Patterns and Impressions:
An Investigation into the Copying of British Furniture Designs, the Cabinetmaker's Pattern Book and Trade Catalogue in New Zealand 1820-1920.

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Abstract

This thesis explains how quickly British furniture designs arrived with New Zealand's first colonist cabinetmakers in 1839, and that the first colonial printed trade catalogues were copied from British designs, often in contravention of copyright. Examples of the earliest New Zealand made furniture are examined to provide evidence that they were modelled on the work of popular and contemporary British designers. Comparison is made with American furniture and their first pattern books to illustrate that unauthorised reprinting of British designs had also occurred. The same experience was then found in Australia to demonstrate that British designs travelled promptly to that new colony and like America were also reproduced. The thesis argues that New Zealand colonial furniture makers replicated the American and Australian experiences. Analysis of the first New Zealand trade catalogues revealed that designs were indeed copied from British trade catalogues while specific colonial legal cases are examined to argue cabinetmakers' catalogues violated copyright and registration by reprinting designs. Despite the widespread distribution of subscription magazine as a source of copyright free furniture designs, illegal copying persisted. Printing methods, notably lithography and then photography, are discussed to explain the complexities and efficiencies of printing colonial catalogues. Further, this thesis examines colonial trade relationships, undocumented price coding, and the manufacture of colonial furniture by using British trade catalogues as pattern books to conclude that the primary motivation for colonial furniture makers to copy designs was always about profit.

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and Co. catalogue. Ray Eglington let me copy Henry Fielder's 1897 catalogue and gave me a notebook belonging to Chris Hartley, a former Scoullar and Chisholm employee. Noel Matheson gave me Edward Collie's catalogue and the Lynn Woodwork Museum generously traded Nicholson's *Practical Carpentry*. Helen Watson of Christchurch very kindly let me copy her grandfather Anders Jacobsen's material and further afield Jolyon Hudson, Marlborough Rare Books in London was always fun to email. There were no doubt others but I do want to single out my lovely partner Lynnette Brice for endlessly listening to me and being very supportive.

Contents

Introduction

This thesis discusses the nineteenth-century cabinetmaker's pattern book and the furniture trade catalogue in New Zealand.[1] It begins with an introduction that sets the context and background for the study which includes a literature review and an outline of the methodology. A large resource of original material found in New Zealand from the 1820 to 1920 period was assembled for this thesis. It was used to illustrate the introduction of furniture design from the very outset of European settlement through a century of change to demonstrate how quickly new fashions and printing processes were adopted in the colony.[2]

Chapter Two provides new and original material to demonstrate that colonial furniture was modelled on modern British patterns from the very outset of European settlement. It discusses examples from the 1840-50 era to explain the modernity of the very first colonial furniture. The latest British pattern books arrived with immigrants and those designs were replicated in New Zealand native timbers. The oldest surviving colonial furniture can be identified by comparison to contemporary British designs and also can be dated by identifying period tool markings and materials. The replication of British patterns in colonial made furniture can be taken as evidence that those designs reached New Zealand in a timely manner. Furthermore it will be shown that the work of the same designers, particularly Thomas King, John Loudon and warehouseman William Smee, consistently got to different regions of settlement. Chapter Two sets out to establish that popular British fashions were predominant while Chapter's Four and Five discuss surviving patterns to confirm this assertion.

British furniture designs were similarly popular in the United States. Chapter Three explores the use of English patterns in American furniture from after the turn of

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[1] The terms 'pattern book' and 'trade catalogue' seem to have been somewhat muddled throughout the library, museum, and antique trade. Pattern books were for cabinetmakers to manufacture from and were for the most part initiated by furniture designers who were not cabinetmakers. Additionally, pattern books assisted in selling an item before its construction. 'Trade catalogue' was the over-arching label given to publications illustrating a large selection of wares by individual manufacturers, suppliers and retailers. It also included products from many sources which were marketed through one outlet such as a furnishing warehouse whose name printed on the cover suggested all products within as their own house brand and manufacture.

[2] Margaret Ponsonby, *English Domestic Interior 1750-1850: a History of Retailing and Consumption* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). Although Ponsonby largely refers to the period predating New Zealand settlement it was evident that the pattern book had a profound influence on furniture design throughout the entire colonial era. "The period is particularly interesting for examining the spread of fashionable furniture, due to the changes in furniture making, and the increased knowledge of fashion because of printed sources." p. 10.

the nineteenth century and the first American furniture publications that directly copied from English and French pattern books. It argues that the unauthorised copying of foreign designs was a commonly accepted furniture trade practice. This chapter further looks to the earliest Australian colonial furniture for comparison to the previously found American use of British designs. It finds that the big names in British furniture design were also present in Australia at similar periods. Relationships between those designers and their publishers are discussed to show how their connections created design uniformity with mutual publishing outlets for their designs. The first trade catalogues found in Australia, those of London cabinetmaker and exporter William Smee, are used to illustrate the shift from pattern books to manufacturer's trade catalogues. The first incidence of Australian design copying by Rocke and Co. of Melbourne in 1875 was consistent with previous observations found to have occurred in America. It was also noted that Rocke was prepared to manufacture colonial furniture from Smee's trade catalogue in conflict with any wholesale agreement. This anomaly and that of design copying was to the detriment of British furniture manufacturers and in Chapters Four and Five this is shown to be a consistent trade practice with many New Zealand examples occurring at the same time.

Chapter Four examines the two oldest surviving New Zealand furniture trade catalogues, those of Craig and Gillies and North and Scoullar, both of Dunedin, which are for the first time accurately dated. The origins of designs reproduced in those catalogues are examined in detail to reveal that they were copied from British patterns as had previously been seen in early American and subsequently Australian furniture publications. Many patterns were copied without acknowledgement and in contravention of trade relationships with British companies and the profit motive for that will be discussed in Chapter Five. British patterns reprinted in Craig and Gillies' catalogue were identical to designs found elsewhere in New Zealand supporting Chapter Two's assertion of the same fashions continually entering the new colony. While legitimately sourced designs were reproduced, as first noted with Melbourne's Rock and Co. in Chapter Three, it was also found that British manufactures' trade catalogues were used as pattern books from which to make New Zealand colonial furniture.

In Chapter Five the legality of catalogue copying in England is explored and New Zealand cases are discussed to illustrate a general disregard for the copyright of British material. The earliest examples of colonial copying are highlighted and the use

of tracings and copying machines in colonial cabinetmaker's workshops is identified. Lithographic methods are explained to demonstrate how copying occurred from multiple sources for the first colonial catalogue by Craig and Gillies in 1875. Developments with printing processes are shown to facilitate copying while the introduction of subscription magazines in the British and American publishing industries are described to reflect how designs were increasingly distributed without legal restriction. This chapter then considers how those changes affected the reproduction of the latest overseas patterns in Australian and New Zealand catalogues while noting clear breaches of copyright still occurred. It further illustrates colonial cabinetmakers' intentions to use copied designs from which to manufacture furniture for greater profit. It further looks at colonial trade relationships, previously undocumented secret price codes to illustrate profit margins and the commercial advantage to colonial cabinetmakers of the trade catalogue. Subsequent to the introduction of cheap photolithographic methods the replication of identical patterns will be shown to explain the proliferation of trade catalogues from smaller furniture warehouses. Other factors contributed to the economy of printing such as the supply of free electrotype blocks by American and British exporters for specific use in colonial catalogues. It will be contended that the trade catalogue became an important marketing tool and an object of some trading status while it is also possible to see how the colonial cabinetmaking industry ignored copyright and profited from reprinting designs.

The Conclusion recounts the key points raised. It notes that the earliest colonial furniture can be related directly back to the work of British designers after 1826 and can be dated on style and also constructional materials. Even though the largely London-based furniture design community was very small, their influence can be traced to early nineteenth-century American furniture related material. American and Australian furniture of the same period compares well and a consistently modern style of British design was found in both countries. Copying in America, Australia and New Zealand within the furniture trade was widespread, indiscriminate and without regard for copyright. Later improvements in printing merely facilitated these endemic practices. New Zealand trade catalogues were then unoriginal and recopied from multiple sources. The conclusion reiterates that the primary motivation for printing colonial trade catalogues was to serve as order books from which to manufacture more profitable local furniture than to import the equivalent British-made item. The conclusion restates the illegality of inter-trade design copying and surmises that, despite any legitimacy offered

by the English subscription magazine, the colonial cabinetmaker ignored propriety by manufacturing colonial furniture from British catalogues regardless of preferential trade relationships; in effect the British trade catalogue often just became the de facto colonial pattern book. The underlying theme is that the furniture industry in three countries demonstrated similar practices and that in colonial New Zealand, for over seventy years, the same behaviour prevailed.

The focus of the thesis is the practice of copying in the colonial furniture industry. It first explains that modern British designs were made into furniture at the very beginning of European settlement and then follows a trail to America and Australia to show that the first New Zealand printed trade catalogues were unoriginal copies. It examines why that happened and why it continued to be accepted trade practice. The thesis presents entirely new material from surviving evidence found in New Zealand.

Chapter One: The Cabinetmaker's Pattern Book Contextualised

Thomas Chippendale's *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director* first printed in 1754, most famously placed the pattern book firmly in the eye of the British public, being "Calculated to improve and refine the present taste and suited to the fancy and circumstances of Persons in all Degrees of Life."[3]

Before publication Chippendale had advertised his "Work long wished for"[4] attracting no less than 308 subscribers from the nobility down to modest joiners and cabinet-makers. It sold out and the following year was re-printed. A third edition with an additional 106 new plates (sold individually) was issued in 1760 and then bound as a volume for sale by 1763. The *Director* travelled; a French edition was produced with copies owned by Louis XVI and Catherine the Great of Russia. Fashion disregarded politics with at least nine recorded copies also reaching America in the decade following the War of Independence.

Furniture historian for the Victoria and Albert Museum, Elizabeth White, positioned Chippendale's contribution to the (international) furnishing trade.

> It was a tour de force:- the largest pattern book ever devoted solely to furniture designs, comprehending all branches of the business, giving measurements, full instructions for the finish and even the

Here was a talented cabinet-maker producing a fine pattern book for the gentry and the trade: foremost a design book, it was also a domestic guide and a retail tool. The National Art Library within the Victoria and Albert Museum described their own copy of the *Director* as an early trade catalogue that "advertised furniture which could be ordered from Chippendale's London factory". Furthermore, they assert that the trade catalogue evolved from the pattern book. It had its gestation in the English Midlands from brass foundries and Sheffield plate

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[3] Thomas Chippendale, *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director. Being a Large Collection of Elegant and the Most useful designs of Household Furniture in the Gothic; Chinese and Modern Taste. Including a great variety of …* [furniture list follows]*… and Other Ornaments to Which is Prefixed a Short Explanation of the Five Orders of Architecture; With Proper Directions for Executing the Most Difficult Pieces, the Mouldings being Exhibited at large, and the Dimensions of each Design Specified* (London: 1854).
[4] Christopher Gilbert, *The Life and Work of Thomas Chippendale (*London: Cassell Ltd., 1978). Vol.1, p. 66.

manufacturers in the 1760s and by the nineteenth century the trade catalogue had become a separate sales aid.[5]

The Pattern Book as a Workshop Tool

The pattern book was an important and valuable guide to the practicing craftsman. The designs needed not to be necessarily slavishly copied but were intended to offer fashionable scope and a range of style opportunities to be referenced by the cabinet-maker. The unoriginality of many early nineteenth-century titles testifies to the intended market: *The Assistant*, *Companion*, *Guide*, *Sketchbook*, *Pattern-Book*, *Manufacturer's Book, Practical Cabinet-Maker*, even *Rudiments*, but the quaintest was surely *The Joyner and Cabinet –Maker's Darling or Pocket Director*. [6]

Commonly, as Chippendale had done, the furniture patterns were preceded by an educational discussion on architectural orders with rules for perspectives. John Stokes, in his *Complete Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Guide* (1829), expected its "Rudiments of Drawing as applicable to Articles of Furniture… will find a place in every factory and workshop, and be the companion of every intelligent workman."[7] Peter Thomson's *Cabinet-Maker's Sketch Book* (1851) devoted fifty pages to linear perspective, practical geometry and orders of architecture while the following year his highly instructional *Cabinet-Maker's Assistant* extended to 202 pages of advice. Thomson had further detailed timbers, dimensions and joinery with sequences of assembly for each pattern, all for workshop reference.[8]

Popularity and Reproduction of the Pattern Book

By the 1830s John Weale's Architectural Library was publishing furniture pattern books, both past and present. Weale continually reprinted Chippendale's *Director* while Thomas King's more recent *Modern Style of Cabinet Making*

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[5] Victoria and Albert Museum, 'National Art Library Trade Catalogues Collection' (n.d.); *V. and A.*; retrieved June 2016, http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/n/national-art-library-trade-catalogues-collection/

[6] Percy Wells and John Hooper, *Modern Cabinet Work Furniture and Fitments (*London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1918), p. 255.

[7] John Stokes, *The Complete Cabinet Maker and Upholsterer's Guide* (London: Dean and Munday, 1829). Digital copy available at The Getty Research Institute, 2008, retrieved from https://archive.org/details/completecabinetm00stok

[8] Peter Thomson, *Cabinet-Maker's Sketch Book* (William Mackenzie, Glasgow, 1851). Peter Thomson, *The Cabinet-Maker's Assistant (*William Blackie and Son, Glasgow, 1852-3). Republished as *Thomson and Son: Mid-Victorian Styles and Designs*, edited by Jim and Cynthia Martin (Antique Collectors' Club, Woodbridge, 2011).

Exemplified (1829) and John Loudon's *Encyclopaedia of Cottage Villa and Farm Architecture and Furniture* (1833) were both continually in print into the 1860s.[9] English works were regularly reprinted in America such as Webster and Parkes' *Encyclopaedia of Domestic Economy* (1844) which was reprinted in New York by 1848 and while Philadelphia publisher Henry Carey Baird had reissued Stokes' *Guide* (re-named *Companion*) many times between 1852 and 1906. In 1868 he also published the *Cabinet-Maker's Album of Furniture,* at that time only the third American furniture pattern book. It was in fact a reprint of Frenchman Desire Guilmard's patterns from about 1846.[10]

Dubious Copying in America

The first two American furniture pattern books, Baltimore architect John Hall's 1840 *The Cabinet-Maker's Assistant* and New York cabinetmaker Robert Connor's own *The Cabinet-Maker's Assistant* were in part copied from British designs, notably those of King and Loudon.[11] The pattern had already been set by Joseph Meeks 1833 Broadside with its coloured lithographs directly redrawn from George Smith's *Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Guide* (1826).[12] The illicit reproduction of furniture designs seems to have been an industrywide problem. British copyright laws were not enforceable in the former American colonies and oftentimes they had little effect even within the realm.

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[9] Thomas King, *Modern Style of Cabinet Making Exemplified* (London: T. King, 1829). Republished as *Thomas King Neo-Classical Furniture Designs*, edited by Thomas Gordon Smith (Toronto: Dover General Publishing Ltd, 1995). John Loudon *Encyclopaedia of Cottage Villa and Farm Architecture and Furniture (*London: Longman Orme, Rees, Brown, Green and Longman, 1836).

[10] Thomas Webster and Mrs William Parkes, *An Encyclopaedia of Domestic Economy (*New York: Harper and Brothers, 1848). Henry Carey Baird, *Gothic Album for Cabinet Makers* (Philadelphia: H. C. Baird Industrial Publisher, 1868); Henry Carey Baird, *Cabinet Maker's Album of Furniture* (Philadelphia: H. C. Baird Industrial Publisher, 1868); republished as *Victorian Gothic and Renaissance Revival Furniture* edited by Roger Moss (Philadelphia: Athenaeum Library, 1977).

[11] John Hall, *The Cabinet Makers' Assistant Embracing the Modern Style of Cabinet Furniture* (Baltimore: John Murphy [printer], 1840). Hall published two other books in 1840, *Modern Designs for Dwelling Houses* and *A Method for Hand Railing* (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1840); all republished as a single volume as *John Hall and the Grecian Style*, edited by Thomas Gordon Smith (New York: Acanthus Press, 1996). Robert Connor, *The Cabinet-Makers' Assistant* (New York: Faxon and Read, 1842).

[12] Joseph Meeks and Sons, *Manufactory of Cabinet and Upholstery Articles No.6 (*New York: Endicott and Swett, 1833). Original copy held in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; retrieved June 2016 from URL: http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/339865. George Smith, *Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Guide (*London: Jones and Co., 1826); retrieved in June 2016 from Internet Archive (1996) URL: https://archive.org/details/cabinetmakerupho00smit

From Pattern Book to Trade Catalogue and Subscription Magazine

By the late 1860s furniture manufacturing on both sides of the Atlantic was carried out in large mechanised multi-storey factories which issued their own trade catalogues. This was also coincident with the declining importance of the pattern book and the growing prominence of the subscription magazine as the primary source for the dissemination of new designs. In particular, two London publishing houses, Benns and Wymans had followed the America model, making the role of (often self-published) furniture designers dependant on the new trade catalogues and trade papers. Either, designers were directly employed by the magazine publishers, or contributed their designs through large furniture manufacturing warehouse catalogues.[13]

The Colonial Context

Ownership of design became a little less contentious but as progressive colonial furniture makers embraced new developments in lithography and photography to produce their own sales catalogues they were demonstrably indiscriminate in selecting their source material. Designs were taken largely from (often registered) British trade catalogues or furniture periodicals and were reprinted - oftentimes implying proprietary originality and always without acknowledgement.

Commentary on the nineteenth-century illustrated catalogue demands consideration. There has never been a detailed examination of the colonial trade catalogue, its origins and evolution. New Zealand's extreme distance from Britain, a four-month ocean journey, and short colonial history provides an excellent opportunity to consider the introduction of furniture designs from the outset of colonialization, the first trade catalogues and the widespread trade practice of copying designs.

Reprints and scholarship

Until the late 1960s disappointingly little academic research on furniture and furniture design from the nineteenth century had occurred. The nomenclature

[13] Prominent nineteenth-century designer Owen Jones employed by leading English furniture makers Jackson and Graham and as was Edward W. Godwin for Collinson and Lock. Joanna Banham, *Encyclopaedia of Interior Design* (Routledge: London, 1997), 'Pattern books', pp. 639-40.

'Victorian' applied to furniture made after 1837 was generally held with disdain within the antique trade as too new and, quite wrongly, of doubtful quality.[14] Even the Victorians themselves were critical. In *Our Mutual Friend* Charles Dickens exposed the preoccupation of the nouveaux-riche with wealth and image. "All things were in a state of high varnish and polish. And what was observable in the furniture was observable in the Veneerings."[15] Dickens' characters were a metaphor for the flashy and shoddy, yet the whole era of Victorian design was misunderstood and it was not until well into the second half of the twentieth century that the novelty and sophistication of the period was appreciated.[16] Until the 1960s a few key, mostly uncomplimentary, books dominated discussion.

An Examination of Early Writing on Victorian Design and Furniture

World War One left Britain in shock, undermining many norms and questioning some sense of security traditionally supplied by the immediate past. Author Marie Von Ebner-Eschenbach had recognised in 1893 that "so soon as a fashion is universal, it is out of date" but the unpopularity of the Victorian age seemed obsessive with disdain and lack of appreciation for Victorian furniture. Even Dickens' East End garret masters with their thinly sliced exotic veneers disguising cheap workmanship had besmirched that once fine art. More worryingly, Herbert Cescinsky's *The Gentle Art of Faking Furniture* and Ricardo Nobili's similarly named '*Spurious*' work had alerted the public to exactly what John Loudon had noted a century before, the knocking up of ancient "Elizabethan fragments". Veneering and forgery became synonymous with Victorian furniture. Francis Collard's fine examination *Regency Furniture* more recently and unhelpfully mentioned John Taylor's sideboards and Thomas King's *Modern Style* as "typical of the debased Greek Revival styles of the late Regency while adding that with time even fine reproductions could pass for originals."[17]

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[14] The accepted minimum retail standard and customs export/import tax exemption requirement for an object to be classified 'antique' is 100 years; retrieved in June 2016 from NZ Customs URL: http://www.customs.govt.nz/; 'People, Goods, and Crafts'; Section XXI, Chapters 97-8.

[15] Charles Dickens, *Our Mutual Friend (*Philadelphia: Peterson and Brothers, 1865), pp. 19-20.

[16] Joanna Banham, Julia Porter and Sally MacDonald, *Victorian Interior Style* (London: Studio Editions, 1995), p. 9.

17 Herbert Cescinsky, *The Gentle Art of Faking Furniture* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1931). Riccardo Nobili, *The Gentle Art of Faking: a history of the methods of producing imitations and spurious works of art from the earliest times up to the present day* (London: Seeley Service and Co. 1922). John Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, Villa Architecture and Furniture* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1836), p. 1039. Francis Collard, *Regency Furniture* (Woodbridge: Antique

Edwardian publications such as Percy Marquoid's four-volume set on the history of English furniture suggested there was little to offer readers after 1800. Despite Marquoid living for half a century in the Victorian era, his encyclopaedic effort (1904-8) had merely distinguished his periods by species; oak, walnut, mahogany and satinwood; inconveniently, the Victorians had used all four.[18] Most authors preferred nostalgia beyond living memory and possible enquiry, but Litchfield's *Illustrated History of Furniture* explained otherwise; "partly because trustworthy information as to these times is more accessible."[19] Litchfield would know, recounting how he once met the son of legendary cabinet-maker Richard Gillow, a listed subscriber to the *Director* and colleague of Chippendale.

The problem had been that a very few commentators could do lasting damage. Percy Wells and John Hooper had decided that the period, still within their memory, was beyond redemption. Their *Modern Cabinet Work: Furniture and Fitments* (1909) was a guide "to design and make furniture equal to if not surpassing the antique specimens for which there has been such an increasing craze." But that was exactly what the Victorians had ceaselessly done. *Modern Cabinet Work* was very comprehensive, with chapters reserved for historic styles and biographies of the familiar late 18th century designers; some clearly borrowed from Frederick Litchfield's *Illustrated History of Furniture* (1892), but after Thomas Hope's *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration* (1807) they lost all interest.[20]

> VICTORIAN - The furniture made in the early years of this period was an unsuccessful attempt to copy the "Empire" style, without brass mounts, and there is probably no time in the history of English furniture when taste was at such a low ebb.[21]

With no less than six reprints by 1952 the great impediment to scholarship was the regard with which *Modern Cabinet Work* was for so long held. Elizabeth Aslin's,

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Collectors Club., 1995), pp. 252-7. John Taylor, *The Upholsterer's and Cabinet Maker's Pocket Assistant* (London: Josiah Taylor, Architectural Library, 1823). Thomas King, *The Modern Style of Cabinet Work Exemplified* (London: Josiah Taylor, Architectural Library, 1835).

[18] Percy Marquoid, *The Age of Oak* (1904), *The Age of Walnut* (1905), *The Age of Mahogany* (1907), *The Age of Satinwood* (1908) (London: Lawrence and Bullen (1904-8); republished in 2 Volumes with original titles (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1988).

19 Frederick Litchfield, *Illustrated History of Furniture from the Earliest to the Present Time* (London: Truslove, Hanson and Comba Ltd., 1899), p. 4.

[20] Thomas Hope, *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration (*London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1807); retrieved June 2016 from Internet Archive (1996) URL: https://archive.org/details/Householdfurnit00Hope

[21] Wells and Hooper (1918), *Modern Cabinet Work*, p. 256. American William Kimberley also copied Wells and Hooper; "VICTORIAN ERA – During the early years of the 19th century, and unsuccessful attempt was made to copy the Empire Style, but after the brilliant work of the 18th century, English furniture designing sank to a low ebb". W.L. Kimberley, *How to Know Period Styles in Furniture* (Grand Rapids, Grand Rapids Furniture Record Co., 1913), p. 112; retrieved in June 2016 from Internet Archive (1996) URL: https://archive.org/details/howtoknowperiods00kimeiala

Nineteenth Century English Furniture even by 1962 also noted that "between the Regency and high Victorian periods, general taste and design in all forms of house furnishing were at a particularly low ebb."[22] Edward Joy's *English Furniture 1800-50* argued that the end of the Georgian age was not a "terminal date" for English furniture and that 1851 might be more appropriate because thereafter English furniture design definitely was at "the lowest ebb ever reached."[23] There seemed to be little investigation into the truth of what Wells and Hooper had said.

Creeping Interest in Nineteenth-century Furniture

Their colleague at the Shoreditch Technical Institute, Charles H. Haywood published an impressive forty furniture books up until 1977 with his *Antique or Fake* alone reprinted five times.[24] Haywood's first book in 1924 had a curious evolution with a gradually shifting end-date to take into account the eventual interest in Victorian furniture design.[25] *English Furniture at a Glance: A Simple Review in Pictures of the Origin and Evolution of Furniture from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries* was updated in 1936 to '*Evolution from 1500 to 1800*'. Then in 1957 a completely revised edition was extended from '*1500 to 1850*' which by 1977 finally finished at '*1900*'. Haywood had updated his last reprint with Victorian line drawings finally to include the whole period as a continuum of older and more venerated histories. It had made sense, with the perspective of enough time, as Victorian designs were themselves revivals and a reflection of earlier fashions.[26]

The first arguably academic retrospective, Nikolaus Pevsner's Great Exhibition critique *High Victorian Design* (1951) proposed that aesthetic had so dominated Victorian design that "very rarely the real date of a piece of 1850 is not written over its period disguise". It was, he thought, a period of great unoriginality. "An age which frankly applied art to objects instead of thinking in terms of aesthetic value from the

[22] Aslin citation by Thomas Gordon Smith in *Thomas King Neo-classical Furniture Designs*, p. iii.
[23] Edward Joy, *English Furniture 1800-1851* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet - Ward Lock Ltd., 1977), p. 10.
[24] Charles Haywood, *Antique or Fake* (London: Evans Brothers, 1970).
[25] Charles Hayward, *English Furniture at a Glance: A Simple Review in Pictures of the Origin and Evolution of Furniture from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries* (London: R. McInnis, Architectural Press, 1924).
[26] Charles Haywood, *English Period Furniture: An Account of the Evolution of Furniture from 1700 to 1900* (London: Evans Brothers, 1977).

beginning of the designing process, could hardly find more fault with the Elizabethan piano than with the Egyptian steam engine or the Gothic railway station."[27]

The problem had been the "incongruity" between object style and purpose where "meretricious ornament" was in denial of function or purpose. Pevsner identified early "feeling[s] of uneasiness" citing Augustus Welby Pugin's *True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (1841). "All really beautiful forms in architecture are based on the soundest principles of utility" to which Pevsner questioned why most exhibits and domestic articles of furniture had been made so "expensive" and "uneasy." His incisive language often verged on virulent. Sheffield silversmith Harry Roger's poor spoons exhibited "the swollen corpulence of the mid-century at its most satisfied" while an American chair was described as a "bloated shape [of] exuberant and useless excrescence". The latter was a dart at how "the technically adventurous" Americans (and Germans) were distracted by mechanisation. Despite an "ignorant brand [of Gothic] pervading the domestic market" Pevsner felt that the precision and speed of machines had purpose but the clinical result was in denial of the uniqueness of each artwork while the machine operator gained little feeling of achievement. Jordan's carving machine employed to manufacture a church tracery screen had, however, been a triumph of replicating correct Gothic for "sacred purposes."[28] Novelty could be "absurd" or "most futile" such as Southwark cabinetmaker Taylor and Son's combination walnut sofa-bed-washstand floating life raft for immigrants. The use of faux materials was a "deceit" and science, such as Galvano-plastic deposition, had led to public confusion as the appearance of intensive handwork was cheaply replicated.

Pevsner's disastrous revue inspired little to encourage further investigation of what was later to be seen as a century of innovation, progress and vision. However, he rightly noted that exhibits represented the best offerings and not the "workaday" products, but he went much further condemning the whole century preceding 1851 as full of invention and unconcern for tradition. Pevsner lined up heavyweights to argue against endless revivals with John Ruskin's view on neo-Grecian as "vulgar" and Ralf

[27] Nikolaus Pevsner, *High Victorian Design: A Study of the Exhibits of 1851* (London: Faber and Faber, 2011).
[28] Pevsner (2011*), High Victorian Design*, pp. 49-63, 73-5, 141.

Wornum's Gothic as "fatiguing, dead" and Pugin's detested Rococo also seen by Wornum as the "final debasement."[29]

William Morris and his artistic associates, Pevsner declared, finally brought reform. The Arts and Crafts Movement placed ornament subservient to "functional discipline". Excessive embellishment was banished as a timely reaction against all that Pevsner had so decried, while the individuality of the craftsman was recognised above the repetitive uniformity of the machine. Ironically the Movement itself, based on retrospective, also confirmed the views of many critics that nineteenth-century design was unoriginal. Exactly a century on, Pevsner was guarded with any praise for the Great Exhibition and disappointingly he was not alone.

Geoffrey Willis's *Craftsmen and Cabinet-Makers of Classic English Furniture 1550-1851* and, yet another Shoreditch lecturer, Edward Joy's *English Furniture 1800-50* had both selected the same convenient, but indefensible, mid-century terminal dates for discussion.[30] Both had stopped short of so much that was to characterise the Victorian age following the Great Exhibition; it was as though there was nothing of value to discuss beyond 1851. The Antique Collectors Club, a Suffolk based publishing house established in 1966, focussed entirely on decorative arts, primarily furniture, and it was their *Great Exhibitions 1851-1900*[31] that highlighted those international events as markers of profound importance for new design to reflect a recent attitude change. The Antique Collectors' Club also produced the first antique price reference book John Andrews' *The Price Guide to Antique Furniture,* which has been regularly updated and never out of print. Andrews' *Victorian and Edwardian Furniture* also pictorially laid out the whole century by placing designs alongside photographs of good and bad examples with comment on the defining styles that distinguished the age. Again, it has never been out of print, essentially saying that by the 1970s the whole nineteenth-century had validity to study, collect and invest in.[32]

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[29] Ibid, pp. 32-3, 42-3, 51, 56-7, 68, 141.
[30] Geoffrey Willis, *Craftsmen and Cabinet-Makers of Classic English Furniture 1550-1851* (Edinburgh: John Batholemew and Son, 1967). Edward Joy, *English Furniture 1800-50* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet – Ward Lock Ltd, 1977).
[31] J. Meyer, *Great Exhibitions 1851-1900* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 2006).
[32] John Andrews, *The Price Guide to Victorian Furniture* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1970). John Andrews, *Victorian and Edwardian Furniture Price Guide and Reasons for Values (*Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1992).

Earliest Nineteenth-century Designers to Gain Recognition

At the conclusion of such a rich and diverse century of style it was odd that few Victorians could reflect on their own design legacy. Litchfield's *Illustrated History of Furniture* went up to the "present time" which was by then 1892, with Queen Victoria still on the throne. It was a serious effort to include the nineteenth century as part of his narrative and he was the first to include patterns from some of that same century's great designers. Litchfield reproduced plates from George Hepplewhite (1788-90), Thomas Sheraton (1791, 1802), Thomas Hope (1807) and George Smith (1808) catalogues through to a number from the Great Exhibition's *Official Catalogue* (1851); quite suitable for a Crystal Palace but not for the Victorian home.[33] Thomas Strange's *English Furniture, Decoration, Woodwork and Allied Arts* documented the entire history of eighteenth century English furniture design with 3500 redrawn patterns from Ackermann to Zucchi. Strange's summary on his forty-seven featured designers was only to say they had a "scholarly knowledge of design with a thorough knowledge of their craft." Again the selection was more for fascination than acquisition and with no effort to discuss the recent past as a continuum of more distant eras, Strange had drawn a line after Hope, arguably the founder of much neo-classical nineteenth-century furniture design.[34]

Marquoid's three-volume collaboration with Ralph Edwards from 1924-7 for *The Dictionary of English Furniture* managed to include actual designs by Hepplewhite, Sheraton, Hope and Smith.[35] Furthermore, the authors attached detailed biographies and commentary of the importance of various pattern books. Of Sheraton's *Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterers' Drawing Book* they said "The designs themselves are excellent in draughtsmanship, and the descriptive notes contain fuller technical information than can be found in any other book of designs."[36] Meanwhile George Smith's thoroughly new *Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Guide* was merely described

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[33] Frederick Litchfield, *Illustrated History of Furniture from the Earliest to the Present Time* (London: Truslove, Hanson and Comba Ltd., 1899), 4th edition.

[34] Thomas Strange, *English Furniture, Decoration Woodwork and Allied Arts* (London: McCorquodale and Co., 1900).

[35] Ralph Edwards and Percy Marquoid, *Dictionary of English Furniture from the Middle Ages to the Late Georgian Period (*London: Country Life, 1924-27),Volumes I, II and III; 1954 revised edition reprinted as *The Dictionary of English Furniture* Volumes I, II and III (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1990).

36 Edwards and Marquoid (1990 reprint), vol. 3, p. 21; 'Sheraton' entry written by Oliver Brackett for the revised 1953 edition. Thomas Sheraton, *The Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Drawing-Book* (London: W. Baynes, 1802), 3rd edition; retrieved in June 2016 from Internet Archive (1996) URL: https://archive.org/details/ cabinetmakerupho00sher.

as an "ambitious work [with some] curious pronouncements." Exactly a century on, recognition only came gradually.[37]

Mid–Century Designs Reproduced and Discussed

John Gloag's *Victorian Comfort* used a haphazard selection of work by several prominent nineteenth century designers along with material from Wyman and Son's *Furniture Gazette*, Charles Eastlake's *Hints on Household Taste* and Robert Edis's *Decoration and Furniture of Town Houses* (1881-7).[38] For the first time Thomas King, William Smee and John Loudon designs from the 1830s were extensively featured right through to London retailer Oeztmann and Co.'s advertisements (c.1890). Gloag had read George Siddons' *Cabinet-Maker's Guide* (1825) and reprinted much of New Yorker Andrew Downing's *Architecture of Country Houses* (1850) and Cassell's *Household Guide* noting also that, like Eastlake's *Hints*, it had been reprinted in America.[39] It was, at last, a clue that Victorian design was appreciated abroad but his sentimental tone masked serious errors in dating some of his reprinted designs with captions best left un-read. In fairness, Gloag drew on a wide selection of sources, was first to note a progression of styles, and importantly first to compare English and American design. At that same time Aslin had claimed that during the 1830 to 1860 period there was a "complete lack of interest in furniture design [which] was reflected not merely in the dearth of pattern-books but even in the unprecedented depths to which prices [for older pieces] sank."[40] In fact, no less than 42 pattern books were issued up until 1856 while the English passion for collecting had been actually reflected in very high prices paid for antiquities, a demand that had promoted the very art of faking.

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[37] George Smith, *The Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Guide* (London: Jones and Co., 1826); retrieved in June 2016 from Internet Archive (1996) URL: https://archive.org/details/cabinetmakerupho00smit.

[38] John Gloag, *Victorian Comfort* (London: A. and C. Black, 1961). Charles Eastlake, *Hints on Household Taste* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1869); retrieved in June 2016 from Internet Archive (1996) URL: https://archive.org/details/hintsonhousehold00eastiala. Robert Edis, *Decoration and Furniture of Town Houses* (Scribner and Welford, 1881); retrieved in June 2016 from Internet Archive (1996) URL: https://archive.org/details/decorationfurnit00edis.

[39] George Siddons, *The Cabinet Maker's Guide of Rules and Instructions* (London: Sherwood, Gilbert and Piper, 1825); retrieved in June 2016 from Internet Archive (1996) URL: https://archive.org/details/cabinetmakersgui00sidd. Originally published unattributed in London in 1809 as a pamphlet its authorship was finally established in a much enlarged version 1825 despite being published in America in 1818 under the name of Rhode Island cabinetmaker Thomas Howard. Andrew Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses,*(New York: D. Appelton and Co., 1851); retrieved in June 2016 from Internet Archive (1996) URL: https://archive.org/stream/architectureofco00down#page/n5/mode/2up. *Cassell's Household Guide: being a complete encyclopaedia of domestic and social economy and forming a guide to every department of practical life (*London: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin, 1869); retrieved in June 2016 from URL: https://archive.org/details/cassellshouseho l01londuoft

[40] Aslin (1962), p. 27, cited by Smith in *Thomas King Neo-classical Furniture Designs's*, 'Foreword', p. iii.

Victorian Furniture, perhaps more than any other, was the first text seriously addressing the subject of nineteenth-century English furniture fashion. Robert Symonds and Bruce Whineray tackled the task as a continuation of discussion on the previous century but for a convenient starting point they decided that Queen Victoria's accession to the throne in 1837 coincided with "significant changes in furniture styles". Then they included designs by Loudon and King outside the period but with some justification, noting Loudon's four "principal styles of design" which in various permutations had laid the framework for Victorian vernacular.[41] Joy's *English Furniture 1800-51* identified the "cult of Picturesque and the Industrial Revolution" as the two most powerful influences but added that designers were trapped between the restrictions of repeated revivals and the repetitiveness of mechanisation.[42] True, but contradicting Aslin, he rejoiced in the "welter" of period pattern books on offer, selecting Loudon's *Encyclopaedia*, Ackermann's *Repository* and, like Litchfield, the Great Exhibition's *Illustrated Catalogue* (1851) as the most useful references for the age.[43] He further noted that the Great Exhibition had been "unrepresentative in character" aiming at gratuitous ornament while lamenting "avant-garde functionalism" had been almost completely overlooked. Symonds and Whineray reasoned well beyond Gloag about changing styles. They used illustrations of designs in support by Smith, King, Smee, P. and M. A. Nicholson (1826), Richard Bridgens (1822 and 1838), John Dwyer (1856), Richard Charles (1867-76), Henry Whitaker (1847), Henry Wood (c.1845), Lorenzo Booth (1864), Story Bros (1865), George Yapp (1878), and even cabinets by onetime New Zealand resident Johann Levien.[44] Their logic was progressive. "Different styles

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[41] Robert Symonds and Bruce Whineray, *Victorian Furniture* (London: Country Life, 1962); reprinted as *Victorian Furniture* (London: Studio Editions, 1987), pp. 21-22.
[42] Joy (1977), *English Furniture 1800-51*, pp. 17-19.
[43] Rudolph Ackermann, *Repository or Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufactures and Politics* (London: Ackermann, Sherwood and Co., Walker and Co., Simpkin and Marshall, 1809-28). George Yapp and Robert Ellis (editors), *Official Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations* (London: Spicer Brothers, 1851); retrieved in June 2016 from Internet Archive (1996) URL: https://archive.org/details/officialcatalog06unkngoog
[44] George Smith, *A Collection of Designs for Household Furniture and Interior Decoration* (London: Josiah Taylor, 1808). Thomas King, *Modern Style of Cabinet Work* (London: Josiah Taylor, 1835), Thomas King*, Original Designs for Chairs and Sofas* (London: John Weale, c.1840). Thomas King*, Supplementary Plates to Modern Style of Cabinet Work* (London: John Weale, c.1840). William Smee and Son, *Designs of Furniture* (London: William Smee, c.1838). Peter and Michael Angelo Nicholson, *The Practical Cabinet-Maker, Upholsterer and Complete Decorator* (London: Henry Fisher and Son, 1826). John Dwyer, *Designs for Furniture* (London: Wilcoxon [?], 1856). Richard Bridgens*, The Rudiments of Drawing Cabinet and Upholstery Furniture* (London: Josiah Taylor, 1822); Richard Bridgens*, Furniture with Candelabra and Interior Decoration* (London: William Pickering, 1838). Richard Charles, *The Cabinet Maker's Book of Designs* (London: 1867-76). Henry Whitaker, *The Practical Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Treasury of* Designs (London: Peter Jackson [Fisher and Sons], 1847). Henry Wood, *A Useful and Modern Work on Chairs* (London: Ackermann and Co., c.1845). Lorenzo Booth, *Original Design Book of Decorative Furniture* (London: Houlston and Sons, 1864). George and Henry Story, *Designs of Furniture* (London: Story Bros., 1865). George Yapp, *Art Industry* (London: J.S. Virtue and Co., 1878).

follow each other in succession; an old style's influence gradually grew weaker, as that of the new style grew stronger." They presented four sideboard designs to show an evolution; Sheraton (1792), Smith (1808 and 1826) and King (1829 and c.1840). Excellent observation, even if it was before their chosen period. They argued that "early in the nineteenth century… design was no longer part of the craftsman's work, because it had come into the hands of draughtsmen and ornamentalists… furniture making changed from a craft into an industry." Further, they noted an 1840 Smee catalogue over-printed with the statement "manufactured by H. Thompson" rightly concluding that it was evidence of a wholesale/retail relationship".[45]

Joy also identified the "professional furniture designer" as a figure of emerging importance which he supported using many patterns including Whitaker and Wood to further advance the date of interest to the mid-century. This was a point also made in Akiko Shimbo's thorough investigation *Furniture-Makers and Consumers in England 1754-1851* (2015).[46] Like Collard, Joy remarked that "most pattern-book authors made indiscriminate borrowings of profuse ornaments, which were particularly liable to debased interpretation." Joy added that the term "professional" applied particularly to post-1851 Britain which he then illustrated with a Gothic room by Talbert and Louis Seize drawing room from Shoolbred's 1874 catalogue.[47]

The Victorian designer was at last being taken seriously even if not all could agree on dates. Collard's *Regency Furniture* also identified a specific set of styles to discuss but without the boundaries of arbitrary or convenient dates. She explored the single theme of the Regency style through to its revival some seventy years later with plates by Smith, Taylor, Nicholson, King, etc. from the 1820s to those of Benn Bros.' *Cabinet Maker and Art Furnisher* in the 1890s. Popular fashions inevitably returned with time, as a century of revivals had always testified.[48]

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[45] Symonds and Whineray (1962), *Victorian Furniture*, pp. 2, 11-12, 19.
[46] Akiko Shimbo, *Furniture-Makers and Consumers in England 1754-1851 Design as Interaction* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2015), p. 224.
[47] Joy (1977), *English Furniture 1800-51*, pp. 7-8, 12, 147.
[48] Francis Collard, *Regency Furniture* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1995). John Williams Benn, *The Cabinet Maker and Art Furnisher* (London: Benn Bros., 1878).

Modern Reprints of Pattern Book for Reference to Victorian Design

Joy did see that there was an undocumented, more recent history to be researched. He assisted with the compilation of the *Pictorial Dictionary of British Nineteenth Century Furniture Design* (1977); essentially an anthology of 49 pattern books and catalogues reproducing over 5,000 furniture designs from Sheraton to Heal, Liberty and Wymans.[49] It was the British sequel to a series of cheap American reprints of (by then) historic pattern books by Chippendale (1966), Hepplewhite (1969), Sheraton (1970-2), Hope (1970-1), Smith (1970) and Thomson (1970) and belatedly King (1995).[50] The Dover reprints included modern 'introductions' by furniture historians Joseph Aronson, John Gloag and Thomas Smith recognising the virtues of each designer and positioning their influence on subsequent styles. Joy also included detailed biographies of key figures and for the first time the *Pictorial Dictionary* mapped the gamut of furniture patterns for the whole century. He rightly noted that previous authors picked out the big designer names and exhibition quality furniture (despite doing so himself) but not that of every day domestic life. The *Pictorial Dictionary* being perhaps the most significant reference for furniture style work on the era and like many other Antique Collectors' Club publications, has never been out of print. It was an encyclopaedic reprint entirely devoted to many significant nineteenth-century pattern books and some major London issued trade catalogues.

Styles Discussed in Australian and New Zealand Colonial Furniture

Despite constant English criticism of Victorian furniture into the 1960s, New Zealand observers generally regarded the imported article superior to the colonial made equivalent. Relegated as inferior in materials, craftsmanship and design, tellingly, very little was even collected and displayed in museums. History curator Stanley Northcote-

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[49] Edward Joy (editor), *Pictorial Dictionary of British Nineteenth Century Furniture Design* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1977).

[50] Thomas Chippendale, *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director* (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1966). Thomas George Hepplewhite, *The Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Guide* (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1969), also reprinted by (New York: Towse Publishing Co., 1942). Thomas Sheraton, *The Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Drawing Book* (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1970-2). Hope, *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration,* 1807 reprinted as *Regency Furniture and Interior Decoration* (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1971) and also reprinted by (London: Alec Tiranti, 1970). George Smith, *A Collection of Designs for Household Furniture and Interior Decoration* (New York: Praeger, 1970). Peter Thomson, *The Cabinet-Maker's Assistant (*reprinted as) *The Victorian Cabinet-Maker's Assistant, Blackie and Son* (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1970). Thomas King, *Modern Style of Cabinet Work Exemplified* (reprinted as) *Neo-Classical Furniture Designs (*New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1995).

Bade's pioneering work, *Colonial Furniture in New Zealand* (1971), discussed some early cabinetmakers, native timbers and imported fashions.[51] He had started collecting material in the 1920s at a time when it was still possible to interview migrants whose recall extended back to the 1860s but disappointingly Northcote-Bade rarely accessed that resource. Recounting a general lack of interest in colonial made furniture in the '20s and '30s, he dwelt too much on individual items brought out with migrants' luggage without discussion of the larger cabinetmaking industry. Northcote-Bade did note of migrant cabinetmakers that, "as it was his intention to continue his current calling in the colony, he brought with him current books of design."[52] *Colonial Furniture* did highlight the work of several notable craftsmen including Johan Levien, Anton Seuffert and Josephus Hargreaves but by focussing on individual objects, Northcote-Bade lost sight of broader developments, such as the large furniture warehouses that came to dominate the trade after the 1860s. In the chapter 'Colonial Furniture Styles' mention is made that Sheraton and Hope laid the seeds for "modified Regency", this being Northcote-Bade's nearest description for "colonial" while he postulated that the post-1851 "Louis XV baroque" style eventually got to New Zealand by 1880. Unfortunately his only proof was a generic printer's electrotype used in two Wellington Almanac advertisements in 1870 and again in 1875. It was also used in Southern Provinces Almanac (1880) advertisements for two Canterbury cabinetmakers.[53] Northcote-Bade's intention had been to publish by 1940 but the Centennial Exhibitions offered new material and World War Two restrictions intervened. Even so, his eventual 1971 publication date was timely even if it coincided with interest generated by other books on the Victorian period.

In *Making New Zealand, Pictorial Surveys of a Century – Furniture* a Government inspired booklet to celebrate the 1940 centenary, the editors briefly noted that the furniture for secondary rooms, though sometimes imported, was most often "made in New Zealand to English designs."[54] They did refer to Levien's work but the

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[51] Stanley Northcote-Bade, *Colonial Furniture in New Zealand*,(Auckland: A. H. and A.W. Reed, 1971).
[52] Ibid, p. 12.
[53] For examples of the re-use of the same printers block in those advertisements see William Cottrell, *Furniture of the New Zealand Colonial Era, 1830-1900* (Auckland: Reed Publishing, 2006), pp. 275, 285.
[54] Eric McCormick, J. D. Pascoe, D.O.W. Hall, Oliver Duff (editors). *Making New Zealand Pictorial Surveys of a Century - Furniture*. *No. 22* (Auckland: Wilson and Horton, 1940), pp. 10, 18, 31.

only discussion on style fleetingly jumped from Regency to William Morris and Art Nouveau in a sentence.

McCormack, like Joy with his "repetitive restrictions", also thought that mechanisation had compromised mid–Victorian design, despite being an asset to newly erected colonial furniture factories. Importantly the Great Exhibition had been an "immense… influence" to revitalise and distribute Victorian design, a point not made by Willis or Joy three decades later, and also overlooked by Northcote-Bade who had actually quoted from *Making New Zealand*.[55]

The First Australian Work

Early Colonial Furniture in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land did examine the "transference of English furniture styles to Australia" stating that the origins of even the earliest Australian furniture lay with English design.[56] Joy, Symonds and Whineray had discussed the export trade for furniture makers and the spread of British design. "English styles were influential abroad … By 1850 there was a growing demand for furniture from New Zealand." Joy, in his *English Furniture 1800-1851* referred extensively to Northcote-Bade surmising correctly that colonial "furniture-makers, once established, followed English fashions very faithfully."[57] *First Fleet to Federation Australian Antiques 1788-1901* argued that Australia did have its own antique heritage even if in the past dealers sometimes presented colonial furniture as English and of greater value.[58] Importantly they identified that "all cabinetmakers drew on the same English furniture pattern books for their models" but for no good reason suggested a colonial style lag.

Furnishing Old Houses extensively reproduced images from Loudon and Thomas Webster's *Encyclopaedia of Domestic Economy*.[59] It highlighted Loudon's *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture and Furniture* as "perhaps the most influential of its type in the nineteenth-century" while recording the significance

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[55] Northcote-Bade, *Colonial Furniture* (1971), p. 76.
[56] Clifford Craig, Kevin Fahey and Graeme Robertson, *Early Colonial Furniture in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land (*Melbourne: Georgian House, 1972).
[57] Joy (1977), *English Furniture 1800-51*, pp. 241-2, 248-9.
[58] Caroline Simpson, Kevin Fahey, and John Hawkins, *First Fleet to Federation Australian Antiques 1788- 1901 (*Sydney: Australian Golden Press, 1977).
[59] Ian Evans, *Furnishing Old Houses* (Brisbane: MacMillan, 1983).

Smith's *The Cabinet-Maker's and Upholsterer's Guide* (1826) and Smee's *Designs of Furniture*, unusually and accurately dated to c.1837. Rudolf Ackermann's (1822) print of John Taylor's sideboard was used to illustrate Australian cabinetmakers making furniture to, or "copying designs… imported from England"; the very same plate that Collard had used to argue for the Regency penchant for debased classical revival.[60] On style, the latest London fashions were "transmitted to Australia by means of books and periodicals by convict and emigrant cabinetmakers" and within twelve months new London "mannerisms" were promptly available in New South Wales with no apparent style lag. [61]

Sydney Historic Houses Trust curator, Robert Griffin, had also argued the significance of the English (and sometimes Scottish) pattern book as the blueprint for colonial cabinetmakers. He promoted the Taylor, Smith, and Nicolson triumvirate, and followers of Hope, as the initiators of Australian neo-classic furniture design with their respective 1825-7 pattern books, but it was Loudon (1833) whom he also singled out as of lasting importance.[62]

Nineteenth Century Australian Furniture devoted an entire chapter directly connecting English style with the colonial made product asserting the pattern book and later trade catalogue as the primary source of inspiration.[63] They revised their *First Fleet* argument to (now) say "no style lag" while maintaining their no "distinctive Australian style" argument in affirmation of the accurate replication of fashionable furniture as found in any English home. Furthermore, they added that the colonial workshop was no different to the English provincial equivalent. *Australian Furniture* referred to Joy's *Pictorial Dictionary* as essential reading for the student of Australian furniture design and that many of the pattern books illustrated in it did have wide colonial circulation. Furniture examples were illustrated and pattern books by most of the earliest big names, Smith, King, Taylor, the Nicholsons, and Loudon were documented; Australia had evidently embraced neo-classicism. It was noted that Thomas Webster's *Encyclopaedia of Domestic Economy* (1948) had echoed some of

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[60] Collard (1995), *Regency Furniture*, pp. 121, 251.
[61] Evans (1983), *Furnishing Old Houses*, pp. 53, 82, 96.
[62] Robert Griffith (Jan-June 1995), 'English Pattern Books and Australian Furniture Design' (article in) *The Australian Antique Collector*.
[63] Kevin Fahey, Christina Simpson and Andrew Simpson, *Nineteenth-century Australian Furniture* (Sydney: David Ell Press, 1985), p. 213.

Loudon's advice but the authors failed to notice that Webster had simply copied, amongst others, many of Loudon's designs. Echoing Evan's *Furnishing Old Houses*, they state that Loudon's (1833) *Encyclopaedia* was "probably the most popular and significant publication of the period in terms of its effect and influence on Australian furniture forms". At the very end of the Victorian era disappointingly *Australian Furniture* also agreed with Wells and Hooper that the general level of design had by then "sunk to [an] all-time low."[64]

Another Fahy and Simpson collaboration, *Australian Furniture: Pictorial History and Dictionary, 1788–1938* was partly modelled on Joy's *Dictionary*. Disappointingly, its 526 pages were limited to just six pages of text with three of those pages on 'Styles and Sources' being copied word for word from their earlier *Nineteenth Century Australian Furniture.*[65] Even so, the new work improved significantly on their earlier comparisons between colonial period furniture and British patterns by placing colonial furniture alongside imported designs to illustrate an indisputable relationship. Of particular colonial interest was the prominence the authors gave to Thomas King's *Modern Style of Cabinet Work Exemplified* along with the slightly later influence of Peter Thomson's *Cabinet Maker's Assistant.* The 1851 *Cabinet Maker's Sketch Book* was rediscovered in Sydney, inspiring an Antique Collectors Club (2011) reprint of all Thomson and Son's three 1851-70 works.[66]

The present writer's work, *Furniture of the New Zealand Colonial Era: 1830-1900* (2006) originally intended as an update of Northcote-Bade, identified sufficient early furniture examples to illustrate that the oldest known colonial furniture did indeed follow contemporary English fashions.[67] It noted the relationship between some of King's patterns found in Auckland and furniture made in Nelson from the 1840s and also the discovery of original plates by Dwyer and Thomson. Comparison was also made with the work of other well-known English designers, regional chair patterns, and European furniture maker styles using multiple examples to propose that identifiable styles migrated along with new settlers. Craig and Gillies' *Illustrated Catalogue* was

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[64] Fahey, Simpson & Simpson, *Australian Furniture*, pp. 215, 218-224.
[65] Kevin Fahey and Andrew Simpson, *Australian Furniture: Pictorial History and Dictionary, 1788–1938* (Sydney: Casuarina Press, 1998). Fahey, Simpson and Simpson (1985), *Nineteenth-century Australian Furniture*, pp. 11-15.
[66] Jim and Cynthia Martin (editors), *Thomson and Son: Mid-Victorian Styles and Designs* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 2011).
[67] William Cottrell, *Furniture of the New Zealand Colonial Era an Illustrated History 1830-1900* (Auckland: Reed Publishing, 2006).

reproduced in entirety in Cottrell's *Furniture of the New Zealand Colonial Era* as a source of huge colonial design significance but by 2006 it had still to be dated and its history researched.[68] The influence of subscription magazines in the colony was not known, nor was the trade wide penchant for illicit copying understood, but *Furniture of the New Zealand Colonial Era* highlighted the growth of the home-grown furniture industry and the manufacturing warehouse. In *Australians at Home: A Documentary History of Australian Domestic Interiors from 1788–1914* Terence Lane and Jessie Serle's many images were completely interchangeable with those shown in Cottrell (2006) illustrating the uniformity of styles in the two colonies.[69] Comparison could further be made with well-furnished British interiors as found in *Nineteenth-Century Decoration, The Art of the Interior.*[70] *Australians at Home* commented repeatedly on the importation of British furnishings and fashions, quoting David Jones' *Furnishing Catalogue* (c.1895) that "a designer of high repute had been engaged from one of London's leading upholstery houses to meet the demand [in Sydney] for high-class work."[71] Post 1870s photographs of rooms in Britain, Australia and New Zealand could provide no better proof of the uniformity of design around the world.

Copying Briefly Noted

The incidence of plagiarism was occasionally recorded but never questioned or investigated. Writers accepted that much design from the first half of the nineteenth-century was derivative of Hepplewhite, Sheraton and Hope. Symonds and Whineray, for example, argued that the evolution of Victorian furniture style was incremental and not original, with its genesis in previous centuries. Smith's work would naturally look like Hope's with King's and Taylor's naturally being very similar. Copying may not have been distinguished from emulation. While Collard suggested the legitimate use of King's designs by Smee the Finsbury furniture maker, she did say that various Regency revivals had honestly copied past styles and that all fashion contained elements of replication. Examining the upsurge in furniture forgeries she did not consider it as any

[68] Andrew Craig and John Gillies, *Craig and Gillies' Illustrated Catalogue of Furniture* (Dunedin: Samuel Lister [printer], 1875).
[69] Terrence Lane and Jessie Serle*, Australians at Home - A documentary History of Australian Interiors from 1788 to 1914* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1990).
[70] Charlotte Gere, *Nineteenth-Century Decoration, The Art of the Interior* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1989).
[71] Lane and Serle(1990), *Australians at Home,* pp. 196, 280. David Jones, *Art Furnishers, Upholsterers and Decorators' Illustrated Catalogue* (Sydney: David Jones and Co., c.1895).

form of revival yet, with reference to Cescinsky, she devoted much explanation to the true intention of reproduction as honest revival.[72] Collard did include two prints made 70 years apart of Taylor's (previously mentioned) sideboard (Fig. 1.8) but did not observe that one was a revival, or copy, of the other. *Victorian Interior Style* correctly commented that "Loudon, Downing, and Webster and Parkes all refer to four basic furniture styles" without realising that the latter two publications had harvested large portions of Loudon.[73] Gloag's *Victorian Comfort* (1961), while noting "there was a family resemblance between some of the dining-room furniture shown by Loudon and Downing", had missed the significance that they were exact copies by Downing. Furthermore Downing had reproduced a steamer chair image from Cassell's immensely popular *Household Guide* (1875) along with Smee's 'easy reclining chair', but again Gloag failed to note that they were from Loudon who had in turn borrowed from King.[74] Joy had quoted Hall's *Cabinet Maker's Assistant* without commenting that Hall had lifted portions directly from King's *Modern Style* but did say "revivals in America echoed designs of King, Bridgens, Whitaker, Taylor [and] the Nicholsons." He also said that Downing had reprinted Loudon's bookcases and Whitaker's bed, assuming it was unremarkable as "so close were these [Anglo-American] stylistic ties that pattern books and trade manuals were published simultaneously in both countries."[75] Finally in 1996, architectural historian Thomas Smith did point to the overtly unoriginal parts of Hall's *The Cabinet Maker's Assistant* (1840) and his *Original Modern Designs* (1840) as having been copied exactly from King and Loudon.[76] Victoria and Albert furniture historian Clive Wainwright concluded that the American reprint of Henry Carey Baird's *Cabinet Maker's Album of Furniture* and *Gothic Album for Cabinet Makers* (1868) were copies of some late 1840s French designs.[77] In Australia, Robert Griffith was the first to write of colonial copying in Frederick Lassetter's 1900 (Sydney) catalogue. "Lassetter's not only copied [Shoolbred's, Tottenham Court Road] furniture designs; they also directly copied the [catalalogue's] illustrated plates."[78] The best commentary

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[72] Collard (1995), *Regency Furniture*, pp. 28, 234-9.
[73] Banham (1995), *Victorian Interior Style*, p. 49.
[74] Gloag (1961), *Victorian Comfort*, pp. 55, 61, 84, 86.
[75] Joy (1977), *English Furniture 1800-51*, pp. 255-6.
[76] Smith (1996), *Thomas King Neo-Classical Designs*, 'Forward', pp. VII, XII, XVI.
[77] Roger Moss and David Hanks, *Victorian Gothic and Renaissance Revival Furniture - Two Victorian Pattern Books Published by Henry Carey Baird* (Philadelphia: The Athenaeum of Philadelphia, 1977), 'Introduction'.
[78] Frederick Lassetter, *Universal Furniture Providers Furniture Catalogue (*Sydney: F. Lassetter, c.1900).

on copying, Shimbo's *Furniture Makers and Consumers in England 1754-1851*, argued that designs were freely shared and indeed stimulated furniture trade competition. She further contended that there was a balance between originality and interpretation of existing designs with Sheraton and Gillow observing each other's work and for others proposed the idea of 'shared knowledge'.[79] The whole subject of the copying of designs seems to have appeared unremarkable as though style had observers, recorders and replicators but not inventors.

Pattern Book to Trade Catalogue

Litchfield, in his closing chapter, presciently noted the emerging influence of two "Trade [journals] publishing drawings of work completed…" meaning the *Furniture Gazette* and the *Cabinet Maker and Art Furnisher*. He further observed that "a number of good designs are published month by month" but left unsaid was that by 1892 publications of this kind had replaced the traditional pattern book.[80] Symonds and Whineray had later seen it as a separation of craftsman and factory from retailer and client; the "link between the cabinet-maker and the customer was distanced… with the advent of the shop-keeper who sold, but did not manufacture."[81] Joy (1977) also agreed with the break between wholesaler and retailer and the shift from workshop pattern book to sales catalogue while Collard (1995) said it differently, noting that many firms had two premises, one for manufacturing and one in a better area disposed to retailing. Shimbo (2015) had identified exactly that point, suggesting that customers browsed and made impulse purchases in Gillow's showrooms.[82] Margaret Ponsonby's *English Domestic Interior 1750-1850: a History of Retailing and Consumption* (2007) also agreed with Symonds and Whineray realising that two (cabinetmaker) addresses illustrated the division of furniture industry roles and argued the (new) prominence of the furniture trade catalogue as a retailing tool.

> How furniture was sold was changing... By the 1850s and 1860s… firms were able to offer a wide range of wooden and upholstered furniture, most of which they bought in when required, having only

[79] Shimbo (2015), *Furniture Makers and Consumers*, pp. 43-8.
[80] Litchfield (1899), *Illustrated History of Furniture*, pp. 246-7.
[81] Symonds and Whineray (1987), *Victorian Furniture*, pp. 12, 16.
[82] Shimbo (2015), *Furniture Makers and Consumers*, p. 222.

> samples in their showrooms [they] produced printed catalogues from which customers could make their selection. The catalogues gave the appearance of a wide choice, but much of it was accomplished by swapping components that could be made in advance and assembled when the customer placed the order.[83]

The catalogue then had contributed to the separation of makers and retailers while harmonising the range of furniture styles offered over a large customer landscape. Ponsonby noted the symmetry of advertising promoting fashion, which in turn encouraged consumption. The "printed catalogue [had spread] the knowledge of fashion [to] middle-class homeowners who typically purchased their furniture from shops that produced catalogues". Crucially *Victorian Furniture* concluded "a customer buying 'ready-made furniture' in a retail shop had no say over the design, meaning the manufacturer dictated design."[84] In the colonies, *First Fleet to Federation* observed that the most successful cabinetmakers also became retailers and importers by the 1850s, singling out the example of Melbourne's Rocke and Co. According to Griffith cabinetmakers changed from using pattern books to issuing their own warehouse furniture catalogues while also referring to those of other furniture makers. He detailed the notable influence of William Smee's c.1850 pattern books, growing imports and the inroads made into colonial markets by other huge manufacturers such as C. and R. Light. Historian Andrew Montana of the Australian National University, Canberra, proposed that Smee's pattern books, in reality trade catalogues, had led local cabinetmakers to reproduce his designs in Australian timbers - in effect using them as pattern books.[85] Montana concurred that Smee's rising status as a London manufacturer had certainly encouraged colonial imitations. Colonial furniture style then was very much influenced by the British pattern book and trade catalogue.

Opportunities for New Research

In the last half-century only two major books have been written on early New Zealand furniture but neither deeply assessed the impact of British designs. That those

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[83] Ponsonby (2007), *English Domestic Interior,* pp. 36, 45-6.
[84] Symonds and Whineray (1962), *Victorian Furniture*, pp. 9-12.
[85] Andrew Montana, 'Stylists for the Nineteenth Century –The Finsbury Cabinet makers Smee and Sons in Colonial Australia', *Re-Collections: A Journal of Museums and Collections* (April 2012); retrieved in June 2016 from National Museum of Australia URL: http://recollections.nma.gov.au/issues/volume_7_number_1/papers/stylists_for_the_nineteenth_century

designs rapidly arrived in the new colony can be demonstrated by their exact replication in the earliest examples of colonial furniture. Those examples establish the early influence of the British pattern book, but as the colonial furniture industry evolved the difference between the pattern book and later manufacturer's trade catalogue also needs to be considered. The primary function of the trade catalogue was as a retail tool for furniture makers but by default many British catalogues also became substitute pattern books for colonial cabinetmakers. There has been no investigation into the publishing of early New Zealand trade catalogues and their content. Colonial catalogues were almost entirely copied from British sources with virtually no original New Zealand material. The impact of widespread copying and the legitimacy of reprinting designs now needs to be addressed. The far-reaching influence of nineteenth-century British furniture designs can best be measured through the New Zealand perspective by investigating surviving printed material, that is, imported patterns and catalogues and those that were also reproduced in New Zealand.

Methodology

Very few trade catalogues and no furniture pattern books are available in New Zealand public collections. Almost all material was privately collected by this writer over more than fifteen years. Of the sixty or so items accumulated many were extensively damaged by rigorous use, neglect and even theft, and in three instances only single pages remained from once quite large publications. Sourcing and accumulating sufficient material proved challenging with no single formula for tracking down such elusive documents.

