

William Buttre's Eagle Fancy Chair in the American Economy and Domestic Interior, 1805-25

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Figure 1. Eagle fancy chair, William Buttre, Albany, New York, 1815-18. Beech, poplar, maple, Ash
1952.50.1 Bequest of Henry Francis du Pont

In many ways, the Eagle fancy chair made in William Buttre's shop between 1815 and 1818 embodies taste and economic growth in Federal-era New York (Figure 1). Its patriotic symbolism captured the optimism of the young United States. Fancy seating furniture expressed a newfound appreciation for imaginative and animated interior decoration in American homes. Similarly, the fabrication of the Eagle Fancy Chair reflected changes in the furniture industry brought about by an unprecedented increase in demand. But the Eagle fancy chair also represented enduring patterns that drew from earlier, established models. Fancy chairs brought levity to American interiors, but their placement in the home shows that people continued to organize domestic spaces with propriety. While furniture makers competed with fantastic design, the profitability of fancy chairs depended on practical considerations, such as the unstable demand for consumer durables and the challenges of running a business in an economy that depended as much on barter as cash. For consumers, fancy objects did not overturn conventional taste; they coexisted with and lent variety to it. For shops specializing in these popular objects, indulging fancy was a survival tactic that set one maker apart from another when consumers sought novelty.

Stylistic Origins

Painted fancy chair designs borrowed forms and decorative features from British and French neoclassical, and American vernacular seating furniture. Neoclassical designs first developed in the mid eighteenth century as imported objects, immigrant workers, and pattern books disseminated new fashions and styles. By the 1780s, George Hepplewhite described the “rich and splendid appearance” of painted chairs with molded ornament highlighted against a uniform ground color. Gilded decoration offered an inexpensive alternative to brass mounts used on French classical furniture. Brightly painted Windsor chairs, which emerged in the early eighteenth century, set a precedent for admitting colorful furnishings into the home. Fancy chair makers, who often produced Windsor chairs as well, incorporated simple turned elements and labor-saving bored socket construction characteristic of both these types of seating. Painting concealed the use of various woods on Windsor chairs, in addition to providing color and decoration.¹



Figure 2. Reconstructed colorway, Eagle fancy chair, William Buttre, Albany, New York, 1815-18. Beech, Poplar, Maple, Ash
1952.50.1 Bequest of
Henry Francis du Pont

The Eagle fancy chair incorporated elements from all of these models. Its shield back and carved stiles recall British and French neoclassical furniture. Composed of Beech, Tulip Poplar, Ash, and Soft Maple, the chair appeared cohesive under layers of vermilion paint. Once maroon in color, the painted surface now appears dark brown due to later overpainting and discolored varnish (Figure 2). Color theorists endorsed red as an ideal complement to gilding, which ornaments the edges, front stretcher, crest rail, and seat rail of the Eagle Fancy Chair. The importance of the chair’s parts may be evident in the materials used to gild them, which range from 24-karat gold leaf on the crest rail to copper alloy on the front stretcher. Replacing cane seats with native rush found on vernacular ladder-back chairs held down costs. And although the Eagle Fancy Chair featured mortise-and-tenon joinery in some areas, quickly bored socket joints secured the stretchers and spindles. Despite these vernacular influences, fancy chair makers cast their products as objects of refinement. Buttre advertised his furniture as “elegant, well-made, and highly finished” and a “sign of the two Golden Chairs” hung outside his shop in Albany. After about 1820, fancy chairs became prevalent and inexpensive enough that they no longer warranted such conceits.²

Fancy not only referred to the appearance of an object, but also implied that its design “originated in the fancy,” in the imagination of its maker. Sumpter Priddy defined objects of this type as possessing “novelty, variety, and wit.” They were powerful in their ability to “delight, awe, [or] surprise.” The attribute of the Eagle fancy chair most disposed toward “Fancy” is the combination of the seal of the

United States that forms the back with familiar chair parts from the seat down (see figure 6). The taste for Fancy was playful. It took the viewpoint that playfulness was a rewarding counterpoint to rationality and utility.³ Classical motifs gave expression to national identity and shaped material culture on both sides of the Atlantic. By presenting the United States Seal as a central motif (as many designs did after Congress adopted it in 1782), the Eagle fancy chair alluded to the republican era of the Roman Empire and ordinary citizens defense of the state as a classical virtue. In Napoleonic France, the eagle symbolized imperialism and absolute rule, while English designers adopted it to convey nobility and military superiority.⁴

