-century researcher examined a mount such as the tarnished river god, he or she might never believe it was once as brightly colored and finely finished as the examples kept inside Hancock's wrapping papers. If the hypothetical researcher then traced this mount to the corresponding pattern of a river

god in the Winterthur trade catalogue, he or she might decide that English trade catalogue patterns represent a lesser quality of metalwork than French-made mercury-gilt mounts. Without XRF testing, the researcher might never know that the tarnished river god mount had in fact been mercury gilt and was originally bright, colorful, and shiny. The possibility that the French mercury-gilt mounts may simply have been better preserved might never occur to this researcher.

The issues of quality and condition are intertwined and are among the most important factors to consider when determining whether two mounts of a similar pattern are related. For example, two sets of side mounts in the Hancock collection depict Venus and Cupid; one set faces left and the other faces right. These mounts represent a lesser quality than the other ornaments in Hancock's collection. One of each example tested negative for gilding (see Appendix). The twenty-five examples in the private collection show a range of coloring; some are bright lemony-yellow while others are pinkish or brownish. All of the Venus and Cupid mounts have a rough finish; the finish may simply be the surface imparted by the casting sand or it may be the result of a process Samuel Timmins called "dead dipping."³⁸

The design of Hancock's Venus and Cupid mounts relates to mounts seen in a photograph of a French toilet table in the Grand Trianon at the Musée National du Château de Versailles, evidence that might be viewed as suggestive of a French attribution.³⁹ However, this author suspects that in-depth study of the French mounts as compared with Hancock's examples would reveal major differences in quality. The Versailles mounts are described as being "gilt bronze," although they have probably not been XRF tested.

Venus and Cupid mounts identical to Hancock's left-side examples appear on a set of six klismos side chairs in the Winterthur collection (see figures 41, 42, and 43).⁴⁰ The Winterthur chairs were made in either New York or Philadelphia and date to ca. 1810-1825. The Winterthur mounts appear identical in quality to the Hancock examples. Comparisons between photographs of the Hancock, Winterthur, and Versailles mounts would not be able to take issues of quality and condition into account. Any attributions made on the basis of such comparisons would have to be tentative.

For now, rather than asserting all French or all English attributions for the Hancock hardware, it seems reasonable to conclude that Hancock obtained his hardware from a variety of sources. But why would Hancock order

some of his hardware from England and other examples from France? Why would he not simply order all of his hardware from the same place, or even the same source? The most plausible explanation for the diversity in Hancock's collection is that he probably purchased hardware from a local merchant selling a variety of items obtained from a variety of sources. Hancock probably did not use trade catalogues to order the hardware himself; more likely, he made purchases from a Boston merchant who would have placed large orders through such catalogues.

A circumstance such as this is suggested by the two sets of wrapping papers with two different numbering systems found with Hancock's hardware. As described above, the outer wrapping papers have one- or two-digit numbers and the inner papers have four-digit numbers.⁴¹ The two sets of numbers seem to indicate two different suppliers or sources. The merchant supplying Hancock directly probably inscribed the outer wrapping papers, describing the contents of each package and listing the quantity contained therein, as he filled Hancock's order. The inner papers are thinner and smaller, and appear in only a few of Hancock's hardware packages; these papers may have been the papers sent to the merchant from the manufacturer. The merchant's order from the manufacturer was most likely substantially larger than Hancock's and

the manufacturer probably wrapped a larger number of items together in one package. As the merchant filled Hancock's order out of a larger stock of hardware, some of the inner or manufacturer-sent papers were included with Hancock's packages whereas some may have already been given out. Just as the outer numbers seem to represent Hancock's order from the merchant, the inner numbers may represent the trade catalogue numbers the merchant used to order the hardware from the manufacturer in bulk.

While these inner numbers suggest English trade catalogue numbers and other information presented here supports an English attribution for many examples of Hancock's hardware, a strong possibility remains that at least some of his metalwork was French. Although no definitive evidence exists to prove one attribution over the other, Hancock's collection of furniture hardware contains significant information for the study of metalwork and furniture, as well as for the history of the Empire style, international trade, and the Industrial Revolution.

Discoveries found through analysis of the Hancock collection provide a case study for comparison with other examples of furniture hardware. The difficulty involved in attributing this collection serves as a reminder of the complexity inherent to the story of furniture hardware.

The large proportion of marked objects and inscriptions found on the wrapping papers offer clues to the life history and origins of the hardware. The Hancock brasses raise interesting questions to incite further research. Attempting to understand circumstances surrounding the manufacture, marketing, and marking of this and other furniture hardware can provide new insight regarding the larger contexts these objects represent. The historical events of the Industrial Revolution, growth in international trade, and changing international, political, social and economic relationships impacted the appearance of metalwork objects and the furniture they ornament.

NOTES

¹For information on Samuel Slack, see Page Talbott, "The Furniture Trade in Boston, 1810-1835," The Magazine Antiques (May 1992), pp. 842-855. For William and John Hancock, see David Conradsen, "Upholstery in Philadelphia: 1790-1840," forthcoming master's thesis, University of Delaware. A William Hancock couch is in the American Wing at the Metropolitan, accession no. 48.164.1. A similar couch in a private collection is discussed and illustrated by Page Talbott, "Seating Furniture in Boston, 1810-1835," The Magazine Antiques (May 1991), p. 959. The Winterthur Museum recently acquired a labeled John Hancock rocking chair, accession no. 90.82. A related example is owned by the Essex Institute and is discussed and illustrated by Talbott, "Boston Empire Furniture, Part II," The Magazine Antiques (May 1976), pp. 106-107. The birth dates given here for Henry, William, and John are taken from an unpublished pictorial family genealogy in the Hancock descendant's private collection.

²Will of Henry K. Hancock, Boston, 1854, Suffolk County Probate Department, no. 39164. See also administration of Mary A. Hancock, Boston, 1873, Suffolk County Probate Department, no. 53938.

³Boston Daily Evening Transcript, October 29, 1851, on microfilm at the New York Public Library. This advertisement is noted in Page Talbott, "Boston Empire furniture Part II," The Magazine Antiques (May 1976), p. 1012, footnote 6.

⁴Page Talbott, "The Furniture Trade in Boston, 1810-1835," The Magazine Antiques (May 1992), p. 850. This author did not consult Henry K. Hancock's records for the 1840 or 1850 Census; these records may indeed contain further informative facts about his business.

⁵Nineteenth-century guides for appraisers may indicate the monetary value this hardware would have had at the time of Hancock's death in 1854.

⁶Marilynn Johnson, Personal Communication, October 27, 1992.

⁷See, for example, Winterthur trade catalogue, call no. RBR TS573 B61f* no. 2. The fact that Henry K. Hancock's brothers, William and John, worked as upholsters might have something to do with the presence of "Rol[1]er ends" in Henry's shop. John Hancock's 1835 inventory contains "12 Sets Roller Ends" and "2 Doz Pulley Hooks" as wells as "Blind Cord Various Colours" and many other items relating to window treatments. See chapter two and endnote ?? for further discussion of John Hancock's inventory.

