



THE  
GEORGIAN  
GROUP

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# THE AMATEUR ARCHITECT AND HIS LIBRARY

Charles Hind

This paper is a general survey of the books which might have appealed to amateur architects in the century following the Restoration of King Charles II in 1660, culled from often imperfect records of a necessarily restricted group of peers and gentlemen. The majority sadly reflect the taste of the Palladians, not those of the New Junto discussed above by Dr McParland.<sup>1</sup>

“It may be here expected that I should discover dyscourse of Architecture, and the laws and orders wch. have bin lay’d downe for producing a beauty, as well as strength in the severall sorts of structures wch are to be undertaken. But that is so much done already in books, that who will May find them, and then need no previous Introduction to make them understood.” With these words, Roger North began his essay “Of Building”.<sup>2</sup> Educated for the law, as Howard Colvin succinctly puts it, “in the course of a long life he found time to study optics and mathematics, to listen to, and to theorize about music, to collect pictures, to plant and to build”.<sup>3</sup> Born about 1653, he died in 1734 and thus his life overlaps with a number of other distinguished amateurs, the surviving records of whose libraries indicate that they had also studied their books and discovered “dyscourse of Architecture” before taking up pen and ruler to produce “several sorts of structures”.

The amateurs whose libraries I shall discuss include some who need no introduction and are (in order of death): Sir Roger Pratt (1620-85);<sup>4</sup> Robert Hooke (1635-1703), the outstanding scientist of his day whose best known surviving buildings are Ragley Hall, Warwickshire and Ramsbury Manor, Wiltshire;<sup>5</sup> Thomas Coke (1675-1727) of Melbourne, Derbyshire, a friend of John Vanbrugh and designer of the interior of the chapel at Drayton House, Northamptonshire;<sup>6</sup> Henry Herbert, 9th Earl of Pembroke (c.1689-1750), architect with Roger Morris of Marble Hill, Twickenham and the Palladian Bridge at Wilton;<sup>7</sup> John Freeman (c.1689-1752) of Fawley Court, Buckinghamshire, who designed the Saloon at Honington Hall, Warwickshire and his family mausoleum in Fawley Churchyard;<sup>8</sup> Sir Andrew Fountaine (1676-1753) of Narford, Norfolk, the virtuoso and designer of garden buildings at his seat, as well as the lifelong friend of Lord Pembroke;<sup>9</sup> Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington (1694-1753), who is included only as something of a benchmark by which to judge the others (I do not intend to discuss him otherwise);<sup>10</sup> William Benson (1682-1754), briefly supplanter of the aged Christopher Wren as Surveyor of the King’s works and allegedly architect of his own house at Wilbury; Wiltshire;<sup>11</sup> Thomas Worsley (1710-78), architect of Hovingham Hall, his own house in Yorkshire;<sup>12</sup> Sanderson Miller (1716-80), the enthusiastic Goth and architect of Hagley Hall, Warwickshire;<sup>13</sup> and finally Ralph Willett (1719-95) of Merly, Dorset, who not only designed his house there, which survives, but also an extraordinary library in one wing which sadly does not.<sup>14</sup> This contained elaborate plasterwork by William Collins on the ambitious theme of the origin and progress of civilisation.<sup>15</sup> These amateurs fall into three groups, Pratt and Hooke are of the Restoration; Coke, Pembroke, Freeman, Fountaine, Burlington and Benson are first generation Palladians; Worsley, Miller and Willett are a generation later.

Information on these libraries is derived from a number of sources, including the surviving books where traceable, more or less contemporary manuscript catalogues, subscription lists and sales catalogues. All these sources contain their own imperfections. Where libraries survive, 200 years have ensured that none are quite intact; manuscript catalogues may “fix” a library at a particular date but may well not reflect subsequent additions — Lord Burlington’s

