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THE PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY CHRONICLE
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An American Pioneer Amateur
BY JANET S. BYRNE

HANGING in the anteroom of President Dodds' office in Nassau Hall is a painting bearing at the bottom in a copy book hand the following inscription:

A NORTH WEST PROSPECT OF NASSAU HALL WITH A FRONT VIEW OF THE PRESIDENT'S HOUSE IN NEW JERSEY. J. FISHER PINTXIT FROM AN OLD PRINT, FEB. 1807.

Rather large (26.5 inches high x 59.5 inches wide) and dark, the painting was acquired in 1930, the gift of a group of Alumni headed by Alfred E. Vondermuhll '01. It was known even at the time of the acquisition that "J. Fisher" was the Reverend Jonathan Fisher, a Harvard graduate, and the "old print" was identified as the engraving by Henry Dawkins which had appeared in A True Account of the College of New Jersey printed at Woodbridge, New Jersey, in 1764, but beyond that, Jonathan Fisher was an enigma. Finally identified last year by one of the artist's great-grandsons, Mr. Gaylord C. Hall of New York, Jonathan Fisher turns out to be one of the more interesting figures of early nineteenth-century New England.

Most of his life a Congregational minister in the town of Blue Hill, Maine, Fisher was remarkable for many reasons. First and foremost, he was remarkable for his spiritual influence on his congregation and on the town as a whole. Mary Ellen Chase, born in Blue Hill, speaks of Jonathan Fisher in her Godly Heritage as having a permanent personality whose influence still existed

in Blue Hill during her childhood there. In addition to his duties as a minister, Fisher wrote reams of poetry, some of which he published; he painted views, portraits, and "pieces"; he engraved on wood and had his own printing press; he bound books; he wrote and had published three books in addition to his work on a laborious Hebrew lexicon, the publication of which was precluded by the appearance in print of another; he worked out his own system of stenographic shorthand which he used for his sermons and volumes of diaries; he built a clock and invented several "machines"; he built and operated the first windmill in Blue Hill; and he was enough interested in education to help found the Blue Hill Academy and to serve as trustee of the Bangor Theological Seminary. In short, he accomplished a prodigious amount of self-appointed tasks in the service of the Lord, and it is with pleasure that one looks forward to the publication of Jonathan Fisher's biography by Miss Chase.

Born in New Braintree, Massachusetts, on October 7, 1768, Jonathan Fisher must have been influenced a great deal by his uncle, the Rev. Joseph Avery, with whom he went to live at the age of nine. Avery was the Congregational minister of Holden, Massachusetts, and took upon himself the responsibility of Jonathan's education until the latter went off to Cambridge in 1788. Fisher received his bachelor of arts degree from Harvard in 1798, but stayed on three years longer preparing himself for the ministry. In 1798 he married a Miss Dolly Battle of Dedham and in the same year went to Blue Hill, Maine, as the minister of the Congregational Church, in which capacity he remained until he retired because of old age.

It is rather idle to speculate at the moment as to how Jonathan Fisher ever began to paint or to make wood-engravings. In one of his manuscript books entitled, "Sketches of the life of the Rev. Jonathan Fisher, Pastor of the Congregational Church in Blue Hill, Maine; interspersed with extracts from his journals . . .," Fisher says that as a child he drew upon a smooth board with a pin and on a slate with a pencil. In drawing on a slate, he unknowingly prepared himself for the technique of wood-engraving, since the distinguishing characteristic of a wood-engraving is its white line on a black background. Very probably, Fisher began to be actively interested in painting and engraving while a student at Harvard, and gained experience during the vacations, which he spent with his mother at Dedham, Massachusetts. It has even been suggested that he enrolled in a course in drawing at Harvard, which may have been responsible for that slight amount of technical knowledge which he possessed. It is probable that Fisher in connection with some of his mathematical or surveying work learned to use water-colors in order to supplement and enhance his line drawings. That he studied mathematics is unquestionable, since there exists a mathematical thesis, illustrated with a view of Hollis Hall and dated September 27, 1791. A mathematical exercise book of Fisher's which he did while at Harvard contains carefully worked out problems such as computation of distance from or height of buildings by means of geometry and algebra. In one example, a lighthouse was drawn and colored in wash or water-color; a triangular diagram was superimposed on the drawing and the actual calculation worked out neatly beside it.