Found Fragments

The accidental discovery of two Thomas King's 1835 patterns secreted behind the velvet lining of a colonial made glove box began a search for more. It raised the big question about the whole influence of British designers on colonial furniture. In another instance, a single page of H.R. Shroff's c.1910 catalogue was recovered from a skip opposite Auckland's casino. It was possible to relate this to family correspondence to ascertain details of much of the content of an otherwise long forgotten catalogue.

Two glass plates in the National Library of New Zealand simply catalogued as ‘pages from unidentified furniture pattern books’ were probably meant to have been destroyed as they were definitive proof of the copying of patterns. Some damaged glass plates originally photographed by a Christchurch beekeeper were part of a missing furniture catalogue. Both discoveries were to show an interesting relationship between photography, printing and the furniture trade which in isolation would have had little meaning.

Auctions

Generally material only became available when put up for public sale. That was more likely for items of higher value such as a solitary bound volume of Wymans *Furniture Gazette* Supplements (1878-1882). In two decades the only other patterns found at auction were a portfolio of ‘Sofas’ from the *Cabinet Maker’s Assistant* (1852-3) and several by John Dwyer (1856) offered as one lot. They had been stolen.

The last decade’s exponential surge in New Zealand’s own online auction house, Trade Me, made it possible to search efficiently the entire country. Online purchases in the last four or five years alone produced more than fifteen (lower value) catalogues. In one instance two English trade catalogues formerly owned by T. Cocks of Christchurch, found separately, were reunited. Occasionally more than one copy of the same English firm’s catalogue was found in different cities, such as those of Maple and Co. c.1900 and Harris Lebus (1912 and 1929). Where repetition occurred it suggested a level of research saturation demonstrating the effectiveness of the internet.

Second Hand Dealers

The decline in face-to-face dealers can almost be plotted proportionately to the increase in online private sales and internet dealer trading. The rebound ‘Gilbert’ copy of Craig and Gillies’ *Illustrated Catalogue* (1875) was purchased from an antique dealer in Paeroa after being ‘borrowed’ from an Auckland dealer. That small book became the inspiration for this thesis. The largest purchase was the rare first edition of Wyman’s *The Cabinetmaker’s Pattern Book*, pieces of Globe Furnishing Co., Morrison

and Austin, and Morley Johnson (Sydney) catalogues.[86] Extensively damaged and incomplete, they were acquired from a Christchurch used bookseller shortly before his building was destroyed. Despite their importance for this study it demonstrated again the precarious nature of such ephemeral material.

Gifts, Donations and Exchanges

Craig and Gillies' descendant, John Gillies, made available the other known copy of New Zealand's oldest furniture pattern book, complete with price list before donating it to the Hocken Library. An incredible hoard of several hundred lithographs and etchings was given to this writer by the granddaughter of Auckland cabinetmaker Benjamin Cranwell. This British collection dating from 1826-60 included an almost complete volume by John Dwyer, six folios by Peter Thomson, four colour plates by Peter Nicholson, three in the Regency manner of John Taylor and an unidentified broadside that remarkably matched some of Craig and Gillies'- Dunedin patterns. Here again duplication of material was found. The stolen auction items were from this collection and by chance were reunited with those previously bought at auction. Edward Collie's *Art Furniture* (c.1908) found in Nelson and Collie's 1938-41 leather bound work order book from Wellington were also gifts. Scoullar and Chisholm's own Dunedin shop advertising copybook (1886-1911) was found in Timaru while Herbert, Haynes and Co.'s (Dunedin) *Furniture Catalogue* located in Oamaru were photocopied and donated to the Hocken Library.

Several trade catalogues were lent for copying by private owners such as the Globe Furnishing Co. and Worcestershire Furnishing Co. mail order catalogues from Auckland and Nelson dealers respectively. A. J. White's *Illustrated Catalogue* (c.1913) owned by a former cabinetmaker was photocopied while the original directors' minute book from 1908-1915 was rescued from the post-quake wreckage of A.J. White's Christchurch premises. Henry Fielder's own copy of C. and R. Light's *Designs and Catalogue of Cabinet and Upholstery Furniture Looking Glasses and Co.*, belonging to

[86] Wyman and Sons, *The Cabinet Maker's Pattern Book* (London: Wyman and Sons, 1875), Series 1.

a Wellington antique restorer, in some ironic symmetry, was traded for a modern reprint of Chippendale's *Director*.[87]

Libraries, Museums and the Internet

When commencing my research in 2009 virtually no furniture trade catalogues were available online but within the following six years work by familiar English designers such as Sheraton, Hope, Smith or King became freely accessible. The earliest American furniture pattern material, Joseph Meeks and Sons 'Broadside' (1833) and John Hall's *Cabinet Maker's Assistant* were on-line through the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Library of Congress.[88] Supporting material, particularly advertising, is now found with ease, for instance George Henkel's *Catalogue of Furniture* (1850-1) from the Library Company of Philadelphia. One company, Gnosis International Inc., enterprisingly has accumulated enough trade catalogues to sell them digitally online such as Hampton and Sons' *Book of Designs*.[89] In the main however, most material is 'open-source'.

Australia's single most extensive repository of furniture trade material is the Caroline Simpson Library at The Mint, Sydney. A scan from a photocopy of what has been recognised as Australia's oldest remaining furniture trade catalogue by W.H Rocke and Co. Melbourne is available as a pdf.[90] Beyond that, only a few later Australian catalogues have individual pages reproduced. The library's collection of rare

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[87] Charles and Richard Light, *Designs and Catalogue of Cabinet and Upholstery Furniture Looking Glasses and Co*. (London: C. and R. Light/Waterlow, 1880).

[88] Joseph Meeks and Sons, 'Broadside' (New York: Endicott and Swett,1833); retrieved in June 2016 from Metropolitan Museum of Art URL: http://metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/339865
John Hall, *Cabinet Maker's Assistant* (New York: John Hall, 1840); retrieved in December 2015 from Internet Archive (1996) URL: https://archive.org/details/cabinetmakersass00hall

[89] Geo. J. Henkels, *Catalogue of Furniture* (Philadelphia: H. Camp [printer], c.1850-1). Original copy held in Library Company of Philadelphia Print Department; retrieved from Internet Archive (1996) URL: https://archive.org/details/catalogueoffurni00geor.
Hampton and Sons, *Book of Design* (London: c.1880); accessed in June 2016 from Gnosis International Inc. URL: http://www.houzz.co.nz/pro/gnosis-international/gnosis-international-inc

[90] William H. Rocke and Co., *Furniture Pattern Book* (Melbourne: W.H. Rocke, Fergusson and Moore printers, 1875); retrieved in June 2016 from URL: http://www.mediafire.com/download/0sr2afo53awkc43/WH_Rocke.pdf
The Caroline Simpson Library and Research Centre (CSL and RS) acquisition notes the pattern book date (incorrectly) at 1874. "W H ROCKE and Co FURNITURE CATALOGUE: This trade catalogue was published by a Melbourne firm in 1874 and is the earliest known surviving Australian furniture pattern book, predating by 20 years a furniture pattern book published by the Sydney firm David Jones and Co. The Rocke catalogue was provenanced to a Tasmanian cabinetmaker." Accessed From Parliament of New South Wales Annual report 2014-15, NSW Government URL: https://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/la/papers

British and Australian publications is impressively comprehensive and demanded onsite research in their controlled handling environment.[91]

Collections of New Zealand Furniture Trade Catalogues

The National Library of New Zealand has digitised well in excess of one million period images and holds the only online trade catalogue material, notably North and Scoullar's *Illustrated Catalogue* (c.1883).[92] Few trade catalogues have been preserved in regional museums and libraries, two exceptions being the Whanganui Regional Museum and Gore Historical Society. Most have limited resources, while providing good collection databases and links to outside sources, their material can often only be viewed when requested via inter-loan, or photocopied, such as Thomson, Bridger and Co.'s *Illustrated Catalogue* from the Hocken Library.[93] The National Library's word recognition software in Papers Past is formidably accurate and indispensable for research with its ability to seek out a single word from all digitised newspapers in the collection.

New Information

New Zealand, with its well documented past, and being the furthest point from Britain, is ideally placed to conduct such research. Despite the fugacious state of fashion and the passing nature of patterns, enough material, spanning the entire colonial settlement period, has survived to give a very thorough picture. This thesis strongly supports the view that the latest styles regularly came to centres of early settlement and that the dominant source for furniture pattern material was from Britain.

In 1840 the very first cabinetmakers began constructing colonial furniture using imported patterns. Since no such patterns have survived from that period it can alternatively be shown that on occasion it is still possible to link the style of some colonial made furniture directly to specific designs. Analysis of constructional materials

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[91] Caroline Simpson Library, The Mint, Macquarie Street, Sydney. Historic Houses Trust URL: http://www.hht.net.au/collections/library

[92] North and Scoullar, *Illustrated Catalogue* (Dunedin: Samuel Lister [printer], c.1883); retrieved in June 2016 from National Library of New Zealand, Te Puna Matauranga O Aotearoa URL: http://natlib.govt.nz/records/23206711

[93] Thomson, Bridger and Co., *Dunedin Iron and Woodware Late Dunedin Iron and Wood Ware Co. – Furniture Woodware and Hardware Catalogue* (Dunedin: Larnach and Guthrie/Coulls, Culling and Co.[printers], c. 1887). Copy held in National Library of New Zealand, Te Puna Matauranga O Aotearoa, Wellington.

such as applied hardware, screws, nails, timber type and tool impressions also assist confirmation by refining probable dates of furniture manufacture. Connections then will be made between New Zealand made furniture and British patterns and imported materials.

Furniture designs had traditionally been sold through a few key, mostly London based, publishing houses, sometimes as single hand coloured plates or folios, and subsequently as bound volumes but by the 1870s that model had evolved into the subscription periodical to disperse designs. Quite separately the manufacturer's trade catalogue emerged as a wholesale and a retailing device produced independently by individual cabinetmaking warehouses. Evidence has been assembled to illustrate that colonial furniture was initially modelled on designs from British pattern books and thereafter from subscription magazines and trade catalogues.

From the material recovered in New Zealand it can be seen that the first colonial printed furniture catalogues were almost entirely copied from London-sourced subscription periodicals and trade catalogues. Comparison can also be made with early American pattern books and Australian catalogues to demonstrate that similar and earlier events also occurred there. In most cases copyright was ignored and given that reprinting of designs was often approved by men of some public standing, it will be shown they demonstrated a frontier attitude of disregard for the legality of authorship. Recently discovered plates and photochemically printed catalogues show that photography facilitated copying. It removed much laborious handwork from the production of furniture catalogues making it viable for any cabinetmaking firm to print illustrated material. This study will show just how pervasive the practice of copying trade catalogues had become.

British firms issued expensive, individually numbered catalogues with removable, sometimes coded, price lists from which colonial retailers could make wholesale orders via mail and later telex. Individual cabinetmakers also developed their own private codes which when deciphered determined profit margins. They reveal it was more advantageous for colonial cabinetmakers to not import but to manufacture from British trade catalogues; essentially they were being used here as workshop manuals or pattern books. Physical damage supports these claims.

New Zealand must be seen as a trade destination and a natural collecting point for such material and this thesis will reveal a previously unrecorded history linking designers, cabinetmakers and printers. The original designs for colonial furniture, when

and where they came from, and the evolution of the New Zealand furniture catalogue are identified and discussed. Very little has previously been written about the colonial furniture trade catalogue yet its existence reflected a commercial environment familiar to us today; for cabinetmakers and warehouses the motivation was profit.

Chapter Two: The First Evidence of British Furniture Designs in New Zealand

There is very, very little surviving colonial made furniture from the earliest years of European settlement in New Zealand. What remains demands close examination, often by indirect evidence, to determine what designs got here, how soon they arrived and how frequently. Few period descriptions survive to illustrate how perfectly every settler's aim was to replicate a Britain in the South Pacific better than Edward Fitton's 1856 "advice to immigrants" which echoed comfort, familiarity and homeliness.

> Little trifles, that ornament or enliven our houses in England, also give a rough cottage a cheerful look of home; and there is no reason why the same carpet that has done service in England, or a sofa or arm chair (which can be taken to sea in one's own cabin, and will also be very serviceable on board ship), should not again take their places in the parlour to be erected in New Zealand. Such notions are not effeminate or ridiculous in a colonist. Indeed, people who imagine they would greatly like "roughing it" in a colony, and, that they would "enjoy the fun" of being in want of many articles in daily use at home, would be both surprised and gratified to find how easily a small wooden or cob-built house in New Zealand may be made to approach the comfortable appearance of the pleasantest English houses, merely by the arrangement of a few little articles of ornament or luxury, with which the good taste of the owner has supplied them.

Fitton had suggested nostalgia for England might dictate what to bring while new furniture could replace most large items left behind,

> … if a lady were hesitating whether to pay the freight for her piano or a chest of drawers, I would decidedly recommend her to prefer the piano. It will afford more gratification and cheerfulness from the associations aroused by its music than can be supplied by more practically useful furniture, for which, after all, it is easy to get a substitute from any skilful colonial carpenter. [94]

The Spectator had reported that "a good deal" of Fitton's information was second-hand and it will now be shown that the sobriquet 'carpenter' diminished the

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[94] Edward Brown Fitton, *New Zealand: its Present Condition, Prospects and Resources; being a Description of the Country and General Mode of Life among New Zealand Colonists, for the information of intending Emigrants* (London: Edward Stanford, 1856); 'Advice to Emigrants', Chapter XII, p. 283.

expectations of migrants, and the competency of colonial cabinetmakers, to produce furniture to the latest London fashions.[95]

British Design in the New Colony – Daniel Donaghy's Chiffonier (1856)

In July 1856, Aucklander John Mason, late of the prestigious English firm Gillows, advertised for whale's teeth to make billiard balls. His compatriot John J. Pettit, another of the fledgling city's dozen or so cabinetmakers, informed the public that he had just acquired James Westwood's furniture business and requested a 'share of their patronage'.[96] A minutes' walk north toward the wharves beyond other furniture men Jonathan Woods, James Johnson and James Hemming's premises, a 26-year old Irish Roman Catholic cabinetmaker was making a modest chiffonier. He signed it underneath 'Daniel Donaghy, maker, Queen Street, Auckland, 26th September 1856.'[97] Donaghy's chiffonier is the second oldest dated and signed piece of New Zealand colonial furniture ever found. (Fig. 2.1)

After a journey of nearly four months, some five years before, Donaghy had migrated from County Armagh to colonial Auckland.[98] He found a mix of mud, filth and progress. "Never saw any place so destitute of handsome, or even good looking, buildings, but those in progress promise something better." In fact Maria Thomson, writing in 1865, had called Auckland the "stupidest" and "dullest place on earth"…. "There are many very narrow, wretched, and ruinous-looking side streets leading out of the chief street."[99] Queen Street business frontages were all façade, no more "than one board in thickness," concurred Lady Mary Anne Barker writing about Wellington streets in October that same year. "I found, rather to my disgust that generally the fine,

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[95] 'Publications Received' (article), *The Spectator*, 29 December 1855, p. 18; retrieved in June 2016 from The Spectator Archive URL: http://archive.spectator.co.uk/article/29th-december-1855/18/publications-received

[96] Six cabinetmakers were listed as jurors in Auckland 1851 only increasing to twelve by 1857. 'Jury List for 1856-7', 5 February 1856, *Daily Southern Cross* (Auckland), p. 4; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[97] Cottrell, *Furniture of the New Zealand Colonial Era* (2006), p. 268; Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington; retrieved June 2016 from Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa URL: http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/1178135

[98] Donaghy, son of James Donaghy and Ellen MacThemas, sponsor listed as Catherine Fitzpatrick on Co. Armagh Parish baptismal records. Arrival to NZ recorded as 1851 in an Address List of Auckland Residents presented to Sir George Grey on his 74th birthday 14 April 1886. Marriage at St Patrick's Cathedral, Auckland... 'by special licence by the Very Reverend James MacDonald V.G., Daniel Donaghy, Cabinetmaker of this city, to Margaret Egan, fourth and youngest daughter of the late Murto Egan, of Bantry, County Cork, Ireland, [NZ'er 2 Oct 1858]'. Auckland Central Research Centre, Auckland City Library, Microfiche GNZ MSS 274, p. 165.

[99] Mrs (Charles) Thomson, *Twelve Years in Canterbury New Zealand (*London: Sampson, Low, Son and Marston; 1867); pp. 74, 77-78.

imposing frontage was all a sham; the actual building was only a little hut at the back, looking all the meaner for the contrast to the cornices and show windows in the front."[100]

Donaghy's 'Cheffonier' was not so different from the building in which it was constructed, cautiously hinting at neo-classicism at first glance to the front, but with roughly finished kauri sides and backboards. The underside to the sap-rimu internal shelf exhibited regular band-saw kerf left un-planed but more incredibly, a strip of bark with long dead moss still remained. Donaghy's extreme economy had devoted effort where it was most visible. His show-wood of choice was South Australian blackwood *(acacia melanoxylen)* to imitate darker mahogany then so fashionable in Britain. A few doors away, fellow cabinetmaker George Howes advertised his dark red Australian "Cedar chairs, Chests of Drawers and Cheffoniers."[101] Donaghy, Fitton's "skilful colonial carpenter", had made a small mid-nineteenth century sideboard with a plain, low curved upstand back devoid of carving, a simple rectangular shelf, and two cushion moulded drawers above two doors with inset arched panels. His only concession to fashionable decoration was four six-inch columns supporting the shelf of typical period pattern; their collars and terminals derivative of lyres and lotus flower motifs.

Of Queen Street Mrs Thomson did say, "I saw not one handsome building in my walk to-day, except the Union Bank, which is of white stone, and has four handsome Corinthian columns in front."[102] Melbourne-based architect Leonard Terry's bank showed more restraint than revival but was deemed to be, at the time, Auckland's most imposing structure. The Reverend John Kinder's photograph (Fig. 2.2) taken in 1864, did show an imposing building on a deserted street, his emulsion's long exposure time being unable to record the bustle of colonial traffic.[103]

An Irish cabinetmaker and a Yorkshire architect within a few yards of each other on Auckland's muddy main street had each in their own manner portrayed British, Continental, North American and Australian fashion for neo-Grecian. Such

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[100] Mary Anne Barker, *Station Life in New Zealand* (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1874), p. 14.
[101] Advertisement, 21 October 1856, *Daily Southern Cross,* p.1; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz
[102] Thomson (1867), *Twelve Years in Canterbury*, p. 74.
[103] John Kinder (1864), photograph 'Union Bank Queen Street' (Hocken Library Uare Taoka o Hakena, University of Otago; John Kinder, reference S14-138c); retrieved in June 2016 from Te Ara Encyclopaedia of New Zealand URL: http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/photograph/44754/union-bank-auckland

architectural revivals implied the 'patina' of age and with it the permanence of more than two thousand years of ancient history, despite any obvious colonial sham façade. Migrants to New Zealand needed familiar order with visible representations of status that, with little effort, could be replicated in the home as merely two small columns on Donaghy's chiffonier had done. New migrants could participate in such signifiers from the pages of a pattern book in any cabinetmakers workshop.[104]

It was no coincidence then that such popular styles should make the 23,000-kilometre journey to New Zealand, in fact completely unremarkable for nostalgic migrants to need the security and normality replicated in their new homeland. Those London fashions had journeyed here in three to four months to be as critically received as they would be now. To review the state of furnishing style at the outset of colonial settlement the perfect authority was Scottish botanist, garden designer and serial writer of horticultural books John Loudon.

John Loudon and the Immigrant's Encyclopaedia (1833-69)

In 1833 John Loudon's indispensable guide to the home-making colonist, his *Encyclopaedia of Cottage Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture* had helpfully distilled the confusion of domestic contemporary fashion into four main themes.

> The Principle Styles of Design in Furniture, as at present executed in Britain may be reduced to four …The Grecian or Modern Style, which is by far the most prevalent; the Gothic or Perpendicular Style, which imitates the lines and angles of the Tudor Gothic Architecture; the Elizabethan Style, which combines the Gothic with the Roman or Italian manner; and the style of the Louis XIV, or the florid Italian; which is characterised by curved lines, and the excess of curvilinear ornaments.[105]

Loudon's appeal for the common man was that he was an observer, visionary and collator. His *Encyclopaedia* had been a massively useful resource of over 1,000 pages and 2,000 engravings for colonists; it was a seminal guide of domestic utility,

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[104] Grant McCracken, *Culture and Consumption* (Bloomington: University of Indiana, 1990). "Patina remained active… an object with patina [symbols of age, could be used] to legitimise status claims… [while] objects are … densely vested with memory." pp. 37-42, 55.
[105] Loudon (1836), *Encyclopaedia*, p. 1039.

design and architecture. After Loudon's death in December 1843, his *Encyclopaedia* was so well regarded that it was continually re-published until 1869.

Edward Jerningham Wakefield's *Hand Book for New Zealand for the Use of Intending Colonists* (1848) had "especially recommended" Loudon's *Encyclopaedia*.[106] Even so, few items of colonial furniture can be attributed directly to that *Encyclopaedia* as it was more a guide to architecture and domestic utility than a pattern book. Loudon openly explained he had accessed designs from nearby London workshops and work by Thomas Hope, Thomas King, Peter Nicholson, Henry Shaw etc. to reflect his four main styles. Writing in 1837, Loudon had said that "not a few" of Thomas King's designs resembled those from his own *Encyclopaedia* while conceding they had both accessed the same "portfolios or warehouses of the principal London manufacturers".[107] The work of two colonial cabinetmakers, Johan Levien and Samuel Johnson, has now been traced to Loudon's *Encyclopaedia* and those examples begin to present a picture of the earliest settler furniture preferences and the designs available to their cabinetmakers.

Identifying the Work of a Particular Cabinetmaker - Johan Levien, Wellington (1841-3)

Johann Martin Levien, a Pomeranian by birth, spent time in Brazil in the late 1830's searching for new timber species to introduce to the British furniture trade, however the climate did not agree with him and in 1841, he settled in Port Nicholson (Wellington). Levien set up a modest workshop on the waterfront and early accounts detail the calibre of his work.

> [He] has been industriously employed in proving the value of our forests, by working native woods in all descriptions of furniture. His work is beautifully executed and his prices moderate. The sitting rooms of one gentleman in the colony have been completely furnished by Mr Levien, with articles all manufactured by him from native woods; and nothing can be more beautiful or attractive.[108]

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[106] Edward Jerningham Wakefield, *Hand Book for New Zealand for the Use of Intending Colonists* (London: John W. Parker. 1848), p . 439.
[107] Loudon (1836), *Encyclopaedia*, p. iv.
[108] Johan Levien, *The Woods of New Zealand, and their Adaptability to Art Furniture* (London: James S. Virtue [printer], 1861), p. 48.

Under the circumstances of earliest Wellington settlement, Levien was a craftsman who found he was making furniture above the needs and means of his fellow migrants. Little wonder that in less than three years he set off for London where his Berkley Square workshop prospered manufacturing furniture for some of the royal households of Europe, gaining royal appointments to Queen Victoria and "His Majesty the King of Prussia." His effort to popularise newly discovered colonial timbers was less successful. "Mr Levien takes with him a large quantity of choice specimens of our woods, carefully selected by himself, and well-seasoned before [he] embarked."[109] The London published New Zealand Journal reported favourably on Levien's "splendid dining table" and a suite of "magnificent specimens of artistic furniture, which he has completed in Totara and other New Zealand woods" for the Duchess of Sutherland. But, the Journal also noted that "shipments [of timber] which have been recently made were selected with the worst possible judgement, and of course were unremunerative" and with that Levien's export business struggled to popularise colonial timbers.[110] Despite totara being "most superior for fine ornamental work such as veneering and that even the famed walnut is not in this respect its equal" it tended to fade quickly in colour as Levien had found while still in Wellington.[111]

Two tables have been identified as Levien's work, both in totara knot. The work and thinking indicated both tables had a similar cabinetmaking fingerprint with their distinct design elements found on the very same page in Loudon's *Encyclopaedia*. (Fig. 2.3) One, a small tilt-top side table (Fig. 2.4) found in Hutt Valley, very much in the Grecian style, had four scrolled feet under a platform base in the manner of George Smith's *Cabinet-Maker's and Upholsterer's Guide* (1826).[112] Moreover, there were features distinctive to designs in Loudon's *Encyclopaedia,* where several of Smith's drawings had been reproduced but without credit (Fig. 2.5). Detailing indicated a first class cabinetmaker, thoroughly conversant with design, notably he bulbous facetted

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[109] Fellow cabinetmakers P. M. Harvey, Lambton Quay and James Blyth, Dickson Street, Wellington acted as agents to purchase NZ furniture woods and wool for export. Advertisement, 1 February 1845, *The Cook Strait Guardian,* p.1; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.

[110] Advertisement, 21 April 1849, *The Cook Strait Guardian*; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[111] 'Colonial Industries: Cabinet-Making etc.', 21 January 1870, *Daily Southern Cross*, p. 3; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.

[112] George Smith (1826), *Guide*, plates CXII, XCIX, CIX, and XXVI.

column and collar, carved in a variant 'egg and dart' form with trefoil motif.[113] The collar had been tinted in red oxide to offset totara's tendency to fade rapidly to a soft yellow as found with Levien's disappointing timber imports to England.

Tellingly on the smaller table thick and hand-cut totara knot veneers had been laid onto a Brazilian mahogany substrate inferring the table was made soon after Levien arrived in 1841 while he was waiting for local timber to season. (Fig. 2.6) The presence of mahogany alone would have almost been sufficient to suggest attribution. Screw types were blunt tipped and lathe turned with hand cut slots while the all-brass castors with horizontal forks and the angular banjo catch were both unfashionably old by 1840. The quality of workmanship was superb and could be directly compared with another larger totara knot veneered loo table in Te Papa Tongarewa, originally donated by James Hector, the first Director of the Colonial Museum in c.1865. (Fig. 2.7)[114]

Previously that table had been thought to be the work of Dunedin cabinetmaker John Hill for the 1865 Dunedin Exhibition but this research now confirmed an older date.[115] Again hand-cut veneers had been applied to a hexagonal column with an oxide tinted, carved floral collar mounted on an obviously Grecian revival triform base. It was an interpretation of two patterns with a unique foot design only illustrated by Loudon. Besides style, the all-brass castors alone would benchmark the date of manufacture prior to 1850.[116]

Those two tables are amongst the very earliest examples of unsigned colonial furniture to be attributed to a known maker and are the oldest yet identified pieces of Levien's work anywhere in the world. Attribution to both Loudon and then Levien can be in no doubt as style, materials, dates and even documented records all align, despite the finished articles differing from the original designs. Loudon's *Encyclopaedia* was probably present in the new colony by 1841 and comparison with another example will provide certain evidence that his designs were also used in other areas of early settlement.

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[113] Loudon (1836), *Encyclopaedia*, pp. 1067-1072, Fig. 1956.
[114] Cottrell (2006), *Furniture of the New Zealand Colonial Era*, p. 254; "Totara Tilt-top Table", collection Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa; retrieved from URL: http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/1133140
[115] Cottrell (2006), *Furniture of the New Zealand Colonial Era*, p. 273; "Table", collection Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa; retrieved from URL: http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/Object/57031
[116] Loudon (1836), *Encyclopaedia,* pp. 1068, figs. 1954-5.

Nelson Sideboard Made to Loudon's Design - James and Samuel Bryan Johnson c.1870

After 133 days at sea the *Golconda* arrived at Nelson in December 1859 with steerage passenger James Johnson. By May 1860 he was ready to "Manufacture every description of Cabinet Furniture". In December 1863 "J. Johnson Cabinet-Maker, Upholsterer, and General Undertaker, [begged] to inform that his son S.B. Johnson had entered into partnership with him".[117] In 2013 a six-foot totara knot and manuka sideboard (Fig. 2.8) was found in New South Wales with four carved corbels that were identical to a 4'6" chiffonier made by S.B. Johnson in the Nelson Provincial Museum Collection.[118] After repatriation a 'J. and S. B. Johnson' partnership label found on the underside of the central drawer dated the sideboard to between 1864 and when James died in1876. Advertisements in that period confirmed the Johnsons' use of those specific timbers for their sideboards.

> J. and S.B. Johnson, cabinetmakers and upholsterers Collingwood-Street,
> One splendid 4'6" CHIFFONIER in beautifully marked Totara and Manuka Woods.[119]

The decorative back had been severely reconfigured into a later Victorian style with less than half of the original back timbers remaining. When those remnants were reassembled in the correct configuration by matching grain patterns, saw marks, and shadow lines, it became apparent that the Johnsons had modelled their sideboard on Loudon's 1833 'Pedestal Sideboard'.[120] (Figs. 2.9-10) The Nelson Colonist advertised an even larger example as late as 1879.

> One enclosed sideboard, seven feet - Handsome Design – Splendid Woods - now in [our] workshop. For tasteful design, and the surpassing beauty of the woods (manuka, totara and red pine) used in

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[117] Advertisement, 17 December 1863, *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.
[118], 'Chiffonier', collection Nelson Provincial Museum, object number NPM2008.52; retrieved in June 2016 from New Zealand Museums URL: http://www.nzmuseums.co.nz/account/3348/object/1814.
[119] Advertisement, 22 May 1871 *Nelson Evening Mail*, p. 2; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.
[120] Loudon (1836), *Encyclopaedia*, p. 1044, Fig. 1871.

> its construction the sideboard is truly a splendid specimen of the cabinetmaker's art.[121]

The *Encyclopaedia* had offered four choices. One in Gothic style Loudon dismissed as 'neat and plain, but has no claim to merit' and three in Grecian, or King's 'Modern Style'. Loudon did say of his most elaborate, 'handsome but rather expensive' Grecian pattern that it could be 'injured' or 'spoiled' if the profuse carving was reduced for economy. The Johnsons selected a less ornate pattern and their carving lacked Loudon's suggested refinement but they compensated with highly figured totara knot to distract the eye, a not uncommon colonial device. Loudon's pedestal was given a central cupboard with four arched panels beneath three ogee-fronted drawers to add Victorian rococo fluidity to relieve some Grecian severity. Importantly though, it was distinctly one of Loudon's 1833 designs and, despite later modifications, it showed the early and continued popularity of the *Encyclopaedia.*

At least two English-made mahogany sideboards by Loudon's contemporary Thomas King are known in New Zealand. Both were modelled from King's 1829 *Modern Style of Cabinet Work Exemplified* but neither exactly replicated any one particular design being interpretations and modifications of several designs. King's 'Address' clearly stated this was expected as "ornament, must be optional, or regulated according to the richness required." (Fig. 2.11) It is therefore necessary to interpret colonial furniture as being derivative rather than faithfully copied to find the same designs originating from the same source in another area of early settlement.

Identifying the Same Early Designs and Using Material to Assess Different Dates - King's Easy Chair with Inclining Back (1829)

Further evidence suggests that modern London furniture patterns by other contemporary designers also arrived with the first migrant cabinetmakers. Thomas King, for example, had offered several original designs for reclining chairs between 1829 and 1835 with at least two cabinetmakers in both the North and South Islands having used them. Northcote-Bade mentioned six reclining chairs made of totara by

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[121] Advertisement, 25 September 1879, *Colonist* (Nelson), p. 2; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.

Nelson cabinetmaker Josephus Hargreaves which he modelled on King's 'Chairs with Inclining Backs' (1829 and 1835).[122] Hargreaves arrived to Nelson in 1842 and died in 1856 and it appears the chairs, two of which have survived, were made for his family in the 1840s. (Fig. 2.12)

Loudon's designs as noted had been modified by Levien and the Johnsons, so by blending the easier-made elements of two King designs, Hargreaves simplified his task. Most obviously he chose turned legs (without castors) instead of sabred legs while also opting for curved arm supports again to avoid carving baluster collars and C-scroll terminals. He dispensed with upholstery replacing stuffing for curved slats while the seat had been altered to a hard wooden sliding saddle. (Fig. 2.13)

Hardware can be revealing to refine a possible date of construction. Again as noted the Johnsons used Loudon's sideboard design some three decades later. Hargreaves' hinges for the reclining seat were hand forged in iron possibly preceding Paul Moore's patented "improved stop butt hinge" first registered in September 1843.[123] The use of the more expensive, labour intensive older pattern would contradict Hargreaves' other economies. Moore's newly patented machinery had largely captured the industry from more traditional cast iron manufacturers, "The patent hinge is much neater in appearance, more durable, and less in cost than the forged article, consequently it maintains the preference, and many tons are made weekly in Birmingham."[124] A totara and puriri tray by Wellington cabinetmaker James Annear was found fitted with one inch cast brass butt hinges marked 'P.M. and Co' and secured by blunt tipped lathe-cut screws. (Fig. 2.14) Annear had arrived in August 1840 and left for Australia by 1853.[125] Donaghy had also used the same blunt-tipped screws but preferred cast brass hinges. Hargreaves screw types were of a hand-threaded variety predating Thomas Sloan's (1846) patented lathe turned pattern, and the same as found on Levien's two tables. It all suggested the original six Hargreaves' chairs were made soon after 1842 to King's patterns.

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[122] Cottrell (2006), *Furniture of the New Zealand Colonial Era*, p. 47. Joy (1977), *Pictorial Dictionary*, p. 148. Smith (1995), *Neo-Classical Furniture Designs… Thomas King*, plate 29.

[123] 'Registrations and Designs' (1843). *Newton's London Journal of Arts and Sciences*, issue 23, p.303; citation from Grace's Guide, retrieved in June 2016 from Grace's Guide to British Industrial History, URL: http://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Paul_Moore_and_Co

[124] Harry Howells Horton, *A Poem: Birmingham.*(Birmingham: H. Winnell; Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1853), pp. 202-3.

[125] 'James Annear Tray', collection Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, object number GH011603; retrieved in June 2016 from URL: http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/720718

An Auckland chair was also made to those same designs, with very little to relate it to Hargreaves' interpretation and being made much later. (Fig. 2.15) King's 1829 and 1835 work was still in print by the 1860s while some designs were also included in Loudon's *Supplement* (1842) that again was still in print long after. The Auckland chair's distinctive forward facing scrolled arm supports, applied roundels, and combined reclining backrest with forward sliding seat were unmistakably from King, but as with the Johnson sideboard, it was made long after the original design was first issued. (Fig.2.16) Style alone would date it to between 1830 and 1845 but inspection of its materials suggested a later date of manufacture.

The restrained front leg turnings had castors fitted with brass forks and white porcelain bowls (wheels), one of which was impressed 'C and C Patent' or *Cope and Collinson Patent*.[126] John Loudon in 1836 made no mention of porcelain castors but did say "that the best castor at present in use is that of Cope of Birmingham. This is a ball working in a cup, something in the manner of Mr Mallet's iron castor".[127] John Izons and Co., the West Bromwich iron founders published an extensive hardware catalogue in 1840 illustrated two pages of "French castors with iron, wood and brass bowls" only. William Bullock, also of West Bromwich, Staffordshire, published his 1850 catalogue with four pages of castors which did occasionally offer white bowls as a fourth option.[128]

John Walker invented and patented a forked castor in 1827 and upon payment of a licensing fee, allowed John and Charles Cope, Birmingham brass founders, to produce them. From 1816 to 1840 the Copes had numerous short-lived partnerships. Castors have been found with the forks stamped 'Copes' and the cups marked with the 1833-4 Birmingham 'J. W. Lewty Patent'.[129] Finally in c.1841 they formed a long partnership with Abraham Collinson and the white porcelain castor was produced towards the end of that decade (Fig. 2.17) and not surprisingly the Copes and the Collinsons also had

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[126] Northcote-Bade in *Colonial Furniture* (1971) incorrectly interpreted these initials as C. and G. for Copeland and Garrett (Spode) porcelain manufacturers. This error was repeated by Cottrell (2006), *Furniture of the New Zealand Colonial Era*, pp. 123-4.
[127] Loudon (1836), *Encyclopaedia*, pp. 322-4.
[128] William Bullock and Co., "Manufacturers of the Improved Cast Kitchen Furniture' Coffee Mills, Hinges, Pullies, Castors, Latches, Italian Irons, Man Traps, Shoe Scrapers, Garden Labels, Sad Irons, Three Legged Pots, Lath Nails, Shoe Bills, Heel and Toe Tips, and c., and c. Spon Lane Iron Foundry" (West Bromwich: William Bullock, 1850). Reprinted as *William Bullock and Co., 1805 to 1885 Hardware Catalogue* (Ottawa: Lee Valley Tools, 2003).
[129] William IV mahogany library armchair stamped "G. Minter, 33 Gerrard St, Soho, patent no 906"; retrieved in March 2014 from Bonhams Fine Art Auctioneers URL: http://www.bonhams.com/auctions/11689/lot/441/

presence in the Staffordshire pottery trade.[130] Cope and Collinson seem to have been prolific patentees and as late as 1888 they promoted themselves as "Patentees and Sole Manufacturers" of their ubiquitous castors with little variation to what they had offered some 40 years before.[131] Their porcelain bowls had fashionably changed to brown and even black after Prince Albert's death in 1861. The white castor bowls would have placed the Auckland chair's date of manufacture after c.1850.

Additionally that armchair had pointed tipped screws with a fast taper that conform to a pattern manufactured between 1846 and 1854+ and the nail types appeared to be the pyramid headed (J.J. Cordes) Ewebank pre-1869 model.[132] Wire nails had also been used in the construction of part of the sliding chair seat frame and the earliest likely date for such nails to be available in New Zealand was nearer to 1860. (Fig. 2.22) Christchurch hardware merchant Edward Reece was importing 'Ewebank, Cut lath and French wire nails' in 1859, while in Auckland they featured routinely in newspaper advertisements by 1864.[133] Nail types then would dictate a date of manufacture for the Auckland chair at no earlier than 1860, a remarkably long period for King's 1829-35 designs to remain current.

Seen through the lens of colonial privation, King's designs were nevertheless still apparent with both the Auckland and Nelson chairs and popular over an extended period. Without reference to King's work it would be hard to connect two such divergent interpretations, given their different materials, assessed dates and locations of construction. However, it is important to demonstrate that major sources of English furniture design got to New Zealand in the very first years of settlement and to show that it continued to occur. While Levien's two tables had clear similarities, connecting

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[130] Martin, Shaw and Cope, Lane End, 'Improved China' manufacturers of earthenware and porcelain active c.1814-24; James Collinson listed in the pottery trade at Tunstall , Golden Hill, from 1818 until at least 1835; tile manufacturers Collinson and Co. at Back-Glebe Street, c.1907; retrieved in May 2014 from The Potteries; Local History Stoke-on-Trent URL: www.thepotteries.org/mark/m/martinsc.html

[131] Advertisement, 1 June 1888, *The Cabinetmaker and Art Furnisher* (London: Benn Bros, 1888), p. xxxi. Between 1620 and 1885 3,880 furniture patents were granted with only 78 in the first 200 years. Almost all of the 77 patents for castors were after 1820 with the majority after 1852. Clive Edwards, *Victorian Furniture: Technology and Design* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), pp. 144-6.

[132] Advertisement, 12 August 1869, *Wellington Independent*, p. 5; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[133] Advertisement, 30 March 1859, *Lyttelton Times,* p. 8, retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz. George Vennell, advertised wire nails in Wellington by 1864. Advertisement, 7 September 1864, *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, p. 2; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz. A survey of John Edmond's stone house ruins at Kerikeri, built between 1840 and 1858, found machine cut brads, square and rose head cut steel nails, the same types that were used in the 1841 construction of Pompallier House. In those instances wire nails with rose and rhomboid heads were not recorded until the late 1870s; retrieved in April 2013 from Department of Conservation URL: http://www.doc.govt.nz/documents/science-and-technical/sr68-Entire.pdf

the two King 'Chairs with Inclining Backs' required a broader approach. It is then worth testing other examples with no obvious similarities to illustrate the breadth of designs used for the same object and by the same craftsman.

Comparison of Craftsmanship and Materials on a Grecian Theme

Two totara sideboards found separately years apart appeared to have little superficial detail in common but inspection revealed that they were made by the same cabinetmaker, almost certainly in Wellington, in the early 1840s. The proficiency of the cabinetmaker suggested that he was conversant enough with Grecian themes to adapt various designs for the two unconventional sized sideboards. One was overly large as an eight-foot pedestal and the other a smaller three-quarter sized five-foot breakfront. (Figs. 2.18 and 2.20) Only one much later advertisement for such an unusual piece can be found: "Magnificent massive black totara 5ft sideboard, Williams and Co., Courtenay Place."[134]

The larger sideboard in plain totara had huge pylons to each pedestal while the smaller kaikawaka and totara knot breakfront cabinet had four turned Doric columns with kahikatea substrates.[135] Both shared 'massive' tops with vertically veneered edges and heavy plinths, which uncommonly for colonial furniture were veneered. Their single mutual decorative detail was an opposing pair of thin applied S-scrolls onto otherwise quite different backs. The consistent use of show-wood totara and Grecian themes was then quite enough to initiate enquiry, given the rarity of such colonial made objects from the 1840s.

The joinery was superb with tell-tale woodworking techniques, such as fine dovetails, chamfered through tenons, fielded back panels and glue block formation, further confirming both pieces as the work of the same maker. Hardware was identical to both sideboards. Cast-brass hinges matched but had no maker's marks. Numerous screw types showed irregularities in thread depth, length and diameter consistent with hand used unlocking dies. They had concentric turned rings to their heads while

[134] Advertisement, 5 June 1916, *Evening Post (*Wellington), p. 10; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[135] I am grateful to Greg Steward and Lloyd Donaldson for identifying this species. Email August 2015 from www.scionresearch.com

uniquely the nails were all completely handmade.[136] (Fig. 2.21) The only direct reference to such was from the New Zealand Colonist and Port Nicholson Advertiser in November 1842 for "Kegs of nails, rose, shingle and others". Rose, meaning the five-clout head, was a generic name for even small 1 ¼ inch, one clout, forged nails.[137] "Wrought Press'd and cut nails, Patent screws" (meaning stamped, guillotined and machined) were advertised in Auckland by 1844.[138] (Fig. 2.22) Pit-saw and circular-saw marks were evident, indicating very early timber processing. At least two water-powered mills were in Wellington by 1843, with one operating by 1841.[139] The timber species suggest coastal Wellington and the location for the first known advertisement for a totara sideboard on 23 March 1850.

> An elegant totara sideboard sold on behalf of P.M. Hervey and William Inglis returning to England' Auctioneers Messrs Hervey, Johnston and Co., Wellington.[140]

Both sideboards independently exhibited strong Grecian elements, details particularly common to English designers John Taylor (c.1823), Thomas King (1829), and those of William Smee (c.1838). (Fig. 2.20) A relationship between these men will be considered later. An examination of William Smee's *Designs of Furniture* (c.1838) revealed many similarities with both sideboards but no one design could be attributed to either. King's overly large 1829 pedestal sideboards (#50, #51) directly related to the eight-foot totara example while a single Taylor 'Sideboard and Cellarette' plate shared decorative features to both colonial made ones. In any case it can be seen again that modern patterns available from other designers had been adapted and that the colonial cabinetmaker had remained true to style again demonstrating the breadth of interpretation for potentially similar objects on a theme. (Fig. 2.23)

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[136] Thomas Harvey's U.S. Patent 148, granted in 1837 was the first to specify the finishing of screw heads while rotating. That innovation produced a screw head with circular machining marks on the surface rather than linear file marks on the heads and fine, faceted file marks on the flanks of the head.
Retrieved on June 2016 from American Institute for Conservation URL: http://cool.conservation-us.org/coolaic/sg/wag/Am_Wood_Screws.pdf

[137] Advertisement, 8 November 1842, *New Zealand Colonist and Port Nicholson Advertiser*, p. 3; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz. "Casks of hot pressed nails", 30 August 1845, *New Zealander* (Auckland), p. 1; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.

[138] Advertisement, 20 July 1844, *Daily Southern Cross* (Wellington), p. 1; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[139] Cottrell (2006), *Furniture of the New Zealand Colonial Era*, pp. 234-5.

[140] Advertisement, 23 March 1850, *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian* (Wellington), p. 2; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.

The examination of Levien's, Hargreaves' and two unknown Wellington and Auckland cabinetmakers' work, illustrated that designs emanating from King, Loudon, Taylor and Smee dating from 1823 to c.1838 can be identified from the earliest years of colonial settlement. The use of Smee's 1838 *Designs of Furniture* by Hargreaves in Nelson and John Langford in Auckland will later be illustrated. Smee and Loudon had both used King's designs. King in turn, like his colleagues John Taylor and Peter Nicholson, was strongly influenced by designer George Smith (1808 and 1826), all of which suggests very similar furniture patterns from London were arriving simultaneously in New Zealand.

English Pattern Books in New Zealand

The first New Zealand reference to furniture pattern books came within months of the outset of planned settlement on 1 August 1840.

> Joiner, Cabinet and Chair Maker - James Wilson respectfully informs the inhabitants of Port Nicholson that he has commenced business, in the above line, at No. 6 Clyde Terrace, Britannia … J.W. begs to state that he has a number of plans suitable for cottages and Co., also drawings of every kind of cabinet and chair work which he will feel happy to show those who may call on him.[141]

While in the broader picture of furniture fashion themes are clear enough, but only a few colonial made objects can be directly associated with specific patterns from a particular designer. To make that connection does establish that there was a strong and immediate effect from British designers on the very first colonial furniture. There is one surprisingly early example and, with it, there is a glimpse into some of the trade chicanery that was to follow.

[141] Advertisement, 1 August 1840, *New Zealand Spectator and Cook Strait Guardian* (Wellington), p. 1; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.

The New Zealand First Pieces Attributed to a British Designer - George Smith (1826)

The designs of George Smith mark a clear the starting point for the examination of style in the very earliest colonial made furniture. In 1808 George Smith, a London upholsterer, claimed without much justification to be "Upholder Extraordinary to His Highness the Prince of Wales" and further emboldened by 1826 had promoted himself as "Upholsterer, and, Draughtsman to His Majesty". His *A Collection of Designs for Household Furniture and Interior Decoration* (1808) had "placed before a wider audience the style of Thomas Hope" by commercialising the architectural precision and authentic interpretation of Hope's own *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration* (1807).[142] Smith's completely updated *Cabinet-Maker's and Upholsterer's Guide* (1826) delivered 153 new plates in the popular style of Grecian, Egyptian, Roman, Etruscan, Gothic and Louis Quartorze. With regard to Gothic, for example, Smith had merely applied Gothic ornament to any furniture while generously claiming he provided "a more abundant variety of ornaments and forms than can possibly be obtained in any other style". Smith's hand coloured plate of a Grecian *Ladies Work Table* (Fig.2.24) was used as the model for a rimu table found in Auckland making it the oldest design to be definitively attributed to a piece of New Zealand furniture. (Fig. 2.25)

The worktable's top was veneered in hand-sawn puriri and mottled kauri with a specimen border which included Australian Blackwood laid on a New South Wales cedar substrate. The 1826 *Guide* did specifically list "Writing, Work, Dressing, Library and Card tables" as did Smith devotee King in 1829. In 1851 cabinetmaker Henry Mason of Auckland advertised a range of fine decorative objects with descriptions resembling those found in Smith's *Guide*.

> Loo, Card, Occasional, Dejuné, and Ladies Work Tables, and c., with tops inlaid with Mosaic Work, Crest, or other designs to any pattern, and on Carved Stands; Fire Screens, Flower tables, Cabinets, Work boxes, Tea Caddies, Dressing Cases, and c., of well-seasoned materials suitable for exportation. [143]

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[142] Fahey, Simpson and Simpson (1985), *Nineteenth-century Australian Furniture,* p. 215.

[143] Advertisement, "Elegant Articles of Cabinet Work in the New Zealand Woods Manufactured by Henry Mason near St Johns College", 16 August 1851, *New Zealander* (Auckland), p. 1; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

The location, description and advertisement date does suggest Mason as the likely worktable maker. Hand-made screws could still be found by that period as could hand-sawn timber comfortably pinning the time-line for the worktable to 1847-50 when Mason was first listed in Auckland.

A damaged candle table, also from Auckland, similarly conformed to Mason's advertisement for "Tables, and c., with tops inlaid with Mosaic Work". (Fig. 2.26) The remains of its marquetry top were suggestive of a Moorish design, as illustrated by Owen Jones in his ground breaking chromolithographic work published from 1836 to 1845 *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra.*[144] The table's upward scrolled feet compare to Smith's own Dejuné Table, a term so uncommon in the colonial setting that Mason must have referenced Smith.[145] (Fig. 2.5) Again screw types, timber treatment and species matched the worktable and in style its turned collars of lotus petals, facetted baluster column supporting a drum top, piece by piece, are found in Smith's *Guide.* Furthermore King's own 'Card Tables, Tea Poys and Writing Desks', oftentimes almost inseparable from Smith's, also exhibited the distinguishing components of the candle table. (Figs. 2.27-8) It will be shown later that King's designs were used in Smee's c.1838 *Designs of Furniture* and that even by then Smith's themes were still prominent.[146]

Further corroboration for the Mason attribution and his use of Smith's designs came in 2002 when a work box/caddy was found in Scotland with a paper label underneath 'Mason Cabinetmaker and Carver Wellington Terrace, Wellington New Zealand'.[147] (Fig. 2.29) Mason was first listed as a Wellington cabinetmaker by 1843 but not after 1847 by which time there was uncollected mail for an H. Mason waiting at the Auckland Post Office.[148] The name *Chapple* was later handwritten under *Mason.* James Chappell was initially working as a carpenter but listed as a cabinetmaker in February 1846 also in Wellington Terrace but the sophisticated form and precise

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[144] Owen Jones, *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra* (London: Vizetelly Bros., 1836-45), 'Details of woodwork from various rooms in the Alhambra' p. 36; retrieved from V and A URL: http://www.vam.ac.uk/users/node/6029

[145] Smith (1826), *Guide*, plate XXVI. Cabinetmaker A. Read's clearance sale also listed a 'Dejuné Table' amongst colonial made items. Advertisement, 16 September 1851, *Daily Southern Cross* (Auckland); retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.

[146] King (1835) *Modern Style*, plates 43-4, 84-5, 89; Cottrell (2006), *Furniture of the New Zealand Colonial Era*, p. 168, plate 54.

[147] Cottrell (2006), *Furniture of the New Zealand Colonial Era,* p. 266; 'Henry Mason, Work Table', Collection Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa; retrieved in June 2016 from Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa URL: http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/Object/960207

[148] Advertisement for the lease of Henry Mason's St Johns property; 30 August 1862, *New Zealander* (Auckland), p. 7; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

craftsmanship suggest the work of a very accomplished and design-aware cabinetmaker. Besides it did not need two men to make a small ornate box. The Mason/Chapple workbox approximates Smith's caddies in his *Original Designs for Furniture* c.1827 and King's cellarets from *Modern Style of Cabinet Work Exemplified* (1829).[149]

Adding diversity to the pool of evidence for the presence of Smith's patterns in New Zealand is an Australian cedar and kauri bookcase secretaire also found in Auckland.[150] (Fig. 2.30) It was a blend of two designs as already demonstrated with King's *Chairs with Inclining Backs*. The bookcase was indeed individual while its distinctive astragal layout was common to both Smith and King, its mouldings, panels, cornice and entablature details all exact to Smith's *Guide*. (Fig. 2.31) It does finally establish that Smith's designs from 1826 were the initial influence for colonial furniture makers although at times they could be confused with those of the slightly later and more prolific work of Thomas King. In 1852 cabinetmakers Leighton and Stucley's departure from the colony necessitated immediate sale of their 'new stock-in-trade' from their Shortland Street premises. Of particular note was a "French polished rimu loo table with circular block on castors" a design that was offered almost exclusively by both King (1835) and Smee (c.1838).[151] It was the work of those two men that was to have the greatest impact on colonial furniture design for the next few decades.[152]

Thomas King – Furniture Designer of Significant Colonial Influence

While Smith's work can be found it was Thomas King who had a more evident influence on early colonial-made furniture. Examining his career illustrates how he was the most prominent and prolific designer at exactly the point at which planned settlement began. King was apprenticed to his father William, a Soho upholsterer "of some forty-five years' experience but variously listed himself as "spring curtain manufacturer and French plate worker, furniture draughtsman and publisher of designs

[149] King (1829), *Modern Style*, plates 55-6.
[150] Smith (1826), *Guide,* plate XXIII, LXXXIV, 'Perspective', plate VII. Cottrell (2006), *Furniture of the New Zealand Colonial Era,* p. 164.
[151] Advertisement, 27 February 1852, *Daily Southern Cross* (Auckland), p. 1; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.
[152] Joy (1977), *Pictorial Dictoinary*, pp. 483-5.

for household furniture."[153] Fifteen of King's guides published between c.1823-42 focused on valances, drapery and upholstery at a time when the upholsterer's role entailed all textile and interior decoration, a superior profession to that of cabinetmaker. King's background in upholstery and the furnishing metal trades in the 1820's had ideally suited him to design sensible, practical and artistic furniture. He produced pattern books for upholstery, curtains, pelmets, mirrors and furniture but did not let the mania for exoticism overwhelm his designs.[154] They were hugely influential and popular simplifying Thomas Hope's formative and certainly scholarly, but often didactic, Grecian interpretations of "English Empire"; a simplification already initiated by Taylor's *Pocket Assistant* (c.1823) and Smith's *Guide* (1826).[155]

King adorned conventional furniture forms with random embellishments from Greek and French revivals much as Smith had previously done with Gothic motifs. He anglicised exotic ornament and "included designs in the debased classical taste typical of the period." Such use of motifs was more symbolic than authentic but their appeal ensured the longevity of his designs and did much to characterise Regency style. His relative economy of decoration made King's designs accessible to most classes and to the skills of small furniture makers.

Most renown, *The Modern Style of Cabinetwork* (1829) showed a range of plain furniture with little surface ornament at all.[156] Gothic was not yet a significant theme of his, with only occasional inclusion but after 1835 he gradually introduced 'Elizabethan'.[157] Enigmatic though King appears to be, he was a prolific and popular publisher of design and pattern books. Between c.1823 and 1842 he produced 28 books with his most popular, *Modern Style* being still reprinted even as late as 1862.[158] That

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[153] King was in partnership with brass founder James Smith from 1833-38. In 1839 King titled himself "furniture pattern drawer [and] publisher." Thomas Smith (1995), *Neo-Classical Furniture Designs… Thomas King*, 'Introduction', p. i-iv.

[154] Thomas Sheraton (1751-1806) took neo-classicism into the nineteenth century by further refining the influence of Hepplewhite while quickly interpreting new old world archaeological discoveries. His technically superb *Cabinet-Maker* and *Upholsterer's Drawing Book,* issued in parts from 1794 with an *Appendix* added by 1802, allegedly marked the end of the 'Golden Age' of English furniture design. His fourth book *The Cabinet-Maker, Upholsterer and General Artist's Encyclopaedia* was unfinished at the time of his death in 1806. Genius tilted toward madness as *The Cabinet-Maker* had descended into absurdity with zoomorphic forms incongruously affixed to furniture marking the sad decline of a brilliant mind that had gave Sheraton's name to an era and style.

[155] Hope developed a deep interest in classical architecture through his extensive travels through the Ottoman Empire, Syria, Egypt and Arabia and did much to stimulate public interest in ancient Middle Eastern style. Joy (2006), *Pictorial Dictionary*, p. xv. 'Thomas Hope Regency Designer' (Exhibition), Victoria and Albert Museum; retrieved in June 2016 from V and A URL: http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/t/thomas-hope/

[156] Collard (1995), *Regency Furniture*, p. 54.

[157] Still heavily influenced by 'Modern' Greek it would take until c.1842 for King to produce *Specimens of Furniture in the Elizabethan and Louis Quartorze Styles*.

[158] Smith (1995), *Neo-Classical Furniture Designs*, pp. xvii-xviii. Joy (1977), *Pictorial Dictionary*, pp. xxii-xxiii.

one publication with its additional twenty-eight 'Supplementary Plates' (1835) can be identified as the first broad influence for New Zealand colonial furniture design.

Thomas King's 1835 *Sketch Book* in the South and North Islands

At least five authenticated examples of Hargreaves' work remain to show that he modelled much of his furniture on both *King's Sketch Book of Plain and Useful Designs* and Smee's *Designs of Furniture*. Other Hargreaves pieces bequeathed by his daughter Violet to the old Dominion Museum, Wellington, were destroyed in storage with the collapse of Harley's Brewery in Nile Street East, Nelson in 1958. A photograph of a small worktable lost in that tragedy had been used by Northcote-Bade and showed similarities to a totara and puriri loo table found in Ponsonby, Auckland, in 1997.[159] (Fig. 2.32)

Following damage to that table in the September 2010 Canterbury earthquake it was confirmed as Hargreaves' when his initials 'J.H.' were found under the apron during restoration.[160] That re-discovered table was a blend of two of King's 1835 designs with its very distinctive inverted tapered and facetted column and collar being unique to one of them. Hargreaves had styled his own distinctive discus foot as a cheaper and simpler alternative to King's hairy lion's paw. He had fitted all brass (pre-porcelain) castors, and secured them with blunt lathe-turned screws. The banjo catch compared to Levien's 1841-3 tables. Hargreaves had combined various patterns and modified carved decoration as he had done with his 'Chairs with Inclining Backs' but peculiarities distinct to King's designs were still apparent. (Fig. 2.33)

Another example of King's table, originally owned by the Buckland family who variously immigrated to Auckland between 1841 and 1850, again exhibited individual cabinetmaker interpretation. (Fig. 2.34) King's conical column, while heavily exaggerated, did retain the signature 'centurion skirt' collar above the tri-form base which, that time, had been mounted on scrolled feet.[161] It again demonstrated that King's designs are recognisable despite very few furniture examples being exactly

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[159] Northcote-Bade (1971), *Colonial Furniture*, pp. 70-1.
[160] Cottrell (2006), *Furniture of the New Zealand Colonial Era,* p. 163. In a near repeat of history this important table only just escaped complete destruction from the collapse of an adjacent chimneystack in the Canterbury earthquake of 4 September 2010.
[161] 'A living History of the Fencible Period,'(exhibition); retrieved October 2014 from Howick Historical Village, Auckland URL: http://www.fencible.org.nz/collections/

faithful copies and confirmed that they were being used by Hargreaves. It might be argued that such examples were too generic, so finding one of King's patterns would be proof indeed.

Thomas King's *Sketch Book* Found in the North Island

King's patterns have now been attributed to articles made by Anton Seuffert who has been described as Australasia's most talented cabinetmaker and for good reason. He was famous in his day with commissions for and from dignitaries, a Royal Appointment from Alfred Duke of Edinburgh, awards from international exhibitions and after first being displayed in the 1862 Exhibition a large cabinet by him was presented to Queen Victoria. Seuffert had been a foreman for the great Viennese company Leistler and Sons supervising their display at the 1851 Great Exhibition, London where he remained working in the furniture trade near Wardour Street. By May 1859 he had moved his family to Auckland.[162] After Anton's death in 1887 his eldest son, William, continued in his father's profession producing largely marquetry giftware, small tables and glove boxes.

One such box typical of William's marquetry work featured a banded lid of manuka flowers in a central rococo scrolled cartouche with specimen native timbers to the sides in 24 gothic windows. Following the flooding of a North Island provincial museum it underwent extensive restoration in 2000. Water had softened the original gelatine glue causing extensive swelling and delamination of the veneers and substrate distortions necessitating complete deconstruction. The interior green velvet lining had been stiffened with a card backing of two lithographed prints of tables from King's *Sketch Book of Plain and Useful Designs* (1835).[163] (Fig. 2.35) Pencilled faintly beneath the four images was £6-10-0 and £7-0-0, being Anton's prices to construct such tables. Following his father's death William considered King's patterns no longer valid and had reduced them to fabric backing.

[162] Brian Peet (2008), *The Seuffert Legacy - New Zealand Colonial Master Craftsmen* (Auckland: Icarus Publishing, 2008), p. 15.
[163] Cottrell (2006), *Furniture of the New Zealand Colonial Era*, pp. 367-8, Joy (1977), *Pictorial Dictionary*, pp. 54, 130, 494.

Seuffert Furniture Made to King's and Dwyer's Designs

Anton Seuffert's output can be broadly categorised as either souvenir work, mostly boxes, wine tables with multiple-specimen timber displays or commissions, for which his escritoires were most well-known. Those escritoires were illustrated in John Dwyer's *Designs for Furniture* (1856) and remained fashionable well into the 1880s.[164] Dwyer's Great Marlborough Street premises had been a few minutes' walk from Seuffert's London address suggesting opportunity to own a copy of *Designs for Furniture*. A sarcophagus style caddy found in London in 2013 was one of Seuffert's very first New Zealand made pieces. Veneered in rewarewa basket weave with none of Seuffert's legendary colonial imagery, it was, in miniature, King's 1829 cellarette for 'A Sideboard Table'. A Seuffert 'Ladies' Work Table', (Fig. 2.36), again found in London, was from King's 1835 *Supplementary Plates*, designs that had also been later reproduced by Loudon in 1842.[165] (Fig. 2.37) Seuffert had replaced the more archaic gadrooning with a simple thumbnail moulding to the lid while he coved the workbox sides to remove the entablature appearance to obscure Grecian remnants. For the top, Seuffert again used rewarewa basket weave as a background framed in rococo filigree for a central medallion of native ferns. Inset into both tables were the interlaced initials A E, a monogram for Alfred Duke of Edinburgh from whom Seuffert gained a royal appointment in 1869. The two plates found in the box made by son William irrefutably place King's designs in the workshop of his father Anton; while surviving articles of furniture from 1859 to at least 1869 demonstrates that he did indeed use them.

Thomas King and William Smee

There is now evidence that King drew designs for Smee but without recognition and that relationship may explain why some New Zealand furniture at the same early period struggles for attribution as found for example with the two totara sideboards.

In 1964 London antiquarian book dealer Benjamin Weinreb acquired a copy of King's *The Modern Style of Cabinet Work Exemplified in New Designs*. Weinreb cited

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[164] C. and R. Light (1880, *Registered Designs*, p. 243, #1124.
[165] King (1829), *Modern Style*, plate 55. Peet (2008), *The Seuffert Legacy*, pp. 40-1. Loudon (1842), *Supplement*, 'Furniture for Living Rooms', p. 1289, # 2333.

it as "A Catalogue of Household Furniture made (and for the greater part) designed by William Smee and Son of Finsbury Pavement." Weinreb also offered the further credits and reasonably precise date, "G. Taylor by T. King, c.1855." King's original frontispiece in fact included the plain details "T. King publisher, G. Taylor printer, 1829".[166] The information was far too easily available for the very experienced and thorough Weinreb to overlook.

Amongst the many sources available, for example, from Weale's popularly available Architectural Series was New Zealand Company Surveyor Samuel Charles Brees' (1861) *Glossary of Civil Engineering* with advertisements for no less than thirteen publications by King.[167] In his *Modern Style* King gave his address as Wilmot[t] Street in 1829 where he resided until at least 1833, while Smee's publisher, John Betts, lived just a very few doors away in Compton Street.[168] Betts specialised in atlases and was ideally suited to printing pattern books plates as Betts' 1838 advertisement intimated with coloured 'Maps engraved upon steel'; exactly as all King's designs had been printed.[169] As with contemporary designer John Taylor, there were also noticeable similarities between King's and Smee's work in confirmation of Loudon's assertions that his designs may "have been obtained from the same source". Frances Collard in her *Regency Furniture* was unequivocal, twice stating in 1985 "*The Modern Style* was reissued several times, finally appearing as the trade catalogue of William Smee and Son, one of the largest furniture manufacturers of the later nineteenth-century."[170] (Fig. 2.38) As with Smith and King's designs, many of Smee's earliest designs were also stylistically inseparable from King's thinking. Efforts to establish such relationships can demonstrate that where colonial furniture in the earliest

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[166] Weinreb catalogued the entry as… "Wm. Smee and Son *The Modern Style of Cabinet Work Exemplified in New Designs*, London, G. Taylor by T. King c.1855; A Catalogue of Household Furniture made (and for the greater part) designed by William Smee and Son of Finsbury Pavement – One of the largest early Victorian factories and warehouses supplying the wholesale trade and provincial retail clients." Benjamin Weinreb, *Furniture* (London: Weinreb Architectural Books Ltd., 1964), #305.

[167] Samuel Brees, *Glossary of Civil Engineering* (London: Tilt and Bogue, and John Weale, 1841), pp. 24-25. H.G. Bohn published some works after King's death in c.1842.

[168] The address given for Thomas King on the slip-case of his *Decorations for Windows and Beds* (c.1827-8) was 18 Wilmot Street, Brunswick Square where he still resided in 1833. *Decorations for windows and beds* (100 patterns on 80 plates), like many of King's pattern books, seems to be a composite of plates on different papers, printed at different times with only some plates numbered and not sequential. Wilmot(t) Street disappeared after 1870 and was incorporated into Kenton Street. Compton Street after 1950 became part of Tavistock Place.