catalogue of the books at Chiswick for example was made in January 1742, 11 years before his death, and contains only a brief note of some 42 further titles added later; we know he bought more than that. Furthermore, it omits works known to have been acquired earlier such as Robert Castell's *Villas of the Ancients* (London, 1725), of which he was the dedicatee. His copy survives at Chatsworth. Subscription lists only apply to some titles published in England and do not help with foreign titles or works purchased from a bookseller or secondhand. Sale catalogues may well not appear until some time after the collector's death and contain works belonging to other members of the family or exclude items retained by the family. However partial the sources, however, I have gathered information on some 270 volumes or sets of volumes, representing 180 titles, some titles of course coming in more than one edition. My exclusions have included all material I deemed irrelevant to the architectural theme: the classics, modern literature, science, medicine, music and history (except where containing significant and useful illustrative matter). If one considers that Robert Hooke's library contained over 3,000 titles, and Thomas Coke's over 1,000, it is obvious that some degree of selectivity becomes inevitable. It was interesting to examine the pattern that these records made: which titles and editions came up most frequently, what were the obvious omissions and what were the surprising inclusions? Was it at all possible to see how the books might have been used in their owner's work and form some idea of their architectural activity?

The title that cropped up most frequently (with eight copies) was Colen Cambell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* (London, 1715-25) which was owned by everyone living in 1715 except for Thomas Coke. Runner up was Claude Perrault's 1684 Paris edition of Vitruvius<sup>16</sup> (seven copies), which was not owned, so far as I am aware, by Pratt, Hooke, Burlington and Benson. I am very suspicious at Burlington's absence from the list of owners. Third place is a tie between Jacques-Francois Blondel's *Cours d'Architecture* (Paris, 1698), owned by Coke, Freeman, Fountaine, Worsley and Willett, and Isaac Ware's edition of Palladio's Four Books of Architecture (London, 1738), owned by Pembroke, Fountaine, Burlington, Miller and Willett. Given the death dates, that edition of Palladio represents five out of a potential seven owners. The only possible surprise in that list is Blondel, but if one considers that he sought to create an objective standard of beauty, which depended on proportion as the key to coherence, his appeal to the early Palladians becomes evident.

Of the 270 titles or editions, 196 were published abroad, the vast majority in Rome or Paris, but a few in Germany and the Low Countries, leaving a total of 74 published in England, all in London. It would be interesting to know how each collector acquired his books. In the first half of the 18th century, the purchase of second-hand books was either done at auction or direct from a bookseller. Horace Walpole had auction catalogues sent to him both from England and from abroad and agents were regularly apprised of titles he particularly wanted. It was not the custom for private buyers to attend auctions but dealers would do so on commission. The bibliomaniac and architecturally minded Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford<sup>17</sup> spread his agents wide, to avoid, usually unsuccessfully, being run up by dealers who knew that he was prepared to spend unlimited sums on acquisitions. His prodigality was such that he could boast ownership of no fewer than three manuscripts of Vitruvius, including the best and earliest of all dating from the 8th century. Lady Luxborough, however, bought direct at auction so others may have. In a letter of 1749, she refers to an unnamed book of architecture: "the only one I have that teaches the rudiments of that science. Worse print or worse paper you never saw! It cost me five shillings at one of Osborne's sales, 13 years ago".<sup>18</sup> Thomas Osborne was the bookseller who bought the Harleian Library in 1743 and disposed of it over several years by auction and catalogue.

Not all the main Classical and Renaissance architectural texts seem to have been acquired, contrary to what one might expect. My list includes Vitruvius, Alberti, Palladio,

Scamozzi, Serlio and Vignola. Vitruvius sailed in first owned by ten of the 11, with Benson the exception, and the group owned a total of 38 copies between them, representing 18 editions, of which Burlington owned seven. A little surprisingly, Burlington did not apparently own copies of the first illustrated edition (Venice, 1521) nor, as we have seen, Claude Perrault's edition, which was the standard text throughout the next century. First published in Paris in 1673, only Hooke owned a copy of this edition, while seven of the others concentrated on the 1684 edition. Uniquely, however, Burlington could boast Inigo Jones's annotated copy of Daniel Barbaro's edition (Venice, 1567). Of the Renaissance texts, Alberti was the favourite, owned by nine of the eleven and both Burlington and Pembroke owned copies (Burlington possibly two) of that great rarity, the first printed edition published in Florence in 1485. The two most popular editions were Cosimo Bartoli's (Florence, 1550), the first illustrated edition, and Leoni's (London, 1726), a translation of Bartoli. Although Burlington does not appear to have kept a copy at Chiswick, he must have owned one at Burlington House. He also owned the three earliest editions noted (Florence, 1485 and 1550, and Venice, 1565).