Probably while at Harvard, Fisher became acquainted with a drawing book of the type published in England as early as 1612, giving recipes for mixing colors as well as descriptions of methods and techniques. An indication that Fisher had seen such a book is found in one of his own manuscript books, the title page of which contains an elegant signature, much embossed, and dated 1790. Among the contents, which Fisher later, in 1814, appropriately called "Varietas" (the contents ranged from "Insects," "Diary of Natural History," "Politics," "Philosophy, Natural & Experimental," to "Recipes," which included "To secure a cabbage plant from worms" and "To make bad butter good"), is a section on "Receipts for water-colour painting." This even included some information on the use of liquid gold for vellum painting, and a "method to keep the colours from sinking." It is amusing to note, in this connection, that Alexander Browne's "Ars Pictoria: or an academy treating of drawing, painting, limning, and etching (London, 1656), tells "Hovv to prevent your colour from sinking," and "The manner how to draw with vater colour upon sattin:"
keeping the color from sinking was not a new worry in Jonathan Fisher's day.

Fisher's manuscript "Varietas," furthermore, contains a page labelled "Sketching," on which is a series of eyes drawn in ink; patterns for various pieces of anatomy were part of the standard equipment of any self-respecting drawing-book—whole pages of eyes or ears or hands or noses were quite the usual thing. The conclusive proof that Fisher knew at least one drawing book is found on the page behind the title page in "Varietas." This page contains one word, printed in large letters across the middle of the page: "Extracts." Therefore, even though there are no quotation marks around the entries, and no sources given, it is likely that Fisher obtained his recipes from books. In one case only did Fisher give his source: he quotes from Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty*, giving the page—79—but not mentioning the edition. Hogarth's *Analysis* evidently made quite an impression on Fisher for when, in connection with his system of phonetic shorthand, he came to find a symbol for the word *grace*, a word likely to occur a depressing number of times in the three thousand sermons he wrote out, Fisher used Hogarth's "line of grace." Hogarth had described that line as "that sort of proportion'd winding line, which will hereafter be call'd the precise serpentine line, or line of grace, [which] is represented by a wire, properly twisted round the elegant and varied figure of a cone." Hogarth had illustrated that description on the first of the two remarkable plates in the first edition of his *Analysis* in 1753; Fisher's symbol is the line itself—the wire without the cone.

However he may have learned to paint, Fisher's knowledge of technique was rudimentary to say the least. His palette is extremely limited in range, very possibly because he did not have money enough to buy a variety of colors. There is also a possibility that he made some of his own colors—Miss Chase speaks of his finding yellow ochre on his own land and of his use of it in painting his house. Perhaps the darkness of Fisher's colors is due to his recipe for preventing the colors from "sinking"; it may not have been as adequate as he expected when he copied it for his "Varietas." In connection with Fisher's technique, it is amusing to note that among his recipes was one entitled "To keep flies from your work." Also, Fisher may have used shells in which to mix his colors, for he reminds himself that the shells must be kept clean. He had seen fit to copy a recipe telling how "To make size for painting scenes and other candle light pieces." Rather unusual is the following quotation: "... with regard to drapery, fruit, flowers... the best observations are to be taken from the objects themselves..."; how closely he followed this bit of advice is not very certain.

The "North West Prospect of Nassau Hall" should not perhaps be used as an example by which to judge Fisher's technique, since in order to preserve the cracked and blistered canvas, it was restored some four years ago. In the process of restoration, the canvas was fastened to a piece of plywood which was then backed with canvas painted gray; and whatever inscriptions may have been on the back of the original canvas are therefore now hidden. As to the color of the painting, one can only notice that the colors are bright blues, dark blues, dark greens, muddy yellows, and oranges that vary from brown to red. Fisher probably never saw Princeton, for he painted Nassau Hall a blue-gray instead of a light brown or orange-buff. It is to be remembered that Fisher copied the Dawkins print, and a comparison of the original print with the painting shows that Fisher varied the subject little. He changed the scale, however, and moved the viewpoint slightly. By omitting the path from Nassau Street to Nassau Hall and thus reducing the falsely great distances of the Dawkins print, by making the human figures in better proportion to the buildings and leaving out the infinitesimal ones which upset Dawkins' scale, by slightly enlarging the small buildings at the left, Fisher consciously or unconsciously made the painting more accurate. The observer was moved closer to the next fence around Nassau Hall, so that it continues across the whole left foreground of the painting instead of showing its eastern limits. Having changed the perspective of this fence, which incidentally existed only in Dawkins' imagination, Fisher had to adjust slightly the fence and steps of the President's House. The low curving horizon in the left background of the Dawkins print Fisher made into definite low hills, a mistake easy to make if one were copying. That there are some very slight hills southeast of Princeton one must admit, but these are hardly mountains. Rather, the wavy lines with which Tennent, who made the original drawing for the print, and Dawkins, who cut it, thought fit to represent the horizon, were misunderstood by Fisher, who rendered them as mountains. The changes which Fisher made are so negligible, however, that they are not immediately obvious; at first glance the painting seems to be an accurate enlargement of the print.

