

Town and Country. Rethinking Thomas Chippendale's Accounts at Nostell, West Yorkshire, and No.11 St James's Square, London

Courtesy of its substantial archive of Robert Adam and Thomas Chippendale accounts, drawings and correspondence – and the generosity of the Winn family in making certain documents available to several generations of scholars and historian-dealers – Nostell has long been considered a canonical Adam-Chippendale collaboration, one in which the architect had the upper hand in design and a Yorkshire connection cemented a close, paternalistic relationship between patron and cabinetmaker.¹ However, with one notable exception, these publications unwittingly drew on a Chippendale account that amalgamated work at Nostell with a separate commission from Sir Rowland and Lady Winn for No.11 St James's Square in London and they now present historiographical problems.² Before the rediscovery of a separate townhouse account, first published in *Furniture History* in 2018,³ it was generally accepted that the supply of small-scale items such as a kitchen chopping block and the provision or repair of servants' furniture related to Nostell, thus distinguishing this commission from Chippendale's work at other country houses and indicating a special relationship with the Winns; an assumption bolstered by the use of words such as 'friend' and 'patron' in their correspondence. Now that household items can no longer be used as evidence of any such relationship,⁴ the Nostell narrative has been disrupted sufficiently that it is worth revisiting the chronology of the Adam-Chippendale relationship and placing it in the context of the Winns' priorities rather than those of either architect or cabinetmaker. In essence, while still making use of a well-known body of archival material, a fresh approach has the potential to give a better sense of what was important to the family than studying the architecture or furniture in isolation. It also sheds a different light on who had agency and when.

With that in mind, a brief synopsis of the eighteenth-century history of both houses may be useful. Sir Rowland Winn, fourth baronet, inherited the Nostell estate in 1722 and soon after his marriage to the heiress Susannah Henshaw in 1729 decided to rebuild Nostell, reputedly to designs by Colonel James Moyser although no drawings survive from this initial phase. James Paine was appointed clerk of works in 1736 and he eventually provided designs for most of the interiors although only one private apartment to the north and the rooms in the southern half of the house were nearing completion when the fourth baronet died. Sir Rowland's eldest son, also named Rowland, married a Swiss Huguenot, Sabine d'Herwart, in 1761 and they divided their time between rented accommodation in London and a house at Badsworth, West Yorkshire, until he inherited in 1765. Almost immediately, the couple purchased No.11 St James's Square and much of the furniture already in the house from the widowed Lady Macclesfield,⁵ and set about finishing Nostell by commissioning designs from Robert Adam and purchasing furniture from Thomas Chippendale. Thus architect and cabinetmaker had to respond to what was already *in situ* at both locations, where work continued intermittently until the fifth baronet's sudden death on 20 February 1785 and the parlous state of his finances necessitated the sale of the townhouse and most of its contents. Nostell remained unfinished until the 1870s.

Although a drawing of c.1765 for a library at Nostell has long been attributed to Thomas Chippendale, no new supporting evidence has come to light since its publication in 1974.⁶ This leaves Chippendale's first securely-dated connection with the Winns as 21 June 1766, when they made a number of purchases for their London home.⁷ It also raises the mundane possibility that they met in London simply because Sir Rowland was desirous of furnishings to complete his newly-purchased townhouse

rather than because of any pre-existing Yorkshire connection. Rather than shared regional roots, the date of 1766 may be more significant as the Winns' acquisition of No.11 St James's Square coincided with a widening in Chippendale's business practices from cabinetmaker and upholsterer to 'general house-furnisher' almost immediately after the death of his business partner James Rannie and the heavily-advertised sale of much of their stock to satisfy the demands of Rannie's executors in March that year.⁸ Although there are no ephemera relating to this particular sale in the Winn archive, the survival of newspaper clippings and references to other advertisements in their correspondence suggests that the couple were experienced at combing the periodical press for information on a wide range of consumer goods,⁹ and it is not difficult to imagine that a visit to the fashionable showrooms of St Martin's Lane as advertised in the newspapers would have been in order as soon as the legal ink of ownership on their townhouse was dry.

There had been no significant advances in townhouse planning since No.11 St James's Square had been constructed in 1735/36, and thus no need for the services of Robert Adam in 1766, but the Winns faced an urgent need to furnish their new home as they had previously only stayed in lodgings when visiting the capital. As a result, Sir Rowland spent £604.15.6. at the contents sale of No.11 held 17-20 May 1766, on 20 June the Winns took possession, and on 21 June they purchased their first items from Chippendale.¹⁰ Between then and 25 February 1769, Chippendale's London account reveals that the couple spent £351.4.7½. on a mix of existing stock, new commissions, and copies of the Macclesfields' pier glasses and girandoles that must have been thirty years behind the stylistic times, plus cleaning and repairing of the kind that would have been bread-and-butter tasks for many comparable firms.¹¹ Notably, after an initial deep clean in 1766, cleaning and repairing became regular

activities that probably indicate preparations for the Winns' arrival in London for the season as the firm continued to perform such tasks until 1785.¹²

Courtesy of the annotated sale catalogue, we know that the Winns acquired the contents of certain rooms almost in their entirety, which meant that Chippendale filled gaps rather than conceived complete furnishing schemes. However, what he did supply reveals the Winns' priorities and bears close comparison with the order in which the couple (re)constructed and furnished Nostell (discussed below). The first, and most expensive, item in the London account is a mahogany bedstead with printed cotton hangings and bedding complete, at £63.17.5.,¹³ followed by a 'very large Mahogany Library Table', a mahogany and Spanish leather elbow chair and four matching back stools for the same room, and two mahogany dining tables 'made to Join Occasionally', suggesting the couple's desire to stamp their own taste and standards of hygiene on their bedchamber (no second-hand mattresses here!), create a library where one had not existed previously, and update the dining room to reflect their preferences for eating at separate tables when entertaining.¹⁴ Much of this furniture, including Lady Winn's writing table and secretaire (both now at Nostell), came from existing stock, as is suggested by the entry for '10 Mahogany Parlour Chairs the seats stuff'd and cover'd with Haircloth & double Brass nail'd' on 24 June and a further '10 Mahogany Parlour Chairs same sort as before' on 3 October 1766. They were evidently of a standard pattern, and speed of delivery was of the essence if the Winns were to take up residence in comfort.

Once the furnishing of No.11 St James's Square was complete in 1769, only routine cleaning and repairing were required from Chippendale's firm and the Winns waited until 1774 before turning to the Adam brothers to refront the house in patent

cement, redecorate the main reception room with paintings by Antonio Zucchi and plasterwork by Joseph Rose, and possibly add a new stairhall ceiling.¹⁵

As this chronology suggests, the relationship in London was between Chippendale and the Winns and then between the Adams and the Winns, rather than a triangular exchange between Chippendale, the Adams and the Winns. Not so at Nostell, where the interior was still unfinished when the fifth Baronet inherited in 1765 and thus he needed the services of architect and cabinetmaker working concurrently if the house was going to be brought to fruition.

