IN AND ABOUT THE HOUSE:
Commemorating W.H. Auden

Wystan Auden's centenary in 2007 has been an occasion of celebrations world-wide for this remarkable literary figure. The celebrations had special relevance for Christ Church, of which he was a devoted member and which deeply influenced him for a lifetime.

Auden came up to the House in 1925 from Gresham’s School (where his first poem appeared) on an open Exhibition in Natural Science. In his first year he read chemistry with Dr A.S. Russell as his Tutor. Later Russell said that Auden would not last in chemistry because his essays were capable of beginning like this: “Of all the elements, beryllium is the most beautiful.” In his second year he switched to PPE and in his final year to English, with Nevill Coghill as his Tutor. Numerous undergraduates were friends for life. His poetic flair was making itself ever more apparent. After graduation he continued to write, whilst he maintained himself by teaching in a number of schools in the UK. His urge to travel was deep-seated and took him far, including to Iceland, China and various parts of Europe. In 1939, he took the journey to the USA, more likely to be with friends and for creative opportunities, than for ulterior motives. With this, the British phase of his life came to a close temporarily. In the USA he continued to teach, took US citizenship and was conscripted in the US Army.

Some musical musings prompted by a Christ Church poet’s centenary

Blessed Cecilia, appear in visions to all musicians, appear and inspire: Translated Daughter come down and startle Composing mortals with immortal fire.

These words, taken from W.H. Auden’s Anthem for Saint Cecilia’s Day, were set to music by Benjamin Britten in 1942 as the Hymn to Saint Cecilia while aboard a liner returning to Europe from America. Ostensibly a paean to the patron saint of music, whose feast day was also Britten’s birthday (22 November), the poem is a veiled portrait of the composer:

I cannot grow, I have no shadow to run away from… Impetuous child with the tremendous brain…

The poem played its part in Auden’s strategy to persuade Britten to escape the poet’s shadow and return to his English roots, where he would be able to confront himself and his own history. (Britten’s next major work was the opera Peter Grimes, based on The Borough by George Crabbe, a poet from his native Suffolk.)

Auden understood Britten better than Britten did himself.

continued on page 2
Auden also understood music. In his ‘Notes on Music and Opera’ written in homage to Igor Stravinsky, he begins with the fundamental question, “What is music about?” His answer is rich and perceptive:

“Man’s musical imagination seems to be derived almost exclusively from his primary experiences – his direct experience of his own body, its tensions and rhythms, and his direct experience of desiring and choosing – and to have very little to do with the experiences of the outside world brought to him through his senses”.

Much is revealed in these words not only about the musicality of Auden’s poetry but also about why many composers have found his words so amenable to musical setting. In Britten Auden recognised an “extraordinary sensitivity in relation to the English language”; Britten – a technician who was a rare match for Auden – provided apt musical responses ranging from their first collaborations at the GPO Film Unit via the opera Paul Bunyan to some wonderful songs. If you want to hear a simple but exquisitely complementary presentation of words and music, then look no further than Funeral Blues, in which the irony of Auden’s mock elegy is perfectly caught by Britten’s wicked mock blues.

Auden continues to appear and inspire musicians. In June, to mark the poet’s centenary, Christ Church hosted a major conference and library exhibition. The focal event was the performance by the Cathedral Choir of a setting of Auden by the composer Robert Saxton (Fellow of Worcester). Saxton selected verses from For the Time Being, written for Britten, but which Britten never got round to setting. The result was a beautiful, evocative and sensitive reading of the words. There were even touching (unintended) echoes of Britten. It seemed entirely fitting that Auden should have been remembered in this place, in this way. After all, Auden’s own memorial service held in the Cathedral in 1973 had had, as its centrepiece, a performance of the Hymn to Saint Cecilia. Even today Wystan shows us that, like Cecilia, he can still startle many a composing mortal with immortal fire.

Jonathan Cross
Pressing Matters: Learning to Print in the Bodleian

The books in the Upper Library at Christ Church are of interest from many perspectives: as texts responding to each other, as collections reflecting their donors’ interests and motives, and as material objects which have survived the centuries.

The binding is the most obvious aspect of a book considered as an object, but it is important to understand the physical structure of the pages inside.

I have been working with early printed books for nearly a decade, but it was only this summer that I had the chance to try my hand at printing with movable type.

A dozen rare books librarians assembled in the basement of the New Bodleian building where printing presses of all sizes are gathered. Our instructor, Paul Nash, gave three fascinating introductory lectures before we each chose a short text to set and print on a hand-press.

Now, the act of printing has become familiar and accessible to most of us without leaving our desks. It is no longer remarkable that this newsletter can be designed and printed within Christ Church. But using metal type to set a single page, letter by letter, proved surprisingly tricky.