Fancy Chairs in American Homes



Figure 3. *James and John Hasson*, artist unknown, Baltimore, 1813-16. 1984.7, A Museum Purchase

American domestic interiors were stylistically and economically diverse. The rare archetypal Fancy interior was “filled to capacity with colors and patterns, with visual excesses and superfluities, and with lively furnishings.” Decoration could include patterned wallpapers, upholstery, curtains, and ceramics, as well as sconces that created lively lighting effects. Painted surfaces animated tables, firescreens, mirrors, bedsteads, window cornices, and clocks as well as chairs. A portrait of James and John Hasson of Baltimore shows one such Fancy setting (Figure 3). Seated in bright, gilded fancy chairs, set upon a vibrant ornamental floor covering, the Hassons are themselves enlivened by their colorful waistcoats. One sitter casually rests a foot on the stretcher of the table, suggesting the relaxed and informal domestic environment this furniture sustained. But in contrast to rocking and easy chairs, fancy chairs still encouraged “properly respectful and refined posture.” Certainly the Eagle Fancy Chair, with its elaborate carved back, offered more to sitters as a distinctive framing device than as a place to rest.⁵

Fancy objects complemented other fashions found in Federal period homes. In redecorating his ancestral home, Wye House, in the 1820s, Edward Lloyd VI ordered Fancy painted cornices and chairs from the Baltimore shop of Hugh Finlay.

But he also bought a mahogany Egyptian Revival sideboard, marble slab tables, and Venetian carpets. Nor did wealthy families relinquish outdated belongings for the sake of fashion. Mingling the old and new connoted rank via lineage. The Van Rensselaers of Cherry Hill in Albany mixed fancy chairs with objects accumulated over several generations. Similarly, in a sample of thirty-six probate inventories dating from 1800 to 1855, ten New York households, of above-average means contained fancy chairs. In several of these homes, painted chairs appear alongside mahogany furniture, Chinese export porcelain, silver, and silk damask curtains—objects not representative of Fancy interiors.⁶

Many appraisers recorded fancy chairs in sets of six, eight, or twelve, suggesting that they were destined for specific rooms. Charles Montgomery asserted that fancy chairs were “fit for the parlor and best rooms.” While suggesting that they were displayed in “prominent social spaces,” Sumpter Priddy is more liberal in his assertion that they could be found “anywhere that seating might be needed.” Few probate inventories identified the rooms in which fancy chairs were found, but some patterns emerge that can refine these claims. They are never associated with dining tables or sideboards, suggesting that they were considered inappropriate for dining rooms. Neither Montgomery nor Priddy mentioned bedrooms, but the only probate inventory to place fancy chairs in named rooms listed them in these upstairs spaces. Indeed, while Edward Lloyd VI did furnish the front hall at Wye House with fancy chairs in the 1820s, it was the bedrooms that were most thoroughly outfitted in painted furniture and colorful mural decoration. Among

the dozens of chairs illustrated in Rudolph Ackermann's British periodical, *Repository of Arts*, painted, caned seating furniture is most often identified with bedrooms (Figure 4). Appearing in the most private sections of the house in America as well as Great Britain, fancy chairs take on additional meaning as an accepted indulgence, but one to be enjoyed outside of official social contexts.⁷



Figure 4. Bed Room Chairs, *The Repository of Arts, Literature, etc.* 12 (August 1814), Plate 8. AP4 R42 Printed Book and Periodical Collection, Winterthur Library

Economic Context

A relatively healthy economy in the 1790s and early 1800s sustained playfulness in many forms of the decorative arts. As war preoccupied Europe, American merchant fleets became neutral carriers. Trade stimulated an uneven but prolonged commercial expansion. The American population quadrupled, and a middle class emerged with unprecedented amounts of discretionary income. The cheerful quality of Fancy objects correlated with the general sense of optimism in the wake of Revolutionary victory and the promise of economic and territorial expansion.⁸