Fisher himself referred to the painting in his diary. On December 1, 1808, he recorded that he had prepared the canvas—"stained
and primed it" for "Esquire Peters' painting." On December fourth, fifth and ninth, Fisher mentioned working on the painting. In summing up his activities for the month of December, 1806, he stated: "Part of month painted on a landscape for Esquire Peters, a view of Princeton College." In January, 1807, Fisher mentioned the painting again: "During this month painted on landscape and made frame for it," and in February, 1807, he wrote: "... This month worked on small chairs and candlesticks. Bound and repaired books. Finished landscape and frame for Esquire Peters. Price 12 dollars." In March, 1807, Fisher concluded: "... This month carried home landscape and received $12."

These extracts (very kindly made by Mr. Hall and Miss Chase from the original manuscript diaries in Mr. Hall's possession) tell us several rather important things about our painting. First, we know exactly when it was painted—in the three months from December 1, 1806, through February, 1807. We know that it was delivered in March, 1807, that Fisher himself made the frame for it, and that he charged and collected twelve dollars. Incidentally, nowhere else in his diaries, according to Mr. Hall, did Fisher ever mention being paid for a painting. Most important of all, we know that Fisher's painting was made for one "Esquire Peters."

Given the information that Fisher painted a view of Princeton for Esquire Peters, the logical assumption is that Esquire Peters may have had some connection with the College. An inspection of Princeton's records shows that one Thomas R. Peters graduated from the College of New Jersey in 1806 and received his A.M. in 1810. Since the information that Fisher had copied it from one of George Edwards' prints in his Natural History of Uncommon Birds. There is a possibility that another painting, that of Dorchester, Massachusetts, listed by Mr. Shipton (as referred to above), is the already-mentioned "View of Dedham, Mass." Finally, there is an indeterminate number, probably six, of views of Harvard College executed in water color or oils.

As a wood-engraver, Jonathan Fisher was a primitive and crude amateur, but he is worth considering as an example typical of early wood-engravers in America. According to Mr. Gaylord Hall, who very kindly searched and transcribed the Fisher diaries in his possession for Fisher's own remarks on prints, the first mention Fisher made of wood-engraving occurs in July 1793. Fisher was at Dedham on vacation from Harvard, and writes as though he were used to engraving or at least had done it before:

and since Fisher must have known him as a person and probably as the person in Blue Hill to be most respected, one must suppose that Fisher referred to John Peters when he wrote about Esquire Peters. It is significant that the painting remained for many years in the possession of the descendants of this same John Peters, Esquire, until in 1900 it was acquired for the University from Mrs. Wallace Hinckley of Blue Hill. (Mrs. Wallace Hinckley was the grandson of Lemuel Peters, and consequently the great-grandson of John Peters, Esquire.)

Tracing John Peters' numerous children yields no Thomas Peters of an age compatible with graduation from Princeton in 1806. Indeed, any connection between John Peters, Esquire, and Thomas R. Peters of Philadelphia, Princeton, class of 1806, is at present invisible. Why would a sixty-five-year-old man living in a small town in Maine commission (for Fisher's diary leads the reader to conclude that this painting was indeed commissioned) a painting of Princeton, especially in the same year that a Thomas R. Peters graduated from Princeton, if not he nor any of his children or grandchildren had been Princeton students?

Other examples of Fisher's painting still exist, but for practical purposes of comparison are inaccessible. A list of them includes a View of Blue Hill, Maine; a View of Dedham, Mass.; at least three self-portraits which are reported to be identical; a painting of a young girl sitting behind a table top on which lie a rose, an inkstand with a quill, and a sheet of paper with a poem by "Le-mie" entitled "Spring"; and a small bird painting which looks very much like the discouraging one of George Edward's prints in his Natural History of Uncommon Birds.