The Bodleian owns full-height standing presses in wood and iron, but for the course it was more practical to use a twentieth-century table-top press.

Each of us took an impression of our finished page, both on a single sheet to serve as a souvenir and (with guidance from Paul Nash on orientation or ‘imposition’) facing our colleagues’ printing to form a pamphlet. The final step was to dismantle the page and distribute the type back into its cases.

How do we know how the hand-press was used? I am cataloguing the Earl of Orrery’s library, bequeathed to Christ Church in 1731, and shelved with his books on mathematics is a copy of Mechanick exercises on the whole art of printing.

Published in 1683, this is a meticulously illustrated record of the techniques of printing, written by Joseph Moxon, himself a practising printer in London. It is dedicated to Bishop Fell, Dean of Christ Church, who had revitalised the business of the University Press as well as its typography.

Moxon details the work of making a book by hand, in which composition and printing are just two stages, preceded by the manufacture of the ink, paper and type and completed with gathering and folding the printed sheets prior to their stitching and binding. These procedures remained unchanged in outline between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries.

Composition, as this is called, is in principle a repetitive process of selecting the appropriate character from the type-cases and placing it in the composing ‘stick’ (a metal tray which holds about four lines of type).

In practice, the pieces of type are small and it can be hard to identify a letter in mirror-image, and without great care (or practice) errors are inevitable. It is for this reason that proofs are taken.

The lines of type are confined within wooden ‘furniture’ and adjustable metal ‘quoins’ and transferred to the printing press.

This is when the novice printer discovers just how many mistakes have been made: letters upside down or plain wrong; badly judged spacing; and damaged pieces of type, all of which must be corrected.
Hands-on printing felt profoundly satisfying. But beyond personal satisfaction, it helped me understand book production as a human process prone to interruption and improvisation. The ways in which a text can be corrected, and the ways in which it is impractical to alter it, illuminate the bibliographical notions of edition, impression, issue and state. I have a new respect for the printers whose handiwork fills the Library shelves – and a new sympathy for their infrequent slips.

Owen Massey
Early Printed Books Project

Further information and photographs:
http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/csb/printingclasses.html
http://www.flickr.com/photos/addedentry/sets/

Enquiries from external readers have already dropped off, thanks to the notices in my e-mails and on the Library web-site, but that doesn’t mean that I am twiddling my thumbs. Thanks to the generosity of Oriel College, the papers of Hugh Trevor-Roper have been able to stay in Oxford, so I hope to get lots of work done on those over the next few months. Readers of the Annual Report will remember that we acquired a new electronic cataloguing package a while ago, and work is already in progress to convert all the archive listings into electronic format which will operate alongside the good, old-fashioned paper version. Eventually, I hope to have all the archive catalogues as widely available for access as the Library collections. Most of the basic listings are already on computer, but the prospect of re-typing all twelve volumes of Dr Bill’s Calendar of Estate Papers is daunting!

There is also the database of alumni going right back to 1525, a project which has been on-going for some years. Most members from 1525 to 1800 are at least listed, but some in far greater detail than others. The database is currently on a rather antiquated version of FoxPro, which is not terribly flexible and is un-updatable. With Mike’s expertise, we are hoping to be able to convert this into something more modern and user-friendly. In the meantime, I can continue to add people, and to bulk out their records from publications like Foster’s Alumni Oxonienses and the ODNB.

Missing: One Archive

… but the archivist is here and, contrary to all sorts of remarks, is not short of things to do!

It took the best part of two months to pack and move the archive from Blue Boar to its temporary home in the salt mines of Cheshire. Anything that was small enough went into boxes, and everything else had to be individually wrapped in bubble-wrap to protect it from the rigours of travel up the M6 and of long-term storage. After a week or two, the novelty and appeal of single-handedly wrapping the entire 25 tons of papers and books, pictures and photograph, maps and artefacts wore off but, with the timely help of the amazing Rees from Deepstore over the final few days, the whole collection was despatched by the first weeks of July. All 2500 packages are inventoried, and it is possible to access things if they are desperately needed. Standard deliveries take place on Mondays and Thursdays (when Deepstore deliver to the Bodleian Library) but each request will cost around £35 to £40 which, I’m afraid, will either have to come out of individual departmental budgets or be charged to the Blue Boar project. Archive funds are just not sufficient! Items can be couriered down, but this will obviously cost even more. I will do my best to answer as many questions as possible in spite of the absence of the original materials. A few of the more precious items have been kept here, and Janet has kindly allowed me to clutter up bits of the Library with items such as the Chapter Books. All the Governing Body minutes have also been retained. Please keep sending things for the archive; there will be a box or two set aside to receive new items, which will then be placed with the returning collection next autumn.
A proof-copy and/or revise?

