

DISSECTING THE *DIRECTOR*: NEW INSIGHTS ABOUT ITS PRODUCTION, AND CHIPPENDALE AS DRAUGHTSMAN

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The Gentleman and Cabinetmaker's Director is one of the earliest surviving and securely dated works by Thomas Chippendale, and unquestionably the one that most strongly fixed his name in the firmament of British artists worldwide. Nevertheless, the exact role played by Thomas Chippendale in its making has been heavily debated in the past. More than anything, this debate hinged on the fundamental question whether the Yorkshire cabinet-maker could in fact draw, or draw well enough to create the voluminous book of furniture designs. Rather than attesting to this fact, the cache of surviving preparatory drawings, now divided between the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Chippendale Society and the Yale Center for British Art, has added to this confusion. Had the *Director* been passed down to us without the associated drawings, Chippendale's authorship would, in all likelihood, have simply been taken for granted. Instead, the remarkably high quality of the *Director* drawings, which represent the earliest dated drawings in Chippendale's *oeuvre*, has led scholars to question the legitimacy of the recurrent signature (Figure 1) at the bottom left corner of most drawings and all prints, in some cases to the point of introducing alternate attributions to known draughtsmen such as Matthias Lock (c. 1710–c. 1765), Henry Copland (c. 1706–1753) and Matthias Darly (c. 1720–1780).¹ In 1929, Fiske Kimball and Edna Donnell opted for a more practical point of criticism, and rhetorically wondered whether 'the busy tradesman' would have had the time to 'draw with his own hands over three hundred designs minutely finished for publication'.² Forty years later, Christopher Gilbert posited the entirely opposite assessment by suggesting that the cabinet-maker was, in fact, able to run his active business chiefly by continuously providing drawings to inform clients, employees and contractors on how commissioned pieces were to be executed.³

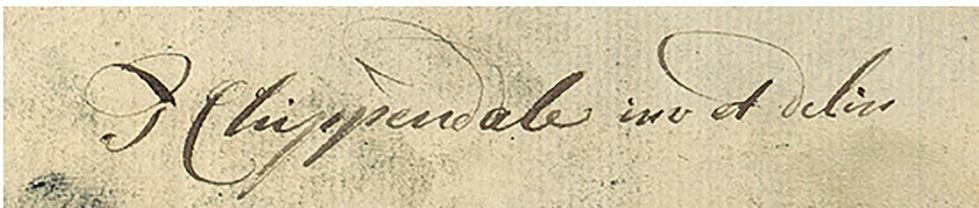


FIGURE 1. Inscription identifying Chippendale as inventor and draughtsman, detail from Thomas Chippendale, *Chinese Bed*, Preparatory drawing for plate XXIX in the '*Gentleman and Cabinet Maker's Director*', 1754, pen and black ink, grey wash. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920 (20.40.1(35))

Gilbert's point of view resonates with contemporary eighteenth-century sources such as Robert Campbell's well-known publication *The London Tradesman* of 1747, which advocates strongly the advantages of drawings for professionals of any trade:

I think it absolutely necessary, that every Tradesman should have so much Knowledge of the Art as to draw the Profile of most common Things; especially to be able to delineate on Paper a Plan of every Piece of Work he intends to execute: [...] and I dare to promise to make it appear, in the Course of this Work, that it is as much impossible for any Man to be a compleat Workman without some Knowledge in Designing, as it is to conduct the common Affairs of Life without Writing.⁴

The elegant depiction of a cabinet-maker's office in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum (Figure 2) illustrates how important drawings had become as a means of communication in Chippendale's day. Likely made during his heyday in the 1760s, the genre scene or double portrait depicts a transaction between two men, either a client and cabinet-maker, or a cabinet-maker and his foreman, in which a red chalk drawing of a Rococo-style secretaire plays a central role. It is unclear whether the two men are planning the execution of the piece, or possibly discussing a



FIGURE 2. Unidentified British artist, *A Cabinet-Maker's Office*, c. 1760–70, 52.7 × 70.2 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Museum no. P.1 1961

discrepancy between the original design and the resulting cabinet, but this dual interpretation underlines the use of drawings as a source of design, a working tool and a visual contract within the eighteenth-century workshop of a cabinet-maker. Surviving furniture drawings, therefore, form valuable sources of information to the modern scholar. The interpretation of furniture drawings in this context is a relatively young field of study, however, and remains problematic, particularly in the British School because there are but few extant drawings pre-dating Chippendale, and therefore no canon that can be consulted for comparative research.⁵ Owing to Christopher Gilbert's general restoration of the cabinet-maker as draughtsman, Thomas Chippendale's surviving drawings present us with the perfect case study for research into drawing practices within the eighteenth-century craftsman's workshop, but a thorough examination of this kind has not yet been undertaken.