⁸The Inventory of John Hancock & Co. lists various types of "Bell Line." See chapter two, endnote 21.

⁹See Nicholas Goodison, Ormolu: The Work of Matthew Boulton (London: Phaidon Press, 1974), pp. 69-74 for more extensive information on gilding.

¹⁰For a compilation of period recipes for metal coatings, see Christine Thomson, "'Last but not Least' - Examination and Interpretation of Coatings on Brass Hardware," unpublished paper at the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Waltham, Massachusetts, April, 1991. The author would like to thank Wendy Cooper for sharing her copy of Thomson's paper.

¹¹Ibid., Thomson quoting from The Resources, Products and Industrial History of Birmingham and the Midland Hardware District, Samuel Timmins, ed. (London, 1866), [pp. 299-300].

¹²As described by Christine Thomson in "Examination and Interpretation of Coatings on Brass Hardware," op. cit., p. 2, "This [XRF] test is non-destructive and can identify the elements present in a sample by detecting the energy given off when the sample is bombarded with x-rays. Since each element emits its own characteristic fluorescence when subjected to x-rays, it is possible to discern major and minor elemental components of a material such as metal or paint pigment."

¹³Janice H. Carlson, XRF Testing Report, Winterthur Conservation Laboratory, March 5, 1993, p. 2. See the Appendix for a copy of Carlson's report.

¹⁴Christine Thomson, "Examination and Interpretation of Coatings on Brass Hardware," op. cit., p. 3, quoting from "Genuine Receipt for making the Famous Vernis Martin, etc.," (Paris and Dublin, 1776), 20 pages total. See also Goodison, Ormolu: The Work of Matthew Boulton, op. cit., pp. 70-73 for more information on applying color after the initial gilding.

¹⁵Donald L. Fennimore, personal communication, October 29, 1992 and confirmed by examination of hardware in the Henry K. Hancock collection.

¹⁶One of the mounts marked "TR" tested negative for gilding; it seems safe to assume that the identical example at the Metropolitan and the two other Metropolitan "TR" mounts are not gilt. See the three examples on display in the Luce Study Center, Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession nos. Inst. 68.8.65, Inst. 68.8.67, and Inst. 68.8.68. For the candle arm marked "IR," see accession no. Inst. 68.8.11.

¹⁷Information about Thomas Hands and William Jenkins was obtained from Donald L. Fennimore through personal communication and by his kind offer to allow the author to read his manuscript, Copper and Its Alloys in Early America: A Catalogue of Copper, Brass, Bronze, and Paktonq Artifacts Selected from the Winterthur Museum Collection, forthcoming publication. See also item number 363, The Magazine Antiques (May 1945), p. 300.

¹⁸Donald L. Fennimore, "Brass Hardware on American Furniture, Part II: Stamped hardware, 1750-1850," The Magazine Antiques (July 1991), p. 82.

¹⁹See Winterthur trade catalogues, nos. 285 and 262 respectively, as catalogued by E. Richard McKinstry, Trade Catalogues at Winterthur: A Guide to the Literature of Merchandising 1750 to 1980 A Winterthur Book (New York: Garland Publishing, 1984).

²⁰See Metropolitan Museum of Art accession nos. Inst. 68.8.72, Inst. 68.8.73, Inst. 68.8.27, and Inst. 68.8.14b, respectively.

²¹Unfortunately, no inner wrapping papers for the ornaments with the two ink numbers on their versos, the "6441" roller ends, or the "330" portable desk handles survive. A correspondence between these marks and the mysterious numbers on the inner papers would have lent

support to the hypothesis that the numbers on the inner papers could be trade catalogue numbers.

²²Winterthur trade catalogue, McKinstry no. 262, call number RBR TS573 B61f* no.2. Hancock left a total of six river god mounts: five are in the private collection and one is at the Metropolitan. Only a fragmentary wrapping paper exists for these mounts. It reads: "ch Gilt-Centre Ornaments." The fragmentary wrapping paper on the river goddess companion mounts reads: "6 French Gilt-Centre Orn" "No. 17."

²³This page containing the bow-and-wreaths pattern (p. 96) also contains a watermark of the initials "WB" in script within an oval.

²⁴An identical page showing portable desk handles appears in the Metropolitan Museum's trade catalogue, 1985.1103.

²⁵McKinstry, Trade Catalogues at Winterthur, op. cit., catalogue no. 262.

²⁶The five different watermarks found in this volume are the entwined script initials: "G & A," "G & A 1822," and "W B" in an oval; and the block letters "A COWAN & SON" "1824," and "J PHILPS 1824."

²⁷XRF testing showed the river god mount to be mercury gilt; it has yet to be determined whether the ornaments represented in this trade catalogue pattern could have been gilt for the price of "10/Dozen."

²⁸ The Winterthur trade catalogue is McKinstry no.278, call no. RBR TS573 B61f* no. 4; the Metropolitan's trade catalogue is accession number 1972.656.2, and the two Victoria and Albert trade catalogues are press nos. M65L and M61e.

The bow-and-wreaths pattern was one of the most frequently appearing patterns discovered in this study. Interestingly, however, no bow-and-wreaths mounts aside from Hancock's were found on any furniture, European or American, during the course of this project.

²⁹McKinstry, Trade Catalogues at Winterthur, op. cit., no. 278. This catalogue is inscribed on the first leaf: "Book Stamp Brass Work/No. 101 T. T." Stamped in blue ink on first leaf: "THOMAS ELSLEY LIMITED/PORTLAND METAL WORKS/32, Great Portland St./28 & 30, Great Titchfield Street./ LONDON.W."

³⁰McKinstry no. 262, op. cit.

³¹Nicholas Goodison, "The Victoria and Albert Museum's Collection of Metal-Work Pattern Books," Furniture History vol. XI (London: Furniture History Society, 1975), cat. no. 22, press no. M61e.

³²For example, compare Goodison, "Metal-Work Pattern Books," illustration 50 with Essex Institute trade catalogues, call nos. 739.4 S19.2 v. 15 and v.16. The page in Goodison's illustration is identical to a page in v.16, and one design on these pages shows up in v.15.

³³The trade catalogues containing patterns similar to these "HJ[F?]" capitals are, in the order quoted: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession number 1975.656.2; Winterthur trade catalogues #278 and #285, respectively; and Victoria and Albert catalogue, press nos. M62a, page 70 in a collection of loose sheets, relating to clock ornaments on page 71.

³⁴Winterthur trade catalogue, McKinstry no. 303, call no. NK7899 Y34*t.c. For two examples of Hancock's stamped pulls at the Metropolitan, see accession nos. Inst.68.8.53 and Inst.68.8.54.

³⁵Victoria and Albert trade catalogue, press no. M62a, page 40 in a grouping of loose sheets that appear to have been bound together at one time. The related "Deep Star Ornaments with Spikes" appear on page 35 of this same group. Unfortunately, these loose sheets do not specify whether the objects pictured were stamped or cast. Based on comparisons with the Hancock collection, this author has assumed that the catalogue offered objects made by both processes.