The riches of Christ Church library never cease to amaze.

Three variations of a pamphlet written by Charles Leslie (1650-1722), entitled "Some seasonable reflections upon the Quakers solemn protestation against George Keith's proceedings at Turner's-Hall, 29. Apr. 1697. ...", and published by Charles Brome in London in 1697, in quarto format, have come to my attention during the summer. This pamphlet is part of an ongoing controversy over the teaching and tenets of the Quakers. Leslie was an active participant in the efforts of reconverts to the rightful faith of the Church of England the members of what he perceived as a dangerous sect. He wrote nine books on the Quakers, including "A Snake in the Grass" (1697) and "The Present State of Quakerism in England" (1701).

What makes these copies of this pamphlet at Christ Church stand out is the fact that they are all different. One of them had a title page slightly changed from the one recorded by ESTC and Wing, and is likely to be a previous edition, if not a revise copy (namely, a further proof submitted by the printer after having made the required corrections, alterations, or additions).

The other is very likely a proof-copy, and bears extensive manuscript additions, corrections and re-elaborations of the text. In this article, I am going to examine the variations between these copies, as well as suggest hypotheses as to the identity of the proof-reader.

The work - as described by our reference sources, ESTC (R220387) and Wing (2nd ed., L1159) - is not very rare. Twenty-two copies are known to have survived, of which six in Oxford, including the copy held at Christ Church at shelfmark Hyp.M.12 (37). This copy is rather unremarkable. It is part of Volume 12 of a series of more than 50 volumes collecting works on the Quaker controversy, all of them bound in a similar way: plain and sprinkled darkened leather, with a central panel design defined by blind double fillets and/or blind rolls, with blind ornaments at corners, textblock edges sprinkled red, and a dark red label reading "Quakers tracts vol. #" in gilt letters. Each volume has been foliated throughout in manuscript ink, in a contemporary hand, and reference to the foliation is made on the ms. ink list of contents by the same hand at the front of the volume.


The copy held at WS.4.18 (10) in the Wake collection is a variant title page of the one above. Its title reads: "Some Seasonable / REFLECTIONS / UPON THE / Quakers / PROTESTATIONS / Against the PROCEEDINGS at / Turner's-Hall, 29. Apr. 1697... ".

The word "solemn" is missing, as well as the reference to George Keith. The title leaf is not a cancel, and the text inside is in the same setting of type as the copy at Hyp.M.12 (37) and the copy held at Cambridge, seen in the UMI microfilm Early English Books reel 2127:10. The title up to "protestation" is in the same setting of type as well, down to an imperfection in the "s" of "Quakers", which recurs in all the copies seen.

The word "solemn" (missing in the Wake copy) is on a line by itself on the other title page, and appears to have been inserted without re-distributing the type of the adjacent lines. The line following "Protestations" is the one presenting the biggest variation, and it has been composed afresh. The Wake copy reads: "Against the PROCEEDINGS at". The Hyp.M.12 (37) copy reads: "Against George Keith's Proceedings at".

The lower part of the title page is again in the same setting of type in both instances, including a "T" with a broken right arm used in the word "Turner's-Hall".

This evidence suggests that the type used for this title page, and indeed for the text inside, was not distributed in-between the two impressions, and only minor changes were carried out by way of opening the quoins, shifting the lines, inserting one additional line ("solemn") and replacing another ("against...").

The desire to find out which of these title pages was the first, and which was composed later, arises immediately. Of course, only conjectures are
possible. However, I can hazard a plausible hypothesis by comparing these two copies with the version of this text which Leslie published in 1721, in a two-volume folio edition of his theological works. A copy can be found at Christ Church in the Orrery collection, at shelfmark: OI.3.9 (2). Leslie edited this collection personally shortly before his death. We can therefore assume that this was the version of the text he had settled for. As for the wording of the title, the 1721 edition has the word "solemn", and it does mention George Keith, the only difference from the copy at Hyp.M.12 (37) being the spelling of the word "reflections", which became "reflexions". We can therefore assume that the title page with "solemn" and "George Keith's" is the definitive one. Further evidence confirming this chronology comes from the comparison with the third copy of the 1697 quarto edition held in the library.

This copy, Hyp.M.3 (9), is by far the most exciting. It is very likely a proof-copy, or a revise. Both the text and the title page bear several ms. ink corrections, ranging from the rectification of typos to the insertion of substantial passages, especially in gathering A. Unfortunately, this copy has been closely cropped, and several of the most substantial corrections are in part lost. Two different inks are discernible, raising the suspicion that this text was revised not once but twice. Was it the same person, maybe the author, or was it the author and a proof-reader appointed by the printing house, or was this just the work of a printing press proof-reader?