THE *DIRECTOR* PROJECT

The preparations for the exhibition *Chippendale's Director. The Designs and Legacy of a Furniture Maker*, held in 2018 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in celebration of the 300th anniversary of the cabinet-maker's baptism,⁶ provided an opportunity to survey the majority of the extant Chippendale drawings held in the New York collection, and at the Victoria and Albert Museum. Given the parameters of the exhibition, this research focused largely on the drawings made in the context of the *Director*. Since these drawings are securely connected to dated end products — the first (1754) and third editions (1762–63) of the book of furniture designs — they form important stepping stones to learn more about Chippendale's development as a draughtsman and designer during the 1750s and 1760s.

Little is known about how and when Thomas Chippendale first conceived the idea for the *Director*. It is tempting to think that he took his cue directly from Robert Campbell, who, in his *London Tradesman*, explained that the key to a successful business lay in the ability to draw and invent: 'A Youth who designs to make a Figure in this Branch must learn to draw; for upon this depends the Invention of new Fashions, and on that the Success of his Business [...].'⁷ While we cannot be sure Chippendale actually read Campbell's recommendation, it is clear that the principal purpose of the *Director* was exactly as described. With his book, he intended to establish an identity as a well-educated, versatile cabinet-maker and upholder, who could cater to a broad group of clients and who was keenly aware of the latest interior fashions. This strategy was repeated several years later in 1759 by William Ince (fl. 1758/59, d. 1804) and John Mayhew (1736–1811) when they entered into business together,⁸ and Thomas Chippendale junior (1749–1822) also published a series of prints, albeit far more modest than his father's example, when he took over the workshop in 1779.⁹ In the early 1750s, however, this was a novel and daring venture, particularly considering the scope and breadth of the *Director*, which in number far

exceeded previous British publications containing furniture designs. Rather than the ornament print series of Lock and Copland, Chippendale had likely found his inspiration in so-called *oeuvre* publications, a new format introduced recently by publishers on the Continent to celebrate the designs of individual artists at the end of their careers, or even decades after their deaths. The luxurious publications gave new life to old print and copper-plate stock, while also playing into modern collecting practices and a taste for encyclopaedic publications. By publishing a book of similar content at the beginning of his career as an independent cabinet-maker, Chippendale boldly showed his ambition to compete with a lifetime of designs by artists such as Jean Berain (1640–1711), Daniel Marot (1661–1752) and François Cuvilliés (1695–1778).

The success of the venture was in large part due to Chippendale's collaboration with the entrepreneurial print-maker Matthias Darly. According to one of his trade cards, the latter taught evening classes in drawing particularly catering to craftsman, and it has been suggested more than once that Darly may have been Chippendale's drawing teacher during his first years in London, but this idea is speculative at best. The two men could also have met through Darly's business as a supplier of wallpapers; an aspect of upholsterer's work we know Chippendale to have been actively engaged in later in his career.¹⁰ We also cannot exclude the thought that Chippendale, with his ambitious idea for a book of furniture designs in mind, sought out Darly directly for his experience in printing and publishing. Regardless of how they became acquainted, it is clear that the alliance was a fortunate one for Chippendale, as he not only benefited from Darly's abilities and experience as a print-maker, but also from his professional network. The small team that was assembled to create the *Director* formed a close-knit group of professional associates. While never directly associated with the project, Darly's business partner, the ornithologist George Edwards (1694–1773), seems to have played a key role in attracting the professional print-makers Johann Sebastian Müller (1715–1790), later known as John Miller, and his brother Tobias Müller (fl. 1750–80) to help prepare part of the copper plates for the publication. Edwards was also the person who had most experience in preparing publications of an encyclopaedic nature, having produced four volumes of his *A Natural History of Uncommon Birds* [...] between 1743 and 1751. Edwards prepared many of the plates himself, but Johann Sebastian Müller, newly arrived from Nuremberg, engraved vignettes for the books. Müller took up residence at the 'Golden Head', on the corner of James Street and Long Acre, not far from the residence Chippendale and Darly shared at Northumberland Court. He was a well-trained, highly versatile print-maker who could switch effortlessly from highly ornate Rococo book illustrations to topographical views of London, and lifelike portrait prints. He engraved one of Edwards in 1754 (Figure 3), the year in which both the *Director* and Edwards's and Darly's *A New Book of Chinese Designs* were completed. In contrast to his older brother, Tobias Müller was a highly specialized print-maker who focused on architecture and technical designs. His name can be found below plates in some of the most important architectural books published in London in the second half

of the eighteenth century, including works by William and John Halfpenny (fl. 1723–55; fl. c. 1740–60), Abraham Swan (fl. 1745–68), William Chambers (1723–1796), James Paine (1717–1789) and the later volumes of the *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1767–71).