Many New York artisans prospered from the eradication of many colonial trade restrictions, expanding settlements in Upstate New York, and rapid population growth in the state's cities. A trade card for William Buttre's Fancy Chair Manufactory flaunts the ideals of productivity and refinement that furniture makers strove for in this era (Figure 5). The card divides the process into two panels, the bottom one showing fabrication and the upper one illustrating the decorative parts of the trade. Spindles bundled for shipment adjacent to an overhead wheel lathe support Buttre's confident claim in other advertisements that "a thousand Windsor chairs will be delivered at a few hours notice." The work is specialized and segmented. Each employee attends to one step in the manufacturing process, signaling the shop's efficiency and work flow. Distinctive among them is the decorator, the only employee seated in a chair, whose work elevated Buttre's seating furniture to the tasteful realm of "Fancy." While Buttre's advertisement featured finished products, he broadcast his shop's ability to fill orders quickly and well.⁹

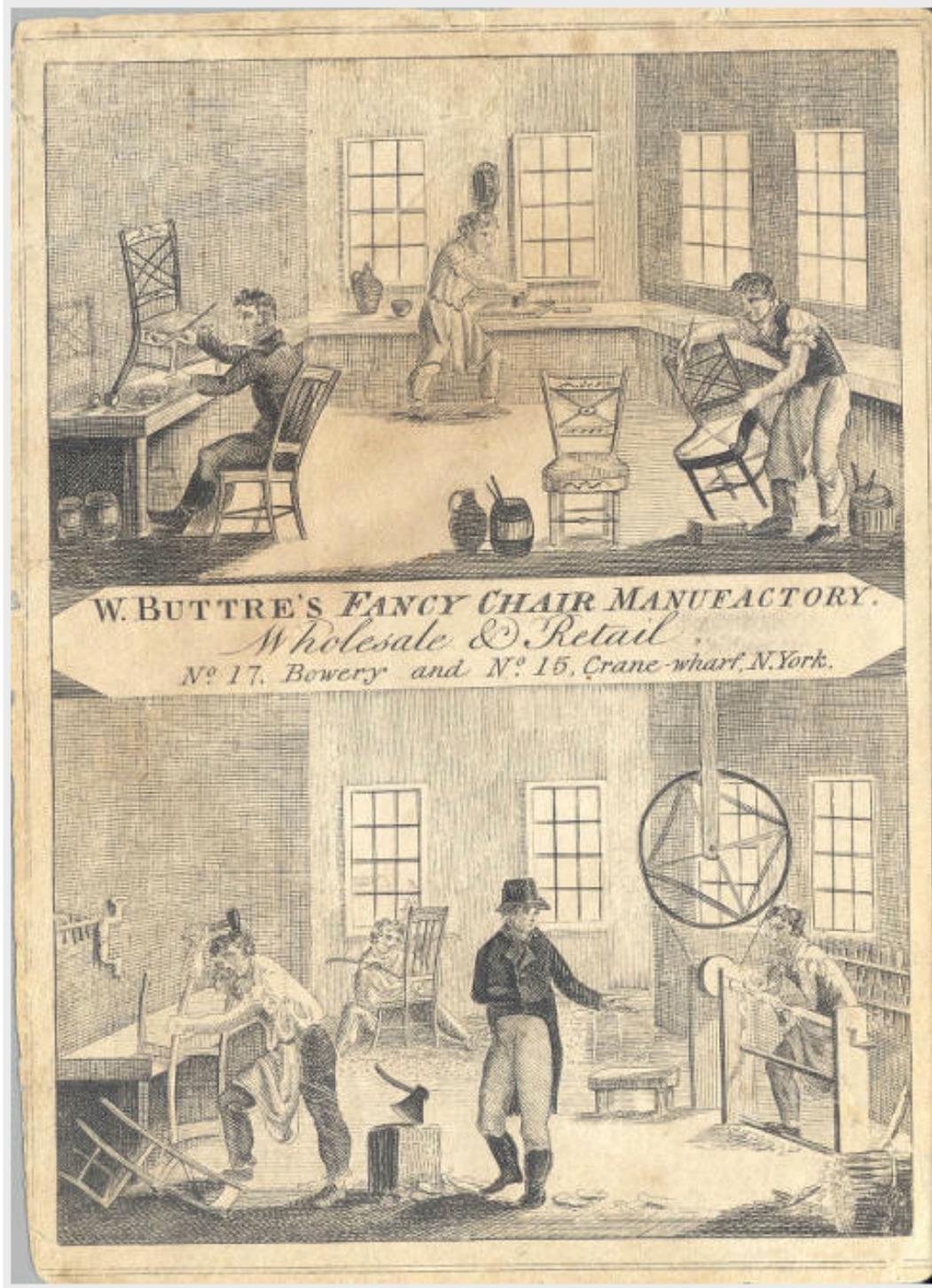


Figure 5. W. Buttre's Fancy Chair Manufactory, New York City, ca. 1811-14. Engraved Trade Card, 81x096, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library

