TRINITY COLLEGE
THE UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE

SOME TREASURES FROM THE LEEPER LIBRARY
3 February 2014

In the first section of this article Ian Donaldson looks at some volumes of literary interest in Trinity's early collections. John Batt then examines some of the College's rare and early Bibles and Books of Common Prayer, along with a significant work of canon law.

In 1872 the English novelist Anthony Trollope, while visiting Melbourne during an extended tour of Australia and New Zealand, decided to visit the university that had been established some twenty years earlier at the city's northern boundary. 'The University itself is a modest, pretty, quadrangular building', he later reported in his two-volume account of his travels, *Australia and New Zealand* (1873), 'of which three sides are completed, containing simply the lecture-rooms and library, and the residences of the professors. The fourth side will be added as funds are found.' And he went on:

> The University itself does not profess to provide accommodation for the residence of scholars. Attached to it, however, is an affiliated institution called Trinity College, -- got up in the interests of the Church of England, and I believe I shall be correct in saying, chiefly by the energy of that most excellent of men, the present bishop [Charles Perry, first Anglican Bishop of Melbourne]. No salary is here provided by government for a fainéant Head of House, as I found to be the case at Sydney. When I visited the Melbourne University in 1872, there was Trinity College, but as yet there were no collegians. The building had been erected and furnished, and was ready to take in twenty students at 30*s*. a week for board and lodging. Here, it was hoped, might the future young pastors of the Church of England in the colony receive their learning. Seeing how much had been done by how good a man, I give the new college all my best wishes.

At the time of Trollope's visit, Trinity was a College without collegians, though not without plans for its future: foremost amongst which was provision for a significant Library to serve the needs of its expected students. Trinity's first Warden, Alexander Leeper, was a passionate advocate for this development. He had gained some knowledge of academic libraries during his time in Oxford and had later established the Library at Melbourne Grammar School, where he served as the School's Librarian. In the very year of Trollope's visit, the College was presented with a sum of 50 pounds by Bishop Perry's brother-in-law, the

Reverend John Cooper, for the purchase of books for its projected Library, and thanks to Leeper's determined efforts further gifts both of books and of money continued to flow in during the years that followed.[1]

One of the most significant of these early benefactions came from the historian and educationalist GW Rusden, who in 1882 donated his personal collection of 1,500 volumes to the College. One item from the Rusden collection, now housed in the Perry Room in the very building – nowadays known as Leeper – that Rusden's friend Anthony Trollope had admired in 1872, is a copy of Trollope's *Australia and New Zealand* in which the writer's visit to Trinity is recorded: presented to Rusden, as the inscription declares, 'with the Author's kindest regards'. Some 22 surviving letters between Rusden and Trollope are also included in the collection, as well as a letter from Charles Dickens – whose sons, Alfred and Edward, Rusden had befriended after their arrival in Australia in the 1860s – accompanying the splendid 26-volume Chapman and Hall edition of Dickens's works, illustrated by 'Phiz', which Dickens had presented to Rusden 'as an assurance of my friendship and grateful regard'.

Other notable items in the collection relate to the author whom Rusden chiefly venerated and sought to promote in the new colony, and about whom he would later write a descriptive monograph: *William Shakespeare: His Life, His Works, and His Teaching* (Melbourne, 1903). The Rusden collection includes a facsimile of Shakespeare's 1623 First Folio produced in 1866 by the newly-discovered process of photolithography: a technique developed in the 1850s by Alfred Lemercier and others, by exposing a photograph on to a lithographic stone or plate coated with a light-sensitive chemical prior to printing. The 1866 copy that Rusden acquired is from the first-ever facsimile run of the First Folio, which was prepared by its publishers in an appropriately handsome format. Even present-day readers, accustomed to rapid and sophisticated forms of digital and photographic reproduction, can sense when handling the volume the particular thrill that these early facsimiles must have given their owners. It was with just such a photolithographic facsimile, purchased as a present to his future wife, that the man destined to become the world's greatest acquirer of Shakespearian Folios, Henry Clay Folger, began his career as a collector. The Library in Washington DC that bears Folger's name today houses 82 authentic First Folios and 47 Second Folios as well as numerous further editions of Shakespeare's works, acquired at Folger's behest.