As a wood-engraver, Jonathan Fisher was a primitive and crude amateur, but he is worth considering as an example typical of early wood-engravers in America. According to Mr. Gaylord Hall, who very kindly searched and transcribed the Fisher diaries in his possession for Fisher's own remarks on prints, the first mention Fisher made of wood-engraving occurs in July 1793. Fisher was at Dedham on vacation from Harvard, and writes as though he were used to engraving or at least had done it before:
“Dedham July 22-27, 1793. Worked on the farm; engraved on boxwood, began a small printing press.
July 29-Aug. 3. Worked on printing press and haying. August 5, 10, 1793. Worked some on the farm. Finished my printing press; engraved a little and struck off a number of prints from boxwood cuts.”

It is notable that Alexander Anderson, “first engraver on wood in America,” is supposed to have first mentioned using boxwood for wood-engraving in his diary on June 25, 1793. There is no question of comparing Fisher’s work to Anderson’s; Fisher was an amateur, and Anderson a professional wood-engraver who, although he had been trained as a physician, was nevertheless the son of a printer and must have been well aware of the methods and techniques of the printing process as a child. Fisher, on the other hand, wrote that he had had no training as a wood-engraver and but little practice. The point is that at the same time that Anderson was becoming aware of wood-engraving, other Americans, among them Jonathan Fisher, were also experimenting and following in Thomas Bewick’s footsteps. In Fisher’s case, there was very probably some direct stimulus, at present unknown, which started him to work engraving on boxwood. There always seems to have been a tradition behind him; Fisher was never a startling innovator when it came to any sort of artistic production, but he never seems to have been self-conscious about emulating anything with which he came in contact. It is not surprising to find that Fisher, once having started to engrave on wood, worked for a newspaper publisher in Dedham, Massachusetts, where he spent his vacations. His diary for 1796 indicates as much:

Nov. 2, 1796. Worked a.m. on a cut for the printers and received of them the life of Thomas Paine.”

The Minerva has been identified as a newspaper which later (1799) became the Columbian Minerva. Fisher’s entry for November 2, 1796, indicates that he made cuts in addition to the head-piece; perhaps these were for advertisements.

It is not surprising to find that Fisher availed himself in at least two cases of the traditional broadside form. In 1811, he wrote, illustrated, and had printed as a broadside “Lines on the death of Ebenezer Ball.” Fisher illustrated his broadside with a wood-engraving of a gallows; this was customary in the latter eighteenth century although the first real use of a woodcut as illustration for a broadside did not occur in the colonies until 1718. Not considering the broadsides of political interest published during and after the Revolution, two of the more popular types of broadsides were poems or elegies on the untimely death of young people, and the dying words or confessions of murderers and thieves. Earlier, Fisher had followed a well-established precedent when in 1796 he wrote the following: Two Elegies, on the Deaths of Mrs. Marianne Burr, who died of a consumption, Jan. 2, 1793; and of Mrs. Rebekah Walker, who died of the same disorder, Jan. 27, 1793, aged 28. . . . The Two Elegies is not, indeed, a broadside—it is, rather, a pamphlet—and it is not illustrated. The “Lines on the Death of Ebenezer Ball” was, however, a broadside of the usual type. Again, in 1824, Jonathan Fisher wrote another broadside that had to do with a criminal. “Elliot’s Soliloquy, or Lines on the Death of Seth Elliot, Executed at Charlestown for the Murder of One of His Children, December 30, 1824,” was published by E. Brewer in Bangor. Concerning this broadside, one Rev. W. A. Drew wrote in the Gospel Banner for October 2, 1824, an amusing paragraph which gives a flashing glimpse of Jonathan Fisher:

--Massachusetts Historical Society, Broadside, Ballads, etc., printed in Massachusetts, 1919, p. viii.
--Hawkes, printed by Dunham and True, January 14, 1796. A notice of Fisher’s previously unrecorded Two Elegies appears in the Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, vol. 34, first quarter, 1940, p. 86. The copy mentioned here belongs to Mr. Lewis M. Stark of New York.
--Williamson, no. 5360.
"We recollect that when Elliot was executed, a parson, Jonathan Fisher of Bluehill, appeared under the gallows, peddling ballads of his own composition, describing the murderer as a Universalist making a dying confession of the error of that doctrine, and of his other sins. After it was printed, the prisoner was reprieved for some time, and the ballad became a little out of season."