Goodison, "Metal-Work Pattern Books," op. cit., cat. no. 38, dates this catalogue to ca. 1840, based on an 1837 watermark.

³⁶Interestingly a trade catalogue at the Metropolitan, accession number 35.41.2, contains a related inscription: "Timo Smith Birmingham 15 Aug 1766." As mentioned in chapter one, this is the earliest known dated inscription found in a trade catalogue. Both the Metropolitan and the Winterthur catalogues are mentioned in Theodore R. Crom, Trade Catalogues 1542 to 1842 (Melrose, Florida: Privately Printed, 1989), pp. 182-185.

³⁷Writing-games table, ca. 1815, illustrated in Clifford Musgrave, Regency Furniture 1800 to 1830 (London: Faber and Faber, 1970), plate 79.

³⁸See endnote 11 above.

³⁹Toilet table purchased in December 1809 from A. T. Baudouin, a furniture dealer, for Empress Josephine's bedroom, Musée National du Château de Versailles, Grand Trianon, illustrated in Léon de Groër, Decorative Arts in Europe 1750-1850 (New York: Rizzoli International, 1986), plate 153, p. 90.

⁴⁰Set of six klismos side chairs, New York or Philadelphia, ca. 1810-1825, Winterthur Collection, accession nos. 65.102.1-.6.

Interestingly, an identical design appears on a round stamped drawer pull in a 20th-century metalwork trade catalogue in the Cooper-Hewitt Library, Keeler Brass Company Catalog No. 41 (Grand Rapids, Michigan: no date). This company reproduced period metalwork, as Ball & Ball of Exton, Pennsylvania, does today. The Keeler catalogue serves a reminder that metalwork must be examined carefully for authenticity; Keeler published designs that relate closely to Joseph Barry's swan mount, discussed in chapter two, and Charles-Honoré Lannuier's cornucopia mount.

⁴¹The Winterthur trade catalogue pattern corresponding with the river god mount may supply evidence supporting the argument that Hancock did not buy his hardware directly from a trade catalogue. Winterthur's river god pattern has the inscription "per Dozen" written immediately above the figure's head. Hancock's wrapping paper for the river god is missing but the torn wrapping paper around the bundle of related river goddess mounts bears the inscription "6 French Gilt-Centre Orn". Five river goddess mounts are tied together inside the bundle and one is now at the Metropolitan for a total of six. Similarly, five river gods are wrapped together and one is also at the Metropolitan. It seems Hancock purchased half of a "per Dozen" set of each mount, a quantity not corresponding with the way the trade catalogue specifies the river god mount was sold. From the opposite point of view, however, the possibility does exist that six of each god and goddess mounts would constitute one set "per Dozen." This rationale might supply the reason why Hancock's river goddess is not pictured in Winterthur's catalogue.

Interestingly, the river goddess wrapping paper bears another inscription: in addition to "6 French Gilt-Center Orn [remainder torn away]" on the front, the inscription "[K]nobs (Mahogany)" appears on the back of the paper, near the straight-cut edge. This second inscription could be interpreted as a clue that Hancock was buying assorted furniture hardware, woodwork as well as metalwork, from one source that had assembled the items from a variety of different suppliers. This source seems to have labeled each package individually, according to Hancock's order. No "[K]nobs (Mahogany)" appear in the private collection of Hancock's hardware but the descendant does own a mahogany secretary made by Hancock that has original turned mahogany knobs.

FIGURES

PLEASE NOTE

**Copyrighted materials in this document have
not been filmed at the request of the author.
They are available for consultation, however,
in the author's university library.**

**154-168
186-193
195-196
210-217**

University Microfilms International



Figure 16. Furniture mount depicting a river god, cast brass with mercury gilding. From the workshop inventory of Henry Kellam Hancock, Boston, 1810-1853. (Private collection of a Hancock descendant. Photograph by Jillian Ehninger.)



Figure 17. Furniture mount depicting two swans and cattails, cast brass with mercury gilding. From the workshop inventory of Henry Kellam Hancock, Boston, 1810-1853. (Private collection of a Hancock descendant. Photograph by Jillian Ehninger.)

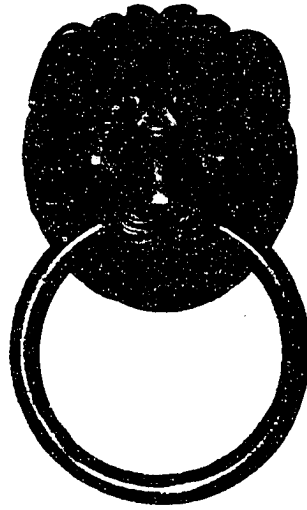


Figure 18. Lion-head drawer pull, cast brass with mercury gilding. From the workshop inventory of Henry Kellam Hancock, Boston, 1810-1853. (Private collection of a Hancock descendant. Photograph by Jillian Ehninger.)

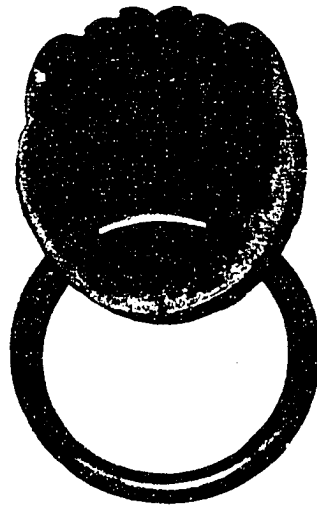


Figure 19. Verso of figure 18, showing a drilled threaded hole and burr for attachment. (Photograph by Jillian Ehninger.)



Figure 20. Furniture mount with threaded holes drilled into the verso. Cast brass with no evidence of gilding. Detail of figures 23, 26, and 27. From the workshop inventory of Henry Kellam Hancock, Boston, 1810-1853. (Private collection of a Hancock descendant. Photograph by Jillian Ehninger.)



Figure 21. Paper-wrapped packet of small iron nails, included in Hancock's package of six furniture mounts depicting river gods. This packet contains enough nails to attach Hancock's set of six river god mounts to woodwork; the small nails screw into threaded holes drilled into the verso of the mounts. From the workshop inventory of Henry Kellam Hancock, Boston, 1810-1853. (Private collection of a Hancock descendant. Photograph by Jillian Ehninger.)