The majority of the *Director* plates engraved by the Müller brothers are dated 1753, indicating that they were chiefly involved in the early stages of the production process. This earlier copyright date does not signify a publication date, but may have been obtained for those plates that Chippendale had available for consultation in his workshop to potential subscribers, as announced in various newspapers from March 1753 onwards.¹¹ Alongside the plates with the five architectural orders executed by Tobias, the engravings inscribed with this date represent the core business of the cabinet-maker and consist of chairs, sofas and beds, cabinets, tables and bureaux. They seem to have been designed in a serial manner, with the intention to offer four or six plates of each individual subject, although slight irregularities can be noted, and were likely influenced by a second stage in the design process when smaller objects, and those requiring detailed carving work, such as brackets, clock cases and frames, were added. Aside from a few plates by Johann Müller, these were all engraved by Darly. This passing of the baton had little to do with skill — the series of bed designs in particular shows that Johann matched Darly's skilful hand in the execution of finer detail and ornament of various kinds — but, instead, seems to have been determined largely by availability. During at least a part of 1753, Darly appears to have divided his attentions between the execution of *A New Book of Chinese Designs* and the *Director*, but when his contributions to the former book were done, he assumed the role as Chippendale's principal engraver. The Müller brothers moved on to other projects, but were never far removed from Chippendale's circle of professional acquaintances. Both were regularly employed by Johann (John) Christian Haberkorn (active London 1740s–67), who printed the second, but more than likely also the first edition of the *Director*,¹² and the print publisher Robert Sayer (1725–1794) who specialized in ornament prints and architectural publications and sold the *Director* in his shop in Fleet Street. The larger group of engravers involved in the production of Chippendale's third edition between 1759 and 1762, which included the Müller brothers, were all part of the network of these two entrepreneurs.

That work on *A New Book of Chinese Designs* and the *Director* overlapped and was closely choreographed by Darly and Chippendale is supported by the involvement in both projects of the writing master Joseph Champion (1706–c. 1765) (Figure 4). His name features prominently on the calligraphic title page to the work by Edwards and Darly (Figure 5), which is close in style and layout to the title pages of Champion's own writing books.¹³ While Champion's signature is not found in the *Director*, the similarities in the selection of scripts, and overall writing style between this title page and the dedication to the Earl of Northumberland in Chippendale's book (Figure 6) leave no doubt about his involvement. Based on this comparison, Champion's hand can also be recognized in the descriptive titles on the individual plates in the *Director*,

which corresponds closely to the cursive script of the written index to the *Book of Chinese Designs*. However, Champion was not responsible for the less prominent inscriptions detailing authorship and copyright on the individual plates of both works.

The working relationship between Darly and Champion warrants further exploration, as it appears to have involved more than the two book projects. Champion also lent his hand to the invitation for an event at the Black Swan, executed by Darly after a design by Chippendale during the time when they shared an address at Northumberland Court.¹⁴ That Champion was involved in the production of this kind of ephemeral print material is supported further by vignette designs in Champion's scrapbook of written and printed writing samples, and small drawings.¹⁵ Among the pen-and-ink drawings is a vignette with the shop sign of John Brown, chair- and cabinet-maker at the sign of the Three Cover'd Chairs and Walnut Tree. The vignette crowns Brown's trade card,¹⁶ which is documented as early as 1742,¹⁷ and the written description below is without doubt in Champion's neat hand. His affinity with this kind of material

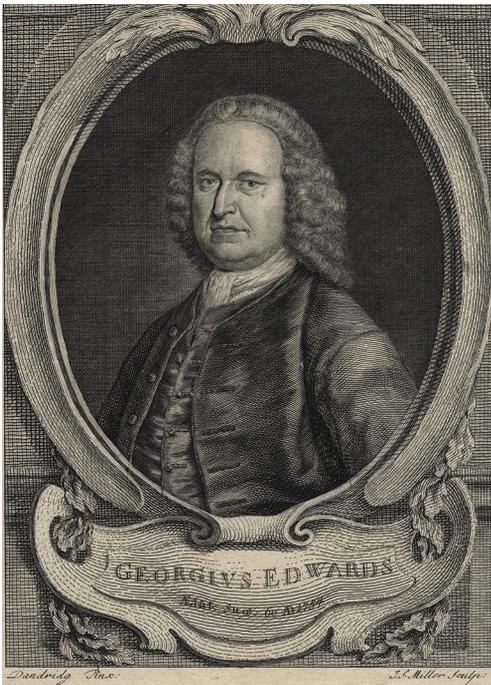


FIGURE 3. Johann Sebastian Müller, after Bartholomew Dandridge, *Portrait of George Edwards at Age 60*, 1754, engraving. The National Portrait Gallery, London, purchased with help from the Friends of the National Libraries and the Pilgrim Trust, 1966 (NPG D8918)

