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Recovering a ‘lost’ account: Thomas Chippendale at No.11 St James’s Square, London

Nostell, West Yorkshire, is widely recognised as one of the best documented of Thomas Chippendale’s commissions and a significant number of identifiable pieces from his workshop remain in the house today; however, his work at the Winn family’s London townhouse has been a gaping lacuna, perhaps because their residency came to an abrupt end when Sir Rowland Winn was killed in a coaching accident in 1785, the house was sold to meet his outstanding debts, and the contents were auctioned off by James Christie. Few scholars appear to have been aware that Chippendale had submitted a detailed account for his work at No.11 St James’s Square and the contents of this account have become so deeply embedded in the published accounts of his work at Nostell that its significance as the record of an independent townhouse commission has been virtually lost. That account is published here for the first time (see Appendix). My engagement with it raises important questions about both of the Winns’ houses, suggests that No.11 St James’s Square was a more important commission than previously realised and queries whether Chippendale’s business practices differed when dealing in town and country. It also sheds new light on some of the Winns’ lifestyle and collecting practices. But first, a brief narrative of what happened to the London account in the twentieth century may help to place it in context and explain why it has been overlooked.

Sir Rowland Winn’s account to Thomas Chippendale for work at the London townhouse, 1766-1769 – a twentieth-century interlude

Drawing on documents then in the family’s possession, in 1952 Robert Wemyss Symonds asserted that most of the furniture Chippendale supplied for Sir Rowland Winn and his Swiss wife Sabine d’Herwart between June 1766 and June

1767 was intended for the London house the couple had purchased less than a year after the fifth baronet had inherited Nostell.¹ Symonds' assertion was correct but his article in *Country Life* magazine contained no means of identifying the documents from which he had taken his information: a thirteen-page Chippendale account that detailed work commissioned solely for No.11 St James's Square between June 1766 and February 1769 and a longer account that itemised all of Chippendale's work for the Winns before December 1770, with one calculation at the end of the latter document to show what was still owed in 1772 (Figures 1 and 2).² Evidently Sir Rowland had been dissatisfied with the way that the two commissions had been rolled into one and had requested separate accounts.³

After Symonds' article was published, the two accounts then appear to have been separated. Thus, when Lindsay Boynton and Nicholas Goodison published their exemplary transcriptions of Chippendale's papers in 1968, they included only one account, which they noted had no catalogue number and was kept in Lord St Oswald's safe rather than in the Muniment Room with the rest of the Winn papers.⁴ The artificial separation may have resulted in the identification of what might best be described as a 'combined account' as an account relating exclusively to Nostell. That was rectified the following year, when the same authors identified Lady Winn's writing table, her secretaire with additional cupboards, parlour chairs and a pedimented bookcase as London furniture now at Nostell (Figures 3-5).⁵ In 1978, Christopher Gilbert added armchairs and a dining table to Boynton and Goodison's list (Figure 6),⁶ but after that date interest in the London account seems to have waned. In a sense, it had served its purpose in aiding the identification of pieces that had been dispatched to Nostell rather than sold by Christie's in 1785. To the best of my knowledge, no one had addressed the London account in its own right until I came

along with an article in 2016.⁷ Although the two inventories of furniture in the house, for which the Winns were charged five shillings, have not survived,⁸ a dedicated volume of *Furniture History* celebrating the tercentenary of Thomas Chippendale's birth provides an excellent opportunity to present new findings and get to grips with the London account and No.11 St James's Square.