The title reads as in the copy held in the Wake collection, that is, without "solemn" and without the overt mention of George Keith. The setting seems to be the same, apart from the "T" of "Turner's-Hall", which is not broken.

There is no printed statement of responsibility. The words "By an Impartial Hand." are written in black ink below the last line of the title, and above the single printed rule which separates the title from the imprint. The imprint is the major clue to the status of proof-copy of these leaves, and their not being intended for circulation: it is unfinished, reading simply: "London, Printed for, &c.". Possibly the same hand has deleted the "&c." and completed the sentence, in a different, lighter, brownish ink: ". . . Charles Brome at ye Gun at ye [...]". The words underlined here are printed in italic in the other two copies, following the traditional conventions for proof-reading. The incompleteness of the imprint can also explain the difference between this copy and the others as regards the "T" in "Turner's-Hall". It is very likely that the character became dislodged during the perfecting of the title page, when the quoins were opened to allow for the imprint to be completed. A new "T", with a broken arm, was picked up in substitution of the lost one, maybe even from the floor. Alternatively, the arm got broken during the perfecting of the title page, and the printer decided not to substitute it. Controversial pamphlets were in general printed very quickly, to keep up with the pace of contemporary events.

The following leaf (A2) bears the text of "A solemn protestation against George Keith's advertisement, arbitrary summons and proceedings against certain persons, and a meeting of the people called Quakers" (caption title), signed and dated at the end: "Written, in Behalf of the People called Quakers, by some of them Concerned. London, the 26th. Day of the 2d Month, 1697.". There are no marks or corrections on this leaf.

In contrast, leaf A3r (p.3) presents major changes. The printed caption title reads: "Some seasonable Reflections upon A solemn Protestation of the Quakers of Grace-Church-street, &c.". Using the lighter, brownish ink, the corrector had crossed out the words "seasonable" and "A solemn Protestation of the Quakers of Grace-Church-street, &c.". On top of the deleted section we also have "The Quakers Protestation" in manuscript, crossed out as well. Below the caption, the words "the foregoing Protestation". The printed caption title on p. 3 in the two other copies incorporates these changes, and the consolidated version reads: "Some Reflections upon the foregoing Protestation.". It is interesting to note that this time the word underlined in the manuscript correction became roman, whereas those not underlined were printed in italic.

In line 8 we find the first insertion, in a darker, black ink. The printed text in the proof-copy reads: "... and after printed their Conferences. But these two years past...". A mark is inserted between "Conferences" and "But", referring to the manuscript note in the
Leaf A4 is heavily corrected, on both recto and verso. On the recto there are several instances of correction of capital/lower case letters, underlining of words for italic printing, correction of punctuation and signature, all in brownish ink. A sentence is deleted and another inserted, both in the same brownish ink: just before the beginning of the passage-by-passage confutation of the Quakers' text, the sentence "But now let us consider their Protestantation." is inserted. Half-way through the page, the words "And again, by their own Invitation in" are deleted in the sentence: "First, they operate in every Article as strongly against their publick Disputations with the Baptists at Barbican: And again, by their own Invitation in Wheelers-street, &c.".

As that passage is not fundamental for the comprehension of the text, it might have been taken out to balance the number of lines in the page, which was disrupted by the insertion of the additional sentence above. The text around the deleted words in the final version is indeed tighter, the spaces are thinner, and there is even complete lack of spaces between the words "Barbican, Wheelers-street, &c. [sic]".

On A4r (fourth line from the bottom) the black ink appears again: two verbs are changed from the past tense into the present. On the verso, we can find only marks in the brownish ink. Apart from the usual corrections, including the page number, there is a passage added in ms. ink on the left margin, which might be an insertion which did not make it into the final copy (there is no additional text in the following editions), or a note to the printer, in explanation of a correction.

The last word of line 10 is "And", starting a new sentence; this had been crossed out, and replaced with "But". Moreover, there is a mark of insertion at the beginning of the next line, just next to the manuscript note. The text is cropped, and not much can be read: "[...] Dis- / [...]an / [...]ll / w[h]ich / (But) / may / [unread] / [...]e / [unread] ye / [...]e, if / need / [...]roome / [unread] / [...]er.". (The word "But" is actually between square brackets.)

I wonder whether "[..-.roome" could be Brome, the publisher, in the variant spelling of his name? In the two other copies, the "But" is starting a new sentence and a new paragraph as well. The corrector might have felt the need to explain his decision to better separate the concepts, or maybe to suggest this correction but leave the final decision to the printer.

Interestingly, in this newly created paragraph there is the only variation of text I have been able to find between the copies at Hyp.M.12 (37) and at WS.4.18 (10): in the sentence "What Legal Power they have to e- / rect any such new Courts of Judicature ...", the "e" of "erect" is lower case in WS.4.18 (10), and upper case in Hyp.M.12 (37).

