

Grose 1772--6 Francis Grose, *The antiquities of England and Wales*, 4 vols. (London, 1772--6).

Grose 1776 Francis Grose, *A collection of plans to The Antiquities of England and Wales* (London, [1776]).

Grose 1777--87 Francis Grose, *Supplement to The antiquities of England and Wales*, 2 vols. (London, 1777--87). Called either vols 1--2 or vols 5--6.

Grose 1783--6 Francis Grose, *The antiquities of England and Wales*, new ed., 7 vols. (London, 1783--6).

Grose 1787 Francis Grose, *Supplement to [the new edition of] The antiquities of England and Wales* (London, 1787). Called vol 8.

Grose's *Antiquities* was a popular book in its day. Both the author and the publisher, Samuel Hooper, seem to have profited from it. Because of its popularity it had a fairly complicated history: I have tried to sketch in the outline of that here, first for the book in general and then for the Kent component in particular.

(1) The book was originally published in 60 parts, over a period of more than four years, between Feb 1772 and Jun 1776. It took the form of a portfolio. Each plate was printed on a sheet by itself, on the upper half of the recto, and the letterpress was printed on the lower half of the same sheet, usually overflowing onto the verso -- in small type if Grose had a lot to say, in large type if he did not.\* From the start, the book was intended to consist of four volumes, and an engraved title page was issued once a year. But the ordering of the contents was only settled at the end, when Grose suggested that the plates should be arranged alphabetically, first by county and then by subject.

"The Manner in which this Work was published having made it next to impossible that the several Pages should be numbered, as is customary, many Persons have expressed a Desire, that I would give some Directions as to the Method in which they should be arranged. This, as was observed in the Proposals, must ever be mere Matter of Opinion and Fancy; but in Obedience to these Requests, I recommend the following Manner, which to me seems most simple, least

liable to Confusion, and that whereby a Reader may the most readily turn to any particular Subject; that is, by placing the Counties in an Alphabetical Order, and afterwards putting each Ruin alphabetically in its proper County." (Preface to vol. 4)

The upshot is that the date appearing on the title page is no clue to the date of the plates contained in that volume.

\* It was common practice for plates to be reprinted, if they got sold out. That certainly happened with some of the plates in the Supplement (see below); it may have happened with some of these plates too. There is reported to be "some variation in the prefatory matter and in the descriptive letterpress to some of the illustrations" (ESTC).

(2) In (or shortly after) 1776, as an optional extra, Grose published a portfolio of plans.

"Several ingenious Friends having also suggested, that a Sett of Ground Plans would serve greatly to illustrate the Descriptions of the Castles and Monasteries here treated of, I have caused such as I was possessed of, or could obtain from actual Surveys, or authentic Drawings, to be engraved. These may either be bound up with the Views, or will make a separate Volume." (Preface to vol. 4)

"Several very judicious persons having given it as their opinions, that Ground-plans of as many of the buildings as could be procured, would be a very considerable improvement to the work ... the Author has collected together as many as he could procure; some few of them taken from scarce books and plans, but the greatest part from Original Surveys, never before engraved; these he here offers to the Public. ... It is nevertheless hoped, that the purchasers of the work will not consider themselves absolutely obliged to buy these planes to make their books complete; the Plans in question are only a Supplemental Improvement, independent of the Original Design. ... The Plans to be bound with each respective Description, as mentioned in the County Index." (Preface to plans)

(3) In 1777 Grose began publishing a further series of plates, again in portfolio form. He had professed some reluctance beforehand --

"I have been much flattered by the Requests of many of the Purchasers, desiring that I would continue the Publication. This Request, a Partiality to the Subject, as well as lucrative Considerations, would have induced me willingly to comply with, could I have done it without a Breach of

Faith to the first Encouragers of the Work, as such Continuation would have reduced them to the Alternative of either being drawn into a greater Expence than was at first proposed, or of having an imperfect Work." (Preface to vol. 4) --

but he soon overcame his hesitation.

"This reason, cogent as it seemed to me, has not by the majority of the purchasers been deemed sufficient, and ever since the last publication I have been flattered with repeated solicitations from a great number of respectable persons, all requiring an extension of the work. In answer to my scruples they have given it as their opinions, that as the book has been regularly closed, a Supplement will not subject the original encouragers to the inconvenience I apprehended. This, with my own fondness for the subject, has induced me to resume my labours, and I will promise the purchasers that all the plates shall be executed in a manner at least equal to the best in the former volumes. Whether this supplement will consist of one or two volumes depends on the opinion of the publick, which will be interpreted from the degree of encouragement it meets with." (Advertisement to vol. 1)

For reasons not worth asking about,\* publication of the supplement dragged on for many years, till Grose called a halt in 1787 (see below).