Editions of Palladio were owned by nine<sup>19</sup> of the 11 and as the records of Miller seem to me to be only partial, I am inclined to discount the evidence against him and assume that his copy is unrecorded. Again, as one might expect, Burlington leads the field owning six editions, including three copies of the first edition (Venice, 1570), which was also owned by Coke, Pembroke and Worsley. The most popular single edition, owned by five,<sup>20</sup> was Isaac Ware's (London, 1738), to which Burlington, Fountaine and Pembroke were subscribers. Only Burlington, Worsley and Coke owned a complete edition of Vincenzo Scamozzi's *Dell'Ideal dell'Architettura Universale* (Venice, 1615) and considering the importance of Book VI, on the five orders, which was a standard work and frequently abstracted to be published separately, it is strange that only Thomas Coke owned it. He had two editions (Paris, 1685 and Leiden, 1713) of Augustin Charles D'Aviler's French translation.

Sebastiano Serlio was a little more popular, with 12 complete or partial editions owned by all except Benson. Miller's copy is not in his sale catalogue but in a diary entry of October 25, 1756, he refers to reading it in the evening.<sup>21</sup> Although first published in French, Italian editions appear to have been the most popular, the leader (Venice, 1551) owned by Pratt, Burlington, Fountaine and Worsley. Burlington owned five editions, including the earliest complete one (Paris, 1547). The relative lack of interest in Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola's *Regole delle Cinque Ordini* (four owners, five editions<sup>22</sup>) can be explained by its general supersession by the early 18th-century by editions of Palladio. Only Hooke, who owned an early Dutch edition can have found it much use.

Of the standard modern works on architecture, the most common was Roland Freart de Chambray's *Parallele de l'Architecture antiques et de la moderne*. A lone French edition (Paris, 1702) turned up four times, owned by Burlington, Fountaine, Pembroke and Worsley, otherwise assorted editions of John Evelyn's English translation were the norm, owned by Coke (London, 1680), Hooke (London, 1694), Pembroke (London, 1707) and Freeman (London, 1723) and Miller (edition unknown). Treatises on perspective were also part of the architect's armoury, no one edition or author having a particular popularity. Lord Burlington owned the most.

Contemporary French architecture does not seem to have attracted a great deal of interest, although French text books are more common. Five, not including Burlington, owned copies in various editions of Augustin-Charles D'Aviler's *Cours Complet d'Architecture*<sup>23</sup> which contained numerous plates of various types of buildings with a wealth of structural and decorative details. Andrew Fountaine seems to have been the most francophile, owning engravings by Jean Berain and Jean Gribelin, and works by Philibert de L'Orme, Jean Le Pautre, Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, Jacques-Francois Blondel and D'Aviler amongst others. Seven owned Francois Blondel's *Cours d'Architecture*,<sup>24</sup> of either the 1675-83 or 1698 Paris editions. But only two, Willett

and Worsley, owned Germain Boffrand's *De Architettura* (Paris, 1745), representing the work of the artistic successor of Jules Hardouin Mansart. Stylistically, it must have been too Rococo for the English Palladians. Jean Bullant's *Reigle Generale d'Architecture* (Paris, 1568), the first publication in French of exact architectural details of antique Roman orders, must have appealed to Lord Burlington as a curiosity; although it was aimed very much at the practical architect rather than the armchair theorist, it had long been superseded. Du Cerceau's *Les plus excellents Bastiments de France* only appealed to Fontaine (Paris, 1576) and Coke (Paris, 1607), yet it was the greatest contribution to the history of French Renaissance architecture.

As one might expect, interest in Dutch books was limited. Roger Pratt bought a copy of Jacob van Campen's *Stadt Huys van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1661) so hot off the press that he entered it in his accounts for December 1660, at a cost of 15/-.<sup>25</sup> Otherwise, the only Dutch books were works on fortifications by engineers such as Baron Menno van Coehorn, of which the main collector was Thomas Coke.