[169] Bett advertisement (April 1838), *The Athenaeum: Journal of Literature, Science and Fine Arts*, volume 3056, p.312. An earlier notice advertised engraved 'geographical slates' intended for school children, 2 January 1836, *Literary Gazette*, p. 365.

[170] Like most nineteenth-century cabinetmakers little information has been recorded. Even the largest London firms such as Shoolbred, Oetzmann and Smee have vanished completely and the extent of their concerns is known only from a few remaining trade catalogues. Collard is one of a very few writers to even mention Smee and she only does so twice, both times suggesting the King/Smee connection. Collard (1995), *Regency Furniture*, pp. 28-9, 162.

years defies conclusive attribution it can still show the direct influence of a small group of London based designers.

The First Smee Cabinetmakers

William Smee has been documented as a prominent nineteenth-century cabinetmaker but new research demonstrates that his catalogues were also used as colonial pattern books. The Smees were Quakers and had a cabinet making presence at Moorfields since the turn of the nineteenth century. William Alfred Smee senior (1761-1843), was listed in 1814 as an "Upholfterer" at 5 Pavement Moorfields while by 1822 his eldest son William Alfred Smee junior (1797-1856) was also a cabinetmaker at the same address.[171] "John Tutt of Rye in the county of Sussex, cabinet maker" found himself in court as a bankrupt on 18th May 1830 facing eight petitioning creditors amongst who were William Smee snr, William Smee jun., and a younger son John Henry (1806-1867), all cabinetmakers of Moorfields.[172] In March 1838 William Smee and William junior dissolved their partnership with John of 6 Finsbury Pavement, Moorfields to begin trading as W.A. Smee and Son "wholesale cabinetmakers".[173] John Henry Smee merely moved to 20 Finsbury Pavement where he diversified into mattress making. By 1851 William junior was running the family business, employing 90 men and 12 women. It was sufficiently well established to mount a substantial display alongside some of the biggest British firms at the Great Exhibition in 1851. They themselves would soon rank as one of the largest furniture wholesalers and exporters to the colonies of the mid-nineteenth century.[174]

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[171] *The Post-Office Annual Directory for 1814* (London: Critchett and Woods, 1814), p. 294. 'Manufactures and Commerce 1822', *Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts,* London: Society for the Encouragement of Art, 1822), Volume XLI, p. 242.
[172] *The Law Advertiser for the Year 1830* (London: J. W. Paget, 1830), Volume 8, p. 213. Another firm of petitioners was the commissioners of John Dwyer's *Designs for Furniture* (1856).looking glass manufacturers Arthur Wilcoxon jun., Arthur Wilcoxon senior, and William Harding of Lombard Street, London.
[173] Advertisement, 2 March 1838, *The Champion and Weekly Herald* (London: Richard Cobett, 1838), column 1376.
[174] Joy (1977), *Pictorial Dictionary*, pp. xxix, 176.

The First Smee Catalogue

There has been some contention as to when Smee's designs were first published and establishing an accurate date is of some significant colonial interest.[175] The earliest known catalogue was *Designs of Furniture* by William Smee and Son, with the reference to William's 'Son' placing it after the partnership dissolution with William's brother John in March 1838.[176] Before 1841, Smee and Son had issued their *Designs* and were wholesaling to furnishing retailers as was found with period court cases.[177] *Designs* had wholesale stock priced in code based on the ten digit word 'UPHOLSTERY' and the decipher key was a simple letter/numeral substitute of 1 to 9 plus 0. For example, their 'Adelaide couch stuff'd ready for covering' was priced at O-L-Y or de-coded as £4-5s-0d and the 'Frame only on Castors' was U-UL-Y or £1-15s-0d. Smee's "Adelaide couch" had capitalized on the popularity of Princess Adelaide, the Queen consort and wife of William IV, most famously with the naming of the capital of South Australia after her in 1836. This would suggest a Smee publication date for their first edition of *Designs* of around the same period, probably not long after William's death in June 1837 but soon after the Smee family partnership dissolution of 1838. Wholesale codes will be covered later in this chapter and again in Chapter Four.

The "Adelaide Couch" in discussion was a virtual copy of Thomas King's 1835 *Sketch Book* pattern, further suggesting involvement with Smee. Furthermore it was also reproduced by Loudon in his 1842 *Supplement* as a *Reading-seat* and it was also Loudon who had recommended using one of King's 1835 sofas in later editions of his *Encyclopaedia*.[178] (Fig. 2.39) Smee's 'Rosewood Spanish Lounge Chair Frame French Polished on Castors' or 'Campeche Chair' also appeared the *Encyclopaedia* recalling that Loudon had said that much of his material had come from "the principal London

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[175] Joy dated Smee's first *Designs of Furniture* at c.1850 but most of the styles were in existence as much as 20 years before while Symonds and Whineray's (1962), *Victorian Furniture* suggests a more likely c.1840. Joy (1977), *Pictorial Dictionary*, p. 442.

[176] Joy (1977), *Pictorial Dictionary*, referred to *Designs **for** Furniture* when all known catalogues were titled *Designs **of** Furniture*. The designs for the 1850 catalogue (Joy's assessed date) appear to be transitional, that is, Grecian and Louis and consistent with the earlier dates of King's 1829-35 *Modern Style of Cabinet Work Exemplified*. A further reference with the ***'for'*** title and a given date of 1850 is in the bibliography of Stephanie Phillip's (1997) *The Lockwood-Matthews Mansion: Seasonal Dress as an Interpretative Tool* (Unpublished Masters Thesis). University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

[177] Montagu Chambers (ed.), 20 October 1843, *The Law Journal for the Year 1843* (London: E.B. Ince, 1843), Vol. XXI, p. 60.

[178] Joy (1977), *Pictorial Dictionary,* p. 318 (top). Loudon (1836), *Encyclopaedia,* pp. 1287-8, #2323 'Reading Seat'. Little information on nineteenth-**c**entury cabinetmakers has been recorded with even the largest London firms such as Shoolbred, Oetzmann and Smee having vanished completely. The extent of their concerns is only known from a few remaining trade catalogues, advertisements, period accounts and council records. Collard is detailed, scholarly and well referenced and is one of a very few writers to even mention Smee. She does so twice, both times suggesting the King/Smee connection. Collard (1995), *Regency Furniture*, p. 231-2.

manufacturers".[179] So Loudon, King and Smee all knew each other. Loudon's and Smee's images were artistically similar, suggesting that one copied the other but more likely King, who died c.1842, had drawn designs for both Loudon and Smee, linking the work of all three men. King had been influenced by Smith and appears central to many of the first designs for colonial furniture. It also suggests that Smee's first *Designs* of late c.1838 was largely, if not completely, the work of King. Most remarkable was that the very first designs ever to have got to New Zealand were from Smee's *Designs of Furniture*.

William Smee's *Designs* - John Alfred Langford and the Governor's Death Bed

John Alfred Langford from Birmingham arrived in Wellington on the first passenger ship 'Aurora' on 22 January 1840.[180] He immediately set up as a cabinetmaker, upholsterer and undertaker. When Governor William Hobson died, aged just 49, in September 1842, John Langford, by then in Auckland, conducted the funeral.

Hobson's curtained or half-tester rimu bed survives in the Auckland War Memorial Museum but its overhanging canopy is now missing, a common occurrence.[181] A survey of the original contents of William Dorset's Wellington house, built in 1847, recorded a canopied rimu bed which had been cut down in the 1860's but fortunately the decorated footboard was intact.[182] Its transitional style, hinting of French scrollwork with posts retaining Grecian carving and the remains of Renaissance strap-work, was an exact copy from Smee's c.1838 *Designs of Furniture*. (Fig. 2.40) Langford must have brought it with him when he left England in October 1839 in order to construct the bed in which Hobson died well before September 1842. It then places Smee's *Designs* in Wellington by January 1840 and in Chancery Street, Auckland by 1841 with cabinetmakers Gardiner and Langford. Furthermore, it suggests that the two totara sideboards previously discussed may have been made by Langford, given the London associations of Smee, Loudon, Taylor and King. It has also been found that

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[179] Joy (1977), *Pictorial Dictionary*, pp. 158, 254. The Metropolitan Museum of Art dated Smee's *Designs of Furniture* to 1830. Cybele Trione Gontar (2003), 'The Campeche Chair in the Metropolitan Museum of Art', *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, Volume 38, p. 202; retrieved June 2016 from Metropolitan Museum of Art URL: http://www.academia.edu/4445635/The_Campeche_Chair_in_the_Metropolitan_Museum_of_Art

[180] 'Chair and cabinetmaker' Richard Langford (and family) also arrived in Port Nicholson, 12 December 1840, on the barque *London.*

[181] Cottrell (2006), *Furniture of the New Zealand Colonial Era*, p. 166.

[182] Northcote-Bade (1971), *Colonial Furniture*, pp. 93, 96.

Hargreaves was using King's patterns in Nelson by 1842 but he was also using Smee's *Designs*, or perhaps even they were also those of Thomas King.

More Early Evidence of Smee in New Zealand – Hargreaves' Two Chiffoniers

A totara chiffonier located in Westport with an evidently neo-classic appearance pre-dating the town's settlement in 1861 was found in Smee's *Designs of Furniture.* When compared with another chiffonier of known provenance in the Nelson Provincial Museum it pinpointed Hargreaves as the maker of both chiffoniers.[183] (Fig. 2.41)

Unusually they had been fitted with brass locks to the left hand doors suggesting they were made around the same time. Both had full columns flanking panelled doors with distinct Grecian backs.[184] The West Coast cabinet had a simple pyramidal form capped with a plain moulding while the Nelson Museum chiffonier had simple fretted scrolls, a simplification of the Johnson sideboard repatriated from Australia.[185] Hargreaves had taken economies with carvings that were reduced to either turnings or flat scrolls, modifications that were also found on his reclining chairs and signed table. Importantly though, every decorative element could be derived from a selection of Smee's c.1838 chiffonier designs.

Smee's *Designs* then, was present in Auckland, Wellington and Nelson by 1842. What now advances discussion on early patterns entering colonial New Zealand was that Smee and Son were not designers, but furniture makers and exporters; their *Designs* was a trade catalogue, and not intended to be used as a pattern book by colonial cabinetmakers.

Smee Exports by the Shipload

Smee had cultivated business and commercial relationships in the Australasian colonies, eventually exporting large quantities of furniture to both countries. More recently quite a number of his pattern books have been located in New South Wales,

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[183] Cottrell (2006), *Furniture of the New Zealand Colonial Era*, p. 47.
[184] Advertisement, "Thomas Weston and Co., auctioneers" (Auckland), 12 August 1848. "French polished Cheffonier, with carved back and pillars, drawers and silk front." *Daily Southern Cross*, p. 1; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz
[185] 'Josephus Hargreaves' Chiffonier', Collection Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa; retrieved in June 2016 from Museum of New Zealand URL: http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/618044

Victoria and Tasmania but, while none have survived in New Zealand, there is much evidence to indicate the scale of his colonial trade.

Nash and Scaife, shipping agents and auctioneers, of Nelson and New Plymouth, advertised in January1859 "11 packages Smee's furniture" and in August they itemised their new shipment. "Eighteen Cases of Smee's Best London Furniture" detailing an extensive list of mahogany, Japanned furniture, carpets and iron bedsteads "selected with special regard to the requirement of this market".[186] Nash and Scaife repeated the order with another eighteen crates the following January while a few doors down Nelson's Bridge Street Sharland and Watt were selling Smee's carpets and paper hangings. A little over two years later in Otago Messrs Dalgety, Rattray and Co. auctioned "Thirteen Cases of Highly Usfful [sic] Furniture… from the celebrated house of Wm. Smee and Son London."[187] As with Australia, Smee was already a byword for quality throughout the colonial community selling significant quantities of stock and influencing local furnishing preferences.

Napier auctioneer Vautier Janisch, advertised a speculative and extensive consignment of Smee furniture in 1864. It included nine cases of mahogany couches, washstands wardrobes, bookcases, bureau, mirrors, chests of drawers, tables, canopy beds, Gondola/lounge chairs, cheffoniers, walnut work/occasional/card tables, caned birch chairs, sycamore wardrobes and iron French/stump/canopied beds, carpets, pillows, rugs, wool/spring mattresses, etc. Janisch, had advertised another company's "Pattern Books and a list of prices of Russell's Pianofortes" stating he was happy to take client orders from that pattern book since November 1861. All Smee catalogues had wholesale prices in code beside each pattern for exactly that type of long distance retail relationship. [188]

Later Smee Catalogues in New Zealand

The Smees had a long and significant colonial trading relationship. They produced one catalogue in the 1840's entitled *Designs for Window Curtains and Beds*

[186] Advertisement, 4 May 1859, *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, p. 1; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz
[187] Advertisement, 26 November 1861, *Otago Daily Times*, p. 4; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz
[188] Advertisements, 6 February 1864, *Hawke's Bay Herald*, p. 7; 9 Nov. 1861, p. 2; 8 July 1862, p. 4; 15 April 1865, p. 1; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

offering more catalogues each decade thereafter. None were dated and can only be assessed on style changes or by variations in the Smee family trading name. Smee seems to have produced another (William Smee and Sons') *Designs of Furniture* most historians date at about 1850. Son became Sons' as William jnr. aged twenty, who worked for his father in 1819, had by 1851 employed his two oldest sons, William and John, 22 and 20 respectively. The cover wording for the 1870 W.A. and S. Smee's *Designs of Furniture* had changed little since the very first in c.1838 except to include the last son, Sylvanus.

On 31 August 1867 the British public were advised that "William Alfred, John Henry and Sylvanus Smee… of William Smee and Sons… has been dissolved by mutual consent."[189] Such was the level of their trade that Smee and Son had placed notices extensively throughout the colonies. Clients like James Large of Napier who retailed "Smee's [Tucker's] patent mattress and wool bed"[190] were advised to redirect their orders to mattress maker John Henry Smee and Company.[191] He continued the family business advising colonial clients that "The Books of the late firm for the 50 years past are preserved, so that any previous order can be referred to."[192] During the 1879 International Sydney Exhibition while supervising their display W.A. and S. Smee's London manager placed a series of national advertisements in New Zealand papers. "Smee's London manager will shortly visit this town with a selection of designs and patterns, and to submit their new Illustrated Catalogue containing over 700 Designs of Furniture, at prices not hitherto offered to the trade."[193] This would represent four decades of Smee catalogues continuously entering New Zealand and continually being used to construct colonial furniture.

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[189] Public Notice, 11 February 1868, *The London Gazette,* p. 676; retrieved in June 2016 from The Gazette Official Public Record URL: https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/23351/page/676/data.pdf

[190] William Smee and Son advertisement, "Tucker's Patent Mattress." 5 June 1858, *The Athenaeum,* No 1597, p. 735. W.A. Smee bought Somnier Tucker's spring mattress patent in November 1861.

[191] Advertisement, "James Large, Hastings Street, Napier… One Iron bedstead, brass mounted, 5 feet wide, Smee's patent mattress and wool bed". 21 December 1891, *Hawke's Bay Herald*, p. 1; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[192] Advertisement, 16 April 1870, *Wellington Independent*, p. 7; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz. Advertisement, 19 May 1870, *South Australian Register* (Adelaide); retrieved from National Library of Australia URL: http://trove.nla.gov.au/. Advertisement, 11 April 1870, *Sydney Morning Herald; retrieved* from URL: http://trove.nla.gov.au/. Advertisement, 21 July 1870, *The Mercury* (Hobart); retrieved from URL: http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/8863528

[193] Advertisement, "W.A. and S. Smee, Wholesale Cabinetmakers, Manufacturers, Upholsterers and Warehousemen; Exhibitors section 31, Sydney Exhibition 1879". 22 October 1879, *Hawke's Bay Herald*, p. 3; Advertisement, 1 November 1879, *Otago Daily Times*, p. 3; Advertisement, 25 October 1879, *New Zealand Herald*, p. 8; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

An Auckland-made "Large Rimu sideboard, handsomely carved" was found identical to W.A. and S. Smee's *Designs of Furniture* (1870) pattern (#40); its base also matched the Johnson (Nelson) sideboard (with Loudon's Grecian back) suggesting wide use by colonial cabinetmakers of Smee catalogues.[194] That particular design was almost exactly replicated in Jenks and Holt's *Modern Furniture* (1869) (#480) further suggesting that London furniture makers monitored popular styles rather too closely.[195] (Fig. 2.42) Also from Auckland was a very rare pair of rimu music canterburys with filigree racks precisely fretted to Smee's design. The sideboard and canterburys strongly indicated that Smee's 1870 catalogue was not being used strictly for selling Smee products but as a cabinetmaker's pattern book to make some of the most expensive items in the colonial household. (Fig. 2.43)

The Smee Legacy (c.1838-70+)

The Smee family was really the first major furniture maker to produce from their own pattern books since Thomas Chippendale some three quarters of a century previously. Several editions of *Designs of Furniture* heralded a commercial approach by a large London manufacturer to fashion by reducing excessive ornamentation (or cost) and such details that would date. An indication might be had from a comment made by Sir Matthew Digby Wyatt of Smee's exhibits in Paris in 1855 as being "strong and soundly made but inelegant". Their trade catalogues spanned more style changes than those of any other nineteenth-century furniture manufacturing firm and while not forward looking or ground-breaking, were aimed at the increasingly wealthy middle classes; Smees' motivation was to make attractive objects and sell them.

Other Pattern Books to Arrive in Colonial New Zealand

Comparison between early colonial furniture examples to the work of major British designers yields evidence that the same patterns consistently reached New Zealand. It has been shown that a few key figures in the English furnishing trade had a marked effect on the earliest colonial furniture design despite fragmentary but reliable

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[194] Advertisement, "Queen Street cabinetmakers T. and H. Cooke closing down clearing sale", 17 February 1868, *Daily Southern Cross* (Auckland), p. 2; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz
[195] Cottrell (2006), *Furniture of the New Zealand Colonial Era*, pp. 71, 210.

clues. Establishing the period of manufacture by comparing styles and materials seems to be consistently dependable when measured against the few dated examples known and publishing dates of British patterns. The original Thomas King patterns brought to New Zealand in 1859 by Australasia's most famous cabinetmaker provided unimpeachable proof to support other circumstantial information. Within three years a large collection of patterns also arrived in Auckland with three Cranwell brothers to add continuity to this discussion of the constant arrival of British designs with immigrant cabinetmakers.

Benjamin, Thomas and Robert Cranwell Collection of Patterns - Auckland 1862

Inspirational though the age may have been, it was also a period of massive European emigration. *New Zealand, or Zealandia, the Britain of the South,* Charles Hursthouse's 1857 promotional book or William Stones' 1858 *New Zealand, the Land and its Resources* may have appealed to most at an exotic or economic level, but for some it was re-affiliation.[196] Presbyterian cabinetmakers Thomas and Benjamin Cranwell from Lincolnshire docked at Auckland in November 1862 after what appears to have been a thoroughly unpleasant journey.[197] Youngest brother Robert, also a cabinetmaker arrived two months earlier after a "satisfactory" passage of 98 days despite the loss of two masts and five deaths, for the "352 passengers of the nonconformist body."[198] Benjamin was listed in 1833-5 as a cabinetmaker and upholsterer in partnership with William Armes of Grantham.[199] At 51 he was older than most migrants, and anticipated that with a change of country could come a change of profession. Enterprisingly, two weeks after arriving, he advised that he was acting as agent for "Weston's Patent Pulley", an apparently "ingenious lifting machine" but, soon

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[196] Charles Hursthouse, *New Zealand, or Zealandia, the Britain of the South (*London: E. Sanford, 1857); retrieved in June 2016 from Internet Archive (1996) URL: https://archive.org/details/newzealandorzea01hursgoog. William Stones, *New Zealand, the Land and its Resources* (London: Algar and Street, 1858).

[197] The voyage ended with a petition from all the passengers to Captain Brinsden on behalf of the owners Messers Shaw, Saville and Co. "complaining of the wretched state of the vessel, arising from leakages and influx of water into the sleeping berths… [permeated] with coal dust… and the stinking filth from the pigstyes (sic) penetrating into the sleeping cabins, rendering them indescribably nasty". 13 November 1862, *The Daily Southern Cross* (Auckland); retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[198] 'Passenger Lists'; retrieved in September 2014 from Rootsweb Ancetsry URL: http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~shipstonz/PassLists/matilda_wattenbach1862; retrieved in September 2014 from TImespanner URL: http://timespanner.blogspot.co.nz/2011/12/street-stories-18-why-lincoln-road.html

[199] Public Notice, 2 October 1835, *The Gazette* (London), p. 1833; retrieved in June 2016 from The Gazette Official Public Record URL: www.london-gazette.co.uk/issues/19312/pages/1833

disenchanted, he formed a partnership with Thomas importing furniture and domestic ware.[200] A detailed inspection of their pattern books on hand will show a range of furniture fashions available from Benjamin's early cabinetmaking years until his time of departure in New Zealand.

Cranwells' Pattern Books – What the Colonial Cabinetmaker Needed (c.1823-60)

A very comprehensive collection of mostly Benjamin's personal furniture patterns has survived comprising the largest and most diverse resource of designs yet found in New Zealand. The material covered Loudon's four main styles and was the work of six different furniture designers spanning over three decades of British domestic fashion. (Fig. 2.44)

1. *Original and Novel Designs for Decorative Household Furniture,* John Taylor, 1829.
2. *The Practical Cabinet-Maker, and Complete Decorator,* Peter and Michael Angelo Nicholson, 1826-7.
3. *Upholsterer's Sketchbook of Original Designs for Fashionable Draperies, Fashionable Upholstery Work* or *French designs for Ornamental Drapery of Windows and Beds* (?), Thomas King, 1834-42.
4. *The Cabinet-Makers Assistant,* Peter Thomson, 1852.
5. *Designs for Furniture,* John Dwyer, 1856.
6. Lithograph sheet 14 designs, unknown designer, c.1855-60; possibly Jenks and Holt.
7. Sketched sheet in pencil of neo-Gothic tables and chairs and signed 'Robt. Cranwell'.

Although the six remaining folders of Thomson's *Assistant* were signed 'Benj. Cranwell, Grantham' it seems much of the above collection was in fact used by Robert. His drawings of Gothic tables and chairs relate to a page of sketches done by Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin in about 1840 for the celebrated firm of cabinetmakers John G.

[200] Advertisement, 24 November 1862, *Daily Southern Cross*, p. 4; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz. Advertisement, 15 June 1888, *New Zealand Herald*, p. 1; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

Crace and Son, Wigmore Street, London.[201] Ideally, a working cabinetmaker would have a folder of numerous sketches but, mysteriously, there remained just two.

Cranwells' Pattern Books – auctioned in 1998

The Cranwell collection of pattern books was originally more comprehensive. In 1998 a thin grey folder signed 'Benj. Cranwell, Grantham. No 9' was auctioned in Newmarket. It contained nine plates of sofas from Peter Thomson's *Cabinet Maker's Assistant* with a further three from Dwyer's *Designs for Furniture*. By chance in July 2007 at the home of great granddaughter Helen Cranwell (d.2013), St Heliers Beach, they were reunited with more pattern books, but sadly, despite their huge academic interest some material still was missing. The grey folder had apparently been "acquired" some years previously by a relation and then put up for sale.[202] The complete collection may have contained substantially more material, at least some of which can be assumed.

Cranwells' Pattern Books – Missing Material

Thomson originally published 101 plates in folders but the Cranwell collection had only 64 plates in six folders. The auctioned folder 'No. 9' *Sofas and Co*. indicated at least three lost folders as there were no designs for bedroom furniture, architectural mouldings and details from the Great Exhibition.[203] Three Dwyer plates remain missing from his originally published 157 in *Designs for Furniture*.

The two King and three Taylor pages had been originally bound in the same volume, further suggesting a relationship between Taylor and King.[204] The twelve very Grecian designs for 'gentleman's arm-chairs' from Taylor's *Original and Novel*

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[201] Symonds and Whineray (1962), *Victorian Furniture*, pp. 49-50.

[202] David Nichols, School of Physiotherapy, Auckland University recounted another theft from Helen Cranwell. "At our first meeting, Helen showed me the badge she had been given when she was a registered masseur. The badge was stolen from her locker when she was in her 20s. In her 70s, Helen received a call from a woman enquiring whether she was the same H. Cranwell who had owned a cobalt blue, enamelled, sterling silver badge with the year 1944, and her registration number, 736, stamped on the back. The woman's husband had found it on the beach with a metal detector, and kept it in a collection with other badges and coins, and on his death his wife had managed to trace Helen".
NZ Journal of Physiotherapy – March 2007, Vol. 35 (1); retrieved in June 2016 from Physiotherapy New Zealand URL: http://physiotherapy.org.nz/assets/Professional-dev/Journal/2007-March/2007MarchEditorial.pdf

[203] Gloag (1961), *Victorian Comfort*, plates LXXL-CI.

[204] Collard (1995), *Regency Furniture*, pp. 274, 283, 301.

Designs were numbered out of sequence 1 to 14 with two obviously missing. Upholsterer Thomas King had produced works on drapery, more so than any other designer of the age and often sold by monthly subscriptions, but what remained would not represent a useful series of designs for selling furnishings indicating many more missing pages.[205]

The earliest plates from 1826-7 were six hand coloured lithographs of Gothic and "Grecian four post beds, bed cornices, drapery and curtains" cut from *The Practical Cabinet-Maker, and Complete Decorator* by architect Peter Nicholson and his son Michael Angelo. Complete, there had been 103 subscription plates issued, of which 35-6 were hand-coloured, meaning potentially as many as 30 may have disappeared.[206] Publishers Henry Fisher and Josiah Taylor had sold Nicholsons', King's and Taylor's plates individually, as did John and Walter Blackie in the 1850s for Thomson, which did account for variations between the few surviving bound pattern books found in other countries. The impact of subscription publishing on pattern books is covered in detail Chapter Five.

The losses may indicate that complete works by Taylor, the Nicholsons and yet more of King's designs did arrive in Auckland. In March 1851 Connell and Ridings, Queen Street, Auckland auctioned a large assortment of Catholic books along with the contents of Mrs Woolley's Music Academy including a copy of Taylor's *Designs of Furniture.*[207] Nicholsons' *Practical Carpentry* (1826) which combined with Whitaker's 1847 patterns was also known to have arrived with Thomas Button in New Plymouth in 1856.[208]

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[205] In *Neo-Classical Furniture Designs* (1995) Smith notes that at least four of King's publications can no longer be found; p. xvii. The Cranwell plates appear correct for King's *Fashionable Upholstery Work* or *French designs for Ornamental Drapery of Windows and Beds* (1834-5). Plates were sold by monthly subscription as advertised in July 1835.
"*King's Cabinet Maker's Sketch Book*, Part 1, containing 6 Plates 4s. 6d., Royal 4to, to be continued monthly." *The Edinburgh Review*, p. 8.

[206] Peter and Michael Angelo Nicholson, *The Practical Cabinet-Maker, Upholsterer, and Complete Decorator (*London: Henry Fisher and Co., 1826); retrieved in June 2106 from Rare Fox Books, Vermont, URL: http://www.whitefoxrarebooks.com/?page=shop/flypageand product_id=1568

[207] John Taylor, *Designs of Furniture* (London: Josiah Taylor Architectural Library, 1826); "*Designs for Decorative Household furniture; more particularly with the department connected with upholstery; Comprising every description of Drapery adapted for the Embellishment of Saloons, Drawing and Dining Rooms; and containing a collection of drawings, exhibiting a variety of state and Ornamental Bed-Hangings, tastefully arranged on the most fashionable and approved principles: Likewise A Choice Assemblage of sofas, Couches, and Chairs, elegantly and richly carved*". Auction advertisement, 1 March 1851, *New Zealander* (Auckland), p. 1; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[208] Peter and Michael Angelo Nicholson, *Practical Carpentry, Joinery and Cabinet-Making* (London: Thomas Kelly, 1853) included plates from Henry Whitaker's (1847) *The Practical Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Treasury of Designs,* and also S. H. Brooks' (1839) *Designs for Cottage and Villa Architecture*.

The single unidentified lithographed sheet of 14 designs was likely one of a series of four sheets originally published in late 1850s London, and in style very close to Jenks and Holt's *Modern Furniture* (1869). (Fig. 2.45) That 'Cranwell Sheet' had been used in England as indicated with coded workshop pricing annotations on the reverse of each image. (Fig. 2.46) Chapter Four will discuss those very designs which were also found to have been reprinted in Dunedin in New Zealand's first illustrated furniture catalogue. On that occasion, in 1875, the reprinted patterns had been copied from another identical sheet and, by comparison with matching images, over forty more designs were accessed from that same source. The one remaining 'Cranwell Sheet' had a random selection of bedroom and drawing room furniture, further suggesting three or more missing sheets and will be discussed further in Chapter Four. Even so, it still provided confirmation that the same designs had repeatedly arrived, in New Zealand and cabinetmakers price codes suggest they aimed to profit from consumer desire for popular fashion.

The Cabinetmaker's Price Code

The use of cabinetmaker's codes will be addressed further in Chapter Four but an initial examination of Cranwell's codes demonstrates their trade use to keep profits secret from customers. During the 1830s and 1840s Richard, Samuel, William and Henry Peat, Chichester cabinetmakers, were recorded as using a pricing code for house contents sales from deceased estates.[209] A variation on Smee's wholesale code, 'UPHOLSTERY', was found in Benjamin's handwriting adjacent to patterns in Dwyer's *Designs for Furniture* (Fig. 2.47) and on the separate 'Cranwell Sheet'. Each design had a code for wholesale and for retail with further options; "second grade", in "Oak, Walnut or Mahogany" and with increases for dimensions, such as chiffoniers, 4', 4'6", 5' etc. also separately coded. Suggestions for English timber species itemised indicated that the patterns had been in use before departure to New Zealand in 1862.

[209] Only found reference to the use of codes by cabinetmakers. Citation in Ponsonby(2007), *English Domestic Interiors*, p. 87; West Sussex Record Office, William[?] and Henry Peat notebook, Add Mss2245

Cranwell's code deciphered: ł A E T O U V B W C = 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Example: Dwyer design *No. 89* for a *Pier Table and Mirror*

"Console, carved wood, + glass, gilt, 50" by 40" 4ft Table Marble top = EB" (decoded £2-7-0)
"ditto, + ditto", 80" by 60" 6ft table ditto, = OC" (decoded £4-9-0).

The code was a simple number and letter substitution but the cypher could not be understood other than the last three letters being Cranwell's initials 'BWC'. The same encoded prices found handwritten on Dwyer's *Designs for Furniture* indicated recent use in Grantham between 1856 and 1862 and it is worth noting that the largely forgotten Dwyer was a prolific and significant London designer.

John Dwyer's Several *Designs* (1852-56)

Around the time Donaghy was finishing his chiffonier in late 1856, London printer Benjamin George at 47 Hatton Garden was binding up 149 lithograph plates into books for John Dwyer's *Designs for Furniture.* Within six years, one and maybe two or three copies were in Auckland. Dwyer, an architect in partnership with Charles Laugher and Joseph Greenberry, Poland Street, Soho occupied himself with lectures on décor and outspoken commentary on design.[210] The firm exhibited a hanging silk damask "Grand Scroll" at the 1851 Great Exhibition and the following year they published a 22-page booklet *Select Designs for Bedsteads, cheffoniers and bookcases, Window – cornices, Valances Etc*. largely in the English (Elizabethan) and Italian (Renaissance) revivals.[211] Haphazard numbering and missing plates suggested at least one prior, now unaccounted for, publication. Dwyer, the "Architect in the Arts Decorative", separated from the partnership in 1854 and from nearby Great Marlborough Street promoted his new *Designs for Interiors of Mansions, General Architectural Arrangements,*

[210] "Edward Charles Laugher, John Dwyer and Joseph Greenberry of 16 Berners-street, Oxford Street in the county of Middlesex was this day dissolved by mutual consent so far as regards the said John Dwyer." Public notice, 1 July 1854, *The London Gazette,* p. 2092; retrieved in June 2016 from The Gazette Official Public Record URL: https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/21568/page/2092/data.pdf

[211] 'Report on Great Exhibition', 4 Oct 1851, *The Illustrated London News*, vol. 19, p. 427; retrieved in May 2014 from Illustrated London News URL: http://www.iln.org.uk/

Furniture, and Working Drawings.[212] His last and biggest work, *Designs for Furniture* in late 1856, covered Loudon's four identified styles. Its 157 images for "Hall, Library, Dining, Drawing, and Bedroom" were largely devoted to the French (Louis XIV and XV), with Grecian remnants and some cabinetry encrusted with Elizabethan and Gothic ornamentation. *Designs for Furniture* had been commissioned by "looking-glass manufacturers" Arthur and Robert Wilcoxon with Dwyer credited as designing artist. Wilcoxons were bought by G. and H. Story in 1881, and within two years Story's designs appeared reprinted in North and Scoullars' Dunedin furniture catalogue.[213]

Dwyer's *Designs for Furniture* is now rare with only one brief reference by any twentieth century commentator yet Dwyer's 1852 and 1856 *Designs* were arguably of equal calibre to Thomson's highly regarded *Cabinet Maker's Assistant*.[214] Jenks and Holt reproduced images for sideboards and beds directly from Dwyer's *Designs for Furniture* in their *Modern Furniture* (1869).[215] Despite the rarity of Dwyer's work, it is still possible to identify a presence for his designs in New Zealand demonstrating how effectively even obscure patterns managed to enter the colonial cabinetmaking trade.

John Dwyer's Designs in Colonial Furniture

Shortland Street cabinetmaker James Halyday used Dwyer's bed design for Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh's furnishings at Government House, Auckland in 1869. That bed is now in Government House, Wellington. (Fig. 2.48)

> The magnificent furniture which had been provided expressly for the Duke consisted of a large [mottled kauri] state bed with his Royal Highness's crest and monogram, [a gentleman's wardrobe], cheffonier and Co.[216] [Halyday kept] books of designs… in the warehouse [with]

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[212] John Dwyer advertisement, 14 November 1854, *The Morning Post*, London, p. 1.

[213] The dissolution by mutual consent, of the partnership "lately subsisting between Arthur Wilcoxon the elder, Arthur Wilcoxon the younger, William Harding, Robert Wilcoxon and Frederick George Harding, under the firm of Wilcoxon and Harding, of Monument-Yard, in the City of London, Looking-Glass Manufacturers this day 26 February 1839." *The London Gazette for the Year 1839* (London), vol. 1, p. 413; retrieved in July 2016 from The Gazette Official Public Record URL: https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/19710/page/413/data.pdf

[214] Symonds and Whineray (1962) in *Victorian Furniture* make a one-line mention of Dwyer's *Designs for Furniture*. They illustrate his half tester bed, console table and carved pier mirror. A single comment on cornices for draperies as found in Laugher, Dwyer and Greenberry's *Select Designs for 1852* can be found in Ralph Edwards, L. G. G. Ramsey, *The Regency Period 1810-30* (London: Connoisseur, 1958).

[215] Sideboard design by Jenks and Holt #491, taken from Dwyer #21. Jenks and Holt, *Modern Furniture* (London: J. Lovegrove Holt, 1869); John Dwyer, *Designs for Furniture* (London: Wilcoxon [?], 1856).

[216] Bed design reproduced in Jenks and Holt (1869), *Modern Furniture,* #1305 taken from Dwyer (1856), *Designs for Furniture*, # 127. Halyday's bed is currently in Government House, Wellington. Also see Peet (2008), *The Seuffert Legacy*, p. 38, incorrect

> each design representing a complete suite of furniture [from] these elaborate designs it will be seen that the fashion in London at the present day is the mediaeval and Elizabethan styles."[217]

Also in the Government House collection is a large pedestal centre table made by Seuffert for Duncan Brown of Emerald Hill, Melbourne, where it was awarded a medal in their 1866 International Exhibition. The unusual base design is distinguished by a central suspended column strapped by three clinging inward scrolled legs and was unique to Dwyer's *Designs for Furniture* (#54).[218] In 1856 London, Seuffert was living a street away from Dwyer, whose pattern book was probably the most recent to be printed before Seuffert emigrated. In Elliot Street, Auckland, Seuffert lived and worked just a few doors from Queen Street merchants Samuel Tanfield, Hanchard and Cranwell through whom he sold his marquetry ware. Thomas Cranwell produced and sold "Handsomely-Bound Books of Ferns… made up to order by Mr Cranwell, the covers being the work of Mr Seufert [sic], of choice New Zealand woods".[219]

An escritoire by Seuffert "from grateful colonists and friends" had been presented to Joseph Hooker in 1867, one of a series of nine known to have been commissioned.[220] That Louis XV design from Dwyer's *Designs* (#96) (Fig. 2.49) had a colonial-themed breakfront cabinet added by Seuffert, a pattern also adopted by former Wellington cabinetmaker Johan Levien after his return to London.[221] (Fig. 2.50) While Halyday's bed, Seuffert's table and escritoires from Dwyer's designs have been identified, furniture by Cranwell remains unrecorded. Halyday had shared the Government House commission with another major Shortland Street furnisher, Winks and Hall, suggesting that both firms, as well as Seuffert, owned copies.

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attribution to Anton Seuffert. 8 May (p. 4) and 10 June 1868, *Daily Southern Cross* (Auckland), p. 3; Retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[217] Advertisement, "Mr. J. Halyday's New Upholstery and Cabinet Warehouse", 27 October 1865, *Daily Southern Cross* (Auckland), p. 4, retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[218] Searches approaching 15,000 furniture designs found no comparable pattern.

[219] Joseph Hooker at Kew was delighted with his 70 pressed indigenous ferns "correctly named and beautifully preserved." Article, 31 October 1874, *Auckland Star*, p. 3; article, 8 March 1878, *New Zealand Herald*; retrieved from URL: http:// paperspast.natlib.govt.nz . See also accounts by Peet (2008) (*Seuffert Legacy*), p. 145.

[220] 'Joseph Hooker Cabinet', Collection National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa; retrieved in July 2016 from Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa URL: http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/topic/931

[221] 'Tables, Style Louis XV', Smithsonian Libraries Digital Collections, Smithsonian Libraries Washington, D.C.; retrieved in July 2016 from URL:
http://www.sil.si.edu/DigitalCollections/Art-Design/garde-meuble/images/c/sil12-2-131c.jpg
Levien tulipwood bon-heur du jour with ormolu and Sevres plaques desk made between 1848 and 1868 and signed "J.M Levien, Davies Street" (London). It underwent restoration by Jonathan Maze in Titirangi, Auckland (2013).

It is now evident that the patterns of Smith, Taylor, the Nicholsons, King, Loudon, Smee, Whitaker and Thomson and Dwyer, the most significant names in British furniture design of the previous four decades, had all reached New Zealand by 1862. However the primary source of furniture design, the pattern book, began to change. During the 1860s the British trade catalogue emerged more to inform consumers of the styles available from individual manufacturers. In the early 1870s subscription periodicals became the main source of patterns for industry and colonial cabinetmakers with the pattern book, per se, losing commercial significance. Along with changes in the publishing of patterns, the growth of the large furnishing warehouse was instrumental in the emergence of the furniture trade catalogue. This will be discussed further in Chapters Four and Five but some insight can be quickly shown by looking at the work of the third Cranwell brother, Robert.

The Complete Home Furnisher and the Trade Catalogue - Robert Cranwell

All three Cranwell brothers lived in Cheshire Street, Parnell where Robert listed himself as a carpenter and joiner in 1866-7 but by 1873 he had established Cranwell and Co., a furnishing warehouse at 304-12 Queen Street.[222] They advertised "Designs and estimates given for every style of house, office and church furniture, shop and cabin fittings".[223] A year later Robert had formed a partnership with Edwin Holloway and they were joined in 1877 by accountant Jonathan Tonson Garlick.[224] That year, the new partnership claimed, as did several other firms, to have "the largest staff of workmen in the province" and by July 1878 they had produced their first shop catalogue of designs.

> When you wish to furnish your house obtain a Book Catalogue from the City Hall Arcade (proprietors Holloway, Garlick and Cranwell) which contains valuable information, not only enumerating what can be obtained there, but shewing the cost of furnishing a Three, Four,

[222] Advertisement, 30 July 1874, *Daily Southern Cross* (Auckland), p. 4; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz
[223] Advertisement, 13 November 1872, *Auckland Star*, p. 3; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz
[224] 'Garlick and Cranwell' finally became 'Jonathan Tonson Garlick and Co.' in 1893, Advertisement, 3 October 1879, *New Zealand Herald* (Auckland), p. 4; Advertisement, 28 March 1893, *Auckland Star,* p. 6; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

> Five and Six-Roomed House: also Drawing-room separately and Bachelor's Rooms.[225]

This was the first North Island reference to a furniture catalogue. They manufactured chiffoniers, sideboards and bookcases as shown in Smee's 1870 *Designs for Furniture,* establishing their house style that was still evident almost forty years on.[226] Holloway retired in 1879 with Garlick and Cranwell re-branding as the "Complete Home Furnishers" and for several years continuing to promote their "Book Catalogues [which they] sent to intending purchasers on application".[227] Business expanded beyond New Zealand.

> For the Premier of Tonga intended for use in the royal chapel in the diminutive but interesting kingdom… a triumph of the cabinetmakers art in the shape of several articles of church furniture… a communion table, two devotional chairs and a dais chair. The [rimu] table is in the strictest Gothic Style, the peaked panels and antique carving being in close accord with the cannons of that style… Garlick and Cranwell are able to supply all descriptions of church furniture at the English price.[228]

"English price" suggested importations were competitive with the colonial made article and that Garlick and Cranwell preferred to manufacture to English patterns. The use of English patterns to manufacture locally, as argued, was always the case and in Chapter Five the profit for doing so will be discussed. With most cabinetmakers at the time being British trained and the virtues of New Zealand timbers widely appreciated, customers were aware that colonial-made furniture was equal or better than many imports.

J. Tonson Garlick became the eventual owner in 1892, further expanding to employ 148 staff by 1905.[229] His brother George became manager and New Zealand agent for the large Melbourne furnishing warehouse W.H. Rocke and Co., the

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[225] Advertisement, 2 November 1877, *Auckland Star,* p. 2. "Catalogues sent post Free"; 16 July 1878, *Auckland Star*, p. 3; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[226] Cottrell(2006) *Furniture of the New Zealand Colonial Era*, p. 252, plate 83, 352-4, 372; images 20.17-20.20. William Smee (1870), *Designs of Furniture,* pp. 83, 108-9.

[227] Advertisement, 30 June 1881, *Auckland Star*, p. 2; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[228] Advertisement, 11 October 1884, *Auckland Star*, p. 2; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[229] Auckland City Libraries, Auckland City Council Documents District Plan, 55-175 Lincoln Road, Henderson; retrieved in July 2016 from Auckland City Council URL: http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/council/documents/districtplanwaitakere/changes/41/173lincoln55.pdf

Melbourne agents for Smee and Sons.[230] J. Tonson Garlick's advertisements referred to subsequent 'catalogues' finally in c.1908 producing New Zealand's largest illustrated furniture catalogue of 192 pages with1136 designs, ambitiously extended to furnish even eight roomed houses with local and imported products.[231] The simple colonial cabinetmaker workshop had made the transition to the furnishing warehouse and had become a show place; it set out to entertain, educate and subtly cultivate the customer and the catalogue became the reference work of current taste and the domestic furnishing guide.[232]

Evidence for the Worldwide Distribution of Patterns from a Few Key Designers

There can be no doubt that furniture patterns by leading British designers arrived promptly, as confirmed by an 1840 newspaper advertisement, and continued to do so throughout the colonial period. With Governor Hobson's bed it was possible to show that Smee's *Designs of Furniture* (c.1838) was in New Zealand by late 1839, within a year or two of being published. Amongst other examples shown, Smith's *Guide* (1826) was found to be the earliest identified pattern book used to make a colonial worktable in Auckland while King's patterns were found to have arrived with Hargreaves in Nelson by 1842. The two oldest known New Zealand-made sideboards, possibly made by Langford in the early 1840s, were also based on several patterns by either Taylor or confederates King and Smee. The Levien tables were identified by examining period details, wood species and craftsmanship and matched to styles from Loudon's *Encyclopaedia* (1833-6) which remained popular for forty years, as shown with the Johnsons' Nelson sideboard. Donaghy's dated work confirmed the constructional timeframes of many objects deduced by analysis of hardware, timbers and importantly style.

The spread of the same styles and patterns throughout the oldest areas of European settlement in New Zealand was observed with the work King, Loudon and

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[230] Tamaki Paenga Hira Auckland War Memorial Museum collections; retrieved from URL: http://muse.aucklandmuseum.com/databases/librarycatalogue/16768.detail

[231] Advertisement, 1 February 1905, *Auckland Star*, p. 4; 13 October 1908, *Auckland Star*, p. 7; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz
Thompson, Bridger and Co.'s *Illustrated Catalogue* (c.1887) was larger at around 1400 stock items but also included hardware, mouldings, house fittings etc.

[232] Deborah Cohen (2006), *Household Gods, The British and their Possessions* described the large London furnishing stores, such as those of Sam Waring, Ambrose Heal or Gordon Selfridge, as "cathedrals of commerce"; pp. 61, 69.

Smee. Final proof came with the discovery of King's patterns in the lining of a Seuffert box and a large collection of patterns spanning 1823 to c.1860 belonging to the Cranwell brothers added immense material evidence of the range of designs entering the country.

For the first time connections - mutual publishers and similarity of designs - have been observed between London designers Taylor, King, Loudon and Smee. The first trade catalogue by the Smees was accurately dated to explain how it was used to expand that family's business with exports to New Zealand. The first evidence of repetition of designs and copying has been noted, with secret codes hiding profit, which suggests, as will be shown, that manufacturing to British designs was desirable for local cabinetmakers. Eventually New Zealand cabinetmakers would produce their own catalogues, being little more than copies of English sourced material. In order to understand the evolution from imported cabinetmaker's pattern books to the colonial trade catalogue, a comparison with the North American and then Australian experience will demonstrate what would later be repeatedly observed in New Zealand.

Chapter Three: First Colonial Pattern Books in America and Australia 1833-75

Early nineteenth-century London was the centre for furniture design in the English speaking world and as outlined in the preceding chapter there was a continual outward spread of the design traffic, even as far as New Zealand. In America, the former British colony, that influence diminished in the face of other cultures, notably French. By the 1840s the first pattern books to be published in the United States were largely unsophisticated sketchbooks taking much inspiration from across the Atlantic, in many instances, simply copying and republishing English, French and German designs. Those first examples provide a useful comparison with what would follow with the Australian and New Zealand experience, three decades later.

English Influence Found in Early American Furniture

One might imagine that following the War of Independence Americans set a new course separate from all things British. In 1784, a year after Britain finally acquiesced to the revolutionaries, Devonshire cabinetmakers John and son Thomas Seymour settled in Portland, Maine. Subsequently in 1793 they moved to Boston, Massachusetts to manufacture expensive and refined furniture. Reviewing a major exhibition of their work in Salem (2003) the Boston Globe eulogised; "They set a new standard of style and craftsmanship in the [new] United States."[1]

After a decade of research, conservator and historian Robert Mussey's 463-page book on the Seymours, was unequivocal about the origins of that style.

> The great names associated with furniture of the Seymours' era were English, and the pattern books those makers produced travelled across the Atlantic to influence styles here. The Seymours owned a copy of Thomas Sheraton's *The Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Drawing Book*, 1791-93. They did not, however, slavishly copy these guides. One of their hallmarks was the dramatic combination of light and dark woods, made possible by their abundant use of pale, figured maples common in the New World but not in the Old.[2]

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[1] Temin, C. (2003, 19 December), 'Luxury and Innovation', Art Review Peabody Essex Museum, *Boston Globe*.

[2] Robert D. Mussey, *The Furniture Master-works of John and Thomas Seymour* (New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 2003). Exhibition review by Christine Temin retrieved in July 2016 from Boston Globe URL: http://archive.boston.com/ae/theater_arts/articles/2003/12/19/show_recognizes_artists_who_furnished_boston_with_style/

No less slavish was third American President Thomas Jefferson, author of the *Declaration of Independence* and 'American Apostle of Classicism'.[3] His surviving copy of Thomas Chippendale's *Gentleman's and Cabinet Maker's Director* (1755) has by far the best provenance of any British eighteenth-century design book. American antebellum newspaper advertisements placed by immigrant British booksellers attest to the regular importation of forty English furniture design titles known to have arrived in the period. With no apparent animosity the American furniture trade was still receptive to highly skilled English craftsmen and to the finest London fashions. The Francis Garvan Collection of American furniture at Yale holds a sideboard directly modelled from George Hepplewhite's *Cabinet-Maker's and Upholsterers' Guide* 1788 and an impressive mahogany breakfront bookcase (one of a series known) was from Chippendale's *Director*.[4] A mahogany D-front chest made in Maryland c.1810-30 'probably owes its ultimate source of design to an English pattern book illustration, such as the dressing chest with reeded pilasters and bowed front included in plate 15 of the appendix of Sheraton's *Drawing-Book*.'[5] Boston cabinetmaker and upholsterer Thomas Smallwood's business card featured Sheraton's "all Grecian" sofa, sideboard and bookcase from 1806.[6] Much of Frenchman Anthony Quervelle's Philadelphia workshop output was directly from Smith's 1826 *Guide.*[7] Moreover Querville mimicked English Regency furniture maker George Bullock's signature die-cut brass and ebony inlay motifs while another imitator, Joseph Barry, had actually journeyed to Bullocks showrooms in Liverpool in 1811.[8]

Only at the luxury and costly end were the great English designs dutifully reproduced. Lower down, British regional taste added to American affectation to develop an identifiably United States accent, a trend that would later be seen elsewhere

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[3] Carswell Rush Berlin, 'Classical Furniture in Federal Philadelphia', *Antiques and Fine Arts Magazine (*2016); retrieved in July 2016 from URL: http://www.antiquesandfineart.com/articles/article.cfm?request=771

[4] George Hepplewhite, *Cabinet-Maker's and Upholsterers' Guide* (London: I. and J. Taylor, 1788; 3rd edition, B.T. Batsford, 1794), plate 29; retrieved in July 2016 from Metropolitan Museum of Art URL: http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/161H41 and Internet Archive (1996) URL: https://archive.org/details/cabinetmakerupho00ahepuoft

[5] Gerald W. Ward, *American Case Furniture (*New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), pp. 154, 365-6, 428.

[6] Winterthur Research Guide; retrieved in July 2016 from URL: http://www.winterthur.org/html/downs_collection_and_winterthur_archives/xhtml/JDCMcKinstry.htm

[7] Smith, Robert C. (1964, 1 September) 'Philadelphia Empire Furniture by Antoine Gabriel Quervelle', *The Magazine Antiques;* retrieved in July 2016 from URL: http://www.themagazineantiques.com/news-opinion/from-the-archives/1964-09-01/philadelphia-empire-furniture-by-antoine-gabriel-quervelle-1/

[8] For example James Rivington 1760 and Garret Noel 1762 in New York, Cox and Berry 1766 in Boston, Robert Wells in Charleston c.1766 and Robert Bell Philadelphia after1760; all English cabinetmakers working in America.
Carswell Rush Berlin (2016) 'Classical Furniture in Federal Philadelphia'; Retrieved in July 2016 from URL: http://www.antiquesandfineart.com/articles/article.cfm?request=771

under British colonial aegis.[9] The blueprints of style did travel safely but their interpretation was in the hands of the artist and his patrons.

Emerging American Style

Commentators now note that with pre- and post-war tensions, interest in English furniture design was divided. American fashion had seemed to favour less common English styles that were to typify their high-end cabinetmaking. For example, American price books from 1772 offered block-fronted bureau tables, desks and high chests, at their most ornate with projecting fan shells, cabriolled legs, ball and claw feet in Caribbean mahogany.[10] Although such styles originated in England, they were not predominant, but became synonymous with the finest workshop output of the oldest East Coast states. Continental influences did however markedly tilt American taste away from purely English design.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, familiarly declared the "Athens of the Western World", owed much to the efforts of English architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe's Grecian themed civic buildings. Latrobe also commissioned furniture, in particular sets of Klismos chairs with their curved tablet backrest rails, derived directly from Thomas Hope's *Household Furniture and Interior Design* (1807). No less influential was an extensive series of plates by Pierre Joseph Antoine Leboux de la Mésangère. His *Collection de Meubles et Objects de Gout (Furniture and Objects of Taste)*, serially issued from 1802 until 1835, disseminated particularly luxurious French fashion into the homes of wealthy Americans.[11] Philadelphia was home to almost one third of the 25,000 French émigrés to the United States by 1797. When French-born Charle-Honoré Lannuier opened his New York workshop in 1803 he made furniture to the designs of Mésangère and also other designers of French 'Empire', notably Charles Percier and Pierre François Léonard Fontaine. They were equally popular in England despite being

[9] Morrison H. Heckscher and Peter M. Kenny, 'English Pattern Books in Eighteenth-Century America' in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art 2000; retrieved in July 2016 from URL: http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/enpb/hd_enpb.htm

[10] *Price of Cabinet and Chair Work* (Philadelphia: James Humphreys junior [printer], 1772), pp. 2-6.

[11] Pierre de la Mésangère, *Collection de Meubles et Objects de Gout* (Paris: Au Bureau du Journal des Dames et des Modes, 1802-35; retrieved in July 2016 from URL: http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/artist/pierre-de-la-mesangere/

at war with France.[12] Lannuier's rival, legendary Scottish cabinetmaker Duncan Phyfe, had introduced a more Anglo-American style; a blend of English Neo-classical and Regency while Lannuier's labelled and well-documented furniture oftentimes exhibited a blend of both makers' national styles. Furthermore, the dominance of these two craftsmen began to affect East Coast style as they traded inland and as far south as Cuba. Other cabinetmakers in competition, such as New Yorker John Hewitt, copied and further melded the Anglo-Franco mix. Hewitt's (1800-1814) account book disarmingly records "Phyfes Collum [sic] 23 Inches with leafe carv'd 2 8/7 wide/ Lanaus Collum [sic] 2 ft 3 Long 2 1/2 wide Bottom."[13] Furthermore cabinetmakers married design elements from the same pattern books. For example Henry Flagler extensively modified the designs of Thomas Sheraton to create assemblages of obscure origins.[14] Such blending design had already been noted in the colonial context in Chapter Two. It would take a quarter of a century more before American publishers confirmed what their cabinetmakers had always been practicing.

The Cabinet Maker's Price Books

Philadelphia in 1775 was the second largest city in America, its population of nearly 30,000 was equivalent to Liverpool, Leeds or Glasgow. It was there that the world's oldest surviving furniture price book, the *Prices of Cabinet and Chair Work*, was printed in 1772. The pocket-sized 36-page booklet listed prices for cabinetmakers to charge clients. Intended for the sole use of the furniture trade, it detailed cost variations on constructional timbers, prices for decorative treatment and workshop owner's costs for piecework. *Prices* also protected journeymen from being under-paid, an internationally industrywide practice particularly observed by unscrupulous Dickensian garret masters of London's East End trade. It also fixed prices in the manner

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[12] Charles Percier and Pierre François Léonard Fontaine's, *Recueil de Décoration Intérieure Concernant Tout ce qui Rapporte à l'Ameublement* (Paris: Pierre Didot l'Ainé, 1812) was influential to Thomas Hope and Charles Tatham, and later reprinted by Ackermann all of which put a strong French accent onto English Regency design; Collard (1995) *Regency Furniture*, p. 80, 86, 132, 213; Joy (1977), *English Furniture 1800-1851*, p. 180; collection Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, retrieved in July 2016 from Metropolitan Museum of Art URL: http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/28.40.1

[13] Curators Peter Kenny and Matthew Thurlow note that since Phyfe's business extended into the 1840s, he transitioned through the predominant fashions of Grecian, Rococo and Gothic. Kenny, Peter M. and Matthew Thurlow 'Duncan Phyfe' (1770-1854) and Charles-Honore Lannuier (1779-1819)'. *In Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. New York: The Metroploitan Museum of Art, 2000; retrieved in July 2016 from URL: http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/phla/hd_phla.htm

[14] Berlin, Carswell Rush (2016), 'Classical Furniture in Federal Philadelphia', *Antiques and Fine Art*, New York; retrieved in July 2016 from URL: http://www.antiquesandfineart.com/articles/article.cfm?request=771

of an informal cartel. "The price book codified what had [previously] been a verbal contract."[15]

Edward Joy, an authority on nineteenth century furniture, rightly observed when discussing English and American fashions that they were "so close that pattern books and trade manuals were published simultaneously in both countries." The War of Independence seemingly had no effect on trans-Atlantic furniture trade relationships with the *Prices of Cabinet and Chair Work immediately* embraced in England and by 1788 it became the model for the first English book of prices.[16] In a demonstration of complete cordiality *The Cabinet-Makers' Philadelphia and London Book of Prices* (1796) was published by the Federal Society of Philadelphia Cabinet and Chair-makers.[17]

The 1772 *Prices of Cabinet and Chair Work* was no pattern book but it detailed fifty-six categories of furniture styles with agreed remuneration. It defined therefore the range of manufactured products.

> The price book functioned independently of contemporary design or pattern books, such as those produced by London cabinetmaker Thomas Chippendale. The furniture listed in the 1772 Philadelphia price book reveals the specific tastes of the local market.[18]

The price book denoted efforts to formalise, structure and maintain internal control within the American furniture trade. "Fines were imposed if a master or even journeyman disclosed to outsiders specific price information or perhaps even the existence of the document itself." It was that secrecy and hidden pricing, as seen with Smee for example, that would later be found encoded into pattern books, a practice that continued well into the twentieth century.

Although there was mutual cross-Atlantic consensus about trade practice, much of it initiated by the Americans, the actual designs still came from England and France.

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[15] Alexandra A. Kirtley, *The 1772 Philadelphia Furniture Price Book, A Facsimile* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2005), p. 10.

[16] For example, the *London Cabinet Makers' Union Book of Prices by a Committee of Masters and Journeymen* set out to describe in great detail the "standard model" for each piece of furniture with clearly defined costs attached to variations to avoid disputes between the makers themselves and their customers. London Cabinet-Makers' Union *London Cabinet Makers' Union Book of Prices by a Committee of Masters and Journeymen*(London: Ballantine & Byworth, 1811) 528 pp; retrieved from URL: https://archive.org/details/londoncabinetmak00lond

[17] Other price books were published in Hartford, Connecticut in 1792 and New York in 1796. Joy (1977), *English Furniture 1800-51*, p. 256.

[18] Kirtley (2005), *The 1772 Philadelphia Furniture Price Book*, pp. 10-12, 18.

American editions of English works were reprinted. George A. Siddon's *The Cabinet-maker's Guide* (1825) was re-published in Greenfield, Massachusetts, as was John Stoke's *Complete Cabinet Maker and Upholsterer's Guide* of 1829 in Philadelphia in 1852, 1872 and as late as 1906. Even in England Stokes appears to have been much influenced by Siddons as there were strong similarities with both texts.[19] In the broader picture we see a progressive yet secretive trade, receptive to the prevailing European and English styles but with little initiative to explore new fashions. The reprinting of English material had begun and first truly American furniture publications were to demonstrate a similar attitude.

The First American Published Designs

The first glimpse of American commercial furniture designs were several simply illustrated plates of furniture components in the Grecian/Egyptian style in *The New York Book of Prices for Manufacturing Cabinet and Chair Work* (1817). They largely comprised scrolled chair arms, sabre legs, monopodia to sofa ends, vases, urns, lyre supports, sphinxes and even a harp; merely a range of furniture components but it flagged the future fashion for American furniture.[20] Again, the 1830 *Cincinnati Cabinet Maker's Book of Prices for Manufacturing Cabinet Ware* offered a similar array of Grecian furniture parts along with their trade manufacturing prices. These price books may have made for good industrial harmony but they also "led to the repetition of standard patterns."[21]

The delicate English designs of Sheraton and Hepplewhite at the turn of the nineteenth century faded with keen interest in Old World archaeological discoveries. The Greek democratic and Roman republican themes that Americans had politically chosen were coupled with classical revivals in architecture and furniture. Known as the Federal Style, it compared with the French (Napoleonic) Empire and British Regency styles. "Both English and French taste continued to be arbiters of shape and ornament. Furniture of the 1820s, however, showed a distinctly American divergence from the

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[19] Joy (1977), *Pictorial Dictionary*, p. xx; Joy (1977), *English Furniture 1800-51*, pp. 256, 306.
[20] *The New York Book of Prices for Manufacturing Cabinet and Chair Work. Issued by New-York Society of Cabinet Makers* (New York: J. Seymour [printer], 1817). Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, retrieved from URL: www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the.../90022470Share
[21] Joy (1977), *Pictorial Dictionary*, 'Designers and Design Books' p. xx.

English tradition" which was documented with the first original American printed material.[22]

American Copying of English and French Designs - Joseph Meeks' Broadside (1833)

The first patterns illustrating American furniture was a large hand coloured lithographed advertising broadside printed in 1833 for cabinetmaker Joseph Meeks (active 1797-1869). Of the forty-four designs in the broadly Grecian style, seventeen were directly copied from Englishman George Smith's *Cabinetmaker's and Upholsterer's Guide* (1826).[23] (Fig. 3.1) Dipping into Meeks' past may help to explain the origins of the 27 other designs. Brothers Joseph and Edward began cabinetmaking in New York in 1797 but within four years Joseph ran the business alone. After an absence of three years from 1813 city trade directories strangely list him as a chocolate maker and then a chair maker by 1819. In 1821 he opened a branch in New Orleans assisted by his (at least) six sons. The year the broadside was printed Meeks had established a network of outlets for his furniture spanning the entire East Coast from Boston to New Orleans. The latter's status as a major city and the South's economic centre placed it from the fifth most populated in 1830 to second by 1840 behind New York and equal with Baltimore.[24] Only during that decade did English ease out French as the dominant language with an influx of Irish and German settlers into the French and previously Spanish population.

Meeks had understood his clientele and his business flourished as his broadside stated. "Our establishment being one of the oldest and [is] now the largest in the United States." The broadside was of course an advertisement with Meeks' period hyperbole hinting at his sources.

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[22] B. Tracey Berry, '19th Century American Furniture and Decorative Art's', Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibition Apr-Sept 1970, 'Introduction'.

[23] The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, owns a fine mahogany 'Federation' marble-topped pedestal table by immigrant Frenchman Anthony Gabriel Quervelle (1789-1856). Its zoomorphic paw feet, triform base, lotus leaf and gadrooned column and top edge moulding leave little doubt that George Smith's *Guide* (1826) was Quervelle's inspiration; retrieved from Metropolitan Museum of Art URL: http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/1530

[24] In 1830 New York population was 202,000 and New Orleans had 46,000. 1840 New York grew to 312,000 with Baltimore and New Orleans 102,000 respectively; retrieved from United States Census Bureau http://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/fast_facts/1830_fast_facts.html

> It would be impossible to exhibit all the patterns on this sheet, as we are obliged to keep so great a variety, to suit the taste of our numerous purchasers – the patterns in this and foreign countries are so constantly varying, as to make it necessary for us to make alterations and improvements, and we are constantly getting up new and costly patterns, much to the satisfaction of the public.[25]

"Getting up new and costly patterns" for his broadside just meant re-drawing Smith's patterns with another from King's *Modern Style* and the rest had every appearance of being derived from French and German sources. The distinctly monumental scrolls, projecting architectural columns with over-hung entablature were uncompromisingly Bedermeier while Meeks' double ended "canopy bedstead with curtains and top" was undeniably French Empire.

Meeks must have felt that by purchasing Smith's *Cabinet Maker and Upholsterers Guide* he had in fact bought all rights. Smith indeed made every effort on his title page to encourage the purchase of his *Guide* by entreating the potential buyer with the usefulness and indispensability of his "Original Designs… for Assisting the Workman… [and] Enabling the Student". There was no hint of restriction and Meeks' example would soon repeat seemingly unregulated in America yet Meeks himself had "Entered" his own broadside at the New York District Court for copy protection. When the United States finally produced its first complete pattern book it was perhaps of little surprise that it was laden with yet more European inspired Grecian scrolls and that it was for the most part another copy, this time of Smith's, King's and Loudon's designs.