When he established his shop in New York City in 1805, Buttre joined an experienced community of furniture makers. At least five other shops specialized in fancy chairs between 1797 and the 1840s. Many more made Windsor chairs, while high style furnishings were most closely identified with the shops of Duncan Phyfe and Charles-Honoré Lannuier. The stylistic hybridity of fancy chairs is reflected in their cost.

While Phyfe charged as much as \$9 for a side chair, one of Buttre's finest fancy chairs cost \$4.25. By comparison, a painted Windsor chair sold for about fifty cents. Thus, chairmaking was a highly competitive and price-sensitive business. Although costing much less than a Phyfe chair, Buttre's fancy chairs were expensive. John Cowperthwaite and George Skellorn asked about \$1.50 for their fancy chairs, which was still more than the average retail cost of .45 -\$1.25. Fancy landscapes, gilt and bronze decoration, painted details, and flourishes contributed to the cost of finished chairs. The Eagle fancy chair, with its carved stiles and shield back, required more labor and therefore cost more than fancy chairs that mainly consisted of turned parts painted a uniform color.¹⁰

Fancy chairs naturally allowed manufacturers to stand out from competitors through unusual product design and illustrated advertising materials (Figure 6). In Europe and the United States alike, enthusiasm for mechanical invention, novelty, and patent technology pervaded the furniture industry and fed consumers' desire to distinguish themselves through material possessions. But sales of extraordinary pieces were not typical. Repairing and refinishing old furniture was a significant source of income for chairmakers. Charles Fredericks made \$23.12 repairing and repainting twenty-two items—roughly the equivalent of selling twenty-seven mid-range fancy chairs. By illustrating his Eagle Fancy Chair advertisements over several years, Buttre was not only merchandising his shop's most splendid product, but also harnessing its image to bring in mundane business.¹¹



Figure 6
Detail, William Buttre Ad
Albany Advertiser
16 February 1815

There is no evidence that the carved eagle head and shell pictured in this ad were ever executed

Several options existed for customers buying fancy chairs. Buttre invited customers to try out a new stock of patented “elastic spring bottom chairs” in person at both of his factory locations. Orders could be placed at the publishing headquarters of *The American Coast Pilot*, which ran advertisements for the shop. Workers loaded finished products onto “chair wagons” to be delivered to local clients. Depending on the distance traveled, shipping could add as much as the value of one elaborate Fancy chair to customers' bills. New inland and coastal markets increased demand. Manufacturers began to stock finished objects in order to fulfill orders promptly but finished inventory took up more space than parts. Shop-owners solicited contracts with shippers whose knowledge of coastal trade could secure more buyers and higher prices for their wares than was feasible locally. Northern manufacturers especially pursued markets in the Southeastern United States, such as Savannah, Georgia, and Charleston, South Carolina. Finished chairs were stacked in pairs for shipment, but parts were also bundled and sealed in barrels, to be assembled and painted by agents in port cities or by customers themselves.¹²

Distant markets had the potential for great financial gain, but could also bring ruin and distress. A collapse in optimism colors the correspondence of John Hewitt, a cabinetmaker who brought his New York contacts to Savannah from 1801-1802. At first sending for large quantities of mahogany bedsteads, chairs, and furniture parts, Hewitt ended his time in Savannah by informing his partner, “I want no more furniture, for I find the little profit I get ... is not worth me running the risk of my life here, and bad debts.” Although Buttre opened a dockside location in 1811 and repeatedly stated that “a liberal allowance [would be] made to shippers” in promotions, Rhode Island—a downwind run up Long Island Sound—was the only known