No.11 St James's Square, London

Having been built in the mid-1730s, No.11 was a relatively new house when the Winns acquired it on 20 June 1766 (Figure 7).⁹ As one would expect, the top floor and basement were the domain of the servants. Their presence is important in relation to the Chippendale account because the Winns bought from him a significant number of new household items for their staff shortly after they had purchased second-hand goods when the contents of No.11 had been auctioned on behalf of the widowed Countess of Macclesfield in May 1766.¹⁰

On the ground and first floors, a wall divides the house in two; to the left (west) as one faces the house are the hall, stairhall and service stair, behind which extends a wing with another large room, and to the right (east) are two large rooms on each of the main floors, one per floor facing the Square and the others overlooking the back area.¹¹ Presumably because the Winns were in a hurry to take up residence, they had also purchased a great deal of the reception-room furniture at the Macclesfield sale. In total, they spent £604.15.6. on items already *in situ*.¹² Their acquisition of a partly-furnished house may explain why they did not spread their patronage between several cabinetmakers in the way that, for example, Sir Lawrence Dundas did when he was contemporaneously furnishing Aske Hall, Moor Park and No.19 Arlington Street.¹³ It further suggests that the Winns had little interest in the increasingly

fashionable integrated Neo-classical interior, in spite of the skill of their architect Robert Adam at providing them,¹⁴ nor were they attracted to cutting-edge furniture of the type designed by James ‘Athenian’ Stuart for Spencer House although Adam himself had shown an unhealthy interest in that as early as 1758.¹⁵ With the notable exception of the state apartment at Nostell, the pieces that the Winns bought were in a wide range of styles, and most of them were rather conservative. It is a moot point whether astronomical cost or personal taste debarred anything comparable to the marquetry commodes now at Harewood House and Renishaw Hall.¹⁶ Be that as it may, Chippendale’s London account demonstrates that the Winns required their new house to appear neat, tidy and genteel: the second-hand Macclesfield furniture required an astonishing amount of cleaning and repairing, most of the curtains were taken down and rehung with new lines and tassels, carpets were taken up and relaid, and girandoles were gilded and lacquered. They and the pier glasses were also copied to make matched sets in the reception rooms. This brings us to Chippendale’s London account, which totals £351.4.7½.

Sir Rowland Winn’s account to Thomas Chippendale for work at the London townhouse, 1766-1769: the bedchamber, library and dining parlour

Having decided against purchasing any beds other than those for the servants at the Macclesfield sale, the first item in Chippendale’s account – indeed the first item that the Winns acquired for either of their homes – was a mahogany four-poster bed with fluted feet posts, ‘a Sett of Rich Carv’d Cornices cover’d w^t Cotton & laced’, printed cotton hangings and tassels, feather-stuffed bolsters, two hair mattresses, a flock mattress and a ‘featherbed’, blankets and a white calico quilt.¹⁷ The total cost, complete with bedding, was just over £65, making it the costliest piece of furniture in the London account. It was certainly expensive in comparison with the ‘large dome

bedstead' that Chippendale supplied for Lady Knatchbull's alcove bedchamber at Mersham-le Hatch at a more modest £26, but it compares favourably with one of the new Nostell beds at c.£64 and the recently-restored bed at Dumfries House, which came in at approximately £84 (including a feather mattress and bolster).¹⁸ Needless to say, it would have been hopelessly outclassed by the bed that the Winns commissioned for the Alcove Bedchamber at Nostell at just over £112 and the state bed at Harewood, which cost £250 without the fabric.¹⁹

Townhouse bedchambers could be thrown open when large numbers of guests placed pressure on the space required for entertaining – one is reminded here of the Duchess of Norfolk's oft-described rout that culminated in her bedchamber with its celebrated needlework hangings²⁰ – and the Winns would surely have been able to use their bedchamber in a similar manner. The new bed made a statement, even if they had economised unexpectedly by using cotton instead of silk.

Because there had been little library furniture on offer at the Macclesfield sale, nor is there a room designated as such in the catalogue, Sir Rowland's next priority was creating a library in his new home. Chippendale supplied 'a very large Mahogany Library Table with a Writting drawer & slider & a fine lock & the Top cover'd w^t Green Cloth' (£12); a mahogany armchair covered with black Spanish leather (£3), four backstool chairs to match (£8.16.0.); 'a large Mahogany Case for papers to stand on a frame with drawers, pidgeon Holes, divisions for books &c' (£13.10.0.); and 'A very large Mahogany Bookcase with folding Glass doors & a pediment Top &c' (£38), followed by 'a Lady's Commode writing Table of Rose & Tulip woods the Sliders cover'd with Green cloth &c' (£5.14.0.).²¹ The fact that these pieces were invoiced together on 23 June 1766 raises the charming possibility that the Winns sat together in the same room to write their letters or read, although, of course, Lady