George Rusden, though an altogether more modest collector, likewise acquired, along with his facsimile, at least one specimen of the real thing that remains a highlight of Trinity's collection: a Second Folio of Shakespeare's works, published in 1632 (see images on following page). The Second Folio, prepared some nine years after the First Folio by several of the printers who had been associated with the original

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[1] See Gillian Forwood, 'The Leeper Library and the Book Collections at Trinity College, University of Melbourne', *BSANZ Bulletin*, v.22, no. 3, 1998, pp.131-148; John Poynter, *Doubts and Certainties: A Life of Alexander Leeper* (Melbourne, 1997), esp. p.75; James Grant, *Perspective of a Century: A Volume for the Centenary of Trinity College, Melbourne, 1872-1972* (Melbourne, 1972), pp. 82-5.

venture, is essentially a page-by-page reprint of its predecessor. It includes, however, a new preliminary poem by John Milton, 'On Shakespeare' – Milton's first printed work, anonymously presented here – together with some hundreds of 'corrections' and 'improvements' to Shakespeare's text: which is marred nevertheless by the introduction of a large swag of new typographical errors.[2] Though the Second Folio is not, in terms of surviving copies throughout the world, a rare bibliographical item, there are very few copies elsewhere in Australia. The New South Wales State Library, which owns Australia's only First Folio, also has a Second Folio, as well as the Third Folio of 1663 and the Fourth Folio of 1685. The University of Melbourne's Baillieu Library has a Second Folio in its Orde Poynton collection, and another copy is in the possession of Sydney University's Fisher Library. The only known remaining copy in Australia of the Second Folio, once owned by the late Dame Mabel Brookes, came up for auction in Melbourne in August last year with an estimated selling price of $80,000 to $100,000. (Finer copies have recently been estimated at three times that figure in the United States.)
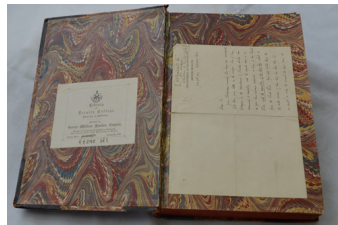
Second Folio of Shakespeare's works, published in 1632 (collection of Trinity College)

Trinity's Second Folio is not in perfect condition: in common with most surviving copies, it has been rebound, its pages have been cropped of their originally generous margins, and it lacks a number of its preliminary pages, for which substitutes from later and facsimile editions have in some cases been tipped in. Its final page (as a letter from an expert assessor in the British Museum to whom Leeper had sent it for authentication points out) has been taken from the Third Folio, the corner of the page having been torn off to disguise what would otherwise be an obvious lack of numerical sequence in pagination.

Intriguing as such items may be as historical objects, an obvious question arises: what is their practical usefulness to the present generation of students and scholars? It is true that the rarity value of many of these books has been diminished by the arrival of new technologies of electronic reproduction and transmission. One volume in Rusden's collection (for example) is a short-run publication entitled *Prefaces, Dedications, Epistles, Selected From Early English Books, 1540-1701*, assembled in 1874 by Rusden's friend from childhood, the notable English book-collector Henry Huth, and dispatched by Huth to Rusden in

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[2] 'How did an unknown poet manage to publish an appreciative poem in the Second Folio?' ask Milton's most recent biographers: speculating that this may have been achieved through the influence of his father, John Milton Senior, scrivener and composer, who was possibly the 'I. M.' who contributed some commendatory verses to the First Folio in 1623. See Gordon Campbell and Thomas N. Corns, *John Milton: Life, Work, and Thought* (Oxford, 2008), p. 54.

Melbourne with a covering note confidently declaring that this now 'would be the only copy South of the Equator'. Huth's little book is a charming piece, but it is nowadays readily available as an inexpensive paperback reprint, while the individual items it contains are also electronically readable by scholars across the world through the powerful resource of EEBO, Early English Books Online.

Yet the scholarly value of other books in the Leeper collections may in certain ways be thought to have deepened with the passing of the years. Recent textual scholarship – to cite just one example of this process – has increasingly stressed the importance of consulting and collating multiple copies when seeking to establish or interpret canonical texts, especially those from the early modern period. Such were the curious procedures of printing and proof-reading in the age of Shakespeare – the presses being constantly stopped during printing while sheets were cursorily checked for error, with corrected sheets then set out to dry, then reassembled, often together with the uncorrected versions – that no two copies of the 82 First Folios held by the Folger Shakespeare Library (for example) present identical readings: every copy retaining its unique value for those wishing to discover, through comparative inspection, the exact words that Shakespeare might be supposed actually to have written at any point in the canon. In this process of textual enquiry, small libraries as well as great ones offer their particular rewards and surprises, as the present writer can testify from recent work on an edition of the complete writings of one of Shakespeare's great contemporaries, Ben Jonson: a task that involved inspection of many – often seemingly 'identical' – texts in nearly 130 libraries and institutions across the world.