The First American Pattern Book by John Hall (1840)

In a flurry of publishing, Englishman and architect John Hall, a resident of Baltimore, produced three books dealing with household arts, all in the year 1840. His first, with the unoriginal title *The Cabinet Makers' Assistant,* was nevertheless a benchmark in American publishing as the first dedicated furniture design book.[26] In 43 pages Hall naively represented 57 designs for furniture and 141 components with one

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[25] By 1835 Meeks had warehouses in New York and New Orleans with their 'American and Foreign Agency' shipping throughout the states. Joseph Meeks and Sons, 'Broadside,' collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, retrieved from URL: http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/339865

[26] Halls three publications were *The Cabinet Maker's Assistant*; *A Series of Select* and *Original Modern designs for Dwelling Houses;* and A New and *Concise Method of Hand-Railing* (Baltimore: John Murphy [printer], 1840). All three were reprinted in one volume as *John Hall and the Grecian Style in America* (New York: Acanthus Press, 1996).

mid-twentieth century critic dismissing it as "illustrating scrolled supports in monotonous repetition for every conceivable position."[27] It might be hard to disagree as Hall's coarse lithographs were completely dominated by Grecian 'pillar and scroll' ornamentation.[28] Hall obsessed with no less than 71 scrolls and curvaceous brackets on offer to adorn the paucity of cabinet-ware he provided while maintaining he was merely reflecting "the style of the United States blended with European taste". In fact Hall had shamelessly copied King who had previously said "As far as possible, the English style is carefully blended with the Parisian taste," and as with Meeks, there was also a French flavour.[29]

Hall's Design Sources and His Copying

All in all Hall had been remarkably unoriginal; even five of Hall's plates showed close similarity to Meeks' Continental designs.[30] While the latter had attempted to exhibit a decent portion of Smith's English patterns in 1833, by 1840 Hall had focussed more on French/German Grecian in order to appeal to Maryland's European population. As future decades would show this was to underpin much nineteenth-century American furniture style. Hall used Smith's (1826) well-considered and refined Grecian sofa which was reduced to a ubiquitous seat redefined by massive turned legs and armrests faced with two-dimensional scrolled capitals. Hall's "Hall Chair" meagrely described as "constructed entirely of wood" had replaced Smith's French coronet on the backrest with a Greek anthemion, blending Parisian with the Grecian.[31] (Fig. 3.2) This adaption of designs from unauthorised, or at least unacknowledged, sources is a theme that again recurs in other publications and ultimately will be shown to have occurred in New Zealand. It appears that disguising the original pattern was incidental to making modifications for local market preferences.

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[27] Helen Comstock quoted by Smith (1996) in *John Hall and the Grecian Style in America*, p. 27.
[28] Smith (1996), 'Thomas King British and American Furniture Design in the 1830s', *John Hall and the Grecian Style in America*, p. xii.
[29] Ibid, "Where gracefulness of outline is required in mouldings, or scroll work, they should partake of the elliptical curve, which is the predominant feature in Grecian ornament." John Hall (1840), *The Cabinet Maker's Assistant*, 'Notes for plate V', p. 21.
[30] Hall's designs did allow for his large flat scrolls to be efficiently (machine) band-sawn from cheap pine or tulip poplar and veneered in mahogany; this does suggest that mechanization began to dictate design.
[31] Hall (1840), *Cabinet Maker's Assistant*, patterns for consol table #86, sofa # 138, hall chair #150, and bookcase #184 were all George Smith designs taken from his (1826) *Guide*.

Hall's complete lack of acknowledgement was audacious except to say that a few of the "designs have been taken from work previously executed, in consequence of their being highly approved". In fact he had copied King virtually word for word.[32]

(King) ADDRESS	(Hall) PREFACE
Novelty and **Practicability** constitute the **present Designs**; and the **economical arrangement** of Material will, it is presumed, **render the** Work of peculiar service to the **Cabinet** Manufacturer.	**Novelty**, simplicity and **practicability** are blended with the **present designs**, in ... an **economical arrangement** …will **render the** collection exceedingly useful to the **cabinet**-maker.

Thomas Gordon Smith alluded to Hall 'mining' King's introduction and horizontal format in Hall's second book, *A series of Select and Original Modern Designs for Dwelling Houses*. Scotsman John Loudon was also quarried. "Hall copied aspects of Loudon's *Portable Cottage for the Use of Immigrants and Others*". But, more interestingly he continued,

> Hall did not refer to Loudon, nor did he credit the designer of the cottage, an English carpenter named Manning who intended the structure for export to New Zealand. Hall abbreviated Loudon's text for the cottage to make the prefabricated house seem plausible for America's westward expansion, despite its impracticality for settlers who actually trudged to their destinations rather than arriving by ship.[33]

Hall's *Cabinet Maker's Assistant* also reproduced Loudon's 'Dawes reclining chair for an invalid.'[34] This novel and uniquely distinctive armchair that could "be fixed upright… so as to produce the appearance of a common easy chair" was redrawn scroll for scroll, even using Loudon's caption.[35] Transparently Hall's 'Easy Chair, with Morocco and with tufts" was also Loudon's 'Easy Reclining Chair… with Morocco leather and tufts' fitted with King's scrolled arm supports from his 1829 'Chair with

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[32] Hall (1840), *Cabinet Maker's Assistant*, 'Preface', pp. 3-4.

[33] Henry M. Manning's Colonial Cottage Manufactory, 251 High Holborn, London claimed to be the sole supplier of furnishings to the New Zealand Government. After 1842 he held a Royal Appointment and extensively promoted his iron framed Skeleton Cottages "which are constructed so as to remain firm for many years." Cottrell (2006), *Furniture of the Colonial Era*, p. 130. By 1848 Edward J. Wakefield was advising that it was not necessary to take out "Manning's ready-made wooden houses" as colonists could now use the "numerous saw-mills at all the existing settlements, which supply excellent building timber at lower prices than can be carried out from England." Wakefield (1848), *Hand Book for New Zealand,* p. 445-6. John Hall (1840), *A Series of Select and Original Modern Designs for Dwelling House,*, p. xvi, p. 4.plate 19. Hall (1840).

[34] 'Robert Dawes, 33 Edgeware Road, London', c.1820-39, "inventor and patentee of recumbent easy chairs", Loudon (1836), *Encyclopaedia*, p. 1057-8, Fig. 1913. 'Chairs with Inclining Backs' King (1829), *Modern Style*, plate 29.

[35] This same chair was also copied by William Smee in his *Designs of Furniture*, c.1838. See also Hall (1840,) *Cabinet Maker's Assistant,* p. 34-5, plate 28.

Inclining Back', his 'Reclining Chairs from *Illustrations of Fashionable Cabinet Work* <1834 and his 'Spanish Chair' of 1835. King merely said *Modern Style* would be of "peculiar service to the Cabinet Manufacturer" and Hall appears to have felt encouraged to plagiarise the work of Loudon and King as neither had placed any caveats on the reproduction of their material.[36] (Fig. 3.3)

Hall showed just one pattern for drawers, five scroll ends for French bedsteads and the pillars of four different English four-posters. There was no large dining table or pedestal sideboard, and only one very French dining chair with two un-associated chair back options. Extraordinarily there were no less than 15 tabourettes (stools) and if three additional piano stools are counted, they comprised one third of all designs presented. Hall was neither cabinetmaker nor warehouseman and his unbalanced bag of designs had little regard to their proportional domestic relevance. Over three decades later the first New Zealand pattern book would unwittingly demonstrate exactly the same failings; furthermore it had also been entirely copied.

Did Loudon Give Tacit Encouragement to Copy?

The bravado of colonial independence may have encouraged Hall to overlook the proprietary issues of a few patterns from across the Atlantic, which in any case he had re-drawn. Loudon had openly credited all his sources, including "men of taste [to which he gave his] sincere acknowledgements to the various artists and others, whose names will be found in the list, p. xix." where he dutifully detailed no less than 78 professional contributors.

Architect Hall may well have taken encouragement from Loudon who had squarely confronted the issue of intellectual property and that the public dissemination of new knowledge profited everyone.

> It may be advisable to reply to an objection which has been made to us by some Architects, viz. that, by laying their profession open to the world, we were acting as to injure pecuniary interests… So far from this having a tendency to injure… it will not only enable those who

[36] Richard Brown (1822), *Rudiments of Drawing Cabinet an Upholstery Furniture* clearly warned "Publishers, Manufacturers, and Others, against copying any Design, or any part of any Design contained in these Publications, for the purpose of printing and circulating". Shimbo (2015), noted that this caveat was included in Brown's advertisements at the back of King's *Cabinet-Maker's Sketchbook of Plain and Useful Designs* (London:1835-6). Shimbo (2015), *Furniture Makers and Consumers in England 1754-185,* p. 47, footnote 102.

> wish either to build or to furnish, to express more clearly, to the Architect or upholsterer, those wants which they already have; but it will elicit new ones, of which they previously had no idea, and which the Architect, the builder, and the upholsterer will be called upon to supply.[37]

A second edition of *The Cabinet Maker's Assistant* was published in 1848 but no copies have survived for comparison. Hall had even asserted his own copyright with the *Assistant's* title page worded, "Entered according to the Act of Congress… at the District Court of Maryland", yet ironically, three of Hall's own furniture plates were later reproduced by prominent American portraitist Rembrandt Peale for a Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts drawing book in 1855.[38]

Further Copying in America's Next Pattern Book - Robert Connor (1842)

In May 1842 English migrant Robert Connor, cabinetmaker of Buffalo, New York, designed, drew and published his own *Cabinet Maker's Assistant*. This publication, the third set of U.S. published patterns within nine years, by now unequivocally cemented a divergent American style in print. Connor's preface declared the "One Hundred Original Designs" would at once acquaint the reader with the "present style of fashion" prevalent in both London and Paris; cities where he had recently been engaged as a "practical Cabinet Maker". His introductory *Remarks* detailed the décor of various important domestic rooms adding

> … it might be of service to many of our Cabinet friends as have not been in Europe, to state the manner in which the various rooms are now furnishing, as it will enable them to unite the European style with the American, which will at once give the desired effect.[39]

Connor asserted his ideas had gestated equally in the two fashion capitals of the old world but he struggled with agreed rules of ornamentation by dressing his offerings with the profuse frills from un-associated styles. Some of his most fanciful designs would even have been difficult to interpret structurally in wood but, despite the naivety

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[37] Loudon (1836), *Encyclopaedia*, 'Preface', p. vi.
[38] Rembrandt Peale, 'Graphics', *the Art of Accurate Delineation* (Philadelphia: E.C. and J. Biddle 1855) plates XIV, XV, XVI. Lippincott, L. (2008), 'Charles Wilson Peale and his Family of Painters'; retrieved in July 2016 from Traditional Fine Arts Organization 2003-16 URL: http://www.tfaoi.com/aa/8aa/8aa142.htm
[39] Berry, B. T (1970), 'Introduction', Metropolitan Museum of Art Exhibition, New York, '19th Century American Furniture and Decorative Art's', Apr-Sept 1970, exhibition catalogue, p. xvii.

of his presentation, the designs of Smith, King, Taylor, Smee and Loudon were still apparent. (Fig. 3.4)

Connor's Copying

Connor's 47 plates displayed three concurrent fashions, Grecian and, for the first time in America, he published Gothic and emerging Rococo furniture designs. Significantly a Gothic Revival sideboard was featured on the frontispiece, a design more than a little resembling Smith's 'Drawing Room Gothic Commode'. (Fig. 3.5) Smith's work is also evident in an 'antique table' and one of his occasional tables appears in variation as a library table. At first glance Connor's designs do appear to be as original as he says, however the regimented Englishness of some designs do echo King's manner. The *Assistant's* wardrobes did look familiar, Connor's 'portable and recumbent chairs' were a pastiche on the popular 'Inclining Chair' theme and his 'Foot Stool' inarguably was lifted directly from King. (Fig. 3.6) A waisted music stool was original to King's *Supplement* (1835) although it had also been reproduced in Loudon's own 1842 *Supplement*. Loudon's enduring 'reclining chair' was a straight copy while there was similarity with several of William Toms' (1840) distinctive chairs. John Taylors' *The Upholsterer's and Cabinet Maker's Pocket Assistant* (c.1823) must have been the source for Connor's 'splendidly carved sideboard in oak or mahogany' as the single pedestal arrangement was unique. It was a repetition of the same London associates – Smith, Taylor, King, Smee and Loudon whose work, as already found, was quite evident in the earliest New Zealand colonial furniture.

Connor's naïve amalgamation of rococo and Grecian style, French and English taste onto his designs did mask the French connection. *Le Garde-meuble, Ancien et Modern*, a series of highly popular hand coloured lithographs first published in Paris after 1839 were available in the United States and indicate exactly what Connor was trying to portray.[40] At best he attached fragments of French rococo onto English case-work and to completely misquote King's *Address* "The English style [was] carefully blended with the Parisian taste" but in Connor's case, his designs were lost in

[40] Desire Guilmard*, Le Garde-Meuble, ancient et modern* (Paris: D. Guilmard et Bordeaux Freres, 1839-1935), Smithsonian Libraries, Washington D.C.; retrieved from Smithsonian Libraries URL: http://www.sil.si.edu/imagegalaxy/imageGalaxy_MoreImages.cfm?book_id=SIL-012-2

translation. While Connor's French source, like Meeks, remains unknown it was clear that the first three American pattern books were for the most part copied from foreign material, but not all publishing was so furtive. Similar to the various 'Books of Prices' some popular British works were also reprinted in America.

English Patterns Republished in America - Webster and Parkes, (1845)

Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, experienced London publishers of such substantial works as Dionysius Lardner's 133 volume *Cabinet Cyclopaedia (1830-44)* and of course Loudon's *Encyclopaedia*, also produced the 1264 page *An Encyclopaedia of Domestic Economy* in 1844. American nineteenth-century design historian Gail Caskey Winkler assessed it as a "compendium of household furnishing and management [that] readers seeking a single primary source for insight into nearly all aspects of the mid-nineteenth-century could do no better."[41] In 1851 Nelson, shopkeeper Thomas Pringle Caldwell agreed, adding "no Lady in New Zealand should be without this work".[42]

Domestic Economy was repeatedly republished by Harper and Brothers, New York from 1845.[43] In their "nearly 1000 woodcuts" Thomas Webster and the late Mrs (William) Parkes had no compunction about using many of Loudon's designs and for that matter those of many others, including Rudolf Ackermann, King, Smee, and some 40 years on, even Sheraton. Again Loudon's perennial "Easy Reclining Chair" reappeared "found convenient for invalids".[44] (Fig. 3.7) The poorly redrawn images used in *Domestic Economy* might be considered more an informative domestic guide than a cabinet maker's pattern book, but it did highlight that designs could also be legitimately reproduced.

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[41] Gail Caskey-Winkler and Roger Moss, *Victorian Interior Decoration* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1992), pp. 3, 241
[42] Advertisement, 6 June 1851, *Nelson Examiner*; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz
[43] New York and Boston editions of *Domestic Economy* were published between 1845-9, and in 1852. Thereafter at least six editions were reissued as *The American Family Encyclopaedia*. Gail Caskey-Winkler and Roger Moss (1992), p. 241.
[44] Webster and Parkes, *An Encyclopaedia of Domestic Economy* (New York: Harper and Brother, 1848), p. 306.

American Copying with Due Credit - Andrew Jackson Downing (1850)

Two years before John Loudon's death in 1843, a 26-year-old New York nurseryman published his first book, *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Gardening, Adapted to North America*. Andrew Jackson Downing had been strongly influenced by Loudon's impressive output and set about replicating it across the Atlantic using Loudon's already proven template for his *Treatise* with immediate success. After several more books on horticulture and architecture came Downing's last and most important work, *Architecture of Country Houses* (1850). In July 1852 he and his wife Caroline drowned along with 80 others in the Hudson River when a steamboat caught fire. His last book continued through nine editions selling over 16,000 copies by the end of the Civil War.

At less than half the size of Loudon's prodigious *Encyclopaedia*, Downing's *Architecture* defined American style better than any other period publication. Like Loudon, Downing acknowledged his sources, arguing that no one "genius or artist" could provide a sufficient range of furniture designs "now in use, and to be had of the cabinetmakers in our principle cities." New York engraver John William Orr copied designs, which included credits to cabinetmaker-dealers Edward Hennessey, Boston and George Platt in New York and Alexander Roux's "extensive collection".[45] He acknowledged Boston cabinetmaker Cornelius Briggs's "newly invented extension dining-table" and for the rest he was "indebted to *Webster's Encyclopaedia of Domestic Economy* [and] Loudon's *Encyclopaedia of Architecture*."[46] (Fig. 3.8)

Downing had reprinted many designs that were themselves copies for example he unknowingly accessed *Ackermann's Repository* 'Reading Chair' first seen in 1812 and then reprinted in *Domestic Economy* and also Hope's (1807) Grecian side chairs which had come via Loudon's *Encyclopaedia*. Downing seems to have overlooked acknowledging a canopied bed copied from London upholsterer and 'decorative draughtsman', Henry Wood. Like *Domestic Economy* this was no pattern book but a

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[45] Andrew Downing, *Architecture of Country Houses* (New York: Dover Inc., 1969). For his designs Downing credited furniture makers Edward Hennessey 49 and 51 Brattle Street, Boston, George Platt 60 Broadway and Alexander Roux, 479 Broadway, New York. Downing further credits for "the most correct Gothic furniture that we have seen executed in this country" Burns and Tranque of Broadway, New York. In 'footnote', p. 440.

[46] Briggs took out his first patent in 1843 with improvements added in 1845; Carr, D. and Bray, D (2010), 'The Ingenious Patent Extension Tables of Cornelius Briggs', *Antiques and Fine Art*, 10th Anniversary Edition, p.122-5;
retrieved from URL: http://amgardenantiques.com/admin/pdfs/antique-tables_cornelious-briggs.pdf

reference for the American public and as Loudon had said, it would 'elicit' new commissions for the furnishing trade.[47]

In seventeen years since Meeks broadside, all American publications had very clear British and European roots. American style was more about selection than reinterpretation. Siddons, Stokes, Webster and Parkes, had been straight reprints of the British originals while Downing may have credited his sources but he also emulated Loudon's model for presenting such a reference work. While the inflow of European furniture material was significant enough to steer American furniture fashion away from the purely British, it was also widely copied and reproduced within America.

French and German Influence in American Patterns - Desire Guilmard and George J. Henkels

Downing had commented that Francophilia was all the rage. "The French language is heard all over a crowded drawing-room; and with costume entirely… and almost a mania in the cities for expensive French furniture and decorations."[48]

Desiré Guilmard, an astute Parisian publisher of furnishing fashion, was an influential dictator of design. Remembered most for his *Le Garde-meuble, Ancien et Modern*, he published other significant reference works, including material on exhibitions and fairs for the furniture and decorating trades.[49] *Le Garde-meuble* was intended as a practical guide for decorators, architects, upholsterers and cabinetmakers. Without detailed text and lengthy descriptions, its enduring success lay with Guilmard's beautiful hand-coloured lithographic sets which were sold by subscription. In 1851 54 plates cost Parisians 36 francs and 45 francs to foreign buyers. American furniture historian and curator Cynthia Van Allen Schaffner then explained their journey.

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[47] Downing (1969), *Architecture of Country Houses*, pp. 412, 425-6, Fig. 215; Webster and Parkes (1848), *Domestic Economy*, p. 275; Loudon (1836), *Encyclopaedia*, p. 1098, images 2023-26. 'Rudolf Ackermann and the Private Library'; retrieved from http://privatelibrary.typepad.com/the_private_library/2011/02/rudolph-ackermann-and-the-private-library.html

[48] Catherine Voorsanger (exhibition catalogue), 'Gorgeous Articles of Furniture: Cabinetmaking in the Empire City' (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000), p. 305, quoting from "Sketches of New York," 14 May, 1843, *New Mirror,* p. 85. Downing, pp. 407, 413.

[49] Other furniture Guilmard publications included *Album du menuisier parisien* (*Parisian Carpenter's Album*) (1845-55); *Le Decorateur parisien* (*The Parisian Decorator*) (1847); *Le tournear parisien* (*The Parisian Wood Turner*) (1853); *Carnet de l'Ebéniste parisien* (*Parisian Cabinetmaker's Notebook*) (1858); *Album Gothique Recueil de meubles et de sieges* (*Notebook of Gothic Case and Seating Furniture*) (1862); and *Album du fabricant des billards* (*Notebook on the Making of Billiard Tables*) (1864).

> The patterns for French furniture crossed the Atlantic in three ways: with emigrating cabinetmakers; as imported furniture; and through the dissemination of furniture patterns in publications such as *Le Garde-meuble*. This group of highly skilled (immigrant) craftsmen not only oversaw the production of French furniture in their own shops, they also imported French carpets, lighting fixtures, textiles and other decorative arts for their clients. It was a time when cabinetmakers were evolving into decorators, that is, tastemakers who completely furnished a client's home.[50]

George Henkels is considered Philadelphia's most prominent furniture maker for the second half of the nineteenth-century.[51] Although German born, Henkels significantly contributed to the introduction of French designs beginning with his modest promotional booklet *Essay on Household Furniture* (1850). In it he reproduced plates directly taken from Desiré Guilmard's *Le Garde-Meuble Album de l'exposition de l'industries* (1844).[52] Thereafter Henkels produced his *Catalogue of Furniture* of mostly French designs, but did include Cornelius Briggs's patented extending table, and like Downing, acknowledged the Boston inventor.[53] (Fig. 3.9) The *Catalogue of Furniture* (c.1852) was headlined with 'Importer of French Furniture… in every style comprising Louis XIV, Louis XV, Elizabethan and Antique' while the price list pertinently noted the 'Latest French Designs which are regularly received from Paris'. Henkel's last notable publication *Household Economy* (1867) printed by Robert King and Alexander Baird attracted the interest of Henry Carey Baird who immediately reprinted yet more of Guilmard's engravings.[54]

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[50] Cynthia Van Allen Schaffner, *Desiré Guilmard Le Garde-Meuble, ancient et modern, 1839*-1935; retrieved from Smithsonian Libraries, Washington, URL: http://www.sil.si.edu/DigitalCollections/Art-Design/garde-meuble/introduction.pdf

[51] Talbert, P (1976, May) 'George J. Henkels: Cabinet Maker and Upholsterer', *Antiques* (New York).

[52] George J. Henkels, *An Essay on Household Furniture: Its history, the materials used in its construction, and other information, necessary for the housekeeper, prepared for the use of his customers* (Philadelphia: George Henkels, 1850). Retrieved from URL: http://www.philadelphiaantiquesweek.com/2012/04/20/philadelphia-cabinetmaker-george-henkels/

[53] George Henkels' *Catalogue of Furniture*, predated the closure of Briggs workshop in 1852. George J. Henkels, *Catalogue of Furniture: in every Style comprising Louis XIV, Louis XV, Elizabethan and Antique, with Sculpture, Carving and Modern Style, in Rosewood, Walnut, mahogany, Satinwood and Maple* (Philadelphia: G. Henkels, c.1850-1). Retrieved in July 2016 from The Library of Philadelphia: Digital Collections, URL: https://archive.org/details/catalogueoffurni00geor

[54] Robert King and Alexander Baird, printers and engravers, 607 Sansom Street, Philadelphia, active <1841 to 1869>. McElroy's *Philadelphia City Directory* lists Henry Carey Baird, 406 Walnut Street as publishers and King and Baird as printers. Both King and Baird were employees of Carey and Hart, founded by H.C. Baird's grandfather Matthew and subsequently managed by his uncle Henry C. Carey. *McElroy's Philadelphia Directory* (Philadelphia: A. McElroy, 1840-60); retrieved from Internet Archive (1996) URL: https://archive.org

The American Technical Book Reprinter - Henry Carey Baird, 1849-68

Philadelphian Henry Carey Baird gained control of the family publishing firm in 1849 and immediately redirected its house portfolio to produce America's first specialty "books on technical and industrial matters".[55] In 1868 Baird produced two furniture design books, *Gothic Album for Cabinet Makers* and *Cabinet Maker's Album of Furniture*.[56] Baird had cobbled together an assemblage of designs from Guilmard's (post 1839) *Album Gothique de Meubles et Seiges*, *Le Garde Meuble* and probably some from Guilmard's (post 1846) *L'Ameublement et L'Utile.* The original coloured engravings from *Le Garde-meuble* were of "extraordinarily high quality [being] works of art in their own right [with] folios published from 1841 to 1851 [which] were executed in such a highly skilled and detailed manner that even today they continue to be an exceptionally rich visual resource."[57] In complete contrast Baird's copies were poorly redrawn monotone renditions and most tellingly, Guilmard's signature had disappeared in Baird's versions. Baird did retain some French furniture terms but to further put distance from his source, Guilmard's metric scale had become imperial. Baird had also reprinted, but not redrawn, Stoke's *Guide* (sold as the *Companion*) in 1852 with frequent reissues thereafter. His *Gothic Album* and *Cabinet Maker's Album* were not reprints, but rather dubious copies of 'made up' pattern books by a technical publisher, with no interest in the furniture trade. It demonstrated a very commercial approach to the actual publishing of designs, and with Gothic furniture by then well in decline; it suggested Baird was marketing more to the public than furniture manufacturers.

New Yorker Ernst Steiger published numerous German furniture designs in weekly and monthly magazines, and bound folios that he also circulated to the widest possible paying market. It marked a shift in the way furniture patterns were distributed from infrequently published pattern books to regular weekly newspapers with publisher-promoted subscription periodicals and will be discussed in Chapter Five.

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[55] 'Henry Carey Baird'; retrieved in July 2016 from URL: http//world.std.com/-cbw/BAIRD.htm and http://www.worldofstereoviews.com/extra/overview.htm

[56] "Two of the rarest and earliest furniture books published in Victorian America"; Moss, R.W., *Victorian Gothic and Renaissance Revival Furniture – Two Victorian Pattern Books Published by Henry Carey Baird (*Philadelphia: The Athenaeum Library of Philadelphia, 1977). 'Foreword'.

[57] Van Allen Schaffner, C. 'Le Garde-meuble ancien et moderne, 1839-1935'; retrieved from the Smithsonian Libraries Digital Edition URL: http://www.sil.si.edu/DigitalCollections/Art-Design/garde-meuble/introduction.pdf

American's were thoroughly familiar with key British and European designers. The pattern books of Meeks, Hall and Connor all featured material taken directly from English designers, Smith, Taylor, King and Loudon. Rudolf Ackermann's *Repository* had been widely circulated in America featuring Guilmard, Fontaine and Percier designs along with those of Hope, Smith, Bullock and Taylor, while Loudon's equally popular and influential *Encyclopaedia* had reprinted work by Sheraton, Hope, King, Nicholson, Shaw, Fontaine and Percier amongst others. The test now is whether this first history of American publishing and style directly taken from British and European sources was a consistent pattern. The best comparison, and an ideal bridge to the New Zealand experience, was Australia. It had a very direct relationship with Britain and although settlement was much later than America's, it did span the entire nineteenth-century, commencing some forty years before New Zealand.

Early Australian furniture relating to English design

With the stinging loss of its American colony, Britain looked south to the world's largest island, Australia, a continent with a land mass eight times larger than the original thirteen lost colonies and three quarters the size of the modern United States. First Fleet Captain and first Governor Arthur Phillip established the New South Wales penal colony in 1788. That same year, in London, George Hepplewhite's *The Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Guide* was being published along with Thomas Shearer's *Cabinet-Maker's London Book of Prices and Designs of Cabinet-Work,* which had included ten of Hepplewhite's designs. A copy of that work was with George Hall when he settled north of Sydney on the Hawkesbury River in 1802. As late as 1840 another copy was advertised for sale in the *Commercial Journal and Advertiser*, Sydney.[58]

Australia of course was British and the earliest examples of furniture were no different to their northern counterparts. At least three cabinetmakers were advertising a range of domestic furniture in the Sydney Gazette by 1804 and when the promoted Admiral Phillip died in 1814 his effects included 'specimens of Botany Bay Cabinet Manufacture'. Elizabeth Macquarie, wife of the colony's fifth autocratic governor,

[58] Thomas Shearer, *The Cabinet-Makers' London Book of Prices and Designs of Cabinet Work (*London: C. Barber [printer], 1805); retrieved from Internet Archive (1996) URL: https://archive.org/details/gri_33125008454437
Fahey and Simpson (1998), *Australian Furniture Pictorial History and Dictionary 1788-1938*, p. 11.

Lachlan Macquarie, brought with her Edward Gyfford's *Designs for Elegant Cottages and Small Villas* (1806). Sydney town featured some fine Palladian style properties that Australian historians viewed as simply being British. "So began the practice of creating both houses and interiors from pattern books."[59] In March 1810 Judge Advocate Ellis Bent gave a detailed account of his new, genteel premises. 'We have on the Floor a small Wilton carpet. There is also a good Glass, a Dozen very neat new Cedar Chairs with Indian cane bottoms, a Pembroke table of Cedar and two other Tables." The art of being English at home was partly sustained with imports but as arch-coloniser Edward Gibbon Wakefield recognised in Sydney in 1829, there were always shortages. "Every pane of glass, every nail, every grain of paint and every piece of furniture came by sailing ship", a fair weather journey of some three months.[60]

Following an initial survey of Sydney Harbour in 1788, First Lieutenant William Bradley noted the Australian cedar (Toona ciliata) that he described as "a bastard mahogany… [that] makes tolerable good furniture".[61] This was the most favoured species that migrant cabinetmakers used throughout the nineteenth-century to imitate the northern hemisphere's insatiable taste for rich, dark mahogany and rosewood. Cedar was used so extensively that by the close of the nineteenth-century it was commercially extinct. Demotic names were bestowed on many other Australian species for familiarity; she-oak, silky oak, rose-mahogany, huon pine, celery pine, beech, myrtle, honey-suckle, tulipwood, Queensland walnut.[62] Not only were furniture designs British but native timbers were given common names familiar to the buying public. The first Australian cabinetmakers made every attempt to replicate British domestic taste to their receptive settler market, as has already been shown in New Zealand. Even more precisely than America, it is possible to plot the very beginnings of new furniture making and styles in Australia and New Zealand. There is good evidence, supported with period literature, to show that the work of every major British furniture designer can be seen in surviving Australian colonial furniture.

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[59] Terence Lane and Jessie Serle, *Australians At Home. A Documentary History of Australian Domestic Interiors from 1788 to 1914* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 3.
[60] Robert Gouger, *A Letter from Sydney, the Principal Town of Australasia* (London: Joseph Cross, 1829), p. 9.
[61] William Bradley, *A Voyage to New South Wales, The Journal of William Bradley R.N. of H.M.S. Sirius 1788-1792 (*Sydney: Ure Smith, 1969); collection State Library of New South Wales; retrieved from State Library of New South Wales URL: http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/discover_collections/history_nation/terra_australis/journals/bradley/
[62] Fahey and Simpson (1998), *Australian Furniture Pictorial History and Dictionary 1788-1938,* p. 9.

The Earliest English Designs Identified in Australia by Thomas Sheraton, George Hepplewhite and Thomas Hope.

As early as 1812 the *Sydney Gazette* was mocking the latest London craze for Middle-Eastern zoomorphia. "In the frame of a fashionable mirror a crocodile watches; a companionable tiger crouches on a hearthrug; a sphinx supports us on a couch and serpents twine round our bedposts."[63] This was no less a comment on Sheraton's very questionable and final antiquarian designs of 1805 as it was pointed at Thomas Hope's far more authoritative *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration* of 1807.

Colonial furniture authorities Fahey and Simpson have identified features unique to Sheraton's designs in several New South Wales made cabinets. As with the American experience, decorative elements from different designs were assembled into the final article. Fahey and Simpson note Sheraton's distinctive arrangements for glazing bars have been found on several bookcases that they date rather late to between 1825 and 1840. Furthermore a unique astragal pattern from *The Cabinet- Maker's London Book of Prices* (1793) was also identified. Inlay stringing was no less evident as they persistently revealed. "The design of this ebony-strung, rose mahogany work table derives from several elements found in Hepplewhite's *Guide* and Sheraton's *Designs.*"[64] Date estimates by Fahey and Simpson appear conservative; it would seem more reasonable that the incentive for things modern, in a colony with no previous European domestic history, was sensibly attractive. This was found to be so with Smee, Loudon and King's designs in New Zealand; in that instance Smee's *Designs* had arrived within two years. We can at least be certain that current furniture patterns did find their way to Australia during the very first years of settlement, and were used.

Australia's first known cabinetmaker and convicted Irish rebel, Lawrence Butler, had been "freely permitted to practice his trade" after arriving in 1802, meaning furniture making and not hard labour.[65] By 1810 he had his own business with five employees and died in 1820 a wealthy man. Several commissions have been attributed to him that relate closely to late eighteenth-century design. Foremost is the 'Governor

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[63] Lane and Serle (1990), *Australians At Home,* p. 6.
[64] Fahy and Simpson (1998), *Australian Furniture Pictorial History and Dictionary 1788-1938*, pp. 152, 158-9, 338, 457, 480.
[65] Memorial notice to Governor Macquarie by Butler in 1812; Fahey and Simpson (1985), *Nineteenth Century Australian Furniture*, p. 266.

King secretaire bookcase' which was largely an amalgam of three Hepplewhite designs; his Dressing Drawers, Wardrobe and Secretary and Bookcase of 1788. Made in 1803 of casuarina with whale baleen stringing, it is considered "one of the single most important pieces of Australian furniture."[66] Similarly a sideboard identified by Fahey and Simpson and attributed to Butler compares to designs by Hepplewhite and Shearer as found in *The Cabinet-Maker's London Book of Prices* (1793).[67] Descriptions of Lumber Yard output and Government House inventories appear to match known examples of dining tables, sideboards, dressing tables and sofas consistent with Hepplewhite's designs.[68]

Fahey and Simpson date to 1825 at least one circular centre table in cedar, pine and ebony with Hope's signature triangular arced column on a triform base terminating in three hairy paws and brass castors. Hope's very own table was made in 1804, one of three he commissioned in mahogany inlaid with ebony anthemion, much in the two-tone manner of cabinetmaker George Bullock.[69] (Fig. 3.10) A prize-winning variant profusely inlaid with silver was even made as late as 1850 for the Great Exhibition.[70] John Taylor, a Hope devotee, issued his own variation in 1823 and a William Smee (c.1838) version was known to have been manufactured in Tasmania.[71]

Evidence that work by the most recognised British designers was used as the model for domestically manufactured Australian furniture is consistent also with the American experience. It is the next group of designers to be discussed, beginning with

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[66] 'The Governor King Secretaire Bookcase 1803-1806'; Euphemia Grant Lipp Bequest Fund 2011, The National Gallery of Australia; retrieved from National Gallery of Australia URL: http://artsearch.nga.gov.au/Detail.cfm?IRN=214133 White (1996), *Pictorial Dictionary of British 18th Century Furniture Design,* pp. 183, 195, 229.

[67] Fahey and Simpson (1998), *Australian Furniture Pictorial History and Dictionary 1788-1938*, p. 337. White (1996), *Pictorial Dictionary of British 18th Century Furniture Designs,* p. 283.

[68] Fahey and Simpson (1998), *Australian Furniture Pictorial History and Dictionary 1788-1938,* pp. 266-70, 338-9, 350, 414-5, 424, 457.

[69] Designer Richard Brown said of cabinetmaker Bullock's furniture "He was the only person who ventured into a new path. Most of his ornaments were selected from British plants, and his wood was of English growth. He has shewn we have abundance of plants and flowers equal to the Grecian." Joy (1977), *English Furniture 1800-1851*, p. 166. Collard (1995), *Regency Furniture*, p. 155.

[70] Thomas Hope (1807), *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration*, plate 39; retrieved from V and A, URL: http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O48867/table-hope-thomas/ ; http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/p/presentation-table-and-vase/

[71] Fahey and Simpson (1998), *Australian Furniture Pictorial History and Dictionary 1788-1938,* p. 400.
"A recent (2008) auction in Tasmania included an early colonial cedar wing wardrobe from the late 1840s, made by prominent Sydney cabinet-maker Joseph Sly to patterns adapted from Smee's catalogue and George Smith's *Collection of Designs for Household Furniture* (1808). The same sale included an Andrew Lenehan colonial cedar fold-over centre pedestal card table with paw feet, dating to about 1845–50, made from a design by Smee, with a New South Wales provenance. Similarly, a huon pine wardrobe influenced by Smee in the Greek-Revival taste was auctioned in Sydney in 2002 and the contents sale of Dysart House, Tasmania in 2011 included a large, mahogany extension dining-room table, from around 1850, styled and stamped by Smee." Andrew Montana, 'Stylists for the Nineteenth Century', *The Finsbury Cabinet Makers Smee and Sons in Colonial Australia*; retrieved from National Museum of Australia URL: http://recollections.nma.gov.au/issues/volume_7_number_1

Smith from the 1820s, whose work has been found in all three countries, that is, New Zealand, America and now Australia. Smith's 1826 *Guide* had coincided with four decades of European settlement in New South Wales. Sydney was then a city of at least 10,000 citizens inhabiting 1,000 relatively modern buildings modelled on the then contemporary Georgian style.[72] By 1838 Sydney's population had grown to approximately 23,000 and then doubled again with free immigration by 1841. More dramatically, Melbourne, only founded in 1835, achieved a similar population in just twenty years, growing to 1 million by the 1890s.[73] It is not at all remarkable then that the latest British designs were so freely adopted by the bourgeoning settlers in Australia. Unlike the more diverse nationalities found in nineteenth-century America, the filter of distance and the immediacy of colonial requirement does provide more clarity to the study of early furniture design in Australia.[74]

Modern Early Nineteenth-Century Designer Work Present in Australia

The uniformity of colonial furniture styles can be explained by the same few English sources reinforcing consistently themed designs. British designers and fashion revivalists were keenly aware of the efforts of their colleagues, their mutual influences and in many cases they actively collaborated amongst themselves.

By the 1820s George Smith recognised that his 1808 *Collection of Designs* had "become wholly obsolete".[75] His *Cabinet-Maker's and Upholsterer's Guide* (1826) moved on to include revivals of more recent centuries past.[76] Egyptian, Etruscan and the predominant Greek remained, but he took to the new fad for Gothic and Louis XIV with constrained flair, well aware of his middle class audience. The *Guide* was advertised for sale in Sydney and Port Fairy, Victoria in the 1840's while copies were owned by Sydney cabinetmaker Joseph Sly and Penrith undertakers and house

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[72] Mid-1820s population estimates range between 9,000 and 12,000. Noel George Butlin, *Forming a Colonial Economy: Australia 1810-1850,*(Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 153; other figures retrieved from 'Population Statistics: Oceania' URL: http://www.populstat.info/Oceania/australc.htm

[73] Melbourne went from 20,000 residents in 1850 to 125,000 in a decade following gold discoveries. Statistics retrieved from http://greatmelbournetelescope.org.au/marvellous-melbourne/melbourne-in-the-1850s/; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline_of_Melbourne_history#mediaviewer/File:Melb_pop_growth.jpg;

[74] Joanna Banham, *Encyclopaedia of Interior Design* (London: Routledge, 1997, Australia), pp. 79-82.

[75] Collard (1995), *Regency Furniture*, p. 129.

[76] Smith's 1826 *Guide* clearly states on the title page "Published by Jones and Co. Acton Place, Kingsland Road. 1826." However Edward Joy asserts that the *Guide* could not have been published before 1828 as some plates are dated to that year. Joy (1977), *English Furniture 1800-1851*, p. 70.

furnishers, John Price and Son. Fahey and Simpson illustrate Smith's designs faithfully manufactured into a broad range of early Australian colonial furniture: Grecian card and Library tables, a Grecian sofa, dwarf bookcase, a piano stool, and a console table. A pair of Gothic bookcases by Sydney cabinetmaker Joseph Sly made about 1845 were actually from Smith's earlier *Collection of Designs*.[77] (Fig. 3.11)

Architect and designer, Richard Brown in 1820 also openly acknowledged the influence of both Hope, whom he quoted, and Smith's *Collection* (1808) for his *The Rudiments of Drawing Cabinet and Upholstery Furniture.*[78] Sheraton's publisher Josiah Taylor reprinted and revised *Rudiments* in 1822 and by 1835 John Weale's Architectural Library again updated it. Brown's relatively few designs helped fill the eighteen-year void between Smith's two seminal publications. They were well received in Britain and delivered plain Grecian to the appeal of many colonial cabinetmakers.[79] Brown credited "the late Mr Bullock" whose design for a music room Ottoman he had reproduced after it originally appeared in *Ackermann's Repository* (1816).[80] Cabinetmaker George Bullock was also a close associate of designer Richard Bridgens whose predilection for Elizabethan and Gothic in collaboration with Medievalist and author Henry Shaw misinterpreted as much as they popularised the fashion.[81] Shaw, of course, had been much referenced by Loudon. It was indeed a very small and influential circle; a tight band of men in London whose proclivities affected the shape of furniture around the English-speaking world.

One of Brown's students, Michael Angelo Nicholson, along with his father Peter, produced *The Practical Cabinet-Maker, Upholsterer and Complete Decorator* in 1826. Cabinetmaker George Best brought his own copy to Launceston, Tasmania, in 1833 where he made furniture until 1854.[82] In their *Australian Pictorial Dictionary* Fahey and Simpson concluded that a 'double ended blackwood sofa' from Hobart was

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[77] Fahey and Simpson (1998), *Australian Furniture Pictorial History and Dictionary 1788-1938,* pp. 157, 166-7, 381-3, 413, 474.
[78] Richard Brown, *The Rudiments of Drawing Cabinet and Upholstery Furniture* (London: Josiah Taylor, 1820). Brown also acknowledged Frenchman Charles Percier's "Splendid French work on Interior Decoration", a reference to Percier and Fontaine's1812 *Recueil de décoration intérieure concernant tout ce qui rapporte à l'ameublement* or a "Collection of interior designs: Everything that relates to furniture"; cited in Joy (1877), *English Furniture 1800-1851*, pp. 67, 299.
[79] Fahey and Simpson (1998), *Australian Furniture Pictorial History and Dictionary 1788-1938,* pp.224, 255-8, 347. Brown (1820), *Rudiments of Drawing Cabinet and Upholstery Furniture,* plates vi, xix.
[80] Bullock died on 1 May 1818; Collard (1995), *Regency Furniture*, p. 125.
[81] Joy (1977), *Pictorial Dictionary,* p. xxii. Richard Bridgens, *Furniture with Candelabra and Interior Decoration (*London: W. Pickering, 1838); retrieved from Internet Archive (1996), URL: https://archive.org/stream/furniture
[82] Peter and Michael Angelo Nicholson, *The Practical Cabinet-Maker, Upholsterer and Complete Decorator* (London: Henry Fisher, 1826), Collection Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery; retrieved from Australian Broadcasting Corporation URL http://www.abc.net.au/local/photos/2013/01/31/3680422.htm

from *The Practical Cabinet-Maker*.[83] Greek revivalist architect John Verne immigrated to Sydney in 1828 with Nicholson's *The Student's Instructor in Drawing and Working the Five Orders of Architecture* (1795) and Western Australia's first Governor James Stirling owned architectural works by both Peter Nicholson and John Loudon.[84] Nicholson's colleague Henry Whitaker published *Designs of Cabinet and Upholstery Furniture in the Most Modern Style* (1825) with an eye for economy that, despite his royal clientele, had adroitly festooned foliage onto popular classical forms. He also referred to Hope as the major reformer of the day. Whitaker's designs appeared in (Peter) Nicholson's *Practical Carpentry, Joinery and Cabinet-making* (1826), copies of which have been found in Australia and one reached New Zealand by 1856 as had Nicholson's The *New Practical Builder and Workman's Companion* (1823), *Practical builder's Perpetual Price Book* (1823)[85] and his *Practical Cabinet-Maker* (1826-7).[86] One edition of Whitaker's *House Furnishing and Decorating and Embellishing Assistant* (1847) was in the Sydney Mechanics School of Arts while copies of his *House Furnisher and Decorator* (1847) were for sale in Sydney by 1849.[87] Whitaker's most recognised furniture work, *The Practical Cabinet-Maker, Upholsterer and Decorator's Treasury of Designs* (1847) was written in collaboration with Michael Angelo Nicholson. By then it detailed the full gamut of Victorian taste as they then defined it: Grecian, Italian, Renaissance, Louis-Quartorze, Gothic, Tudor and Elizabethan.[88] Publisher for the Nicholsons and Whitaker was Henry Fisher and Son but it was another London publishing house that largely had the market for designs for much of the first half of the century. The distribution of designs to the colonies was far less random than might appear.

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[83] Fahey and Simpson (1998), *Australian Furniture Pictorial History and Dictionary 1788-1938*, pp. 286-7, 352.
[84] Lane and Serle (1990), *Australians At Home*, p. 30.
[85] Signed 'Jas. Akroyd, Birmingham, 1826'. Courtesy Jason Books, O'Connell Street, Auckland.
[86] Signed 'Robert T. Button, May 18th 1856'. Button immigrated to Taranaki in 1852. Nicholson's 1826 plates arrived in Auckland with Benjamin Cranwell in 1862. Author collection.
[87] Fahey and Simpson (1998), *Australian Furniture Pictorial History and Dictionary 1788-1938*, p. 14.
[88] Henry Whitaker, *The Practical Cabinet-Maker, Upholsterer and Decorator's Treasury of Design* (London: Henry Fisher, 1847); retrieved from Historic Houses Trust, Sydney, URL:
http://collection.hht.net.au/firsthht/fullRecord.jsp?recnoListAttr=recnoListand recno=15743

The Publisher – A Conduit for Designer Patterns and Homogeny of Design

The distribution of London published designs had homogenised the appearance of furniture in Britain and significantly reduced noticeable regional variations in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. It had begun in the late eighteenth century with various 'Books of Prices' leading to a national consensus amongst cabinetmakers over charging for specific furniture componentry. The pattern book further encouraged design uniformity by increasing provincial consumer awareness and demand for fashions from the country's metropolitan centre.[89]

London publishers Isaiah and Josiah Taylors' massive inventory encompassed almost the entire furnishing design establishment of more than a century past: John Vanbrugh, Matthias Lock, Robert Mainwaring, Thomas Chippendale, Charles Tatham, Thomas Hope, Henry Shaw, George Smith, Augustus Pugin, Richard Brown, John Taylor, Henry Whitaker, Thomas King, John Loudon, and many more. Gilbert's biography of Chippendale noted… "an important collection of engraved [copper] plates representing designs by Johnson, Lock, Pether and others passed from the publishers Webley and Sayer, through J. and A. Taylor of Holborn to John Weale, who issued re-strikes during the early Victorian period."[90] After some dispute John Weale had bought the publishing rights to the Taylors' 'The Architectural and Scientific Library' in 1834.[91] The inventory covered far, far more than furniture: history, science, the arts, architecture, philosophy, mechanics, mathematics, etc. with his Rudimentary series alone encompassing 130 titles. Weale's 'Rudimentary Series' was continually advertised by New Zealand booksellers from the 1850s.[92] His cheap technical works sold well, had wide appeal and often included an extensive advertising list many pages

[89] Margaret Ponsonby, *English Domestic Interiors 1750-1850* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2007). "Provincial has become a byword for old-fashioned and unsophisticated… [but] undiluted fashionable ideas [did] spread to the provinces through printed publications… Pattern books illustrated fashionable designs and were consulted in the provinces…" pp. 10, 43-48.

[90] Publisher Josiah Taylor had engraved plates for Chippendale's *Director*, while brothers Isaac and Charles were also engravers. Christopher Gilbert, *The Life and Work of Thomas Chippendale*, vol. 1 (London: Cassell, 1978), pp. 82, 84.

[91] Weale had acquired the backlist following Taylor's death in 1834 and titled himself as "Successor to Josiah Taylor". In 1835 M. Taylor also made a similar claim trading as "nephew and successor to the late Josiah Taylor." Retrieved from Open Library, URL: https://openlibrary.org/publishers/Printed_for_M._Taylor https://londonstreetviews.wordpress.com/2015/06/19/john-weale-architectural-library/

[92] Advertisements for Weale's Rudimentary Series; 29 May 1850, *New Zealander* (Auckland), p. 1; 16 October 1850, *Wellington Independent*, p. 1; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

long of other house publications.[93] In effect the work of one designer sometimes promoted the publications of others.

Weale's Publications in Australia - John Taylor, Thomas King, and John Loudon

John Taylor's *The Upholsterer's and Cabinet Maker's Pocket Assistant* (1823) distilled Hope's classicism into a popular, affordable style, also pre-empting Smith's far more famous *Guide*. John Taylor had assisted Augustus Pugin with his *Specimens of Gothic Architecture* (1821) and also helped John Britton's preparation of *Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London* (1825). Josiah Taylor, Weale's predecessor, had published the works of these four men. Thomas King's *Modern Style of Cabinet-Work Exemplified* (1829) had striking comparisons with Taylor's *Pocket Assistant* (1823) and there could be no doubt that the two designers had some professional relationship.[94] Taylor's next work published c.1826 was his *Original and Novel Designs for Decorative Household Furniture*. Its 72 coloured plates "for the Department connected with Upholstery" - window curtains, bed drapes, chairs and sofas were exactly what King had proliferated in publishing. King's very own *The Upholsterer's Accelerator; being Rules for Cutting and Forming Draperies, Valances, etc. By an Upholsterer of Forty-five years' Experience* (1833) said so, and was also published by Josiah Taylor.

As with Smith's work, Fahey and Simpson also identified a cedar twin cylinder pedestal sideboard, cautiously dated to 1840, as coming from the *Pocket Assistant*. A mahogany and cedar 'Grecian Couch' and 'Easy Chair' of about 1830 they also assert appears likely to have also come from Taylor as at least three copies of the *Pocket Assistant* have been found in Australia; one was a copy signed by Eliza Bland of Sydney about 1846.[95] The Taylor-Smith-King triumvirate had simplified ornamental

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[93] For example Weale advertised "Works Recently Published" in James Hakewell, *An Attempt to Determine the Exact Character of Elizabethan Architecture* (London: John Weale, 1835), pp. 1-30.

[94] In 1814 both Taylor and King's father were listed as upholsterers, a profession that King was first to pursue. In 1825 Thomas King lived in Drake Street near Drury Lane and John Taylor about three streets away in Covent Garden. Taylor's publisher was Isaac and son Josiah Taylor, 59 High Holborn. By 1829 King had moved to 17 Gate Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, off High Holborn where he continued publishing his own designs. Then by March 1833 Priestley and Weale at 5 High Street, Bloomsbury were publishing twelve of King's works. In 1834 Weale had bought Josiah Taylor's Architectural Library at 59 High Holborn. Thereafter Thomas King and John Taylor consistently had the same publisher. In c.1839 *Modern Style* was republished by (Weale's) Architectural Library, the printer was George Taylor about which time King stated he had "removed from 214 High Holborn to 11 Little Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields".

[95] Fahey, Simpson and Simpson (1985), *Nineteenth Century Australian Furniture*, p. 215. Fahey and Simpson (1998), *Australian Furniture Pictorial History and Dictionary 1788-1938*, pp. 235, 345, 353.

complexity with noticeable homogeneity but it was King's work that had most impact in Australian colonial furniture prior to 1850.

With at least 28 publications attributed to King between 1823 and c.1842, *Modern Style* (possibly) his sixth pattern book, was certainly his most famous and influential.[96] King's use of the word 'Modern' in his title shifted the emphasis from scholarship to give street currency to his pared down Grecian 'style'. It was expanded and revised in 1835 with *Supplementary Plates* of 62 new designs added in 1840 to become the standard work of the period.[97]

It was *Modern Style* that was the first design work, as already explained, to consistently reach New Zealand while evidence of King's designs in Australia are commonplace. (Fig. 3.12) His colonial virtue was adaptability and affordability where the appearance of authentic revival with modifications or adaptions was superficially maintained; King intended this to be so. This was first noted with Smith's interpretations of Hope's thinking and far more crudely evident with Connor's American designs. Fahey and Simpson illustrate no less than six card, console and side-tables as well as a wardrobe, either partly or exactly, from *Modern Style* and the *Cabinet Maker's Sketchbook*.[98] An estate sale held in Sydney in 1848 included five of King's pattern books; *Cabinet Maker's Sketchbook of Plain and Useful Designs* (1835), *Designs for Carving and Gilding* (1829 and 1836), *Working Ornaments and Forms Parts I, II, III* (1833-4), *The Cabinet-Maker, Chair and Sofa Maker, Carver and Turner* (c.1836) and *Specimens of Furniture in The Elizabethan and Louis Quartorze Style* (c.1842+).[99]

After 1836 John Loudon's *Encyclopaedia of Cottage Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture* stipulated that reprints were "sold by John Weale's Architectural Library, High Holborn" and it went on to say that virtually all reference material, his 'List of Books Quoted', had been borrowed from Weale. They included some of the biggest names of the previous three decades: Sheraton, Hope, Nicholson,

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[96] Smith (1995), *Thomas King Neo-Classical Furniture Designs*, 'Appendix II', p. xvii. Not all are known to exist and in some cases advertisements refer to other undiscovered King works.
[97] Joy (1977), *English Furniture 1800-1851*, p. 149.
[98] Fahey and Simpson (1998), *Australian Furniture Pictorial History and Dictionary 1788-1938,* pp. 385-6, 388, 394, 412, 445, 497.
[99] Fahey and Simpson (1998), *Australian Furniture Pictorial History and Dictionary 1788-1938,* p. 388; auction catalogue held in Mitchell Library; retrieved from State Library of New South Wales URL: http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/about/collections/mitchell.html

Shaw, Tredgold, Pugin, King, Percier and Fontaine.[100] Oddly Loudon did not refer to King by name but just to one of his lesser-known works, the Josiah Taylor edition of *Upholsterer's Accelerator* (1833). Loudon's 1842 *Supplement* to the *Encyclopaedia* did include several designs of King's 1835 worktables and sofas as well as more recent work from King's own 1840 *Supplementary Plates to the Modern Style* again without any direct attribution.[101] Loudon also used a reading desk design by George Bullock first seen in *Ackermann's Repository of the Arts* in January 1810 and, of course, it was Ackermann who had first published John Taylor's designs as individual plates.[102] Everybody really did know everybody.

Numerous copies of the *Encyclopaedia* arrived in Australia with the frontispiece of later editions even including publisher's agents Howe in Sydney and Melville in Hobart. The Sydney Morning Herald of 16 February 1837 advertised copies for sale and the Australian Subscription Library and Mechanics Institute were lending copies by 1839 and 1842 respectively. A set of hall chairs, part of the original furnishing for Sydney's Government House, built in 1845, were copied from Loudon's uniquely turned Gothic 'Parlour Chair' design. More correctly, his 'turner's throne chair' was a fanciful and unscholarly assemblage of spindles, taken directly from, architect and acquaintance, Edward Buckton Lamb's *Etchings of Gothic Ornaments* (1830).[103] Loudon merely copied and failed to see any contradiction in authenticity of revival while noting that "ancient [Elizabethan] fragments" from "dismantled French chateaux" were often "put together". The publication of another acquaintance, Henry Shaw's uncritical *Specimens of Ancient Furniture* (1836) was unwittingly also promoted in Loudon's revised 1836 *Encyclopaedia*.[104] Shaw's Glastonbury chairs, again via

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[100] A copy of Percier and Fontaine's Recueil de Decorations Interieures, comprenant tout ce qui a rapport a l'ameublement (1812) has been recently discovered in New South Wales; retrieved from URL: http://richardneylon.com/Architecture.html

[101] "With an additional twenty eight new plates with sixty eight new designs"; Joy (1977), *Pictorial Dictionary*, 'Introduction', p. xxiii. Collard (1995), *Regency Furniture*, p. 231.

[102] Bullock's desk was also reproduced in Loudon's (1833) *Encyclopaedia*, p. 1056. Ackermann had first published John Taylor's 'Design for Sideboard and Cellarette', while that same design was also recopied as late as August 1895 by the Brooks Household Art Company, Cleveland Ohio. Ackermann's *Repository of Arts,* vol. xiv, second series, October 1822 (London: R. Ackermann, 1822). Collard (1995), *Regency Furniture*, pp. 113, 121, 129, 251.

[103] Fahey, Simpson and Simpson (1985), *Nineteenth Century Australian Furniture*, p. 443, plate 351. Loudon (1836), *Encyclopaedia,* p. 1040, fig 2007.

[104] Collard (1995), *Regency Furniture*, pp. 191-2. Loudon (1836), *Encyclopaedia*, pp. xviii, 1039. E.B. Lamb's designs for furniture in the Norman style show a marriage of old styles, some clearly architectural and a few from known objects to illustrate quaint and historically incorrect furniture concoctions. Lamb, E. B (1834), *Architectural Magazine* (London), vol. I, Fig. 166.

Loudon, were commissioned in 1854 by the Melbourne City Council as a departing gift to Victoria's first Lieutenant-Governor Charles La Trobe.[105]

Loudon's Grecian sofas and chairs, his Gothic sideboard and the rarest of items, Grecian longcase clocks and a music canterbury, complete with laurel wreath, have all been found in Australian cedar.[106] In summation Loudon wondered if his encyclopaedia while "improving the domestic architecture in Britain, America, and Australia… will materially depend on its rendering the reading classes [as] architectural critics… and in improving the taste of women."[107] In 1840 Lady Jane Franklyn, wife to Tasmanian Governor Sir John Franklyn, sent to England for additional architectural elevations for the new Government House complaining that there was "not a single book in all the Island except my own Loudon's *Farm and Cottage Architecture*."[108]

The Cabinet-Maker's Sketch Book and *The Cabinet Maker's Assistant* in Australia - Peter Thomson, 1850-3

Such was the abundance of patterns arriving to Australia that an enduring publishing mystery was solved with the rediscovery of a pattern book in Sydney. 'Blackies', the trade term sometimes used for *The Cabinet Maker's Assistant*, was as a series of patterns published by Walter Graham Blackie and Son, Glasgow. They were considered perhaps the most remarkable and significant designs for the middle of the nineteenth century. The *Anglo-American Magazine* for June 1853 described the *Assistant* with its 'magnificent steel engravings' as indispensable, a cabinet maker's 'sine qua non'.[109] Despite that illustrious reception, Symonds and Whineray's pioneering study of *Victorian Furniture* (1962), largely overlooked 'Blackies' but for the inclusion of a single comment on the inter-changeability of ornament on the same basic design to 'indefinitely multiply' novelty.[110] It regained some stature in 1970 as a Dover reprint, *Blackie and Son's The Victorian Cabinet Makers Assistant.* The forward

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[105] Fahey and Simpson (1998), *Australian Furniture Pictorial History and Dictionary 1788-1938,* p. 245.
[106] Loudon (1836), *Encyclopaedia*, pp. 300, 324, 349, 1061, 1070; Graham Cornall, *Memories: A survey of Early Australian Furniture in the Collection of Lord McAlpine of West Green* (Perth: Australian City Properties, 1990), pp. 193, 202. Fahey and Simpson (1998), *Australian Furniture Pictorial History and Dictionary 1788-1938,* pp. 222, 235, 294.
[107] Loudon (1836), *Encyclopaedia*, p. 1105.
[108] Fahey, Simpson and Simpson (1985), *Nineteenth Century Australian Furniture*, pp. 215-218.
[109] Article (June 1853), *The Anglo-American Magazine*, Vol. II, p. 544.
[110] Symonds and Whineray (1962), *Victorian Furniture*, p. 26.

by nineteenth-century design historian John Gloag ungenerously observed that the "417 Original Designs by 'anonymous editors'… represented the static condition of design" two years after the Great Exhibition.[111] Even Victorian furniture historian Edward Joy by 1977 avoided any mention of author or designer with only brief reference to it in his text. He indexed *The Cabinet Maker's Assistant* as "see Blackie and Son" then omitted to include it.[112] Despite all that, it was undeniably a work of some magnitude.

True authorship was settled in 1997 with the discovery in Sydney of an original copy of the almost unknown *The Cabinet Maker's Sketch Book* by 'Peter Thomson Author of *The Cabinet Maker's Assistant.*' Combined, they credited Thomson with two very impressive mid-century works that the Antique Collectors' Club have since republished into a single reference volume.[113] Confusingly the *Assistant* had been published as a book about May 1853 yet the *Sketch Book*, published in Glasgow by William Mackenzie, was in circulation before August 1851. The date discrepancy suggested that the *Assistant's* plates were prepared in 1850-1. Further research revealed that they were sold sequentially in a series of 20 folders by subscription, and by 1852 they were sold as bound volumes.[114] The six surviving separate Cranwell folios of the *Assistant* found in Auckland must therefore have been purchased prior to the publication of the £3 book option.[115] When the *Sketch Book* was begun Mackenzie did refer to its 'extensive patronage' in an advertisement that included a letter by Thomson written from Paris in September 1851.[116] Thomson's letter did say that he would spend time at the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park until it closed in October 1851 and duly the *Assistant* did feature 'Chairs from the Great Exhibition'. The series had been a work in progress being added to as the subscription system would allow. Thomson had visited Versailles, palaces and churches which "far exceeded anything [he] had ever conceived [and would] be suggestive of many ideas that would be of benefit to [his] new work." The designs in both books were equally Elizabethan or of French Style with a just

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[111] John Gloag (editor), *Blackie and Son, The Victorian Cabinet-Maker's Assistant* (New York: Dover Inc., 1970), 'Introduction', pp. v-ix.
[112] Joy (1977), *English Furniture 1800-1851*, p. 311-2.
[113] James and Cynthia Martin (editors), *Peter Thomson and Son – Mid-Victorian Furniture Styles and Designs* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors Club, 2011).
[114] Peter Thomson, *The Cabinet Makers' Sketch Book: a Series of Original Details for Modern Furniture* (Glasgow: W. McKenzie, c.1851).
[115] "In about 22 parts, 2s. 6d. each, and in Parts 1s. 6d each." 'New Works and Editions', advertised in George Buchanan, *History of Scotland from the Earliest period to the Time* (Glasgow: W. Blackie and Son, 1853), Vol. iv, division 1, p. 5.
[116] Martin (2010), *Peter Thomson and Son*, 'Introduction', p. xii.

couple of hints at Gothic and Grecian.[117] The *Assistant's* short gestation and immediate serialization by subscription, suggests it was a continuation of the *Sketch Book* project. Both involved the effort of at least twenty recorded artisans producing expensive hand engraved steel plates with the resources of two large publishing houses, unprecedented in the pattern book publishing genre.

The *Assistant* was an immediate success. Within months it had reached the United States being recorded in the American Patents Office by November 1854. It was reprinted in 1859, 1862 and 1863 unchanged, not surprising given the extent of Thomson's research. For example, he detailed wood species largely unknown to the British home market, such as beefwood or Botany Bay oak and New South Wales cedar (cedrela toona) of which sadly "packing cases containing importations from Australia, are usually made of this wood [even though it was] enumerated in the list of woods ordinarily for sale in Liverpool, but the supply is limited."[118] In 1857 Sydney cabinetmaker Andrew Lenehan supplied a large cedar 'telescope' dining table to the new Government House. It was an exact replication of plate XIX from the *Assistant*, while the Melbourne Club (est.1838) has amongst its oldest furnishings a cedar 'Slab Sideboard' identical to Thompson's plate XIV. (Fig. 3.13)

William Hampton and Richard Russell, Leicester Square, listed among the *Assistant's* 600 original subscribers used several images directly from the *Assistant* for their *Illustrated Designs of Cabinet Furniture* (c.1875). Hampton and Sons had even insisted their designs were "Engraved from Photographs of Stock… by eminent artists" so that they "undoubtedly must be true to form and scale".[119] We will return to that very claim in Chapter Five which had also been made by colonial cabinetmakers. The *Assistant* was still being recommended as teaching material in a report by the New Zealand Department of Education as late as 1898.[120] (Figs. 3.14-5) Thomson's *Sketch Book* and *Assistant* were amongst the last significant designer pattern books as they were supplanted by promotional trade catalogues privately produced by individual cabinetmaking firms.

