‘Valuable books for varsity’

‘My dear Vice-Chancellor’, wrote Mrs R.C. Bald from Illinois to University of Melbourne Vice-Chancellor Sir George Paton in August 1966, ‘When my husband, R.C. Bald of the University of Chicago, died last year, he left a will dated 1953 which included the following two clauses:

1. Should I die before the completion of my biography of John Donne, I bequeath to Wesley Milgate, Challis Professor of English Literature [at the University of Sydney], all my notes, manuscripts, transcripts, and microfilms concerning John Donne, with the request that he complete the book and see it through the press.

2. To the University of Melbourne I bequeath all the books in my possession at the time of my death that were printed before the year 1801 ...’

The will also stipulated that the beneficiary ‘shall defray all costs of packing and shall cause to be affixed in each volume a bookplate acknowledging this bequest’. To facilitate completion of his Donne biography—which ultimately remained unfinished at the time of his death—Professor Bald further stipulated that ’any of the aforesaid books ... [shall be deposited on loan] in the Fisher Library of the University of Sydney ... for the use of Wesley Milgate for as long as he shall request’. (In a letter to Bald’s widow, Professor Milgate—15 years Bald’s junior—generously acceded to his late colleague’s wishes in regard to the biography’s completion, while politely declining the offer of having the books temporarily relocated.)

‘If the university decides to accept the bequest’, added Mrs Bald to Paton, ‘Mr Rosenthal, Curator of the Special Collections at the University of Chicago, has very kindly offered to help me, if need be, with advice and supervision in the packing and dispatches of the books.’ Unsurprisingly the offer was promptly considered and accepted.

News of such a generous and unexpected literary bequest generated considerable excitement, both within the University community and beyond. ‘Valuable books for varsity’, enthused Melbourne’s Age newspaper, sentiments echoed in rival daily The Sun. Both reports (dated 6 September 1966) glowingly outlined Professor Bald’s distinguished international academic career, his close links with Australia, and the collection’s considerable value.

Robert Cecil Bald had been born in Melbourne in 1901, matriculating in 1919 following education at Scotch College. Between 1919 and 1924 (according to his student card and the University Calendar) he studied for the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Laws at the University of Melbourne, collecting several prizes along the way (including the Shakespeare Scholarship ‘for the encouragement of the study of Shakespeare and of English Literature generally’ in 1923), and atypically undertaking some subjects towards his LLB degree at the University of Adelaide.

‘This is a sweet strain and thou finger’st it beastly’

A resident of Ormond College whilst studying at the University of Melbourne, Bald was a precocious talent. His first published paper appeared in 1921, while he was still only in the third year of his university studies. Writing to the prestigious American journal Modern Language Review concerning English playwright Cyril Tourneur’s Atheist’s tragedy (1611), Bald mused on Cataplasma’s line in Act IV: ‘This is a sweet strain and thou finger’st it beastly. Mi is a laerg there, and the
prick that stands before mi a long; always halfe your note.’ Finding fault with a recently published edition, Bald took its editor J.A. Symonds to task over his explanation of ‘laerg’ as probably derived from the musical term largo, noting that it was merely repetition of an early misprint of the word ‘large’. ‘In the old musical notation the large (or maxim—in contrast to the still-used minim) was twice the length of the long’, Bald observed, ‘which in its turn, was equal to two breves.’ He continued:

The ‘prick’ mentioned would nowadays be called a dot—which is to ‘halve the note’; that is, Cataplasm is impatient with Sebastian for not keeping time in that he fails to give a dotted large its full time value. Why the ‘prick’ should be spoken of as coming ‘before’ mi rather than after the previous large is also explainable by reference to the old notation. Nowadays, when a note occurring at the end of a bar is to be sustained it is printed afresh in the next bar and connected with the other by a tie. But in Elizabethan music the bar-line could intervene between a note and the dot so that it would seem to belong rather to the note after it than the one before it.4

Was this interest in fingering long pricks a student joke? Perhaps we will never know. What is certain is that such erudition and interdisciplinarity characterised Bald’s approach to his chosen field of study, English literature.