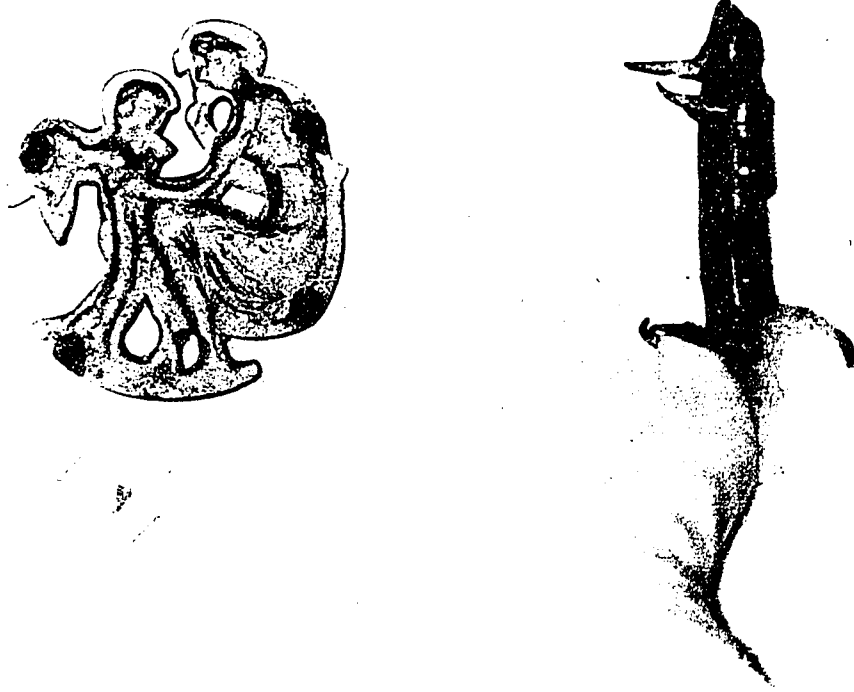


Figure 22. Chair ornaments with small spikes on the versos, cast integrally with the body. Detail of figure 41. From the workshop inventory of Henry Kellam Hancock, Boston, 1810-1853. (Private collection of a Hancock descendant. Photograph by Jillian Ehninger.)

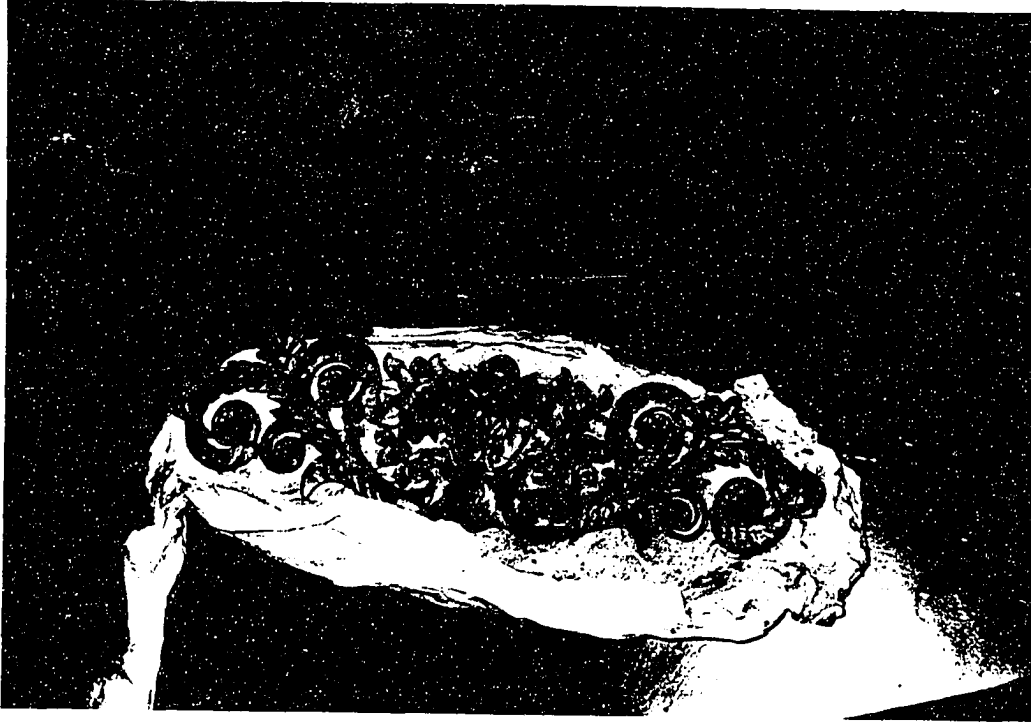


Figure 23. Wrapping papers for a set of "2 French Gilt-Centre Ornaments," marked "TR" on their versos. Cast brass with no evidence of gilding. See also figures 20, 26, and 27 and Appendix. From the workshop inventory of Henry Kellam Hancock, Boston, 1810-1853. (Private collection of a Hancock descendant. Photograph by Jillian Ehninger.)

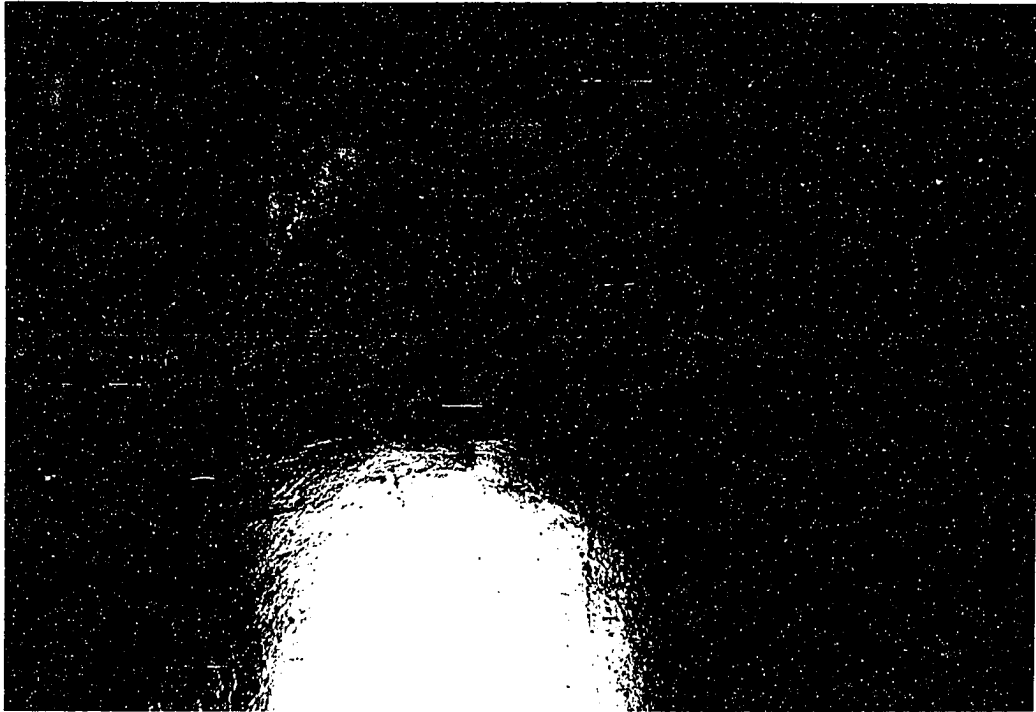


Figure 24. Wrapping paper containing side or "tablet" ornaments. From the workshop inventory of Henry Kellam Hancock, Boston, 1810-1853. (Private collection of a Hancock descendant. Photograph by Jillian Ehninger.)