market for his chairs outside of New York. Buttre's move to Albany in 1814 also reflected his desire to find new markets and reduce costs, perhaps in response to the economic instability and blockade during the War of 1812. He was financially secure upon arrival, spending about \$2,500 to establish his shop. The New York State capital seems to have been an advantageous location at times; Buttre's largest documented commission, forty-two "Bamboo Fancy Chairs," was for the New York Supreme Court. By the 1830s, however, his earlier claims that "a thousand Windsor chairs will be delivered at a few hours notice" were no longer extraordinary, but critical to survival in what had become a high volume, low profit business. Manufacturers like Lambert Hitchcock of Connecticut ensured their success through aggressive branding, low prices, and replacing the skilled labor of hand-painted elements with stenciling. As Buttre was among the earliest participants in the New York fancy chair industry, so too was he ahead of the curve in failing at it. He became insolvent while in Albany, and in 1824, auctioned off his remaining stock, ending his nearly twenty-year career in chair making.¹³

Conclusion

Although Fancy chairs served more spaces in the home than many scholars have acknowledged, Buttre's elaborate and iconic Eagle Fancy Chair was certainly a presentation piece for "the best rooms." The chair enjoyed pride of place in advertising and its high monetary value distinguished it from other Fancy seating furniture in the New York market. Despite undercurrents of European tastes, the chair represents design preferences distinct to the United States during an era of unprecedented invention and choice in decorative arts. The creative, playful designs executed by manufacturers like William Buttre transformed the American domestic interior in the opening decades of the nineteenth century, but most customers bought more conservative and economical styles. For businessmen producing these chairs, Fancy was a timely response to the eternal challenge of attracting fickle customers and staying in business.

¹ Neoclassical design sources for fancy chairs are discussed in Charles F. Montgomery, *American Furniture, The Federal Period, in the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum* (Atglen: Schiffer, 2001), 445; Sumpter Priddy, *American Fancy: Exuberance in the Arts, 1790-1840* (Milwaukee: Chipstone Foundation, 2004), 38-43; Charles Semowich, "The Life and Chairs of William Buttre," *Furniture History* 28 (1992), 132; A. Hepplewhite & Co., *The Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Guide* (London: I. & J. Taylor, 1789), 1-2; Don C. Skemer, "David Alling's Chair Manufactory: Craft Industrialization in Newark, New Jersey, 1801-1854," *Winterthur Portfolio* 22 (Spring 1989), 10; Patricia Kane, *300 Years of American Seating Furniture* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1976), 155, 162-4; Dean A. Fales, Jr., *American Painted Furniture, 1660-1880* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1986), 93, 149-53. For gilding and French brass decoration, see D.R. Hay, *Laws of Harmonious Coloring* (London: W.S. Orr & Co., 1838), 47-52; Nathaniel Whittock, *The Decorative Painters' and Glaziers' Guide* (London: Isaac Taylor Hinton, 1827), 73-4; Sheraton (1803), vol. 2, 329; Peter M. Kenny, "Lannuier's Life and Work in New York, 1803-19," in *Honoré Lannuier: Cabinetmaker from Paris*, John P. O'Neill, ed. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 33-4; Ulrich Leben, "Charles- Honoré Lannuier's Origins in France: From Chantilly and Paris to New York," in *Honoré Lannuier*, 25; Fales, 159. For vernacular design influences, see Priddy, 46, 135-6; Skemer, 9-10; Kane, 182-8. Certain woods were chosen for their special properties: ash, used for the seat frame, is known for its strength; beech, which comprises the back supports and rear legs, was favored for its thickness and good painting surface. See Sheraton (1803), vol. 1, 20-1, 44-5; Fales, 85; Kane, 191.

² Paint analysis of Eagle Fancy Chair given in Susan Buck, Conservation Report, (5 April 1990), in Object File 1952.0050.001, Winterthur Museum Registrar's Office; Susan Buck, Conservation Report, (16 December 1989), in Object File; and Paint Sample Analysis, (8 November 1990), in Object File. In 1816, Thomas Ash, Jr., another New York fancy chair maker described his employees as "the very best and most tasteful workmen." See *Longworth's Directory* (New York, 1816-17), facsimile in Thomas Ash, Jr. File, Decorative Art Photograph Collection, Winterthur Museum (hereafter DAPC). Buttre's comments on the refinement of his furniture appear in *Albany Advertiser*, (16 February 1815) and *Albany Gazette*, (6 August 1817). For the declining status of fancy chairs in the 1820s, see Montgomery, 446.

³ Priddy, xxv-xxxiv; Semowich, 132.