Running parallel to his interest in converting criminals was Fisher's interest in educating children. He had a large family himself, and must have felt that there were not enough good books for children, for he wrote and had published two children's books in addition to the manuscript books which he wrote, illustrated, and bound for each of his children.

The first of his children's books to be published was called the Youth's Primer, Containing a Series of Verses, Followed by Observations; the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism . . . , and was published by Armstrong in Boston in 1817. There is an entry in Jonathan Fisher's manuscript diary which mentions his work on the Youth's Primer:

"Blue Hill, Jan. 1811. Writing Youth's Primer and engraving cuts for it."

Charles F. Hearman, in his American Primers, speaks of Fisher's Youth's Primer as being reminiscent of the New England Primer, and says that "the numerous illustrations were cut by the author with a jack-knife." The only known copy of the Youth's Primer is at the Boston Public Library.

The second of these children's books was a curious little production which, without meaning to, told a great deal about Fisher if not about his subject. The title page reads as follows: "Scripture Animals, or Natural History of the Living Creatures Named in the Bible, Written Especially for Youth, Illustrated with Cuts. By Jonathan Fisher, A.M. Portland, Published by William Hyde, 1834." (See illustration.) Between the author's name and the word Portland, there is a wood-engraving by Fisher himself of a landscape with various beasts and birds; the initials J. F. are in the grass at the foot of one of the trees. Beneath the cut is a text: "He giveth to the beast his food and to the young ravens which cry, Psalm 147:9." In this earthly paradise where God takes care of the beasts and birds, Jonathan Fisher is enshrined; his portrait is to be found directly in the middle of the cut silhouetted by two large trees and a mountain. Hidden profiles of this kind occur very occasionally in prints, miniatures, and drawings of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and one of the engravers who did some of the better known hidden silhouettes was a man named Jean Dominique Canu, born in Paris in 1768. It may be simply a coincidence that Canu illustrated natural history and travel books, but in view of the fact that Jonathan Fisher used a great many such books as sources for Scripture Animals, it would seem as though Fisher may have seen some of Canu's more famous hidden silhouettes with profiles of the family of Louis XVI and of Napoleon. In any case, the direct inspiration for Scripture Animals seems to have been a book called the Natural History of the Bible; or a description of all the beasts, birds, fishes, insects, reptiles, trees, plants, metals, precious stones, etc. mentioned in the Sacred Scriptures. Collected from the best authorities, and alphabetically arranged. This little book, printed in Boston by Isaiah Thomas and E. T. Andrews in 1793, was written by Thaddeus Harris (1768-1849), an antiquarian and a naturalist. He was librarian of Harvard College from 1791 until 1793, the year in which his Natural History was published.

Thaddeus Mason Harris was then, born in the same year that Fisher was. He, like Fisher, was supposed to have been very poor, and is said to have waited on table in the commons. It is not inconceivable that Fisher, who did not reach Harvard until 1788, was a friend, or at least an acquaintance of Harris's, since Fisher must have been using the library during Harris's librarianship. The suggestion that Fisher knew Harris is hardly disputable when the size of Harvard's library, the number of its faculty and students in the 1790's are considered.

Although Fisher nowhere in his Scripture Animals mentions his indebtedness to Thaddeus Harris, a comparison of the texts proves beyond a doubt that unless both Fisher and Harris used a third book for a source, Fisher simply rearranged in an undergraduate sort of way Harris's text and added some further information. Compare, for instance, the following excerpts from both Harris and Fisher on the lion:

16 American Primers, Indian Primers, Royal Primers, and thirty-seven other types of non-New-England primers issued prior to 1830, Highland Park, N.J., 1935, no. 186, p. 130.
18 See list following.
Thaddeus Harris, p. 171ff.

"Lion. A large beast of prey; for his courage and strength called the king of beasts.

"This animal is produced in Africa, and the hottest parts of Asia. It is found in the greatest numbers in the scorched and desolate regions of the torrid zone, in the deserts of Zahara and Blededgerid, and in all the interior parts of the vast continent of Africa... The length of the largest lion is between eight and nine feet; the tail about four; and its height about four feet and an half. The female is about one fourth part the less, and without a mane.

"As the lion advances in years its mane grows longer and thicker. The hair on the rest of the body is short and smooth, of a tawney colour, but whitish on the belly.