Because of the absence of early drawings, it is unknown who planned Nostell in its first iteration but a rethink was clearly desirable. As published in volume four of *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1767), paired apartments to the east were separated by two lateral staircases and service stairs from the common sitting room (D), drawing room (E), saloon (B) and dining room (C) to the west. [Fig. 1] Susannah Henshaw's apartment was intended to be at the north end (F) but she died in 1742, after giving birth to nine children in thirteen years, and seems to have been erased architecturally thereafter as Paine and that other regrettably still unidentified hand subsequently replanned this area as a library.¹⁶ So the fourth Baronet's house combined a newly-fashionable purpose-built dining room with an older idea of paired apartments, but was unorthodox in opening the apartments from the hall rather than the saloon and awkward in that the servants would have had to carry food from the kitchen pavilion through the sitting room, drawing room and saloon on their way to the dining room. One also wonders why Sir Rowland's apartment (G) only connected with his wife's intended apartment via a draughty area across the north staircase landing?

Today, Paine's best preserved interior is the dining room, which in execution was relocated south of the saloon to bring it nearer the kitchen wing. Completion of

this plus the common sitting room and apartment (H) rendered the southern half of the house inhabitable but, barring the staircase and the fourth Baronet's bedchamber and dressing room, most of the northern half was still a shell in 1765. Evidently the new Baronet considered finishing the hall and saloon to Paine's designs but, delayed by winter weather,¹⁷ instead dismissed his father's architect. This gave Adam and Chippendale the freedom to replan parts of Nostell and design new interiors and furnishing schemes – and here is where the unfinished state of the house becomes particularly interesting because establishing the chronology an architect followed when designing a building reveals less about which rooms were actually a family's priority than can be learned from establishing the chronology in which those rooms were furnished. Using a combination of archival material and Eileen Harris's canonical reading of that part of the archive,¹⁸ the Adam chronology can be established as: library (1a), minor work in what became Sir Rowland's green dressing room (1b), and the addition of an ornament to the withdrawing chamber chimneypiece (1c) (all mentioned in correspondence of 26 August 1766); preparatory work in Sabine Winn's apartment (2; where Joseph Rose billed for 'Scraping and Repairing' the walls in August 1767); then the drawing room designed by April 1767 (3a), saloon (3b; where Harris has dated the first drawings to *c.*1767 although the room was not completed until *c.*1776) and top hall (3c; also first designed in 1767 and finished *c.*1776).¹⁹ [Fig. 2] These were followed by alterations to the alcove and addition of a chimneypiece in the state bedchamber in 1768 (4) and an update of the dining room in 1772-73 (5).²⁰ After the birth of the future sixth Baronet in 1775 and Lady Winn's permanent retreat to Nostell, Adam designed a suite of family rooms (6) and proposed to balance the new wing with a music room and service areas,²¹ but the latter were never built and the family wing remained a shell for the next century.

Knowing what one knows about the state of the house before the fifth Baronet inherited foregrounds why Robert Adam supplied designs for particular rooms in the order in which he did, for instance, the existence of a recently decorated dining room meant his attention could focus on the drawing room, saloon and top hall, but any emphasis on Adam underplays Chippendale's rapid transformation of the fourth Baronet's dressing room and bedchamber into something more fashionable for the new Lady Winn and the magnificent state apartment that he created in what had been the common sitting room and adjacent bedchamber and closet. Crucially, it overlooks the order in which rooms were furnished and thus usable. The drawing room is a case in point: it may have been designed in 1767 but the ceiling was not finished until 1771, Zucchi's overdoor paintings and the chimneypiece were only installed in 1773, Chippendale was commissioned in 1774 and in 1781 the firm wrote to inform the Winns that they had been waiting two years for orders to finish the furniture for both drawing room and saloon; once Lady Winn had made her choice from the thirteen samples of silk they enclosed, the saloon chairs and settees would be reupholstered before removal to the drawing room.²² Her failure to make any such decision suggests that the room was never a top priority, even before the collapse of Sir Rowland's bank in 1782 cost him his fortune and ensured the house could not be completed before his widow's death in 1798.²³

Chippendale's chronology is distinct from Adam's, although it also begins in the library as a letter to Sir Rowland of 27 December 1766 mentions an earlier visit to Nostell and furniture including a library table (1).²⁴ [Fig. 3] The first entries in the 'combined' account that relate to Nostell are for the medal cabinet, library table, drawing table and sham books on 30 June 1767, followed by a metamorphic stool and four 'antique' elbow chairs, which may be the chairs that Sir Rowland complained in

a letter of 30 October 1767 had been spoiled on account of poor packing.²⁵ [Figs 4-5] If he sent them back, as Chippendale feared, that would explain the arrival of the six library armchairs in the ‘antique taste’ that appear in the account on 22 January 1768.²⁶ Six (not ten) are in the room today. The first four were covered with black leather and were ten shillings apiece more expensive than the six with ‘green hair cloth’.²⁷ Clearly a library was Sir Rowland’s first priority, as it had been in St James’s Square, but the cost of the furniture supplied for Nostell overshadows what was ordered for London, where the library was a more modest affair. But how closely might Chippendale have worked with the Adam brothers here? The Adams designed the integral pedimented bookcases, chimneypiece with inset painting by Zucchi, and the surrounds for two oval mirrors, most of which was executed in stucco by Rose.²⁸ The work was carried out by Adam’s men and, beyond the run of sham books, there are no related charges in Chippendale’s ‘combined’ account, not even for the gib door (the one covered by sham books) between the library and drawing room as that too was the concern of Adam, his right-hand-man Benjamin Ware and eventually the carpenter-architect William Belwood.²⁹ The inset medal cabinet required careful coordination between architect and cabinetmaker, of course, but it was to Sir Rowland (not to Adam or his craftsmen) that Chippendale sent his instructions about staining it:

I have this day sent to the fly the Glass for the drawing table, the hinges for the cloaths press, & the bottle of red stain for the medal case. Please to let the man scrape the Oil of the place to be stain’d very clean and then lay on the stain, if not dark enough at first repeat it twice or three times.³⁰

As noted by Adam Bowett and James Lomax, the rest of the library furniture is not integrated with the room nor are the pieces integrated with each other as only the foliate guilloche pattern on the seat rails and stool coordinates with the architecture.³¹ One has to wonder how much of this furniture an impatient Sir Rowland chose from Chippendale’s existing stock?

Akin to what we saw in London, among the next items for Nostell was a new bed, described in the 30 June 1767 entry of the ‘combined’ account as ‘a large bedstead with mahogany feet posts fluted’ hung with printed cotton at a cost of £104.4.8. complete (2).³² This was intended for what had been the fourth Baronet’s bedchamber and was now the couple’s bedchamber. Unlike Paine’s dining room, the Winns were not content to retain whatever outmoded decoration was *in situ* here. There appears to be no mention of the room in the surviving Adam correspondence, suggesting that the refurbishment was almost entirely Chippendale’s domain once Joseph Rose had prepared the walls.³³ As is revealed by references to an ‘India paper room’ in Chippendale letters of August and September 1767, and an undated ‘List of Furniture for different Appartments’ in which it was noted that ‘L^y Bed Chamber’ was ‘to be hung with your India paper with a proper boarder to match’, the Winns sourced their own Chinese wallpaper.³⁴ Unable to find a border as ‘neat’ as he wished, Chippendale then designed one himself.³⁵ The fourth Baronet’s wallpaper was taken down and the ‘India paper’ (mounted upon canvas) with 78 yards of ‘neat’ green and gold border was hung in 1769 at a cost of £4.19.0.³⁶ Today the room sports ahistorical red paint that gives no hint of its former beauty.