The value of variant readings, however familiar to scholars, has sometimes been forgotten by those who should act as guardians to the libraries in which such volumes are held. Late last year the Director and Trustees of the Senate House Libraries at the University of London, bedazzled by the estimated market value of the four Shakespeare Folios they had in their possession (F1, F2, F3, and F4), resolved to take these volumes to auction in a bid to boost the Libraries' declining revenue. These books were, after all, they explained, mere 'duplicates' in the University's collection. This move was pithily characterised by a leading British Shakespeare scholar at the time as 'an act of stupidity of the highest order': a description that gained further weight when it emerged that the Folios had been left to the University by Sir Louis Sterling in 1956 on condition they remain permanently in the University's Library. The consequent protest from nearly 3,000 scholars from around the world, led by the UK Bibliographical Society, resulted in the University's embarrassed withdrawal of this proposal, and to the resignation of the Director of the Senate House Libraries.

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In addition to the bequest of George Rusden, Trinity College holds numerous early books, some of which are quite rare, from the personal libraries of Bishop Charles Perry and Warden Alexander Leeper, as well

as from the Mollison Library[3] when, after being maintained at St Paul's Cathedral, it was amalgamated with the Trinity College Library in 1967. Many of these books reflect the needs and interests of an institution dedicated to teaching those whom Trollope had described as 'the future young pastors of the Church of England in the colony'.

A particularly notable and rare volume is a *Book of Common Prayer* (*BCP*) in folio printed in London in 1660, by an unnamed printer who used a device of angels and others with the motto '*Cor unum, via una*' ('One heart, one way'). Whilst at least eight other printings, including three in folio, were made of the *Book of Common Prayer* in 1660, there are only seven other copies of the present printing known to be in existence, four in English institutions, two in the National Library of Scotland and one in Washington Cathedral.

The purchase of this book for the Mollison Library was reported in *The Argus* of Monday 17 November 1913.[4] It had been brought to Melbourne from Westmoreland, England, a little earlier. One can calculate from the report that the purchase occurred on Friday 14 November 1913.

It will be noticed that the printings of 1660 occurred two years or thereabouts before the *Book of Common Prayer* of 1662 entered into force. The inference is strong that in 1660, with the Restoration of the monarchy in May and the concomitant appointment of bishops, copies of the prayer book were needed urgently for the *de facto* restored services, especially in London (where a survey had shown there to be few prayer books), and that printings of the pre-existing book (the *BCP* 1604) were ordered without waiting for the revision of it that was beginning to be proposed.[5] That this was done in haste (and, perhaps, that the type-set for an earlier printing was used) is shown by the fact that in the Litany, at least, the names of the Royal family – (King) Charles, (Queen) Mary, and James, Duke of York -- have been inserted, as the lettering is different from the rest of the type.

The version of the *BCP* in this book is that of 1604, as is shown by the inclusion of questions about sacraments in the Catechism and the requirement in Private Baptism that it be performed by a Minister. Otherwise, the 1604 version is very like that of 1559. In particular, unlike the *BCP* of 1552, neither has, at the end of the Communion service, a Declaration concerning Kneeling or 'Black Rubric', a

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[3] The A. F. Mollison Library, which was principally for books on theology and history, was opened in 1893 and endowed by Miss Elizabeth Mollison in memory of her brother, Alexander Fullerton Mollison (1805-1885), 'a pioneer of Church and State in Victoria'.

[4] Gillian Forwood in her scholarly and very helpful article (cited in fn 1 above) at pp.147-8 draws attention to this report and indeed quotes indirectly most of it.

[5] The *BCP* is one of the most reprinted books in the worldwide history of the book, but it is wrong to think of it as a single book or as a book in only five versions (1549, 1552, 1559, 1604 and 1662). As with the Shakespearean canon, so, as the result of almost yearly imprints and often several a year, the text of the *BCP* did not stand still, but, rather, variant readings proliferated. It has been calculated that there were more than 350 different imprints between 1549 and 1662, and the variations only increased thereafter with technological improvements. See Brian Cummings, *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (Oxford, 2011), pp. x and xiii.

significantly modified version of which was later inserted in the 1662 book.[6] The *BCP* of 1604 was not, as its three predecessors and its successor were, supported by an Act of Uniformity, but by 'A Proclamation Authorizing an Uniformity of Common Prayer' made by James I of England on 5 March 1604. A copy of that proclamation is included in Trinity's book immediately after the Act of Uniformity of 1559.[7] By his proclamation the King, after briefly reciting the events leading up to the 1604 *BCP*, stated that he had authorised the book and required all to conform to it, charging the Archbishops and Bishops to enforce it 'according to existing laws'. That is a reference to the Act of Uniformity of 1559.