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[117] Martin (2010), *Peter Thomson and Son*, pp. 108, 350, 408, 430, Plate LXVII.
[118] Gloag (1970), *Blackie and Sons' The Victorian Cabinet-Maker's Assistant*, p. 39, 290.
[119] London wood engraver C.P. Nicholls, active c.1859, was the only signature found on Hampton lithographs.
[120] The New Zealand Department of Education also suggested Shaw's *Specimens of Ancient Furniture* (1836), Sheraton's *Cabinet Maker's Drawing Book* (1802)and Litchfield's more recent *History of Furniture* (1893) while William Benn's *Cabinet maker and Art Furnisher* featuring designs from British manufacturers was also recommended; Department of Education Report 1898 retrieved in July 2016 from http://books.google.co.nz/books?id=0Nw2AQAAMAAJand q=the+cabinetmakers+assistant+blackie

The First Trade Catalogues in Australia - William Smee (c.1838)

As found in Chapter Two Smee's trade catalogue had an immediate effect on imports of English furniture and colonial design. Three catalogues, *Designs of Furniture, by William Smee and Son* of Finsbury Square now estimated to date from c.1838, have been found in Hobart, Adelaide and Sydney. Yet two more with slightly different titles *William Smee and Sons' Designs of Furniture* (Sons' in plural) were located in Melbourne and Westbury, Tasmania. The latter closely dated to c.1853 belonged to carpenter and undertaker Charles Reynolds.[121]

That Smee's earliest catalogues were used as pattern books by Australian cabinetmakers has been well documented by curator Robert Griffin. He noted a cedar wardrobe in Elizabeth Bay House, Sydney had originated from a Smee pattern while renowned Sydney cabinet-makers Andrew Lenehan and Joseph Sly had produced furniture from Smee's c.1838 *Designs*.[122] Huge consignments of Smee's products arrived at Australian ports with subsequent furniture auctions. The 1853 Robert Porter sale of *Carthona*, Darling Point, of furniture "expressly made to order by the justly celebrated manufacturers Messrs. Smee and Sons, London" suggested the well-known Smee brand had gained considerable colonial status. A large consignment of Smee furniture was auctioned at Albion Wharf, Sydney, that same year and another at Circular Wharf in 1854. In January 1856 auctioneers Frith and Payton announced the sale of 35 cases of "Elegant and Substantial Furniture" by Smee and Sons to "cabinetmakers, upholsterers, private families, hotel keepers and others", and in February 1858 they again announced the sale of 87 packages of drawing, dining, bedroom furniture, bedding, "chimney and pier glasses and toilet and cheval mirrors."[123]

Since the early 1850s, Smee's advertised in Sydney, Melbourne and Launceston dailies promoting their local agents along with displays and awards won in colonial

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[121] William Smee and Sons, *Designs of Furniture* (London: Smee, c1838-50); retrieved from Historic Houses Trust URL: http://collection.hht.net.au/firsthht/fullRecord.jsp?recnoListAttr=recnoListand recno=46520

[122] Robert Griffin (2003), *Designing Australia: Readings in the History of Design* retrieved from Robert Griffin Heritage and Conservation URL: http://griffinheritage.com.au/robert-griffin-publications/

[123] Advertisements for William Smee furniture; 22 December 1853, *Sydney Morning Herald*, p. 8; 12 Sept. 1853, p. 1; 9 Oct. 1854, p. 6; 26 Jan. 1856, p. 7; 6 Jan. 1858, p. 7; 15 Jan. 1858, p. 7; 27 Feb. 1860, p. 3; 6 March 1860, p. 7 ; 26 Jan. 1856, *Empire*(Sydney), p. 6, 28 Jan. 1858, p. 8; retrieved from National Library of Australia URL: http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article

exhibitions. Their 1879 advertisements in Hobart and Launceston advised catalogues could be had from Smee's Sydney agent, Francis Bourne.[124] Sydney furnishers Raphael and Co. wholesaled Smee products by the late 1860s. Raphael sold imported Smee furniture to Rouse Hill while Sydney cabinetmaker R.T. Carter used Smee's 1870 catalogue to make a pine and cedar occasional table for the drawing room.[125] There were numerous instances of household lots specifically mentioning "furniture by Smee" being auctioned in Melbourne, Sydney and Tasmania.[126] The largest furnishing warehouse and importer of Smee's wares in the State of Victoria was W.H. Rocke and Co. It was Rocke who produced the first colonial pattern book which included designs by Smee. The incidence of copying has first been observed in America and comparison has been made to show that the same British designs entered Australia. Now, investigation into the very first colonial furniture catalogues will show that copying of British designs also occurred in Australia and then on a wide scale in New Zealand.

The First Australian Furniture Pattern Book - Rocke and Co. (1875)

Welsh brothers George and William Rocke initially established their Melbourne business about 1853 as "Importers of English Furniture, and Furnishing Warehousemen".[127] In five years they had expanded to include "English, colonial and American Furnishings [with] A Large Assortment of Bedsteads and Mattresses always on Hand".[128] At the time of a disastrous fire in1866 W.H. Rocke and Co. were considered to be 'the largest showrooms in the colonies'. An 1869 woodcut of their new 'manufactory' showed an industrious workshop filled with cabinetmakers, furniture and

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[124] Advertisements for William Smee furniture*;* 25 October 1879, *Launceston Examiner*, p. 1; 18 October 1879, *Mercury* (Hobart), p. 1; retrieved from National Library of Australia URL: http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article

[125] Montana, A., 'The Finsbury cabinet-makers Smee and Sons in colonial Australia', *Recollections: Stylists for the Nineteenth-Century* (vol. 7 no.1), pp. 9, 12, 15, 19.

[126] Advertisements for Smee furniture, 6 Jan. 1858, *Sydney Morning Herald*, p. 7; 27 Feb. 1860, p. 3; 6 March 1860, p. 7; retrieved from National Library of Australia URL: http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article

[127] Two biographies disagree on the exact date. F. Gardner (1912) *The Australian Storekeepers and Traders Journal* (Sydney) suggests 1855-6 while H. Humphrey *Victorian Men of the Time* (Melbourne: McCarron, Bird and Co., 1878) proposed the date at 1857; retrieved from Museum Victoria Collections URL: http://museumvictoria.com.au/collections/themes/1969/g-w-h-rocke-furniture-importers-melbourne-victoria

However Caressa Crouch claims "they were firmly established by 1854." Crouch, C (1999, February), 'Australia's First Known Pattern Book', *Australiana,* pp. 5-6, but this does not agree with her reference material (Fahey and Simpson [1985], *Nineteenth-century Australian Furniture,* p. 158). It states that "by 1854 the firm of W. H. Rocke and Co. was well established … [with] exhibits at the Melbourne Exhibition in 1854 [and] the Paris Exhibition in 1855." 'Old Business Sold. W.H. Rocke and Co. Pty. Ltd.' 1932, 13 Jan. *The Argus* (Melbourne); retrieved from National Library of Australia URL: http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article

[128] Sands and Kenny Commercial and General Melbourne Directory for 1860, p. 47.

packing cases marked Heywood's (American) Chairs.[129] (Fig. 3.16) They prospered as Victorian residents "created magnificent household interiors" to emerge as one of Melbourne's "finest furnishing warehouses."[130] In 1869 Rocke's advertised that "From New Zealand, Queensland, South and Western Australia, there is increasing demand for [their] manufactures and a number of experienced packers are regularly engaged in packing up country and export orders." By 1874 they had established a London warehouse and produced their own lavish 52-page promotional buyer's guide, *Remarks on Furniture and the Interior Decoration of Houses*. Encouraged, they soon after also published their *Furniture Pattern Book* and separate *Approximate Price List.* It was not their first, but no copy of an earlier edition has ever been found. Furthermore, the publication date for the one known surviving second copy has been a little unclear, and to establish a definitive date is of some trans-Tasman interest as New Zealand's first pattern book was printed at almost the same time.

Australia's Oldest Remaining Catalogue - Rocke and Co.'s *Furniture Pattern Book*

W. H. Rocke and Co. was initially trading from Lonsdale Street East, Melbourne until 1862. That year the partnership of Beauchamp and Rocke was formed with auctioneer Horatio Beauchamp at 38-40 Collins Street, Melbourne. The partnership was dissolved sometime after 1868.[131] Beauchamp and Co. were still advertising their usual sale of household furniture and goods as listed in their 21 May 1875 catalogue from 38 Collins Street East while Rocke and Co. were trading from 40-42 Collins Street as pictured in the frontispiece to their surviving *Furniture Pattern Book*. Beauchamp announced that "on 17th August they will remove from their present premises to their new and commodious auction rooms 14 Collins Street West".[132]

Between October 1873 and as late as June 1876 W.H. Rocke and Co. had placed exactly the same advertisements in The Australian Sketcher stating their old address as 40 and 42 Collins Street East. They detailed their wares including "Furniture in all Designs and Upholstery in the Latest and Best Styles" but made no mention of their

[129] Article, 1 January 1869, *Illustrated Australian News*; citation in Fahey and Simpson (1985), *Nineteenth Century Australian Furniture*, p. 159.
[130] W.H. Rocke, *Furniture Pattern Book* (Melbourne: Fergusson and Moore [printers], 1874), p. 9.
[131] H. Morrin Humphrey (1878), *Victorian Men of the Time,* pp. 177-8.
[132] Advertisement, 3 August 1876, *The Argus (*Melbourne); retrieved from National Library of Australia URL: http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article

catalogue. On 4 June 1875 Rockes advertised "Each department under the superintendence of an experienced salesman. Patern books of new list on application [sic]. All goods carefully packed and promptly despatched."[133] In confirmation the following week, the Bacchus Marsh Express carried a similar advertisement stating "Pattern books and price lists on application" as did the Alexandra Times on 17 July with "Illustrated Catalogues forwarded on Application".

It would be secure to say that the surviving Rocke and Co. *Furniture Pattern Book* most likely dated from the first mention at the beginning of June 1875. Advertising however was thoroughly inconsistent as even by December 1876 the Bacchus Marsh Express was still carrying the same advertisement. Even as late as 6 March 1877 the Camperdown Chronicle reprinted the same woodcut as in the *Furniture Pattern Book* still with the very out of date 40-42 Collins Street East address while adding that catalogues were still available.

The reluctance to reset type and update images suggests considerable effort, cost and a measure of the difficulty of changing printed material in the 1870s but in the next two decades such impediments would no longer hinder the reprinting of designs. Fergusson and Moore printers, for Rocke's *Pattern Book*, included their old address on the *Approximate Price List* as Flinders Lane East, Melbourne. Inconsistently their address had not been that since 1867, when it had become 48 Little Flinders Street East.[134]

Rocke and Co. and Other Pattern Books

Rocke's August 1873 advertisement in The Australian presented the woodcut image as it appeared in the *Furniture Pattern Book* but the word 'Wholesale' had not yet been engraved.

> Rocke and Co. have just finished a most complete *Illustrated Furniture Catalogue* of their immense stock. This book of nearly 500 designs of furniture, and covers over 80 pages, together with a descriptive price list. W. H. R. and Co. will be happy to forward one

[133] Advertisement, 4 June 1875, *The Portland Guardian and Normanby General Advertiser's* (Portland, Victoria); retrieved from National Library of Australia URL: http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article

[134] 'Fergusson and Moore 1862', Australian Prints and Printmaking; retrieved from http://www.printsandprintmaking.gov.au/artists/2370/

> of these pattern books by post, with price list (to be returned) to any person about to furnish. The application to be accompanied by a city reference.[135]

That referred to their first, now missing, catalogue but for such a progressive company, Rocke and Co. did little to promote their *Furniture Pattern Book*.[136] They had a constant presence in many district newspapers but failed to capitalise on the prestige of their own catalogue, again suggesting some difficulty and expense to update their advertisements despite other firm's mention of their own catalogues. Sydney's Farmer and Company by August 1876 were promoting their own *Furniture Design Book* "illustrated with upward of 70 drawings and complete price list sent free by post" and, in July 1877, they offered an *Additional Price List of Inexpensive Furniture*.[137] 'Universal Furnishers' Wallach Bros. ran an entire full length newspaper column advertising their *New Illustrated Catalogue* with its content outlined in page by page detail.[138] Rocke's similar sized advertisement on the same page made no mention of any catalogue. Only by 7 November 1888 was there mention of Rocke's catalogue but it was in an advertisement placed by an agent, W. Trebbilco, selling on their behalf "Their Illustrated Catalogue is on inspection with their prices attached."[139] Over a decade on, that may well have been a third edition.

Layout of Rocke's *Furniture Pattern Book* (1875)

At 100 pages the *Pattern Book* illustrated 362 furniture items with stock numbers from #503 to #854, with #520-21 missing, indicating that it was the second catalogue following on from the earlier, #1 to #502, 1873 edition. Several anomalies can be observed from poor compilation. Fergusson and Moore had made errors in page numbering; between i and vii the numerals i to iii and vii were missing with vi and v reversed, suggesting the re-use of older plates. Eleven half numbers, e.g. 738 ½, had been added where extra out of scale, usually bigger, images had been forced into

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[135] W.H. Rocke and Co. advertisement, 16 August 1873, *The Australasian* (Melbourne); retrieved from National Library of Australia URL: http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article

[136] Even Rocke's loosely interchanged their description from 'illustrated catalogue' to 'pattern book'.

[137] Farmer and Co. advertisement, 16 December 1876, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, p. 9; *The Sydney Mail*, 7 July 1877; retrieved from National Library of Australia URL: http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article

[138] Wallach Bros. advertisement, 6 January 1886, *Record* (Emerald Hill); retrieved from National Library of Australia URL: http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article

[139] W.H. Rocke advertisement, 7 November 1888, *Record* (Emerald Hill) retrieved from National Library of Australia URL: http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article

unnatural spaces after initial layout. Stock numbers appended with ½ were in strict numerical order indicating that the *Furniture Pattern Book* layout had been completed before the separate *Approximate Price List* was typeset.[140] Again, there is a suggestion of cost inhibiting a tidier layout as inferred with Rocke's newspaper advertising.

The Images and Evidence of Copying From Other Catalogues

The *Pattern Book*'s lithographs did not compare well with contemporary English publications but in presentation was surprisingly close to American examples; John Hall for poor quality and Robert Connor for naivety. Case furniture was portrayed awkwardly, the sinuous rococo arms and legs of upholstery was stiff, while the expensive centrepiece of the Victorian home, the sideboard, was reduced to unappealing and inelegant dolls-house proportions. There were two distinct styles of artwork from different lithographers particularly evident in gilt mirror shadow and line treatment that did not relate to the coarse depictions of dressing or toilet mirrors. The hand-drawn numeral '7' appeared with and without serifs while all numbers sloped forward consistent with the use of transfer paper. Clusters of chairs varied in scale, with foreground images often smaller than those behind; a certain clue that they had been copied and transferred from different sources. The three-quarter profiled case-furniture was generally larger than that portrayed front-on and again foreground objects were frequently smaller than those behind. Shadow horizons did not align while areas of floor shading showed breaks or extra density where images had been partially overlaid and again indicating they were also originally created separately. (Fig. 3.17) Perspectives revealed different vantage points on the same page with inconsistent horizons. Receding perspectives related to individual images and not the entire page, yet again indicating they had been drawn independently. There were many indications that the Rocke's had copied much of their material from several sources.

[140] Crouch, C. (1999, February), 'Australia's First Known Pattern Book', *Australiana*, p. 7; (this writer was only supplied with a second-generation photocopy).

Rocke's Sources

Two hallstands had been traced directly from Smee's *Designs of Furniture* (1870) while other images, for example stools tables, desks and bookcases, were re-sized from Smee in an attempt to unify scale. (Fig. 3.18) Rocke, of course, imported Smee's furniture so reproduction of Smee's designs was, at first appearance, mutually beneficial. Such poor artwork frustrated most direct attribution but many patterns approximate those found in Wyman and Sons *Cabinet Maker's Pattern Book* (1875) while iron bedsteads compared closely to the style of Birmingham foundry patterns such as those reproduced in London's Oetzmann and Co., Shoolbred and Thos. Wallis. Rocke and Co. were major importers and many designs appear to have been drawn from actual English furniture. Beauchamp and Rocke's "elegant" Renaissance style medal-winning bedroom display at Melbourne's Intercolonial Exhibition of Australasia (1866-7) showed a picture far superior in manner to their *Furniture* designs.[141] In 1877 William Rocke had visited Europe to secure designs, engage artists and a variety of skilled workers to "guide artisans" already employed by the firm.[142]

Emphasis was on the exotic with inventories promoting Rocke's worldwide range of goods: Scotch Back Cedar Chair, American Leather Cedar Couch, Venetian and Holland blinds, Brussels carpet, handsome box Ottomans and much upholstery in Morocco or fine leather. Indian cane chairs, Brazilian rosewood, French walnut, Caribbean mahogany… maple and marble. A cornucopia of materials was imported to entice Melbourne's middle classes. Their hyperbole was charmingly quaint with over-used adjectives. 'Best, fancy, handsome, superior, elaborate and extensive' or in apparent contradiction, "Very Elegant and Massive".[143] Farmer and Company managed more restraint with their "French and English furniture of unusually chaste character."[144] Rocke's first colonial mention of coffee tables demonstrates how quickly Edward W. Godwin's c.1868 new table concept became commonplace by 1875.[145]

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[141] Article, 27 November 1866, *Illustrated Australian News*; retrieved from National Library of Australia URL: http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article

[142] H.M. Franklyn, *A Glance at Australia in 1880 or Food from the South* as cited in Fahey, Simpson and Simpson (1985), *Nineteenth Century Australian Furniture*, p. 160.

[143] *Rocke and Co. Approximate Price List* (1874), "Lady's Very Superior Walnut Work Table, handsomely fitted up… 60s," p. 17; "Very Elegant and Massive 4ft. 6in.Marble Washstand and Dressing Table complete…" p. 13.

[144] Farmer and Co. advertisement, 7 November 1874, *Australian Town and Country Journal* (Sydney); retrieved from National Library of Australia URL: http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article

[145] *Rocke and Co. Approximate Price List* (1874), #691, "Fancy Coffee Table … 10s 6d"; #793, "Walnut Coffee Table… 35s."

Rocke's had merely attached the new name to a couple of generic wine tables which in any case were quite incomparable with Godwin's Aesthetics Movement ebonised ancient Egyptian revival model.[146]

The *Pattern Book*'s presentation was mundane, very middle-class, mid-Victorian and plainly commercial. It was, after all, merely advertising but there was some irony as they had over-printed in red 'W. H. ROCKE AND CO.' to prevent re-copying of their "own" very poorly reproduced designs.[147] Their surviving *Price List* however suggested that 'Pattern Book' may indeed have been a more applicable description than 'Illustrated Catalogue'.

The Separate Approximate Price List

In the accompanying *Approximate Price List* a little over one third of the designs were offered to be made in Australian timbers which could only mean that Rocke was prepared to manufacture from designs that they had copied. Twenty–three of those were "Chair, Sofa and Couch Frames in the white, in pieces ready for close packing". That is, they were available unassembled, unpolished and un-upholstered as 'Wholesale Furniture' with an average price of 60% less than the finished article. The only surviving *Price List* was first owned by Hobart cabinetmaker Samuel Smith who had written price increase adjustments inside. Some did suggest a wholesale arrangement but others indicated a more personal use. In further irony it would appear that Hobart and Melbourne were sufficiently separated by some 450 miles of sea that Smith may also have used Rocke's *Pattern Book* as his own pattern book.

Rockes explained that "prices are merely given as a guide as to the value of patterns shown" and in general their prices should be lower. The exception, American chairs, suggested narrow price margins while Rocke's had more price control over their English imports. American chairs were made mechanically in huge volumes, so much so, that the flood of imports severely compromised local colonial chair manufacture.[148]

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[146] Symonds and Whineray (1962), *Victorian Furniture*, p. 76.
[147] Similarly this was done by Scoullar and Chisholm in 1900 who declared was unique to them "with the view to protecting their copyright the company's name in small type and delicate tint [which] covers the entire page, forming a background pleasing and unique." Advertisement, 31 March 1900, *Otago Daily Times*; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.
[148] Cottrell (2006), *Furniture of the New Zealand Colonial Era*, p. 134.

"Winchester's Extra Baltimore Chair" was half the price of Rocke's "English Windsor Wood Chair" at six shillings and six pence.

The advantage of the separate and less expensive *Price List* was that wholesale prices could be easily adjusted or withheld from clients. Options offered, such as upholstery fabrics and timber types, enabled those variables to be altered without recourse to new illustrations. The separate *Price List* was a retail device, transitional in repositioning the cabinetmaker's pattern book into the commercial trade catalogue and in part left the distribution of designs more to the subscription magazine. Cabinetmakers had previously adopted a secret coded pricing system handwritten onto their own pattern books but the trade catalogue, with its printed prices, separated retailing from manufacturing. But, in contradiction, we find also that colonial cabinetmakers were willing to manufacture from designs they had copied from British supplied trade catalogues.

Comparisons with American Published Material

Even before the onset of the nineteenth-century many examples of English designs, almost exclusively from a select group of influential London based men, travelled with regularity to the former American colony. There we find a paucity of original local design and the very first designs to be reproduced in the United States were mostly unoriginal copies, either exact or reinterpreted. Even as the century progressed there was a continual search for inspiration from British and Continental sources. Subsequently the America publishing trade commercialised the reproduction of foreign designs in reprinted books, serialised editions or as subscription periodicals.

The same London designers whose work had been so embraced by the Americans also dominated Australian furniture design. Even those few men drew inspiration and, in some cases, copied from their fellows, presenting a uniformity of style that circulated the English-speaking world. The American-inspired book of *Prices of Cabinet and Chair Work*, was reprinted in England in 1788, just as the First Fleet sailed into Botany Bay. *Prices* had shown that distance was no impediment even for an obscure and minor publication. Elements of Sheraton, Hepplewhite and Hope designs from between 1791-1807 have been tracked by Australian historians in their oldest colonial furniture. When Meeks in New York was reprinting parts of Smith's *Guide* and Hall in Baltimore copying King's *Modern Style*, they were also being used by

cabinetmakers to make furniture in New South Wales, Victoria and Tasmania. More than three decades on W.H. Rocke printed the oldest surviving Australian patterns with definite similarities in presentation to Hall's and Connor's efforts. Rocke's coarsely lithographed images similarly lacked elegance and scale, the result of harvesting many random patterns, including Smee's *Designs* amongst other trade catalogues. Rocke's *Pattern Book* also featured American seat furniture and some of the early copies made from Wyman's first subscription magazines. Despite being titled *Pattern Book* it was really Rocke's sales catalogue, cheaply printed and available free on request. Inspection of the Price List however revealed that Rocke and Co. were prepared to manufacture Australian furniture from their copied designs. It suggested a conflict of commercial loyalty with British exporters. Rocke's example was exactly replicated when, also in 1875, New Zealand produced its first illustrated furniture catalogue in an equally amateurish but even more devious repetition of the American and Australian examples.

Chapter Four: The First New Zealand Pattern Books

All three of the first attempts to print American furniture patterns were either partially or completely taken from British and French sources. Thereafter persistent attempts at copying continued to demonstrate an indifferent trade attitude to the reproduction, and use of foreign designs. With such a strong British identity Australians had no need to produce their own patterns. By the time some Australian cabinetmakers had matured into large furnishing warehouses the distribution of domestic designs had shifted to the British trade catalogue and subscription magazine. Australian catalogues were reprinted from those sources. Examination of Australia's oldest surviving 'pattern book' does show comparison with America's earliest efforts in presentation and unoriginality. Rocke's trade catalogue was in reality an advertisement that offered to retail imported wares, wholesale to other Australian dealers and significantly it was a workshop order book from which to make their own made furniture. It was the latter point that demonstrated how designs, no doubt honestly obtained, were also put to unintended use; in Rocke's case, effectively depriving William Smee of business opportunity. Nor was it a single incident but a pattern that would many times recur also in New Zealand and, as will be shown, with very questionable legitimacy.

When the first New Zealand catalogues were printed in Dunedin they were assembled and copied from numerous sources, again with apparent disregard for copyright protection or commercial loyalties. An examination of the first New Zealand printed material revealed patterns of cabinetmaking trade behaviour regarding the reproduction of designs every bit as dubious as those found in America and Australia. Rocke and Co.'s August 1873 *Illustrated Furniture Catalogue* was almost certainly the first ever produced in Australia while their *Furniture Pattern Book* from late June 1875 is the earliest to survive.[1] The oldest extant colonial printed woodware trade catalogue originated from Dunedin saw millers and manufacturers George Findlay and Co. and has a direct relationship with New Zealand's first furniture catalogue.

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[1] W.H. Rocke and Co., *Furniture Pattern Book* (Melbourne: 1874); retrieved from Historic Houses Trust URL: http://collection.hht.net.au/firsthht/fullRecord.jsp?recnoListAttr=recnoListand recno=42665 http://www.mediafire.com/download/0sr2afo53awkc43/WH Rocke.pdf

Australasia's Oldest Surviving Trade Catalogue – Dunedin's Findlay and Co. (1874)

The Otago Witness of 9 May 1874 ran a large article on George Alexander Findlay's new steam saw and planing factory which had barely been in business two years and was already employing 70 hands. They helpfully noted that "A production deserving of attention is an illustrated catalogue lately issued by the firm." It was Findlay's *Illustrated Catalogue of Cottages, Doors, Sashes, Mouldings, Architraves, and every Description, of Furnishings for Building Purpose* that for currency included a calendar from March 1874, suggesting it was to be an annual publication.[2]

The Introduction "begged to call special attention to [Findlay's] newly imported band saw and boring machines. The band saw is capable of turning out every description of plain and ornamental sawn curved work." The *Otago Witness* had also enthused over the American machines.

> The chief work done is the cutting of curved and circular work such as sofa scrolls, sofa legs, brackets and chair legs, and chair backs… in any pattern seen from the illustrated cataloge [sic]. Four lathes constantly at work… turn out… washstand legs, legs for toilet tables and sofas, bedposts, and ornamental rails, banisters, curtain poles and rings, and Co.[3]

Findlay's Illustrated Catalogue

The catalogue's thirty pages had orange dyed paper covers featuring an image of the factory, a single story complex of buildings with confused perspectives indicating an aerial view had been added to an older ground level image. (Fig. 4.1) The engraver and printer was Samuel Lister, a controversial character whose legendary disregard for

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[2] '*Findlay and Co. Illustrated Catalogue*', National Library of New Zealand, Te Puna Matauranga O Aotearoa, ATL, Eph-B1 Build 1874.

[3] It is worth detailing the range of their imported timber stocks etc. for the period to illustrate the range of materials available. "Every Description of Timber constantly on hand.
T and G Scotch and Baltic Deals and Weatherboards, Spruce Deals, Oregon Planks and Beams any size. Sydney Cedar, Clear Pine, Chestnut, Walnut, and Ash, @ per foot. Kauri in Log and in Stock all sizes: Hardwood, Jarrah, Black Pine, Totara, Red Pine, White Pine, do. White Pine Box Stuff, American T. and G., Lumber, Shelving, Dressed Ceiling Battens, and c., and c., English Iron, Best Brands, Scotch, do., do., Doors D.M. and R.P.; Glass, do., do., Sashes, Primed and Glazed, all sizes; Casement Windows, do., do., Mouldings, Architraves, Cornice, Skirting, H.T. Palings, H.T. Posts and Rails, ditto Shingles, Hurdles, Pickets, Laths, Ridging, and Spouting, and c. Portland Cement, Plaster of Paris, Fireclay, Lime, Fire Bricks and Tiles, Glazed Drain Pipes, Slates, Spikes, Nails, and c."
George Findlay advertisement, 9 May 1874, *Otago Witness*; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.

convention extended to his sharp print trade practice. His contradictory perspectives illustrating Findlay's rear courtyard, factory and timber stocks may have saved redrawing the entire image but it set the tone for Lister's work ethic despite having printed 'Registered' and 'Copyright' on the cover. Even the paper was cheap, unbleached, uncoated, of varying grades with fibrous plant material and little or no cotton content. Findlay's catalogue had elevations and floor plans for seven cottages, from three to seven rooms. At 1/8 inch to the foot, they were "prepared so as to be fit to be put into a builder's hand [and that] people in the country would find the catalogue very useful to them, as it contains not fancy sketches but drawings which are practical and to scale."[4] A page each was devoted to door patterns, sashes, chimneypieces, wooden fence railings, shop counters, and furniture 'Turnery'.

The Findlay and Co.'s *Illustrated Catalogue* carried eight advertisements with two of particular note. Potential competitors, cabinetmakers Craig and Gillies appeared, but another for ironmongers, Parke and Curle also offered to supply their own "Illustrated catalogue of prices on application." We can infer that this was an even earlier, now missing, colonial trade catalogue.

By June 1875 the Otago Daily Times carried an update for Findlay's sawmills and factory detailing their newly fitted 70 horsepower boilers and a massive vertical saw by Glaswegian firm Messrs M'Dowell and Sons. (Fig. 4.2) "Messrs Findlay and Co. have lately published a new edition of their illustrated catalogue which contains among other things a map of the Province."[5] So by June 1875 at least two woodware pattern books and a trade catalogue had been printed in Dunedin. Findlay's catalogue was no furniture book; it was very similar in presentation to New Zealand's first dedicated furniture catalogue that was also printed by Lister. Findlay's rapid expansion in less than two years had necessitated Lister to update an earlier factory image while the 'Turnery' page was completely redrawn, but it then appeared in the catalogue of another Dunedin firm.

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[4] George Findlay advertisement, 9 May 1874,*Otago Witness*; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[5] Findlay's 'Illustrated Catalogue' advertisement, 7 June 1875, *Otago Daily Times*; retrieved from URL: http://papers past.natlib.govt.nz

Craig and Gillies' first and only *Illustrated Furniture Catalogue* (1875)

Jobbing carpenters and cabinetmakers Andrew Craig and John Gillies first formed a working relationship in Dunedin's Octagon by 1862 a year before arch-rivals North and Scoullar (later Scoullar and Chisholm) had been established.[6] Until the 1880s those two businesses dominated the furniture trade in Dunedin, a wealthy city bourgeoning with new migrants infected with gold fever. A photograph of Princes Street, taken by William Meluish in 1858, probably New Zealand's earliest known streetscape images, showed two rows of mostly weatherboard buildings separated by a wide, rutted and muddy roadway. In 1867 Craig and Gillies set up a warehouse (Fig. 4.3) near Meluish/Mundy's photographic studio at The Cutting, Princes Street, after acquiring James MacKay's cabinet making business established in 1860.[7] It allowed them to claim that they possessed "one of the largest stocks of Scotch, English and Colonial made furniture that has ever been shown in Dunedin."[8] Their stock perfectly illustrated the range of British fashions being imported.

> Walnut drawing room-suites, covered in green Damask; ditto in French tourney; walnut cheffoniers, plate-glass doors and backs, oval and circular walnut tables, walnut card tables, whatnots, Canterburies and Co.; dining-room suites, Spanish mahogany chairs in hair-cloth and Morocco, patent telescope tables, mahogany loo tables, mahogany sideboards and cheffoniers, dumbwaiters, night commodes, bedroom suites, wardrobes, chests of drawers, washstands, marble tops, looking glasses, wood and caned bottomed chairs, hair and flock mattresses, feather beds, bolsters, and pillows, iron and brass bedsteads, children's cots, and Co., and Co.[9]

By 1872 they had extended their range to include "American Chairs in Great Variety", and three years on, their new carpet department promoted "floor cloths,

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[6] Shipping figures indicate Craig and Gillies were the dominant importers. The *Tuapeka Times* (10 February 1875) reported that Scoullars employed 40 workmen, Craig and Gillies 43, Larnach and Guthrie 175, J. Inglis and Co. 230, and Herbert, Haynes and Co. 110. John Gillies arrived at Port Chalmers on the Lord Ashley in early 1862 from Australia, practicing as an itinerant cabinetmaker by 1863 and in partnership with Andrew Craig by 1865. Craig and Gillies, advertisement, 9 December 1871 (p. 2), 23 October 1877, *Otago Daily Times*; retrieved from URL: National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.

[7] Meluish had established his photographic "business in a very inadequate building on the corner of Dowling and Princes Street" in 1856 which he sold to Daniel Louis Mundy in 1864. Three years later he moved to Christchurch to go into partnership with Graham La Mert. William Main and John Turner, *New Zealand Photography from the 1840s to the Present* (Auckland: Photoforum, 1993), p. 7.

[8] Craig and Gillies, advertisement, 16 October 1867, *Bruce Herald* (rural Dunedin), p. 2; 12 February 1868, p. 8; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.

[9] Craig and Gillies advertisement, 25 May to 19 June 1867, *Otago Daily Times*; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.

choice patterns in all widths, Brussels, tapestries, Kidders, unions, felts, felt squares, hearth-rugs, Cocoa, Persian, and China mattings, door mats for outside and inside use."

Competitors Henry North and Arthur Scoullar were also promoting their regular shipments of Brussel's carpets, German Heinz, and Lipp and Sohn pianos, Austrian bentwood chairs, Bridgeport organs, American chairs and iron bedsteads from Birmingham.[10] Products from around the globe were pouring into Dunedin.

Following a fire in April 1874 colonial architect Robert Lawson, designer of Dunedin's First Church, Larnach's Castle and the sprawling neo-gothic Seacliff Lunatic Asylum, also designed Craig and Gillies imposing new warehouse on George Street just off the Octagon. Lawson's "novel and handsome" new three storied Oamaru white stone, Port Chalmers blue stone, brick and cement building featured a novel façade of "one arch sprung from double pilasters on each side. The arch [was to be] filled in with glass, and above it a series of semi-arched openings subdivided with moulded pilasters". There was striking comparison to Fowler and Hill's (1877) Shoreditch High Street, London, showroom warehouse for cabinet ironmonger Edward Wells and Co.[11] It was all very modern; even Craig and Gillie's basement was fitted with a hydraulic lift and their new separate steam factory "in which Mr Gillies does a large business was completely mechanised."[12]

Craig and Gillies' Illustrated Catalogue of Furniture

In December 1875 Craig and Gillies inserted a substantial advertisement in the Tuapeka Times. It finished by saying…

> To provide for a rapidly increasing business C. and G. have recently erected, in Great King street, extensive Manufacturing premises with the latest improved machinery, which will enable them to effect a great saving in cost of production, a benefit of which will accrue to

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[10] Scoullar's advertising copy files January 1886-September 1911; author collection.

[11] Craig and Gillies building measuring 36 x 70 feet was demolished late in the 1960s and the site now occupied by the Dunedin Civic centre.
'Behind the Veneer: South Shoreditch Furniture Trade and Its buildings (London: English Heritage, 2006), p.7; retrieved from Historic England URL: https://content.historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/behind-the-veneer-south-shoreditch/behind-the-veneer.pdf/

[12] Report, 25 November 1876, *Otago Daily Times*, p. 12; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

> their customers. Furnished Price Lists in accordance with Catalogue, will be presented or forwarded on Application.[13]

This was the first mention of their newly printed *Illustrated Catalogue of Furniture*. (Fig. 4.4) Thereafter it was infrequently referred to in newspaper advertising until late 1878. "Parties about to furnish will find here a most extensive stock to choose from, extending from the plainest to the most handsome furniture. Special designs made to order. Illustrated price lists and estimates on application."[14]

Two copies of Craig and Gillies *Illustrated Catalogue of Furniture* have survived. The first copy to be found, the covers of which were missing, had been rebound by Wanganui printer H.I. Jones. It was owned by Edward Ellery Gilbert, a pianoforte importer and repairer, of Aramoho, Taranaki, but its historic significance was unknown until late 2010 when it was matched with a complete copy owned by John Gillies, the great grandson of John Gillies.[15] Moreover that second copy also had its accompanying *Price List of Household Furniture and Co.*, as mentioned in the Taupeka Times.[16]

Date of Publication for Craig and Gillies *Illustrated Catalogue of Furniture*

A reasonably precise publication date was determined by looking at a timeline of advertisements of the twenty-two companies in the back section of the *Illustrated Catalogue of Furniture*. All were listed in *Mackay's Otago Almanac, Wise's Directory of New Zealand* for the year 1875-6 as well as *Mills, Dick and Co. Otago Provincial Almanac and Directory* for 1875. Those entries were cross-referenced against regional newspapers over the same period for some comparison for similarity of content and wording. It was noted that advertisers seemed very reluctant to reset type in various newspapers despite the wording being clearly out of date as was found with Rocke's advertisements. Being new, it was assumed that the *Illustrated Catalogue* advertisements would have been reasonably current. Several stood out.

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[13] Craig and Gillies' advertisement, 22 December 1875, *Tuapeka Times*, p. 7; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.
[14] Advertisement, 20 October 1877, *Otago Daily Times,* p. 4; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.
[15] H. Jones advertisement, 4 October 1881, *Taranaki Herald,* p. 3; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.
[16] I am really indebted to Nolene and John Gillies of Rangiora, now residents of Omarama, Otago, who visited *Gunyah* with their catalogue on Saturday 30 October 2010. It has subsequently been donated to the Hocken Library, Dunedin.

Proprietor William Fidler had made a new announcement on 16 September in the Clutha Leader that his "Auld Scotland Hotel… [was] now completed; it having been entirely re-built, and greatly enlarged." That statement was missing from Fidler's advertisement in the *Illustrated Catalogue*. Fellow publican Edward Lyons of the Union Hotel finally removed his reference of several years, "Late of the Masonic Dining Rooms", from the New Zealand Tablet sometime after 12 June and before 13 August 1875. There was no mention of the Masonic Dining Rooms in the *Illustrated Catalogue*. Aerated Water and Cordial Manufacturers Lane Campbell and Co. bought Charles Reeves' company sometime after 19 July 1875. The *Illustrated Catalogue* advertisement stated "Messrs. L. and C. will continue Reeves and Co.'s name and trade mark." An identically worded statement had also appeared in the New Zealand Tablet on 30 July 1875.[17] While no dates appear completely reliable, the Lane, Campbell and Co. change of ownership around 19 July and the Union Hotel omission of reference to the "Masonic Dining Rooms" by 13 August 1875 suggests a publication date around middle to late July 1875, only two months later than Rocke's *Pattern Book*.

Why 1875?

Findlay and Co.'s *Illustrated Catalogue* came out in March 1874 with another in June 1875, W.H. Rocke and Co.'s *Furniture Pattern Books* in August 1873 and May 1875, and Craig and Gillies' *Illustrated Catalogue of Furniture* was published about July 1875. What was more, by mid-December 1875 rival Dunedin cabinetmakers North and Scoullar had also advertised their first 'Illustrated Catalogue', but of that, no copies survive.[18]

New Zealand's population virtually doubled in the 1870s encouraging the government to promote and assist local industries while levying duties on manufactured imports. In the last three decades of the nineteenth-century housing had created the largest component of domestic wealth with numbers of dwellings being built continually increasing the value of property. Dunedin for example, recorded price increases of up to one hundred per cent in the two years 1874 to 1875 with sixteen per

[17] Lane, Campbell and Co. advertisement, 16 July 1875, *Clutha Leader*, p. 3; 16 September 1875, p. 8; advertisement, 30 July 1875, *New Zealand Tablet*, p. 3; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz
[18] North and Scoullar advertisement, 18 December 1875, *North Otago Times*, p. 3; advertisement, 31 December 1875, *Southland Times*, p. 3; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

cent of the city's total house numbers being built during that same time, exactly when the first trade catalogues appeared.[19] Government nurtured local industries to encourage domestic consumption and reduce the colony's reliance on (levied) imports. An ambitious example was the New Zealand 'Industrial' Exhibition of 1865 held in Dunedin, attracting foreign displays from Canada, Britain, Europe and Australia, being primarily a showcase for local manufacturers. Meanwhile high freight charges and customs duties dissuaded the continual inflow of immigrants from bringing bulky household items further creating an immediate demand for furnishings as they set up in their new homeland.[20]

Several factors seem coincident to the mid-1870s for colonial catalogue production. The three furniture Dunedin woodware firms had undergone a decade of constant growth in good economic times with a continually expanding migrant client base. This has been shown to have occurred in Australia slightly earlier. Many English cabinetmaking warehouses had similarly expanded with increasing middle-class wealth and rising exports. Their large steam factories and London retail palaces, some with more than a thousand employees, began publishing house loads of wares in catalogues from the 1860s. Catalogues became customary. Distant clients could order by telegram or letter and await their new furniture to be delivered free to the nearest train station or port. Shipping expanded the market worldwide to the lucrative colonial trade.[21]

The publishing of pattern books shifted away from the non-manufacturing designer such as Thomson (1851-3) or Dwyer (1852-6) to independent publishing houses. In 1872 London Wyman and Sons began their *Furniture Gazette* while between 1870-1 J. Henry Symond's *The American Cabinet Maker and Upholsterer and Carpet Reporter* and Ernst Steiger's monthly *The Cabinet Maker's Album* also started separately publishing designs in subscription trade magazines. The availability of patterns via manufacturer's catalogues and periodicals suddenly proliferated. The former could be reproduced with permission but the latter were copyright free.

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[19] Anna K. C. Petersen, *Signs of a Higher Life: A Cultural History of Domestic Interiors in New Zealand c.1814-1914* (Dunedin: University of Otago, March 1998); unpublished Ph.D thesis. "Over twenty years, the increase in the total value of imports to New Zealand had only risen from £7,000,655 in 1864 to £7,663,888 in 1884." p. 85-8, 96.
[20] Ibid, p. 52.
[21] Maples in Tottenham Court Road established in 1841 employed over 2,000 staff by 1874 and boasted 34,000 customers by 1891. Cohen (2006), *Household Gods*, pp. 51-3.

Catalogues involving image reproduction got cheaper and more efficient as printing methods improved and this will be discussed further in Chapter Five.

Image reproduction by colonial printers matured in the 1870s. New Zealand illustrated newspapers began with the weekly Dunedin Leader (1863-7). Any image at the time was seen as a novelty, typically only a front-page portrait of a local personality. In 1864 The Otago Witness was to include an engraving 'of local interest' while by November 1866 prolific publisher Henry Wise produced his monthly Illustrated New Zealander filled with "illustrations [that] will be of such character as are likely to instruct the widest circle of readers." It lasted barely one year beset by the burden of supplying so many diverse and spectacular images; meanwhile the Illustrated Australian News and Australian Spectator enjoyed good circulation here largely supplied by Australian sourced woodcuts.[22] In contrast the trade catalogue did not require a constant renewal of material; its patterns were plain line drawings with no amusement value or editorial content and, as found with Rocke's catalogue, minimal artistic merit. It had a long useful life, for example Craig and Gillies' had advertised their same catalogue for three years.

In Craig and Gillies' case, Lister had largely created their catalogue from pre-existing patterns taken from other catalogues to which he added some rudimentary additional artwork. It was the ready availability of source material that created the opportunity for colonial catalogues to be produced and it was that constant supply of designs from outside New Zealand that continued to encourage further catalogues to be made. To understand the content of the first New Zealand *Illustrated Furniture Catalogue* it is worth examining the key personality in its manufacture, printer Samuel Lister.

The Content of Craig and Gillies' *Illustrated Furniture Catalogue* - Samuel Lister the Printer

Lister was an agitator, atheist and alcoholic with a vigorous disrespect for convention. (Fig. 4.5) His opinionated mouthpiece The Otago Workman attacked the

[22] R.P. Hargreaves and T.J. Hearn, *New Zealand in the Mid-Victorian Era, An Album of Contemporary Engravings* (Dunedin: John McIndoe, 1977), 'Introduction'.

church and clergy "as sanctimonious hypocrites, the Queen and the aristocratic principle as expensively useless", and he lampooned anybody who claimed deference or put on airs.[23] With that temperament in mind the composition of the *Illustrated Catalogue* became as much a venue for Lister's indifference to authority as it was intended to be a commercial catalogue for the Free Church cabinetmakers Craig and Gillies.[24] An augury was the omission of the words 'Registered' and 'Copyright', printed by Lister on Findlay's cover but noticeably missing from Craig and Gillies' publication. Much of the *Catalogue* had been copied directly from English pattern books and in 1875 the legality of such behaviour was very doubtful as will be discussed in Chapter Five.

Similar to Findlay's catalogue, the paper quality was very poor with the deep red hand dyed paper covers. Both catalogue and price list featured a finely proportioned transfer lithograph of the Craig and Gillies' new George Street showrooms by artist engraver Thomas George. He was listed as a lithographer in Dunedin from 1866 until late 1879 when the Otago Daily Times purchased his business and such was his calibre, George became their manager.[25] Evidently he was a far more skilled artist than Lister whose engraving within the catalogue of Craig and Gillies' new factory resembled his previous rendition of Findlay's premises. Establishing Lister's style of artwork does then identify his attitude to presentation and his integrity to assembling Craig and Gillies' catalogue. It was apparent that Lister had no interest in furniture.

Lister used at least four English sources and one American for patterns in the new catalogue. The work of five different lithographic artists can be distinguished with image quality varying from accomplished to amateurish. (Fig. 4.6) The question whether the *Catalogue* was mostly Lister's invention or on instruction from Craig and Gillies might be revealed from a dissection of some of the material and its layout.

The selection of designs lacked much of the balance expected from furniture dealers. The *Catalogue* was unrepresentative of Craig and Gillies' 1867 advertisement

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[23] Lister established *The Otago Workman* in 1887; Erik Olssen, 'Samuel Lister', *Te Ara Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*,; retrieved from Dictionary of New Zealand Biography URL: www.dnzb.govt.nz Samuel Lister (vol. 2, 1993, updated Oct. 2012).

[24] Lister's drinking may have been in response or at least compounded by the death of his eldest son in 1875. Openly condemned for his behaviour, he finally broke from the Presbyterian Church to become a vociferous opponent. 'The Caversham Project' (2003), 'Samuel Lister c.1833-1913', University of Otago; retrieved from University of Otago URL: http://caversham.otago.ac.nz/resource/biographies/samuelLister.html

[25] 'Lithography and Artists' Work', 1 November 1879, *Otago Daily Time*s, p. 3; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

which had listed canterburys and dumbwaiters but none were illustrated. Of the total 170 designs offered there were eighteen mirrors and nine commodes, a questionably high number for both and out of proportion with typical domestic requirement. Even six hall chairs seemed high for colonial Dunedin and of far less use than the more realistic ten sofa designs. The two sideboards, one bookcase, one desk, one "patent telescope table(s)" with no caddies, music stands, or occasional tables, suggested an uninformed selection. Cabinetmakers knew that sideboards and dining tables were most profitable to manufacture.

Furthermore the *Catalogue* unconventionally began with kitchen and bedroom furniture but placed night commodes, towel rails and a worktable to the rear along with 'Lobby' and 'Office' or library furniture. Neither Craig nor Gillies with their trade knowledge would have been so unorthodox. Rockes had followed convention with entrance hall furniture, formal rooms and finally bedrooms and kitchen, as though the reader were a visitor to the house. On occasion Lister's stock and page numbering struggled for adequate explanation. Of the disproportionate volume of eighteen mirrors illustrated in two sections, all appear to be have been imports, with the only mention of materials being 'Walnut', 'Marble' or 'Gilt'. 'Mirror' pages were numbered 28, 28$\frac{1}{2}$, 29, 29 $\frac{1}{2}$, in a similar manner to Rocke's pattern book. Inconsistently Lister's various mirror design numbering went 80, 79A, 80B, 81C, 82, 81, 82D, 83E, 84G, 85H, 86I and mysteriously 87L but no patterns appeared to be missing. He then progressed to 83, 84, 85 for upholstery copied from the same source, until 93 'Cheffonier', 93$\frac{1}{2}$, and unaccountably 93$\frac{1}{2}$A, both loo tables from obviously different sources. Again, Rocke's had similar issues with page layout as further patterns were later inserted between earlier designs and it would also explain the disorganised order of *Catalogue* contents. Dressing or bedroom 'Looking Mirrors' were inexplicably divided into two sections and were included, though rooms apart, with drawing room 'Pier Glasses'. Even Hall, the architect, had devoted nearly one third of his 1840 *Assistant* to tabourettes, an obvious lack of balance, which like Lister, suggested his unfamiliarity with furniture manufacturing and retailing. Lister then had been responsible for the layout if not much of the content of the *Catalogue* even though responsibility for the reuse of copyright designs ultimately rested with Craig and Gillies. The legitimacy of reusing the designs

of overseas furniture companies will be covered in Chapter Five, but of interest now is one page had been recopied from Findlay's catalogue.

The Two 'Turnery' Pages

While both Findlay, and Craig and Gillies had mutually advertised in each other's catalogues, both had enigmatically also shared the 'Turnery' page of lathe-turned woodware products.[26] There was some relationship between the two companies. Findlay had purchased Craig and Gillies' sawmills at Seaward Bush, Southland, to supplement his own bush stands on the Otago Peninsula and Waikawa. Both firms had modern mechanised factories capable of manufacturing what was essentially furniture related components but responsibility seems to have been handed to Craig and Gillies while subsequent advertising saw Findlay concentrate on milling and house building. It was the very first New Zealand incidence of copying between catalogues.

Both pages printed eighteen months apart were similar but not identical and when overlaid most patterns matched perfectly in position and size, but not in quality. (Fig. 4.7) One design was noticeably altered. Findlay's two curtain rods appeared all wooden, but Craig and Gillies' end finials were changed to spun brass. Their *Price List* did say "Window pole in [Australian] Blackwood, ends various coloured wood and buttons complete with rings… Brass Brackets and Rosettes."[27] The latter brass fittings were imported but the woodturnings were Dunedin made as Findlay's could supply imported blackwood. Findlay's images were originally poorly hand sketched representations but existing design errors were exaggerated when they had been redrawn for Craig and Gillies. Why that page had been re-drawn was central to the whole lithographic printing process, the chemistry of which will be explained in Chapter Five.

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[26] *Findlay and Co.'s Illustrated Catalogue* (Dunedin: Samuel Lister [printer], 1874), p. 24; *Craig and Gillies's* (sic) *Illustrated Catalogue of Furniture* (Dunedin: Samuel Lister, 1875), p. 46.

[27] *Retail Price List of Household Furniture and c (see Book of Illustrations) Manufactured by Craig and Gillies* (Dunedin: Samuel Lister, 1875, p. 44.

Lithographic Stone

Ventures to find printing grade stone in New Zealand were unsuccessful so it had to be imported at expense with the best stones coming from Bavarian limestone quarries. (Fig. 4.8) Wyman and Sons' *Grammar of Lithography* (1885) described the scale of an average printery.

> It is obvious that a stone weighing several hundred pounds is no easy matter to run in an out of a press by hand, and it is equally clear that, when many stones are required, they occupy much room and demand great strength in the buildings in which they are stored. So much is this the case that a lithographic printer usually speaks of having so many tons of this material on his premises.[28]

Universally printers recycled lithographic stones by grinding off old images many times over, and in the eighteen months between printing the two catalogues it seems that Lister had done just that.[29] The 'Turnery' page would then be the first example of wholly New Zealand created patterns being recopied, no doubt legitimately. For Findlay's 1874 catalogue cover to be updated, from possibly an unknown earlier one, Lister must have retained the first image still on stone as he expected to reuse it annually. An inspection of the designs printed by Lister for Craig and Gillies will first determine their sources and question the motivation for copying.

Craig and Gillies Copying Designs from British Cabinetmakers Jenks and Holt

The single biggest source of designs for Craig and Gillies' *Illustrated Catalogue of Furniture* came from Jenks and Holt's *Modern Furniture*; *Original and Select, Plain and Decorative.* Lister used no less than 63 images, either cut out to create anastatic copies or traced to make lithographic transfers. The former were as perfect, line for line, as modern photocopies and that mysterious process will be explained later. (Fig. 4.9)

Jenks and Holt's extensive "Wholesale and Export" cabinetmaking business was established in Bread Street, London where they published *Modern Furniture* c.1869 and soon after moved near to Charles Meeking and Co.'s (later Thomas Wallis) emporium

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[28] W.D. Richmond, *The Grammar of Lithography* (London: Wyman and Sons, 1885), p. 156.

[29] Surviving lithographic stones are extremely rare. When they were ground too thin to withstand the extreme pressure of being passed under the wooden scraper and tympan during printing they were retired to be used for paving. Sadly the loss of historic images was even worse with the cleaning of old glass photographic plates to be used for conservatories and glasshouses.

in High Holborn. At their height Jenks and Holt were prolific designers and patentees. The partnership was dissolved in April 1881 to become Jenks and Wood, but all trace has long since vanished.[30] *Modern Furniture* was the work of more than one engraver with some products identical to those of other manufacturers despite being 'Entered at Stationer's Hall' to give their designs some registration security.[31] At least one image, for example, had been directly copied from Dwyer's *Designs for Furniture* (1856) (Fig. 4.10) and a Craig and Gillies' hall seat had been previously published in James Shoolbred's *Designs of Furniture* (1874). Additionally there were several designs in common with Smee's *Designs of Furniture* (1870) and also comparison can be made with nearby Coleman Street cabinetmakers George and Henry Story's own *Designs of Furniture* (1865).[32]

Two identical sets of six mahogany balloon back dining chairs by them have been found separately in Canterbury. The exact design for those twelve chairs appeared in *Modern Furniture* matching those imported by Craig and Gillies advertised as "Spanish mahogany chairs in hair-cloth and Morocco". The European beech chair frame rails were impressed with Roman numerals, a sign that they were imported unassembled, and the New Zealand rimu corner stays prove they were assembled locally. Those chairs then suggest that Craig and Gillies were colonial agents for Jenks and Holt. It would give them good reason to own a copy of *Modern Furniture* but any permission granted to copy would extend only as far as it was of benefit to the sale of Jenks and Holt's exports. (Figs. 4.11 and 4.12)

Craig and Gillies' Other Sources - C. and R. Light's 'Bible'

A decade after a major fire in 1863 brothers Charles and Richard Light, third generation cabinetmakers, had extended their new showrooms to an entire block in Shoreditch. It was an "enormous place, which is crammed from one end to the other

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[30] Robert Jenks and J. Lovegrove Holt, 10, 11, and 55 Bread Street, "Cabinet, Upholstery and Looking-Glass Showrooms and Manufactory." By c.1870 J. Lovegrove Holt's address was given as Holborn Viaduct and simply listed as "Cabinet makers and Upholsterers". The Furniture Gazette noted the dissolution of the partnership on 8 April 1881. 'Trade Changes and C.', 16 April 1881, *The Furniture Gazette*, p. 256.

[31] "From 1554 until 1924 copyright was normally secured by registration with the Stationers' Company in London." Retrieved from Copyright Records of Stationers' Hall -National Archives URL: http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/records/research-guides/copyright.htm

[32] Jenks and Holt (1869), #491 identical to Dwyer(1856), #21; Jenks and Holt #480 same as Smee (1870), p. 109, #40; Jenks and Holt #1 compares to G. M. and H. J. Story (1865), # 2035; Jenks and Holt (1869), 'Hall Bench' #5A was also found in Shoolbred (1874). Trade catalogue, Jenks and Holt *Modern Furniture*, (London: J. Lovegrove Holt, 1869).

with furniture [in] an almost endless variety of goods from hall, library, dining-room, drawing-room, and bed-room, in the styles and treatment now in vogue."[33] Light Bros. business was as impressive as their building and so was their 1880 catalogue of 435 pages presenting 1908 products which were wholesaled to the "West End, provincial cities and throughout the British Empire". *Registered Designs of Select Furniture*; *Designs and Catalogue of Cabinet and Upholstery Furniture, Looking Glasses and Co.* has been variously described as a 'colossal document' and the 'Bible' of late-Victorian design. Motivation for such a lavish publication was found in its *Preface.* "There is an entire absence of any comprehensive book of Furniture Design of a Superior Character, which can be used for general purposes." Printed by Waterlow and Sons, London Wall, perhaps more renown for supplying banknotes to the Royal Mint, it was also expensive, not to be used as a pattern book and, as the name said, registered to inhibit copying, despite which, its designs were often reprinted in colonial furniture catalogues.[34]

Lister re-drew several patterns from *Registered Designs* but one example stood out. He blended two of Light Bros. *Modern Chiffoniers* in walnut and marble into one full-page design that was larger than the original and therefore not traced. (Fig. 4.13) On instruction Lister may well have presented a single representative design even though the effort to draw several versions would not have been significant. However, he had substituted cheaper mouldings for the original more costly carved decoration similar to economies he also made with several Jenks and Holt designs. It suggested that Craig and Gillies were complicit in the more easily manufactured modifications and their separate *Price List* confirmed this by stating that "similar designs can be had of a far less expensive character." With the Dunedin price for their imported "Walnut Carved Cheffoniers" (sic) ranging from £10-10-0 to £25-0-0 it seems here was a clue that Craig and Gillies could make a cheaper local option.[35] Undoubtedly Lister had been instructed to disguise some designs as Craig and Gillies' *Price List* did offer to manufacture, rather than import, from copied Jenks and Holt patterns in their Dunedin

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[33] Hackney Council Archives, 'Survey of 134-146 Curtain Road' citing *The Cabinet Maker*, No. 78, September 1874. Retrieved from Hackney Council Archives URL: http://www.hackney.gov.uk/archives

[34] C. and R. Light advertisement… "*Registered Design Book of Cabinet Furniture*, 2nd Edition containing nearly 2,000 designs, Price Reduced to Thirty shillings, only a limited number of copies remaining." Classified advertisement, 1 June 1888, *The Cabinet Maker and Art Furnisher* (London: J.W. Benn, 1888).

[35] Examples of Light Bros (1880) patterns were festooned with swallows with fruit notably, p. 268, # 1308-9, 1312. Craig and Gillies' (1875), 'Cheffonier', p. 33, #33; Craig and Gillies' (1875), *Price List* p. 9 and *Illustrated Catalogue* (1875), p. 33.

workshop. Craig and Gillies' *Price list* offered many items in native timbers including those designs found on Cranwell's Sheet.

Craig and Gillies' Other Sources – 'Benjamin Cranwell's Lithographed Sheet'

Amongst the many designs brought to Auckland in 1862 by Benjamin Cranwell was a single large unidentified lithographed sheet of fourteen patterns.[36] That particular sheet remained in Auckland with Cranwell descendants until 2007, yet almost the entire page had been copied by Lister in Craig and Gillies' *Catalogue*, proving an identical sheet had separately reached Dunedin by 1875. When the Auckland images were overlaid onto Lister's tracings they matched perfectly, moreover, Lister's tracing style suggested he also had several other sheets from the same source. (Fig. 4.14) The rough character of his drawing in Craig and Gillies' catalogue was evident in around one third, estimated at 59, of all the *Catalogue's* images. Assuming approximately fourteen designs per sheet it would indicate there may have been three other sheets from the same London (?) designer. (Fig. 4.15)

Cranwell had written various notes regarding dimensions and materials, along with his secret coded prices, on the one surviving sheet. One annotation, "Bedstead 6ft.6 x 4ft.6 or 5ft," had no corresponding design implying at the very least one missing page. The *Illustrated Catalogue* included designs for "Handsome Kauri or Cedar half Tester Bedstead with Cornice, Poles, Drops and Rings" with prices varying from £4 to £10-10. It would seem that Cranwell was referring to one of those same designs as drawn by Lister. Craig and Gillies' *Price List* showed that they offered many of the items (from the approximately 59 similar designs) in New Zealand kauri and Australian cedar, a timber that Findlay and Co. consistently imported.[37] Again the *Catalogue's* page of four 'Cheffoniers', sourced from Jenks and Holt with one from Cranwell's sheet were offered in eleven sizes and only in Australian cedar with no mention of the English imported equivalent. All three English sources found to have been copied into the Craig and Gillies' *Catalogue* demonstrated a clear intention to manufacture those products from those patterns in Dunedin.

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[36] Sheet dimensions 12 ½ x 16 ½ inches or 32 x 42cms.

[37] "Findlay and Co. have now received their first shipment of cedar logs direct from Richmond River, and are now prepared to supply sawn cedar, any width or thickness up to 48 inches and of a very superior quality at Melbourne prices." 30 August 1875, *Otago Daily Times*; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.

Repetition of the Same Patterns in New Zealand - Again

Cranwell's sheet of patterns found in Auckland and Craig and Gillies' reprinted copies in Dunedin was no coincidence, but a continuation of what was shown to have happened with King, Loudon and even Smee with their designs consistently entering New Zealand. That repetition of designs was initially identified through surviving furniture but by the 1860-70s actual patterns can now provide proof. Craig and Gillies had their own copy of Light's *Registered Designs*, as did neighbours Thomson, Bridger and Co., who reprinted some designs in their own c.1887 catalogue while in Wellington Henry Fielder's workshop volume still exists.

Damage to Henry Fielder's copy provided proof that he was also using it to make colonial furniture. (Fig. 4.16) Images had been removed, annotations pencilled throughout and there were even residues of cabinetmaker's gelatine or 'Scotch' glue. One notation on a mirror back sideboard indicated it was to be made for William Larnach, several times a Member of Parliament and part owner of the Dunedin Iron and Wood Ware Co.[38] A large mirror backed rimu sideboard was also made by Fielder for the Wellington mayor's office while in 1910 he supplied some furniture imported from Light Bros. for the new Government House.[39] Colonial cabinetmakers were then reprinting, manufacturing and occasionally importing Light Bros.' designs.

Copying Unrestricted Patterns

In 1875 London publishers Wyman and Sons produced the first of their series of *Cabinet Maker's Pattern Books*. It was a collection of designs many of which had been previously published since 1872 in their weekly *Furniture Gazette.* Wymans had their own designers but leading British furniture manufacturers had also contributed.[40] Several designs from the first *Cabinet Maker's Pattern Book* (1875) that had previously appeared in *Gazette* supplements also appeared in Craig and Gillies' *Catalogue*. For

[38] Advertisement, C. and R. Light's "*Registered Design Book of* Furniture", 29 September 1880 *Sydney Morning Herald*, p. 11; 22 December 1881, p. 3.Retrieved from National Library of Australia URL: http://trove.nla.gov.au

[39] Government (House) architect, John Campbell's original Furnishing Schedule had specified Hepplewhite and Sheraton designs (with page number references) from Thomas Strange's *English Furniture Woodwork Decoration and Allied Arts* (London: McCorquodale and Co., 1900).

[40] *The Cabinet Makers' Pattern Book: Being Examples of Modern Furniture of the Character Mostly in Demand, Selected from the Portfolios of the Leading Wholesale Makers*, Issued as Supplements with the Furniture Gazette, Second Series (London: lithographed, printed, and published by Wyman and Sons, 1880); *The Cabinet Makers' Pattern Book*… from Original Designs by First-rate Artists, Fifth Series (London: Wyman and Sons,1886).

example, two such designs for table mirrors in the *Catalogue* had originated indirectly from Smee (1870), however, by being issued through Wymans they had become available for unrestricted use.

Lister had reprinted a group of five American imported chairs and seven imported English iron bedsteads identified as woodcuts or wood engravings from which electroplated copies or castings had been made. Foreign exporters often provided stereotypes and electrotypes of their products for use in trade catalogues and for newspaper advertising. Approval to publish was therefore implicit but it would have been on the proviso that the supplier's products were also sold. (Figs. 4.17 and 4.18)

Craig and Gillies' 'Retail Price List of Household Furniture and Co.'

Craig and Gillies may have imported ready-to-sell furniture directly from Jenks and Holt with approval to reproduce parts of their catalogues, but the *Price List* did not support that view. Almost all of the designs from Jenks were only advertised in native timbers. Their pattern 'Enclosed Washstand' and 'Stand for Copying Press' could be had in either local kauri or the more expensive Australian mahogany substitute cedar, but there was no indication, based on timber species, that such relatively low cost items were also available as English made imports.[41] Although Jenks' 'Pedestal Writing Table' was offered in mahogany, it was also available in cedar and kauri while for another pound it could have extra shelves added in any species denoting that even 'mahogany' was not entirely exclusive to imported furniture. An unappealing half-year round-trip delay for an order to be fulfilled from England locally made furniture a clear time advantage.[42] As alluded to by Dicken's "Veneerings", some elements of the London furniture trade had a reputation for shoddiness. Dunedin customers therefore did have reassurance to be able to monitor the design, materials and construction of their new furniture while Craig and Gillies could acquire a sound reputation for quality. (Figs. 4.19 and 4.20)

Of the 59 approximate designs, of which Cranwell's sheet was part, there was scant evidence of anything other than local manufacture. An example of the 'Shaped

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[41] *Price List and c. Manufactured by Craig and Gillies* (1875), "Enclosed washstand - Kauri £2-7-0, Cedar £3-5-0", p. 40, #15-16.
[42] 'Story: The Voyage Out, Departure to Landing', p. 2; 'Early Steamers', p. 6. Retrieved from The Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, Te Ara URL: http://www.teara.govt.nz

Mahogany Cheffonier' found in Christchurch was indeed made of solid mahogany but with kauri linings while colonial made oak furniture abounds.

When the 'Cranwell Sheet' secret price codes were deciphered his prices showed wholesale and retail values.[43] When Craig and Gillies selling prices were compared they generally demonstrated a higher local profit which included the wholesale cost to them and no shipping for their domestically produced item.

	Cranwell c.1860		**Craig and Gillies 1875**
	Wholesale	*Retail*	*Retail.*
Cheffonier #77,	£2-8-0 …	£3-12-0	£7-15-0
Washstand #33,	£2-0-0 …	£2-8-0	£3-10-0
Comfortable Chair #65,	£3-0-0 …	£3-8-0	£ 6-0-0
Couch #63,	£6-0-0 …	£8-15-0	£6-10-0
Shaped Mahogany Cheffonier #96	£5-8-0 …	£8-4-0	£9-0-0 to £10-10-0

The surviving separate *Price List* was prepared after the *Illustrated Catalogue* as an erratum showed. It was explained that the image (#8) of a 'colonial made kitchen chair' was incorrect. "This chair has spars in plain legs to strengthen the frame but through mistake in the drawing the top rail between the legs is not represented". (Fig. 4.17) Illustrated on the same page were imported 'Washington' chairs which then were listed at 4s/6d and are today still commonly found while the colonial made example, also Grecian, at nearly twice the price, is extremely rare. It would suppose a higher profit on the colonial chair despite few being sold and in agreement with Craig and Gillies' clear preference to manufacture locally.