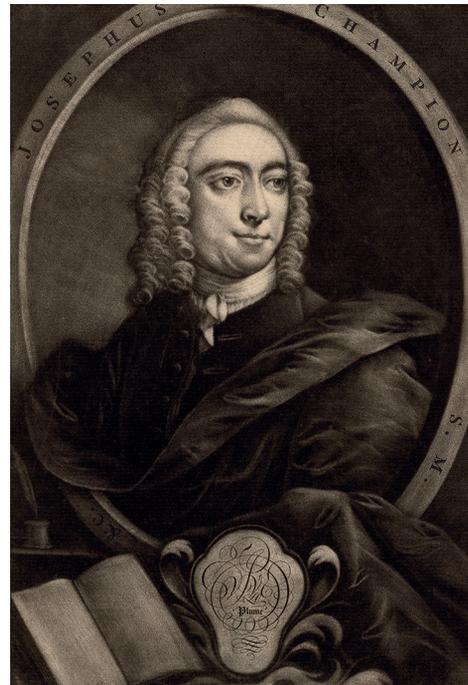


FIGURE 4. Unidentified artist, *Portrait of Joseph Champion*, c. 1760, mezzotint. The National Portrait Gallery, London, Given by Mr F. W. B. Maufe and Mrs G. B. Lane, 1950 (NPG D1275)

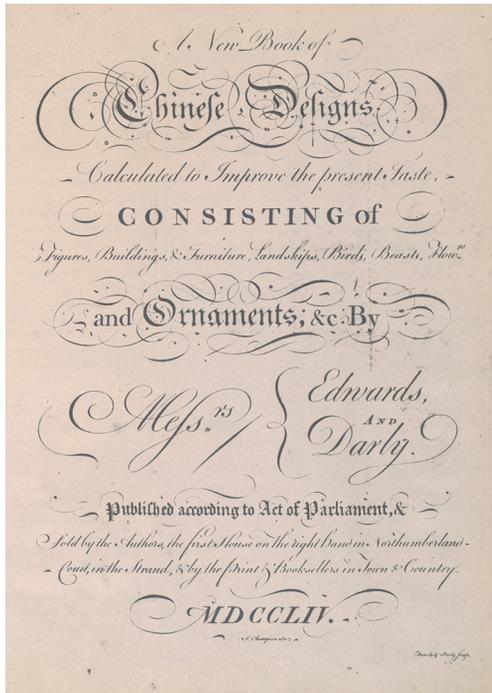


FIGURE 5. Joseph Champion, Title page of *A New Book of Chinese Designs*, Photostat. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1931 (31.88(1))



FIGURE 6. Matthias Darly and Joseph Champion, Dedication to the Earl of Northumberland in *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director* (1754)

comes to the fore in *The Young Penman's Daily Practice* (London, 1759), which he addresses in particular to 'Men of Business' and is filled with writing samples for every trade correspondence, including small labels, receipts and bills. Champion also included a trade card of his own in the booklet, which details that he '[...] at leisure times, invents new Designs for Copper Plates, does Large Inscriptions Etc. for Painting, and performs all manner of Writing either on Paper, Vellum, Wood or Stone [...]'. This work overlaps with some of the products and services offered by Darly,¹⁸ and for which he undoubtedly enlisted skilled colleagues such as Champion, who lived nearby on the Strand.

DRAWING THE DIRECTOR

The *équipe* of professionals enlisted to create the *Director* could only begin their share of the work once Chippendale had prepared a significant body of designs. There is no documentation about this principal stage of the project, other than what is contained in the surviving drawings. In his discussion of the drawings in the Foley

albums at the Metropolitan Museum, Gilbert noted in despair that the drawings were ‘disappointingly free from random jottings and working notes’,¹⁹ which could have offered more insight into their creation and purpose. It is, however, exactly this clean character of what Gilbert calls the ‘manuscript drawings’ that speaks most clearly to Chippendale’s process. Not only are there no random notes, the drawings are almost invariably free from any form of spontaneous input, such as last-minute corrections or changes in the design of the object portrayed. While ruler marks can be detected that were used to define the straight outlines of the furniture and to determine the exact angle for the perspectival rendering, the carved decorations are all drawn freehand, and with the greatest confidence.

The signature grey washes were applied last, and tonal difference in the areas with heaviest shading suggest that this was done in several campaigns, in which drawings were grouped together by subject matter; a process that is mirrored in the execution of the engraving, as described above.