Winn may have preferred her own room for that purpose. If the latter was the case, she may have used the ‘neat mahogany china writing table, with shelves and drawers’ that had stood in the Dressing Room in the Macclesfields’ day.²² What is certain is that the library furniture must have come from Chippendale’s stock rather than been a special commission because the Winns had only acquired the house three days before the date that the library furniture appears in Chippendale’s account.²³ If the bookcase in Figure 5 has been identified correctly, this may explain why four such bookcases are in existence, even though only one was ordered for St James’s Square. It should be noted, however, that a bookcase of similar description was sold for £24.3.0. by James Christie in 1785.²⁴ Sir Rowland must have wanted his library furnished quickly and been prepared to accept a rather unsatisfyingly hybrid Gothic design rather than wait for something more elegant. His desire to have a functioning library ready to receive him is also seen at Nostell in 1767, where the first items to appear in the combined account in relation to that house are the medal cabinet and library table.²⁵ Their cost - £38.10.0. and £72.10.0. respectively – overshadows what was ordered for London, suggesting that Sir Rowland’s library in town was a more modest affair.

One day after the library furniture had been added to the Winns’ account, it was the turn of the dining parlour; a three-bay room on the ground floor called the ‘Great Dining Parlour’ in the Macclesfield sale catalogue and the ‘Fore Parlor’ by James Christie.²⁶ As I noted in 2016, ‘Ten mahogany chairs, horse-hair seats, brass nailed’, ‘Two French arm ditto’ and ‘A set of 2 mahogany dining tables, 10 ft. by 5 with green covers’ were sold for £11, £2.4.0. and £7.17.6. respectively in 1785.²⁷ As no dining table had been purchased from the Macclesfields that might reappear at the Christie’s sale to create confusion for historians of the future, this casts doubt on the identification of the table that until recently stood in the Little Dining Room at Nostell

(Figure 6) and raises the bizarre possibility that Lady Winn asked for half of the dining parlour chairs to be sent to Nostell when her sister-in-law was organising the house clearance.

Further acquisitions

After the dining parlour had been furnished, Lady Winn's bookcase secretaire arrived, followed by items for the main reception rooms, for use in the couple's private rooms, and goods for the servants.

Because so much reception room furniture had been purchased at the Macclesfield sale, Chippendale supplemented rather than filled these rooms with his own designs. New pieces, almost all made of mahogany, included a sideboard and leather cover, 'A very large Mahogany Chamber Table of fine wood',²⁸ armchairs and back stools. In the case of the card racks and tables, he was providing the small, portable items that turned a house into a home in which the couple could entertain friends and family at small, intimate gatherings.

Because they had eschewed buying much furniture for their own rooms at the Macclesfield sale, Chippendale was called upon to supply many more new pieces here, most of which were made of mahogany and ranged from clothes presses and commodes, basin stands, 'a Neat Mahogany Necessary Stool to represent drawers with 2 loose Tops one of them cover'd with Doe skin',²⁹ framed dressing glasses and a 'Folding Linen Airer', perhaps akin to the one now at Paxton House.³⁰ Chippendale also provided a Wilton bedside carpet, replaced mirrors, and supplied a surprising amount of bedding. In fact, whenever he supplied a bed for the Winns, he seems also to have supplied the bedding, as witnessed by the entry of 1 November 1768 shortly after the Winns' first child, Esther Sabina, was born: 'To a neat Mahogany Folding

Crib Bedstead with Ticken sides & Throw over Cotton Furniture Complete', 'An Hair & a Flock Mattrasses for ditto', '2 down Pillows', and '3 Blankets & a Quilt' for a combined total of £13.3.0.³¹ This was not the case with the servants' beds that Chippendale supplied, although there is one charge for 'Piecing out... the Headcloth & Tester of the Housekeepers Bed with Blue Harratteen' that had been purchased at the Macclesfield sale.³²