The New Zealand Tablet (1891) reported the dissolution of the partnership with Craig and thereafter the firm traded as "John Gillies Wholesale and Retail Cabinetmaker, Upholsterer and Undertaker."[44] The Otago Daily Times in 1900 posited "the business has continued to more than hold its own against all competition, and to-day it stands as virile and as ever. Mr Gillies well knows how to stay in touch with

[43] I am extremely grateful to Dr Clemency Montelle and Dr Elena Moltchanova, Department of Mathematics and Statistics, University of Canterbury.

[44] Advertisement, 9 October 1891, *New Zealand Tablet* (nationwide), p. 30; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

progress". Not quite so, as there were by then only 22 factory hands and 30 staff in total.[45] His granddaughter Dorothy long after wrote "It seems a great pity that in later years, unreceptive to newer ideas, he allowed [the business] to run down" and to reinforce Gillies "conservative attitude" she continued,

> He considered movements to fashion a curse, as of course, he knew what was a good article for people to buy. His business consequently declined, while newer ideas were exploited by others.

No more catalogues were ever issued after 1875.[46] Later newspaper advertisements focussed exclusively on British and American furniture imports suggesting a decline in profit from local manufacturing. It must surely then imply that Craig and Gillies had always considered their catalogue as a substitute pattern book. The furniture business traded separately from Gillies' undertaking branch and with his unwillingness to adopt new styles the profit was by then in retailing and in death. The remaining business assets were sold in 1926 to shoe manufacturer Robert Hannah with Gillies, aged 99, dying in 1935.

The very first trade catalogues were all printed in Dunedin during the mid-1870s. The earliest furniture catalogue, like the first American and Australian furniture publications, was found to contain extensively copied British designs and from those there was every intention to manufacture furniture locally for greater profit than from importing the same article. The next oldest surviving furniture catalogue is that of North and Scoullar, also printed by Samuel Lister, and for comparison it should be reviewed to find if discrete and illicit copying of foreign trade catalogues by colonial manufacturers for additional profit was a consistent pattern.

North and Scoullar and Chisholm – Comparison with Other Dunedin Cabinetmakers.

In 1863 *The Illustrated London News* reproduced a woodcut of William Meluish's Dunedin cityscape photograph by print designer and author Richard Leitch. It

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[45] "The woods used in the factory are principally rimu (or red pine), white pine, kauri, honey-suckle, cedar from Australia, Huon pine from Tasmania and American timbers. All undertaking requisites, hearses etc. are kept, and furniture of a high class is produced." Citation 23 April 1900, *Otago Daily Times* in Gillies' family archives c.1970 by John Gillies' granddaughter Dorothy.
[46] Advertisement reference still to the 1875 catalogue, 16 August 1877, *Otago Daily Times*, p. 3; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.

featured the corner of MacLaggan and Rattray Streets showing the dilapidated Shakespeare Hotel in the foreground. (Fig. 4.21) That picture was published on 30th August in London and was on sale back in Dunedin by November at which time the Shakespeare had become the premises of cabinetmakers Henry North and Arthur Scoullar. [47] They had previously spent two years in an old slaughterhouse in Cannongate Street making furniture on behalf of Key and Beswick (est. 1860).[48] In February 1872 they were advertising for tenders to erect a new building and within a couple of years the slaughterhouse and Shakespeare Hotel had been replaced with three storey show rooms and a separate factory with 40 employees.[49] North and Scoullar now found it necessary to employ a manager. In July 1868 they had taken on Kinross-Shireman, and Dunedin apprenticed, Robert Chisholm who became a partner in 1880. Finally, when North retired in 1887, the company became Scoullar and Chisholm.[50]

The First North and Scoullar Catalogue – December 1875

Despite being cabinetmakers most of their early advertising emphasised foreign made imports. "English and Scotch Furniture Direct from the Home markets … Selected for the colonies from the best English manufacturers." Just as Craig and Gillies had done, North and Scoullar promoted their usual "extensive shipments" of walnut, mahogany, marble, gilt mirrors, and metallic bedsteads. In October 1875 they announced their "first large shipment of rosewood and walnut pianos", as well as their regular shipments of full sized billiard tables, "all kinds of American chairs" and sewing machines, English venetian blinds, furniture and the "largest and best selection of floor cloths in the colony."[51] By mid-December with yet another shipment of 50 dining room suites in oak, mahogany, walnut and bedroom furniture in painted pine they felt secure to extend their claim to have the "Largest stock in the colonies [with] a

[47] Scoullar apprenticed in Glasgow immigrated to Melbourne in 1854 and arrived in Dunedin aboard the *Gothenberg*, 1 February 1863.
[48] Cottrell (2006), *Furniture of the New Zealand Colonial Era,* p. 350.
[49] "About 29 (sic) years ago the old structure was replaced by a substantial three storey brick and stone warehouse, while on the site of the old slaughterhouse alongside was raised an extensive factory. A few years later an increase of business demanded additional space and the buildings were so enlarged as to constitute one of the most imposing warehouses in the southern hemisphere." Article, 'Scoullar and Chisholm Ltd. Furniture Manufacturers; Biographical and Business Sketch of the Mayor', 8 January 1900, *Otago Daily Times*; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz
[50] Public Notice, 7 September 1880, *Otago Daily Times*, p. 3; 24 June 1887, p. 10; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz
[51] Advertisement, 21 September 1869, *Otago Daily Times*, p. 4; 18 October 1875, p. 4; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

large assortment of colonial made furniture." North and Scoullar also advertised their (first) *Illustrated Catalogue* to be forwarded upon request.[52] It was a very similar picture to Craig and Gillies for timing and for stock.

No copies of North and Scoullar's catalogue have been found but a little of its contents might be gleaned from their advertising at the time. Their pianos were from "celebrated makers", Broadwood, Kirkman, Brinsmead, Allison and by 1876 even included Collard and Collard.[53] They mentioned telescope tables with Joseph Fitter's 1864 patent screws made by the Britannia Works in Birmingham, the centre of the metal furniture trade, from where North and Scoullar had also obtained "Beds, half-tester and French in brass, tubular ornamental and other patterns."[54] North and Scoullar's several hundred carpets, rugs and floor cloths came in all "new patterns" as did their "massive gilt pier glasses in all sizes."[55] The Craig and Gillies *Price List* had also offered a similarly extensive range of carpet squares and sprung mattresses. Mechanisation in metal, carpet and glass making industries had made such former luxuries affordable at even the furthest destinations while the mass-produced cheap American chair, as advertised, had completely undercut the local product. North and Scoullar's *Illustrated Catalogue* was little different from Craig and Gillies' *Illustrated Catalogue* published just five months earlier.

The Next North and Scoullar Catalogue

North and Scoullar continued to expand and established a Wellington branch by 1889. The largely vanity publication Cyclopaedia of New Zealand declared in 1905 that Scoullar and Chisholm were the largest furniture manufacturers in New Zealand.[56] It was true however that they had a London office by 1880 at 206 Hoxton Street as a base to source regular shipments. A copy of North and Scoullar's second (?) *Illustrated*

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[52] Advertisement, 18 December 1875, *North Otago Times*, p. 3. Advertisement, *Southland Times*, 31 December 1875, p. 3; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[53] Charles Begg, music dealer Princes Street, Dunedin was selling the same and advertising his own "Illustrated and descriptive Price List of Pianos" by January 1876. Advertisement, 20 January 1876, *North Otago Times,* p. 4; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[54] Henry Bessemer's 1856 patented carbon steel process reduced the per ton cost from £40 to £7 making it ideally suitable for mass component furniture production. North and Scoullar advertisement, 28 July 1868, *Otago Daily Times*, p. 6; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[55] North and Scoullar advertisement, 1 January 1876, *North Otago Times*, p. 4; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[56] *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand [Otago and Southland Provincial Districts],* NZETC, 'Scoullar and Chisholm Ltd'; retrieved from Victoria University URL: http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Cyc04Cycl-t1-body1-d2-d33-d5.html

Catalogue was found in England at a country auction in 2010. Several pages were missing and there were workman's notes pencilled on a few of the plates suggesting that it was an office or buyer's copy from the Hoxton Street branch. The printer for that, presumably, second catalogue was Craig and Gillies' printer, Samuel Lister. Establishing when North and Scoullar's *Catalogue* was published would give precise comparison points between these two Dunedin firms.

Dating North and Scoullar's *Illustrated Catalogue*

Determining a precise date for the second North and Scoullar *Catalogue* is thwarted by the absence of any newspaper references to it before early 1887. The trading name North and Scoullar was emblazoned over images of the Rattray Street premises with Scoullar and Chisholm listed as 'Principals' on the title page placing publication after September1880 to before the Scoullar and Chisholm name change in 1887.[57] Designs used in the Catalogue were found to date around 1880.

North and Scoullar's *Illustrated Catalogue* – Dating Designs

North and Scoullar's 'Introduction' had requested customer's attention to their "new goods, original designs and improvements shown among the pages" inferring things were up-to-date, despite reprinting many patterns from Henry and George Story's 1865 *Designs of Furniture.* Several patterns from Wyman's *Furniture Gazette* in Elizabethan and Adam revival styles dated specifically from July 1880 to December 1881.[58] That no later subscription magazine design can be found suggests the *Illustrated Catalogue* publication time was soon after.

Several Gothic hall chair designs similar to William Whiteley's *Illustrated Catalogue and Price List* (1885)[59] had previously been published in Wyman's *Gazette* first appearing in Hampton and Sons' catalogue (c.1880). A wardrobe and hall table were also published by Thomas Wallis, late Charles Meeking and Co. (1883), while

[57] *North and Scoullar Illustrated Catalogue* (Dunedin: Samuel Lister, Peter McIntyre [litho.], c.1883), collection National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Matauranga O Aotearoa URL: http://natlib.govt.nz/records/23206711
[58] *North and Scoullar Illustrated Catalogue* (c.1883), #135-144, #267; *Furniture Gazette* (1881), 5 March, 14 May, 23 July.
[59] *North and Scoullar Illustrated Catalogue* (Hall chairs) #11, #12; William Whiteley, *Illustrated Catalogue and Price List* (1885), p. 9; Hampton and Sons, *Illustrated Designs of Cabinet Furniture* (c.1874) p. 10.

Light Bros. (1880) credenza and whatnot cabinet amongst others were reproduced.[60] All point to a publication date sometime shortly after 1883 to add any veracity to North and Scoullar's claims of 'modern designs'. Two tables, one with Fitter's patent winder and a butler's tray with stand, were from Smee's *Designs of Furniture* (1870) that had previously been reprinted in Wyman's *Cabinet Makers Pattern Book* (1875).[61] Also from Wyman's (1875) was their ubiquitous copying book press and enclosed wash stand which again was reprinted in the *Gazette* of 4 September 1880 after first appearing in Jenks and Holt's *Modern Furniture* (1869) a decade before. (Figs. 4.22 to 4.25)

Many of the remaining North and Scoullar catalogue images had similarities suggesting they were mostly taken from two other unidentified sources. One design for a full height Scotch chest compared very closely with designs in cabinetmakers Christie and Millar's, Falkirk, *Illustrated Catalogue of Furniture* (c.1880), while a kitchen chair was of a pattern unique to the Glasgow region.[62] Very likely the source was a pattern book by one of the large Scottish firms, such as exporters Wylie and Lochhead, and of course North and Scoullar did say they imported Scottish furniture. Patterns for Austrian bentwoods were identical to those found in Sydney retailer David Jones' catalogue of c.1895 but had also appeared in Wyman's (1875) and as expected so were their American chairs but a little more surprisingly they were also found in Craig and Gillies' own *Illustrated Catalogue.*

Most of the 519 illustrations were by Peter McIntyre, the father of the South Island artist of the same name. McIntyre emigrated from Scotland in 1879 and has been credited with producing New Zealand's first full colour lithograph in 1887 at Dunedin's

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[60] *North and Scoullar Illustrated Catalogue*, #16, #274; Hampton (1874), #24, 771

[61] *North and Scoullar Illustrated Catalogue* (c.1883), p. 36, # 92 image transferred upside down and was taken directly from Smee's *Designs of Furniture* (1870), p. 128. In *The Finsbury Cabinet-makers Smee and Sons* Montana does however say "In the cut-throat world of cabinet-making styling, Smee sold on their patterns as a means of maximising revenue."
Andrew Montana, 'Stylists for the Nineteenth Century –The Finsbury Cabinet makers Smee and Sons in Colonial Australia', *Re-Collections: A Journal of Museums and Collections* (April 2012); retrieved in June 2016 from National Museum of Australia URL: http://recollections.nma.gov.au/issues/volume_7_number_1/papers/stylists_for_the_nineteenth_century

[62] The term 'Scotch chest' is generic to New Zealand, originating in Dunedin. It described a tall chest with large upper bonnet and blanket drawers usually overhanging the lower three full-length ones and supported on columns. This pattern was either made and/or imported to Dunedin to establish the local fashion for that style. Similar Scottish examples to colonial made ones are illustrated in Dr Bernard Cotton's, *Scottish Vernacular Furniture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2008), p. 113. Similarly some North and Scoullar chair patterns were unmistakeably Scottish.
"The Glasgow chair…had a centrally placed stay rail which could take a number of forms, the most common in the Glasgow area being a straight edged rail with the upper edge curving up in a central tab." J. Magnus Fladmark, *Heritage Conservation, Interpretation and Enterprise* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 328. Cotton (2008), pp. 178, 180, 209. North and Scoullar (c.1883), p. 130, # 426.

Caxton Press. The newly found North and Scoullar catalogue contained four pages of two-colour lithographs for bedstead designs in the exact presentation style of some c.1880-1900 English catalogues. The assessed c.1883 publication by North and Scoullar pre-dated the 1887 Caxton Press lithograph making the *Catalogue*, in fact the earliest colonial printed multi-colour publication.[63] The *Evening Herald* on 20 April 1887 reported they had been sent another catalogue suggesting some years had elapsed and a change of printers since the last production.

> [The] Illustrated List (with prices) of articles of furniture manufactured and kept in stock… [and] the sheet… shows at a glance the kind of article likely to be required. The sheet is got up by Messrs. Coulls, Culling and Co., and does credit to that firm.

The following day the *Otago Daily Times* mentioned a "large sheet containing illustrations of various articles of furniture with prices attached" while the same day the *Evening Star* vaguely referred to an illustrated catalogue that they had also just received. Three weeks later advertisements in May 1887 announced North and Scoullar's name change to Scoullar and Chisholm and added their "Supplementary Catalogue and Prices, Free on application."[64] The "Supplementary Sheet" printed by Coulls, Culling and Co. suggested an overdue price update to the earlier catalogue and the change of printers also helps to pinpoint a date for the surviving catalogue.

Lister's vituperative editorial, the *Chiseler*, vociferously advocating for the working-man and rallying against prohibition, had been a constant irritation to many in Dunedin's more genteel establishment.[65] In complete contrast, Chisholm was president of the 'Welcome All Total Abstinence Society' while teetotaller Scoullar, an elder of Knox Church, was also Dunedin mayor (1884-5).[66] Among the five founding committee members of Rev. Mr White's 'Temperance Union and Young Men's Christian Association' in 1881 were Chisholm, Scoullar and Robert Stout, who became

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[63] North and Scoullar patterns 327-40 in colour remain but 335-9 are now missing. For comparison English firms using two colours for bedsteads in their catalogues were Oetzmann and Co., c.1887, Worcestershire Furnishing Co., c.1895 and Globe Furnishing Co., c.1900.

[64] Advertisement, 7 May 1887, *Otago Daily Times*, p. 3; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.

[65] "At the Police Court today Samuel Lister printer of the Otago Workman." 27 June 1890, *North Otago Times*, p. 2. retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz (also) retrieved from Te Ara Encyclopaedia of New Zealand URL: http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2l13/lister-samuel

[66] Article, 19 December 1884, *Otago Daily Times*, p. 2. 29 June 1899, *Otago Witness*, p. 27; retrieved National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

New Zealand Premier in 1884.[67] Given those sensitivities, North, Scoullar and Chisholm must have felt it expedient to change printers from Lister to Coulls, Culling and Co. before the mayoralty and premiership offices of 1884. This date agrees with the designs already found to have been reprinted by Lister from London sources.

Two approaches then have both narrowed the publication date to c.1883, approximately eight years after the Craig and Gillies' *Catalogue,* with clear similarities between both publications. Most pertinent was that both firms had extensively reused images from many sources; some appeared to be mutually similar, with almost all being British. In both catalogues many designs were close to 20 years old with the youngest London printed designs as recent as a year or two. It can be concluded that both firms had no compunction about copying from any available source and that it was normal industry practice in New Zealand just as it has already been found to have occurred in America and Australia.

The Same Suppliers of Products and Designs for both Dunedin Firms

Allowing for artistic variations, both Dunedin firms appeared to be importing from some of the same American and English factories. Many products had generic and popular longevity, such as the cheap, unassembled mass-produced American and Austrian machine-made chairs. Given the multitude of choice from Birmingham factories both firms had coincidentally selected several identical metal beds. Similarly some London pattern gilt mirrors were the same to both Dunedin catalogues as were the above mentioned copying book press and enclosed wash stands from (Craig and Gillies' suppliers) Jenks and Holt. This suggests British firms also copied designs, which will also be discussed in Chapter Five. North and Scoullar's much larger catalogue did also include a hall table from Jenks' *Modern Furniture* but by then it was likely sourced from one of Wyman's or Benn's publications. The duplication of stock as illustrated in both catalogues does support earlier findings that identical patterns kept arriving by different means. It says yet again that there was a consistent pattern to domestic fashion coming to colonial New Zealand and Australia from the same, mainly British, sources with the same products widely sold here.

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[67] Article, 12 November 1881, *Otago Witness*, p. 23; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

Story Brothers' Trade Relationships and New Zealand

The largest single identified source of designs in North and Scoullar's *Catalogue* were copied from London cabinetmakers George Marvin and Henry John Story's 1865 *Designs of Furniture.* It is proposed that North and Scoullar were agents for Story Bros. just as also suggested between Craig and Gillies and London cabinetmakers Jenks and Holt. It explains the extensive reprinting of Story Bros. *Designs* which, despite being familiar to Dunedin customers, would have certainly lost currency by c.1883 but would have been acceptable for the earlier (and now missing) December 1875 *Illustrated Catalogue.* The permutations and machinations of the London furnishing trade extended to New Zealand with Story Bros. own story showing several colonial links beyond North and Scoullar. As already found with the small group of London-based designers, the furniture trade was also interconnected.

A few doors down from William Smee and Son, at 23-4 Finsbury Pavement, Richard Loader advertised himself as "Wholesale and Export Upholsterer and Cabinet Maker". Loader's advertisement appeared in D. Pusely's *Colonial Directory* compiled during that authors 1855-6 visit to New Zealand. His catalogue of nearly 300 illustrations offered "Emigrants' supplies" including cabinets, chairs, looking glasses and floor cloths for distribution "to Australia, The Cape, and other colonies."[68] Loader sold his business about 1866 to Colman Street 'cabinetmakers, upholsterers and warehousemen' George and Henry Story. Previously Story Bros. had been in partnership with John Cuffley a former employee in the early 1840s of Arthur and Robert Wilcoxon the 'upholsterer cabinet and looking-glass manufacturers' and commissioners of John Dwyer's *Designs for Furniture* (1856).[69] Wilcoxon's in liquidation were finally acquired by Story Bros. In 1865 Story Bros. registered at Stationers' Hall their *Designs of Furniture.* That security however had then been disregarded by North and Scoullar.

Story's *Designs of Furniture* (1865) had 450 designs with numbering commencing from #2001 and, again like Rockes, suggested there had been earlier pattern books. There were similarities in pictorial presentation to Jenks and Holt's

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[68] Northcote-Bade (1971), *Colonial Furniture*, p. 107. Cottrell (2006), *Furniture of the New Zealand Colonial Era*, p.130.
[69] 'Wilcoxon and Co. Looking Glass Manufacturers, 40 Fish Street Hill'; retrieved in July 2016 from London Street Views URL: https://londonstreetviews.wordpress.com/2015/05/12/wilcoxon-co-looking-glass-manufacturers/

Modern Furniture, which was perhaps unsurprising, as Old Jewry lithographers Standidge and Co, printers of Storys' *Designs*, were in close proximity to both cabinetmaking firms.[70] A partnership with Arthur Triggs in 1889 marked further expansion and new premises at 152-6 Queen Victoria Street and 72 Great Eastern Street.[71] Their advertisements and catalogues were sketched by Timms and Webb, editors and designers for the subscription periodical *Cabinet Maker and Art Furnisher.* As with other leading London cabinetmaking firms in the latter nineteenth-century, they produced service publications laden with self-promotion, advising the public on all aspects of furnishing, exactly as Rockes had done.[72] The trade catalogue as an advertising device had been couched as an informative and educational pamphlet to the consumer; the romance of history and ancient styles could be owned with a visit to any of London's huge furnishing palaces.[73] It then became the customer's desire to purchase as "the fashion system dictated that furnishings should be replaced with the latest goods."[74] Story and Triggs also contributed designs to the *Cabinet Maker* and also the *Gazette*. Ultimately the partnership dissolved and Hampton and Sons bought Story and Co. Ltd, Kensington, in October 1940; fortuitously so, as a German bomb destroyed Hamptons own Pall Mall premises the following month.[75] Dwyer's, Hampton's, Storys', Timms and Webb's designs have all been found in New Zealand.

The Legitimacy of Reprinted Designs in North and Scoullar's *Illustrated Catalogue*

That Lister had resorted to a variety of dubious and quick techniques to copy images for Craig and Gillies catalogue was apparent in its final slipshod presentation. For consistency North and Scoullar's catalogue had been completely redrawn by

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[70] "Standidge and Co., 37 Old Jewry, facsimiles of documents and other lithographic printing." *Catalogue International Exhibition of 1862 Exhibition* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2014), Volume II, #5286.
[71] "Partnership Dissolution", 18 October 1889, The *London Gazette*, p. 5520; retrieved in July 2016 from The Gazette Official Public Record URL: https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/25985/page/5520/data.pdf
[72] *Story and Co, Furniture, Decorations, Carpets and Curtain Fabrics, Blinds Removal, etc.* (London: c.1910), 106 pp.
[73] The home became a repository of art furnishing and exoticism. Shopping became a pastime with imported luxuries fuelling middle class consumer pretentions with customers led to believe they were participants in the commercial success of those retail empires. As Gordon Selfridge had (allegedly) said…"the customer is always right!" Cohen (2006), *Household Gods*, pp. 61-75.
[74] Ponsonby (2007), *English Domestic Interiors*, p. 12. Calder in *The Victorian Home* was unsubtle in her views. "Advertisements and catalogues… contributed to the education of the young wife, though their aid was more dubious." Jenni Calder *The Victorian Home* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1977), p. 112.
[75] Several other large and log-established London firms never recovered from World War Two bombing. Hampton and Sons had been acquired by Waring and Gillow in 1903; retrieved in July 2016 from Graces Guide URL: http://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Hampton_and_Sons

McIntyre from largely two main sources, Story Bros., and Wyman and Sons.[76] By c.1883 Wyman's *Gazette* and Benn Bros. *Cabinet Maker and Art Furnisher* were publishing designs free of any copyright constraints. Even so, McIntyre implied ownership of the creative process by signing many of his copied drawings and, as well, North and Co. had ambiguously presented the catalogue and its designs as original to them. Story Bros. did market themselves as "Wholesale and Export Cabinetmakers and Upholsterers" and their predecessor Loader certainly did have a trading relationship with New Zealand. Reasonably they wholesaled to North and Scoullar as Jenks and Holt appear to have done for Craig and Gillies, so justifying the re-use of their respective supplier's catalogues.

North and Scoullar's inference of their "manufacturing facilities both at Home and here" was only marginally honest, but since there is no surviving *Price List* detailing the use of native timbers there is now no indication as to which items were intended to be manufactured locally. North and Scoullar's real intentions can be found in an ebonised New Zealand kauri and beadwork lady's chair, now in Te Papa, made from a design first published by Story Bros in 1865 by.[77] Redrawn by McIntyre for the c.1883 *Catalogue*, it had been manufactured and sold by North and Scoullar. (Fig. 4.26) With no benefit whatsoever to Story Bros. it clearly demonstrated identical attitude to English suppliers as was previously shown by Craig and Gillies. With a culture of obfuscation well embedded, in August 1887 Scoullar and Chisholm reminded their clients that they presented "original designs in their catalogues and price lists" while their *Complete House Furnisher* (1900) did say it was "impossible to illustrate the vast assortment of goods to be found in their extensive Establishment", but then cabinetmakers were no strangers to exaggeration.[78]

Colonial Cabinetmakers follow the American Pattern

In 1860s America the pattern book made way for new trade catalogues and was concurrent with the emergence of widely accessible subscription periodicals and

[76] Some images were initialled E.F.S. suggesting another artist.
[77] 'Nursing Chair', Collection National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa; retrieved in July 2016 from Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa URL: http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/Object/1179608
[78] Advertisement, 9 August 1887, *Evening Star* (Dunedin); retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

reprints of European furniture collections. Grand Rapids, the American furniture industry 'capital', had in 1884 sixty-one factories each producing their own trade catalogues and on a modest scale Australia and New Zealand had the same intentions.[79] There were clear similarities amongst cabinetmaker pattern books of all nationalities from the simple artwork and poor layout to the obvious copying of English patterns. Rocke's three publications demonstrated some effort at self-promotion as did the Dunedin furniture makers with their catalogues newly printed with designs from abroad. In the colonial landscape the free or loan catalogue was a recognised sales asset for any growing business.

The first catalogues in Australia and New Zealand were produced at exactly the same time reflecting similar trading conditions and access to patterns, particularly those available through foreign trade connections. The Australasian colonies emulated all that was British with no attempt at interpreting any new style. British trade catalogues and subscription periodicals provided the source material for almost all colonial trade catalogues with only the trade papers allowing freedom to reuse their material. Repetition of designs was noticed, yet again, with patterns brought to Auckland by Cranwell also used by Lister in Dunedin, while the same was true with Light Bros. *Registered Designs*. This point had first been made for New Zealand using the examples of Loudon, King and Smee in Chapter Two and with America and Australia in Chapter Three.

The Americans had also been more than casual with copyright, as were the Australians, and it was no different in New Zealand. Colonial catalogues inferred originality of their designs that in reality had been assembled from mostly British sources. As Rocke and Co. had done twenty-five years before, Frederick Lassetter in Sydney, and Scoullar and Chisholm claimed in their *Complete House Furnisher* (1900) a need to protect the copyright. It seems now a transparent attempt to add exclusivity to their "drawings specially executed from the company's stock, reproduced on toned paper [with] the company's name [overlaid] in small type".[80] Registration was certainly no protection for original copyright holders as it was obvious that colonial

[79] Grand Rapids Historical Society, 'Furniture Catalogues', Furniture City History (2014); retrieved in July 2016 from Furniture City History URL: http://www.furniturecityhistory.org/audio/4756/furniture-catalogs
http://www.furniturecityhistory.org/view/collections

[80] *Thomson, Bridger and Co. late Dunedin Iron and Woodware Illustrated Catalogue* (c.1887), had diagonally overprinted their designs on the same principle.

cabinetmakers both copied designs and demonstrated every intention to make furniture from those catalogues in violation of the spirit of any trading relationship. More investigation into cabinetmaker codes revealed there was a higher profit margin for the colonial made product over the equivalent import. The owners of colonial firms may have been community spirited but their reason to cheaply copy designs and their willingness to manufacture from British trade catalogues was simply motivated by making money.

The first instance of internal copying was noted as an agreed trade arrangement but it did highlight the value of imported printing stones and their limitations. Lithography had largely dictated the way patterns could be reproduced, but soon photochemical methods for printing would transform the way multiple images could be reproduced, and copied from other sources, resulting in a proliferation of furniture catalogues from colonial cabinetmaking firms.

Chapter Five: Colonial Image Reproduction, Copyright and the Furniture Trade

British Furniture fashions circulated the English-speaking globe and were found to be present in the first months of colonial settlement. At exactly that period America was reprinting English and French patterns with indifference, most often without permission, and by 1875 that had also become typical colonial practice. New Zealand furniture catalogues demonstrated little originality by reprinting images from mainly British sources. From surviving catalogues various devices for image reproduction can be analysed to detect a range of traditional lithographic techniques through to later photosensitive methods. Those efficiencies in pattern reproduction only encouraged the production of more furniture catalogues and the questionable reprinting of designs taken from British trade catalogues. It is possible to see that colonial cabinetmakers aggressively copied new material while ignoring copyright and overseas trading relationships for their own profit.

The Very First Printed Colonial Picture

At the estate sale of cabinetmaker Samuel Duncan Parnell in 1891 Thomas Donne[1] bought a small print of 'Richmond Village', the earliest known image of Lower Hutt. Incorrectly the inscription on the verso stated it was, 'the first lithograph executed of Wellington, in the year 1842 by Mr Robt. Park, Surveyor to the N.Z.L. Co.' Several charts of Port Nicholson by Captain William Mein Smith, whom Park had been assisting, had already been lithographed in May 1841.[2] Between June and September the printers, Jacob Jones and Thomas Bluet produced several more Wellington maps and they had also reproduced Mein Smith's sketch of Lambton Harbour that went on sale for 2 shillings to residents in late June 1841; it was that picture which was the very first New Zealand printed picture.

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[1]Thomas Edward Donne, Secretary for Prime Minister Joseph Ward's new Department of Tourist and Health Resorts (1901) donated the lithograph to the Alexander Turnbull Library in 1937. Northcote-Bade (1971), *Colonial Furniture*, p. 29.

[2] That information is concluded from an annotation on a Jones and Bluett lithograph of Wellington by Dr T. M. Hocken stating "This and The Chart of Port Nicholson, New Zealand is the first lithographic work done in NZ. Capt. William Mein Smith... drew them 1839-40". D.G. Ellis, *Early Prints of New Zealand 1642-1875* (Christchurch: Avon Fine prints, 1978) states that there was only one press in Wellington in 1840 which was not capable of doing lithographic work. Thomas and Adam Bluett only arrived in Wellington in 1841 but by 1842 Thomas was operating a lithographic press in Hobart. pp. 87-8.
R.P. Hargreaves, *The First New Zealand Lithographs*; retrieved in July 2016 from Art New Zealand URL: http://www.art-newzealand.com/Issues21to30/litho.htm

The First Incidence of Colonial Copying

The previous September the New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator had warned that copies of a Port Nicholson chart by "a most unskilful hand" were being sold. The Spectator itself was to have produced an authorised version from an original drawn up by 'Tory' Captain Edward Chaffer but it was delayed when mysteriously the chart to be copied was 'lost' by the engraver. Coincidentally within a short period prolific Sydney lithographer Raphael Clint had been able to offer similar lithographs, albeit with alarming inaccuracies. Rocks and reefs to the entrance of the harbour were missing or incorrectly positioned while Wellington town had been relocated to Thorndon Bay. Clint had previously reproduced a map of the Firth of Thames in 1839 with some legitimacy but his new chart, taken from a poorly hand-drawn copy, had been reproduced illegally. The Spectator finally published a correct chart in late May 1841 while Chaffer's other Wellington and Cook Strait charts by Charing Cross printer James Wyld went on sale in Wellington by March 1842.[3] Like Meluish's Dunedin photograph, in just a year an image had travelled from New Zealand to England, been reproduced and returned for legitimate public sale.

Image Copyright Protection in Britain and her Colonies.

With regard to original drawings, artworks and pattern book images the 1734 Copyright Acts description of an engraving substantially outlined the article and authorship.[4]

> Every person who shall invent and design, engrave, etch, or work in mezzotinto or chiaro oscuro, or from his own works and invention shall cause to be designed and engraved, etched, or worked in mezzotinto or chiaro oscuro any historical or other print or prints.[5]

That definition largely endured (amended in 1766) until the new Copyright Act of 1852 which then accounted for the recent inventions of lithography and photography

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[3] Article, *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 12 September 1840; 15 May 1841, p. 2; 30 March 1842, p. 1; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[4] Edward J. MacGillivray, *A Treatise Upon the Law of Copyright in the United Kingdom and the Dominions of the Crown* (London: John Murray, 1902).
Project Gutenberg EBook of A Treatise Upon the Law of Copyright in the United Kingdom and the Dominions of the Crown (2013); retrieved from Project Gutenberg URL: http://www.gutenberg.org/files/43945/43945-h/43945-h.htm

[5] MacGillivray (1902), *A Treatise Upon the Law of Copyright*, p. 147.

to include them within the provisions of the Engravings Act. It further stipulated protection for images produced in Britain and her territories, provided the work was original, signed and dated.[6]

Originality required all parts of the design to be unique, but with certain conditions. They could incorporate elements familiar to other works, but not in entirety or in mimicry as to deceive original authorship. The law was not without ambiguity; where for example, a photograph might contain part of an existing artwork, which although protected, was not protected as part of the photograph. Artistic merit was not a criteria and a poorly copied work was still intended as a copy as was a good copy of a poor work.

The Act made account for the employer of the engraver as the holder of title. The employer commissioned the artist/engraver for his talents but ownership ultimately rested with the employer (or his company) despite his inability to draw or invent. The engraver did have copyright until it was transferred to the employer through payment for his services. Further, an artist could not again recreate a work where copyright had been transferred.[7]

Registration was a prerequisite for copyright and original work needed to be registered at Stationers' Hall, the trade guildhall for booksellers and publishers. It required the authors/creators' and owners' names, their addresses and a description of the work(s) which may have needed to include illustrations.[8] The Fine Arts Copyright Act, 1862 stipulated registration needed to occur before subsequent copying and that the author needed to be a British resident and the work needed to be created in British territory.

Any work first published outside mainland Britain did not receive protection.[9] The 1847 Colonial Copyright Act made provision for the copying of some otherwise protected works in British colonies where the works would have otherwise been

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[6] A Fifth Provision was one of 'Innocence'. MacGillivray (1902), *A Treatise Upon the Law of Copyright,* p. 151.
[7] Ibid, pp. 168, 176-8.
[8] "There shall be kept at the Hall of the Stationers' Company by the Officer appointed by the said Company for the Purposes of the Act passed in the Sixth Year of Her present Majesty, An Act to amend the Law of Copyright, a Book or Books, entitled The Register of Proprietors of Copyright in Paintings, Drawings, and Photographs." Act for amending the Law relating to Copyright in Works of the Fine Arts, and for repressing the Commission of Fraud in the Production and Sale of such Works; 29 July 1862. Eaton S. Drone, *A Treatise on the Law of Property* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1879), 'The Law of Copyright and Playright', p. 692.
Stina Teilmann-Lock, The Object of Copyright: A Conceptual History of Originals and Copies in Literature, Art and Design (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 98-100
[9] MacGillivray (1902), *A Treatise Upon the Law of Copyright*, pp. 167, 171, 186.

unaffordable. This did not apply to New Zealand or to the reproduction of trade catalogues for subsequent personal profit.

Copyright Infringement and Criminality

A crime was considered to have been committed when a copy was made but;

- Consent from the copyright holder had not been obtained;
- A different creator/authors' name or monogram was added to an original work intended to mislead original authorship credit;
- A copy had been made of an original work thereby causing loss to the original author or to a subsequent owner to whom copyright had been transferred;
- A copy was made from an illegitimate copy where the first original work was subject to all copyright restrictions;
- A copy (with subsisting copyright) had been misrepresented as an original work and either, exhibited, hired, sold, distributed or even imported.[10]

Patents and Registrations

Patents proliferated for novelty and improvements in function while registrations focussed more on variations in artistic design. The British mania for invention and ensuing patents afflicted the furnishing trade with no less than 3,880 patents between 1620 and 1885 of which only 78 were granted before 1820. The anodyne chair castor was subject to 77 patents with the majority issued after 1852. That year the Patent Law Reform Act was refined by simplifying the procedure to encourage industrial innovation and protect manufacturers' investment.[11] To illustrate the new ease of application, between 1820 and 1852 there were in total just 153 (furniture) patents but in the next 33 years they exploded to an astonishing 3653.[12]

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[10] The Fine Arts Copyright Act, 1862 25 and 26, Vict. c.68, Clause VII. *Primary Sources on Copyright (1450-1900)* 'Fine Art Copyright Act (1862)' ; retrieved in July 2016 from Copyright History URL: http://www.copyrighthistory.org/cam/tools/request/showRecord?id=commentary_uk_1862

[11] Academic Clive Edwards explained the prohibitive and cumbersome nature of the pre-1852 Act process; "… the process could take up to thirty-five separate stages and cost £300 for fourteen years protection. In addition, the process involved seven different offices of the Crown and required two personal signatures of the Sovereign." Clive Edwards, *Victorian Furniture Technology and Design* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), p. 146.

[12] Edwards (1993), *Victorian Furniture,* pp. 145, 156.

Patents at that time served less to protect the actual invention but rather to protect the patentee's investment and capital to establish a new industry with the patentee expected to profit from the invention.[13] Design registration with specific regard to ornamentation was enacted in 1842. Its application covered domestic products such as porcelain, silverware, jewellery, textiles, glassware and some aspects of furniture, particularly applied decoration, handles, brackets, tiles etc. Until 1883 each item was impressed with a diamond coded with references to held in the Patents Office, thereafter a simple number was used prefixed by the letters 'Rd'. In the following four years more than 117,000 designs had been registered.[14] Given such extensive use of registration there could be no argument that the furniture trade was unaware of design protection for innovation to give financial advantage to the innovator.

Design Piracy in the British Cabinet Making Trade Tested for Illegality

Plagiarism and copying of patterns in the furniture trade was widespread and seemingly accepted as industry practice, even though it had been legally tested in May 1882. Major Tottenham Court Road retailers Maple and Co. sued Westminster co-operative The Junior Army and Navy Stores for breach of copyright. The latter had reproduced a catalogue "with engravings and plates copied from, or which were a colourable imitation of those in the plaintiff's catalogue."[15] Maples contended that they could spend "some thousands of pounds in getting up a catalogue of original designs for furniture" to gain business advantage only to have a competitor use their own designs to advertise against them.

The Army and Navy Store group established in 1871-2 grew rapidly on the low-margins-for-membership model, eventually opening over 30 stores throughout the south of England, Paris, Leipzig and India.[16] The society took economies with their c.1881-2 catalogue using Maple's designs which the defendants had argued were advertising and

[13] Thomas Anthony Blanco White, *Patents for Inventions and the Protection of Industrial Designs* (London: Stevens, 1974) extensively explains investment protection. Brief reference in Edwards (1993), p.146.
[14] Registrations, Class I Metal, II Wood, III Glass and IV Ceramics; retrieved from P.M. and M. URL: http://www.porcelainmarksandmore.com/resources/uk-registration.php
[15] Many Junior Army and Navy as well as Maple and Co.'s catalogues have been found in Australia while several Maples catalogues c.1900-10 have been located in Christchurch, Nelson and Auckland.
[16] 'Army and Navy Stores Ltd, Army and Navy Co-operative Society Ltd, Registration number 5699', *House of Fraser Archive*; retrieved in July 2016 from House of Fraser URL: http://housefraserarchive.ac.uk/company/?id=c0512

not subject to copyright. Maples had 'Entered' or registered their catalogue at Stationers Hall which offered protection of their original material.

There had been a previous ambiguous court ruling in 1872 with Cobbett v. Woodward, where an injunction had been sought to restrain the publication of a furniture catalogue. It had been granted in respect of the letterpress but not the illustrations. There followed a turnabout in 1875 with the piracy of a stonemason's catalogue of "lithographic sketches of monumental designs" in Grace v. Newman where the illustrations were found to be protected.[17] In the Maple and Co. v The Junior Army and Navy Stores case, the letterpress was argued to be "a simple announcement of the sale of goods."[18] The final ruling in June 1882 was that the catalogue was an illustrated book, and therefore protected under the Literary Copyright Act of 1842 and that "the plaintiff's book was an original one, and originality of design, as distinguished from literary merit or skill, was the test for copyright." Furthermore the intended purpose of the book did not affect copyright thereby disallowing its interpretation as mere advertising. Lord Justice Lindley's ruling in that case left no ambiguity.[19]

> The plaintiffs work was original in this sense, that they employed artists to make original drawings from pieces of furniture and from these drawing engravings were made which the Plaintiffs made into a book with descriptions and prices….[20]

> For the purpose of making such a catalogue (as the Plaintiffs)… he incurs a good deal of trouble… and has done it for the advantage of having his own catalogue… while his neighbour (has) not; and if the latter wants to be on the level with him, he must incur the same labour or expense and trouble.[21]

The case was well reported in the *Furniture Gazette* (July 1883) with the verdict, widely circulated emphatically recording the dishonesty of inter-trade design plagiarism. A reader's letter (15 July 1882) reminded the public 'Quis custodiet ipsos custodies'; the guardians also needed guarding. So entrenched had been the practice that Maples as well had previously reproduced another (un-named) firms photographs.[22]

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[17] MacGillivray (1902), *A Treatise Upon the Law of Copyright*, p. 152.
[18] Thomas Edward Scrutton, *The Law of Copyright* (New Jersey: The Lawbook Exchange Ltd, Clark, 2007), p. 117.
[19] Lord Justice Lindley, "Is there any copyright in furniture catalogues?" 8 July 1882, *The Furniture Gazette*, p. 17.
[20] Isabella Woodward, *Copyright Law and the Public Interest in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Hart Publishing, 2010), p. 209.
[21] Walter Arthur Copinger, *The Law of Copyright* (London: Stevens and Haynes, 1904), p. 59; retrieved from Internet Archive (1996) URL: https://archive.org/details/lawcopyrightinw00eastgoog
[22] Article, 15 July 1882, *The Furniture Gazette*, p. 41.

The Legitimacy of Colonial Copying

Judgement for Maple and Co. against the Junior Army and Navy Stores as well reported in the *Furniture Gazette* had sent an unequivocal warning within the furniture industry while New Zealand papers had also reported comparable domestic court cases and even the notion of trademarks by 1864. New Zealand's Trade Marks Act of 1866 as reported in the Otago Witness had affirmed any company's right to protect its particular brand "with respect to its excellence" and familiarity with the public. One could argue this meant a particular style (or design) that the public could associate with a particular (furniture) company.[23]

The New Zealand Fine Arts Copyright Bill 1877 gave protection for New Zealand residents for "every original painting, drawing, engraving, useful or ornamental design, sculpture, and photograph, and the negative of any photograph." This was however subject to first to registering the artwork but the excessively high £3-6s fee per item was a serious disincentive. For example, Dunedin photographers Burton Brothers did register a limited number of their photographs along with other photographers around New Zealand, but they were all very selective. The colonial trade in photographs as artwork was fiercely competitive with the copying (i.e. re-photographing) of photographs commonplace. The Act had failed to account for the mechanics and ease of creating (studio) images which had abetted rampant copying of any images, and as will be seen, including those from trade catalogues. Perception of legality was further confused by one mysteriously unreported case in (February 1883) Dunedin taken by the Patent Office against a firm of printers, a bookseller and two photographers, all with name suppression. That case was dismissed without any recognition of 'effort' gone to by the original photographer(s) to create an image (such as a mountainous landscape) and gallingly, the later photographic copies were ruled to be not 'works of art' as they required merely labour but not artistic skill![24]

In terms of photography, the trade itself had much to explain. It was an offence to portray objects as being registered when they had not as even prominent Burton

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[23] 'Trade Marks', 5 November, *Otago Witness*, retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[24] Christine Whybrew, *The Burton Brothers Studio: Commerce in Photography and the Marketing of New Zealand, 1866-1898* (University of Otago: unpublished Art History Ph.D., February 2010), p. 86.

Brothers' 1884 "Copyright Series", *The Camera in the Coral Islands* demonstrated. In that publication only 25 of their 250 images had actually been registered while on previous occasions the Burtons had attached their name to images by other photographers; in one case to images of early Dunedin taken before they had even emigrated there.[25]

Clarity for the local publishing trade came with the 1883 case of Dunedin publisher Henry Wise and Co.'s *New Zealand Directory*. It had "in great parts of extracts" been reprinted in *Wright's Australian and American Commercial Directory and Gazetteer*. Wise obtained an injunction against George Wright selling his *Directory and Gazetteer* within the colony. Wise's *New Zealand Directory* had not been 'Entered at Stationer's Hall' and neither had it been first published in England which offered British protection under 5 and 6 Victoria C. 45. However, the New Zealand Copyright Ordinance Act did enforce such protection for original work in the colony and for distribution in England.[26] In 1884 Holt and McCarthy v. Webb it was ruled that copyright could only be asserted when an item existed, while the concept of intellectual property alone was not considered. Protection for original news material extended only to the telegram and not to the newspaper whose purpose was solely to disseminate information to a wider audience.[27] That circle would also have included the subscription magazine and furniture trade papers.

A new bill passed in 1886 clarifying that 'Artists (were) to have copyright in their designs as well as in their completed creations' was immediately tested.[28] In a replay of the Chaffers-Clint Port Nicholson map incident 47 years before The Lyttelton Times Co. was sued over printing a map of the 'Western Pacific' alleged to be the work of Charles St. Barbe and F.H. Tronson of Wellington. However the prosecution was unsuccessful, sending an ambiguous message, as it was ruled that only one person, Tronson, could be the actual author.[29] The map had indeed been copied but damages of £100 sought had not been awarded on that technicality. Artist(s) required simplicity,

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[25] Whybrew (2010), pp. 84, 88.
[26] 'Wright v. Wise, Caffin and Co.', 23 May 1883,*Otago Daily Times*, p. 2; 23 May 1883 *Evening Post*, p. 2; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz
[27] 'Holt and McCarthy v. Webb', 3 December 1878, *New Zealand Herald*, p. 2; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz
[28] News report, 14 April 1886, *Inangahua Times*, p. 2; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz
[29] "Alleged Infringement of Copyright", 23 February 1887, *Evening Post*, p. 4; 1 March 1887, p. 2; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

protection with minimal cost and now increasingly recognition that photography was a genuine art form while also being a threat. Photographic Copyright Act of 1896 therefore provided automatic and complete protection for five years without the expense and need for registration. An original photograph was simply registered on condition that it was inscribed with the date it was created, along with photographer's name or firm (meaning several authors) and the word 'Protected".

Two cases finally succeeded. In late 1904 with Tomlinson v. Shaw and Clark it was argued that printer Hardy Shaw and block maker Henry Clark had made a process block of Tomlinson's registered photograph of the New Zealand Representative Football Team. They then used that block to print their own rugby pamphlets for profit. It was alleged that Clark had actually made the halftone plate but Shaw, as employer, was held responsible and fined £60.[30] That ruling could be then directly applied to any catalogues created with a photographic process. In the second instance Wellington printers Johnson and Sons were fined £76 plus £15 costs for printing a card or catalogue "in its material parts a copy of the official book" purporting to be from the Wellington Racing Club. It was agreed that "an infringement had occurred [and it had been] designed to deceive people of ordinary intelligence who were likely to purchase the card."[31]

Despite several decades of legal vacillation it was undeniable from at least 1842, and certainly the outset of colonial settlement, that the authors of invention and original work were entitled to protection. The cabinetmaking industry was well conversant with such legal devices, very familiar with trade secrecy and with the advantages offered by manufacturing to popular designs. Ultimately it was about profit and it seems that little ever changed except the ease with which designs could be copied. Nineteenth-century New Zealand provides a perfect microcosm to examine the extent, legality and methods used by the cabinetmaking industry to copy designs to the detriment of the original authors or owners.

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[30] 'Tomlinson v. Shaw and Clark', 25 November 1904, *Auckland Star*, p. 4; November 1904, *Taranaki Herald*, 25 p. 7; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[31] 'Cooksley and Harris v. Johnson and Sons', 30 March 1905, *Auckland Star*, p. 3; 18 April 1905, *Poverty Bay Herald*, p. 2; 14 April 1905, *Waihi Daily Telegraph*, p. 2; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

The First Suggestion of Copying in the Colonial Cabinetmaker's Workshop

Scottish inventor James Watt, more famous for his rotary steam engine, devised the first commercially successful copying machine in 1780. The principle relied on pressing wet ink through the paper to the layers of pages. Books were sold with absorbent leaves and oilpaper inserts to restrict slow drying ink penetration.[32] Being no bigger than a shoebox sized portable writing desk it required no skill to achieve affordable facsimile copies. In 1863 Auckland household furniture auctioneer Samuel Cochrane was defrauded of £75 when a cheque was altered by use of such a machine.[33]

Fellow Scotsman Patrick Ritchie improved Watt's principle in 1828 with a cast iron desktop press to apply extreme pressure also to diffuse ink through several layers of paper.[34] 'A Petent (sic) lever Copying machine by Ritchie, with books Complete £3' was amongst several advertised in late 1840s Wellington.[35] The disadvantage for purchasers was that such machines required formulated inks with books of papers (sometimes up to 1,000 pages) usually only supplied by patent holders of the product or their agents.[36] Several inventions shown at the 1851 Great Exhibition subsequently became office fixtures in New Zealand. Locksmith and safe maker Sampson Mordan and Co.'s more cumbersome patented combined lithographic and copying press returned to a reliance on the absorbent limestone platen while others inventions reverted to relief or letterpress printing.[37] Copying devices were commonplace throughout the colony suitable for small businesses, particularly desirable for architects, surveyors and

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[32] Hope, A. (1980, 19 June) "Heritage: James Watt's Copying Machine", *New Scientist*, p. 333. Thomas Coulborn and Sons, "A rare Portable Copying Machine by James Watt and Company"; retrieved in July 2016 from Thomas Coulborn and Sons Ltd. URL: http://www.coulborn.com/furniture-categories/objects-and-works-of-art/a-rare-portable-copying-machine-by-james-watt-company/

[33] Court report, 3 September 1863, *Daily Southern Cross* (Auckland), p. 3; retrieved from URL: paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[34] "Patent Copying Press by Mr. Ritchie, of Edinburgh, 1828"; retrieved from Office Museum URL: http://www.officemuseum.com/1828_Ritchie_Patent_Copying_Press_Register_of_Arts_1829_OM.jpg

[35] Advertisement, 29 April 1848, *Wellington Independent*, p. 2; advertisement, "Ritchie's patent copying machine, quite new with books and C.", 18 April 1849, *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian* (Wellington), p. 2.

[36] Advertisement, 4 September 1861, "Coloured demy paper, pot paper, blotting and copying machine paper, copying machine letter books etc." *Lyttelton Times*, p. 6, retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.

[37] Mordan and Co. were also gold and silversmiths credited with the invention of the fountain pen and mechanical pencil in 1822. The company ceased trading when its premises were bombed in 1841. Advertisement 27 September 1862, "House lot of NZ made furniture including Mordan's copying machine and inkstand. Estate of I. T. Cookson, Fendalltown… returning to England." *Press* (Christchurch), p. 6. Advertisement by W. H. Hargreaves auctioneer, , "One writing desk in New Zealand timbers, one writing desk in American timbers, one letter-press copying machine." 20 May 1867, *Press*, p. 3; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.

law firms.[38] Napier auctioneer Vautier Janisch and dealer of William Smee's furniture advertised 'A writing desk with patent copying machine attached' while former Picton M.P. and auctioneer Arthur Beauchamp sold copying machines in Wanganui.[39] Beauchamp's brother Horatio had been in partnership with Melbourne's dominant furnishing house Rocke and Co. and was also related by marriage to Frederick Lassetter, owner of Sydney's giant furnishing store.[40] Both firms had copied many designs for their own catalogues.

The most significant development for domestic copying was the 1876 invention of the Hectograph or copying pad bath of which there were many variations.[41] The process was little more than a tray of gelatine capable of absorbing an inked image from the original master. Modest roller pressure was applied to consecutive sheets until the ink was exhausted. J.C. Sharland and Co. regularly advertised in New Zealand centres their…

> Improved copying machine offering the best and most durable process known for duplicating writings, drawings, plans, maps, reports, legal and official documents… from each original 60 to 100 copies in one or more colours with the use of press or prepared papers.[42]

The copying machine enabled cheap duplication of documents with no prior experience in printing; moreover, it facilitated the private reproduction of any material, without consent. Auckland cabinet maker James Westwood's sale of stock in late 1847 included a copying machine while that same year auctioneers Connell and Ridings had sold another lot of cabinetmaker and wood-turner's tools along with a 'Portable Copying Machine and Writing Apparatus, Copying Paper, etc.' and Shortland Street

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[38] "On Sale" advertisement by Thomas Jaggar, "Patent Lever copying machine, large 4to., - with copying book, oiled and drying paper." 21 April 1852, *New Zealander* (Auckland), p. 2; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz
'Sales by auction, Mr. A. King… Copying Machine", 11 April 1855, *Taranaki Herald* (New Plymouth), p. 2. "For Sale… Patent copying machine with paper, ink and Co. S. Vickers." 15 March 1856, *Taranaki Herald* (New Plymouth), p. 2; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.

[39] 'Vautier Janisch auctioneer' advertisement, 15 December 1863, *Hawke's Bay Herald*, p. 2. 'Arthur Beauchamp auctioneer' advertisement, 8 December 1873, *Wanganui Herald*, p. 4; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.

[40] Arthur Beauchamp (1827-1910), grandfather to author Katherine Mansfield, nee Kathleen Beauchamp; retrieved from Katherine Mansfield Society URL: http://www.katherinemansfieldsociety.org/assets/Essays/KMS-Essay-Series-After-Hornsey-Lane-Beauchamp-Forebears-by-Jennifer-Walker.compressed.pdf

[41] After the 1870's various American products were marketed on the 'pad' system; B.B. Hill's Blotter Bath 1879, Bailey's Letter Copying Machine 1886, Tatham's Ideal Copying Bath 1887 and the Globe –Wernicke Copying Bath 1909; retrieved from The Office Museum URL: http://www.officemuseum.com/copy_machines.htm

[42] Sharland and Co. advertisement, 4 January 1881, *New Zealand Herald* (Auckland), p. 4; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

stationer J. Williamson advertised 'A superior Copying Machine Complete.'[43] Cabinetmakers had little commercial need for such a device except for the reproduction of patterns and evidence still exists to indicate that they were indeed copying from other manufacturer's pattern books.

Evidence of Workshop Copying from Catalogues in New Zealand

Charles Meeking established a linen and drapery shop at 62 Holborn Hill in 1826 and by 1840 he was in partnership with Thomas Wallis in 1865 producing at least one large 266-page catalogue, "*Meeking C. and Co. London Furniture, Bedding, Carpets and c.*"[44] Ultimately in the late 1870s Wallis became sole owner.[45] Their 'New and Enlarged Edition' *Illustrated Catalogue of Cabinet Furniture* (1883) of 531 lithographs with stock numbers from #393 to #924 suggested, as found with Rocke and Co.'s 1875 *Pattern Book*, that it was the second such furniture catalogue.[46] One copy recovered in Christchurch had pencil inscriptions, sketches and altered prices to indicate workshop use but it also had cabinetmaker's gelatine glue residue surrounding many designs. (Fig. 5.1) Paper remnants bedded into the glue indicated tracing paper had been positioned over selected designs for copying, a crude but effective solution for immediate internal workshop use.[47] (Fig. 5.2) Those tracings could then be multiplied in any of Watt's, Ritchies's or Sharland's machines.

The evidence shows that the Christchurch cabinetmaker intended to manufacture colonial furniture and to profit from the Wallis/Meeking catalogue in his possession. Such was the London trade competition that colonial importers had little trouble accessing such catalogues.[48] Certainly several Wallis/Meeking designs had

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[43] 'List of Jurors for 1847-8' recorded Westwood as a "Cabinetmaker Remuera." Public Notice, 22 September 1847, *New Zealander* (Auckland), p. 3; 24 April 1847, *New Zealander,* p. 1; 14 July 1847, *New Zealander,* p. 4; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[44] Charles Meeking, 62 Holborn Hill "Linen draper, silk mercer, hosier and dealer in carpets"; 15 January 1829, The Sun Fire Office Records, M.S. 11936/518/1086047

[45] "Messrs. Smith and Caughey. Largest Retail Drapery Establishment in New Zealand". William Smith was apprenticed into the furnishing trade first by Meeking and later by Thomas Wallis. Smith gained further experience in New York then with his wife Marianne Caughey settled in Auckland. They founded premier department store Smith and Caughey in 1880. Sister Helen Smith founded Invercargill's H. and J. Smith and married Alfred Broad manager of Broad, Small and Co. 26 September 1900, *New Zealand Herald* (Auckland), p. 4; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[46] Conversation with furniture restorer Ian Thomson, Sydney (Invercargill, 10 October 2010); New Zealand copy *Thos. Wallis, late Chas Meeking Illustrated Catalogue of Cabinet Furniture and Co.* dated 1 May 1883 acquired following sale of Everett family material, Christchurch, November 2010; collection author.

[47] 'N. Deanes' (?) was pencilled on the cover of the Wallis late Meeking *Illustrated Catalogue* and 'T. Jarvis' on the title page; neither can be traced in the New Zealand furniture industry between 1883 and 1910.

[48] Cohen (2006), *Household Gods*, p. 52.

indeed appeared in Wyman's *Cabinet Maker's Pattern Books* and *Furniture Gazette* which were free of copyright bur evidence of copying directly from the original catalogue suggests indifference to any legalities. In effect the catalogue was being treated as a traditional pattern book. Subsequently some patterns had also been reproduced in both North and Scoullar's c.1883 and Thomson, Bridger and Co.'s 1887 Dunedin catalogues with both manufacturers promoting themselves as furniture manufacturers. Any such ambiguity surrounding the integrity of copying can further be argued with more examples to demonstrate a clear intention of New Zealand cabinetmakers to profit regardless of the origin of designs or the legality of their use.

Prominent Wellington cabinetmaker Henry Fielder's well-used copy of Light Bros. *Registered Designs of Cabinet Furniture* (1880) also had Scotch glue residue to indicate workshop copies had been made. (Fig. 5.3) Fielder's sideboard for Larnach was surrounded by pinholes leaving no doubt that at least one tracing had been made. (Fig. 5.4) None of the copied patterns had been reprinted in Fielder's own *Catalogue of Special Leading Lines* in 1895 but it did have several pages of "Drawing Room Furniture – Rosewood Inlaid" in the Sheraton Revival Style allowing Fielder to say that his suppliers were some of the best London makers. It implied a legitimate trading relationship with Light Bros. and that selected furniture was being imported. But Fielder's cabinetmakers had disfigured *Registered Designs* by removing patterns, making rough sketches and writing customer details, damage that was unquestionably sustained through heavy workshop use.[49] (Fig. 5.5)

Many other New Zealand-found British catalogues had also been mutilated, indicating their widespread workshop use from which to manufacture colonial furniture. Whether that reproduction was for one-time use with simple workshop tracings or multiple orders from reprinted patterns in trade catalogues mattered little as inevitably the original design owners still lost potential sales. Further, as with the Army and Navy ruling, colonial furniture makers had generally inferred that they had gone to some effort to produce original designs in their catalogues, which they plainly had not. While difficult to prove any intent to manufacture, on the wider scale it, was the continual

[49] Fielder advertised "Household Furniture, which is beautifully designed, and some of which has been imported from the very best manufacturing establishments in England." 18 March 1890, *Evening Post,* p. 1; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

reprinting of British designs in colonial catalogues that best demonstrated a consistent disregard for any copyright and registration. This was most apparent in the earliest surviving hand drawn examples that demanded the skill of professional printers and the complicity of lithographic artists. The engraver's handwork left imperfections not evident with the photographic precision of later copying processes and demands examination of Samuel Lister's handiwork on Craig and Gillies' catalogue to illuminate the importance and complicity of the lithographic artist. Ultimate liability, of course, rested with the cabinetmakers as effective employers of the printers and artists commissioned for the production of their catalogues.

The Lithographic Principle and the Presentation of the First Colonial Catalogues

The lithographic process relied on either a wet-ink image on paper being transferred facedown onto the lithographic stone, or an image hand drawn directly onto the printing surface. The finely smoothed planographic limestone was porous to both oil based inks and water soluble gums, but whichever was bedded and absorbed first then resisted the other. After an oil based ink image was transferred, a water-soluble gum was then applied and absorbed except where the ink already lay. The well understood resistance of oil and water meant that fresh, oil soluble, ink could be rolled over the stone and would only 'take' on the greasy image lines. Paper laid onto that surface would then pick up just the inked lines. Images so laid onto the stone in some cases could achieve almost photographic results. Until the development of the photochemically etched metal plate this was the method used for all trade catalogues.

Lithographic Transfers Used for Catalogue Images

In 1875 Dunedin printer Lister made extensive use of transfers for his tracings, new sketches while also making copies directly from original designs cut directly from pattern books. Most apparently he had transferred the Thomas George sketch of Craig and Gillies' premises to print the covers of both their *Catalogue* and their *Price List.* Lister framed each identical image with artwork, erased parts and added different typeface to illustrate how effective and adaptable transfers were as a reprinting device. Transfers were ephemeral, being the intermediate stage in printing the final image, but one belonging to Blyth and Sons was found bound into a collection of *Gazette* patterns discovered in Auckland. (Fig. 5.6) That design, for a serving table, '5372', was part of

Blyth's huge inventory of lithographed patterns accumulated at the time of binding c.1905-10.[50] Scotsman David Blyth's small London upholstering workshop established around 1817 had expanded upon his retirement in 1870 into a nationwide business with a Royal Appointment as bed manufacturers to the Queen, warrants to the Admiralty and to the King of Siam. It was managed by his sons.[51] As with all major firms they published their own books or guides with two documented; *Designs of Cabinet Furniture, Chimney Glasses, Draperies, and Co.* (1869) and *Notes on Beds and Bedding: Historical and Anecdotal* (1873).[52] With the latter there was again a clear attempt to add authority to the retailing process; the catalogue was disguised as a reference work while the customer was invited to own some of the alleged 'historic' legacy. The surviving transfer, i.e. the page used to transmit an image onto stone appeared to date from the 1880s, exactly at a point where printing was undergoing changes with the introduction of photoengraving processes. Large commercial printers such as Wymans had promoted themselves as photo-engravers in their *Gazette* Supplement designs from 1881 but for small print run trade catalogues lithography remained the medium of choice until c.1900. Blyth and Sons had been contributors to Wyman's *Furniture Gazette* and Benn's *The Cabinet Maker and Art Furnisher* which in 1887 had published a full-page profile photographic portrait printed in halftone of eldest son and manager James Nisbet Blyth.[53] Photochemical processing for the manufacture of printing blocks increased the speed and markedly lowered the cost of producing colonial catalogues.

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[50] *Furniture Gazette Supplements (*London: Wyman and Sons) from June 1877 to December 1881 found in Auckland also bound with a pencil tracing of 'Waring's Esmond Suite' which compared to their *The New Note in Furnishing* (London: Warings and Gillow, c.1905-10), also found in Christchurch.

[51] After 1870 Blyth and Sons was managed by brothers John Wilson, Alexander Duncan and James Nisbet son Duncan Nisbet with a retail shop at 4-7 Chiswell Street, Finsbury Square and workshops at Blyth Street and Bethnal Green Road, London, Manchester and Henry Street, Liverpool. Joy, E (1969), "The Royal Victorian Furniture-Makers 1837-87"; *Burlington Magazine; retrieved* from Burlington Magazine URL: http://burlington.org.uk/archive/back-issues/196911

[52] *Designs of Cabinet Furniture, Chimney Glasses, Draperies, and c. Manufactured by Blyth and Sons* (London: 1869), fol., 8 pp, 247 lithographed plates with a 'Price List of Modern Furniture.'
Notes on Beds and Bedding: Historical and Anecdotal (London: J. N. Blyth, 1873), 90 pp. Retrieved from Hathi Trust Digital Library (2008) URL: http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015012368091;view=1up;seq=57

[53] 'James Nisbet Blyth' (1887, 1 October), *The Cabinet Maker and Art Furnisher*, p. 96-7. Design for 'Fireplace and Sideboard' (18 January 1879), *Furniture Gazette*.