It is clear that, by the time Chippendale sat down to draw the preparatory sheets in this manner, the formatting of the plates and the information they would contain had already been planned out meticulously. The overall layout and modes of representation were carefully chosen to convey efficiently as much information as possible in a limited amount of space (Figure 7). This manner of presentation was undoubtedly inspired more by the illustrations in the multitude of architectural publications issued by William Halfpenny (fl. 1722–55), Batty Langley (1699–1751) and others in previous decades, than by the ornament print series by Lock and Copland, with which the *Director* has been most often equated in the past.

To arrive at the uniform group of drawings, the preparatory drawing must have been preceded by a more iterative design process of sketching to determine which designs were to be included in the book, and how they would be represented. While this kind of drawing has not survived for the first edition of the *Director* — perhaps on purpose, or owing to the workshop fire of 1755 — surviving sheets for the third edition give an indication of what they may have looked like. Haste, or experience, seemingly caused the preparations for the new edition to be far less rigorous. Hence, rather than a perfectly drafted preparatory drawing, a collage of five chandeliers was handed over to James Hullett (fl. c. 1740–65) to be engraved on copper (Figure 8). A similar process of assemblage may be expected for those plates in the first edition that contain multiple designs, variations within a design or details of mouldings and additional views.

Surviving drawings made outside the context of the *Director* indicate that Chippendale initially started designs for individual pieces of furniture by sketching them out in graphite (Figure 9). It is in this phase and/or medium that we occasionally find traces of Chippendale’s thought process as he experimented with adding and subtracting structural elements and ornaments. Once satisfied with the overall design, he sometimes traced part of the outlines in pen and ink for clarity. If deemed necessary, the design would be redrafted neatly, and/or finished with wash.

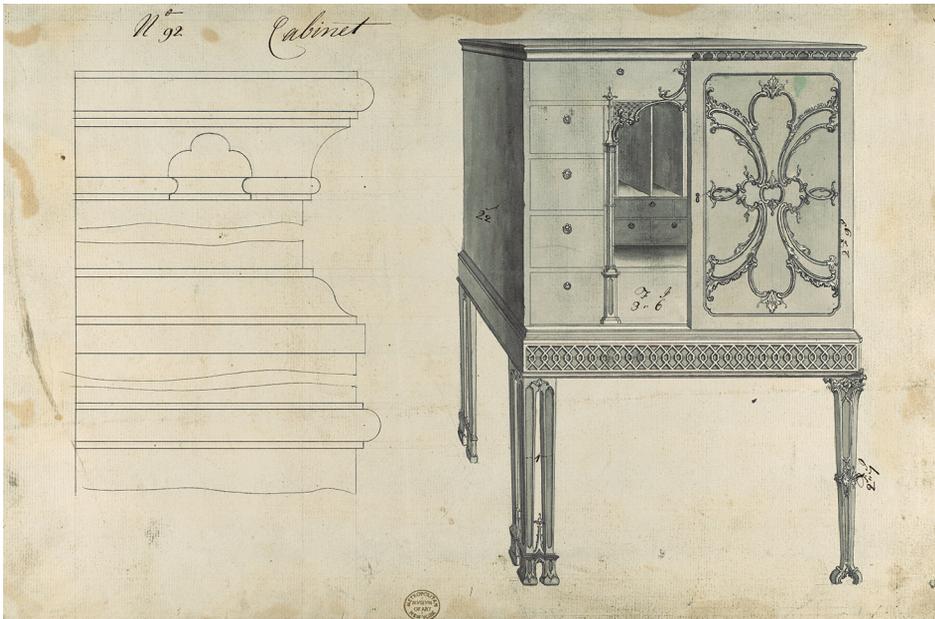


FIGURE 7. Thomas Chippendale, *Design for a Cabinet*, Preparatory drawing for plate 92 [XCII] in the 1754 and 1755 editions, renumbered as plate CXXI in the 1762 edition, 1752–53, pen and black ink, grey wash. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920 (20.40.2(51))