\* To say nothing of Grose's doings, I see that Samuel Hooper went bankrupt in 1778 (*Gazette*, 3 Nov 1778, 5). He seems not to have got solidly back on his feet till 1783.

(4) Meanwhile, in 1783 (perhaps more at Hooper's initiative than Grose's), a new edition of the book began publication. It consisted of seven volumes, issued in parts over a period of four years. This time around, the letterpress was printed in the normal way, in quires of four; the views and plans are tipped in where they belong. This edition includes all the views from (1), all the plans from (2), and as many plates from (3) as had been published by this time. (It also includes some ugly little maps, but those are best disregarded.)

(3 cont) The supplement was brought to an end in 1787, and the plates were arranged alphabetically, along the same lines as before, to make two additional volumes.

"It is with the profoundest gratitude, for the many indulgencies I have experienced from the encouragers of this work, that I inform them it is at length finished; and

hope I have, on my part, fulfilled my promise, that the Supplement should be better executed than the preceding volumes." (preface dd 13 Sep 1787)

These volumes are sometimes called vols 1--2, sometimes vols 5--6.

(4 cont) The plates from the supplement which had not already been included in the new edition were reissued in an extra volume, called vol 8.

(5) Grose died in 1791, Hooper died in 1793 (Gent Mag, Feb 1793, 190), but the book did not expire with them. The copyright seems to have passed to Hooper's widow, Mary Hooper (last occ 1800), who for a while was in partnership with William Wigstead (last occ 1803): some copies of *Antiquities* have the title pages altered, "Hooper & Wigstead" being substituted for "S. Hooper". (Vol 7 alone has a date, 1797.) But that is not the whole story. For one thing, the British Library reports owning a copy printed on paper with the watermark "1809". I do not know and do not much care how many of these posthumous reprints exist. They prove that the book continued to sell, but are not of any use beyond that.

\*

As far as Kent is concerned, these are the basic facts. All the drawings were Grose's own work -- worth saying because it is not true for every county. From 1749 onwards, he was a frequent visitor to Kent: his wife Catherine (they were married at Harbledown in 1750) was the daughter of a Canterbury vintner.

(1) All told, the first edition has 42 views of buildings in Kent.

(1a) An introductory essay, called a preface,\* with some illustrative plates, was issued with the title page for vol 1, which is dated 16 Jul 1773. One section of it is a sketch of the history of medieval architecture (pp 63--77), and the illustrations for that include these three plates:

<P3> "Barfreston Church, Kent. / Dent & Innes Sculp / Publish'd March 2 1773 by S Hooper No 25 Ludgate Hill"

<P4> "The grand door of Barfreston Church in Kent. / F Jukes Sc / July 21st. 1773"

<P5> Stranger's Hall, Entrance into Christ's Church Monastery, Canterbury -- engr Sparrow -- not dated

It is not said when these drawings were made.

\* The preface (pp i--ii) is called "Introduction", and the introduction (pp 1--83) is called "Preface". By the way, there is a review of it in *Gent Mag*, Oct--Nov 1773, 507--9, 564--7.

(1b) The frontispiece for vol 2 is this view of Canterbury Cathedral:

<F2> "The Cathedral-Church of Canterbury. / Sparrow sculp. / Feby. 17, 1774." -- drawn 1772

(1c) The main sequence of plates comprises 38 views for Kent, which were eventually grouped together and put into vol 2. In some respects, binders were left to make their own decisions, and different copies may order the plates rather differently. I follow the order adopted by the copy that I am using.

<1> Allington Castle -- drawn 1760 -- engr Sparrow -- publ 8 Jul 1772

<2> Archbishop's Palace Great Hall, Canterbury -- drawn 1769 -- engr Canot -- publ 17 May 1773

<3> Arches in the City Wall, Canterbury -- drawn 1765 -- engr Morris -- publ 20 Jan 1774

<4> Augustine's (St.) Monast. Canterbury, pl. 1 -- drawn 1758 -- engr Godfrey -- publ 20 Feb 1772\*

\* Two plates, <4> and <36>, have the imprint "Publish'd 20 Feb 1772 by S Hooper No. 25 Ludgate Hill." They seem to have been in the first batch of plates to appear.