Also itemised in Chippendale’s ‘combined’ account on 30 June 1767 was a ‘very large mahogany cloaths press of exceeding fine wood in a commode shape with 7 shelves in the upper part lin’d with paper and green bays aprons, and 4 drawers in the under part with best wrought handles to ditto’ at £37.³⁷ [Fig. 6] This was almost certainly for Lady Winn’s apartment because she had an extensive wardrobe, it immediately follows the new bed in the ‘combined’ account and its width corresponds exactly to that of the outer circle of the fanlight in her closet.³⁸ Indeed, apart from work on two other beds – delays for which enraged Sir Rowland and provoked the

first of several fits of pique³⁹ – the next entries all relate to Sabine’s apartment. [Fig. 7] These are for ten French armchairs covered in blue moreen;⁴⁰ window curtains of the same fabric; ‘2 Oval Glass frames richly carv’d and Gilt in Burnish Gold and Glass’ at £50; a mahogany clothes press with a pediment top; a ‘large mahogany double head Couch... with mahogany posts and a canopy top for a bed’ covered in printed cotton that presumably matched the couple’s bed; and an extravagant £34.10.0. for reframing a seventeenth-century copy of Guido Reni’s *Cleopatra*, when the painting itself had only cost £18.15.0. at the Macclesfield sale.⁴¹ When complete, Lady Winn’s dressing room was densely hung with paintings, 41 of which were framed by Chippendale for £63.10.0. on 4 March 1768, with a further £35 charge for enhancing the frames with roses and other ornaments on 3 September 1768.⁴² The picture hang explains why the room was hung with blue verdure paper rather than *en suite* with the India-papered bedchamber next door. Although its impact is lessened today by an unsympathetic putty pink paint scheme and the dispersal of much of the moveable furniture to elsewhere in the house, such lavish spending reveals Lady Winn’s dressing room to have been the equivalent of Sir Rowland’s library and, like the latter, a room thrown open for viewing by important visitors.⁴³ Unlike the library, however, it owed its initial fine appearance to Chippendale’s skill in catering to his patron’s taste rather than to any intervention by Robert Adam, even though there is a drawing attributed to Joseph Bonomi that dates from c.1768 (the year he was employed in the Adam office) and Zucchi eventually enhanced the ceiling and provided six overdoor paintings in 1772.⁴⁴

Apart from Sir Rowland’s dressing table (3), which appears on 3 July 1769, and a barometer case on 20 October, nothing else can be firmly identified in the ‘combined’ account and it appears to be a jumble of work done at both houses for

which the total came to £1581.0.8., brought down to £557.11.9. by 13 June 1772.⁴⁵

What happened next has to be pieced together from different documents, with the inevitable caveats about lacuna in the archive. As we have seen, there are Adam Office drawings dated 1767 for the drawing room, saloon and top hall because the Adams supplied designs for every unfinished room. Zucchi was put to work on paintings to be inset in various ceilings and overdoors, and chimneypieces were commissioned, but the rooms could only have been brought into use when furnished. The Winns chose the order in which to proceed, hence the Chippendale accounts are the more valuable documents for dating the progression of the interiors as they were lived in – and the next place to which they take us is not the incomplete drawing room, saloon or top hall but the state apartment (4).

The accounts that relates to this suite of three rooms run from 21 February-28 October 1771.⁴⁶ Joseph Rose had done a little work to the alcove in 1769 and prepared the walls for papering in November 1770,⁴⁷ but the delay in furnishing is best explained by the nature of the interiors that the Winns desired. Chippendale was at great pains to source the hand-painted Chinese wallpaper – 17 sheets of ‘fine India Paper’ cost £12.15.0. on 8 April 1771 – and the furniture certainly did not come from stock.⁴⁸ He also supervised the work personally as in July 1771 Sir Rowland was informed that Chippendale would travel north once he had recovered from an incapacitating sore throat and in October his business partner Thomas Haig apologised for a delay in responding to Sir Edward Knatchbull of Mersham-le-Hatch, Kent, because of ‘Mr. Chippendale being in Yorkshire where he had business in several parts of that County’.⁴⁹

The antechamber suite comprised ‘8 Chairs with India feet and Arms neatly Japan’d Green and Gold’, a matching sofa at £8.6.0 plus £2.10.6. for making up the

chintz, two dressing stools, a pier glass in a 'very large border'd Chinese frame Richly Carv'd & finish'd green & Gold', a commode to sit beneath it, and two chintz window curtains.⁵⁰ For the bedchamber was a domed bedstead with 'Rich Carv'd Cornices', complete with bedding, at £126.10.11., a 'very large Venitian drapery Window Curtains', six more armchairs, an 'Easy Chair', a chimney glass and an 'Oval Glass In A Glass border'd frame neatly Carv'd & finished Green & Gold for over the Commode in the Alcove Bedchamber'.⁵¹ For the adjacent 'Little Room' or closet was a japanned clothes press, dressing table and basin stand.⁵² [Fig. 8] All of the fabric was supplied by the Winns. Although it may have been the 300 yards of chintz mentioned in a letter from Edwin Lascelles to the fourth Baronet of 30 December 1746, there is no archival evidence to suggest that Lascelles' chintz was ever delivered.⁵³ Since chintz samples were later enclosed in letters to Sabine Winn from several London drapers, it is likely that the couple sourced the fabric themselves.⁵⁴ It would be interesting to know the colour of the original upholstery because green and gold furniture and fillet are not a natural choice to place against wallpaper that originally had a pale blue background unless the fabric somehow harmonised the scheme.⁵⁵

The other question is why have a state apartment at all since the concept of living in state had long since disappeared? Undoubtedly the Winns were aware that at Harewood a lavish state apartment had been designed by Adam c.1767-68 and was soon to be furnished by Chippendale,⁵⁶ and perhaps they decided to prioritise their own showpiece rather than finishing the saloon or drawing room. If so, it was yet another example of their aspirations outstripping their purse as the Winns' finances were stretched to breaking point and the days of lavish integrated interiors such as this were soon over. They never ordered anything as expensive again from Chippendale

and even appear to have planned to draw their relationship to a close as a memorandum 'To Mention to Mr Adam amongst other things' compiled in 1772 includes a reminder to ask 'Who to Employ for a Cabinet Maker and what Kind of Furniture to order for Drawing Room, Saloon, &c'.⁵⁷ The archive is silent on the exact cause of Chippendale's fall from grace, but it is surely no coincidence that the date coincides with the most pressing of his requests to be paid for work already executed.⁵⁸ Whether Adam then recommended that the Winns continue to employ the firm or whether the couple's growing inability to pay their bills deterred potential competitors is a moot point. In any event, it was Haig & Chippendale who received the commission for furniture for the top hall, saloon and drawing room. However, the scale of these commissions was different from what had gone before and the saloon furniture in its second iteration was only settled after discussion with Adam,⁵⁹ which is a new development in this triangular relationship. The remaining rooms also had wall decoration by Adam that evidently necessitated pier glasses and tables of his own design,⁶⁰ a further change in practice that might explain why Sefferin Nelson carved the saloon window cornices to Adam's design rather than Chippendale's firm to their own design even though the latter had recently supplied window cornices in the state apartment to the Winns' satisfaction.⁶¹