The book is printed principally in elegant and clear black letter or gothic type, with large pictorial initials and tailpieces at the commencement and close of major sections. The rubrics, however, are in italic or, in some cases, roman type. The title page is printed in red and black. The book has been rebound, with the original leather apparently being applied to board. This has been done since the Mollison Library's acquisition, for, whilst *The Argus* reporter in 1913 noted that the book had metal clasps broken beyond use, there is now no sign of or place for clasps. At the end of the contents of the *BCP* there comes, with a separate title-page dated 1660, the Psalter or Psalms of David, 'after the translation of the Great Bible' of 1539. Then are bound into the volume 'Godly Prayers' dated 1660 and the *Ordinal* (*Or Form and Manner of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating Bishops, Priests and Deacons*) printed in 1639.[8] The imprint of the Ordinal reads: 'Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majestie and by the Assigns of John Bill, Anno 1639.'[9] Finally, there are some of the psalms ('metrical psalms'), some canticles, a creed and prayers, with some music. (This section lacks a title-page and its first page is numbered 6.) So in effect there are four books in the one volume. Presumably, the other three were bound with the *BCP* by one or more of its owners.

Another significant early book is the *Book of Common Prayer for Use of the Church of Scotland* dated 1636. This uses the 1604 text but with numerous departures from it, such as changes to the Communion service that made it closer to the more 'Catholic' *BCP* of 1549, the use of the 1611 King James Version of the

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[6] A Declaration on Kneeling, now known as the Black Rubric, which stated that there was no 'real or essential presence' of Christ in the sacrament, had been inserted in the 1552 *BCP* at the end of the Communion service at the last moment without Parliamentary authority. This strengthened the strongly Protestant character of the 1552 book (whereby the service was a mere memorial), whereas that of 1549, whilst revolutionary in purpose, had been traditional (or Catholic) in character. When in the 1662 book a shortened form of the Black Rubric was reinserted what was denied was 'any corporal presence' of Christ in the service. Whilst this formulation guarded against transubstantiation, it did not deny altogether Christ's presence in the sacrament. The expression 'Black Rubric' dates only from the 19th century, when the practice of printing the *BCP* with the rubrics in red was introduced and the fact that the 'Declaration' was really not a rubric at all was marked by printing it in black: *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F. L. Cross, 3rd edn revised E. A. Livingstone (Oxford, 2005), p. 214, col. 2.

[7] Contrary to the statement in the article by Gillian Forwood (cited in fn 1 above) at p.148, fn 57, this was not by Charles II, nor is a proclamation by him included in the volume.

[8] The Ordinal did not become part of the *BCP* until 1662.

[9] Interestingly, Robert Barker was from 1635 until his death in January 1646 confined for debt in the King's Bench prison. See his entry in *The Compact Edition of the Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 1975).

Gospels and Epistles in that service and the substitution of the word 'presbyter' for 'priest' throughout. The several services are in gothic type, though the rubrics are in roman.[10] The volume, which lacks a Table of Contents, commences with a Proclamation by Charles I dated 20 December 1636 at Edinburgh authorising and requiring the *BCP* to be used throughout Scotland. It contains a Psalter dated 1636 at Edinburgh and described as being according to the King James Version, and also another set of Psalms similarly described dated 1636 at London. Trinity also has a *Book of Common Prayer for Use of the Church of Scotland* dated 1637.**[11]**

Although this *BCP* was and is known as 'Laud's liturgy' after William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1633 until his execution in 1645, the departures from the 1604 *BCP* mentioned above were not of his making, but probably of James Wedderburn's, he being bishop of Dunblane. Nevertheless, Laud approved the book and later defended its changes. The attempt to impose it on Scotland in 1637, which ended as soon as it began with a riot at a service in St Giles's Cathedral, Edinburgh, marked the beginning of Laud's fall from power. Despite this, the book ultimately was the basis of the first prayer book of the Episcopalian Church of the United States.[12]

An unusual and early book in the collection, with provenance, is the Greek *Book of Common Prayer* of 1665, which was printed in Cambridge and given to the College by Rusden on 8 January 1882. It is *entirely* in Greek.