<5> Ditto, plate 2 -- drawn 1759 -- engr Godfrey -- publ 2 May 1773

<6> Bradsole, or St. Radigund's Abbey -- drawn 1761 -- engr Mason -- publ 8 July 1772

<7> Canterbury Castle -- drawn 1761 -- engr Ellis -- publ 1 Sep 1772

<8> Chiding Stone -- drawn 1768 -- engr Sparrow -- publ 2 Jun 1772

<9> Chilham Castle -- drawn 1773 -- engr Sparrow -- publ 30 Oct 1773

- <10> College, (St. Mary's & All Saints), Maidstone -- drawn 1760 -- engr Godfrey -- publ 18 Dec 1772
- <11> Cowling Castle, plate 1 -- drawn 1759 -- engr Sparrow -- publ 1 Jun 1773
- <12> Cowling Castle Gate, plate 2 -- drawn 1759 -- engr Sparrow -- publ 3 Dec 1773
- <13> Dartford Priory -- drawn 1759 -- engr Godfrey -- publ 20 Jan 1773
- <14> Davyngton Priory, near Faversham -- drawn 1758 -- engr Godfrey -- publ 17 May 1773
- <15> Dover Castle, plate 1 -- drawn 1762 -- engr Godfrey -- publ 1 Oct 1772
- <16> Ditto, plate 2 -- drawn 1762 -- engr Godfrey -- publ 18 Dec 1772
- <17> Faversham Abbey, plate 1 -- drawn 1756 -- engr Sparrow -- publ 9 Jun 1773
- <18> Ditto North Gate, plate 2 -- drawn 1758 -- engr Pouncey -- publ 20 Dec 1772
- <19> Halling House -- drawn 1759 -- engr Godfrey -- publ 1 Sep 1772
- <20> Ket's Coity House -- drawn 1760 -- engr Godfrey -- not dated
- <21> Leeds Castle -- drawn 1762 -- engr Godfrey -- publ 17 Apr 1773
- <22> Leibourn Castle, plate 1 -- drawn 1750 -- engr Godfrey -- publ 16 May 1772
- <23> Ditto plate 2 -- drawn 1759 -- engr Ellis -- publ 1 Jul 1772
- <24> Lyme Castle -- drawn 1772 -- engr Morris -- not dated
- <25> Martin's (St.) Priory, or the Newarke, pl. 1 -- drawn 1760 -- engr Sparrow -- publ 22 Mar 1775
- <26> Ditto, plate 2 -- drawn 1760 -- engr Pouncey -- not dated

<27> Minster Monastery, Isle of Shepey -- drawn 1759 --  
enr Morris -- publ 25 Nov 1773

<28> Mote's Bulwark, Dover -- drawn 1762 -- enr Sparrow --  
publ 2 Jun 1772

<29> Old Church, Dover Castle -- drawn 1758 -- enr Godfrey  
-- publ 1 Mar 1773

<30> Ostenhanger, or Westenhanger House, pl. 1 -- drawn  
1773 -- enr Godfrey -- publ 8 Dec 1773

<31> Ditto plate 2 -- drawn 1773 -- enr Morris -- publ 11  
Jan 1774

<32> Pancrace's (St.) Chapel in St. Augustine's Monastery,  
Canterbury -- drawn 1755\* -- enr Sparrow -- publ 20 Jan  
1775

\* Misprinted as "1775" in the index.

<33> Rochester Castle plate 1 -- drawn 1759 -- enr  
Lerpiniere -- not dated

<34> Ditto, plate 2 -- drawn 1759 -- enr Godfrey -- publ  
16 Jul 1773

<35> Saltwood Castle -- drawn 1773 -- enr Lerpiniere --  
publ 1 Mar 1774

<36> West Gate, Canterbury -- drawn 1749 -- enr Peake --  
publ 20 Feb 1772

<37> West Malling Abbey -- drawn 1760 -- enr Sparrow --  
publ 20 Apr 1773

<38> Wincheap Gate, Canterbury -- drawn 1755 -- enr  
Drawaza\* -- not dated

\* In fact his name was David Johann Martini van Drazowa. He also  
engraved one of the plates <P2> for the "preface": his name is spelt  
right there.