Figure 25. Paper-wrapped bundles of hardware containing cast "Escutcheons" and "No. 25 31 Rings" with a stamped hinge. From the workshop inventory of Henry Kellam Hancock, Boston, 1810-1853. (Private collection of a Hancock descendant. Photograph by Jillian Ehninger.)



Figure 26. Floral center ornament, marked "TR" on the verso, as shown in the detail in figure 27. Cast brass. From the workshop inventory of Henry Kellam Hancock, Boston, 1810-1853. (Private collection of a Hancock descendant. Photograph by Jillian Ehninger.)



Figure 27. Detail of the floral center ornament shown in figure 26. (Photograph by Jillian Ehninger.)

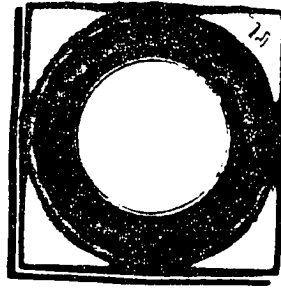


Figure 28. Stamped brass collar marked "HJ[F?]." From the workshop inventory of Henry Kellam Hancock, Boston, 1810-1853. (Private collection of a Hancock descendant. Photograph by Jillian Ehninger.)



Figure 29. Paper-wrapped package of hardware, inscribed "22 Bundles No. 5" and containing stamped brass collars marked "HJ[F?]." From the workshop inventory of Henry Kellam Hancock, Boston, 1810-1853. (Private collection of a Hancock descendant. Photograph by Jillian Ehninger.)

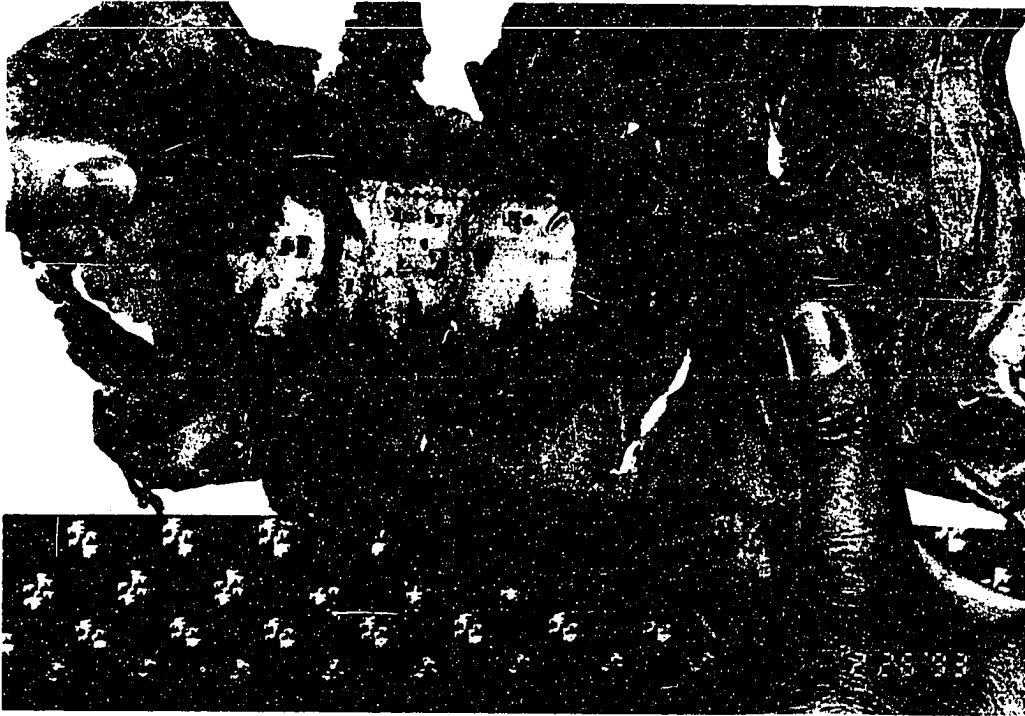


Figure 30. Detail of figure 29, showing a fragmentary sticker on the inside of the package. The remaining lettering reads "In. by 1/8 No. 6 / Br_s Sa[r?]t_s / B[?]_R_ _ _H." From the workshop inventory of Henry Kellam Hancock, Boston, 1810-1853. (Private collection of a Hancock descendant. Photograph by Jillian Ehninger.)

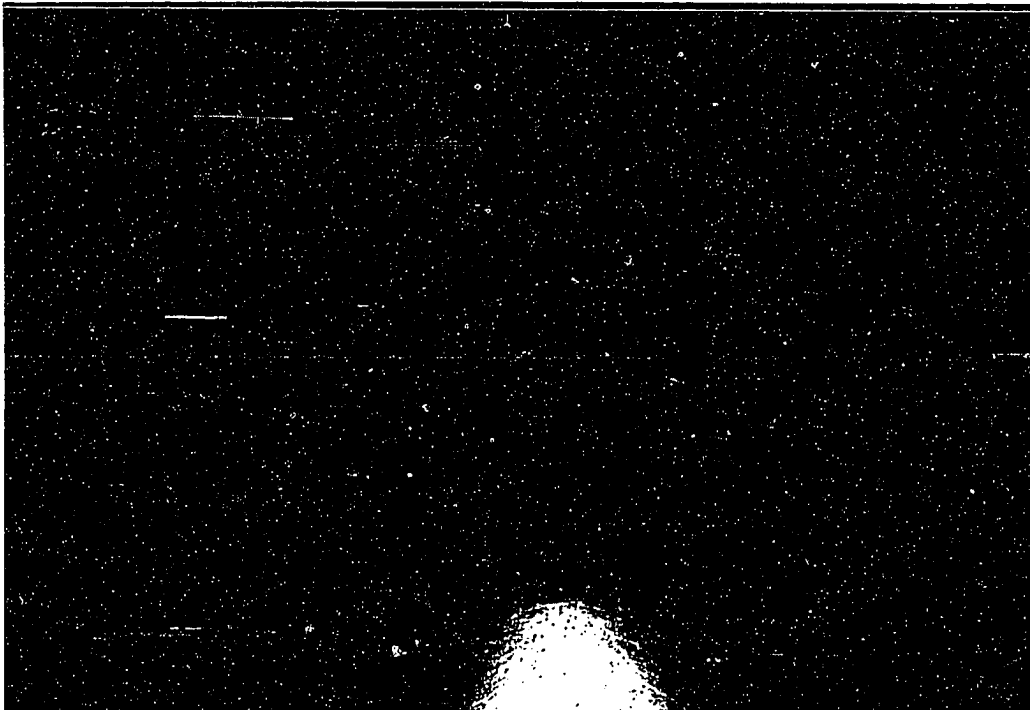


Figure 31. Wrapping paper found loosely containing six lion-head drawer pulls (see figure 18). The (almost illegible) inscription reads: "2 Galures[?]. No. 5[?]0 / Moyenne [P or t?]ette de / Lion a Mufle." From the workshop inventory of Henry Kellam Hancock, Boston, 1810-1853. (Private collection of a Hancock descendant. Photograph by Jillian Ehninger.)