A study grant of £75 from the University of Melbourne in 1926 for research on Thomas Middleton became the prelude to Bald’s doctoral study at the University of Cambridge on this English Jacobean playwright and poet. Several academic teaching posts occupied the period between his dissertation in 1929 and his first professorial appointment, the chair in English at South Africa’s Stellenbosch University, in 1935. By this date he had continued his prolific publishing output in the field of Elizabethan and Jacobean literature and was expanding his interests to embrace 18th- and 19th-century English literature. Three further professorial appointments distinguished Bald’s remaining career: chairs in English at Cornell University, New York (1937–1952), the University of Chicago (1952–1965), and Monash University, Melbourne, the latter position not taken up due to his early death, on 23 August 1965, aged 64. His published writings were later catalogued by Maureen Mann for the Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand’s Bulletin (no. 3, October 1971), revealing the legacy of a generous and distinguished scholar.

Professor Bald’s bequest, comprising approximately 200 volumes (six boxes and three packages), duly arrived at Parkville and its contents are today easily distinguished on the University’s online catalogue. ‘The books are varied as my husband’s interests were’, remarked his widow, ‘and are varied in condition as well.’ Bald’s practice had been to buy, at reasonable prices, important and rare books which were often imperfect copies, lacking blank leaves, title pages, frontispieces and, rarely, even parts of the texts—‘It was a scholar’s working library of old books.’ Highlights nominated by Mrs Bald included first editions of volumes by John Donne, the 1647 folio edition of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher (from which her husband had made a valuable bibliographical study), first editions of early works by Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and ‘some 18th century works on Gardening and the Picturesque’. Six notebooks also accompanied the collection, containing research notes and jottings from the middle years of Bald’s career, principally relating to his projected biography of Donne.
'Cultivating gardening at the Baillieu'

I first became aware of the University of Melbourne Library’s Professor R.C. Bald Collection of English Literature during early 2010 when undertaking a small project entitled ‘Cultivating gardening at the Baillieu’. My brief was to undertake a pilot audit of the University Library’s gardening book collection—and especially that housed within the Special Collections of the Baillieu Library—with a view to enhancing knowledge of and access to this outstanding but relatively little-known resource. I had to start somewhere, and standing before the shelves of Professor Bald’s books I was struck by the richly interlinked collection before me and its context for my own research and collecting interests in the field of garden history. As volume after volume was examined, the books revealed themselves as more than mere texts—they were also richly layered objects with contemporary annotations, evocative provenances and manifold evidences of use, bound together by the intellectual underpinning that had distinguished Professor Bald’s career.

The era between Professor Bald’s main research interests—Elizabethan and Jacobean literature of the mid-16th to early 17th centuries, and the emergence of the Romantic poets in the late 18th century—encompassed some of the most interesting developments in the history of gardening, that of landscape gardening in early Georgian Britain. So it is pleasing that not only does his collection of books embrace this period, but that landscape gardening was one of his professed interests and collecting strengths. I determined at once to undertake a journey through the history of landscape gardening using Bald’s collection as my focus, demonstrating the legacy of such a thoughtful bequest.

Literature and taste

Although Professor Bald’s will restricted his bequest to books published pre-1801, some later titles nonetheless found their way into the bequest (perhaps on the advice of Robert Rosenthal, Curator of the Special Collections at the University of Chicago). Amongst a selection of 19th-century titles was the Essays on the sources of pleasures received from literary compositions (1809), attributed to William Greenfield (1755–1827). Few of his books more neatly encapsulated Bald’s interests, as the literary compositions which formed the focus for Greenfield were also the key field of research for Bald, evident in the strengths of his library in the works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge and other Romantic authors such as Robert Southey. Cognate works, especially those which touched on landscape design, formed a buffer for Bald, buttressing and extending his core collection.