In general, the servants' furniture was of sturdy rather than fine quality, as this representative sample reveals:

- 'A Wainscot Chamber Table for the Housekeepers room', £0.16.0. (21 March 1767)
- 'To a large Strong Wainscot Mangle made to go by a Wheel & pinnion Complete', £14.0.0. (20 January 1768)
- '3 doz. Meat hooks with deal Battens & fixing up with Iron Holdfasts &c', £0.14.6. (20 October 1768)
- 'To a deal folding Linen Airer', £0.4.0. (3 November 1768)
- 'A large Wainscot dining Table for 10 people', £1.18.0. (8 November 1768) – an entry that reveals the size of the Winns' London household.
- 'A Large Wainscot double Chest of drawers for the Servant Maids with 6 keys &c', £6.6.0. (15 November 1768)
- 'To a large strong deal Table for the Laundry, part of the Top your own', £0.19.0. (5 December 1768)
- 'To plaining over a Kitchen Table Mending a sash and putting a Lock on a drawer', £0.4.0. (24 December 1768)
- 'To a large strong Elm Chopping block for y^e Kitchen', £0.10.0. (24 December 1768)

Eighteenth-Century Contexts

The seemingly endless list of items so meticulously prepared by Chippendale also provides clues to the Winns' personal tastes and pastimes. No.11 St James Square must have been a house full of music for the Winns acquired three mahogany music desks and eight candle bearers from Chippendale.³³ Very helpfully, in 1997 John Hardy identified the example with the 'Partitions for the drawer' now in a private collection as once belonging to the Winns.³⁴ A slightly less expensive music stand invoiced on 31 January 1769 is now in the collection of the Chippendale

Society.³⁵ These appear to have been standard pieces available from a number of cabinetmakers,³⁶ but are of interest here because they were all purchased for the Winns' townhouse rather than Nostell. Indeed, so musical a house was No.11 St James's Square, that Chippendale also charged £4.19.0. for 'Altering & repairing A large Organ case' on 18 May 1767 and provided '2 large deal Music desks & Making up 2 Temporary d^o' at £1.12.0. on 11 June 1768.³⁷ The fate of the deal music stands is unknown, two of the mahogany stands eventually made their way to Nostell, and the third can probably be identified as that sold from the Study by Christie's in 1785 as 'a reading stand on a claw to rise' alongside a mahogany 'chamber table with a drawer' for a combined total of £2.³⁸

If both Sir Rowland and Lady Winn were musical, some of their other pastimes were more gender specific. The couple loved dogs, but Sir Rowland also collected exotic creatures originating from all over the expanding British Empire. I hope we can dispense with the urban myth that the Gothic bookcase now at Nostell was once a birdcage. Not only is it too shallow for the purpose, even the profligate Winns would have thought twice about spending £38 for such an item! However, a small primate was prized enough to have its portrait painted by Hugh Douglas Hamilton at a cost of two guineas in 1768, the same year in which Chippendale provided 'A Mahogany House for a Monkey'.³⁹ It is a great pity that Hamilton's portrait of Sir Rowland's primate has not been traced as the artist described it as a 'marmazet', a New World primate native to the Amazon basin. Unfortunately the words 'marmoset' and 'monkey' were used interchangeably in the eighteenth century to describe any small primate,⁴⁰ so a secure identification remains elusive, but an adult marmoset is approximately eighteen centimetres tall and a 'House for a Monkey' that cost only eighteen shillings cannot have been particularly large.

Lady Winn preferred needlework and her tambour (a round embroidery frame for holding fabric taut) described by Chippendale in an entry for 21 February 1769 as ‘very curiously Inlaid with various colour’d woods representing Landscapes & a Brass rim’ was enormously expensive at £4.4.0.⁴¹ ‘A Green silk scarf for a Tambour’ at eight shillings itemised in the combined account on 14 March 1769 must surely relate to the same object, even though the London account ends on 25 February of that year.⁴²