There are no corrections in gathering B, and I could not see any change in the text, except the position of the date at the end, "May 8. 1697.". This follows the text of the last line in the proof copy and is below, on a line by itself, in the two other copies.

Who made these corrections, are they authorial or the work of a press proof-reader? These kinds of corrections might easily have been done by either, possibly with the only exception of the insertion of the sentence naming Richard Baxter, another great disputant in the controversies against the Quakers, who died a few years earlier, in 1691. But a skilled and trusted proof-reader might have been given leave to insert additional historical information. Given the impossibility of comparing them to other examples of Leslie's handwriting, I cannot affirm with certainty his authorship of the corrections in this copy.

However, there is another road I can take to try to discover the identity of the proofer. Why was this proof-copy preserved, and how did it find its way to Christ Church? Hyp.M.3 is labelled "Quakers tracts Vol. 3." on spine, and it is part of the series of volumes collecting works on the Quaker controversies, described above in reference to Hyp.M.12.

This volume has been foliated throughout as well and has a ms. ink list of contents at the front. No mention of this work being peculiar is made in this list. The handwriting of the corrections and that of the list of contents are at first sight completely different. However, a closer inspection reveals similarities and points in common. A strong proof against the identification of these hands as belonging to the same person comes from the capital letter "B", the one in the proofing definitely differing from the ones in the list of contents.

According to the Library records, the pamphlets hosted in the room known as 'Hyp.' can be ascribed to two possible collectors. Part are the bequest of Dean Henry Aldrich (1648–1710), and include a collection of Quaker tracts he bought from Francis Bugg (1640–1727), the main Quaker controversialist of the time. Another section of the collection was the property of Lewis Atterbury, an alumnus of the
College. The room is roughly divided into two sections. Part of the pamphlets, along the east and south walls, are uniformly bound in quarter vellum on neutral colour paper boards. In several instances, the vellum bears manuscript inscriptions on the inside of the spine, in early hands. The possibility of running a project to investigate these inscriptions is being discussed. The books on the west and north walls are as uniformly bound in dark leather, usually with a dark red label with gilt lettering on the spine. The volumes examined in this article belong to this section. Unfortunately, no documentation is available to differentiate which of these two striking collections was given by Dean Aldrich, and which by Atterbury.

An almost certain attribution can be made thanks to inscriptions in the volumes\(^1\). Several of the pamphlets in the quarter vellum binding present handwritten dedications to Atterbury, usually by the authors, or provenance inscriptions (see e.g.: 22.A.153, with inscription: "E libris Lud: Atterbury. Highgate."; 32.A.153, bearing the inscription "Ex lib [?] Lud: Atterbury"; 11.D.73, with inscription: "E libris Lud: Atterbury.").

Therefore we can assume that the collections in vellum and paper boards came from Atterbury, and the one bound in dark leather, of which the proof-copy is part, belonged to Francis Bugg, and came to Christ Church via Dean Aldrich. It would also justify the presence in this section of so many tracts concerning the Quakers, and so many penned by Bugg.

Against this assumption, there is a single recorded instance of Bugg-via-Aldrich provenance in a work held at 14.B.14, bound in quarter vellum on paper boards, bearing the inscription: "To the revd. the Dean of XitCh. from Mr. Bugg.". Dean of Christ Church in 1706, the date of publication of that work, was Henry Aldrich.

In favour of this assumption, there is a similarly authoritative black ink manuscript inscription found on the verso of the second upper leaf of the volume shelved at Hyp.M.4, the one immediately following the volume with the proof-copy: "Francis Bugg his Booke:"

The two "B"s present in this inscription are different one from the other, and each matches one of the "B"s which puzzled us in the comparison of the handwritings in Hyp.M.3. One of them also matches the "B" in "Bugg" in the 14.B.14 inscription. Thanks to this further evidence, Judith Curthoys, Archivist at Christ Church and expert paleographer, is now reasonably certain that the proof-reader was indeed Francis Bugg.

This creates a further enigma. There are no immediately evident connections between Leslie and Bugg which we know of. So how did it happen that Bugg proof-read one of Leslie's tracts, kept it and bound it nicely as part of a multi-volume collection of tracts? Did they know each other?