Notable omissions from the libraries of several of the group include James Gibbs's *Book of Architecture*. The first edition (London, 1728) was owned only by Fontaine, who subscribed to it<sup>26</sup> and the second (London, 1739) by Freeman and Worsley, who both also owned the 2nd edition of Gibbs's *Rules for Drawing the Several Parts of Architecture* (London, 1738). The orthodox Palladians seemed to have scorned Gibbs, even for reference. As I have pointed out, Burlington's copy of Castell's *Villas of the Ancients* (London, 1728), does not appear in his catalogue, although he did own it. Surprisingly, only Willett, of a generation later than Burlington, is also recorded as owning a copy.

The general run of pattern book writers are also absent. Although pattern book writers provided a massive vocabulary of Classical designs for use by amateurs both in the post-Fire of London boom and in the 18th century, the group under consideration clearly thought themselves above the need for such assistance. Of the two most prolific writers William Halfpenny and Batty Langley, the only Halfpenny I found was Fontaine's copy of *The Art of Sound Building* (London, 1725), its presence in his library explained by the fact that Fontaine was the dedicatee. Not surprisingly, the only copies or architectural works by Langley turned up in the possession of Sanderson Miller. His sale records ownership of Langley's *Principles of Ancient Architecture* (London, 1733), but a stray reference by William Shenstone in a letter of 1749<sup>27</sup> indicates that Miller also owned an edition of Langley's *Ancient Architecture Restored and Improved* (London, 1742), more probably the second edition retitled *Gothic Architecture, Improved by Rules and Proportions* (London, 1747).

There are a few surprise books in this survey, usually in single copies. Robert Hooke had a copy of the second edition of Wendel Dietterlin's *Architectura* (Nuremburg, 1598). Fontaine, whose taste does seem to have been a little more adventurous than his contemporaries, owned the first edition of Paul Decker's *Furstliche Baumeister oder Architectura Civilis* (Augsburg, 1711) which presented idealised projects that influenced the aristocratic architectural patrons of central Europe in the building of their palace residences.

As one might have expected, an enthusiasm for archaeology, particularly Roman, is apparent in all of the group. *Les Edifices antiques de Rome* by Antoine Desgodetz (Paris, 1682) was one of the most popular, owned by Burlington, Fontaine, Pembroke and Worsley. It was the standard if frequently inaccurate work on the important ancient buildings of Rome and perhaps marks the beginnings of modern scientific archaeology. Burlington owned some 30 works of this type and had the largest collection, followed by Fontaine and Pembroke. Incidentally, the only person, apart from its author, who owned a copy of Burlington's edition of *Fabbriche Antiche* (London, 1730),<sup>28</sup> engravings of Palladio's drawings of Roman baths, was Andrew Fontaine. Although Giles Worsley has commented<sup>29</sup> that Jean Francois Felibien's *Plans et Descriptions de deux des plus belles Maisons de Campagne de Pline le Consul* (Paris, 1699) seems to have been readi-

ly available in this country, only his ancestor Thomas Worsley and Thomas Coke owned copies in my group of amateurs and no copies of any other edition.

Archaeology closer to home is indicated by the popularity of William Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1655-73 and 1718) of which five copies were owned by Miller, Benson, Coke and Willett, and *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral* (London, 1658) owned by Hooke, Willett and Benson. The various controversial pamphlets on Stone Henge by Inigo Jones, Walter Charleton and John Webb were also popular.<sup>30</sup>

How exactly did these amateurs use their libraries? Were they intended for practical use or were they really simply the sort of collection one might expect of a man of taste? "No man", said Horace Walpole of the Earl of Pembroke, "had a purer taste in building than Earl Henry, of which he gave a few specimens, besides his works at Wilton".<sup>31</sup> But we have no evidence for how Pembroke actually used his books in his designs, for not only are there no known architectural drawings in his hand, but he had an amanuensis Roger Morris, whose role in the Earl's work has not yet been fully explained. So sadly, the evidence on the whole is either usually nonexistent or not particularly helpful. In another case, Sir James Pitts noted in 1618 that he had lent his mason an unfortunately unspecified book of architecture during the rebuilding of Kyre Park, Worcestershire.<sup>32</sup> Was Pitts actually participating in the design process or simply giving the mason an example to follow of an up-to-date motif? Lord Burlington obviously used his library as a source of precedent as well as of information. It is uncertain if he had the collector's desire for completeness, for he only possessed six of the total of 16 editions of Vitruvius and five out of the 12 editions of Palladio mustered by the group, which suggests perhaps not.