Twentieth-Century Contexts

While potentially unimportant in themselves, the appearance of the charges for cleaning and altering and supply of items such as a chopping block, tea trays, leather spots to prevent candle grease from spoiling expensive woodwork, and chimneyboards to keep down draughts presents a serious challenge to the received wisdom that there are fundamental differences between what Chippendale provided for Nostell and his commission at Harewood, the house to which Nostell is most often compared.⁴³ Small charges are spread throughout the London account and, by virtue of the conflation of the two commissions in the combined account, they have been absorbed into the historiography of Nostell. However, by placing the two accounts side-by-side, and noting when Nostell first appears in the combined account (30 June 1767) and when the London account ends (25 February 1769), something interesting emerges. All of the charges for easing drawers, repairing locks, and providing small, everyday items appear in connection with No.11 St James’s Square and never with Nostell after the two commissions begin to overlap from 25 June 1767, nor are there little charges clustered around times when we know furniture and men were being sent north. If one accepts that the everyday items and routine mending and cleaning

were only provided for the London house, this suggests that where similar charges appear in the combined account after the London one finishes, they may also relate to London and not Nostell. Thus, the internal evidence suggests that work in London continued into 1770. A third account, running from 21 February-28 October 1771, supports this suggestion.⁴⁴ It deals largely with the green and gold japanned furniture and Chinese wallpaper in the state apartment at Nostell, and again small charges are conspicuous by their absence. Even if the Winns had been so deluded as to consider a chopping block from London preferable to one available locally, why would Chippendale have changed the way he conducted business with them so suddenly after the townhouse account ends in 1769? In a final, smaller, account that Thomas Haig and Thomas Chippendale junior presented to the widowed Lady Winn in 1785, work in ‘town’ is distinguished from that in the ‘country’ and charges for moving items between St James’s Square and Nostell are included. The bulk of the items relate to services provided in London and demonstrate that the firm continued to carry out these routine tasks long after Chippendale senior’s death in 1779.⁴⁵

Is the distinction really between Harewood and Nostell, as the history books tell us, or is it between Nostell and No.11 St James’s Square? If my suggestions above are correct, the Winns’ approach to furnishing their two houses was different and Nostell may be much more akin to Harewood than previously realised. Perhaps we should stop contrasting these two important Chippendale commissions and start comparing like with like. In the final reckoning, we certainly need to be much more circumspect about the combined account of 1766-1770 and we may need to elevate the importance of the Winns’ townhouse while recognising that Nostell remains the tangible evidence of their patronage of Thomas Chippendale.

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¹ R.W. Symonds, 'Chippendale Furniture at Nostell Priory', *Country Life*, 112 (3 October 1952), 1028-1030.

² Originally West Yorkshire History Centre, Wakefield: Nostell Papers, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/63, Sir Rowland Winn's account to Thomas Chippendale for work at the London townhouse, 1766-1769 and WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/47, Account of Thomas Chippendale, 21 June 1766-13 June 1772, the London account has been placed inside the notebook that contains the other account. Confusingly, both documents now share the catalogue number WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/47. Hereafter the Nostell Papers will be abbreviated as NP followed by the catalogue number.

³ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/15, Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 3 March 1769.

⁴ L. Boynton and N. Goodison, 'Thomas Chippendale at Nostell Priory', *Furniture History*, 4 (1968), 10-61 (p. 39, n. 288). For the particular bill under discussion here, see pp. 39-56.

⁵ L. Boynton and N. Goodison, 'The Furniture of Thomas Chippendale at Nostell Priory-II', *The Burlington Magazine*, 111 (June 1969), 351-260 (pp. 351, 359).

⁶ C. Gilbert, *The Life and Work of Thomas Chippendale* (Bristol, 1978), figs 134 and 224.

⁷ K. Bristol, 'A tale of two sales: Sir Rowland Winn and no. 11 St James's Square, London, 1766-1787', *History of Retailing and Consumption*, 2:1 (2016), 9-24.

⁸ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/47, Sir Rowland Winn's account to Thomas Chippendale for work at the London townhouse, 1766-1769, entry for 25 June 1767.

⁹ *The Parish of St. James Westminster. Part 1, South of Piccadilly*, Survey of London, 29, ed. by F.H.W. Sheppard (London, 1960), p. 123.