Of interest is a bilingual *Book of Common Prayer* of 1717 printed at Oxford by the well-known John Baskett, printer to the University. Its introductory parts are in English, but the services are set out in alternating columns of French and English and English and French. It contains, as was then usual, some Special Prayers: of thanksgiving for the delivery of James I from the Gunpowder Plot in 1605, and for the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660; for Charles, King and Martyr; and upon the accession of George I.

There are three more *Books of Common Prayer* of the first half of the eighteenth century. First, there is one of 1724, which includes the Acts of Uniformity of 1559 and 1662. With it is bound the Psalter, Prayers for use at Sea, Special Prayers, the Articles of Religion and the Table of Kindred and Affinity. But that is not the end of the volume, for there follows the King James Version of the Old and New Testaments! Then there are a full-calf folio *BCP* of 1742 printed by Thomas and Robert Baskett, and another of 1745 printed by Thomas Baskett, King's Printer, and the assigns of Robert Baskett, who must in three years have come down in the world. The title page of the 1745 *BCP* bears a note that the volume was for sale unbound at 8 shillings. The contents of the 1742 and 1745 books are the same as those of the 1724 *BCP*,

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[10] Theological books discussed are in roman type unless gothic is expressly specified.
[11] That is the date given for this prayer book in *The Oxford History of the Christian Church (*above*)*, p. 388, col. 1.
[12] For more detail about this book, see *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer*, ed. Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck (Oxford, 2006), pp. 166-8.

save that they include also the Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical of 1603 and, in the 1742 book, an additional section of Psalms. The type-face of the 1745 book is beautifully clear.

Annotations upon the Holy Bible in two folio volumes by Matthew Poole (d. 1679) is of interest for its provenance. Volume 1, published in 1683 but evidently written before Poole's death, carried detailed annotations on each verse in the Bible down to Isaiah. Volume 2, 'a continuation of Mr Poole's work', was published in 1685. There is a bookplate of Thomas Hart Davies in each volume. Bishop Perry, who had persuaded Hart Davies to come to Melbourne, had high hopes of much-needed assistance in the Diocese from him and appointed him Vicar of St Peter's, Melbourne, and Archdeacon of Melbourne. But Melbourne's north winds aggravated his asthmatic condition and he left within a year.[13] The two volumes passed eventually to the Mollison Library.

Provenance is of interest with the next work also. The College holds the two volumes in folio of the first edition of 1713 of Gibson's important *Canon Law* or, to quote from its impressive title page, *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani or the Statutes, Constitutions, Canons, Rubricks and Articles of the Church of England methodically Digested ... with a Commentary Historical and Juridical by Edmund Gibson DD*. In it the full text of Acts of Parliament, Canons, rubrics and articles is set out in gothic type, whilst commentary is in roman. It was printed by J Baskett, as Queen's Printer, and by the Assigns of Thomas Newcomb, and Henry Hills, deceased. The volumes bear the initial book-plate of the College, inscribed 'Presented by Geo. Mackay LL D'. The College also possesses the two volumes in folio of the second edition of 1761, 'revised by the author', who was by then Bishop of London. These volumes bear the bookplate of the Reverend Dr F. T. Cusack Russell (1823-1876) and are inscribed 'Presented by Mrs Russell, 1878'. Though Russell was only a deacon who was not ordained priest until 1866, he worked hard and ably, itinerating along the Wannon for 25 years from 1850 and establishing the first churches at some six towns, and earning a name as 'Apostle of the Western District'.[14] These four full-calf volumes must have looked magnificent when published. Unfortunately, over the centuries their bindings have cracked at the hinges and some other books discussed here have suffered similarly.

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Though a smallish archive in global terms, Trinity's well-guarded, well-cherished collections are rich in historical interest for the present generation of students. They serve as eloquent reminders of the literary passions, ambitions, and friendships of the College founders, and as a stimulus to their own researches.

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[13] James Grant, *Episcopally Led and Synodically Governed: Anglicans in Victoria 1803-1997* (North Melbourne, 2010), p. 42.

[14] More details of this highly regarded cleric will be found in his entry in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 2, *1788-1850* (Melbourne, 1967), ed. A. G. L. Shaw and C. M. H. Clark, at pp. 405-6 and in Margaret Kiddle, *Men of Yesterday: A Social History of the Western District of Victoria, 1834-1890* (Melbourne, 1961), pp. 301 and 445.

For some, they may form an attractive point of entry to a rapidly growing new field of scholarly enquiry, the history of the printed book. For others, the early Australian holdings, barely touched on in the present survey, may hold a particular attraction. Associated now with a superbly equipped modern library, these diverse collections form an important part of the cultural legacy which Trinity offers its students in the twenty-first century.