Although not large (about 40 books on architecture), the Earl of Pembroke's library did contain a good range of works relevant to those buildings with which he is associated. He owned copies of Alberti<sup>33</sup> and Serlio,<sup>34</sup> six editions of Vitruvius,<sup>35</sup> five of Palladio,<sup>36</sup> Freart's *Parallel of Architecture* in English and French editions<sup>37</sup> and books on the Orders and so on. There were few surprises on his shelves, so perhaps it was a working library. The same applies to those who (at the risk of sounding patronising) are the complete amateurs such as Freeman and Miller, although in his Gothic work Miller clearly derived inspiration from his books on British archaeology and architectural history. Giles Worsley's work on the books owned by his ancestor has convincingly shown in a paper given to the 1988 Georgian Group Symposium<sup>38</sup> that Thomas Worsley's library was indeed a working one, strongly influencing his designs for Hovingham Hall.

If you judge a man by the contents of his shelves, then William Benson would hardly have been listed as an architect at all. His sale catalogue contains 954 lots, for the most part consisting of single books. Could a man whose entire architectural library consisted of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, a large paper copy of William Kent's *Designs of Inigo Jones* (1727), Leoni's edition of Alberti (1726), Richard Neve's *City and Country Purchaser and Builder's Dictionary* (1726), *The Builder's Dictionary* (1734), a folio called *Alcoves a la Romaine* by Le Pautre and a book on hydraulics published in Leipzig in 1724,<sup>39</sup> really have designed the technically accomplished neo-Jonesian Wilbury House? Note that none of these books had been published by the time the remodelling of Wilbury was begun about 1710. Either a lot of books were held back from his sale the year after his death or the man was even more of a fraud than he was considered by Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor!<sup>40</sup>

Ralph Willett emerges as the most dilettante of the group. I have extracted over 60 books on architecture from the 2,700 recorded in his sale catalogue. He clearly bought the great English folios as they appeared, including Robert Wood's *Ruins of Palmyra* (London, 1753), William Chambers's *Treatise of Civil Architecture* (London, 1759), Matthew Brettingham's *Plans, Elevations and Sections of Holkham* (London, 1761), Robert Adam's *Ruins of the Emperor Diocletian's Palace* (London, 1764) and James Paine's *Plans, Elevations and Sections of Noblemen and Gentlemen's*

*Houses* (London, 1767-83). His own house at Merly betrays the influence of James Gibbs's *Book of Architecture*, of which he owned the second edition (London, 1738), but gives little sign of some of the more eccentric books in his possession, Francesco Borromini's *Opus Architectonicum* (Rome, 1725), Giuseppe Galli Bibiena's *Architettura et Prospettive* (Augsburg, 1740) and Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach's *A Plan of Civil and Historical Architecture*, in the first London edition (1730), although admittedly Lord Pembroke owned a copy of the second edition of 1737).

Although this catalogue of titles, publication details and owners' names appears somewhat confusing, I hope it has been a useful exercise to examine what sort of books were most likely to influence the thoughts and interests of a varied group of amateurs of architecture. William Shenstone in October 1749 wrote to Lady Luxborough: "I shou'd be oblig'd to your Ladyship if you cou'd learn what Books are useful for young Beginners in Architecture." He goes on to complain: "I have receiv'd Gibbs [i.e. his *Book of Architecture*], which consists entirely of Plans, & supposes some previous knowledge."<sup>41</sup> Shenstone was only limited by his indolence, for as we have seen, there was no shortage of suitable material for the "Beginner in Architecture".