Greenfield, who had fled in 1798 to the anonymity of England from his native Scotland (after a scandal that saw his resignation from the Church of Scotland ministry), drew on university lectures as the basis for his published Essays.5 These included chapters ‘On the improvement of taste’, ‘On beauty’, ‘On the sublime’, and ‘On the imagination, and on the association of ideas’, interlinked ideas that influenced much 18th- and early 19th-century thought about garden design. Indeed, investigations into taste were represented by key works in Bald’s library, as were works about beauty, sublimity and imaginative associationalism.

A key early philosophical work held by Professor Bald was Lord Shaftesbury’s Characteristicks of men, manners, opinions, times (5th edition, 1732). Anthony Ashley Cooper (1671–1713), third Earl of Shaftesbury, used his book (according to his biographer Lawrence Klein) to endorse ‘both the aspiration to virtuous political action and the ideal of aloof self-knowledge and
autonomy’. The engraved frontispiece portrait by Simon Gribelin after John Closterman (first published in the 1714 edition of *Characteristicks*) shows a garden in the background arrayed with orderly paths, beds, hedges and plantations, all imbued with the idea of perfected nature that Shaftesbury espoused (illustrated right). Scholar David Leatherbarrow believes this to be a representation of Shaftesbury’s garden at Wimborne St Giles, the only one known.7

The next key work, chronologically speaking, was Hutcheson's *An inquiry into the original of our ideas of beauty and virtue* (2nd edition, 1726). First published in 1725, Irish-born (but Glasgow-educated) moral philosopher Francis Hutcheson (1694–1746) inquired into 'the various Pleasures which Human Nature is capable of receiving'. He praised Shaftesbury's writings and, in the first treatise, 'argued that there is an internal sense, analogous to the five external senses, which brings to mind ideas of beauty, order, harmony, and design, whenever one perceives objects, artefacts, scenes, and compositions which exhibit uniformity amid variety'.8 Hutcheson's *Inquiry* contained several sections concerning beauty and kindred subjects relevant to design, which by the 18th century was increasingly taken to include garden design.

Of a later generation—but following in the footsteps of Hutcheson—was Alexander Gerard (1728–1795), whose book *An essay on taste* (3rd edition, 1780) was also in the collection. Bald's copy of this Scottish Enlightenment classic had formerly been owned by lawyer and writer, Alexander Fraser Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee (1747–1813), who succeeded his father in 1792 and took over the family estate before producing a two-volume life in 1807 of another prominent Enlightenment writer, Henry Home, Lord Kames.9 Gerard’s *Essay* (1st edition, 1759) ‘popularized the philosophical approach to the arts developed by Scots moralists in the early 18th century, and it quickly became a canonical text in the literature on taste’.10 The evidence of Tytler’s ownership was another hallmark of Bald’s collection—that of significant or demonstrative provenance.
‘A building in ye Gothic taste for the termination of a grand avenue’, from William and John Halfpenny, *Rural architecture in the Gothick taste*: Being twenty new designs, for temples, garden-seats, summer-houses, lodges, terminies, piers, &c. on sixteen copper plates; with instructions to workmen, and hints where with most advantage to be erected, London: Printed for and sold by Robert Sayer, 1752. Professor R.C. Bald Collection of English Literature, Special Collections, Baillieu Library, University of Melbourne.

This trio of works—Cooper, Hutcheson, Gerard—formed core texts, yet Bald’s inquisitive nature led him to other, less-known works, such as *Laelius and Hortensia* (1782) by John Stedman (d. 1791). Published anonymously, Stedman’s letters were sub-titled ‘Thoughts on the nature and objects of taste and genius’. In Letter VI (‘Of gardening’), the author addressed Hortensia on gardens apropos the nature of taste: ‘It hath been repeatedly observed, that the happiest application of art to Nature is, to give Nature an artless appearance. There is no branch of rural scenery in which we have it less in our power to conceal art, than in gardening.’ This link between gardens and nature had been a recurring one in the 18th century.