¹⁰ NP, WYW1352/1/1/5/20, Macclesfield Sale Catalogue, 7-10 May 1766.

¹¹ *The Parish of St. James Westminster. Part 1, South of Piccadilly* (see note 9), pp. 133-134.

¹² NP, WYW1352/1/1/5/20, Macclesfield Sale Catalogue, 7-10 May 1766.

¹³ See E. Harris, 'The Moor Park Tapestries', A. Coleridge, 'Sir Lawrence Dundas and Chippendale', and A. Coleridge, 'Some Rococo Cabinet-Makers and Sir Lawrence Dundas', *Apollo*, 86 (September 1967), 180-189, 190-203, 214-225; C. Wilmot-Sitwell, 'The Inventory of 19 Arlington Street, 12 May 1768', *Furniture History*, 45 (2009), 73-99.

¹⁴ This point is also noted in A. Bowett and J. Lomax, *Thomas Chippendale 1718-1779. A Celebration of British Craftsmanship and Design*, Catalogue of the Tercentenary Exhibition, Leeds City Museum (Leeds, 2018), p. 106.

¹⁵ J. Friedman, *Spencer House. Chronicle of a Great London Mansion* (London, 1993), pp. 125-185; R. Hewlings, 'The London Houses' and S. Weber Soros, 'James "Athenian" Stuart and Furniture Design', in *James "Athenian" Stuart. The Rediscovery of Antiquity*, ed. S. Weber Soros (New York, New Haven and London, 2006), pp. 195-263, 413-465. Adam's drawing of a Spencer House table leg designed by 'Athenian' Stuart is National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh: Clerk of Penicuik MS GD18 4852, Robert Adam to James Adam, 5 September 1758.

¹⁶ C. Gilbert, 'Chippendale's Harewood Commission', *Furniture History*, 9 (1973), 1-31; J. Friedman, 'New Light on the Renishaw Commode', *Furniture History*, 33 (1997), 143-149.

¹⁷ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/47, Sir Rowland Winn's account to Thomas Chippendale for work at the London townhouse, 1766-1769, entry for 21 June 1766.

¹⁸ P. Thornton, 'The Furnishing of Merham-le-Hatch, part I', *Apollo*, 91 (April 1970), 266-277 (p. 272); C. Rostek, 'New Light on Thomas Chippendale's Seat Furniture and 'Best Bed' at Dumfries House, Ayrshire', *Furniture History*, 48 (2012), 141-154 (p. 147); Boynton and Goodison, 'Thomas Chippendale at Nostell Priory' (see note 4), pp. 43, 58.