As noted above, a design for the wall elevations of the top hall was prepared *c.*1767 but it was not until the state apartment was nearing completion that the Winns returned to Adam's proposals (5).⁶² Adam Office drawings date from 1771 and 1772, the latter being the year in which work began.⁶³ Christopher Theakston of Doncaster supplied estimates for the chimneypieces on 17 May 1773 and Rose executed the plasterwork in 1774-76, but the Winns' dwindling finances curtailed plans for Zucchi's inset paintings and, as befitted the purpose of a room intended as a

transitional space rather than one in which the family spent any time, Chippendale's contribution was only a set of eight chairs of c.1775 that are not dissimilar to those he supplied for Harewood in 1773.⁶⁴ As Harris has discussed, the pier tables for the top hall (and saloon) were designed by Robert Adam in 1775 and, although 'indebted to the design for a cabinet supported by term figures' illustrated in the third edition of Chippendale's *Director* (1762), were not executed by his workshop.⁶⁵ In August 1776 Sir Rowland made a note to seek Adam's advice on 'How to Light the Hall & the Two oval passages' and c.1779 '4 Antique Lamps for the Hall, with Balance weights, Silk Lines and Tossells' and '2 Lamps with Lines & Tassells for the Lobbies' were ordered from Chippendale but never delivered.⁶⁶

The furnishing history of the saloon and drawing room is less clear, partly because of the fragmentary nature of the surviving evidence – there is no bill for the saloon furniture, for example – and partly because Thomas Chippendale senior took a step back from the business in 1776 (dying in 1779) and his son Thomas junior assumed more responsibility (6-7). [Fig. 9] A design for mouldings in the saloon dated 1768 is still preserved at the house, but nothing was settled before 1770 and in 1771 Sir Rowland requested further alterations.⁶⁷ Adam took early control of the saloon pier glasses but Chippendale made measured drawings of both rooms in 1774 (necessary if he was to supply pier glasses, girandoles and pier tables but otherwise inexplicable) and either he or his son visited Yorkshire in April 1778 to supervise the installation of the saloon pier glasses and girandoles.⁶⁸ An appeal for orders from Lady Winn in the wake of her husband's death in 1785 reveals that the saloon seating furniture was then to be reupholstered and moved to the drawing room to join 'Two large Pier Glasses with head plates & Borders, one of the Body plates your own & now at Nostel – the frames made & Glasses ready', another over the chimneypiece

‘the Body plate your own from the Saloon, which was broken, frame made’, ‘4 Rich Girandoles to match with Glass Backs’ and ‘2 Rich Table Frames to your Marble Tops’.⁶⁹ To take their place in the saloon were ‘8 Very neat open back Chairs to be Japann’d & Seats covered with Green Taberay’,⁷⁰ two matching sofas, ‘2 Rich Inlaid Table Tops to your own Frames’ and ‘2 Large Pier Glasses with head plates instead of those sent before’.⁷¹ Although still at Haig & Chippendale’s premises in 1785, the Adam-designed tables with scagliola tops executed by Richter & Bartoli for the saloon in 1777 were delivered sometime after the fifth Baronet’s death as they are in the room today,⁷² but the saloon chairs and settees were never recovered or moved to the drawing room and remain in place today.

Requests for payment were a leitmotif from the beginning of Chippendale’s relationship with the Winns, and by December 1770 the firm was owed £1581.0.8. for work at both of their houses.⁷³ Sums ranging from £20 to £200 were paid, usually on credit notes on terms of between two and six months,⁷⁴ but by 1781 the debt had mounted again and Thomas Haig was forthright in his disappointment that a promised payment had not been forthcoming on Sir Rowland’s return to Yorkshire.⁷⁵ The Adam brothers and Antonio Zucchi were also owed substantial sums when all work stopped at Nostell and No.11 St James’s Square in 1785,⁷⁶ but it was Haig & Chippendale who had to wait the longest for payment. However, paid the firm eventually was. An unpublished series of nine documents dating from between August 1794 and May 1799 has recently come to light that brings the relationship between the Winns and Chippendale to a financial close. The letters, from J. Roberts to Lady Winn’s solicitor Shepley Watson, refer specifically to the 1785 list of work still to be finished and a smaller demand for £19.4.11. previously submitted to Lady Winn. Internal evidence suggests that at least one letter from the sequence has gone astray but it appears that

Haig & Chippendale’s decision to dissolve their partnership had triggered a final attempt to extract what was owed, although Haig did not formally retire from the firm until two years later.⁷⁷ In the first surviving letter (8 August 1794), after what can only be described as a direct appeal to Shepley’s sense of honour and justice at the treatment of his clients, Roberts recommended that the cabinetmaker and upholsterer George Seddon of Aldersgate Street, London, be consulted as an independent adjudicator should either Lady Winn or Watson wish to contest any aspect of the account, and suggested that the firm would be willing to take back a glass still at Nostell.⁷⁸ With no response or payment forthcoming, on 27 July 1795 Roberts was prompted to refer to Lady Winn’s ‘cruelty... [in] protracting the payment from Year to Year’ and then to apply to Lady Winn herself to settle ‘this unpleasant business’ ‘either mutually or by adverse means’ on 20 September 1797 when he happened to be in Wakefield.⁷⁹ The amount requested was:

To 1 st Bill delivered	19.4.11.
To loss sustained by preparing P Order various sorts of Furniture as P Inventory	170.-.-
a Looking Glass detained at Nostell	<u>40.-.-</u>
	£229.4.11

Lady Winn appears to have been genuinely unaware that money was still owed, confirming the heavy reliance on her solicitor to manage her affairs seen elsewhere.⁸⁰ The sixth Baronet responded to Roberts but no payment was forthcoming, which prompted letters from Roberts of 22 January and 15 December 1798, the latter threatening legal proceedings if no payment materialised by the end of January 1799.⁸¹ Lady Winn died in September 1798 and her son agreed to pay in March 1799, although this was soon negotiated as a note of credit redeemable in January 1800.⁸² He also decided to return the stranded glass, but his timing was poor:

Upon my first application to Lady Winn, & also again in the latter end of the year 1797, (when I took notice of the looking glass) Messrs. Haig & C. had

some undertakings of considerable magnitude to transact in the upholstery line at Harewood House & other places in Yorkshire, where they had experienced workmen employed; so that they then had opportunities not only of disposing of the glass to great advantage, but they could also have had it removed with care and judgment, & with little or no hazard of damage or loss; whereas at present they have no business in hand in your part of the country, & consequently have no prospect of a local sale or proper means of removing the glass and therefore if it was compatible to Messrs. Haig & C. to receive it back in Town, it would be much more to Sir Rowlands advantage to retain it...⁸³

The fate of the glass is unknown.

So, what conclusions can be reached about Sir Rowland and Sabine Winn, Thomas Chippendale and Robert Adam at No.11 St James's Square and Nostell? The first conclusion is that considering what was already *in situ*, and identifying the order in which rooms were designed and furnished, gives one the best sense of what was important to the family. At both houses, Sir Rowland's library and the bedchamber he shared with his wife emerge as clear priorities that have nothing to do with the social status of the rooms. They were rooms for living in. At Nostell, furnishing Lady Winn's dressing room was also an urgent undertaking and the room was created as a female counterpart of her husband's library. Their next priority – the state apartment – was the public showpiece and, within reason, they were prepared to wait for the furniture to create it. Everything else (including payment) would, and indeed did, have to wait. A second conclusion is that the relationship between Adam and Chippendale was not that of master and lackey. It was surprisingly fluid with precedence being taken at different moments in time, depending upon where in each house work was required. Perhaps it is time for a wider rethink of their relationship at other commissions?