I have not been able to find a source proving they were acquainted, but it is rather likely, given the fact that they were using the same printer and writing on the same subject. Bugg had published one title with Brome in 1696, and one in the following year. This second item in particular, entitled "A sober expostulation, with some of the hearers of the Quakers, against the insolent boldness of their mercenary teachers.", was written as a "vindication of ... the reverend author of the book, intituled, The snake in the grass ...". It is dated at the end: "January 26th. 1697/8.". It is quite likely therefore that the two had met, or at least knew of each other. Could Leslie have asked Bugg to proof-read his pamphlet for him? Leslie was living in hiding in 1697, having been charged with treason for a 1692 publication in which he accused the King of complicity in the massacre of Glencoe. However, we have no evidence of his whereabouts at the time this pamphlet went to press, nor of their being on such friendly terms.

A hypothesis suggested by Dr. Cristina Neagu is that this copy might have been preserved by the proof-reader in his professional capacity. We know that learned men were sometimes employed by printers and publishers as proof-readers in their press. Although we do not have anything to back this assumption, we might think that Bugg might have been asked by Brome to proof and correct a work on

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\(^1\) A very limited section of the pamphlet collection has been catalogued to date, so additional evidence might come to light, supporting one attribution or the other.
the subject he was most familiar with. We know, thanks to some pamphlets in the Hyp.M collection directed to him, that he was sent material by printers. Alternatively, Bugg might simply have picked up this copy at Brome’s, maybe seeing it lying around when he was there reading his own proofs. He might have copied the corrections made by Leslie in his own proof-copy, in order to have a more correct version of the text. This hypothesis also justifies the lack of corrections in gathering B: that sheet might belong to a later, already proofed edition, maybe a revise, or a copy pulled during the stage of make-ready. More work needs to be done in assessing the links between these authors, pinpointing the location of the writers during this year, searching for longer passages of Leslie’s and Bugg’s handwriting to compare with the inscriptions in Hyp.M.3 (9), and sketching the conditions of work in Charles Brome’s enterprise.

There is one more question to debate. What is the chronological and/or functional relationship between the three copies of the pamphlet at Christ Church? Is the copy in the Wake collection an intermediate edition, is it unique, is it a revise?

Besides R220387, the ESTC reports a second quarto edition of this work, R235877, still published in 1697, with a title once again slightly different from those described until now: it has the word "solemn", but does not mention George Keith on title page. The only copy known to the ESTC is held in Philadelphia, at the University of Pennsylvania, Van Pelt-Dietrich Library. It has 21 numbered pages, whereas the three copies at Christ Church have only 14. An informal note in the ESTC asks for the pagination to be verified. Ms Lynne Farrington, Curator of Printed Books at the Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Pennsylvania, has very kindly confirmed that the pagination of their copy is indeed [2], 14 p., like all the others. A second copy of this edition, not yet reported to the ESTC, is held at the Bodleian, at shelfmark Pamph.226 (16). The title page in this copy reads as the Van Pelt-Dietrich Library copy, with "solemn", but without mentioning Keith. The title page does not appear to be a cancel. Pagination is [2], 14 p. The setting of type of the text inside is consistent with the copy at Hyp.M.12, including the upper case "e" in the word "erect" on lines 12/13 of page 6.

So to summarize: we have one copy without "solemn" and without mention of Keith, with an incomplete imprint and several ms. corrections to the text (Hyp.M.3 (9) at Christ Church); one copy without "solemn" and without mention of Keith, as the previous one, but incorporating all the corrections made in ms. ink in the previous one (WS.4.18 (10) at Christ Church).

Hyp.M.3 (9) (Christ Church)  WS.4.18 (10) (Christ Church)

There are also two copies with the word "solemn" but without the mention of Keith, same text as the previous (University of Pennsylvania’s copy and Pamph.226 (16) at the Bodleian); two copies with the word "solemn" and with the mention of Keith, the same text as the previous (Hyp.M.12 (37) at Christ Church; the Cambridge copy on microfilm); and finally, a half-title page published by the author 24 years later (O.I.3.9), with both "solemn" and "George Keith's". Excluding the proof-copy, were there three editions in 1697, or only two, in which case the Wake copy is a revise? Were the various editions in print at the same time, or were they spaced in the course of a month, or a year?

Hyp.M.12 (37) (Christ Church)  O.I.3.9 (Christ Church)

The number of copies seen is certainly not enough to hazard conjectures as to the uniqueness of the copy at WS.4.18 (10) or its role as a revise. However, the chronology outlined seems justified. More research is needed in order to unravel the evidence these pamphlets can offer us. For the time being, these findings have confirmed the importance of comparing every copy of every duplicate item in a library for the purpose of unearthing variant editions and throwing light on the procedures of the printing press, as well as the privileged position of Christ Church in this enterprise, thanks to its wonderful collections.

Maria Franchini
Early Printed Books Project
In the 1970s the Governing Body turned down the Vicar of Frodsham’s offer of depositing his parochial library at Christ Church through lack of space to accommodate it. It was subsequently sold to a bookseller in York for a pittance.