⁴ For eagles in American decorative art, see Philip M. Isaacson, "The Eagle as an American Symbol," in *The American Eagle: Spirit and Symbol, 1782-1882* (Katonah: The Katonah Gallery, 1988), 7; *The Self-Conscious Republic, 1790-1830* (Schenectady: The Schenectady Museum, 1958), 1-3; John L. Scherer,

New York Furniture: The Federal Period, 1788-1825 (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1988), 5; Nancy Goyné Evans, "The Christian M. Nestell Drawing Book: A Focus on the Ornamental Painter and His Craft in Early Nineteenth-Century America," in *American Furniture*, (Milwaukee: Chipstone Foundation, 1998), 140-1. For eagles in French Empire design, see C. Percier and P.F.L. Fontaine, *Recueil de Décorations Intérieures* (Paris: P. Didot L'Ainé, 1812), 4-8, 36; Pierre de la Mésangère, "Collection de meubles et objets de gout," *Journal des dames et des modes* (Paris: Au Bureau du Journal des dames, ca. 1801-31). For the motif in English Regency furniture, see Stephen Jones, "Introduction," in *Ackermann's Regency Furniture and Interiors*, Ian Cameron and Jill Hollis, eds. (Marlborough: Crowood Press, 1984), 11-15; George Smith, *Collection of Designs for Household Furniture and Interior Decoration* (London: J. Taylor, 1808), 4; Thomas Hope, *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration* (London: T. Bensley, 1807), 3-4; Pauline Agius, "Furniture and the Interiors in the Repository," in *Ackermann's Regency Furniture and Interiors*, 18-9; Hepplewhite, iv, 23-4; Sheraton, vol. 2, 201; "New and Fashionable Articles of Furniture," *The Lady's Monthly Museum* (1 April 1801), 288.

⁵ Priddy, xxii-xxiii, 47-51, 55, 76-8, 144-5; Fales, 93-9, 118-23, 129; John E. Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 146. For the effects of rocking chairs on comportment, see Priddy, 144-8 and Nancy Goyné Evans, "The Genesis of the Boston Rocking Chair," *Antiques* 123 (January 1983), 246.

⁶ For the Lloyds of Wye House, see Alexandra A. Alevizatos, "'Procured of the Best and Most Fashionable Materials:' The Furniture and Furnishings of the Lloyd Family, 1750-1850," (Master's Thesis, University of Delaware, 1999), 71-5. For the Van Rensselaer's of Cherry Hill, see Roderic H. Blackburn, *Cherry Hill: The History and Collections of a Van Rensselaer Family* (Bethlehem, NY: Historic Cherry Hill, 1976). Wills and Probate Inventories, Col. 61, Boxes 1-3, 10, DCMPE; John Norman, Probate Inventory (1806), Col. 61, Box 1, DCMPE; William Walton, Probate Inventory (1806), Col. 61, Box 1, DCMPE; See Samuel Talman, Probate Inventory (1811), Col. 61, Box 1, DCMPE; Alexander Gordon, Probate Inventory (1803), Col. 61, Box 1, DCMPE.

⁷ Montgomery, 445; Priddy, 37, 136. Named rooms appear in Gerard Beekman, Probate Inventory (1833), Col. 61, Box 10, DCMPE. For Wye House, see Alevizatos, 71-5. Bedroom chairs illustrated in Ackermann's *Repository of Arts*, Series 1, (1814). See *Ackermann's Regency Furniture and Interiors*, Ian Cameron and Jill Hollis, eds. (Marlborough: Crowood Press, 1984). For more on bedroom decoration in Great Britain, see Hay, 36-7. For a fancy bedroom set owned by the Yates family of Albany, see Fales, 102-5.

⁸ Evans, "Christian M. Nestell," 100; Montgomery, 9-10; Priddy, 38, 100; Howard B. Rock, *The New York City Artisan, 1789-1825* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), xix-xxi, 18; Nancy Goyné Evans, "American Painted Seating Furniture: Marketing the Product, 1750-1840," in *Perspectives on American Furniture*, Gerald W.R. Ward, ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1988), 164-5; Semowich, 132.