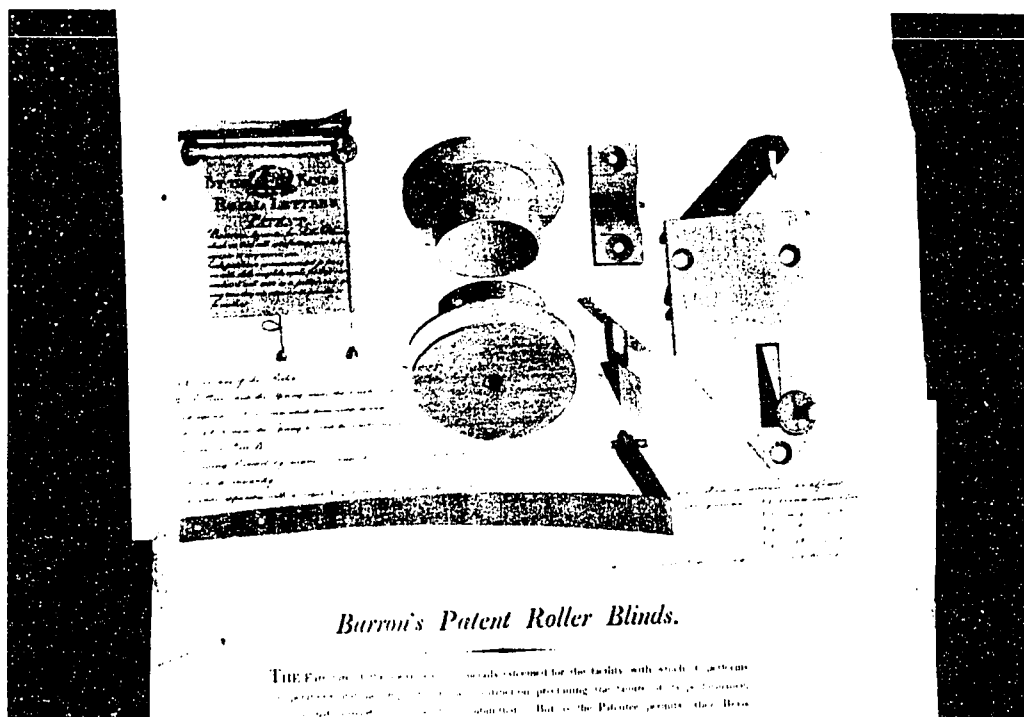


Figure 32. Detail of a single unbound trade catalogue page showing "Barron's Patent Roller Blinds." Probably Birmingham, England, early 19th century. From the workshop inventory of Henry Kellam Hancock, Boston, 1810-1853. (Private collection of a Hancock descendant. Photograph by Jillian Ehninger.)



Figure 41. Chair ornaments depicting Venus and Cupid, cast brass with "dead dipping" finish. Compare with figures 42 and 43. From the workshop inventory of Henry Kellam Hancock, Boston, 1810-1853. (Private collection of a Hancock descendant. Photograph by Jillian Ehninger. Two related examples are now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession numbers Inst. 68.8.82 and Inst. 68.8.83.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

City Directories

- The Boston Directory. Boston: Edward Cotton, 1810-19.
- The Boston Directory. Boston: John H. Frost and Charles Stimson, Jr., 1820-1826.
- The Boston Directory. Boston: Charles Stimson, 1827-54.
- Wrights Directory of Birmingham, 1825 and other Birmingham City Directories, the Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, M-1365.

Inventories

- Inventory of Thomas Emmons. Suffolk County Probate Records, Suffolk County Probate Court, Boston (No. 27606, May 23, 1825), on microfilm in the Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, M-162.
- Inventory of John Hancock & Co., Philadelphia, 1835. Courtesy of David H. Conradson.
- Inventory of Charles-Honoré Lannuier, New York City, October 23, 1819. The Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, shelf no. 54.37.31.
- Inventory of Duncan Phyfe, New York City, September 8, 1854. The Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera and published in Nancy McClelland, Duncan Phyfe and The English Regency 1795-1830 New York: William R. Scott, Inc., 1939, pp. 332-339.

Manuscripts

Charles Watts account books, 1802-1815, the Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, shelf nos. 81x15 and 69x212.1-.6.

Watts and Jones families' correspondence and papers, ca. 1800-1850, The New-York Historical Society, Guide to the Manuscript Collections No. 1549.

William Greenough day book, August 25, 1820 to October 23, 1821. The Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, shelf no. 73x290.

George Newbold Correspondence and papers, 1801-1858. The New-York Historical Society, Guide to the Manuscript Collections No. 1590.

Duncan Phyfe & Son, Extensive Auction Sale of Splendid and Valuable Furniture on Tuesday & Wednesday, april 16, & 17, [1847,]...at the Furniture Ware Rooms of Messrs. Duncan Phyfe & Son, New York: Haliday & Jenkins, [1847]. The Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, shelf no. 55.510, coll. 61, box 18.

Third Census of the United States, 1810. Population Schedules, New York City, New York. National Archives, Washington, D. C., microfilm roll 32, vol. 7.

Will of Henry K. Hancock, Boston, 1854. Suffolk County Probate Records, Suffolk County Probate Court, Boston, Massachusetts. No. 39164.

Administration of Mary A. Hancock, Boston, 1873, Suffolk County Probate Records, Suffolk County Probate Court, Boston, Massachusetts. No. 53938.

Newspapers

The New York Evening Post. July 15, 1803. On microfilm at the New York Public Library.

Boston Daily Evening Transcript. October 29, 1851. On microfilm at the New York Public Library.

18th- and 19th-Century Books

- Aitken, William Costen. The Early History of Brass and the Brass Manufactures of Birmingham. Birmingham, England: Martin Billing, Son & Co., 1866.
- Diderot, Denis. Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers par une société de gens de lettres. Paris, 1751-1777.
- The Resources, Products, and Industrial History of Birmingham and the Midland Hardware District. Samuel Timmins, ed. London, 1866.
- Smith, William Hawkes. Birmingham and its vicinity as a manufacturing and commercial district. London, 1836.

Secondary Sources

Books

- Aslin, Elizabeth. Nineteenth Century English Furniture. New York: Faber Monographs on Furniture, 1962.
- Berg, Sven Dan and Hassell, George. The Geddy Foundry. A Colonial Williamsburg Historic Trades Book. Williamsburg, Virginia: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1992.
- Bjerkoe, Ethel Hall. The Cabinetmakers of America. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1957.
- Buck, Norman Sydney. The Development of the Organisation of Anglo-American Trade 1800-1850. David and Charles Reprint of the 1925 ed. Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1969.
- Burton, E. Milby. Charleston Furniture 1700-1825. Charleston, S.C.: The Charleston Museum, 1955.
- Champeaux, Alfred de. Dictionnaire des Fondateurs, Ciseleurs, Modeleurs en Bronze et Doreurs depuis le Moyen Age jusqu'à l'époque actuelle. Paris and London, 1886, completion of sections A through C only.