Acknowledgements:

Early versions of this paper were presented as the Chippendale Society Annual Lecture and the BIFMO-FHS online course *Furnishing the British Country House*:

from 1700 to 1900 in 2022 and at the Nostell Property Narrative Workshop and the York Georgian Society in 2023. Thank you to all who contributed to the discussions. I am hugely indebted to Simon McCormack and Louise Ayres of the National Trust for providing last-minute access to important documentation not in the public domain and facilitating image reproduction. Gwendoline Whitworth possessed the IT skills that made Figs 2 and 3 possible. As always, the assistance offered by staff at West Yorkshire Archive Service (Wakefield) has been exemplary. Wendy Hamilton and Richard Checketts were sympathetic ears.

¹ See, for example, Herbert Cescinsky, *English Furniture of the Eighteenth Century*, 3 vols (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1909-1911); Arthur T. Bolton, 'Nostell Priory, Yorkshire, a seat of Lord St. Oswald', *Country Life*, 36 (31 October 1914), 582-89; Maurice W. Brockwell, *Catalogue of the Pictures and Other Works of Art in the Collection of Lord St. Oswald at Nostell Priory* (London: Constable and Co., 1915); Percy Macquoid and Ralph Edwards, *The Dictionary of English Furniture: from the Middle Ages to the late Georgian period*, rev. edit., 3 vols (London: Country Life Limited, 1954); Lindsay Boynton and Nicholas Goodison, 'Thomas Chippendale at Nostell Priory', *Furniture History*, IV (1968), 10-61; Christopher Gilbert, 'New Light on the Furnishing of Nostell Priory', *Furniture History*, XXVI (1990), 53-66; Judith Goodison, *The Life and Work of Thomas Chippendale Junior* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2017), p. 34. As most of the Chippendale letters and accounts relating to Nostell were published by Boynton, Goodison and Gilbert before the transfer of the Nostell papers to West Yorkshire Archive Services (Wakefield), references below will give updated archival shelfmarks but not cite the secondary literature.

² West Yorkshire Archive Service (Wakefield): Nostell Papers, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/47, Account of Thomas Chippendale, 21 June 1766-13 June 1772. Hereafter the Nostell Papers will be cited as NP. Only R.W. Symonds, 'Chippendale Furniture at Nostell Priory', *Country Life*, 112 (3 October 1952), 1028-30, appears to have had access to this 'combined' account and what now confusingly shares the same shelf mark, NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/47, Sir Rowland Winn's account to Thomas Chippendale for work at the London townhouse, 1766-1769.

³ Kerry Bristol, 'Recovering a 'lost' account: Thomas Chippendale at No.11 St James's Square, London', *Furniture History*, 54 (2018), 145-81.

⁴ These bulk of these were acquired for the London house, while Chippendale also supplied and/or repaired servants' furniture at country houses including Harewood House, West Yorkshire, and Mersham-le-Hatch, Kent. See Anthea Stephenson, 'Chippendale Furniture at Harewood', *Furniture History*, IV (1968), 62-80 (pp. 63, 79, entry for 22 October 1776); Lindsay Boynton, 'Thomas Chippendale at Mersham-le-Hatch', *Furniture History*, IV (1968), 82-104 (p. 96, entry for 15 October 1767).

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

⁶ Gervase Jackson-Stops, 'Pre-Adam Furniture Designs at Nostell Priory', *Furniture History*, X (1974), 24-37 (pp. 29-30 and pl. 21). The suggestion of a youthful connection between Thomas Chippendale and the York cabinetmaker Richard Wood is strengthened by the existence of a letter from Wood to Sir Rowland Winn informing him that, by order of Chippendale, a glass had been silvered and forwarded to Ferrybridge for collection but this is not evidence of an acquaintance with the Winns prior to 1766. NP, WYW1352/1/4/82/2, Richard Wood to Sir Rowland Winn, 27 December 1771.

⁷ 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.

⁸ G. Bernard Hughes, 'Thomas Chippendale's Workshops', *Country Life*, 119, part 2 (14 June 1956), 1290-91 (p. 1291); Christopher Gilbert, *The Life and Works of Thomas Chippendale* (Bristol: Artlines, 1978), pp. 12-13.

⁹ See, for example, Kerry Bristol, 'Marmosets and Mynah Birds: Exotica and Other Pets at Nostell c.1759-1806', *Sport and Leisure in the Irish and British Country House*, eds Terence Dooley and Christopher Ridgway (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2019), pp. 8-32.

¹⁰ NP, WYW1352/1/1/5/20, Macclesfield Sale Catalogue, 7-10 May 1766; *The Parish of St. James Westminster. Part 1, South of Piccadilly*, Survey of London, 29 (London: Athlone Press for London County Council, 1960), p. 123; 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. This brings into question any suggestion that Adam introduced Chippendale to the Winns.