Lithography in the Colonial Catalogue

Craig and Gillies' *Catalogue* displayed various transfer techniques necessary to reduce a diverse selection of images into a single printable state. (Figs. 5.7 and 5.8) Some prints with incorrect perspectives and odd proportions had been sketched by Lister's 'unskilful hand' but for accuracy many were traced onto transfer paper. The 'Cranwell sheet' series of patterns matched line-for-line and in scale but not in artistic ability with the other original found in Auckland. Lister further used transfers of line-rulings, probably from an engraved metal plate as infill shading for mirror glass and bed-cloth images. Transfers had also been made from woodcuts or stereotypes taken from American chair wood engravings. Most uncommon was the use of anastatic transfers, a once popular but obscure and destructive technique that used the actual original pattern to be copied as the transfer medium. From all that material Lister displayed a determined effort to construct a new publication that photography would later make 'light work' of.

Transfers of Rulings

With typical economy Lister laid ruled transfers over tracings. A frame fitted with gears and driving screw with a sliding scriber was suspended above a metal plate or the lithographic stone so that the 'screw controls made it possible to rule the next line at an exact distance from the first, a smaller gap leading to a darker tone.'[54] Many transfers could be taken from a separately ruled metal plate, particularly useful as it allowed the paper to be cut to shape. The sharp burrs scribed by the burin or engraving tool captured ink well, printing dark, crisp lines but eventually wore down to impart less definition.[55] Lister's transfers appear to have been taken from a much used and worn

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[54] Bamber Gascoigne, *How to Identify Prints* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2004), p. 62.

[55] I am very grateful to Dr Sydney Shep, Nicola Frean, Ruth Lightbourne, David Maskell and Robin Skinner of 'Print and Book Culture', Victoria University for their analysis of Craig and Gillies' *Illustrated Catalogue*.
"Printing Process: We agreed the process was lithography, but the source material was quite varied and the titles and numbers suggest a cumulative and at times haphazard approach to the collection. There are examples of woodcuts, metal engravings, and lithographs. Many of the images taken from woodcuts show that the block from which the source image was taken was already quite worn; the metal line engravings near the end are crisp and clean with the evidence of dry-point burr in some of the shadows. The patterns on the mirrors are most intriguing. Some of the images, as you have noted, have been redrawn. Others were undoubtedly transferred, but probably not photographically since patents were not taken out in the UK until 1860 and the halftone screen technology was not taken up in the UK until 1866. In New Zealand, Vogel reported on the possible use of photo-zincography for map printing in 1871 and reported again in 1876 on its successful introduction; (see graphic reproduction

pre-ruled ‘dry point’ copper plate. Lister’s use of ruled transfers created an appearance of complexity to his otherwise simple tracings, adding some uniformity to other images he had printed anastatically. (Fig. 5.9)

Anastatic Copies

An almost forgotten and rather secretive process adopted by lithographic printers enabled a direct transfer from any existing print in either of two equally detrimental but ingenious techniques. About a third of Craig and Gillies *Illustrated Catalogue* was anastatically printed from Jenks and Holt’s *Modern Furniture* which would have then been left in tatters.

The hygroscopic rag or wood fibre page to be copied was dampened with dilute nitric acid and pressed printed face down onto a zinc plate. The water-soluble acid etched the zinc surface except where the oil-based ink had resisted the acid, eventually leaving the plate in relief which could subsequently be inked and a transfer taken. The second process wet the original image with water-soluble gelatine or gum which was resisted by the dry oil-based inked image areas. Fresh ink would then adhere to the original print lines so the page could be laid facedown onto the lithographic stone to transfer the original image. Both processes were highly destructive to the original document as print historian Bamber Gascoigne outlined in yet another variation of the anastatic principle.[56]

> The printed piece of paper was subjected to a chemical process (acid) which released the fatty content in the original ink, which could then be transferred in the normal way to the stone…. The obvious danger as an early book on the subject disarmingly admitted, was that the process… is uncertain in its results and sometimes destroys an original without producing a copy.[57]

The dubious nature of such methods would likely appeal to Lister’s thrift, outweighing any regard for copyright, design integrity or presentation. He altered several

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techniques in http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-GriBook-_div3-N10CF6.html). If your Dunedin printer had access to the equipment, technology, and expertise, he would have been very forward-looking indeed.”

[56] Heritage Collectors’ Society Inc., ‘The Anastatic Facsimile of the Declaration of Independence.’ Retrieved from Heritage Collectors Society, Inc. URL: http://www.heritagecs.com/declaration.htm

Photo Conservation, ‘Anastatic Process of Lithography’; retrieved from URL: http://archive.is/uYxfp

Edgar Allan Poe, 12 April 1845, ‘Anastatic Printing’, *Broadway Journal*; retrieved from Edgar Allan Poe Society of Baltimore URL: http://www.eapoe.org/works/essays/anaprt01.htm

[57] Gascoigne (2004), *How to Identify Prints*, p. 20 a-c.

designs, erasing portions and adding in new details while also making modifications to redrawn designs taken from Light Bros. expensive 446-page *Registered Designs*. The transfers were not the same size as the original designs, avoiding the destructive anastatic process.[58] Craig and Gillies' *Price List* showed that the ornate and carved designs taken from Light Bros. were offered in English walnut, as imported furniture, while the numerous anastatically-copied patterns from Jenks and Holt's partially destroyed *Modern Furniture* were to be made in colonial timbers. (Figs. 5.10 and 5.11) Craig and Gillies profited more by manufacturing themselves, as shown with Cranwell's deciphered code. Moreover such wilful disregard for the integrity of designs, as North and Scoullar had also done with Story Bros. designs, would continue to be a trade-wide practice.

Mass Production and Retailing of Printed Material on the Subscription or Numbers Model in England

Ironically it was the publishing industry that would bring some legitimacy to the furniture industry's disregard for propriety by introducing a proven and successful sales technique to the trade. The introduction of widely circulated subscription magazines coincided with the increasing popularity of cabinetmaking firms to produce catalogues carrying their company name and changes in the way images could be reproduced.

Edinburgh brothers William and Robert Chamber's normally unimpeachably reliable *Chambers Journal* loosely credited Liverpool publisher and printer Henry Fisher with inventing the serialisation of large printed works. It was a policy so successful that between 1859 and 1868 they themselves used the system "to supply poorer customers in cheap parts" with their most famous *Chamber's Encyclopaedia* by subscription in 520 weekly issues at three and a half pence each.[59] More accurately, devout Methodist Fisher had merely perfected the existing marketing in serial form of expensive works, particularly so for illustrated Bibles during the 1820s. They were

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[58] Catalogues were also numbered and lent as clearly stated in the *New Note in Furnishing by Warings* found in Christchurch. "No. 964; As there is a large demand for this catalogue Messrs. Waring will be greatly obliged by its return as soon as may be convenient. A charge of ten shillings will be made if it is permanently retained, unless an order is placed." *New Note in Furnishing by Waring*, Waring and Gillow (London: Waterlow and Sons [printers], c.1910).

[59] *Chambers' Encyclopaedia,* Vol. 10 (London: W. and R. Chambers, 1868), pp. v-viii; Preface, *Chambers' Encyclopaedia* (London: 1961), Vol. 1 pp. vii-x.

hawked in regional centres by door-to-door salesmen with editions sold in affordable parts or 'numbers', similar to time payment and ultimately hire purchase systems first adopted by the furniture industry. With 'numbers', inducements for the first purchase of 'two for the price of one', were followed up by repeated weekly sales of a few pence to complete the volume. It was hugely successful. When Fisher's Liverpool factory burnt down in 1821 1,000 employees lost their jobs. He re-established in London to become the largest producer of periodicals with huge networks throughout Britain and printing factories in New York and Paris. An 1839 account detailed Fisher's London stock lists;

> 16 Printing Presses, 10 Copper-Plate Presses, apparatus for heating the plates, 16,000 pounds weight of type, 700 reams of paper, 400 original drawings, two patent hydraulic presses, 10,000 pages of stereotype plates, three and a half million part-works in folio, quarto and octavo sizes.[60]

Fisher had used the subscription formula for pattern books by the Nicholson's as early as the 1820s, but it was technical publishers Benn Bros. and Wyman and Sons who followed the American lead and adopted it for the British furniture trade in the 1870s.[61]

The Independent Cabinetmaker's Subscription Trade Journal in America.

The furniture trade subscription periodical brought immediate changes to the way designs were distributed, becoming the legitimate, copyright-free vector for the distribution of new designs. The first American furniture periodical publisher, German migrant Ernst Steiger, had a well-developed model a half decade before it was fully adopted in England. He had purchased a New York magazine business in 1866, expanding to become a major importer of German publications and ultimately a publisher of magazines and technical books.[62] Fluent in several languages his translated

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[60] Charles Henry Timperley, *A Dictionary of Printers and Printing* (London, H. Johnson, 1839), pp. 947-8. Also cited in an account of Henry Fisher's publishing history *The Peculiarities of Our Business* by James M'Kenzie Hall; retrieved from Book History Research Network URL: http://www.bookhistory.org.uk/publications/quadrat/25-autumn-2013/articles/the-peculiarities-of-our-business-fisher-son-co.html

[61] H. Fisher, R. Fisher and P. Jackson London publishers for Nicholson's colleague Henry Whitaker's *Practical Cabinet Maker and Upholsterer's Treasury of Designs,* 1847.

[62] Advertisement; "E. Steiger, 22-24 Frankfort Street, New York, German News Agent, Importer and Bookseller, Publisher and Printer. Foreign Books and Periodicals, Regular importation from Germany every week and England and France twice a month or oftener." Retrieved from Hathi Trust Digital Library (2008) URL: http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015012343557;view=1up;seq=25

and rebranded periodicals ensured a wider patronage than the original German publishers could otherwise expect.[63] Steiger owed much success to the 'numbers' system. He offered several subscription woodworker magazines, notably *Die Gewerbehalle*, reprinted from the German originals between 1863-7 and translated into French and English thereafter.[64] Steiger's 1871 monthly *The Cabinet Maker's Album* offered lavish engravings of the finest German furniture that could be bought separately or as a bound and indexed set at the expiration of the subscription period.

In May 1870, rival J. Henry Symonds established *The American Cabinet Maker and Upholsterer and Carpet Reporter*. Its 34 pages were published weekly from Boston with branch offices in New York, Philadelphia Chicago and Cincinnati, so that by 1904 it was claimed to be "the oldest, the best, [and] the widest circulated furniture trade paper ever published." Symonds recalled that in "1865 salesmen travelled by rail with pencil or pen and ink sketches… of the goods, but by 1875 nearly every furniture factory in the country sent out travelling salesmen with photographs of their lines."[65] It signalled photography as the new marketing tool but converting photographic images into ink printable plates was not commercially resolved until the early 1880s, motivated largely by the huge circulation of illustrated and graphic newspapers.[66] In the 1870s two English publishers emulated Steiger and Symonds' publishing model to transform the way furniture designs were disseminated throughout the British Empire.

English Subscription Publishers - Wyman and Sons *Furniture Gazette*

After more than 40 years of printing Charles William Henry Wyman retired in 1866 bequeathing sons Charles and Edward his only hand operated double-demy

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[63] Steiger authored several books including his 1869 *Das Copyright-Law in den Vereinigten Staaten*. Steiger sold numerous related publications such as Owen Jones *Grammar of Ornament*, Paul Schulze' *Designs for Monuments*, Amos *Bicknell's Village Builder*, New Yorker *George Woodward's National Architect*.

[64] Advertisements by Steiger; *The Practical Journal for Cabinet Makers and Ornamental Wood Workers,* "Editor Augustus Graef assisted by Possenbacher of Munich and Leclelerc of Paris and other colleagues; 12 Nos. per year… three sheets of engravings etc., Price each number 75 cents." *The Cabinet Maker's Album, A selection of Choice Designs in Rich and Plain Furniture for the use of Cabinetmaker's and Upholsterers, "*Issued from Stuttgart, 16 pages with …an average of 20-25 exquisitely finished designs… 50 cents, issued in 12 parts from October 1871 in English French and German." *Journal of Cabinet Making,* "… containing original drawings of modern furniture, with complete models and ground plans to all designs showing their original dimensions by C. Hettwig, volumes in 6 parts, at $1.25 each." *The Workshop, Gewerbehalle and Cabinet-Maker's Album Advertiser*; *Album of Modern Ornamentation (Album Moderner Derzierungen); Museum of Modern Art-Manufacture Principal Specimens of Workmanship from the latest Universal Exhibitions in London and Paris*.

[65] J. Henry Symonds' Editorial, 24 October 1904, *The American Cabinet Maker and Upholsterer*, p. 5. Retrieved from Hathi Trust Digital Library (2008) URL: http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015012343557

[66] Circulation for *The Illustrated London News* was 300,000 in 1863; first use of halftone in 1887; Orme, E (1986), 'A history of the Illustrated London News'; retrieved from Illustrated London News URL: http://www.iln.org.uk/iln_years/historyofiln.htm

Napier press.[67] Within the next decade they expanded the business into a significant publishing and printing house of technical journals and textbooks. Their paper, the *Furniture Gazette* (est. 1872), quickly became a powerful trade reference throughout Britain's colonies. Wyman's formula was an astute mix of current news, trade orders, industry innovations, reader's correspondence, historic material and promotional copy.[68] Their seventeen pages featured articles often serialised over several weeks to ensure on-going sales while with each issue were three pages of designs from London and regional firms. Often re-drawn by Wyman's artists, those designs were bundled with paid advertising. Large cabinetmaking firms got free credit for their designs while subscribers got copyright free designs for which they paid an affordable 4 pence. Editions were annually bound, indexed and numbered in encyclopaedic fashion adding longevity to Wyman's weekly trade paper and perceived value to the subscriber.

Otago newspapers made references to *Furniture Gazette* by mid-1874 and on occasion reprinted articles of public fascination. Two years after first being issued in London the *Gazette* had found its way into the southernmost English papers on earth and a year later had been also reproduced in Craig and Gillies' catalogue.[69] English furniture historian Clive Edwards described the demand for patterns as "insatiable".

> In 1877 the *Furniture Gazette* published a bibliography of more than 400 books, most of which were pattern and design books. Trade magazines published weekly or monthly digests of designs and publishers re-issued famous pattern books.[70]

Competition and the Proliferation of Published Designs - Benn Bros.' *Cabinet Maker and Art Furnisher*

John Williams Benn, the eldest of eight children and son of an indebted missionary, would begin a family publishing empire, a lineage of five generations of

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[67] Charles Wyman and (brothers) John and Henry Cox in partnership as Cox Bros. and Wyman from 1858, originally established in c.1840; changed to Wyman and Sons in 1866 at 74-6 Great Queen Street, Lincoln's-Inn Fields, London. Edward C. Bigmore and Charles William H. Wyman, *Bibliography of Printing* (London: Wyman, 1884), Vol. 3, pp. 101-2. Retrieved from Internet Archive (1996) URL: https://archive.org/details/abibliographypr00wymagoog

[68] For example, Wyman's *Furniture Gazette* published exports to New Zealand for the week ending "Saturday 1st July 1882: Auckland £174 Furniture, 40 cases hardware; Bluff 24 cases paper hangings; Canterbury 23 cases hardware; Oamaru 18 cases hardware; Otago £40 earthenware, 150 cases hardware; Wanganui 20 rugs; Wellington 500 yards oil and floorcloth."

[69] Articles, 26 June 1874, *Mount Ida Chronicle*, p. 3; 13 March 1875, *Otago Witness*, p. 18; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.

[70] Clive Edwards (Ed. Joanna Banham), *Encyclopaedia of Interior Design (*London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 'Pattern Books', p. 937.

M.P.s and by 1914 he would be made a baronet.[71] At seventeen and a talented artist, he began designing furniture, eventually in 1880 becoming a junior partner with Lawes, Randall and Co. While Benn's designs for "New Hall Furniture" were published in Wyman's November 1878 *Furniture Gazette*, his article reporting on the 1878 Paris Art and Industrial Exhibition was rejected. Despondent and piqued he founded the monthly *Cabinet Maker and Art Furnisher* with brother R. Davis Benn in July 1880. After a slow reception this gradually became the preeminent British trade reference magazine.[72] They emulated Wyman's weekly *Gazette* with reports on important trade news, patents, events, commerce, correspondence, biographies, fashion retrospectives, new designs fashions and trends meanwhile the designs and sketches of Benn's editors, William Timms and George Webb, continued to appear in the *Gazette.*[73] Furniture fashions proliferated with teams of designers supplying Benn's monthly and Wyman's weekly demands for new print material to sell.

The New Generation of Designers, and the Distribution of their Designs

Frederick Litchfield's *Illustrated History of Furniture* (1892) noted the trade journals as disseminators of current styles singling out *Cabinet Maker and Art Furnisher* "with a number of good designs published month by month." Litchfield went on to name the paper's complement of 34 formative designers and architects; luminaries such as Christopher Dresser, Owen Davis, Bruce Talbert, Edward Godwin, Thomas Colcutt, Edwin Foley, Edward W. Poley, Henry Pringuer and A.W. Jonquet.[74] Major firms, particularly D. Blyth Adamson and Co, G. S. Lucraft and Son, and Benn's old employer, T. Lawes and Co., submitted their own designs to both trade magazines.

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[71] Married in 1873 to Elizabeth Pickstone related to Josiah Wedgewood and Charles Darwin.

[72] Benn was elected to parliament in 1892 with his son Ernest managing the flourishing publishing business which by the 1920s was producing a huge range of journals and novels attracting a wide pool of famous authors such as H.G. Wells and Joseph Conrad.

[73] Timms often credited as 'inv.' or inventor/designer and Webb as 'del.' the artist. 1 October 1887, *The Cabinet Maker and Art Furnisher*, p. 100.

[74] Frederick Litchfield, *Illustrated History of Furniture: From the Earliest to the Present Time* (London: Truslove, Hanson and Comba Ltd, 1899), p. 246-7. 'Art Furnishing', architect Owen W. Davis had worked on designs for James Shoolbred's 1874 catalogue. Both Colcutt and Godwin designed for high-end cabinetmakers Collinson and Lock, established in 1870 and successors to Jackson and Graham. John Moyr Smith working as assistant to Christopher Dresser designed their impressive illustrated catalogue *Artistic Furniture* in 1871. By 1885 Stephen Webb was employed as chief designer for Collinson and Lock and Mintons. Bankrupted in 1897 Collinson's assets were absorbed into Warings who subsequently merged with Gillows in 1903. Bruce Talbert had designed for Warings. Doreen Bolger, *In Pursuit of Beauty, Americans and the Aesthetics Movement* (New York: Museum of Metropolitan Art, 1976), p. 412. A. Jonquet, *Original Sketches for Art Furniture, in the Jacobean, Queen Anne, Adams, and other Styles* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1879).

Timms and Webb drew designs for Oetzmann's and Story and Trigg's catalogues while William Wallace and Co. even had a green 'Alma Tadema boudoir suite'.[75] Their arbitrary loyalty, or maybe collegiality, spread to America with regular articles and designs published in New York's *The Decorator and Furnisher.*[76] Talbert's *Gothic Forms*, for example, had also separately been published in Boston by James Osgood and Co. in 1873.[77] Benn Bros. *Fashionable Furniture*, published in August 1881 presented 350 designs of which over two hundred alone came from architects Henry Shaw and Bruce Talbert, with the latter's work "expressly purchased" by *The Cabinet Maker*.[78] Kernot and Smith's drawing room suite had been redrawn for *Fashionable Furniture*, despite being published in the *Furniture Gazette* just a month earlier as had the work of other contributing designers.[79] By 1904 R. Davis Benn had produced his *Style in Furniture* and the same year Timms and Webb independently published their own book, *Thirty Five Styles of Furniture*, a dissection of every past style in explanation of contemporary revivals.[80]

As Edwards noted, there was a lot of publishing by more designers making more and more designs freely available. In any case, infringements were seemingly infrequently contested as subscription magazines by then provided complete legitimacy, if indeed it had ever mattered. The 1884 Holt and McCarthy v. Webb case had highlighted the very nature of quickly dating wide circulation material. With only a modest record of compliance even in London, centre of it all, contravention of copyright in the South Pacific had additional security offered by the impracticalities of undertaking long distance litigation. An examination of the presence of the subscription

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[75] Cohen (2006), *Household Gods*, p. 66.
[76] R. Davis Benn (1895, September), 'Poker Work as Applied to Furniture', *The Decorator and Furnisher,* p. 205-7.
[77] English designer Talbert first published his *Gothic Forms* in America. Bruce J. Talbert, *Gothic Forms Applied to Furniture, Metalwork and Decoration for Domestic Purposes (*Boston: James R. Osgood and Co., 1873); first published in London in 1867.
[78] Bruce Talbert, "Fashionable Furniture, a Collection of Three Hundred and Fifty Original Designs, Representing Cabinet work, Upholstery and Decoration by Various Designers including One Hundred Sketches by the late Bruce J. Talbert, architect: also, a series of Domestic Interiors, by Henry Shaw, architect. Drawn, engraved, printed and published by The Cabinet Maker and Art Furnisher", August 1881. Retrieved from Hathi Trust Digital Library (2008) URL: http://babel.hathitrust.org
Shaw had been instrumental in furniture designs for over 50 years; Richard Bridgens, *Furniture with Candelabra and Interior Decoration*, 'designed by Richard Bridgens, engraved by Henry Shaw' (London: W. Pickering, 1838). Retrieved from Hathi Trust Digital Library (2008) URL: http://babel.hathitrust.org
[79] Other contributors were Alfred E. Robinson, p. 84, 25 December 1880, *Furniture Gazette*; A. W. Jonquet, p. 79, 16 December 1882, *Furniture Gazette*; William Timms, p. 88, 25 June 1880, *Furniture Gazette*; D. Blyth Adamson, p. 96, 1 June 1878, *Furniture Gazette*; John Ward, p.65, 29 January 1881, *Furniture Gazette*; Edwin Foley, p. 96, 21 February 1880, *Furniture Gazette*. August 1881, *Fashionable Furniture*, p. 115, #298-9; 9 July 1881, *Furniture Gazette*, 'Catalogue 50 Supplement'.
[80] R. Davis Benn, *Style in Furniture* (London: Longman and Green, 1904).

catalogue and associated publications in Australasia will show that colonial copiers simply had more material from which to choose.

The Subscription Magazine in the Australasian Colonies - David Jones and Frederick Lassetter

Department stores emerged as the "great development" in nineteenth-century retailing. They separated customers from manufacturers by offering a huge and exotic range of wares while making shopping an entertainment destination. Visitors viewing lavish room displays were subliminally invited to participate by investing in the produce on sale, thereby acquiring a small part of the extravaganza for their own homes.[81] In 1838 Welsh retailer David Jones founded the great George Street, Sydney store that was to carry his name into the 21st century.[82] By 1887 his son Edward had modelled it on the European style department store offering mail order service to outlying customers and selling high-end products largely reliant on imported items. To combat high import costs Jones built one of the largest Australian manufacturing plants in Melbourne Street. Originally it was a drapery store but expanded into furniture by 1889 with a purpose built Kent Street factory. They had shown a Tasmanian Huon pine bedroom suite at the 1879 Sydney International Exhibition but were first listed as furniture manufacturers in the Sydney Directory a decade later. The department store had become an "agent of diffusion" with their customers as students of style on site in the store or in the evening at home with the store catalogue. David Jones' furniture could even be ordered to shopper's "own" designs, with an on-going relationship to have it later repaired, polished and upholstered. The oldest surviving furniture trade catalogue *Art Furnisher, Upholsterers and Decorator's Catalogue of David Jones and Co.* is dated c.1895.

> Our Design Book will be found to represent such goods as are mostly in demand at the present time. While old and still saleable patterns

[81] Grant McCracken, *Culture and Consumption* (Bloomington: University of Indiana, 1990), pp. 25-8.
[82] The store history maintains that it is the oldest continuously operating department store in the world. In June 2015 David Jones Ltd, Sydney purchased Kirkcaldie and Stains, Wellington's premiere department store established in 1863.

> have been retained where necessary, the latest phases of taste in household furnishing have been more especially considered.[83]

Jones' employed Sydney-based artist and watercolourist Frederick Leist to paint their cover in an Oriental Anglo-Japanese theme and a series lavish watercolour bed settings. A photograph of wicker furniture in halftone, typical of Heywood Bros. American advertisements, was part of a series also reproduced by Auckland firm Tonson Garlick, but by far the majority were English with designs from Wyman's and Benn's periodicals dominant.[84] Lithographs of sideboards were identical to London patterns also found in Henry Fielder's *Cheap Modern Furniture* catalogue while both firms had reproduced designs from Light's *Registered Designs*. Jones reproduced architect Edward Poley's designs from the *Cabinet Maker and Art Furnisher*, the *Study Book of Furniture and Furnishing* and reprints in the New York weekly *The Decorator and Furnisher* all of which were from Benn's and Wyman's coterie of designers.[85] (Fig. 5.12) Many inconsistencies in image quality indicated that the compilers of Jones' *Art Furnisher* had commissioned some artwork but had mostly assembled it from a variety of other catalogues and periodicals. Many images were direct reproductions of Wyman's *Cabinet Makers Pattern Book* (1875), a three-year accumulation of *Furniture Gazette* supplements, explained in Jones' forward as "old and still saleable patterns."[86] Later *Furniture Gazette* patterns of bedroom suites had been reduced from full to quarter page, lithographically difficult, but a technique simply achieved by re-photographing images.[87]

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[83] 'Preface', *Art Furnisher, Upholsterers and Decorator's Catalogue of David Jones and Co (*Sydney: David Jones, c1895); retrieved from Sydney Living Museums URL: http://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/research-collections/library

[84] David Jones (c.1895), p. 37 'Reed Suite', # 116-121. *J. Tonson Garlick and Co., The Complete Modern House Furnisher* (Auckland: Tonson Garlick, c.1908), p. 152. Collection: National Library of New Zealand, Te Puna Matauranga O Aotearoa, Ref: Eph-B-DECOR-1910-01-178

[85] *The Study Book of Furniture and Furnishing*, "Being a Series of Fifty Six Plates of Designs Showing Interiors, Cabinet-Work, Upholstery, and Sundries containing plates of detailed drawings of rooms, furniture, and interior ornamentation by a number of different architects and designers including Owen W. Davis, E. W. Poley, B.J. Talbert, W. Young, James Lamb, H.W. Batley, J.J. Stevenson, Thomas Harris, R.W. Edis, Henry S. Legg, E.W. Godwin, T.E. Collcutt, H. Henry, Maurice B. Adams, T. Cutler, and Walter Hensman". (New York: J. O'Kane, 1880-9); retrieved in July 2016 from Lowcountry Digital Library URL: http://lcdl.library.cofc.edu/lcdl/catalog/lcdl:26856
For example reprints of 'Designs for Cabinet', from *The Decorator and Furnisher* (1 October 1887), New York, pp. 23, 25; 'Design for Parlour Furniture' (2 November 1883), p. 45.

[86] David Jones, 'Preface'… "In ordering from this Design Book, it is unnecessary to cut up the pages for the purpose of showing which goods are required ... There will not be any occasion to disfigure or damage the book."

[87] 'Supplement 24', 30 October 1880, *The Furniture Gazette*, author collection. David Jones (c.1895), pp. 13-15, # 24-8.

Frederick Lassetter - The Universal Providers' *Furniture Catalogue*

Frederick Lassetter had become a partner in Iredale's Sydney ironmongery store in 1850. By 1863 he re-branded the George Street "universal provider" to F. Lassetter and Co. selling everything from cutlery and cast iron ovens to steam engines. Like David Jones, Lassetters would become a household name and one of Australia's legendary retailers. They became a true department store by the early 1890's, branching into furniture, glassware and crockery and finally in 1894 adding millinery, drapery, tailoring and groceries. Both Jones and Lassetter had factories in Surrey Hills. Lassetters produced huge monthly catalogues published from the early 1900s until 1914, sometimes extending to 1200 pages and commonly known as 'Lassetters Monthly Commercial Review'.[88] Some of their first issues repeated designs from Shoolbred and Co.'s 1874 catalogue, images from which had also been reprinted in the American *Study Book of Furniture and Furnishing* and, as mentioned, also used by the other George Street furnishing behemoth, David Jones.[89] Lassetter also included the very same patterns that had first been published in Wyman's *Cabinet Maker's Pattern Book* (1875) and reprinted by Jones in 1895. (Fig. 5.13)

In a similar experience, Wyman's designs were also reprinted in the catalogues of Dunedin competitors, North and Scoullar and Thomson, Bridger and Co. One distinctive wardrobe was also a staple production of Robert Norrie in Christchurch and his brother William in Shortland Street, Auckland; furniture examples have been found from all four makers.[90] That Wyman's designs were made into furniture nationwide and were reprinted here by competing firms as well as in Australian catalogues suggested that colonial furniture design was dominated by London subscription magazines. (Fig. 5.14)

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[88] Frederick Lassetter and Co., *Universal Furniture Providers Furniture Catalogue* (Sydney: F. Lassetter, c.1900), collection: Historic Houses Trust, retrieved from URL: http://museum.collection.hht.net.au

[89] Lassetter (c.1900), *Universal Providers*, p. 112, # D21. James Shoolbred, *Designs of Furniture* (London: Shoolbred and Co., 1874), pp. 30, 165, # 33, 'Sofas'; retrieved from Internet Archive (1996) URL: https://archive.org/details/designsfurnitur00shoogoog. Further comparisons are noted in Lassetter (c.1900), pp. 33, 163, 12 and Shoolbred(1874), pp. 227, 233, 88, 229 'Chests, Bookshelf, Mirrors'.

[90] North and Scoullar (c.1882), p. 88, # 277; Collection: National Library of New Zealand, Te Puna Matauranga O Aotearoa, Ref: Eph-B-FURNITURE-1882-01; Thomson, Bridger and Co (c.1887), p. 89, # 244; Cottrell (2006), p. 153. 'Supplement', 19 March 1881, *Furniture Gazette,* author collection.

Wyman's Cabinet Maker's Pattern Book in New Zealand

A book of designs located in Christchurch amongst a substantial collection of damaged workshop furniture patterns had lost all identifying information. The 200 remaining pages had been cut but on one illustrating 'dressing mirrors' some word parts could just be discerned and reconstructed as '… **Book was executed by** …? **W**….' That same page of mirror designs had also been reproduced in David Jones' catalogue, but a tighter border had intentionally removed the original credit line. Even so it was clear that the same pattern book had been available in both Australia and New Zealand. (Fig. 5.15) One David Jones image had included the original border complete with the artist's initials 'G.H.L.' The Christchurch pattern book had that identical image, except the initials had been lost through heavy workshop use, although several patterns included the 'G.H.L.' signature in shaded portions. In the fourth *Cabinet-Makers' Pattern Book* (1884) there were similar 'G.H.L.' initials and one small design for a drawing room mirror was signed in full 'G.H. Loveland'.[91] George Loveland had been an artist for Wymans, a frequent commentator on style and economy for the *Gazette* and illustrating author of *Inexpensive Art Furniture*.[92] Wyman's advertisement for their first *Cabinet-Makers' Pattern Book* (1875) perfectly described the remaining internal title pages and index. Lithographed drawings 'published by Wyman and Sons, Original Designs for Hall, Library, Dining Room, Drawing Room and Bed Room Furniture.' The remnants of writing on the last page may have been the 'Cabinet-Makers' Pattern **Book was executed by** G.H. Loveland for **W**yman and Sons'. Part of Wyman's Technical Series first published in 1875, the *Cabinet Maker's Pattern Books* became industry manuals of 'Original Designs for Furniture, Upholstery, Decoration' marking a major shift in the availability of modern designs for general trade use. Between 1875 and 1886 Wymans published a series of five *Cabinet-Makers' Pattern Book*(s) with

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[91] *The Cabinet-Makers' Pattern Book: being Examples of Modern Furniture of the Character Mostly in Demand from Original Designs by first rate Artists, Comprising various Designs for Hall Furniture, Library Furniture, Dining-room Furniture, Drawing-room Furniture, and Bedroom Furniture. Medium 4/0., cloth gilt, bevelled boards, price 10/6d* (London: Wyman and Sons, 1884). Now rare, one copy of the 1884 fourth edition is located in Advocates Library, Edinburgh, Britain's finest law library founded in 1689. Why that copy resides there lay with Queen Anne's 1709 Copyright Act which granted the Keeper of the Library the right to claim one copy of every book printed in the British Isles.

[92] George Loveland, Bromley Street, Commercial Road, London contributed a design for an "exceedingly handy and simple adjustable chair." Advertisement, *The Mechanical News,* 1887 (New York: J. Leffel and Co., 1887). Examples of Loveland's initials found in *The Furniture Gazette*, 22 December 1883, pp. 433, 435 and 29 December 1883, p. 451. "Important Notice" (6.) *Inexpensive Art Furniture*: *A series of Original Designs for Furniture of Very Moderate Price* (London: Wyman and Sons, 1883); advertisement, 29 December 1883, *The Furniture Gazette*, p. 451.

copies of the later editions advertised for sale in Auckland in 1888 for 12/- and Hamilton in 1892 for 10/6. The reproduction of *Pattern Book* designs by three leading Dunedin firms suggests many copies had got to the colony and that it was the preferred reference work.[93]

Wyman's first *Pattern Book* found in Christchurch had with it a c.1885 broadside from regular *Gazette* contributors Morrison and Austin, Finsbury, a single c.1910 page from Sydney furnishers, Morley Johnson Ltd and a single halftone page from the Globe Furnishing Co., Liverpool. A slightly earlier and complete Globe catalogue has also been found in Auckland. By now evidence of the same printed designs, whether original or copied in Australia and New Zealand, suggested a saturation of English influence that was consistent with observations made previously on some of the earliest surviving colonial furniture styles. Again, while only the *Pattern Book* was free of copyright, the condition of the entire Christchurch collection also suggested they had been used to manufacture colonial furniture.

Large Colonial Cabinetmakers Violating Copyright – Thomson, Bridger and Co., (late Larnach and Guthrie's Dunedin Iron and Wood Ware Co.)

When William Meluish died in 1888 Frank Coxhead bought his photographic archive and in so doing copyright of the original stock was transferred. Coxhead reprinted many Meluish images for resale, correctly adding "published by F.A.C." while earlier ones signed only "F.A.C." were all his own work.[94] One such photograph taken in January 1887 was of the burnt ruins of a large brick building in Princes Street, once the headquarters of Walter Guthrie and William Larnach's Dunedin Iron and Wood Ware Company. Their company leaflet, printed in 1879, had immodestly declared that "the Company's Factory is admittedly the most extensive and complete

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[93] Colonial architect William Mason's personal copy of *The Cabinet-Maker's Pattern Book*, Fifth Series was located in the University of Auckland Library. Mason had studied in England under Peter Nicholson. *The Cabinet-Maker's Pattern Book*, Fifth Series (London: Wyman and Sons, 1886). Advertisements by booksellers Champtaloup and Cooper for *The Cabinet-Maker's Pattern Book,* 7 June 1888, *Waikato Times*, p. 3; 2 September 1892, *New Zealand Herald*, p. 8; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[94] Hardwicke Knight, *Photography in New Zealand: A Social and Technical History* (Dunedin: John McIndoe, 1971), p. 40. Cottrell (2006), p. 347. Christine Whybrew (2010) *Burton Brothers Studio: Commerce in Photography and the Marketing of New Zealand, 1866-1898,* unpublished Ph. D thesis, University of Otago, p. 59, 65-72. Whybrew also notes there was a trade in 'negatives' between studios for example Burton Brothers' photographs were sold to Thomas Muir and George Moodie in 1898 and published in 1901 with the by-line "Muir and Moodie / late Burton Brother." Introduction, pp. 21 -3; 53.

Woodworking establishment in the Australian Colonies, if not indeed the World".[95] Bankrupted shortly after the 'disastrous' fire the company was sold to Thomson, Bridger and Co. who promptly issued an extensive catalogue.[96]

Thomson, Bridger and Co., late The Dunedin Iron and Wood Ware Co.'s Illustrated Catalogue contained an impressive 2412 designs. North and Scoullar's new printers Coulls, Culling and Co. had combined three separate publications for furniture, hardware and house plans with decorative woodware in one 364-page volume. Dunedin artist Herman Clarke did the lithographic work.[97] (Fig. 5.16) Hardware, lighting, tiles, handles and ubiquitous mass-produced kitchen chairs were imported from America, Austria and England while many products were advertised as New Zealand made, such as Henry Shacklock's patent cast iron ovens.[98] Dr Monkton's Patent Bed and an extensive range of furniture offered in kauri or rimu.[99] Some high-end furniture, sideboards, cabinets, suites, credenzas and the like were clearly imported despite the impression given that they were of local manufacture; an impression all colonial firms seemed keen to convey. Clarke's illustrations came from multiple sources, Wallis/Meeking, Light Bros., Wyman's *Pattern Books*, *Gazettes* and Benn's *The Cabinet Maker and Art Furnisher*. Clarke redrew Lawes and Co.'s 1880 dining room 'Sunflower Suite' from an original design by Benn that had been first published in the *Gazette*. The 'nine-piece suite in red pine' (rimu) was obviously to be made in Thomson-Bridger workshops even if other patterns in walnut from Light Bros. *Registered Designs* were most likely imported. It seemed arbitrary as another Light Bros. sideboard (#668) was only offered for sale in rimu (#130) and yet a Spanish mahogany sideboard was available as a "cheaper style in kauri" (#91). Undoubtedly Thomson, Bridger and Co. were happy to make anything to any pattern and present their catalogue designs as their own. A sideboard originally in Wymans *Gazette* and then signed by contributor George Stephens, was redrawn and was signed "H.C."

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[95] The Pamphlet Collection of Sir Robert Stout: Vol. 48, *Guthrie and Larnach's New Zealand Timber and Woodware Factories Company, Ltd;* retrieved from Victoria University URL: http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Stout48-t4-body-d2.html

[96] In 1889 Thomson, Bridger and Co. was sold to (Frank) F.A. Hooper who subsequently formed a partnership with his brother Frederick in 1893.

[97] Herman Clarke was listed only once as an artist in *Stone's Directory for Otago for 1888* (Dunedin: John Stone, 1888). Some house plans and mouldings were also initialled 'H.B.W.'

[98] Advertisement, 20 April 1898, *Southland Times*, p. 1; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[99] News article, "Monkton's bed", 16 July 1884, *North Otago Times*, p. 2; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

implying that Herman Clarke was the original designer.[100] (Fig. 5.18) In other words "a different creator/authors' name or monogram was added to an original work intended to mislead original authorship credit".

Rival Dunedin furnishers North and Scoullar and even David Jones, Sydney had shared several of the same designs from Wymans making any claim of exclusivity unconvincing. North and Scoullar's c.1883 catalogue had been redrawn almost entirely by artist Peter McIntyre (Fig. 5.19) and he too had initialled designs copied from Wyman's *Gazette* making Clarke's added signature no single incident. The significance of copyright from the *Gazette* might have disappeared but there could be little defence by Clarke and his employers to have reproduced whole room scenes direct from Light Bros. *Registered Designs* whose very title had stated absolute protection. (Fig. 5.17) That time Clarke had signed his full name. Previously Lister had copied Light Bros. 'cheffonier' patterns a decade before but with a margin of safety as Craig and Gillies were smaller and a world away. The much larger Thomson, Bridger and Co. had a London office less than a mile from Light Bros. and the Curtain Street cabinetmakers were unlikely to grant any colonial agency for their wares to two competing Dunedin firms. Thomson, Bridger and Co. made some pretence that their catalogue was indeed original with exclusive designs by diagonally overprinting each page with 'Dunedin Iron and Wood Ware Company' in red to allegedly prevent copying. Rocke and Co. had done so in 1875 and Scoullar and Chisholm would do so as well in their 1900 catalogue. While major colonial firms displayed pretence, were vague with integrity, and persisted in copying, this would only get worse as even small regional workshops embraced photography and new developments in photosensitised printing. (Fig. 5.20)

Photolithography, Photo-Engraving - Copying Simplified for the Colonial Trade Catalogue

With seasonal benevolence Scoullar and Chisholm presented customers with a New Year calendar of some novelty for 1889; "It [had] the merit of being an entirely local production. A lithographed border and calendar having been nicely designed and

[100] "Sideboard", *Thomson, Bridger and Co., late Dunedin Iron and Wood Ware, Illustrated Catalogue,* pp. 40, 49. Illustration, "Gratis Supplement – Original Design for a Sideboard", 22 and 29 May 1880, 21 May 1881, *Furniture Gazette* (London: Wyman and Sons).

printed by Messrs. Wilkie and Co. in a space left in the centre, there are mounted photographic views by Mr Frost of the various extensive showrooms of the firm."[101] London photographer William Row Frost had set up in George Street, Dunedin, in 1881 and the following year he had purpose built a lavish glass-ceilinged studio in Princes Street. He brought with him the new gelatine silver-bromide dry plate process developed just three years before.[102] That less cumbersome and far more sensitive method enabled Frost to take "instantaneous pictures of children horses and dogs."[103] That is, he could record movement and it allowed under-lit interior furnishing photographs to be taken with ease and they did not require immediate processing as with collodion wet-plates. Further down Princes Street printer James Wilkie had to paste Frost's hand-printed photographs individually onto Scoullar and Chisholm's lithographed calendar.[104] Photography had improved but the problem had always been converting the photographic image to an ink printable medium. Scoullar's first newspaper advertising image appeared in the March 1891 Otago Daily Times with the credit line "Lane, Photo-Eng., Dunedin, J. Wilkie and Co.", a declaration that they were in the business of printing from acid etched photosensitized zinc plates.[105] (Fig. 5.21) It meant that photographic images could now be printed at thousands of copies per hour. Furthermore, the image-dependant trade catalogue could also be reproduced from any photographable source, be it a showroom full of furniture or any collection of designs from a book, with equal simplicity and the economy of any typeset page. It could be printed in raised relief or intaglio, that is, similar to a stereotype, electrotype or wood engraving, or transferred planographically onto stone. In less than three years Scoullar and Chisholm produced two large catalogues. They announced in October 1897 that were "compiling an extensive catalogue of… varied stock of furniture" and by late November it was ready and forwarded to the Evening Post for review.

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[101] This method was commonplace, for example Julius Vogel's *The official handbook of New Zealand* (London: Wyman and Sons, 1875) had seven mounted photographs. Scoullar and Chisholm advertisement, 21 December 1888, *Otago Witness*, p. 28; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[102] Christine Whybrew (2010), *Burton Brothers*, "…available [1860s] technologies for photographic portraiture being collodion, presumably on glass (ambrotypes), and calotypes on paper…"p. 32, 44.

[103] News article, "Mr. W.R. Frost, artist and photographer", 28 March 1881, *Otago Daily Times*, p. 2; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.

[104] Wilkie and Co. were bought out by William Somerville in 1894 and amalgamated with Coulls, Culling and Co. in 1921.

[105] Scoullar and Chisholm, advertising copy scrap book, August 1883-September 1911. Hocken Collections, University of Otago and author collection.
Gascoigne (2004), *How to Identify Prints*, p. 73 a-g.

> We have just received from Messrs. Scoullar and Chisholm a copy of their new illustrated catalogue of specialities in general furnishings. The catalogue is of use to all who contemplate renovating. Building up or refurnishing their households… there being no less than 313 items illustrated and numbered for ready reference.[106]

Then in January 1900 Dunedin's mayor, Robert Chisholm, mentioned "an ornately printed catalogue, giving pictures of bedsteads and cots – 132 different designs… issued some time ago" and that Scoullar and Chisholm were

> At the present time… preparing an extensive catalogue which is to embrace all the lines in which they do business. It will contain designs of the finest class of furniture, and will be relieved with photolithographs of the establishment and its showroom.[107]

Duly in late March the Evening Star had a copy of the "new *Illustrated Catalogue* [which they said was] chiefly the work of Messrs. J. Wilkie and Co.… with photo-engravings at the front of the catalogue from photos taken by Mr. R. Chisholm". (Fig. 5.22) Engraver for Wilkie, Robert Hawcridge, had sketched streetscapes of the company premises while Chisholm had photographed the interior showrooms that had all been printed photolithographically in a single pressing.[108] The Evening Star made special mention of the convincing and life-like appearance of the photolithographs as

> Works of art showing at a glance, as they do, the variety and extent of the articles in the various departments… in the carpet and floorcloth rooms… the variety and design of every roll is seen as distinctly on the photo engraving as if they stood before you in the show rooms.[109]

That new catalogue of 470 black and white furniture designs also had twenty-four pages of imported electro-plate, transfer-ware porcelain, bedsteads, and ironware, for the first time was now printed in six colours. Then in December Christchurch's The

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[106] Scoullar and Chisholm advertisement, 22 October 1897, *Evening Post* (Wellington), p. 3; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.

[107] Scoullar and Chisholm advertisement, 9 January 1900, *Otago Daily Times*, p. 3; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[108] Hawcridge had previously replaced Thomas George at the *Tablet* in 1889 before working for Wilkie and Co. George had drawn Craig and Gillies catalogue cover images. Art historian Una Platts proposed Hawcridge was the foremost book illustrator and lithographer of the time. However his pen and ink of Scoullar and Chisholm's factory compared poorly to his chromolithograph 'Panorama of Dunedin' sold with the 1894 Christmas edition of the *New Zealand Graphic*. Wilkie and Co. most notably had printed an extremely detailed, aerial three-colour map of Dunedin City and wharves for W.J. Prictor in 1898. Collection: Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, Te Puna Matauranga O Aotearoa, MapColl 834.5292ap 1898; retrieved from Built in Dunedin URL: https://builtindunedin.com/tag/1900s/

[109] Advertisement, 31 March 1900, *Evening Star* (Auckland); 5 April 1900, *Otago Daily Times*, p. 4. retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

Weekly Press[110] Christmas edition had a full colour chromo-lithograph cover portrait of a Maori mother and baby. Devoted to pictorial features, it was crammed with halftone photographs from around the world reprinted from the Otago Daily Times and Otago Witness.[111] Chisholm's same showroom interior photographs were also reproduced full page but this time in halftone. The very same photographs had now been converted to the two main ink printing mediums, planographic and relief, allowing complete freedom to copy any image or object. Copying had largely shifted from the lithographic artist to the photographer and printer.

Scoullar and Chisholm's American Cook Books Printed in Halftone

In the weeks before Christmas 1903 Scoullar and Chisholm were doing so well that they could afford to give away an impressive 590-page book entitled *Scoullar and Chisholm Ltd. Cookery Book and Household Management*.[112] Their introduction begged to show "a few illustrations of their Factory and Stock in Warehouse" alerting customers that it was "impossible to illustrate the vast assortment of goods to be found in their extensive Establishment", exactly what they had said three years before. Included were also the same images from their 1900 catalogue of sketches by Hawcridge and photographs by Chisholm of his showrooms and cabinetmakers assembling furniture.

The *Scoullar and Chisholm Ltd. Cookery Book and Household Management* was actually a reprint of *The White House Cook Book*. It was first published in 1887 with recipes by Fanny Limera Gillette and Hugo Ziemann, self-styled White House Steward and former "caterer to Prince Napoleon", and sold by mail order through the Sears Roebuck catalogue.[113] It may have been a little misleading, but Akron, Ohio, printer and copyright holder Werner's, had merely inserted the twenty-one pages of

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[110] The *Weekly Press* (Christchurch, 1865-1928) was the first South island paper to print photographs using halftone in 1894; retrieved in October 2014 from Christchurch City Council URL: http://my.christchurchcitylibraries.com/christchurch-newspapers/

[111] The *Otago Witness* first printed hand engravings copied from photographs in the mid-1850s. It eventually became New Zealand's first newspaper to publish actual photos.

[112] Advertisement, *Scoullar and Chisholm Ltd. Cookery Book and Household Management*; 15 December 1903, *Otago Daily Times*, p. 3; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[113] *The White House Cook Book* rights were bought from by R.S. Peale and Co., Chicago in 1894 by the Werner Company, Akron, Ohio. Reprinted by Salfield Publishing Co., 1907-8 and marketed as "A Comprehensive Cyclopaedia of Information for the Home containing Cooking, Toilet and Household Recipes, Menus, Dinner-Giving, Table Etiquette, Cure of the Sick, Health Suggestions, Facts Worth Knowing etc." There was also a different franchise for the Christchurch version while *Cassell's Shilling Cookery* was rebound as *DIC Shilling Cookery*. 'Bibliography of New Zealand Cookery Books to 1922'; retrieved in July 2016 from The Aristologist URL: http://www.aristologist.com/resources/cookery-books-to-1922.html

New Zealand content into the long published recipe book. Photographs of the White House were in halftone while the Scoullar and Chisholm content had the reticulated gelatine texture of photolithographs. Captions between the Dunedin and Akron images were in different fonts, but all had the same single line borders suggesting photozincographic plates already created by Wilkie and Co. for the 1900 catalogue had been sent to America.[114] (Fig. 4.21) Scoullar's publicity had valued the cookbook at one pound retail, but certainly the real cost to them was a small portion of that. As advertising it was still economic to send material across the globe to be printed in volume, have it returned and presented to the public for free, some six decades after Chaffer's Wellington map.

Advertising to Women as the New Consumers

Scoullar and Chisholm's *Cookery Book and Household Management*, with its title suggestive of comprehensive advice, echoed the earlier encyclopaedic domestic guides by Webster and Parkes (1844) and Cassells (1869). The 619-page "Comprehensive Cyclopaedia for the Home", promising to reveal domestic insight into America's most famous house, could be had gratis by merely browsing Scoullar's patterned china and kitchenware. The *Cookery Book* had clearly recognised women's influence as domestic decorators and spenders of household income. Furnishing within the home was a visible barometer of aspiration and for good taste the White House model set a high standard.

The nineteenth-century home was layered with social clues with the test of 'taste' displaying respectability an understood signal of conformance "as agreed by society". Designer Christopher Dresser noted that correct decoration had "an elevating influence" to the well-appointed paternalistic Victorian household.[115] However, emancipation advocates such as Frances Power Cobbe added "it is a woman… and without any man to help her, who can turn a house into a home." That virtue gave women domestic sway and with it commercial gravity, a point not lost on the retailing

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[114] Gascoigne (2004), *How to Identify Prints*, p. 41a-b.

[115] "The cause and effect of the cult of the home are hard to disentangle, and they are inseparable from attitudes to women." Victorian writers such as Dickens tended to portray women as accessories to their husbands and symbolic of the complete home. Jenni Calder, *The Victorian Home* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1977), p. 105. Judith Flanders, *Inside the Victorian Home* (New York: Norton, 2006), pp. 15, 18, 117.

community who courted them to exert influence on their 'good' and obliging husbands. Men had traditionally held the household purse strings, but throughout the 1890s the choice of income spent on furnishing increasingly became the role of women.[116] They were alerted to the necessity of the 'complete home' with "advertisements and catalogues contributing to the [taste] education of the young wife" even as she prepared for a life of domesticity.[117] The likes of Tonson Garlick and Scoullar and Chisholm pandered to "those about to marry [to] obtain the improved book of estimates" offering house lots of furniture priced for the "humblest cottage to the largest mansion."[118] Advertising encouraged women to exercise their understanding of good taste through their purchases and domestic display. Scoullar's, for example, pointedly advertised directly to women as 'the' domestic decision makers, while crediting them with sagacity and the keenness of a cabinetmaker's eye. One illustrated advertisement read…

> Lady. "This chair seems unusually well finished".
> Salesman. "Our price is only £3-3-0!"
> Lady. "Well I have seen several but nothing to equal this in value, it seems so solid and substantial. I will certainly take it!"[119] (Fig. 5.22)

The progressively feminine-controlled and enlightened home was additionally viewed as a repository for art and ornament ready to be supplied by colonial manufacturing retailers. Often self-titled as 'Art Furnishers' they filled their showrooms with bewildering displays of exotic printed fabrics, curtains, bedspreads, table covers, wall-papers, floor-cloths, patterned linoleums and carpets. The time spent researching the art of selecting such diverse decoration became the province of women, who were assisted by home decorating magazines, such as the *Ladies Companion* or John Benn's *The House*.[120] Larger multi-floor stores subtly attracted women daytime shoppers with tearooms and restrooms intentionally situated at their furthest corners. A social

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[116] Frances Power Cobbe citation in Calder (1977), p. 103. Cobbe citation also in Deborah Cohen, *Household Gods* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), p.105. Cohen also asserts that Oscar Wilde's prominent convictions for homosexuality insinuated a very un-masculine tone to 'aesthetes' and indeed any male interest in the art of interior furnishing; pp. 100-1, 114.
[117] Jenni Calder (1977), *The Victorian Home*, p. 112.
[118] "To those about to marry why go to Dunedin when you can have three-room furnished complete for twenty guineas at John Taylor's… Oamaru." 10 September 1894, *North Otago Times*; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Matauranga O Aotearoa, URL: https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz
Fanny Limera Gillette and Hugo Ziemann, White House Cook Book (Akron: Werner, 1903), Scoullar and Chisholm Ltd. Cookery Book and Household Management, Introduction.
[119] Advertisement Scoulollar and Chisholm Copy book, January 1910, Lake County Press.
[120] April 1926 edition of 'Furnishings' assessed women as making 90 per cent of domestic purchases. Citation in Cohen (2006), *Household Gods*, p. 99.

rendezvous to Scoullar's "Establishment" was also an entertainment destination from which "no one need leave… without securing every requisite".[121] By June 1904 Scoullar's were advertising the "Largest and Best Selection of Furniture and Furnishings Ever Exhibited in Dunedin" while continuing to entice the casual visitor with their American cookbooks.[122]

Photographing Multiple Designs for the Colonial Catalogue

The work of Stratford based photographer James McAllister largely represented the daily lives of small town Taranaki. Two of McAllister's c.1903 glass plates had previously defied explanation but now can be seen as indisputable evidence that he had been using photography to copy designs.[123] (Fig. 5.24) His studio photographs featured seventeen furniture designs irregularly cut from five diverse sources. With no artistic merit, each photograph had been taken as the intermediate stage before photochemically converting the many separate images down to a single ink-printable medium.

Primarily McAllister had photographed lithographs of designs from the "wholesale and export" catalogue of the large London cabinetmaking firm of William Walker and Sons.[124] Walker's had a major exporting business to Australia where eventually they entered a partnership with Bartholomew and Sons, Sydney, but interestingly they had no New Zealand agents. The layout for Walker's catalogue was very close to the presentation adopted by many leading firms and in a style widely disseminated by Wymans, unsurprising as Walker and Sons had on occasion contributed extensively to the *Furniture Gazette*.[125] Additionally McAllister included two pencil workshop drawings, a cast iron and wood garden seat pattern typical of some Australian mail order catalogues and an unidentified c.1860 design for a washstand.

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[121] Scoullar and Chisholm Ltd. Cookery Book and Household Management (1903), Introduction.
[122] Scoullar and Chisholm advertisement, 6 June 1904, *Otago Daily Times,* p. 4; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz
[123] 'Photograph(s) of drawings of furniture and pages from unidentified furniture pattern books or catalogues'. Reference number: 1/1-005990-G**,** Object #21915**,** 1/1-005989-G, Object #21914; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand, Te Puna Matauranga O Aotearoa URL: http://natlib.govt.nz/records
[124] William Walker and Sons were founded in 1848, specialising as "Manufacturers of Medieval Domestic Furniture". Their Bunhill Row factory by 1883 was one of the most advanced in London. Richard Charles supplied neo-classical designs and despite their highly mechanised factory they heavily promoted handmade 'Art Furniture'. Its front showrooms and four storied rear steam powered cabinetmaking workshops were connected by bridges spanning an enclosed courtyard with higher levels accessed by lifts. *The Architect* (London: Gilbert Wood and Co., 1869). Simon Jervis and Susan Wright, 'Charles, Beavan and Talbert', *The Decorative Arts in the Victorian Period* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989), p. 2.
[125] Advertisement and design; "Walker and Sons, London, Modern artistic furniture and chimney pieces." *Cabinet Maker's Pattern Book (*London: Wyman and Sons), p. 44, #3 24.

While Walker's prints from the *Gazette* were free to be copied, Walker's original catalogue was not and it was McAllister's intention, or that of his employers, to create a new catalogue. That was evident as new numbers had been scratched into the glass plate emulsion while in other parts areas had been intentionally scraped to erase incidental background material; it could not be clearer. "A copy had been made of an original work thereby [potentially] causing loss to the original author [and would subsequently be] misrepresented as an original work." Photography had made catalogue production so effortless that by now even a small Taranaki firm found it economically viable to copy numerous images without the need for an artist and it was even possible for the smallest workshops to dispense with the photographer as well.

Cabinetmakers Photographing their own Catalogues - Jacobsen and McDonald

Andreas Jacobsen had made exhibition quality furniture in native timbers since the early 1880s and about 1896 he formed a partnership with James McDonald from a modest wooden building at 96 Madras Street, Christchurch.[126] The frontier style façade promoted their "up-to-date wholesale and retail cabinet making and upholstering works" which by 1904 had expanded into a new "electric furniture factory" at 136 High Street.[127] Jacobsen's passion was photography and bee-keeping. In January 1905 the firm began advertising "Bee-Keepers' supplies" encouraging clients to send for their "free *New Illustrated Catalogue* and price list."[128] There were many newspaper references to the apiarian catalogue from 1904-6 but no reference to any furniture catalogue.

Seventeen glass plate negatives in poor condition were recovered from a Christchurch shed just prior to the 2010 earthquake. Two plates featured Jacobsen, McDonald and Co.'s first shop in Madras Street with a modest eight workmen outside.

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[126] Judges' Report, "A splendid piece of work in the shape of a chest of drawers… The top is of rimu, honeysuckle and totara, while the sides and front are formed of totara knot… while the carving to the pilasters is truly artistic" - *New Zealand International Exhibition 1882: Record*, (Christchurch: James Caygill, 1882); retrieved from National Library of Australia URL: http://trove.nla.gov.au
Jacobsen and McDonald advertisement, 21 March 1896; "Wanted, a good German bench." *The Press* (Christchurch); retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.

[127] Advertisement, 29 September 1904, *Press* (Christchurch), p. 3; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[128] Jacobsen and McDonald advertisement for their "Catalogue of Apiarian Supplies", 11 January 1905, *Ellesmere Guardian*, p. 4; advertisement, 10 February 1905, *Press* (Christchurch), p. 8; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

Other images were of furniture, individually or in sets and on each a number had been scratched into the emulsion in similar fashion to the McAlister plates. (Fig. 5.25) These had been part of a series of photographs taken by Jacobsen for a proposed furniture catalogue.[129] Two mirrors numbered 112 and 113 suggest the catalogue may reasonably have extended towards 200 or so items. In 1907 Herbert, Haynes and Co., Dunedin, squeezed 180 individually photographed pieces of furniture into their 40 pages while in 1908 Edward Collie of Wellington managed double that with 352 items in 60 pages. Herbert's had over 150 employees while Collie, after trading for ten years had a staff of fifty by 1908.[130] Jacobsen and MacDonald's furniture styles appeared to date around 1905, coinciding with their move to the larger High Street premises. Their furniture was modelled on styles offered by leading London firms and while the Jacobsen and MacDonald source cannot be determined, the behaviour of every other colonial firm suggests that they all copied from British trade catalogues. It must then be argued that the glass plate photographs of their furniture, in preparation for a catalogue, were nevertheless copies from original designs. Even a small cabinet making business such as Jacobsen's, with less than ten staff, could still afford to produce a catalogue equal to that of far larger enterprises.

The High Street location was a competitive coalescence of large Christchurch furniture making firms, notably the D.I.C., J.M. Mitchell, Lawrence and Kircher, W. Strange and Co., Herman Fuhrmann, J. Ballantyne and Co. and Alfred J. White. However, retailing apiarian supplies along with furniture had hinted of desperation and was seemingly confirmed by A.J. White's sale of Jacobsen and McDonald's "entire stock" in August 1906.[131] The catalogue was never printed, the partnership was

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[129] Other photos recovered were of Jacobsen's beehives, house, family and 'art photos'.

[130] Scoullar and Chisholm had 40 employees, 13 August 1898, *Otago Daily Times*; Herbert, Haynes and Co. had 118 workmen and 45 shop assistants, 22 February 1890, *New Zealand Herald* (Auckland); Tonson Garlick 110, Direct Supply Co. had 62 employees, 27 April 1903 *Evening Star* (Auckland); retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[131] The Direct Importing Co. Ltd. advertisement for their "Illustrated Catalogue", 16 March 1918, *Press* (Christchurch), p. 4; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nzJ.M. Mitchell advertisement, 13 September 1911, "Illustrated Catalogue", *Press* (Christchurch), p. 2; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz. A. J. White advertisement, 11 August 1906, "Sound bedsteads and pure bedding… hallstands, walnut over-mantels, [and] duchess chest"; *Star* (Christchurch), p. 6. A.J. White had previously bought out Cathedral Square furnisher H. Fuhrmann; *Press*, 13 October 1900, p. 3; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

dissolved and McDonald continued separately with his own New Complete Furnishing Emporium in Lower High Street.[132]

The Photograph Catalogue – Doyle Bros. Chair Makers

Wellington "Chair Makers and General Wood Workers" Lawrence and George Doyle completely dispensed with a commercial printer by making a catalogue from photographs of their wholesale furniture.[133] Although Doyle's catalogue displayed their wares in a home-assembled album, it illustrated the ultimate simplicity of photography. Their album's stamped address was at Little Taranaki Street predating the 1911 name change to Egmont Street. Doyle's electrified workshop produced "Special designs of quaint furniture in Oak, Walnut and Kauri" in the final melange of the previous century's ceaseless revivals and reinterpretations; William and Mary, Sheraton, Chippendale, Queen Anne, Hepplewhite, etc.[134] (Fig. 5.26) A rash of authoritative books on period styles, such as those by Litchfield (1899) and Strange (1900), offered an abundance of choice. The most recent designs displayed glimpses of 'high-backed' Art Nouveau, most certainly taken from a trade catalogue, while as a mark of changing times they were also "agents and manufacturers of [cinema] theatre seating." All frames were photographed 'in the white' (sans upholstery) with stock numbers scratched into the 5 x 7 inch glass plate emulsion before contact printing as Jacobsen and McAllister had done. Although Doyle Bros. were very competent cabinetmakers, their single improvised album needed no embellishment; being intended for trade use, it was as economical as possible to construct a catalogue from which to wholesale their entire product range to Wellington furnishing stores. Two such retailers, Edward Collie in Manners Street and Taranaki Street "Art Furnishers" S.S. Williams, both used the same halftone image of Doyle's American Mission style rocker in their respective c.1908 and c.1912-15 catalogues. (Fig. 5.27) Doyle Bros. were paid £1-0-0 with Collie then selling

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[132] J. McDonald advertisement, 22 October 1907, "J. McDonald, late Jacobsen and Macdonald, New Complete Furnishing Emporium Taken over Hampton's furnishing warehouse, 91 Lower High Street". *Star* (Christchurch), p. 1; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[133] I am grateful to Ray Eglington of Lyall Bay, Wellington for the opportunity to inspect and copy the Henry Fielder album. Fielder advertisement, 9 August 1915, *Evening Post*, p. 5; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[134] Doyle Brothers closing down sale advertisement, 18 February 1921, "Bandsaws 36in wheels, hollow morticer, rip saw, 12in buzz planer, boring machine, jig-saw, sand papering drum, belt sander, belts, pulleys, 5HP DC 500 volt electric motor, etc.", *Evening Post* (Wellington), p. 12; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

the rocking chair for £1-15-0, while Williams offered it at £1-16-6. Polished and inclusive of upholstery it demonstrated an approximate 75% mark-up. The simple photographic album, as an alternative to a commercially printed catalogue, had reduced the cost below that of every other example; it was effective for purpose and Doyle's code had revealed a retail profit consistent with that of larger firms.

Secret Price Codes and Profits

Doyle Bros. intended their photograph album to be a wholesale catalogue to which they had added prices in a code known only to their staff. The decryption key was 'SPEAKTRULY' for values 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,0 being a possible reference from *Nature* by American poet and essayist Ralf Waldo Emerson.[135] The use of price codes by cabinetmakers has never before been documented. Many codes were unique to specific firms while some, such as William Smee's 'UPHOLSTERY' had a trade-wide application. With six separate codes found in New Zealand pattern books from c.1838 until c.1964 the practice revealed a protective trade extending back to the late 1700s with the first American 'Books of Prices'.[136] When Cranwell's secret price codes from Grantham were deciphered and compared with Craig and Gillies' recopied prints, it showed as much as 100% profit for the Dunedin-made product over the English retail price; a return familiar to competitors North and Scoullar, and Thomson, Bridger and Co. who had all shown a preference for selling their own colonial furniture before imports. New Zealand manufacturers presumably counted on the fact that their local customers would have little opportunity to compare British with local prices, allowing them to make larger profits in comparison with their British counterparts with margins of 33-50%.