- Comstock, Helen. American Furniture: Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Century Styles. New York, 1962.
- Cooper, Wendy A. In Praise of America. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980.
- Cornelius, Charles Over. Furniture Masterpieces of Duncan Phyfe. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1922.
- Crom, Theodore R. Trade Catalogues 1542 to 1842. Melrose, Florida: Privately Printed, 1989.
- Davis, John H. The Bouviers: Portrait of an American Family. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1969.
- Day, Joan. Bristol Brass: A History of the Industry. Newton Abbot, Devon, England: David & Charles, 1973.
- Dickinson, H. W. Matthew Boulton. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1937.
- Draper, James David. The Arts Under Napoleon. Exhibition catalogue. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1978.
- Duggan, Ed. The Impact of Industrialization on an Urban Labor Market: Birmingham, England, 1770-1860. New York: Garland Publications, 1985.
- Ericksen, Svende. Early Neo-Classicism in France. Trans. by Peter Thorton. London: Faber & Faber, 1974, especially pp. 95-96 and 271 ff.
- Feld, Stuart P. and Garrett, Wendell. Neo-Classicism in America: Inspiration and Innovation, 1810-1840. New York: Hirschl & Adler Galleries, Inc., 1991.
- Flanigan, J. Michael. American Furniture from the Kaufman Collection. Washington, D. C.: The National Gallery of Art, 1986.
- The French in America, 1520-1880. Exhibition Catalogue. The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1951.
- Garvan, Beatrice B. Federal Philadelphia, 1785-1825. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1987.

- Goodison, Nicholas. Ormolu: The Work of Matthew Boulton. London: Phaidon Press, 1974.
- Grandjean, Serge. Empire Furniture 1800 to 1825. London: Faber and Faber, 1966.
- Groër, Léon de. Decorative Arts in Europe 1790-1850. New York: Rizzoli International, 1986.
- Hamilton, Henry. The English Brass and Copper Industries to 1800. London: Frank Cass and Company, Limited, 1967.
- Hopkins, Eric. Birmingham: The First Manufacturing Town in the World 1760-1840. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989.
- Hunter-Stiebel, Penelope. Elements of Style: The Art of the Bronze Mount in 18th and 19th Century France. Exhibition Catalogue. New York: Rosenberg and Stiebel, 1984.
- Jourdain, Margaret. Regency Furniture 1795-1820. London, 1949.
- Joy, Edward T. English Furniture 1800-1851. London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1977.
- Kauffman, Henry J. American Copper and Brass. Camden, N.J.: T. Nelson and Sons, 1968.
- Lathrop, William G. The Brass Industry in the United States. New York: Arno Press, 1972.
- Ledoux-Lebard, Denise. Les Ebénistes Parisiens, 1795-1870. Paris: De Nobele, 1965.
- McClelland, Nancy. Duncan Phyfe and the English Regency 1795-1830. New York: William R. Scott, Inc., 1939.
- McKinstry, Richard E. Trade Catalogues at Winterthur: A Guide to the Literature of Merchandising 1750 to 1980. A Winterthur Book. New York: Garland Publishing, 1984.
- Miller, V. Isabelle. Furniture by New York Cabinetmakers 1650-1860. New York: Museum of the City of New York, 1956.

- Montgomery, Charles F. American Furniture--The Federal Period in the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum. New York: Viking Press, 1966.
- Musgrave, Clifford. Regency Furniture 1800 to 1830. London: Faber and Faber, 1961.
- New York Furniture Before 1840. Albany: The Albany Institute of History and Art, 1962.
- Niclausse, Juliette. Thomire: Fondateur-Ciseleur (1751-1843). Paris: Librairie Grund, 1947.
- Otto, Celia Jackson. American Furniture of the Nineteenth Century. New York: The Viking Press, 1965.
- Philadelphia: Three Centuries of American Art. Philadelphia: The Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1976.
- Porter, Glenn and Livesay, Harold C. Merchants and Manufacturers: Studies in the Changing Structure of Nineteenth-Century Marketing (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1971.
- Reade, Brian. Regency Antiques. Boston, 1953.
- The Regency Period, 1810-1830. The Connoisseur Period Guides. London: The Connoisseur, 1958.
- Robiquet, Jacques. Vie et Oeuvre de Pierre Gouthière. Paris: Société de Propagation des Livres d'Art, 1920-1921.
- Sander, Penny J., ed. Elegant Embellishments: Furnishings from New England Homes, 1660-1860. Boston: The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1982.
- Scherer, John L. New York Furniture At the New York State Museum. Alexandria, Virginia: Highland House Publishers, Inc., 1984.
- Serge, Grandjean. Empire Furniture. London: Faber and Faber, 1966.
- Singer, Charles; Holmyard, E. J.; Hall, A. R. and Williams, Trevor D. A History of Technology, Vol IV: The Industrial Revolution ca. 1790 to 1850. Oxford, 1958.

- The Taste of Napoleon. Exhibition catalogue. The Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum Bulletin vol. IV, no. 10. Kansas City, Missouri: The Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum, 1969.
- Tracy, Berry B., and Gerdtz, William H. Classical America 1815-1845. Newark, New Jersey: The Newark Museum, 1963.
- Tracy, Berry B. et al. 19th-Century America: Furniture and Other Decorative Arts. Exhibition Catalogue. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.
- Venable, Charles. American Furniture in the Bybee Collection Austin: University of Texas Press and the Dallas Museum of Art, 1989.
- Verlet, Pierre. French Royal Furniture. Trans. by Michael Bullock. London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1963.
- . Les Bronzes Dorés Français du XVIII^e Siècle. Paris: Grands Manuels Picard, 1987.
- . French Furniture of the Eighteenth Century. Trans. by Penelope Hunter-Stiebel. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991.
- Weidman, Gregory R. Furniture in Maryland, 1740-1940. Baltimore: The Maryland Historical Society, 1984.
- Whitman, Maxwell. Copper for America. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1971.
- Young, W. A. Old English Pattern Books of the Metal Trades. London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1913.

Articles

- Ames, Kenneth L. "Designed in France: Notes on the Transmission of French Style to America," Winterthur Portfolio 12, 1977, pp. 103-114.
- Dallett, Francis James. "Michel Bouvier, Franco-American cabinetmaker," The Magazine Antiques, February 1962, pp. 198-200.