(2) The collection of plans included three or four for Kent.  
Three are described in the preface; the fourth apparently should  
have been.

<plan 1> "The Plan of St. Augustine's Monastery, from the  
original survey made by Mr. Doidge, and since corrected on

the spot."

<plan 2> "Canterbury Castle partly from Doidge's map of that city."

<plan 3> "Feversham Abbey is copied from Doidge's plan of that place,\* but corrected on the spot."

\* This, I suppose, is the same plan mentioned by Gough (1780:465) as having been engraved by J. Hilton at Edward Jacob's expense. I have not seen it.

"N. B. The Castle of Rochester, in Kent, was intended to have been given, and is mentioned in the Index; but the Drawing not having been found sufficiently accurate, it was omitted."

<plan 4> A plan of Canterbury Cathedral seems to have been issued at the same time.\* There is no mention of it in the preface, but it is cited in this context by Gough (1780) and listed in the index at the back of vol 4.

\* It was copied (I think) from the plan in Dart 1726, which itself was copied, with some alterations, from the plan in Dugdale 1655.

(3) The supplement contains 10 new views for Kent, published between 1783 and 1787. At least three of them must have been reprinted at least once, because I see that there is more than one setting of the letterpress. The new edition has four of these plates in vol 3, the rest in vol 8 (see below).

<39> Ruin'd offices in St. Augustine's Monastery,  
Canterbury -- drawn 1750 -- engr Newton -- publ 11 May 1787

<40> St. Gregory's Priory, Canterbury, Kent -- drawn 1758  
-- engr Newton -- publ 17 May 1787

<41> Gundulph's Tower, Rochester -- drawn 1781 -- engr  
Williams -- publ 1 May 1783

<42> Maidstone Bridge (Plate 1) -- drawn 1760 -- engr  
Newton -- publ 1 Mar 1787

<43> Maidstone Bridge (Plate 2) -- drawn 1760 -- engr  
Newton -- publ 1 Mar 1787

<44> Queenborough Castle, in the Isle of Shepey, Kent --  
copied from a drawing by Hollar -- engr Newton -- publ 28  
Jul 1784

<45> Sandgate Castle, Kent -- drawn 1762 -- engr Newton --  
publ 16 Jun 1787

<46> The Temple or mansion of the Knights Templars at  
Stroud, Kent -- drawn 1759 -- engr Bonnor -- publ 26 Dec  
1783

<47> Upnor Castle, Kent -- drawn 1757 -- engr Bonnor --  
publ 20 Nov 1783

<48> The White Friars, Canterbury -- drawn 1758 -- engr  
Newton -- publ 20 Apr 1787

There is also one new plan:

<plan 5> Plan of Dover Castle, Kent - publ 20 Jun 1786

This began life as plate 11 in Samuel Hooper (publ.), *The  
history of Dover Castle, by the Revd. Wm. Darell* (London,  
1786).

(4) The new edition (1783-6) includes all the views and plans  
listed above, except that it was completed too soon to capture  
the last six plates from the Supplement. Some of the drawings  
were reengraved, seemingly because they had to be reduced in  
size; several of the plates reused from before have visibly been  
retouched.

(4a) The same three drawings are used as illustrations for the  
"Preface" in vol 1:

<P4> The grand Door of Barfreston Church in Kent -- new  
plate -- not named -- not dated

<P3> Barfreston Church, Kent

<P5> Stranger's Hall, Christ Church, Canterbury -- new  
plate -- engr Sparrow -- publ 21 Oct 1782

(4b) The main sequence of drawings, occurring in vol 3, has  
expanded to include the view of Canterbury Cathedral <F2> and  
four of the plates from the Supplement <41, 44, 46, 47>, as well  
as all the plans. The order was now fixed (except for the plan  
of Dover castle, not published till after this volume was  
complete).

<1> Allington Castle, Kent -- retouched -- publ 1 Jun 1784

<2> Great Hall of the Archbishop's Palace, Canterbury --

publ 25 May 1784

<3> Arches in the Wall of the City of Canterbury, Kent --  
publ 21 May 1784

<4> St. Augustine's Monastery, Kent. Pl. 1\* -- publ 1 Jul  
1784

\* Misnumbered "2" in some copies.