**Early stirrings of informality**
Alexander Pope (1688–1744) had been one of the earliest English writers to query the formal style of gardening which had derived in the main from French, Italian and Dutch models. He regarded architecture, gardening and painting as ‘sister arts’ and strongly rejected the barbarous treatment of plants in formal gardens, by inference foretelling a new naturalism (albeit intoned with insufficient force for later Romantic writers). In Professor Bald’s collection is to be found *The works*
Richard Aitken, ‘Nature and the landscape garden, drawn from the collection of Robert Cecil Bald’
a quotation from James Thomson’s poem *The seasons* (1730): ‘Welcome, ye shades! ye bowery thickets, hail! / Ye lofty pines! ye venerable oaks! / Ye ashes wild, resounding o’er the steep!’ Had Thomson’s situation favoured it (thought Aikin), ‘he would certainly have excelled in gardening, agriculture, and every rural improvement’.12 Thomson had certainly drawn strongly on emotional attitudes to nature when alluding to garden and landscape design.

One of the earliest writers to use didactic poetry as a vehicle for instruction in garden-making was William Mason (1725–1797). His four-part poem *The English garden*, published during 1772–1781 and represented in Professor Bald’s collection by the first English collected edition (1783), promoted the author’s preference for informal garden design based on an appreciation of nature over formal gardens (now deprecatingly associated in the English mind with rival France).

Such views coincided with those earlier espoused by poet William Shenstone (1714–1763), who had experimented during the mid-18th century at The Leasowes (near Birmingham) with the creation of a *ferme ornée*, a form of picturesque rural farm which gained great popularity later in the century. Bald’s copy of Shenstone’s poetical works has three significant provenance details of an early owner: ‘h.f. Cary’ in ink on the title page, ‘Henry Cary / 1784’ in copperplate script on a preliminary blank leaf, and the armorial bookplate ‘Cary / Sina Macula’ [without blemish/stain] on the front fixed endpaper (illustrated on page 19). These seem to be associated with the 12-year-old Henry Francis Cary (1772–1844), a prodigy of the literary world and an acquaintance of Anna Seward, one of Erasmus Darwin’s Lichfield circle. Seward wrote in 1788:

Cary, literally but just fifteen, is a miracle. I never saw him, nor heard of him till after his Ode to General Elliot came out [i.e. in 1788] ... You suspect my having assisted Cary. Upon my honour, I never saw anything of his that has been published before it was sent away to be printed. The strength and solidity of that boy’s mind, his taste, his judgment, astonish me, if possible, even more than the vigour and grace of his fancy.13

A third work of the late 18th century in Bald’s collection is Thomas Whately’s anonymously published *Observations on modern gardening* (3rd edition, 1771). Within Bald’s library this was the item most directly relevant to rural improvement and landscape gardening, even though couched as observations rather than specific design directions. Of equal interest is its provenance, boldly inscribed in ink on the title page ‘John Thoroton’, almost certainly Sir John Thoroton, rector of Bottesford from 1782 to 1820, and for 23 years the domestic chaplain, valued friend and faithful companion of the Duke and Duchess of Rutland. Thoroton is credited with the supervision of Belvoir Castle’s completion for them following the death of its architect James Wyatt in 1813, and with the evidence of this book’s provenance, his influence may have also been felt in the design of the grounds, often attributed to Elizabeth (the fifth Duchess).

**The Romantic age and the Picturesque**

Romanticism was an abiding collecting interest of Professor Bald, suffusing much literature of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. For the garden historian there is added interest in this era as it overlapped with and complemented the Picturesque. The Picturesque as a proper noun largely resulted from the debate that occurred in 1794–1795 with the
literary thrusts and counter-thrusts of two neighbouring Herefordshire squires, Uvedale Price and Richard Payne Knight, and their professional colleague, landscape designer Humphry Repton, who quarrelled publicly over the degree to which conventions of art and representations of nature should influence garden and landscape design.