Quite a number of catalogues dating from c.1910-25 have been recovered with their origins intentionally obscured by the English manufacturers. For example, one catalogue simply titled "*A. G. and Co. Ltd L*" was actually Finsbury upholsterer and mirror maker Alfred Goslett. Retail shop customers could view the catalogue but not

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[135] Ralf Waldo Emerson, 1836, "To speak truly, few adult persons can see nature…" poem extract from 'Nature'. *Nature and Other Essays Ralf Waldo Emerson* (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 2009).

[136] William Smee (London: c.1838), UPHOLSTERY; Benjamin Cranwell (Grantham: c.1856-62), ł A E T O U V B W C; (possibly) Blythe and Sons, London, as found in Wyman's *Furniture* Gazettes (London: 1877), • Θ Δ ʟ \ ∩ 4 ⅂ X l; Doyle Bros. (Wellington: c.1910) SPEAKTRULY; Ron Andrews cabinetmaker (Taupo: c.1940-60), XOTMANLEDRU; Ellerm and Montgomery (Christchurch: c.1964), XBEZAJNOGV.

always identify the wholesale manufacturer, however with complete candour Scoullar and Chisholm had advertised "Fancy Chairs purchased at exceptionally low prices from Alfred Goslett and Co."[137] While Goslett's catalogue had printed retail prices visible to Scoullar's clients there had also once been a separate and removable wholesale price list, now missing, indicating that the two firms had a straightforward trading relationship. However, many catalogues still retained the removable, usually perforated, front few pages complete with all terms of trade conditions. One such intact catalogue, *Furniture Wholesale List C. and R. L* (c.1925), was of course C. and R. Light with its removable wholesale terms declaring their "Catalogue price subject to $33\frac{1}{3}$ trade discount." Guy Rogers, the Liverpool chair maker, included a "Separate Price List subject to $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent discount," while Birmingham's Gordon and Company's "Designs of Furniture Made on our New Colonial Principle" (c.1910), meaning export focussed, was marked "50% discount".[138] The latter was also over-stamped stamped "T. Cocks and Sons", the Christchurch cabinetmakers who would then have had shipping costs to import Gordon's furniture; the incentive to manufacture locally was inarguable. All English suppliers had offered margins smaller than both Collie and Williams were getting from Doyle Bros. a few streets away in Wellington. That some surviving British catalogues were found complete with such sensitive pricing details intact can only mean they were not for public reference but instead had been used as pattern books. Those mostly English trade catalogues had originally been acquired on the commercial understanding that both the manufacturing wholesaler and the importing retailer would benefit. That did not occur because New Zealand cabinetmaking firms chose to copy patterns and to manufacture directly from, the trade catalogues of large British furnishing warehouses and exporting firms.

Multiple Sources and Repetition of Designs amongst Small Businesses

The New Zealand cabinetmaking industry was, by all appearances, highly motivated by profit. For the small business photochemical printing methods had

[137] Scoullar and Chisholm advertisement, 21 November 1901, *Evening Star*, retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.
[138] Eclipse C.W. Co. Ltd (Alcester) *Jacobean Furniture Catalogue* (1925) three perforated pages offered $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent discount and 50 % on curtain rails.

reduced the cost and complexity of production with many colonial catalogues resembling casually assembled scrapbooks. (Fig. 5.28) Printing efficiencies also contributed to the increase in the number of design sources, particularly trade catalogues, for cabinetmakers to select and copy. Both S.S. Williams' and Edward Collie's catalogues had over twenty recognisably different image qualities and styles suggesting they were chosen from different sources. However, such was the fervour to have their own catalogues Collie, Williams and Broad, Small and Co., had all duplicated the same designs from British trade catalogues.[139] (Figs. 5.29 and 5.30) This had been observed with wardrobe designs from Wyman's popular Gazette in 1880s Dunedin but by c.1910 the proliferation of copying was such that repetition was found between virtually any two colonial catalogues nationwide.

Broad, Small and Co. c.1890-1983 were leading Invercargill saw millers, furniture manufacturers, ironmongers, hardware, and crockery merchants. Broad's proudly claimed their *Catalogue of Furniture* (1913) befitting a town of nearly 18,000 could not be bettered throughout the country.[140] "The book itself comprises 40 pages, neatly bound, printed on Finer art Paper, and beautifully illustrated with blocks made from photographs of Furniture manufactured at our Factory."[141] It was far less than advertised with Broad's designs taken from at least eighteen diverse sources. Several chairs were even reprinted with the word "Copyright" clearly visible![142] (Fig. 5.31) With so much copying, the same designs also began to appear in other catalogues around New Zealand. Collie's, Williams' and Broad, Small and Co.'s quite separate and unrelated catalogues all shared many designs, woodcuts, lithographs and halftones, gathered from the same British sources.[143] In addition to Collie and Williams in Wellington, the Broad Small and Co. catalogue shared images in common with other

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[139] Edward Collie, *Art Furniture* (Wellington: E. Collie, c.1908), p. 448, # 257; author collection. *Williams Ltd. Art Furnishers* (Wellington: S.S. Williams, c.1911), p. 2, # 5; author collection. Broad, Small and Co., *Furniture Catalogue* (Invercargill: Broad, Small and Co., 1912) p. 3, # 944; collection Hokonui Research Centre, Gore District Historical Society.

[140] "The Catologue itself is a work of art, produced by leading artists in the line in the Dominion, and the Photographs are Actual Pictures from Furniture made in Our Factory, and taken on the spot. We venture to say that no better work, either in the Furniture or the Catalogue is issued from any town in New Zealand." 'Introduction', *Furniture Catalogue*, Broad, Small and Co. (Invercargill: Southland News Co., Ltd. [printers], 1912).

[141] "A Post-card will bring our New Furniture Catalogue to you." Broad, Small and Co. advertisement, 28 January 1913, *Lake Wakatipu Mail,* p. 3; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[142] Broad, Small and Co., *Furniture Catalogue* (1913), p. 25, # 154; collection Hokonui Research Centre, Gore District Historical Society.

[143] There possibly may have been a relationship between both firms. S.S. Williams, J.H. Williams (whose signature was on Collie's catalogue) and A. Doyle, were all listed in the N.Z.E.F., 'Roll of Honour', 26 January 1918, *Hastings Standard*, p.6, retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

firms, notably Tonson Garlick, Kauri Timber Co (Auckland), Herbert Haynes and Co., Thomson, Bridger and Co. (Dunedin) and A.J. White (Christchurch). With so much British material available to colonial firms it is notable that duplication so frequently occurred. It demonstrates that this was a result of the huge increase in colonial pattern reproduction and also the regular supply of trade catalogues to the colonial market from the same British sources.

Given the eclectic nature of all three Collie, Williams and Broad catalogues with a combined total of well in excess of thirty different sources for their designs, it was unrealistic to consider that 'consent from copyright holders had… been obtained.' Collie emphasised the "originality" of his furniture but also said that new designs constantly appeared. He neglected, for example, to say his catalogue displayed photographs from up-market British maker and retailer Warings catalogue and he also borrowed from Worcestershire Furnishing Co.'s giant mail order catalogue. Waring's catalogue was only ever lent with each copy numbered and the retailer's details noted. Collie did confess to having far too much stock to illustrate, necessitating customers to personally inspect his Manners Street shop but such a visit would have established that many of the pictured articles did not (yet) exist or were not original to him.[144] Williams said that "all goods illustrated are of our own manufacture" but many illustrations in their catalogue were of foreign made furniture, for example several were from the world's largest furniture maker, Harris Lebus' catalogues; besides there was even Doyle's chair, so their claim did not hold. What they did mean was that they could manufacture colonial furniture from the patterns that they had copied, thus violating a basic precept of copyright where "a copy was made from an illegitimate copy where the first original work was subject to all copyright restrictions".

The Limitations of Photo Reproduction

Broads had chosen to redraw some images for economy, but not for presentation, even claiming their "catalogue [was] a work of art, produced by leading artists" despite their printers, the Southland News, having a decade of experience

[144] "Art furniture in modern designs, new and up-to-date machinery enables us to turn out pieces quickly, and thus our stocks are always complete." Edward Collie advertisement, 22 August 1912, *Dominion*, p. 9; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

reproducing photographs.[145] McAllister's two plates of twenty-five separate designs demonstrated that photography was viable for multiple image reproduction but he had destroyed much of Walker's catalogue to make it worthwhile. Broads appear to have used some catalogues for only one or two images making such destruction impractical. By economically photographing whole catalogue pages of many designs, it explains the inclusion of sequential stock numbers from the original British catalogues and Broad and Co.'s attempts to over paste new hand-written numbers. (Fig. 5.31) Design layout became the province of the printer and with no single lithographic artist to unify so much diverse material, such as Clarke did for Thomson, Bridger, small errors were overlooked. McAllister's glass plates had initially included irrelevant material which with effort may later have been removed but in Broad's catalogue the Southland News had left wildly inconsistent and redundant stock numbers from the original source.[146] The conundrum of photography was its ability to record even the smallest detail and the practicalities of later editing being balanced against the simplicity of photochemically reprinting so much material.

The versatility of photography to reproduce efficiently a large assortment of designs undoubtedly aided copying, but as outlined it had limitations for individual images that did contribute to the poor presentation of many colonial catalogues. While most discussion has focussed on the illegitimate use of material, some images were in fact directly supplied by manufacturers specifically for advertising use. This practice also helps to account for random variations in image quality. Doyle Bros.' rocking chair appeared in both Collie's and William's catalogues, but while those halftone prints were identical they differed from Doyle's' original photograph, suggesting that at some point the image had been used for newspaper advertising. Imperfections in quality indicated that both Collie and Williams had been supplied from the same source and it was in Doyle's' interests as the manufacturing wholesaler to do so. Many times images were also legitimately reproduced in colonial catalogues and, on occasion, exporters and wholesalers directly supplied the actual printer's blocks for use in adverting.

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[145] Article, 3 November 1904, *Southland Times*, p. 2; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.

[146] Broad, Small and Co (1912), #A255, part of second iron bed accidentally included in image. Two sideboards from different sources had the same stock number #1000. Numbers extended beyond #2300 yet there were less than 180 individual patterns in the entire catalogue. Collection Hokonui Research Centre, Gore District Historical Society.

The Electrotype – Manufacturer-Supplied Printing Blocks

Homi R. Shroff, an English educated Parsi from Mumbai, immigrated to Auckland in 1886 to establish a furnishing and hardware-importing store.[147] In his small family run business he used Sanskrit for his price code which, conveniently, could only be read by his son Mortimer and not even his English born wife. Homi Shroff diligently pursued his business with an eye to his immediate competition, the American style mail order business of Laidlaw Leeds just a block further down Hobson Street.[148] All the while he monitored fluctuating charges from his supply agents, Cama Moolla and Co., London, successors J. Edwin, Wall and Son, Birmingham and Arkell and Douglas of New York and Sydney. Shroff placed monthly orders from English and American catalogues of between £60-120.[149]

Shroff's furniture was supplied from Auckland cabinetmakers while he imported floor coverings, dinner and kitchenware, along with a huge variety of hardware. At a period where catalogues were being cheaply produced by most small retailers he attempted likewise as indicated in correspondence with Moolla on 23September 1908. Referring to Falk and Stadelmann's lamps with fittings he added,

> I should like Electros of the above lamps (small for advertising purposes) if they will put in free. I shall thank you to obtain for me electros from the different makers and send them altogether. Most of the makers will not hesitate to send free for it is much for their interest as mine, but where ever they demur I would not mind a charge of 3 [pounds?] or so an electro.[150]

The electrotype was a printing plate formed through the deposition of metal by electrolysis onto an engraved surface. Usually they were taken from wood engravings, with American engravers reckoned to produce the finest examples.[151] Plates from a

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[147] Shroff advertisement, "Handsome sideboard", 12 May 1914, *Auckland Star*, p. 9; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.

[148] Established by Robert Leeds in 1909; retrieved from Te Ara Encyclopaedia of New Zealand URL: http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3l2/laidlaw-robert-alexander-crookston

[149] Shroff family MS: 18 March to 29 June 1908, correspondence to Moolla #13 L65-14-05, #34 L110-19-03; Arkell and Douglas #15 L77-17-04, #25 L109-18-08. Collection Gordon and Marie Shroff, Wellington.
For comparison the directors' minutes and order book for A.J. Whites Ltd, Christchurch with about 45 employees, for the year ended March 1909 showed a gross turnover of £50,048, and a profit of £3579. Author collection.

[150] Shroff family MS, 'Letter Book', 26 September 1908, # 58-61. Collection Gordon and Marie Shroff, Wellington.

[151] The electrotype-printing block was formed through electrolysis which gradually replaced stereotyping or casting. It became commercially viable after the invention of Alfred Smee's (cousin to William Alfred Smee) battery in 1840. Repetitive plates produced from a parent block, often a woodcut, were able to be set along with letterpress type. Gascoigne (2004), pp. 6d, 72-3) says that at their best they were astonishingly good, with almost photographic results. *The Mulliner Box and Planing Co.'s*

single parent source were then cheaply supplied by manufacturers to overseas retailers. It does explain why some mass-produced products could appear with universally identical images in foreign trade catalogues.

Shroff again wrote to Moolla referring to the large order saying "I am giving you a great deal of trouble in collecting these and shall require more, but as business is worked here it is necessary to issue a catalogue." Shroff finally did produce one trade catalogue in about 1909-10 but only a single un-numbered page has survived.[152] The highest stock number of #123 and a credit line for 'G.J. Rowe, Ltd, Printers, Auckland' suggests that may it have been nearly the last page making the catalogue size very modest, perhaps only 20 or so pages.[153]

Shroff had repeatedly begged his electrotypes from different manufacturers; quite apparent as image scales were out of relative proportion and the quality of engraving varied noticeably.[154] Later newspaper advertisements of the same images exhibited more abrasions indicating electro-types were repeatedly re-typeset. (Fig. 5.32) Not all Shroff's images were electros, for example his, 'seamless cast aluminium kettles' had been cut from another catalogue originally printed in halftone.[155] In May 1912 he asked if agents Edwin, Wall and Son would "Kindly favour [him] with a catalogue and prices of some good makers of stirrup irons… and a small electro not larger than 2 inches for newspaper advertisements for the gag."[156]

Parsimonious Shroff placed regular newspaper advertisements using electrotypes but to his ultimate cost produced no more catalogues. He explained to London supplier W.H. Penn, "I do not issue any catalogue because to illustrate and give prices of the different qualities of the same piece of furniture [?] turns into several hundred pounds and I believe in saving this to keep prices as low as consistent with

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Combined Book (Chicago: Rand, McNally and Co., 1893) comprised nearly 3,000 electrotypes taken from wood engravings. Publishers, Rand McNally, on the title page stated they were "Printers, Engravers and Electrotypers".

[152]Almost all the Shroff records were dumped in about 2005 with retirement of Homi's grandson Brian, the winding up of the company and sale of the Hobson Street shop. I am grateful to Gordon and Marie Shroff for their family papers which were found in a skip after the demolition of the Shroff building on the current TVNZ site.

[153]Shroff family MS, remaining catalogue page, #107 to #123, "Pots, kettles, foot-rot shears, castrating knife", and a tool to 'Prevent your Pigs from Rooting'. Detail of 'Rowe Printers, Wakefield and St Pauls Streets, Auckland'; retrieved from Auckland City Council URL: http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/dbtw-wpd

[154] Shroff appeared to have obtained electrotypes from toolmaker William Marples' Hibernia Works, Sheffield (Proper Castrating Knife), Henry Boker, Germany (Highest–grade French Pruning Shear) and Dr Miller's Pig Snouter, Rhu Bros., Chicago.

[155] Advertisement for "Tinol", 6 September 1913, *Auckland Star*, p. 11; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.

[156] Shroff catalogue [surviving page], 'Perfection Mouth gag and Speculum'; Shroff family MS: 'Letter Book', #432, 16 May 1912. Collection: Gordon and Marie Shroff, Wellington.

reasonable profits."[157] Ironically despite Shroff's constant reference to manufacturer catalogues he could see no personal benefit, instead focussing on squeezing promotion from suppliers. It was his practice to request as many imports to be labelled with his own 'Marvel' shop brand. He cajoled manufacturers to do this as a requirement of some orders at their regular catalogue price. Renowned Sheffield saw makers Spear and Jackson were played against the huge Philadelphia works of Henry Disston and Sons. "The American saws bear a scroll 'The American Marvel, made Specially for H.R. Shroff, Victoria Street, Auckland'. I want on your saws a scroll the style I leave entirely to your good selves with 'The English Marvel, a High Grade Saw, Made Specially for H.R. Shroff, Victoria Street, Auckland'."[158] This free advertising had its cost as Shroff's vision of success fixated on detail suggesting that he could establish a house-marketing brand with more sales appeal than well-established foreign manufacturers. He may have been penny-wise, honest and very competitive in his business dealings but he saw the trade catalogue as an expense rather than an asset, despite extensively using them himself. Free electro-types and images cut from suppliers' catalogues with modern printing had never been easier or cheaper and it was Shroff's nemesis, Laidlaw Leeds, further down Hobson Street who would demonstrate just what an asset the trade catalogue could be.

Large Scale Use of Multiple Sourced Images – The Mail Order Catalogue

Dissatisfaction with Moolla[159] in September 1911 forced Shroff to England on a search for a new agent and new products. Shroff's son Mortimer wrote of business at home,

> Laidlaw Leeds have just issued their new catalogue it is much larger (with fully another 1,000 illustrations I am told) and a very good one,

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[157] Advertisement, "H.R. Shroff General House Furnisher," 5 July 1904, *Auckland Star*, p. 1. Similar wording is found in advertisements until at least 25 August 1920, *Auckland Star*, p. 9. Shroff family MS, Letter Book, September 1912, # 347, # 370; # 497, 27. Collection Gordon and Marie Shroff, Wellington.
Seller of Catholic and Irish National books, John Dunne was more definitive with his refusal to print a catalogue. "Bulky catalogues to a certain extent are useful; but on the other hand, many persons are lead, because of the bald description of works offered for sale, into purchasing books which are of little use to them." To acquaint themselves in person, Dunne encouraged country people to visit his Dunedin business. John Dunne bookseller advertisement, 16 March 1888, *New Zealand Tablet*, p. 12; retrieved from National Library of New Zealand URL: http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

[158] Shroff family MS, 'Letter Book', 17 August 1908, # 48-50.

[159] Cama Moolla's long and personal relationship with Shroff begun in England but gradually deteriorated with time and distance. 15 June 1908 … 'My Dear Moolla....excuse me for saying but you were in a muddle when I was in London eight years passing, you are in a muddle now....I hope I shall have no occasion to growl again.' Shroff MS, 'Letters Book', #9, #30.

> they have cut the prices still more... a good many lines they have reduced... but still we get a good many orders from the country, this morning I had a good lot 36 letters altogether.[160]

In later correspondence to his father 'Morty' wrote that their business had been quite buoyant while gloating at the misfortune of their competition.

> I think Laidlaw L. must be feeling it, they adv. this week all goods this month freight free… They make a great many mistakes, one man told me that they sent him 9 cases of kerosene and never charged him and I heard of another yesterday, a man ordered a set of knives, 3 bridles, and a coat he got his goods and the next he got another lot.[161]

The Shroffs were quite wrong as Laidlaw Leeds' turnover was such that losses were absorbed and very good profits still made. Comparison with Shroff was telling as both firms retailed similar products in the same Hobson Street location. The difference was in the marketing. While Shroff never expanded beyond a single outlet, Laidlaw Leeds evolved into The Farmer's Trading Company Ltd (1918) to become the New Zealand equivalent of the legendary American mail order store, Sears, Roebuck and Company. The Sear's model had offered distant customers a huge variety of products at low and fixed prices. Their catalogue, often known as the 'consumer's bible', by 1907 produced an annual turnover of US$50 million.[162] The profit lay in sales volume. Laidlaw Leeds' mail order business was similarly a huge success, almost entirely profiting from their impressive and expensive catalogue with its province-wide reach quite similar to that of Lassetter's Australian experience. When the small family run business of H. R. Shroff and Son finally closed its door in 2005, The Farmer's Trading Co. had 56 department stores nationwide.

The Consumer and the Catalogue

Customer demand (for furniture and domestic goods) then must ultimately be attributed to the success and proliferation of colonial trade catalogues. The aspiration of

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[160] 'Shroff Business Closes' article, 18 February 1986, *New Zealand Herald.* Shroff family papers.
[161] Shroff MS, 'Letter Book', 23 August 1911, # 355.
[162] Sears first published a catalogue in 1888, in six years it had grown to 322 pages, and in 1895 enlarging to 532 pages with sales of $800,000. By 1907 sales had risen to $50 million. John Emmet and Boris Jeuck, *Catalogues and Counters* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950), pp. 47, 53-7.

home ownership with inherent capital growth had been a large factor in attracting migrants.[163] Personal investment was further secured by the purchase of one's own furniture that, surprisingly, was oftentimes traditionally hired by (many) work-mobile migrant classes in Britain. Cabinetmakers had frequently traded and leased second hand furniture.[164] Settlers to New Zealand who would rather purchase found by the 1860s an "economic climate which favoured upward mobility," with their consumption visibly confirming their new social status.[165] Local manufacturers and importers supplied new settlers with new assets to accumulate, gradually blurring class distinctions. It was, as Arthur Thomson (1859) had rightly said, "… hope that renders colonial life so agreeable to working men… [Those] in the middle ranks of life in England, with a little capital, find themselves in the first rank in New Zealand."[166] The very notion of moving home and country had intangible advantages as well. Despite their origins, migration levelled the starting position of most new arrivals, while allowing opportunity to romanticise their past and idealise the future.[167] Furniture created illusion, with a few well-chosen items for the public rooms implying a similar status throughout the house's private areas; a hall chair suggested servants, while two tables suggested that one could be reserved solely for dining with guests.[168] "The Dining room was the most public room in the house… where formal displays of hospitality were made, on which the status of the family was judged…. One could not be too careful in one's choices of furnishing."[169] Furniture was then a visible demonstration of colonial improvement and success.

New Zealand Government policy fostered local industries to generate New Zealand-made products so that by the end of the 1870s domestic household wealth was valued as the highest sector of economic growth. With only a few decades of European history, settlers built and bought new. The acquisition of even modest wealth directed their gaze to the latest English fashions that, in any case, had been universally regarded

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[163] Anna K. C. Petersen, *Signs of a Higher Life: A Cultural History of Domestic Interiors in New Zealand c.1814-1914* (Dunedin: University of Otago, March 1998); unpublished Ph. D thesis, p. 44; Wunderlich Art Metal Ceilings catalogue "Your house should be as much an investment as a home". Citation by Petersen, p. 163.
[164] Ponsonby (2007), *Domestic Interiors*, p. 56-64, 86-91.
[165] Petersen (1998), *Higher Life*, p. 60.
[166] Arthur Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand: Past and Present - Savage* and Civilised (London: John Murray, 1859), p. 313.
[167] Grant McCracken, *Culture and Consumption* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990). "The nineteenth century saw the permanent interaction between consumption and social change." pp. 27, 104-7
[168] Petersen (1998), *Higher Life*, p. 64
[169] Judith Flanders, *Inside the Victorian Home* (New York: Norton, 2006), p. 255.

as the wellspring of all architectural style and, by default, encouraged local cabinetmakers to be unoriginal imitators and copiers.[170] Utility required fashion to demonstrate elevation amongst colonial compatriots while the standardisation of domestic taste also symbolised a mutual identity and, for migrants, it gave a sense of connection in their new community.[171] Catalogues then, like store window displays, were the conduit for customer furnishing awareness; they encouraged the discerning to purchase and then in their homes to proudly display their new furniture.

Conclusion

It was important to prove how early furniture designs had reached New Zealand to demonstrate how modern the first colonial furniture was, and how quickly new fashions were adopted here. British patterns were subsequently copied in the first colonial trade catalogues with furniture routinely made from those patterns. It was also explained how copying by various printing methods was up-to-date and indiscriminate with regard to copyright. Finally it was argued that despite various trade relationships with British firms local furniture makers profited by manufacturing from the designs they had copied.[172]

The Earliest Colonial Furniture Directly Related to Contemporaneous English Designs

By the 1970s Australian authors began to agree that their earliest colonial furniture was as modern as the latest London fashions. In the next decade new research there related many examples to early nineteenth-century designs and this thesis shows the same to be true for New Zealand. Wellington cabinetmaker James Wilson had advertised "Drawings of every kind of cabinet and chair work" in August 1840, within months of the first immigrants arriving. From those few words it is now clear that he was referring to the latest designs of a small group of men in London who dictated the appearance of our earliest colonial furniture. It has been shown that the work of

[170] Ponsonby (2007), p. 10. Joy, E. T., 'The overseas Trade in Furniture in the Nineteenth Century', *Furniture History*, VI (London: 1970), p.71; citation by Petersen p. 145.
[171] Shimbo (2015), Furniture Makers and Consumers, p. 216.
[172] Petersen (1998), *Higher Life*. "Upper class fashions in furnishing, which spoke of culture in its elitist sense, became commercialized and consequently available to a wider range of consumers." p. 120.

prominent early nineteenth-century British furniture designers can be recognised in surviving examples of colonial furniture. The first chapter examined examples that originated from Smith's *Guide* (1826), Loudon's *Encyclopaedia* (1833), King's *Modern Style* (1829-35) and Smee's *Designs* (c.1838).

New Information about London Designers

Close examination of the work of two of New Zealand's earliest cabinetmakers, John Langford and Josephus Hargreaves determined a new date of c.1838 for Smee's *Designs*. It was also shown that John Taylor's work, which had generally been incorrectly dated to c.1850, was amongst a small band of influential London designers in the 1820s. It was determined that Loudon and Smee, amongst others, had a working relationship with King and that many early nineteenth-century designers knew each other, occasionally collaborated, and shared the same publishers.

The Same Patterns Consistently Arrived in New Zealand

The earliest examples of colonial furniture had design features so distinctive that in some cases it was possible to link them to the specific work of individual British designers such as Loudon, King or Smee. It was also found that their designs were present in at least three of the oldest North and South Island areas of settlement while on occasion it was possible to determine that the same design, such as King's 'Chairs with Inclining Backs', had reached different regions. It was also possible to find that designs from the same pattern book could be determined, such as Langford and Hargreaves' use of Smee's c.1838 *Design*, and that there was a constant supply of the same material throughout New Zealand. Additionally Loudon's, Nicholson's and Taylor's books were advertised in Wellington and Auckland newspapers by 1850 to further show that national spread, while actual patterns by King, Nicholson, Taylor and Loudon, predating 1836, have been found recently in New Zealand to support circumstantial assertions. Chapter Three detailed a similar Australian experience from the same period while Chapters Four and Five demonstrated that the same images were found repeatedly reproduced in catalogues by different and even competing colonial

furniture firms. It suggested that the same designs continued to reach New Zealand and that a few British magazines and large furniture firms tended to dominate.[173]

Establishing Dates, Attributions and Connections through Materials

Establishing dates and attributions to certain makers enabled other furniture to be dated to the 1840s by the use of similar materials, timber species, styles and work characteristics. Additionally, other early furniture clues provided by imported fittings, such as hinges and nails, provided a useful cross-reference method other than stylistic features alone to date colonial furniture. The example of two totara sideboards, connected by timber type and signature work habits to the same Wellington maker, possibly Langford, were also shown to exhibit distinct design elements drawn from Taylor's and King's designs and Smee's first catalogue. Analysis of a large pedestal table for this thesis allowed it to be re-dated to c.1841-3 and by comparison was attributed to Johan Levien, one of only two objects known by him and a significant discovery.

Contemporaneous use of the same British Designs by American and Australian Cabinetmakers

America provided a good English speaking analogy to determine the influence of British designers abroad. Very early nineteenth-century designs by Sheraton, Hepplewhite and Hope were identified in both American and Australian furniture, demonstrating that British designs were internationally popular and widely adopted. A few well-known British furniture designers dominated Australian colonial furniture, particularly the familiar names of Smith, Taylor, King and Loudon. It was those very same designers whose patterns had been copied in the first American pattern books and also whose designs were also identified as influencing the oldest New Zealand colonial furniture of the 1840s. The influence of British furniture design could be seen in

[173] Edward Collie, *Art Furniture* (c.1908), p. 448, #257, collection author. S.S. Williams Ltd *Art Furnishers* (c.1911), p. 2 #5, collection author. Broad Small and Co., *Illustrated Catalogue* (1912), p. 3, #944, collection Hokonui Research Centre, Gore District Historical Society.

America and Australia, and then later in Australia and New Zealand at comparable periods.

Britain Completely Influenced Furniture Style in Australia and New Zealand

Adherence to design was influenced by the recent origins of settlers in New World countries. In the second chapter American furniture designs were shown to illustrate a blend of English and Continental style while Australian furniture had remained purely British. Australian colonial furniture was so faithfully reproduced that often it was only distinguishable from its British counterpart by timber species and this was also found to be true for New Zealand. Allowance was made for individual cabinetmaker interpretation and deviation from known designs.

American Copying was a Precursor to Australasian Furniture Trade Design Copying

Much British design had sprung directly from Hope's work, but even he had studied Fontaine and Percier's classical revival designs. Such consensus in European fashion then provided a forceful resource for the first American cabinetmaking publications to draw on and to imitate British and French design. The first American furniture trade subscription magazines were also filled with speculatively reprinted English, French and German furniture patterns. The reuse of such material was cheap, offering assured sales of magazines and books of already popular and proven designs. Despite some legitimate republishing of English and European furniture books, much American copying of foreign designs was unoriginal and at best simply redrawn. Often, it was reprinted without the approval or even acknowledgement of the original authors, demonstrating a disregard for design propriety by their cabinetmaking and print trade. In Chapter Three Rocke and Co.'s *Pattern Book* also displayed such unoriginality with designs copied in part from Smee's catalogue. It was later seen that the Sydney catalogues of David Jones and Frederick Lassetter had also extensively copied English designs and that the same English sources, particularly subscription magazines, had also been used in New Zealand furniture catalogues.

Australia and New Zealand had Similar Trade Catalogue Publishing Histories

Despite a half-century delay after Australia for European settlement in New Zealand, by the middle 1870s both Australia and New Zealand shared a very similar furniture trade catalogue publishing experience. That burst in Australasian catalogue publishing occurred with the growth of colonial cabinetmaking companies experiencing similar economic conditions and the desire to emulate British and American companies who had already independently published their own catalogues. The proliferation of those trade catalogues and the availability of new patterns from subscription periodicals gave a ready supply of new material for colonial cabinetmakers to copy, far beyond the recognisable designs previously offered by infrequently published pattern books.

Catalogue Copying for Workshop Use was Indiscriminate and Widespread

In Chapter Five evidence was presented to show that cabinetmakers used copying machines and that some English catalogues displayed clear evidence of having been copied using transfer paper in workshops. Copying occurred in some of New Zealand's largest furniture firms such as was found with damage to Henry Fielder's copy of Light Bros. *Registered Designs* to suggest that it was an industry-wide practice. It demonstrated a clear intention by cabinetmakers to manufacture colonial furniture from British wholesaler and exporters' trade catalogues. It profited only the New Zealand furniture makers.

Photography Benefitted the Copying of Multiple Design Sources

Every New Zealand printed furniture catalogue surveyed between 1875 and c.1915 comprised almost entirely foreign-sourced material, mainly British, with virtually no recognisable colonial content. Inspection of the first lithographed colonial furniture catalogue revealed material taken from at least six separate imported sources while photoengraving processes for new catalogues in the first years of the twentieth century only accelerated the copying of any furniture material. This was noticeably so for small cabinetmaking firms enabling them to produce catalogues from as many as twenty different sources. While photography benefitted the reproduction of many designs, a single pattern per exposure was not always economic with catalogues often requiring several hundred designs.

The Economy of Photography Facilitated the Copying Designs

When compared to the laborious nature of lithographic reproduction, photography greatly simplified the assembling and printing of many designs. Modest colonial cabinetmaking firms had come to realise that producing a selection of wares in a trade catalogue was affordable, while also affording a degree of status and publicity previously only available to the biggest London businesses that employed artists. This was evident in the proliferation of catalogues produced by smaller New Zealand businesses that were most often piecemeal selections of diverse foreign patterns.

Secrecy, Price Coding and Higher Profits for Colonial-Made Furniture

Seven separate codes were deciphered dating from c.1838 until c.1964, revealing secret price code systems, some of which demonstrated trade mark-ups and a higher profit margin on colonial made furniture.[174] The example of Cranwell's Grantham codes showed up to 100% profit for the Dunedin made product over the English retail price for the same article. Additionally a number of catalogues dating from c.1910-25 were recovered with their origins intentionally obscured by the English manufacturers, indicating that they were intended as New Zealand showroom sales catalogues. However, despite their intended purpose, some still retained removable and sensitive pricing details offering trade discounts of between $33\frac{1}{3}$ and 50%, indicating they had in fact been used as factory pattern books from which to make local furniture. Chair makers Doyle Bros.' code also revealed a 75% wholesale to retail mark-up for the locally manufactured product demonstrating higher incentives to sell New Zealand made furniture.

British Trade Catalogues were used as Colonial Pattern Books

British warehouse catalogues were used in the colonies as workshop pattern books to manufacture furniture locally for far greater profit. It was implicit and

[174] Smee (London), c.1838, UPHOLSTERY; Cranwell (Grantham), c.1856-62, ł A E T O U V B W C; (possibly) Blythe and Sons, London, as found in Wyman's *Furniture Gazettes,*1877, • Θ Δ ʟ \ ∩ 4 ℸ x l; Doyle Bros (Wellington), c.1910 SPEAKTRULY; John E. Hurdley and Son , B/CE/X = £4/15/- (?); Ron Andrews (Taupo cabinetmaker) c.1940-60, XOTMANLEDRU; Ellerm and Montgomery (Christchurch), c.1964, XBEZAJNOGV; Shroff's Sanskrit code proved challenging.

generally stated by most colonial cabinetmaking firms that they could manufacture upon request any of the patterns reproduced in their catalogues. Many firms announced they could not illustrate all their stock and that they were happy to manufacture to any design. It strongly suggested that they had reproduced only portions of British trade catalogues and that they would, in fact, manufacture to any design if the customer visited their premises. The intention for colonial cabinetmakers to manufacture from British trade catalogues was identified as early as 1842, when Hargreaves and Langford used Smee's *Designs* to make beds, chiffoniers and card tables.[175] Early twentieth century colonial catalogues with numerous patterns from multiple sources also demonstrated a similar attitude and damage found on numerous British suppliers' catalogues testified to actual workshop use.

Colonial Catalogues Broke Copyright Laws

New Zealand cabinetmakers displayed a general disregard for proprietary British manufacturer designs by indiscriminate copying for their own colonial trade catalogues. Furthermore, such copying was in contravention of existing copyright laws with the four elements of protection consistently ignored. British manufacturers were denied profit when colonial furniture was made and sold from designs that were copied or where British catalogues were even used as colonial workshop pattern books.[176] Designs had also been represented as original by colonial firms when in fact they had been copied. Most tellingly, artists Herman Clarke and Peter McIntyre had signed their names to designs from Light Bros. *Registered Designs* and Wyman's *Gazette* as a clear demonstration of deception.[177] McAllister had photographed thirteen pages from William Walker and Sons' c.1880 London catalogue, removed Walker's name and added new stock numbers into the emulsion in preparation for a new colonial catalogue. Any argument that the catalogues were given free or lent would not hold as the final product, the colonial made furniture, was still a recognisable copy of the original, most

[175] W.H. Rocke and Co.'s *Approximate Price List* (1875), p. 56, # 768-70.
[176] Dunedin Iron and Wood Ware Co., *Illustrated Catalogue* (c.1887), p. 45, # 130 6'6" 'Sideboard in Red Pine'; C. and R. Light, *Registered Designs* (1880), #668.
[177] Dunedin Iron & Wood Ware Co., *Illustrated Catalogue* (c.1887), p. 49, #133A, 6 foot 'Sideboard' redrawn and signed 'H.C.' Originally drawn by J. Williams Benn for *The Furniture Gazette*, 21 May 1881.

often London, design. Inter-trade copying violated not only the law but also the spirit of the highly competitive furniture industry.

Trade Integrity

Colonial cabinetmaking firms also demonstrated a callous attitude to veracity. North and Scoullar had casually and inaccurately referred to their "new and original designs" which in fact had been copied while "their manufacturing facilities at Home", implied a British factory that did not exist. They also referred to themselves as the "largest furniture manufacturers in New Zealand", a title also claimed by Alfred White in Christchurch and Tonson Garlick in Auckland while Larnach and Guthrie had proposed they were possibly the biggest in the world although their successors, Thomson, Bridger and Co. had thought maybe just the Australasian colonies. The hyperbole of such claims may be overlooked as mere advertising but it did reflect trade indifference to exactitude that was always motivated by profit and gaining advantage against immediate competitors.

Colonial Franchise Arrangements with Foreign Furniture Exporters

The earliest colonial trade catalogues were dominated by patterns from a single British manufacturing exporter, suggesting privileged trade arrangements. Specific patterns appeared unique to individual colonial firms, for example, George and Henry Story's designs were only found in North and Scoullar's catalogue. However, the intention to manufacture colonial furniture from such designs supplied by British exporters contravened the spirit and legality of such preferential agreements. References in colonial trade catalogues to designs being available in native timbers clearly stated such conflicts, for example North and Scoullar's ebonised kauri chair was made from an original Story Bros. pattern. Subscription magazines led to widespread and general use of unrestricted patterns signalling a shift from any exclusive image arrangements between competing colonial companies.

Trade Catalogues and Subscription Magazines Replaced the Pattern Book

The first American furniture publications were derived from British and French pattern books while three decades later material for colonial trade catalogues was

sourced from British furniture warehouse catalogues, manufacturer supplied blocks, electrotypes, and subscription periodicals. By the 1870s the way furniture designs were distributed had changed. The early nineteenth-century pattern books of designers such as Taylor and King had once sold on their merits and earlier, the names of Chippendale, Sheraton and Hepplewhite had even defined an era of fashion. However, the work of a new generation of designers was often disseminated as through commissions for British magazine publishers or cabinetmaking firms who were increasingly obliged to produce their own catalogues and advisory pamphlets on fashion. The proliferation of new designs from those foreign trade catalogues, as well as subscription magazines, provided a substantial raw supply of material for the production of colonial catalogues. For the New Zealand cabinetmaker an inexpensively presented catalogue with their name featuring the latest London designs was a public signal of trading stature, commercial maturity and foremost an advertisement.

Epilogue

New Zealand cabinetmakers continued to copy British catalogues well into the twentieth century and even by the 1930s they were still manufacturing from British catalogues. Covering 94,000 m^2 the Harris Lebus Works in north London was the largest furniture factory in the world. Two of their esoterically titled '*Furniture Designs H.L. L.*' catalogues were found in Christchurch while some of their 1912 registered designs had been reprinted in S.S. Williams' Wellington catalogue, suggesting more copies in fact available in New Zealand. One copy owned by Alfred Reay, an employee of Cathedral Square cabinetmaker Herman Fuhrmann, had its wholesale price list removed indicating it had been correctly used in the showroom to sell Harris Lebus imports. The other c.1928 catalogue owned by John E. Hurdley and Son, also of Christchurch (late Timaru) had pencil sketches, marginalia, cut out designs and Hurdley's own secret price code written alongside patterns consistent with heavy workshop use.[178] (Fig. 5.33)

Harris Lebus catalogues had then been put to legitimate and illegitimate use by colonial furniture makers. Reay (or Fuhrmann) and certainly A.J. White had used them

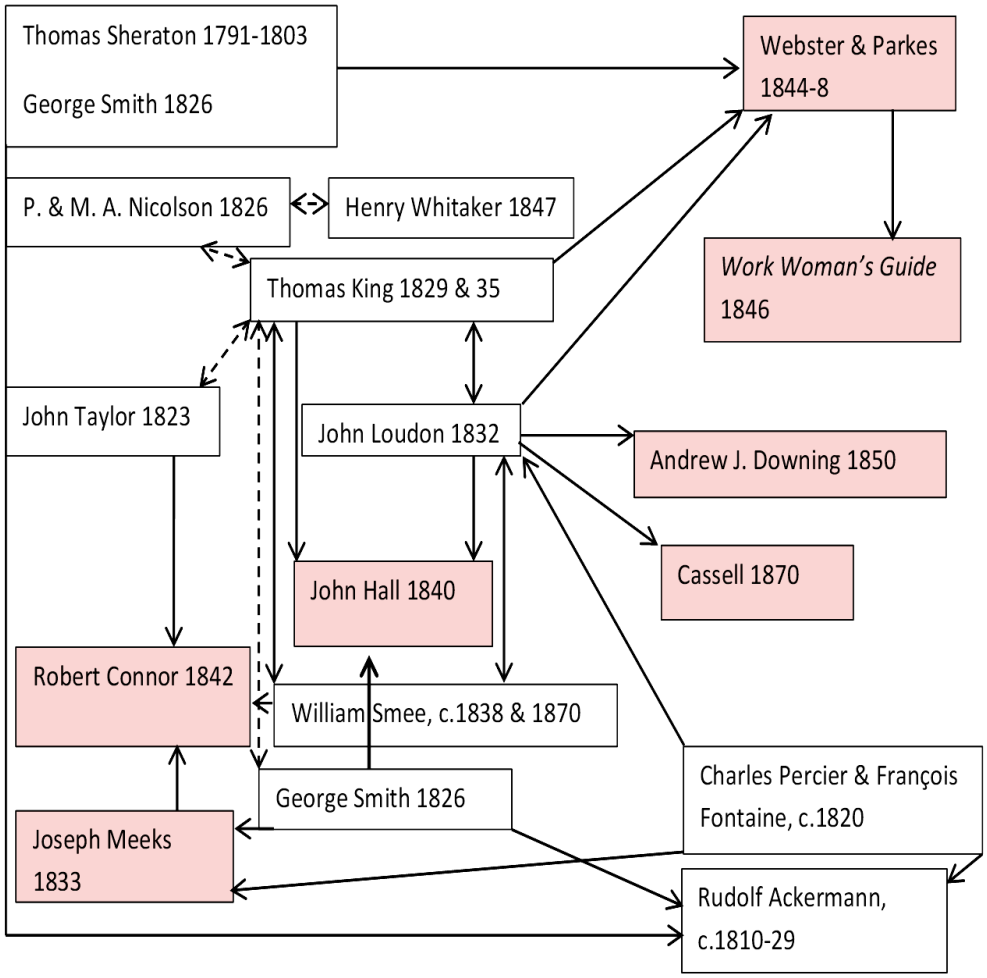
[178] Hurdley code cipher (although incomplete) was based on contemporary furniture prices B/CE/X = £4/15/- (?)

for wholesale orders as intended, but Hurdley had used his as a workshop pattern book from which to make furniture, as did Williams, who had copied parts for their own catalogue. The Williams' catalogue had garnered material from around twenty-two different British sources which were presented as their own while saying their "illustrations represented [a] limited extent" of their output. It meant they were willing to "manufacture [all their] own furniture… in oak, kauri or jarrah" from the entire Harris Lebus catalogue and the twenty or so other sources they had on hand.

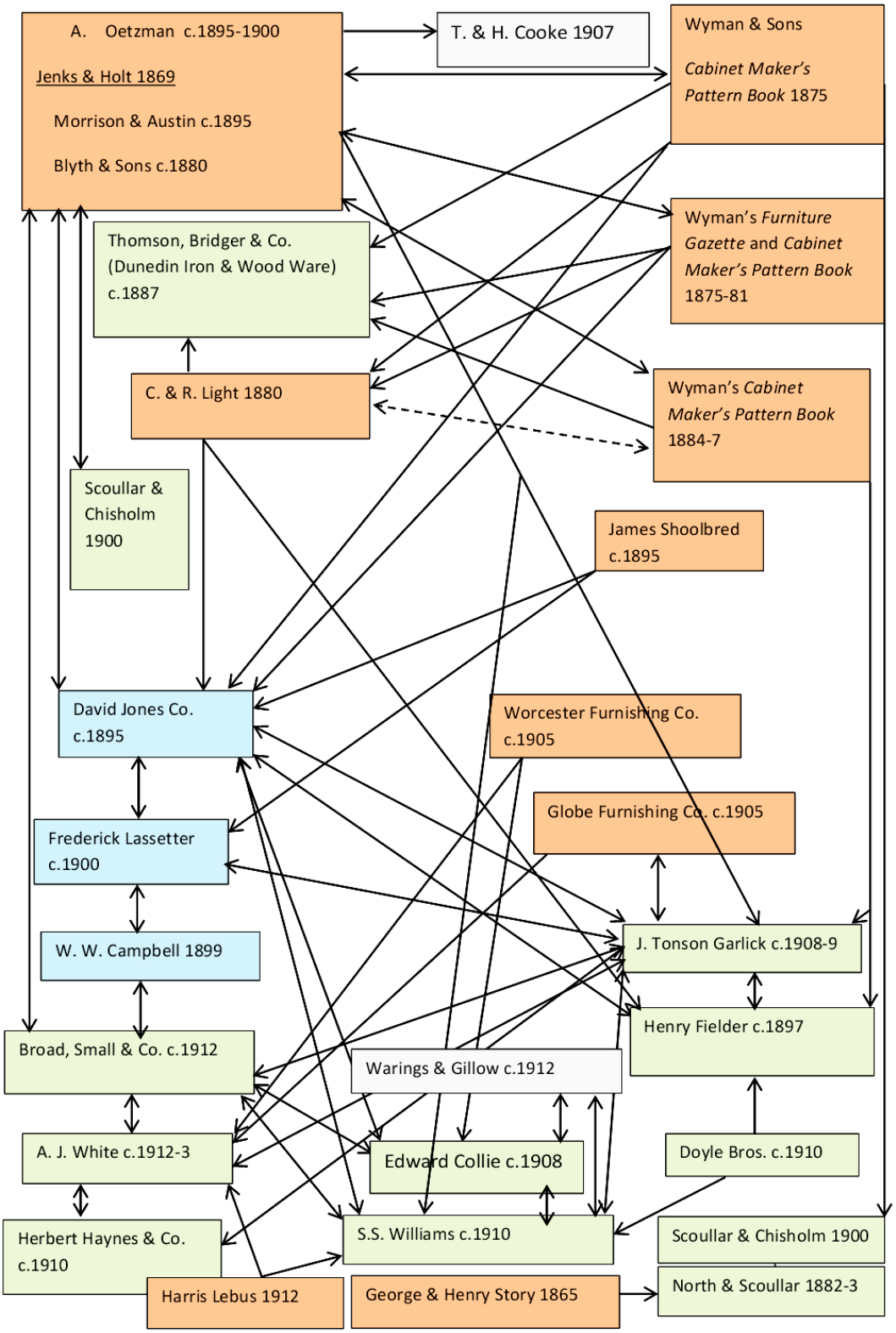
It is puzzling why Aucklander Homi Shroff so undervalued the trade catalogue. Free 'electros', he complained, still made any catalogue too expensive to produce yet even with the cost of photo-engraving S.S. Williams had proven otherwise. Prudence and parsimony did not always pay and it was the economy of photography that especially demonstrated how efficiently a large selection of designs could be reprinted. It was Shroff's Hobson Street neighbour Laidlaw Leeds' massive mail order catalogue listing thousands of products that ultimately made his business so successful. More than a half-century earlier William Smee's first *Designs of Furniture* helped build a family trading empire shipping popular and affordable furniture to the Antipodes. British furniture patterns from Weale's coterie of designers had influenced fashions in America and the Australasian colonies as did Wyman's and Benn's new trade periodicals. In 1820 Charles Caleb Cotton had said "imitation is the sincerest form of flattery" and while no colonial cabinetmaker was ever prosecuted for the illegal use of someone else's designs there was obvious benefit given how frequently it occurred. The trade catalogue offered real commercial value for even the smallest firm in addition to the prestige of having their very own publication of modern designs, no matter how poorly selected, how badly printed or regardless of legitimacy of their source.

Appendix 1: British Designs found Reprinted Abroad

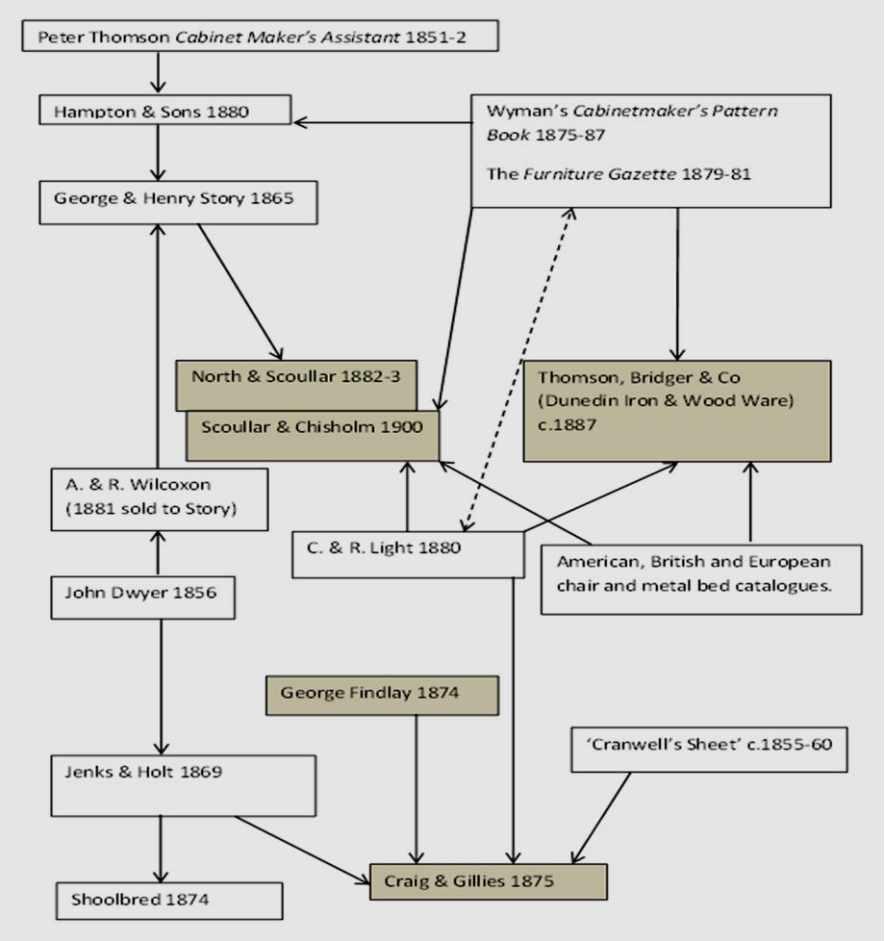
British Designers Influencing American Printed Patterns



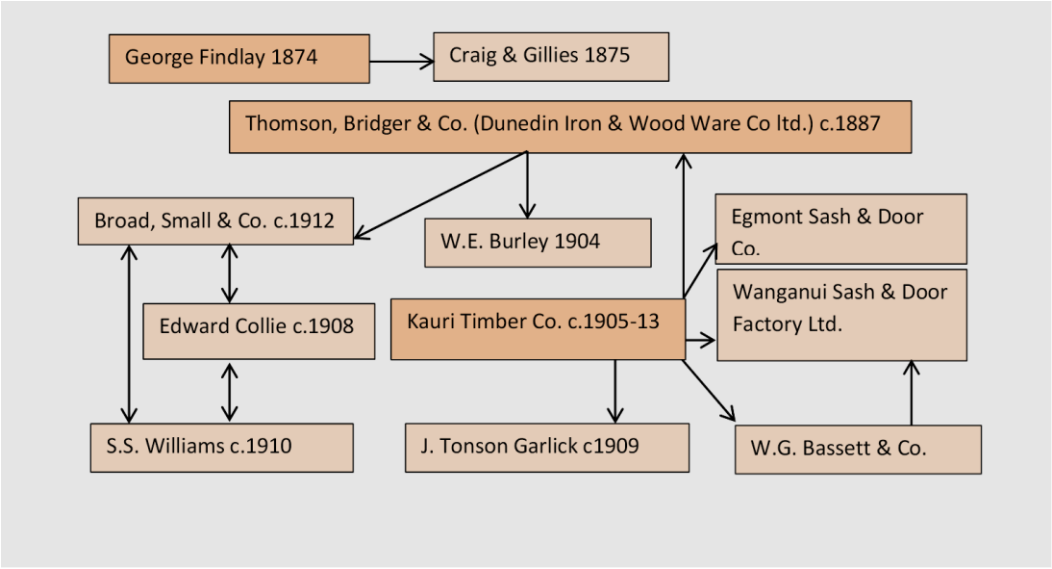
Design Connections Found between British, Australian and New Zealand Trade Catalogues



British Connections to Dunedin Trade Catalogues



Copying Connections within New Zealand



Appendix 2: List of Pattern Books and Trade Catalogues

New Zealand Printed Catalogues

(Ordered by date and unless otherwise stated all are in the collection of this author).

Findlay and Co., *Illustrated catalogue of Cottages, Doors, Sashes, Mouldings, Architraves, and every Description, of Furnishings for Building Purposes*, Dunedin, March 1874; Collection National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Matauranga O Aotearoa, Eph-B-BUILDING-SUPPLIES-1874-01-24.

Craig and Gillies, *Illustrated Catalogue of Furniture* (Dunedin: July1875).

Craig and Gillies, *Price List of Household Furniture and Co*. (Dunedin: July1875).

North and Scoullar, *Illustrated Catalogue* (Dunedin: c.1882-3); collection National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Matauranga O Aotearoa.

Thomson, Bridger and Co. (late Dunedin Iron and Wood Ware Co.), *Illustrated Catalogue Furniture Woodware and Hardware*, Dunedin, c.1887; Hocken Collections/Te Uare Taoka o Hākena.

T. and H. Cooke, broadside (Auckland: c.1900).

T. and H. Cooke, *Illustrated Catalogue* and separate *Price List* (Auckland: June 1907).

Henry Fielder and Co, *Catalogue of Special leading Lines in Cheap Modern Furniture* (Wellington: c.1895).

Scoullar and Chisholm, *Complete House Furnishers* (Dunedin: 1900); Hocken Collections/Te Uare Taoka o Hākena

The Kauri Timber Co., *Illustrated catalogue* (Auckland, c.1905).

Edward Collie, *Art Furniture* (Wellington, c.1908).

(Jonathan) Tonson Garlick Company Ltd, *The Standard Catalogue in the Dominion – Furniture and Furnishings* (Auckland: c.1908-9); collection National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Matauranga O Aotearoa.

Black [Negras] Bros., *Catalogue* (Auckland: c.1909).

Herbert, Haynes and Co., *Art Furniture Specialists - Furniture Catalogue* (Dunedin: c.1910).

Green, McLean and Beaven Ltd, *Catalogue* (Whanganui: c.1910); collection Whanganui Regional Museum.

W.T. Pethybridge, *Catalogue*, c.1910; Collection National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Matauranga O Aotearoa

Shroff and Sons, *Catalogue* (Auckland: c.1911-12); collection G. and M. Shroff, Kelburn, Wellington.

A.J. White Ltd, *Illustrated Catalogue* (Christchurch: c.1912-3).

The Kauri Timber Co., *Illustrated Catalogue* (Auckland: 1911); collection National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Matauranga O Aotearoa Eph-B-BUILDING-SUPPLIES-1910-01

S.S. Williams Art Furnishers (Wellington: c.1911).

Wanganui Sash and Door Factory and Timber Company Ltd, Illustrated Catalogue (Whanganui: 1911).

Egmont Sash and Door Factory, Hawera, *Revised Catalogue - Egmont Sash and Door Factory* (New Plymouth: Hooker Co., c.1912).

Broad, Small and Co., *Furniture Catalogue* (Invercargill: c.1912); collection Gore District Historical Society.

T. Millington, *The Simplex Chip Carving Designs* (Whanganui (?): c.1912).

W.G. Bassett and Co. Ltd, *Illustrated Catalogue* (Whanganui: c. 1915-26).

Catalogue, G.T. Young (Dunedin: c.1925).

Maple Furnishing Co., *Modern Furnishing for the Home* (Auckland: c.1935).

J.H. Oldham and Co., *Catalogue*, Manufacturer's Representative (for) Joseph Inwald Ltd, Prague, Stevens and Williams Ltd (London: 1936).

Ellerm Bros. and Montgomery Ltd, *Furniture Catalogue* (Christchurch: 1964).

British Pattern Books, American and Australian Catalogues and Publications Found or Known to Have Reached New Zealand

John Taylor, *Upholsterer's and Cabinet Maker's Pocket Assistant* (London: Josiah Taylor, 1825).

George Smith, *Cabinet Maker's and Upholsterer's Guide* (London: Jones and Co., 1826).

Peter and Michael Angelo Nicholson, *The Practical Cabinet-Maker, Upholsterer, and Complete Decorator* (London: Fisher and Sons, 1826).

Thomas King, *The Modern style of Cabinet Work Exemplified* (London: 1829).

Thomas King, *Supplement to the Modern Style* (London: 1835).

Thomas King, *Cabinet Maker's Sketch Book of Plain and Useful Designs* (London: 1835).

Thomas King, *Valances and Draperies Consisting of New Designs for Fashionable Upholstery Work* (London: c.1835).

John Claudius Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme Brown, Green and Longman, 1833-1862).

William Smee, *Designs of Furniture* (London: c.1838-1870).

Henry Whitaker and Michael Angelo Nicholson, *The Practical Cabinet Maker and Upholsterer's Treasury of Designs* (London: Peter Jackson, 1848); originally property of Thomas Button.

Thomas Webster and Mrs Parkes, *Encyclopaedia of Domestic Economy* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1844; New York: Harper Bros., 1848).

Peter Thomson, *The Cabinet Maker's Assistant* (Glasgow: W. Blackie and Son, 1852-3); originally property of Benjamin Cranwell.

John Dwyer, *Designs for Furniture* (London: 1856-7); originally property of Benjamin Cranwell.

Lithograph (referred to in text as "Cranwells' sheet 14 patterns") 2 copies identified (London[?]: c.1855-60); originally property of Benjamin Cranwell.

Johan M. Levien, *Woods of NZ* (London: 1861); Collection National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Matauranga O Aotearoa.

G.M. and H.J. Story, *Designs of Furniture* (London: 1865).

J.Lovegrove Holt, *Modern Furniture Plain and Decorative; Original and Select* (London: 1869).

William A. and S. Smee, *Designs of Furniture* (London: 1870).

James Shoolbred, *Designs of Furniture* (London: 1874).

Cassell's *Household Guide being a Complete Encyclopaedia of Social and Domestic Economy* (London and New York: 1875).

Wyman and Sons, *Cabinet Maker's Pattern Book*, Series 1-5 (London: 1875-87).

Wyman and Sons *The Furniture Gazette* (London: 1872-85+).

Benn Bros. *The Cabinet Maker and Art Furnisher* (London: 1880+).

C. and R. Light, *Designs and Catalogue of Cabinet and Upholstery Furniture Looking Glasses and c.*, (London: 1880); originally property of Henry Fielder.

William Walker and Son, *House Furnisher's Illustrated Catalogue* (London: c.1880).

Thomas Wallis late Charles Meeking and Co., *Illustrated Catalogue of Cabinet Furniture, and c*. (London: 1883).

Thomas Oetzman and Co, *Catalogue* (London: c.1895).

Shoolbred, *Catalogue* (London: 1895).

Morrison and Austin, *Sheet No. 320* (London: c.1895).

Anthony Hordern and Sons, *Universal Providers and Manufacturers* (Sydney: 1894); collection National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Matauranga O Aotearoa.

Inexpensive Holiday Homes (London: 1889); collection of Nigel Isaacs, Kelburn, Wellington.

Thomas Strange's, *English Furniture Woodwork Decoration* (London: 1900); originally property of W. Page.

Maple and Co., *Catalogue* (London, c.1905); originally property of 'Jewell and Logan'.

Gordon and Company, *Designs of English Furniture made on our New Colonial Principle* (Birmingham: 1904); originally property of T. Cox and Sons.

Globe Furnishing Co., *Illustrated Catalogue* (Liverpool: c.1905) (two copies found); collection of author; collection David Martin, Richmond, Nelson.

Worcestershire Furniture Co. *Illustrated catalogue* (Leicester: c.1905); collection Mark Lester Whitford, Auckland.

Young and Marten, *Catalogue*, in two volumes (London: c.1905).

Robert Pringle and Sons, *The "Wilderness" Catalogue of Hall-Marked Silver Plate* (Birmingham: 1907).

Morley Johnson, *Illustrated Catalogue* (Sydney: c.1907-10).

Wylie and Lochhead, *Catalogue* (Glasgow: 1908).

W. Thacker and Sons, Embossers and Heraldic Chasers, *Catalogue* (Walsall: c.1909).

B. Cohen and Sons, *Cabinet Furniture and Upholstery* (London: c.1910); originally property of T. Cox and Son.

Waring and Gillow, *The New Note in Furnishings* (London: c. 1910).

Wingfield and Rowbotham and Co, *Plate Catalogue* (Birmingham: 1911).

Harrods, *"For Everything"* (London: c.1911); collection of Carol Hinton, Wadestown, Wellington.

Harris Lebus, *Catalogue* (London: 1912); originally property of Alfred Reay.

Sligh Furniture Co., *Everything for the Bedroom* (Grand Rapids: 1922).

C. and R. Light, *Furniture* (London: c.1925); originally property of Scoullar and Chisholm.

Guy Rogers, 'Chair maker', *Catalogue* (Liverpool: c.1925); originally property of Scoullar and Chisholm.

Warings '*Craftsmanship*' (London: c.1925); originally property of Scoullar and Chisholm.

I. and Co., *Furniture Catalogue* (Birmingham[?]: 1925); originally property of Scoullar and Chisholm.

C.W. and Co., *Eclipse Catalogue* (Alcester: c.1925); originally property of Scoullar and Chisholm.

Alfred Goslett and Co Ltd., *Chair Catalogue* (London: c.1925); originally property of Scoullar and Chisholm.

Edward Tonks and Sons, *Illustrated Catalogue of ETAS Locks Latches and Brassfoundary* (Willenhall: c.1925).

Nairn's *Inlaid Linoleum* (Kirkcaldy: 1927).

Harris Lebus, *Catalogue* (London: c.1929); originally property of John Hurdley.

Wake and Dean Ltd, *Catalogue Section No. 6 Church Furniture and Fittings* (Yatton: c.1930).

Chippendale Workshops, *Catalogue* (London: c.1935).

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W. H. Simms and Sons Ltd., Christchurch, *Export Cane and Opera Seat Chairs*, Giddings Ltd, Granby (Quebec: 1910).

Walker and Hall, Gold, Sterling Silver, Cutlery, Silver Plate, and co. (Auckland: 1924-5).

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David Jones Co., *Art Furnishers, Upholsterers and Decorators Illustrated Catologue* (Sydney: c.1895).

Frederick Lassetter, *Universal Furniture Providers Furniture Catalogue* (Sydney: c.1900).

W.W. Campbell and Co., *Trade Furniture Price List* (Sydney: 1899).

Foy and Gibson, *Summer Catalogue No.28* (Melbourne: c.1905-6).

Anthony Hordern and Sons, *Furniture of Every Description* (Sydney: c. 1910).

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Joseph Meeks and Sons, *Cabinet Maker and Upholsterer List of Prices No. 6 ,* broadside (New York: 1833).

John Hall, *The Cabinet Makers' Assistant* (Boston: 1840).

John Hall, *A Series of Select and Original Modern Designs for Dwelling Houses* (Boston: 1840).

John Hall, *A New and Concise Method of Hand-Railing* (Baltimore: 1840).

Robert Connor, *Cabinet Maker's Assistant* (New York: 1842).

Henry Carey Baird, *Cabinet Maker's Album of Furniture* (Philadelphia: 1868).

Henry Cary Baird *Gothic Album for Cabinet Makers* (Philadelphia: 1868).

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Jacobsen and McDonald, glass plates of furniture (Christchurch: Anders Jacobsen, c.1900-5); collection Canterbury Museum.

Scoullar and Chisholm, *White House Cookery Book and Household Management* (Dunedin: 1905); Hocken Collections/Te Uare Taoka o Hākena

A.J. White, *Directors Minutes Book* (Christchurch: c.1908-1915).

H.R. Shroff, *Letter Book* (Auckland: 18 March 1908-27 September 1912); collection G. and M. Shroff, Kelburn, Wellington.

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Doyle Bros., *Company Photograph Album* (Wellington: c.1910).

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Edward Collie, *Customer Order Book* (Wellington: September 1938 – August 1941).

Scoullar and Chisholm cabinetmaker Christopher Hartley '*Chair Dimensions*', personal notebook (Wellington: c.1940).

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