- ¹⁹ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/50, Account of Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet, with Chippendale and Haig, entry for 6 May 1771, reprinted in Boynton and Goodison, 'Thomas Chippendale at Nostell Priory' (see note 4), pp. 57-58; *The Art of Thomas Chippendale, Master Furniture Maker*, ed. by Jane Sellars (Harewood, 2000), p. 40.
- ²⁰ C.S. Sykes, *Private Palaces. Life in the Great London Houses* (London, 1989), p. 134.
- ²¹ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/47, Sir Rowland Winn's account to Thomas Chippendale for work at the London townhouse, 1766-1769, entry for 23 June 1766.
- ²² NP, WYW1352/1/1/5/20, Macclesfield Sale Catalogue, 7-10 May 1766, p. 21. It had cost £6.12.6.
- ²³ Bowett and Lomax, *Thomas Chippendale 1718-1779* (see note 14), p. 50, note that 'the design [of Lady's Winn's writing table] was almost certainly not unique to Chippendale' although this piece 'is the earliest known use of tulipwood by the Chippendale workshop'.
- ²⁴ NP, WYW1352/3/4/1/26, Christie's sale catalogue, 1785, p. 10.
- ²⁵ WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/47, Account of Thomas Chippendale, 21 June 1766-13 June 1772, entry for 30 June 1767; Boynton and Goodison, 'Thomas Chippendale at Nostell Priory' (see note 4), p. 43.
- ²⁶ NP, WYW1352/1/1/5/20, Macclesfield Sale Catalogue, 7-10 May 1766, p. 24; NP, WYW1352/3/4/1/26, Christie's sale catalogue, 1785, p. 6.
- ²⁷ NP, WYW1352/3/4/1/26, Christie's sale catalogue, 1785, p. 6; Bristol, 'A tale of two sales:' (see note 7), p. 23.
- ²⁸ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/47, Sir Rowland Winn's account to Thomas Chippendale for work at the London townhouse, 1766-1769, entry for 28 June 1766
- ²⁹ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/47, Sir Rowland Winn's account to Thomas Chippendale for work at the London townhouse, 1766-1769, entry for 15 November 1768. Presumably the doe-skin cover was for Lady Winn's use.
- ³⁰ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/47, Sir Rowland Winn's account to Thomas Chippendale for work at the London townhouse, 1766-1769, entry for 3 November 1768; Gilbert, *The Life and Work of Thomas Chippendale* (see note 6), p. 277.
- ³¹ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/47, Sir Rowland Winn's account to Thomas Chippendale for work at the London townhouse, 1766-1769, entry for 1 November 1768. See also the entry for 29 November 1768: 'To a Side for the front of the Crib Bed with Ticken Bolts & fixing', at ten shillings.
- ³² NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/47, Sir Rowland Winn's account to Thomas Chippendale for work at the London townhouse, 1766-1769, entry for 5 March 1767. The cost was £0.5.6. 'A four-post bedstead with blue harrateen furniture' had been acquired for £2.2.0. from the 'Back Room Two Pair of Stairs' at the Macclesfield sale. NP, WYW1352/1/1/5/20, Macclesfield Sale Catalogue, 7-10 May 1766, p. 22.
- ³³ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/47, Sir Rowland Winn's account to Thomas Chippendale for work at the London townhouse, 1766-1769, entries for 7 March 1767, 21 March 1767, 16 May 1767 and 31 January 1769.
- ³⁴ J. Hardy, 'Sir Rowland Winn's Music Desk', *Furniture History*, vol. 33 (1997), 134-135 (p. 135).
- ³⁵ Bowett and Lomax, *Thomas Chippendale 1718-1779* (see note 14), p. 154.
- ³⁶ Hardy, 'Sir Rowland Winn's Music Desk' (see note 34), p. 135; Bowett and Lomax, *Thomas Chippendale 1718-1779* (see note 14), p. 154.
- ³⁷ WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/47, Sir Rowland Winn's account to Thomas Chippendale for work at the London townhouse, 1766-1769, entries for 18 May 1767 and 11 June 1768.
- ³⁸ NP, WYW1352/3/4/1/26, Christie's sale catalogue, 1785, p. 10.
- ³⁹ NP, WYW1352/1/4/56/32, Bill from Hugh Douglas Hamilton: 'D^o [i.e. a portrait] of a marmazet'; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/47, Sir Rowland Winn's account to Thomas Chippendale for work at the London townhouse, 1766-1769, entry for 24 June 1768.
- ⁴⁰ C. Grigson, *Menagerie: The History of Exotic Animals in England* (Oxford, 2016), p. 267.
- ⁴¹ WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/47, Sir Rowland Winn's account to Thomas Chippendale for work at the London townhouse, 1766-1769.
- ⁴² NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/47, Account of Thomas Chippendale, 21 June 1766-13 June 1772, entry for 14 March 1769; Boynton and Goodison, 'Thomas Chippendale at Nostell Priory' (see note 4), p. 51.
- ⁴³ L. Boynton and N. Goodison, 'The Furniture of Thomas Chippendale at Nostell Priory-I', *The Burlington Magazine*, 111 (May 1969), 279-287 (p. 282).
- ⁴⁴ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/50, Account of Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet, with Chippendale and Haig; Boynton and Goodison, 'Thomas Chippendale at Nostell Priory' (see note 5), pp. 56-61.
- ⁴⁵ NP, WYW1352/1/4/45/9, Haig and Chippendale to The Executrix of Sir Rowland Winn Bar^t, 1780-1785.