It had been formed by William Charles Cotton (Christ Church 1832-36). In 1833 he was a founding member of the Oxford Apiarian Society taking on the office of Secretary. His friend, Henry Acland, who was to become his brother-in-law and Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford, was a member of the Committee.

When I was Assistant Librarian I thought that the Library should have at least one book by its former member, and so, on my retirement, I presented it with Cotton’s *My Bee Book*, 1842 (shelfmark ZX.5.8) which I had managed to acquire from a dealer in second-hand books. I read it in preparation for my farewell speech and was surprised to learn, on page 325, that Cotton kept two stocks of bees in his room in Canterbury Quad. Apparently there was a hole in the window sill enabling his bees to go in and out.

Cotton had been a curate with George Augustus Selwyn at Windsor Parish Church and when the latter was appointed the first Anglican Bishop of New Zealand, Cotton offered his services and accepted the position of Bishop’s Chaplain and Librarian. They set sail from Plymouth on the Tomatin on the 26th December 1841. On board were sheep, pigs, geese, cocks, hens, at least one cow and four hives of bees. Cotton had wanted to take ten hives (*My Bee Book*, p. 359) but he was restricted to four. His designs of hives for the voyage are described on pages 358-362, with cinders and ice used to keep the bees asleep.

After an eventful passage, for which see Arthur R. Smith’s book *William Charles Cotton MA 1813-1879* (shelfmark ZX.5.140), the Tomatin scraped a rock in Sydney harbour. As the damage was serious and would take several weeks to repair, the Bishop and Cotton transferred to the Bristolian for the final leg of their journey to New Zealand, arriving in Auckland harbour on the 30th of May 1842.

Ten years later, on the 9th of June 1857, he had breakfast with Lewis Carroll at Christ Church. According to Carroll’s *Diaries* (p. 68 in Vol. 3 of Edward Wakeling’s edition), at this breakfast Cotton promised ‘to present the Common Room with his pictures’. If these pictures were photographs taken or bought by him on his continental tour of 1855, they survive in a Common Room album, now in the Manuscript Room in the Library. In his *Diary* entry for the 1st July 1857, Carroll calls him ‘photographic Cotton’.

That same summer of 1857, Cotton set off on a photographic tour of France. He invited Carroll to join him, but Carroll declined as he did not fancy living out in the fields in a tent.

In my speech I also mentioned that Cotton had the idea of colonising New Zealand with English bees. It was not until the following day, the first day of my retirement, that I realised that I had found the likely source of Carroll’s *The Hunting of the Snark*, 1876.
Carroll in *The Hunting of the Snark* equated one hive in the proposal for one member of the crew beginning with the letter 'B' and so for the ten hives we have ‘Bellman, Boots, Bonnet-maker, Barrister, Broker, Billiard-marker, Banker, Beaver, Baker and Butcher’.

It is likely that this ‘NZark’ or ‘Z[lande] N[ouvelle] ark’ gave rise to Carroll’s ‘snark’ and that it originally referred to the Tomatin. Carroll himself regarded ‘snark’ as a compound of ‘snail’ and ‘shark’ and because of its association with the latter, he used it to mean a man-eating sea creature.

It seems likely to me that Carroll based some of his work on William Charles Cotton, but never admitted to it through fear of offending Cotton’s family, in particular his brother, Henry, a friend at Christ Church for many years.

In 1872 Cotton had published *Buzz a Buzz*, his free translation from the German of *Schnurridiburr* by Wilhelm Busch. It has eight ‘Fyttes’. *The Hunting of the Snark* is an ‘Agony in Eight Fits’ – another deliberate clue by Carroll?

For those interested in identifying the real people behind the characters in *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland*, I venture to suggest that the talented but mad Vicar of Frodsham in Cheshire was Carroll’s ‘purrfect’ Cheshire cat - he even had the whiskers!

_John Wing_
Assistant Librarian 1962-1995

I am indebted to Mr Arthur R. Smith for his help and for his permission to reproduce the illustration from page 187, and to quote from his book *William Charles Cotton MA 1813-1879* (Countyvise, 2006), ISBN 978190123181X, copies of which are available from the author (31 Ennerdale Drive, Frodsham, Cheshire WA6 7LF) at £7.50 each, plus postage and packing.

Exhibitions in the Upper Library

Two major 18th-century bequests form the core of the music collection at Christ Church. The first, which was also the larger of the two, was given by Henry Aldrich (1648-1710), a keen amateur enthusiast of music, and Dean of Christ Church from 1689 until his death.

The second, acquired by the college in 1743, represents the collection assembled by two professional musicians both named Richard Goodson, who were father (c.1655-1718) and son (1688-1741). Both men jointly held the positions of organist of Christ Church Cathedral and Professor of Music at Oxford University.