"Its roaring is loud and dreadful. When heard in the night it resembles distant thunder."


"The lion inhabits Africa and the warmer parts of Asia. His abode is especially within the limits of the torrid zone. The largest, full-grown lions are between eight and nine feet in length, about five feet high, and their tail about four feet. The lioness is about a fourth part less than the lion. The lion's head and neck are covered with a long, shaggy mane, which he can erect at pleasure, and which becomes longer and thicker, as he advances in years. The rest of his body is covered with short, smooth hair of a tawney colour, which may be well-represented by yellow ochre, darkened with a very little lamp-black. The female is of the same colour, but has no mane.

"The lion is often called the king of beasts... In the deserts of Blededgerid and Zahara, his strength and resolution are terrible..."

"Such is the fear inspired by the lion, that all other animals shun him, and some of them even tremble at his roaring, which in the night sounds like distant thunder..."

The general make-up of Scripture Animals also is similar to that of Harris's book—the only striking difference is to be found in the wood-engravings which Fisher made to illustrate each creature he discussed. Many of the illustrations were copied and adapted from the work of other people, but Fisher explains in his preface "To the Reader": "As respects the cuts, a few of them are from nature, but most of them are copied, and generally reduced a little, to bring them conveniently within the compass of the page I have chosen for the work. Of the execution, I may remark, that not being able to hire them engraved, I have engraved them myself, and having had no instruction in the art, and but little practice, I can lay claim to no elegance in their appearance. I have endeavored to give a true outline; the filling up must speak for itself."

The queer little cuts, although in his text identified as to iconographical sources, are often signed or initialed by Fisher, and are sometimes dated. One of the main sources was Thomas Bewick's Quadrupeds. Fisher stated: "I have been indebted to Bewick, Mavor, the Cabinet, several Lexicons, and some other works, and to nature." Although just when he came in contact with Bewick's work is not evident, it is to be remembered that the first edition of the Quadrupeds was published in 1793; the first American edition was published in 1804. Fisher evidently worked on the cuts for Scripture Animals over a long period of years, and it would seem as though he only began to add the date to his blocks after he had been at work for some time. The earliest dated block is one copied from Bewick in 1824, although Fisher wrote in his diary in 1795 that he had engraved an elephant, a rhinoceros, a horse and an ox, subjects which might have been intended for Scripture Animals.18

The other works which Fisher used to compile Scripture Animals were:

a) James Bruce, Travels to discover the source of the Nile, Dublin, 1790, especially volume 6, which is entitled, "Select specimens of natural history collected in travels to discover the source of the Nile..." Fisher used seven illustrations from Bruce.

b) "The Cabinet," which has not been satisfactorily identified, but which may well be Samuel Griswold Goodrich's "Cabinet of curiosities, natural, artificial, and historical, selected from the most authentic records, ancient and modern," Hartford, 1829, 2 vols. Fisher copied 86 prints, having dated three of them as follows: 1824, 1825, 1826.

c) George Edwards, A Natural history of uncommon birds, and

18 In his preface "To the Reader," in Scripture Animals, p. iii.

19 In one of the manuscript diaries belonging to Mr. Hall and transcribed by him as follows: "April 15-16, 1798. Vacation; went to Dedham. Prepared boxwood and engraved a figure of the elephant. April 25-26. Engraved on boxwood figures of the rhinoceros, horse, and ox."
of some other rare and undescribed animals. Quadrupeds, reptiles, fishes, insects, etc. Exhibited in 210 copperplates, From designs copied immediately from Nature, and curiously coloured after Life. . . . In 4 parts. London, 1743-51. Published in connection with this—the plate numbers continue those of the foregoing—is Edwards' Gleanings of natural history, exhibiting figures of quadrupeds, birds, insects, plants, etc. . . . London, 1757-64. In 3 parts. Fisher used six of Edwards' plates, including the Jerboa (or Gerboa), which Paul Revere had already copied from Edwards without apology for the Royal American Magazine, vol. I, no. xvi. Poor Edwards was used to being copied, for he complained bitterly about it in his Gleanings, vol. II, preface, p. xxxii, and said that his work was even being used by manufacturers of chinaware and linen as well as by printmakers.

d) William Fordyce Mavor, A General collection of voyages and travels, including the most interesting records of navigators and travellers from the discovery of America by Columbus, 1593, to the travels of Lord Valentia. 23 vols., London, 1796-1801. The first American edition was published in Philadelphia in 1802-1804. Fisher copied 13 plates from Mavor, dating three of them, 1823, 1832, 1833.

e) James Riley, An authentic narrative of the loss of the American Brig Commerce, wrecked on the western coast of Africa, in the month of August, 1815, with an account of the sufferings of her surviving officers and crew. . . . Illustrated and embellished. . . New York, 1817. Fisher used one of Riley's illustrations and much of his text.