This debate had been set up by a new generation of travellers who had become accustomed to viewing landscape scenery in the same manner in which one would appreciate a picture (and hence the picturesque). This new attitude was comprehensively represented in Professor Bald's collection by three of the picturesque tour books of the Reverend William Gilpin—on the Wye Valley (1782), the English Lakes (1786) and the Scottish Highlands (1792)—as well as his three most significant theoretical works—Remarks on forest scenery (1791), An essay on prints (4th edition, 1792) and Three essays (1792). The essay on prints had established Gilpin's literary career, his Forest scenery distilled elements of his various topographic observations on picturesque beauty into a design manifesto, while the three essays (on picturesque beauty, picturesque travel and sketching landscape) comprised a widely influential treatise on their interlinked subjects. Two of Bald's Gilpins (Lakes and Highlands) bear the bookplate with lion's head and punching paws of George Soaper, and it is tempting to think that this was the same George Soaper of Guildford whom the Gentleman's Magazine recorded in 1843 as having purchased the manuscript diary and papers of the Reverend Gilbert White of Selbourne, a contemporary of Gilpin whose writings were also influential in attitudes to nature.  

Typical of Gilpin's interests were his observations and sketches of The Hermitage, landscaped by successive Dukes of Atholl along the banks of the River Braan at Dunkeld as a shrine to the mythical Caledonian bard Ossian. The poems of Ossian—now widely accepted as the work of James Macpherson—aroused considerable interest in the late 18th century, fuelled in the Romantic imagination by their passionate engagement with sublime nature. Amongst the most unusual and rarest volumes in Professor Bald's collection was Mary Potter's anonymously published anthology of the Caledonian bards, Poetry of nature (1789), with its eccentric typography by Caslon (illustrated above).

It was the direct emotional appeal of nature that so attracted writers and poets of the Romantic movement. One whose work was unashamedly imbued with this interest was William Wordsworth, a subject of scholarly interest for Professor Bald and a collecting strength of his university, Cornell in New York. Whilst Bald concentrated on collecting the works of Wordsworth's contemporary Samuel Taylor Coleridge, one final work in his collection evokes, in an intensely personal manner, the spirit of this age. William Crowe's Lewesdon Hill (3rd edition, 1804), describing a locality in his native Dorsetshire, used his poem to advance 'beyond those narrow limits to something more general and important' (in much the same way—although far less notably—that Gilpin had used his topographic works).

Our interest is piqued not just by the subject, but by the ink inscription on the half-title page (illustrated on page 22): 'Given by me, Samuel Rogers, to my friend, William Wordswo / Keswick, September 25, 1826.' The binder's knife has regrettably trimmed Wordsworth's name, but there can be no doubt that this precious volume was a gift from writer Samuel Rogers, whose poem The pleasures of memory (1792) was the author's triumph, to William Wordsworth, an acknowledged leader of the Romantic movement. In this one volume alone we can sense—in the most intimate
way possible—the breadth of scholarship and bibliophilic interests of Robert Cecil Bald.

A small gift with affectionate gratitude
The books comprising the R.C. Bald bequest and the intent with which they were bequeathed lie at the heart of a modern university library; they make a significant addition within the Baillieu Library’s Special Collections of remarkable and ever-expanding diversity and they crucially underpin scholarship in diverse fields of enquiry.

When writing in 1966 of the bequest, Professor Robert Bald’s widow reflected that ‘In view of the fact that my husband lived more than half of his life away from Melbourne, it is surprising to me in retrospect to realise how ever-conscious he remained of the city and the University.’ And, she continued:

He never forgot and never seemed to need to remember that he was an Australian. He was simply a modest and graceful man who went where, within his opportunities, the necessities of his studies and his teaching took him. I hope the University will accept his useful books and know how much affectionate gratitude went with this small gift.

We are all the richer for his thoughtful bequest.

Richard Aitken is a Melbourne-based architect, historian, curator and poetician. His latest book The garden of ideas is published by the Miegunyah Press. He is currently researching the history of Australian garden styles for the University of Melbourne’s Faculty of Architecture, Building and Planning.