## NOTES

1. I would like to thank Giles Worsley for making available to me his notes on some of the collections I shall discuss, particularly his lists of the library of his ancestor Thomas Worsley. I must also thank William Hawkes, who gave me copies of the Sanderson Miller sale catalogues and access to his notes on Miller.
2. British Library, Add. Ms. 32540.
3. Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840*, London, 1978, 597.
4. A list of Pratt's books then still surviving in the library at Ryston, Norfolk are listed in R.T. Gunther, ed., *The Architecture of Sir Roger Pratt*, Oxford, 1928, Appendix II, 302-04.
5. A facsimile of Hooke's sale catalogue is included in H.A. Feisenberger, ed., *Scientists*, vol. II of *Sale Catalogues of Libraries of Eminent Persons*, A.N.L. Munby, ed., London, 1974, 37-116. The original sale was conducted by Edward Millington on April 29, 1703 and several following days.
6. *A Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures, Drawings, Prints, and Valuable Library of Books, of the Right Honourable Thomas Coke, Deceas'd . . . which will begin Selling by Auction on Monday 19th of February 1727-8. At Mr Cooper's in the Great Piazza, Covent Garden*, London, 1727.
7. Information on the 9th Earl of Pembroke's library is derived from two MS. sources: "A Catalogue of Books late belonging to the R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> Thomas Earl of Pembroke Dec<sup>ed</sup> [i.e. the 8th Earl] w<sup>h</sup> are bound in Turkey leather & devised by his Will to John Sawer & Geo Sawyer Esq<sup>r</sup> in Trust for the Use of the succeeding Earls of Pembroke" [1733] (Wiltshire County Record Office, 22057/A4/3) and "A Catalogue of the Library of the Earl of Pembroke [the 10th Earl] at Wilton by Charles Parker, 1773" (Wiltshire C.R.O., 2057/H5/7). As only one of the works on architecture in the latter list is dated after the 9th Earl's death in 1750, I have assumed that the 10th Earl added only one architectural book to his father's library at Wilton between 1750 and 1773. That one is William Chambers's *Treatise on Civil Architecture*, London, 1759, to which the 10th Earl was a subscriber and which was presumably acquired because he had employed Chambers on various works at Wilton between 1757 and 1759. The 1733 list of the 8th Earl's books reveals that the 9th Earl's copy of Giovanni Antonio Rusconi's edition of Vitruvius, Venice, 1590, was inherited from his father, along with three books on Roman antiquities.
8. A MS. catalogue of books belonging to Freeman (undated but the latest book was published in 1748) is among the Strickland of Apperley Papers (D1245, FF39) in the Gloucestershire County Record Office.
9. Fountaine's library catalogue, entitled "Bibliotheca Fontaniana or a Catalogue of the Library at Narford in Norfolk belonging to the Honourable Sir Andrew Fountaine Knight Warden of His Majesty's Mint and Deputy Lieutenant of the County of Norfolk by John Dairs London 1731" is among the Fountaine Papers still at Narford. I am grateful to Giles Worsley for a transcription of it.
10. A MS. catalogue of Burlington's library at Chiswick, entitled "A Catalogue of the Earl of Burlington's Library, at his Lordship's seat at Chiswick, January, 1741/2" is kept at Chatsworth House, Derbyshire. For a discussion of its contents, see Philip Ayres, "Burlington's Library at Chiswick", *Studies in Bibliography*, XLV, 1992.
11. *A Catalogue of the Entire and Valuable Library of the Late William Benson, Esq. . . . which will be sold by auction by Samuel Baker, on . . . March the 3d* [London, 1755].
12. All information from Giles Worsley, whose sources include a MS. catalogue of 1759, subscription lists and surviving books at Hovingham with Worsley's bookplate or containing notes in his hand.
13. The main sources of information on Miller's library are two catalogues for sales from the library at Radway: *Catalogue*