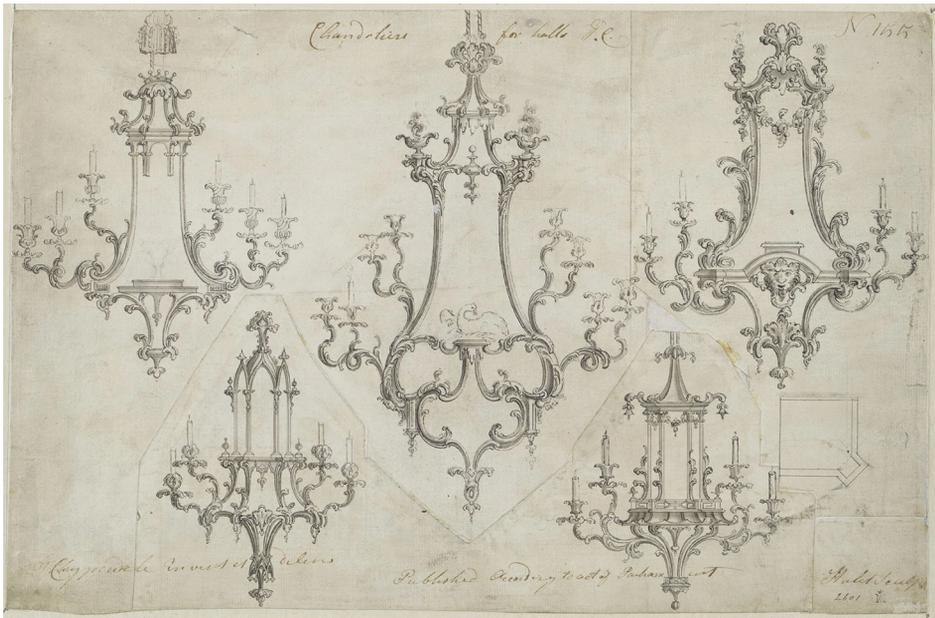


FIGURE 8. Thomas Chippendale, *Chandeliers for Halls*, Preparatory drawing for plate n. 155 in the 3rd edition of the 'Gentleman and Cabinet Maker's Director', c. 1762, pen and black ink and grey wash over graphite. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Museum no. 2601



FIGURE 9. Thomas Chippendale, *Design for a Pier Glass*, c. 1753–62, graphite, partially traced in pen and brown ink. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920 (20.40.1(68))

The laborious, tripartite design process of sketching, assemblage and redrafting in neat preparatory sheets would had to have been largely completed by the time of Chippendale's first advertisement for the *Director* in the *London Daily Advertiser* on 19 March 1753. According to Chippendale's announcement, the number of plates had already been set at an ambitious 160, and various plates had even been cut and struck for consultation. This implies that Chippendale must have been preoccupied with the designs and preparatory drawings for the larger part of 1752, and he seems to have chosen his address at Northumberland Court, temporarily away from fellow cabinet-makers, and so near the booksellers and print-makers on the Strand, to accommodate this process.

CHIPPENDALE AS DRAUGHTSMAN

Upon close inspection, it is striking to note the level of confidence displayed by Chippendale as a draughtsman even in the earliest drawings for the *Director*. They speak to a thorough education and at least several years of experience. His is a hand that moves easily across the page, in fine lines that observe Hogarth's ideal serpentine character and end in elegantly curved tips. His draughtsmanship lacks a little in spontaneity owing to the high degree of detail and finish noticeable in most drawings, which can be credited to an appreciation for drawing as a means of representation, rather than exploration; a quality that can be observed in British drawings of this generation at large. It is difficult to separate Chippendale's development as a draughtsman from the stylistic development of his designs. As he moves from English Rococo and Chinoiserie into a neo-Kentian, late Baroque style with palmettes, lambrequins and shell motifs, and eventually into Neo-Classicism, his hand and lines appear to become a little bolder. However, this change in character is in large part due to the introduction of different types of ornaments, and an increase in unworked surface areas in the furniture designs. In essential qualities, his technique changes only marginally. This can be observed in the close similarities between the drawings for the first edition of the *Director* and those made in 1759, when Chippendale initiated work on the third edition in response to Ince and Mayhew's *General System of Useful and Ornamental Furniture*.

The following year, however, Chippendale introduced a new style of drawing to his *oeuvre*, characterized by a higher dependence on coloured washes, sometimes in a monotone brown or purple, but in other cases in a variety of hues that give a realistic impression of what the executed piece would look like (Figure 10). This new mode of representation seems directly inspired by the drawings of his colleague and competitor John Linnell, dating from the same period (Figure 11). Chippendale not only follows his example in the use of washes, but he also introduces situational designs into his *oeuvre*.²⁰ All surviving drawings in this more lavish technique are part of the *Director* portfolio, but it is not entirely clear whether they were created as preparatory sheets for the prints, or whether they may have served as presentation drawings for clients first.

Chippendale did not adopt this manner of drawing permanently, it seems. In his later *oeuvre* we find colour only sporadically, when it is used to indicate gilding, or to highlight the glass of a mirror. The years 1759–61 thus stand out as a period of reactive draughtsmanship on Chippendale's part. First pressured into a third and improved edition of the *Director* following the collaboration between Darly, Ince and Mayhew on the *General System of Useful and Ornamental Furniture*, shortly after, he felt compelled to keep abreast with his younger colleague Linnell and show his own ability to create drawings matching the skill and quality of the St Martin's Lane Academy graduate.