Some twenty-eight of Fisher's plates are labelled "From Nature" or an equivalent phrase, but there are, in addition, eight other plates which Fisher probably did himself, and eleven more plates possibly done after nature. One of the more amusing and perhaps one of the earliest of these original cuts, is Jonathan Fisher's lion. He made a trip to Boston and paid fifty cents to see the model for this. The print is not dated, but since Fisher said he copied it after nature and that he went to see the model in 1794, it is very possi-
sible that the block itself was done in 1794. Evidently, Fisher was seldom if ever aware of the design of his plates; his woodcuts were simply a matter of expediency, therefore he rearranged the things he copied in a fashion which could be called if not tasteless, at least unaware. When he copied a horse from Bewick, he did rather well with the horse itself, but instead of copying a suitable background, Fisher selected his own setting, and consequently the print as a whole crumbles into isolated pieces of landscape with a horse standing in mid-air. Never, as Bewick did, would Fisher have included a fox-hunt in the background or a little girl picking flowers, nor would he have used a boy blowing soap bubbles, or two monkeys on a see-saw for a tailpiece for Scripture Animals; instead he stuck only to the necessary and to the outline when he copied, doing very little "filling up" that was superfluous, although he sometimes added a group of birds flying in the distance and stylized to the pattern every small child uses—a series of curved oblique V-shapes.

Like many untutored primitives, Fisher came to grief when he tried to model bodies by using light and shade. In the few cases where he used a high light, as for instance in the case of the hippopotamus, he succeeded only in making a sudden round white spot which gives the effect of a hole in the middle of the print. This and other examples of naiveté are proof of his statement that he had had no training.

In 1847, seven years before Scripture Animals was published, a printer named A. Shirley from Portland published Fisher's Short Poems: Including a Sketch of the Scriptures to the Book of Ruth; Satan's Great Deceiver, or Lines on Intemperance, or a Dialogue on Universalism: and a Few Others on Various Subjects, which contained two wood-engravings. One was an illustration of a prose paragraph on intemperance addressed To The Reader. Appropriately enough, instead of working after nature (perhaps Blue Hill afforded no models), Fisher turned to an eighteenth century Englishman named John Collett, a fairly obscure engraver who patterned himself on Hogarth. The result, however, instead of being as downright realistic, and consequently revolting as the Hogarthian model undoubtedly was, is so inadequate that the "vile drunkard" looks as though he were soberly declaiming a pompous dissertation in spite of having a nagging wife clutching his elbow; unless it had been labelled, no one could possibly have been aware of what the picture was intended to convey.
The second print in *Short Poems* is evidently an original piece of work, and was attached to a poem which begins,

"Friendly moon, with snowy face,
Shine and guide my lonely way..."

The cut shows a female creature, which is as far as one can go in describing her, in a Greek or Roman garment, walking by a waterfall, carrying a bouquet and raising one hand toward the white spot in the upper right hand corner of the print which seems to represent the moon; not even stern Maine Congregationalists were immune to the transports of romantic feeling. Both poem and wood-engraving are entitled "Catharine Brown," and Fisher explains that he wrote the poem "before the memoirs of this very interesting young Cherokee appeared." He is probably referring to a little book by the Rev. Rufus Anderson, entitled *Memoir of Catharine Brown, a Christian Indian, of the Cherokee Nation*, published in Boston in 1839, but even though an earlier form of the tale had appeared in print.8 Catharine Brown was simply a young Indian maiden, a convert to Christianity, who lived and died in a pious fashion. After Fisher's long poem there is an additional effusion whose only real claim to the sonnet form is its number of lines, and whose only diverting characteristic is that it is an acrostic spelling out *Catharine Brown*. That Fisher was intrigued by acrostics and hidden silhouettes is indicative of a certain informed childishness.