1 Mrs R.C. Bald, Letter to Sir George Paton, Vice-Chancellor, University of Melbourne, 18 August 1966, photocopy held in provenance file, Baillieu Library, annotated in pencil ‘Copy of Bald collection – gift corresp. from file LF350-Gifts’ and headed ‘L.C. 9/66 / Item 4(vi)’; there follow eight pages listing the contents of six boxes and three packages. Bald’s will also continued, ‘and all other books except those published by Nonesuch Press by or about John Donne and Samuel Taylor Coleridge and any other such books as I may specify subsequently in a separate list which shall have the effect of a codicil to this last will and testament’—ultimately there was no codicil and the exclusion of the Nonesuch Press publications remained unexplained.


3 By now a professor at the Australian National University rather than Sydney, Milgate wrote to Bald’s widow: ‘Since I am not in Sydney, you could perhaps tell the Melbourne Librarian that I am unlikely to call upon him to send the books anywhere at all, since it would seem best to go down to use the whole Library at once when the time comes for checking; and if possible, just as easy and cheap to fly to Melbourne as it is to Sydney.’ Milgate donated some papers of Bald relating to the Donne biography to the University of Melbourne in 1984.


9 An apparent gap in Bald’s collection was Henry Home (Lord Kames), Elements of criticism, Edinburgh: A. Kincaid and J. Bell; London: A. Millar, 1762, with its influential chapter on ‘Gardening and architecture’.


12 John Aikin’s ‘An essay on the plan and manner of the poem’ was included in many editions of Thomson’s Seasons from the turn of the 19th century.

13 Anna Seward, Letters of Anna Seward, written between the years 1784 and 1807, Edinburgh; Printed by George Ramsay & Company…, 1811, vol. 2, p. 131. (A copy of this six-volume work is held in Baillieu Library Special Collections.) In 1847, two years before proceeding to New South Wales, Cary’s son Henry Cary (1804–1870), judge, editor and Anglican clergyman, published a lengthy memoir of his father which also included this quotation.

Select list of works from the Professor R.C. Bald Collection of English Literature, Special Collections, Baillieu Library, University of Melbourne


1732: Anthony Ashley Cooper (Earl of Shaftesbury), Characteristicks of men, manners, opinions, times … with the addition of a letter concerning design, 5th edition, London: John Darby, 1732.

1752: William and John Halfpenny, Rural architecture in the Gothic taste: Being twenty new designs, for temples, garden-seats, summer-houses, lodges, terminies, piers, &c. on sixteen copper plates; with instructions to workmen, and hints where with most advantage to be erected, London: Printed for and sold by Robert Sayer, 1752.


1778: The poetical works of Will. Shenstone, in two volumes; with a life of the author, and a description of The Leasowes, vol. 2, Edinburg [sic]: At the Apollo Press, by the Martins, 1778.

1780: Alexander Gerard, An essay on taste; to which is now added part fourth, Of the standard of taste; with observations concerning the imitative nature of poetry, 3rd edition, Edinburgh: Printed for J. Bell and W. Creech; and T. Cadell, London, 1780.

1782: William Gilpin, Observations on the River Wye, and several parts of Wales, &c. relative chiefly to picturesque beauty; made in the summer of the year 1770, London: Printed for R. Blamire in the Strand; sold by B. Law, Ave Mary Lane and R. Faulder, New Bond Street, 1782.

1782: [John Stedman], Laelius and Hortensia; or, Thoughts on the nature and objects of taste, and genius, in a series of letters to two friends, Edinburgh: Printed for J. Ballfour, London: T. Cadell, 1782.


1789: [Mary Potter], Poetry of nature, comprising a selection of the most sublime and beautiful apostrophes, histories, songs, elegies, &c. from the works of the Caledonian bards; the typographical execution in a style entirely new, and decorated with the superb ornaments of the celebrated Caslon, London: J.P. Cooke, 1789.


1792: William Gilpin, Three essays: On picturesque beauty; On picturesque travel; and On sketching landscape; to which is added a poem, On landscape painting, London: Printed for R. Blamire, in the Strand, 1792.


1793: [Erasmus Darwin], The botanic garden, a poem in two parts: Part I, containing The economy of vegetation; Part II, The loves of the plants; with philosophical notes, Dublin: Printed by J. Moore, no. 45, College-Green, 1793.