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- ¹¹ Helena Hayward and Pat Kirkham, *William and John Linnell. Eighteenth Century London Furniture Makers* (London: Studio Vista and Christie's, 1980), pp. 16, 23; Hugh Roberts and Charles Cator, *Industry and Ingenuity. The Partnership of William Ince and John Mayhew* (London: Philip Wilson, 2022), pp. 19-20.
- ¹² NP, WYW1352/1/4/45/9, The Executrix of Sir Rowland Winn Bar^t To Haig and Chippendale, 12 January 1780-6 April 1785.
- ¹³ 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.
- ¹⁴ 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 24 June 1766. Rather than one table that could be reconfigured for the number of people dining, Chippendale describes them as '2 Large Mahogany Dining Tables of fine wood and made to Join Occasionally with strap hinges &c' in the townhouse account and 'a pair of very neat mahogany dining tables made of fine wood to join together' in the 'combined' account. On the basis of the evidence supplied in NP, WYW1352/1/4/32/26 and WYW1352/1/4/24/25, both table settings in French, it appears that the couple ate at separate tables. The former document consists of a menu of ten dishes for 'Diner de milledi' and a separate menu of twelve dishes for 'diner de Sr rolland' while the latter lists seven dishes 'pur Ser Rolan' and six dishes 'pour Melidy'.
- ¹⁵ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/2/9, John Adam to Sir Rowland Winn, 6 July 1774; *The Parish of St. James Westminster. Part 1, South of Piccadilly*, pp. 123-24, 133-34, as in note 10; David King, *The Complete Works of Robert and James Adam*, 2nd edit. (Oxford: Architectural Press, 2001), pp. 290-92.
- ¹⁶ Jackson-Stops, 'Pre-Adam Furniture Designs at Nostell Priory', 29-30, as in note 6.
- ¹⁷ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/5/9, Joseph Rose to Sir Rowland Winn, 7 November 1765.
- ¹⁸ Eileen Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam. His Interiors* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2001), pp. 196-211.
- ¹⁹ NP, WYW1352/1/4/56/27, Robert Adam to Sir Rowland Winn, 26 August 1766; WYW1352/1/4/19/35, Robert Adam to Benjamin Ware, 14 October 1766; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/2/1, Robert Adam to Sir Rowland Winn, 18 August 1767; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/5/2, Sir Rowland Winn account to Joseph Rose For Plaisterers Work done at his House at Nostell From the Year 1766 to 1777. Under the Direction of Messrs Robert and James Adam Architects, entries for 21 February, 2 March and 22 August 1767; James Adam to Benjamin Ware, undated but c. September 1767, cited in Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam*, p. 354, note 16, as in note 18; WYW1352/1/4/19/34, James Adam to Benjamin Ware, 18 November 1767; NP, WYW1352/1/4/19/37, James Adam to Benjamin Ware, 19 March 1768; NP, WYW1352/1/4/19/4, John Austin to Benjamin Ware, 2 May 1770; WYW1352/1/4/19/8, John Austin to Benjamin Ware, 23 November 1770; WYW1352/1/4/19/38, John Austin to Benjamin Ware, 19 December 1770; WYW1352/1/4/19/43, John Austin to Benjamin Ware, 22 April 1772; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/4/5, Antonio Zucchi to Sir Rowland Winn, 16 August 1776; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/2/20, Benjamin Ware, 'Memorandums for M^r Adam Augt 1776 Sept^r y^e 3rd 1776.
- ²⁰ NP, WYW1352/1/4/19/22, Robert Adam to Benjamin Ware, 1 June 1768; WYW1352/1/4/19/49, Robert Adam to Benjamin Ware, 23 June 1768; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/5/2, Sir Rowland Winn account to Joseph Rose, entry for 5 August 1769; WYW1352/1/4/19/5, John Austin to Benjamin Ware, 12 May 1772; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/5/16, Benjamin Ware to Sir Rowland Winn, 21 June 1772; WYW1352/1/4/19/24, John Austin to Benjamin Ware, 13 July 1773.
- ²¹ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/2/13, copy letter Sir Rowland Winn to Robert Adam, 7 March 1776; Sir John Soane's Museum, Adam volume 14/87, drawing inscribed 'Ceiling for the new Vestible at Nostel' and dated 26 September 1783.
- ²² Sir John Soane's Museum, Adam volume 11/225, drawing room ceiling design dated 1767; NP, WYW1352/1/4/19/27, Robert Adam to Benjamin Ware, 11 April 1767; WYW1352/1/4/19/26, Robert Adam to Benjamin Ware, 18 April 1767, list of drawings sent by coach; WYW1352/1/4/19/20, Robert Adam to Benjamin Ware, 13 June 1767; WYW1352/1/4/19/7, James Adam to Benjamin Ware, 14 October 1767; WYW1352/1/4/19/37, James Adam to Benjamin Ware, 19 March 1768; WYW1352/1/4/19/36, Henry Gill to Benjamin Ware, 1773, about a chimneypiece that Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam*, p. 203, as in note 18, asserts can only refer to the one in the drawing room; WYW1352/1/4/83/3, Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 5 March 1774; WYW1352/1/4/114/39, Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 21 June 1774; WYW1352/1/4/19/47, Thomas Chippendale to Benjamin Ware, 24 November 1774; WYW1352/1/4/81/5, Haig & Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 30 June 1781.
- ²³ <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/mayne-robert-1724-82> [accessed 12 February 2016]. As expressed in NP, WYW1352/1/1/6/3, letter 75, Sir Rowland Winn to

Sabine Winn, 24 May 1783, he anticipated salvaging less than five shillings in the pound of his own fortune and what had recently been inherited from Lady Winn's mother.

²⁴ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/1, Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 27 December 1766.

²⁵ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/47, Account of Sir Rowland Winn to Thomas Chippendale, 21 June 1766-13 June 1772, entries for 30 June and 4 July 1767; Henry Francis Du Pont Winterthur Museum, Delaware, Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 30 October 1767, transcribed in Gilbert, 'New Light on the Furnishing of Nostell Priory', p. 57, as in note 1. On the furniture and sham books, see also WYW1352/1/4/24/39, Henry Allen to Sir Rowland Winn, 6 July 1767.

²⁶ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/47, Account of Sir Rowland Winn to Thomas Chippendale, 21 June 1766-13 June 1772, entry for 22 January 1768.

²⁷ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/47, Account of Sir Rowland Winn to Thomas Chippendale, 21 June 1766-13 June 1772, entry for 22 January 1768.

²⁸ NP, WYW1352/1/4/19/35, Robert Adam to Benjamin Ware, 14 October 1766; WYW1352/1/4/19/20, Robert Adam to Benjamin Ware, 13 June 1767; WYW1352/1/4/19/16, Robert Adam to Benjamin Ware, 18 June 1767; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/5/2, Sir Rowland Winn account to Joseph Rose, entries for 28 and 10 October 1767 and separate entry for undated work 'In the Library'; Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam*, pp. 199-200, as in note 18.

²⁹ NP, WYW1352/1/4/19/26, Robert Adam to Benjamin Ware, 18 April 1767; WYW1352/1/4/19/86, Robert Adam to Benjamin Ware, 12 December 1766; WYW1352/1/4/19/33, Robert Adam to Benjamin Ware, 23 May 1767.

³⁰ Victoria and Albert Museum, National Art Library, Box 86, C, C., Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 13 August 1767.

³¹ Adam Bowett and James Lomax, *Thomas Chippendale 1718-1779* (Leeds: The Chippendale Society, 2018), p. 106.

³² NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/47, Account of Sir Rowland Winn to Thomas Chippendale, 21 June 1766-13 June 1772, entry for 30 June 1767.

³³ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/5/2, Sir Rowland Winn account to Joseph Rose, entry for 5 September 1767, 'To Lathing & laying back of plinth in best bedroom & dressing room to d^o &^{ca} Plaister^r 2 days – apprentice 1 day' almost certainly relates to this apartment.

³⁴ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/5, Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 26 August 1767; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/7, Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 23 September 1767; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/39, 'A List of Furniture for different Appartments'.

³⁵ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/5, Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 26 August 1767.

³⁶ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/47, Account of Sir Rowland Winn to Thomas Chippendale, 21 June 1766-13 June 1772, entry for 22 December 1769.

³⁷ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/47, Account of Sir Rowland Winn to Thomas Chippendale, 21 June 1766-13 June 1772, entry for 30 June 1767.

³⁸ See Kerry Bristol, 'Between the Exotic and the Everyday: Sabine Winn at home 1765-1798' in *A Taste for Luxury in Early Modern Europe: Display, Acquisition and Boundaries*, eds Johanna Ilmakunnas and Jon Stobart (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), pp. 161-78, esp. pp. 169-73. Sir Rowland's distant cousin Catharine Cappe, née Harrison, described her first meeting with Lady Winn: 'Her appearance and manner... was singularly captivating, for she was very beautiful, and had a great deal of vivacity. When I first saw her, she was habited in a close vestment of pink satin, the colour not more delicate than her own fine complexion... I had never before seen any thing like her'. Mary Cappe, ed., *Memoirs of the Life of the Late Mrs. Catharine Cappe, written by herself* (London: Longmans & Co., 1822), pp. 85-86. The fanlight was created during construction of the new family wing as the room lost its natural light source during that process. I am grateful to Simon McCormack for providing me with a copy of the National Trust's 2018 report on the Little Dining Room (as Lady Winn's dressing room later became) in which the width of the clothes press is discussed.