Among the scores on display: a 15th century manuscript Missal, John Taverner’s Mass *Gloria Tibi Trinitas*, a rare 1585 edition of Tomas Luis de Victoria’s Motets, early manuscripts containing music performed by Christ Church choir, music by Orlando Gibbons, Handel and Henry Purcell (including an autograph score).

Visiting hours 9.00 am - 1.00 pm; 2.00 pm - 5.00 pm. We look forward to your visits.

Next in line, at the beginning of November is a revised version of an exhibition celebrating W.H. Auden’s many connections to Christ Church.

You might remember that, accompanying the conference celebrating the poet’s centenary, a selection of photographs and manuscripts of early poems and correspondence by W.H. Auden was on show in the Upper Library in June 2007. Given the demand and the wealth of books and documents in the Library, we thought of expanding a little on it. Following Auden, at the beginning of Hilary 2008, we hope to have a new exhibition up and running. This one will be on early maps and travel.

_Cristina Neagu_
It was not until 1945 that he saw Europe again. He had an apartment in Lower Manhattan and a cottage in Kirchstetten near Vienna, mostly dividing his time between the two.

Auden's direction in life changed in 1956 when he was elected Professor of Poetry at Oxford. During these three years he came to reside in Christ Church for about one term each year, and giving there public lectures in each. Whilst his poetic eminence was widely recognised, public opinion at that time was ambivalent, partly on account of his wartime life in the USA, and partly because of his flamboyant life style. At Oxford, in the 1956-61 period, Auden mostly kept a low profile as he gradually became accepted into College and University companionship. As his personal finances became up-beat, he presented the SCR with a useful refrigerator (so that vodka could be served chilled) and, in a later act of generosity, he provided the Hall with an effective public address system.

Auden wrote three poems specifically for occasions or colleagues at the House. The first, in 1957, was composed for his proposing the health of Canon Claude Jenkins at his eightieth birthday celebrations. In 1960, Auden proposed a toast ‘to the House’ at the Encaenia gaudy and this he did in style and in memorable verse (he was able there to use the public address system which he had provided).

After his professorship had terminated, Auden continued to visit the House most years en route between New York and Vienna. He still liked to talk with the same Tutors and it was on one occasion in Hall after dinner that he persuaded David Buckingham, the Tutor in Physical Chemistry, to explain to him his research interests. Since these lay in a notably complex and mathematical area, the task was not easy. Overnight, Auden responded by composing a lamenting poem (On Reading a Child’s Guide to Modern Physics) for David Buckingham, the autograph copy of which he found stuffed in his pigeon-hole next morning.

Auden continued his regular visits in the warmth of regard in which he held Oxford until about 1971 when it was emerging that he was becoming uncomfortable with his location in New York. The Governing Body agreed that he could reside once again at Christ Church. And so Auden regained his British roots and, in 1972, came to live in what is now known as the Auden Cottage. College life gave him security, engagement and the pleasure of meeting people. But it was not for long. Wystan Auden died on 29 September 1973.

Paul Kent
July 2007

The Oxfordshire 2007 Festival included the first official celebration of Alice’s Day on Saturday 7th July. This commemorated the golden afternoon in July 1862 when Charles Dodgson, an Oxford don, took Alice Liddell and her sisters on a boating picnic up the River Thames from Folly Bridge to Godstow. To amuse them he told a story about a white rabbit, a queen of hearts, a mad hatter and a little girl who tumbled down a rabbit hole into Wonderland. The story so delighted Alice that she begged him to write it down and the result was ‘Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland’, published in 1865 under the pen name Lewis Carroll, and one of the most enduring children’s books ever written.

To celebrate this event, a special self-guided Alice’s Day trail took place on Saturday 7th July to link together all the Oxford institutions which possess an Alice ‘treasure’. Christ Church Library, the Bodleian Library, the University Museums of Natural History and the History of Science, the Museum of Oxford, the Ashmolean Museum, and Oxford University Press had on display rare first editions, original manuscripts, printing plates, photographs and many of Lewis Carroll's and Alice Liddell’s personal items. The Pitt Rivers Museum and the Botanic Garden, both favourite haunts of Lewis Carroll, also had special events to celebrate the day.

Janet McMullin

Postal address: The Library, Christ Church
OXFORD OX1 1DP
Telephone: 01865 276169
Email library: library@chch.ox.ac.uk; janet.mcmullin@chch.ox.ac.uk;
cristina.neagu@chch.ox.ac.uk; rachel.johnson@chch.ox.ac.uk
Email archive: archives@chch.ox.ac.uk; judith.curthoys@chch.ox.ac.uk

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For queries and suggestions regarding the Newsletter, please contact the Editor - Cristina Neagu (01865 276 265).