<5> St. Augustine's Monastery, Kent. Pl. 2 -- publ 31 May  
1784

<plan 1>

<6> Bradsole Abbey, Kent -- publ 1 Jul 1784

<7> Canterbury Castle, Kent -- publ 5 Jul 1784

<plan 2>

<F2> Canterbury Cathedral, Kent -- new plate -- engr Newton  
-- publ 28 Dec 1784

<plan 4>

<8> Chiding Stone - publ 25 Jun 1784

<9> Chilham Castle, Kent -- retouched -- publ 1 Jul 1784

<11> Cowling Castle, Kent. Pl. 1 -- publ 20 May 1784

<12> Cowling Castle, Kent. Pl. 2 -- publ 20 May 1784

<13> Dartford Priory, Kent -- retouched -- publ 25 Jun 1784

<14> Davyngton Priory, Kent -- retouched -- publ 20 Jun  
1784

<15> Dover Castle, Plate 1st -- new plate - engr Bonnor --  
publ 20 Nov 1783

<plan 5>

<16> Dover Castle. Pl. 2 -- publ 26 Jun 1784

<28> Mote's Bulwark, Dover, Kent -- retouched -- publ 20  
Sep 1784

<17> Faversham Abbey, Kent. Pl. 1 -- publ 20 May 1784

- <18> Faversham Abbey, Kent. Pl. 2 -- publ 20 May 1784
- <plan 3>
- <19> Halling House, Kent -- publ 27 Jun 1784
- <20> Ket's Coity House, Kent -- retouched -- publ 18 Aug 1784
- <21> Leed's Castle, Kent -- retouched -- publ 20 Sep 1784
- <22> Leibourn Castle, Kent. Pl. 1 -- retouched -- publ 10 Sep 1784
- <23> Leibourn Castle, Kent. Pl. 2 -- publ 20 Sep 1784
- <24> Lyme Castle, Kent - publ 28 May 1784
- <10> Mary (St.) & all Saints College, Kent -- retouched -- publ 20 Sep 1784
- <25> St. Martin's Priory, or the Newarke, Dover, Kent. Pl. 1 -- retouched - publ 28 May 1784
- <26> St. Martin's Priory, Kent. Pl. 2 -- publ 26 May 1784
- <27> Monastery of Minster in the Isle of Shepey, Kent - publ 3 Jun 1784
- <29> The Old Church in Dover Castle, Kent -- retouched -- publ 25 Aug 1784
- <30> Ostenhanger House, Kent. Pl. 1 -- publ 25 Aug 1784
- <31> Ostenhanger House, Kent. Pl. 2 -- publ 25 Aug 1784
- <32> Chapel of St. Pancrace, in St. Aug. Mon. Canterbury - publ 29 May 1784
- <44> Queenborough Castle, Kent
- <41> Gundulph's Tower
- <33> Rochester Castle, Kent. Pl. 1 -- retouched -- publ 25 Aug 1784
- <34> Rochester Castle, Kent. Pl. 2 -- retouched -- publ 25 Aug 1784

- <46> Preceptory near Stroud, Kent
- <35> Saltwood Castle, Kent -- publ 31 Aug 1784
- <47> Upnor Castle, Kent
- <36> West Gate, Canterbury -- publ 2 Jun 1784
- <37> West Malling Abbey, Kent -- publ 28 May 1784
- <38> Wincheap Gate, Canterbury, Kent -- publ 29 May 1784
- (4c) The last six plates from the Supplement, published in 1786--7, are reprinted in vol 8:
- <42> Maidstone Bridge. Plate I.
- <43> Maidstone Bridge. Plate II.
- <39> Ruined offices in St. Augustine's Monastery, Canterbury
- <40> St. Gregory's Priory, Canterbury
- <45> Sandgate Castle
- <48> The White Friars, Canterbury

The new edition appears to have been reprinted more than once. I have seen three settings of vol 3. A quick way to tell them apart is to look at page 37, where (in chronological order, unless I am much mistaken) the settings vary like this:

Sir William of Albrance had twenty-one knights fees, and warded eighty-two weeks.

Sir William of Albrance had 21 knights fees, and warded 82 weeks.

Sir William of Albrance had 21 knights-fees, and warded 82 weeks.

For the most part, setting 2 is a line-for-line facsimile of setting 1, while setting 3 is a looser reproduction of setting 2. In substance the text is identical in all three settings, except that some obvious misprints get corrected.