³⁹ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/8, copy letter Sir Rowland Winn to Thomas Chippendale, 27 September 1767.

⁴⁰ For furniture for Lady Winn's apartment see also NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/9 Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 1 October 1767; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/31, Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, n.d. but 1767; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/11, Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 5 November 1767; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/12, Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 26 November 1767; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/13, Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 11 January 1768. Moreen can be made of wool, cotton or a wool and cotton blend. As the curtains in Lady Winn's room were made from '26½ Y^{ds} of fine printed Cotton' as a cost of 6s.6d. per yard, and lined with cotton at 2s.6d. per yard, it is likely that the moreen used for the chairs was also of heavy-weight

cotton. NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/47, Account of Sir Rowland Winn to Thomas Chippendale, 21 June 1766-13 June 1772, entry for 22 October 1767.

⁴¹ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/47, Account of Sir Rowland Winn to Thomas Chippendale, 21 June 1766-13 June 1772, entries for 15 and 22 October and 2, 12 and 27 November 1767; WYW1352/1/1/5/20, Macclesfield sale catalogue, p. 21. The room is discussed in detail in Christopher Rowell, 'A 'Lost' Picture Frame by Thomas Chippendale and Lady Winn's Blue Dressing Room at Nostell Priory', *Furniture History*, LIV (2018), 119-143.

⁴² NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/47, Account of Sir Rowland Winn to Thomas Chippendale, 21 June 1766-13 June 1772, entries for 4 March and 3 September 1768.

⁴³ Rowell, 'A 'Lost' Picture Frame by Thomas Chippendale', p. 139, as in note 41.

⁴⁴ Nostell (National Trust collection), inventory no. 960815, attrib. Joseph Bonomi, design for Lady Winn's dressing room, n.d. Six of Zucchi's paintings for 'Lady Winns Room' are discussed in NP, WYW1352/1/4/22/59, Antonio Zucchi [to Sir Rowland Winn?], 7 December 1772 and WYW1352/3/3/1/5/4/1, Antonio Zucchi to Sir Rowland Winn, n.d.; Nostell (National Trust collection), inventory no. 960481, attrib. Antonio Zucchi, n.d., is inscribed 'Design for the ceiling for Lady Winn's anti chamber' and 'To Send this to Mr Adam'.

⁴⁵ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/47, Account of Sir Rowland Winn to Thomas Chippendale, 21 June 1766-13 June 1772, entries for 3 July and 20 October 1769, 13 June 1772.

⁴⁶ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/48, Account of Sir Rowland Winn to Chippendale Haig & Co., 21 February-11 October 1771.

⁴⁷ WYW1352/3/3/1/5/5/2, Sir Rowland Winn account to Joseph Rose, entry for 10 November 1770, £0.4.6.

⁴⁸ Sourcing and negotiating for the correct amount of wallpaper and sending samples to Sir Rowland for approval occupied Chippendale for several months in 1770-1771, at the same time as his firm was executing the furniture. NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/22, Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 20 November 1770; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/23, Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 21 March 1771; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/24, Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 8 April 1771; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/25, Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 17 April 1771; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/26, Thomas Chippendale junior to Sir Rowland Winn, 27 April 1771; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/43, List of furniture headed 'Sir Rowland Winn' separated into items finished, items still to finish and unfinished items, April-May 1771; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/45, list of work still to be done at Nostell (largely devoted to the state apartment although there are also entries for Lady Winn's dressing room and Sir Rowland's library and dressing room).

⁴⁹ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/28, Chippendale Haig & Co., to Sir Rowland Winn, annotated by Sir Rowland 'London July y^e 10th 1771' and 'Wrote again y^e 25th of July 1771 desiring Chippendale to Come down'; Kent Archives, U951/A18/17, Thomas Haig to Sir Edward Knatchbull, 15 October 1771, transcribed in Boynton, 'Thomas Chippendale at Mersham-le-Hatch', p. 87, as in note 4.

⁵⁰ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/48, Account of Sir Rowland Winn to Chippendale Haig & Co., 21 February-11 October 1771, entries for 8 April, 6 May and 1 July 1771. On the confusion between this commode/dressing table and the commode for the state bedchamber for which a bill does not survive, see Bowett and Lomax, *Thomas Chippendale*, p. 62, as in note 31. Both pieces are included in WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/43, List of furniture headed 'Sir Rowland Winn' separated into items finished, items still to finish and unfinished items, April-May 1771. Judith Goodison has made the important point that Thomas Chippendale junior was working for the family firm by this date and the more advanced neoclassical appearance of some of the furniture in the state apartment may show his early influence. Goodison, *The Life and Work of Thomas Chippendale Junior*, p. 33, as in note 1.

⁵¹ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/48, Account of Sir Rowland Winn to Chippendale Haig & Co., 21 February-11 October 1771, entries for 6 May and 29 July 1771.

⁵² NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/48, Account of Sir Rowland Winn to Chippendale Haig & Co., 21 February-11 October 1771, entry for 8 April 1771.

⁵³ NP, WYW1352/1/4/114/32, Edwin Lascelles to Sir Rowland Winn, fourth Baronet, 30 December 1746. I am grateful to Rebecca Burton for suggesting that the brother referred to in this letter is most likely Henry Lascelles rather than his better-known brother Daniel of Goldsborough Hall. Although the Lascelles family fortune was made in the West Indies, their father Henry had been a Director of the East India Company 1742-1746. Henry junior 'became a Captain for the EIC and... made three trips to the port of Canton' between 1741 and 1748. Margot Finn and Kate Smith, *The East India Company at Home, 1757-1857*, <https://ucldigitalpress.co.uk/Book/Article/39/64/2808/> [accessed 10 February 2023].