FIGURE 10. Thomas Chippendale, *Toilet Table*, Preparatory drawing for plate CXIX in the 3rd edition of the 'Gentleman and Cabinet Maker's Director', 1760, pen and black ink, grey, green and brown washes, graphite, 32.9 × 21.9 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920 (20.40.2(64))



FIGURE 11. John Linnell, *Design for a State Bed*, c. 1760, ink, pencil, yellow and blue watercolour, 22.2 × 17.6 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Museum no. E.148-1929

These efforts underscore the pride Chippendale must have taken in presenting himself as a cabinet-maker who was also a skilful draughtsman and designer: a sentiment not lost on his son and successor, Thomas Chippendale junior. While he left behind far fewer drawings than his father, the cabinet-maker and author of several books for cabinet-makers and upholsters, George Smith (c. 1786–1826), described him as possessing 'a very great degree of taste, with great ability as a draughtsman and designer'.²¹ The earliest dated drawing by Chippendale junior is the cartouche he designed for the *Map of the river Hull*, dated 1772, but it is likely that both father and son were active as draughtsmen in the Chippendale workshop from the late 1760s until Chippendale senior's illness finally prevented him working any longer. While they created designs in the same 'workshop style', which by then was largely Neo-Classical, their hands can be told apart quite clearly. A comparison between two very similar designs for commodes in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figures 12 and 13) contrasts the experienced hand of Chippendale senior with that of his son. The penwork in Chippendale junior's drawing is close in sensibility to the

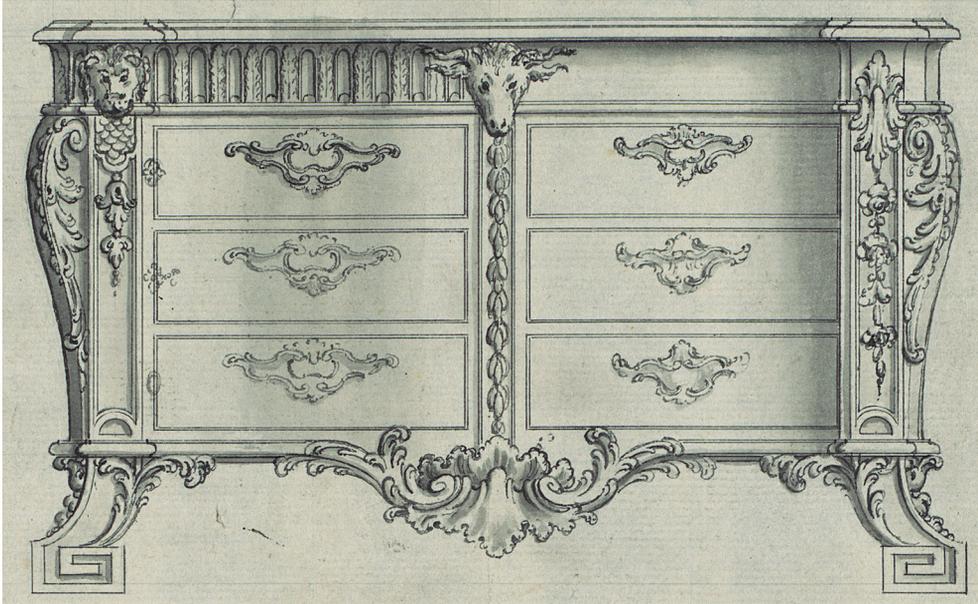


FIGURE 12. Thomas Chippendale, *French Commode*, Preparatory drawing for the right half of plate LXVIII in the third edition of Chippendale's *'Director'*, 1762, pen and black ink, grey wash. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920 (20.40.2(60))

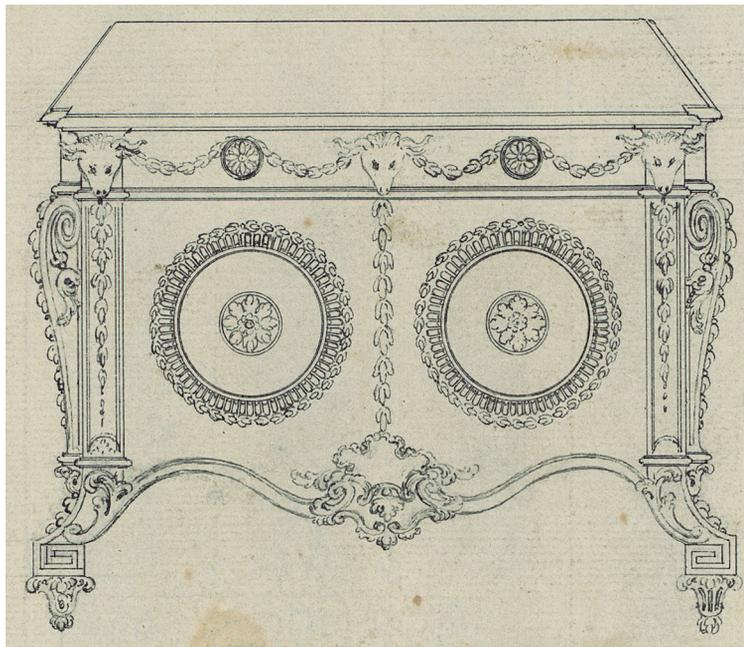


FIGURE 13. Attributed to Thomas Chippendale junior, *French Commode*, c. 1770, pen and black ink. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920 (20.40.2(61))