- of the Library of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, of Radway, Warwickshire, by Puttick & Simpson, November 9, 1863 and four days following, and *Catalogue of the Radway Grange Library* by Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, February 1, 1910. many of the books in the first sale reappear in the second, so they must have been either withdrawn, bought in or bought by members of the family. William Hawkes very kindly lent me his own notes on the library.
14. Merly Library. *A Catalogue of that well known and celebrated Library of the late Ralph Willett, Esq. . . . which will be sold by auction, by Leigh and Sotheby, . . . December 6, 1813 and 16 following days*, London, 1813.
  15. Willett added this sumptuous room to his house in 1772 and it was demolished c. 1820. The plasterwork of cove and ceiling contained a series of medallions and panels of which the only record are the engravings published privately by Willett in a lavish folio entitled: *A Description of the Library at Merly*, London, 1785.
  16. Vitruve. *Lex Dix Libres d'Architecture. Traduction Integree de Claude Perrault*, Paris, 1684.
  17. See J. Lees-Milne, *Earls of Creation*, London, 1962.
  18. See *Letters written by the late Right Honourable Lady Luxborough to William Shenstone, Esq.*, London, 1775, letter 130.
  19. Hooke, Pratt, Coke, Pembroke, Burlington, Fountaine, Freeman, Worsley and Willett. Only Miller (unlikely) and Benson apparently lacked copies.
  20. Burlington, Pembroke, Fountaine, Miller and Willett.
  21. Ex inf. William Hawkes.
  22. Rome, [?1562] and Rome, 1617 by Burlington; Amsterdam, 1619 by Hooke; and London, 1669 by Coke and Pembroke.
  23. Paris, 1691 by Fountaine; Paris, 1694 by Freeman; Paris, 1710 by Coke; Paris, 1738 by Worsley; and Paris, 1750 by Willett.
  24. Paris, 1675-83 by Burlington and Miller; and Paris, 1698 by Coke, Freeman, Fountaine, Worsley and Willett.
  25. Gunther, 1928, 302.
  26. Pasted into Fountaine's copy at Narford is a bill dated February 7, 1729/30 showing that the book cost him 4 gns., while binding was a further 14/-.
  27. Letter to Rev. Richard Jago dated July 9 published in M. Williams, ed., *The Letters of William Shenstone*, Oxford, 1939, 205.
  28. Although the title page was dated 1730, Eileen Harris has explained why it was certainly published later, possibly as late as 1740 (see E. Harris, *British Architectural Books and their Writers, 1556-1785*, Cambridge, 1990, 348-51). She also explains that as most of the few copies were reserved for presentation (presumably how Fountaine acquired his), the book was always difficult to procure. This accounts for its otherwise surprising absence from the libraries of Pembroke, Benson and Worsley.
  29. See G. Worsley, "Taking the Ancients Literally: Archaeological Neoclassicism in mid-eighteenth century Britain", *New Light on English Palladianism: Papers given at the Georgian Group Symposium*, 1988, C.W. Hind ed., London, 1990, 65.
  30. I. Jones, *The Most Notable Antiquity of Great Britain, vulgarly called Stone-Heng*, London, 1655, was owned by Hooke, Coke, Burlington and Miller. Copies of both W. Charleton, *Chorea Gigantum*, London, 1663, and J. Webb's *Vindication of Stone-Henge Restored*, London, 1665, were owned by Coke, Burlington and Miller, while the edition collecting all three into one publication, (London, 1725), was owned by Fountaine.
  31. Quoted in Lees-Milne, 1962, 68.
  32. "M<sup>d</sup> also that the s<sup>d</sup> John Chaunce hath in his keeping one booke of Architecture of myne wch he hath pmissid to redeliver unto me", Mrs Baldwin-Childe, (ed.), "The Building of the Manor-House, Kyre Park, Worcestershire", *The Antiquary* XXII, 1890, 53.
  33. *De Re Aedificatoria*, Florence, 1485.
  34. Venice, 1663.
  35. Venice, 1567; Venice, 1584; Venice, 1590; Venice 1660; and two Perrault editions, Amsterdam, 1681 and Paris, 1684.
  36. Venice, 1570; Paris, 1650; Leoni's edition, London, 1715 and Hoppus's edition, London, 1735.
  37. Paris, 1702 and London, 1707.
  38. Worsley, 1990.
  39. *Theatrum Machinarum Hydrotechnicarum*, Leipzig, 1724. I have not traced further information on this work.
  40. H.M. Colvin, 1978, 108-9.
  41. Williams, 1939, 220.