⁹ For Buttre's statement about delivering 1,000 Windsor chairs, see Lawrence Furlong, *The American Coast Pilot*, (New York: Edmund M. Blunt, 1812), Facsimile in Object File. Shipping practices described in Evans, "Painted Seating Furniture," 166-8 and Semowich, 129. The proper conditions for painting and finishing chairs are described in Thomas Sheraton, *The Cabinet Dictionary*, vol. 2 (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970 [1803]), 422-3. For discussion of ornamental painting profession, see Evans, "Christian M. Nestell."

¹⁰ Rock, xxv. The first documented Fancy chair maker in New York was William Challen, who promoted himself as a purveyor of current English fashions. See Priddy, 46. Other Fancy furniture manufacturers included George Skellorn, John Cowperthwaite, Thomas Ash, and John Winne of Albany. At least ten New York manufacturers specialized in Windsor chairs around 1800, including J. Always, Thomas and William Ash, John DeWitt, Adam Galer, Karnes and Hazlet, Isaac Kitchell, Henry Lock, Charles Marsh, Reuben Odell, and John Samler. Duncan Phyfe's prices are listed in Bill of Sale, (13 July 1812-13 March 1813), Facsimile in Duncan Phyfe File, DAPC. \$9 in 1812 amounts to about \$121.50 in 2013 currency. For Buttre's prices, see Priddy, 148-9, 155. \$4.25 in 1816 amounts to about \$57.50 in 2013 currency. John Cowperthwaite's prices are found in Billhead (11 May 1825), Reproduction in John Cowperthwaite File, DAPC and John Cowperthwaite, Billhead (29 April 1816), Col. 9 ovs., Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library (Hereafter DCMPE). For George Skellorn's prices, see Bill of Sale (10 June 1819), George Skellorn File, DAPC. Prices of Windsor chairs based on early nineteenth century probate inventories in Col. 61, DCMPE. For more fancy chair prices, see Fales, 147.

¹¹ For advertising fancy chairs, see Priddy, 152-5; Montgomery, 11. Specialty furniture introduced in early nineteenth-century Britain included adjustable Gouty Stools, a modular sofa called “The Confidante,” Metamorphic Library Chairs that converted into stepstools, Pembroke Tables, and a variety of objects designed specifically for women. See Sheraton (1803), vols. 1 and 2; Hepplewhite, 3-6; “New and Fashionable Articles,” 288; Agius, 18; Percier, 8-9. Among chair designs patented in the United States was Samuel Gragg’s Elastic Chair, and Buttre himself frequently advertised his stock of patent furniture. See Evans, “Genesis,” 247; Scherer, 5; Fales, 113. Prices for repairs and repainting appear in Charles Fredericks, Non-Printed Bill (24 March 1826), Col. 145, DCMPE. For more services rendered by cabinet- and chair makers, see William Chappel, Account Book (1793-1816), Doc. 1670, DCMPE; Skemer, 9. Seven Eagle Fancy Chairs survive, possibly from a single set, which indicates that Buttre manufactured few of these special chairs. See Semowich, 131-2.

¹² For Buttre’s sales strategies, see William Buttre Advertisement, *New York Morning Post* (24 June 1812) and William Buttre Advertisement, *The American Coast Pilot* (1812). Shipping practices are described in Evans, “Painted Seating Furniture,” 153-6, 166-8; Montgomery, 13-15, and Priddy, 155. A summary of the markets exploited by David Alling of Newark, New Jersey, is given in Skemer, 6-8.

¹³ Hewett to Bruen (4 January 1801) and (2 March 1802), Hewett Business Papers, Col. 354, DCMPE. For Buttre’s furniture in Rhode Island, see “Cabinet Manufactory and Warehouse,” Advertisement, *Rhode-Island American* (19 June 1812). Information on Buttre’s establishment in Albany given in William Buttre, Want Ad, *Albany Gazette* (6 February 1815). Expense of materials determined by those listed in Josiah Lord, Account Book (1819-1855), Fol. 323, DCMPE and William Chappel, Account Book (1793-1816), Doc. 1670, DCMPE. For the New York Supreme Court commission, see Priddy, 148-9, 155. Lambert Hitchcock’s fancy chair business is described in Fales, 184-93. For the end of Buttre’s career, see “By Order of Estes Howe, Esq.,” *Albany Argus* (30 June 1820) and Semowich, 130-131. General information on the growth of the industry and rising competition given in Evans, “Painted Seating Furniture,” 165; Rock, 18; Kane, 155, 188-9.

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