- Ducoff-Barone, Deborah. "Design and Decoration on Early Nineteenth-Century American Furniture: A Case Study of a Philadelphia Secretary Bookcase," The Decorative Arts Society Newsletter, vol. IX, no. 1 (March 1983), pp. 1-8.
- Fennimore, Donald L. "American NeoClassical Furniture and Its European Antecedents," The American Art Journal, vol. XIII, no. 4 (Autumn 1981), pp. 49-65.
- ". "Brass Hardware on American Furniture, Part I: Cast hardware, 1700-1850," The Magazine Antiques, May 1991, pp. 948-955.
- ". "Brass hardware on American Furniture, Part II: Stamped hardware, 1750-1850," The Magazine Antiques, July 1991, pp. 80-91.
- ". "A labeled card table by Michel Bouvier," The Magazine Antiques, April 1973, pp. 761-763.
- Goodison, Nicholas. "The Victoria and Albert Museum's Collection of Metal-work Pattern Books," Furniture History, vol. XI. London: Furniture History Society, 1975, pp. 1-30.
- Ginsburg, Benjamin. "Bronze mounts and a new label," The Magazine Antiques, April 1963, p. 459.
- Hayward, John. "English Ormolu of the Eighteenth Century," The Magazine Antiques, December 1956, pp. 553-561.
- Hummel, Charles. "Samuel Rowland Fisher's Catalogue of English Hardware," Winterthur Portfolio One, 1967, pp. 188-197.
- Hunter-Stiebel, Penelope. "The Bronze Mounts of French Furniture, Part I: Baroque, Regence and Rococo," The Magazine Antiques, January 1985, pp. 237-244; and "Part II: Early Neoclassicism, Louis XVI, and Empire," February 1985, pp. 454-463.
- Johnson, Peter. "Ormolu, as Applied to Furniture," Art & Antiques, April 20, 1974, pp. 24-26.

- Jones, Edward V. "Charles-Honore Lannuier and Duncan Phyfe, Two Creative Geniuses of Federal New York," The American Art Journal, May 1977, pp. 4-14.
- Michie, Thomas S., and Monkhouse, Christopher P. "Pattern books in the Redwood Library and Athenaeum, Newport, Rhode Island," The Magazine Antiques, January 1990, pp. 286-299.
- Olive, Gabriel, "Brass Fittings: A Newly Discovered Catalogue," The Antique Dealer & Collectors Guide, April 1977, pp. 89-91.
- Pearce, Lorraine W. "The Work of Charles-Honoré Lannuier, French Cabinetmaker in New York," Maryland Historical Magazine, vol. 55, no. 1 (March 1960), pp. 14-29.
- . "American Empire Furniture in the White House," The Magazine Antiques, May 1962, pp. 515-519.
- Prown, Jules David. "Style As Evidence," Winterthur Portfolio 15, no. 3 (Autumn 1980), pp. 197-210.
- . "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method," Winterthur Portfolio 17, no. 1 (Spring 1982), pp. 1-20.
- Ralston, Ruth. "The Style Antique in Furniture--I: Its sources and its Creators," The Magazine Antiques, May 1945, pp. 278-281, 288-289.
- . "The Style Antique in Furniture--II: Its American Manifestations," The Magazine Antiques, October 1945, pp. 206-209, 220-223.
- Rambo, James I. "Some Gilt Bronze Furniture Mounts in The Cooper Union Museum," Chronicle of The Museum for the Arts of Decoration of the Cooper Union, vol. 2, no. 2 (June 1950), pp. 36-55.
- Robinson, Eric. "Boulton and Fothergill: 1762-1782, and the Birmingham Export of Hardware," Reprinted from The University of Birmingham Historical Journal, vol. 7, no. 1 (1959), pp. 60-79.
- Rubin, Alan. "Ormolu Mounts and Objects D'Art," Discovering Antiques, Issue 34 (1971), pp. 812-816.

- Smith, Robert C. "The Classical Style in France and England 1800-1840," The Magazine Antiques, November 1958, pp. 429-433.
- . "Late Classical Furniture in The United States, 1820-1850," The Magazine Antiques, December 1958, pp. 519-523.
- . "Philadelphia Empire furniture by Antoine Gabriel Quervelle," The Magazine Antiques, September 1964, pp. 304-309.
- . "The furniture of Antoine Gabriel Quervelle," The Magazine Antiques, "Part I: The pier tables," May 1973, pp. 984-994; "Part II: The pedestal tables," July 1973, pp. 90-97; "Part III: The worktables," August 1973, pp. 261-268; "Part IV: Some case pieces," January 1974, pp. 180-193.
- Stewart, Patrick L. "The American Empire Style: Its Historical Background," The American Art Journal, vol. X (November 1978), pp. 97-105.
- Symonds, R. W. "An Eighteenth-Century English Brassfounder's Catalogue," The Magazine Antiques, February 1931, pp. 102-105.
- Talbott, Page. "Boston Empire Furniture," The Magazine Antiques, "Part I," May 1975, pp. 878-887 and "Part II," May 1976, pp. 1004-1013.
- . "Seating Furniture in Boston, 1810-1835," The Magazine Antiques, May 1991, pp. 956-969.
- . "The Furniture Trade in Boston, 1810-1835," The Magazine Antiques, May 1992, pp. 842-855.
- Tracy, Berry Bryson. "19th Century American Furniture in the Collection of the Newark Museum," The Museum, vol. 13, no. 4 (Fall 1961), pp. 1-23.
- Vibert Sloane, Jeanne. "A Duncan Phyfe bill and the furniture it documents," The Magazine Antiques, May 1987, pp. 1106-113.
- Watson, F. J. B. "Puzzles and Problems in French Furniture Mounts," Apollo, March 1972, pp. 196-200.

Wilson, Gillian. "Bouille," Furniture History, vol. VIII, London: Furniture History Society, 1972, pp. 47-69.

Woodhouse, Samuel W., Jr. "English Hardware for American Cabinetmakers," The Magazine Antiques, November 1931, pp. 287-289.

Zimmerman, Philip D. "Workmanship as Evidence: A Model for Object Study," Winterthur Portfolio 16, no. 4 (Winter 1981), pp. 283-307.

Unpublished Papers and Theses

Brown, Michael Kevin. "Duncan Phyfe," Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Delaware, 1978.

Catalano, Kathleen Matilda. "Cabinetmaking in Philadelphia, 1820-1840," Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Delaware, 1972.

Fennimore, Donald L. Copper and Its Alloys in Early America: A Catalogue of Copper, Brass, Bronze, and Paklong Artifacts Selected from the Winterthur Museum Collection. Forthcoming publication.

"Neoclassicism in the Decorative Arts: France, England, and America," Exhibition catalogue presented by students, The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1971.

Talbott, Elizabeth Page. "The Furniture Industry in Boston, 1810-1835," Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Delaware, 1974.

Thomson, Christine. "'Last but not Least' - Examination and Interpretation of Coatings on Brass Hardware," Unpublished paper at the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Waltham, Massachusetts, April, 1991.

Venable, Charles. "Philadelphia Biedermeier: Germanic Craftsmen and Design in Philadelphia, 1820-1850," Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Delaware, 1986.

- Waxman, Lorraine. "French Influence on American Decorative Arts of the Early 19th Century: the Work of Charles-Honoré Lannuier," Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Delaware, 1958.
- Woodside, Joan. "French Influence on American Furniture as Seen through the Engraved Designs of Pierre de la Mésangère's Collection des Meubles et Objets de Goût Published from 1802 to 1835," Unpublished Doctoral Disseration, University of Chicago, 1986.

APPENDIX: X-RAY FLUORESCENCE TEST RESULTS