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- ⁵⁴ NP, WYW1352/3/4/6/9, Daniel Ecoffay to Sabine Winn, June 1797, and H. Faulding to Sabine Winn, 17 January 1798.
- ⁵⁵ Emile de Bruijn, *Chinese Wallpaper in Britain and Ireland* (London: Philip Wilson, 2017), p. 110.
- ⁵⁶ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/2, Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 19 July 1767; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/1, Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 27 December 1766; Stephenson, 'Chippendale Furniture at Harewood', pp. 70-73 (entry for 12 November 1773), as in note 4.
- ⁵⁷ NP, WYW1352/1/4/113/17, memorandum of Sir Rowland Winn, 1772, transcribed in Gilbert, 'New Light on the Furnishing of Nostell Priory', p. 58, as in note 1.
- ⁵⁸ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/49, Chippendale & Haig to Sir Rowland Winn, 7 December 1771; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/47, Account of Thomas Chippendale, 21 June 1766-13 June 1772; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/33, Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 25 January 1772. Sir Rowland's response to Chippendale's request for £600 (and reminder that four years' credit was 'too long for any man to support' was to return a number of items but no payment was made until June (£200) and October (£350) 1772.
- ⁵⁹ NP, WYW1352/1/4/114/39, Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 21 June 1774.
- ⁶⁰ Eileen Harris, *The Furniture of Robert Adam* (London: Alec Tiranti, 1963), pp. 27-28; Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam*, pp. 206-8, as in note 18.
- ⁶¹ NP, WYW1352/1/4/79/1, Sefferin Nelson Account, 27 June 1772; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/27, Chippendale & Haig to Sir Rowland Winn, 9 May 1771; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/43, List of furniture headed 'Sir Rowland Winn' separated into items finished, items still to finish and unfinished items, April-May 1771. This situation also bears comparison with the relationship between Adam and Chippendale in the drawing room, where the latter again had the upper hand, presumably because the walls were to be hung with silk (Chippendale's domain) rather than painted as they were in the saloon (Adam's domain).
- ⁶² Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam*, p. 207, as in note 18, dates the drawing of the wall elevations to c.1767; Sophie Raikes and Tim Knox, *Nostell Priory and Parkland* (Swindon: The National Trust, 2009), p. 10, date it to 1771, presumably because this is the date of the first proposal for the ceiling.
- ⁶³ Nostell (National Trust collection), inventory no. 960679, Adam office drawing of the ornament over the hall chimneys, 1 June 1771 and inventory no. 960680, Adam office drawing of the ornaments for the panels on each side of the hall chimneys, 1 June 1772; Sir John Soane's Museum, Adam volume 11/229, finished drawing for the ceiling for the hall, 1771, and Adam volume 11/230, record drawing for the ceiling for the hall (as executed), 1772; NP, WYW1352/1/4/19/43, John Austin to Benjamin Ware, 22 April 1772; WYW1352/1/4/19/41, John Austin to Benjamin Ware, 7 July 1772 and WYW1352/1/4/22/60, 'A list of Drawings sent to Nostel by the Carrier', n.d.
- ⁶⁴ Nostell (National Trust collection), inventory no. 960677, Adam office drawing of the hall chimneypiece, signed and dated 12 May 1773; NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/5/12, Christopher Theakston's estimate for the hall chimneypieces, 17 May 1773; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/5/2, Sir Rowland Winn account to Joseph Rose, entries for 11 and 14 March 1775 and separate entry 'Hall'; Stephenson, 'Chippendale Furniture at Harewood', pp. 65, 70 (entry for 12 June 1773), as in note 4; Gilbert, *The Life and Works of Thomas Chippendale*, part III 'Chippendale's Works', p. 97, as in note 8.
- ⁶⁵ Harris, *The Furniture of Robert Adam*, p. 71, as in note 60; Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam*, pp. 206, 208, as in note 18.
- ⁶⁶ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/2/20, Benjamin Ware, 'Memorandums for M^r Adam Augt 1776 Sept^r y^e 3rd 1776'; WYW1352/1/4/81/5, Haig & Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 30 June 1781.
- ⁶⁷ Nostell (National Trust collection), inventory no. 960460, Design of Mouldings for the Saloon; NP, WYW1352/1/4/19/19, John Austin to Benjamin Ware, 4 January 1770; WYW1352/1/4/19/18, John Austin to Benjamin Ware, 3 July 1771; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/5/2, Sir Rowland Winn account to Joseph Rose, entry for 20 July 1771.
- ⁶⁸ NP, WYW1352/1/4/19/8, John Austin to Benjamin Ware, 23 November 1770, 'The Glass frames in the Saloon M^r Adam is of Opinion had better be of Wood, but a frame must be made to fix to the Wall to receive the Glasses'; WYW1352/1/4/83/3, Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 5 March 1774; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/5/18, Samuel Thompson to [Sir Rowland Winn], 25 April 1778.
- ⁶⁹ NP, WYW1352/1/4/81/5, Haig & Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 30 June 1781; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/50, Haig & Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, sixth Baronet, 6 April 1785; NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/49, Chippendale & Haig to Sir Rowland Winn, 7 December 1771; WYW1352/1/4/45/6, The Executrix of Sir Rowland Winn Bar^t to Haig & Chippendale, n.d. but enclosed in WYW1352/1/4/45/5, Haig & Chippendale to Mr Leadbetter, 16 April 1785.

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- ⁷⁰ NP, WYW1351/1/4/19/21, unsigned letter to Benjamin Ware, n.d., commands ‘George the Painter’ to (among other tasks) send a card painted with the ground colour of the saloon walls ‘as the green furnit^e of the say’d room must be made to match it’.
- ⁷¹ NP, WYW1352/1/4/81/5, Haig & Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 30 June 1781. See also WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/50, Haig & Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, sixth Baronet, 6 April 1785; WYW1352/1/4/45/6, The Executrix of Sir Rowland Winn Bar^t to Haig & Chippendale, n.d. but enclosed in WYW1352/1/4/45/5, Haig & Chippendale to Mr Leadbetter, 16 April 1785.
- ⁷² NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/5/5, Account from Messrs Richter and Bartoli, 28 February 1777; WYW1352/1/4/45/6, Haig & Chippendale to ‘The Executrix of Sir Rowland Winn Bar^t’.
- ⁷³ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/1, Thomas Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, 27 December 1766; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/47, Account of Thomas Chippendale, 21 June 1766-13 June 1772; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/49, Chippendale & Haig to Sir Rowland Winn, 7 December 1771. In addition to Haig & Chippendale’s small bill for £19.4.11., the firm estimated that the value of the unfinished pieces still in the workshop was £570.0.0. See WYW1352/1/4/45/9, Account of The Executrix of Sir Rowland Winn Bar^t To Chippendale and Haig, 12 January 1780-6 April 1785; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/50, Haig & Chippendale to Sir Rowland Winn, sixth Baronet, 6 April 1785.
- ⁷⁴ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/51-62, drafts and receipts 1767-1772.
- ⁷⁵ NP, WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/36, Thomas Haig to Thomas Taylor, 10 July 1781. The same letter contained a plea for the return of the silk samples sent for Lady Winn’s consideration in the drawing room.
- ⁷⁶ NP, WYW1352/1/4/45/1, Robert Adam to Sabine Winn, 9 September 1788; WYW1352/1/4/45/2, Account of Robert and James Adam, 1776-1785; WYW1352/1/4/45/3, Abstract of money owed to Robert Adam and James Adam, William Adam and Company and Abraham Dakin, plumber (£247.15.5.), c.1785; WYW1352/3/3/1/5/4/10, Shepley Watson to Sabine Winn concerning Zucchi’s account (£707.5.10½.), 4 April 1788, annotated that this was paid 12 and 13 April 1788.
- ⁷⁷ On Haig’s retirement in 1796, see Goodison, *The Life and Work of Thomas Chippendale Junior*, p. 14, as in note 1.
- ⁷⁸ The papers are in the possession of a descendant of the Winns to whom I am grateful for the opportunity to discuss them here. J. Roberts to Shepley Watson, 8 August 1794.
- ⁷⁹ J. Roberts to Shepley Watson, 27 July 1795; J. Roberts to Sabine Winn, 20 September 1797.
- ⁸⁰ Kerry Bristol, ‘Families are ‘sometimes... the best at a distance’: sisters and sisters-in-law at Nostell Priory, West Yorkshire’ in *Women and the Country House in Ireland and Britain*, eds Terence Dooley, Maeve O’Riordan and Christopher Ridgway (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2018), pp. 33-56.
- ⁸¹ J. Roberts to Sir Rowland Winn, sixth Baronet, 22 January and 15 December 1798.
- ⁸² J. Roberts to John Firth, 6 April 1799; J. Roberts to Shepley Watson, 12 April 1799.
- ⁸³ J. Roberts to Shepley Watson, 2 May 1799.