above-mentioned, dated cartouche, but may be slightly earlier still. Both drawings are characterized by thin, dry lines, which at times feel somewhat forced. He struggled with the more complicated volutes of the commode, and does not seem to have a particular affinity for the depiction of human and animal physiognomy. While some of these strained aspects are attributable to his novice status and improved over time, the latter aspect in particular can still be noted in his series of etchings *Sketches of Ornament* of 1779. Thankfully, such 'flaws' could easily be corrected by a skilful carver's hand in the process of translating a drawing into a piece of furniture, and as such Chippendale junior's draughtsmanship more than amply lived up to Robert Campbell's requirements of a 'compleat Workman', 'to be able to delineate on Paper a Plan of every Piece of Work he intends to execute'. This more pragmatic approach to drawing, rather than the artistic endeavours of his father, characterizes Chippendale junior's generation, and those that were to follow. The *Director* and the surviving preparatory drawings are testaments to the truly transformative effect and creative energy encouraged by the drawings schools of the period 1730–60, and the pervasive efforts to improve British design. The effects disappeared almost as suddenly as they had arrived with the passing of Chippendale senior's generation, owing in large part to the foundation of the Royal Academy in 1768, which caused a clear divide, both physically and philosophically, between the education of young artists and craftsmen. While drawing remained an integral element of British workshop practice in the following century, its focus shifted to one of pure functionality rather than a means to express the ingenuity of an artistic mind.

PHOTOGRAPHIC ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Figure 1, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Figures 2, 8, 11: Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Figures 3, 4: National Portrait Gallery, London

Figure 6: University of Wisconsin, Digital Collections

REFERENCES

¹ This discussion is summarized in F. Kimball and E. Donnell, 'The Creators of the Chippendale Style', in *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, 1, part 2 (1929), 128–33.

² Kimball and Donnell (see note 1), pp. 126–28.

³ C. Gilbert, *The Life and Work of Thomas Chippendale*, 2 vols (London, 1978), I, 93–99.

⁴ R. Campbell Esq., *The London Tradesman* (London, 1747), p. 21.

⁵ Peter Ward-Jackson's *English Furniture Designs of the Eighteenth Century* of 1958, and Simon Jervis's *Printed Furniture Designs before 1650 of 1754* still form the principal publications. Both survey the surviving material rather than examine individual works closely for the information they contain.

⁶ Exhibition dates: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 14 May 2018–27 January 2019.

⁷ Campbell (see note 4), p. 171.

⁸ M. Darly after W. Ince and J. Mayhew, *A General System of Useful and Ornamental Furniture* (London, 1759–63).

- ⁹ Unidentified printmaker after T. Chippendale junior, *Sketches of Ornament* (London, 1779).
- ¹⁰ Gilbert (see note 3), I, 48–51.
- ¹¹ Gilbert (see note 3), I, 66.
- ¹² Haberkorn's role is only acknowledged on the title page of the 1755 edition, but the general layout of the pages and the distinct typesetting point to his involvement in the printing of the 1754 edition as well.
- ¹³ See, for example, *The Young Penman's Daily Practice* (London, 1759).
- ¹⁴ In the collection of the Chippendale Society, Leeds.
- ¹⁵ J. Champion (British, 1709–c. 1765), *Scrapbook of Writing Samples, Drawings and Prints by and after Joseph Champion, c. 1740–65*, pen and ink, watercolour, etching and engraving. Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1960 (60.646).
- ¹⁶ J. Champion, *Trade card of John Brown, Chairs and Cabinet-work, at the Three Cover'd Chairs & Walnut Tree, St. Paul's Church Yard, London, 1742–61*, etching. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Bella C. Landauer 1926 (26.28.165).
- ¹⁷ J. Holden MacMichael, 'Memoirs of the Sedan Chair', in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, xxxcvii (London, 1904), 411. The 'covered chairs' are erroneously interpreted as sedan chairs in this article.
- ¹⁸ See Heal, 91.25, in the collection of the British Museum, London.
- ¹⁹ Gilbert (see note 3), I, 102.
- ²⁰ T. Chippendale, *Commode Table and Candlestands, 1761*, black ink, grey ink, grey and brown. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920 (20.40.1(47)).
- ²¹ G. Smith, *The Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Guide* (London, 1826–28), p. 194.