Whether Fisher, had the slightest bit of originality is questionable. Certainly in that side of him which concerns us here, his creative imagination seems to be limited. If his work has no esprit, no originality, and little imagination, if he copied at length from the work of others, if he always had a precedent for the things he did even when he did not copy, if he had no innate knowledge of design and only an inadequate knowledge of technique, what then can be his excuse? Why bother to look at his work?

The development of any new technique or process, be it chemical, electric, surgical, or artistic, depends on the experimentation of many people. Working independently or even under the guidance of some master, the little people whose names are forgotten

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8 Another edition, published by the American Sunday School Union in Philadelphia in 1831, is in the Princeton University Library.

9 In 1839, in New Haven was published *Catharine Brown, the Converted Cherokee: A Missionary Drama. Founded on Fact. Written by a Lady*, offered for sale at auction at the Peck-Sternet Galleries Inc., March 13, 1846, by the New York Historical Society. Catalog number 67, p. 80.
often contribute just those infinitesimal bits of information which are necessary for the finished product. Such little people as a group are as important as the famous individuals who think of the main ideas. The outstanding innovators cannot be fully evaluated until they are compared with these same little people; seen without any knowledge of what others may be doing at the same time the work of the most mediocre artist seems startling. Thus, unless one is aware of little people like Jonathan Fisher, Alexander Anderson assumes an importance which is all out of proportion: "The First Engraver on Wood in America!" And on the other side of the scale a look at the work of Jonathan Fisher makes the quality of Alexander Anderson's technique immediately apparent.

Fisher, as a matter of fact, needs no excuse; he was a minister first, last, and all the time, and his engravings were merely means to an end. His illustrations were as naturalistic as he could make them; those in Scripture Animals were intended for children, and Fisher's transparent hope was that they would interest children in the Bible, hence making his task of saving souls for the Lord more successful. The cuts which he made for his Short Poems were, it has been seen, in illustration of the evils of drunkenness and in illustration of the beauty of a pious Christian life. Also, the headpiece which he cut for his "Lines on the Death of Ebenezer Ball" used an execution to show the horrible fate of murderers who break the Lord's commandments. With the exception of the headpiece which he cut for the newspaper Minerva, all of Fisher's known wood-engravings were somehow connected, in intention at least, with his work as a minister. He even printed labels for books in the church library. There are entries in his manuscript diary describing the process: "Bluehill, Dec. 19-24, 1796. Made stove frame, tool handles, and a cut on boxwood to print labels for library books. Dec. 26-29, Finished cut and printed 150 labels. Bluehill, Dec. 24-25, 1798, Worked on boxwood cuts. Jan. 1-5, 1799. Finished cuts and tips and struck off 50 labels for Church Library. Made the books ready to deliver." A further example showing the influence of Fisher's calling is a sample of printing which Mr. Hall, who owns it, presumes a piece of Fisher's handiwork although there is evidence to suggest that some professional printer must have had a hand in it. A sheet of paper roughly 5.5 by 7.5 inches, it is folded in half, and printed on each half with the eighteenth or early nineteenth century version of the sort of ticket or diploma or card which is still being awarded with or without Bibles to meritorious students in Protestant Sunday schools. The
The Pliny Fisk Collection of Railroad and Corporation Finance

BY HERBERT O. BRAYER

Herbert O. Brayer, formerly Archivist of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, manages not only to serve as Archivist for the State Historical Society of Colorado and Director of the Western Cattle Range Industry Study but also is the author of two books recently published by the University of New Mexico Press—Pueblo Indian Land Grants of the “Rio Abajo,” New Mexico and To Form a More Perfect Union, the Lives of Charles Francis and Mary Clarke from their Letters, 1847-1871. His two-volume study on Southwestern economic development will be published this winter. We feel ourselves indeed fortunate in having Mr. Brayer present this survey of the Pliny Fisk Collection for inclusion in the Chronicle.

Aside from the understandable and almost universal desire to pull the steam whistle on a speeding locomotive, or an occasional business or vacation trip by rail, the average American has had little personal contact with the vast network of railroads which virtually honeycomb this nation. Yet, with the possible exception of a few subsistence farming areas in the south and southwest, there is hardly a single portion of this country which has not been materially influenced by the construction, extension, or abandonment
of a railroad—main line, branch line, "spur" line, broad or narrow gauge. The indifference of the general populace—except for those tense few moments when a rate affecting home products is under discussion, a local rail wreck is headlined in the press, or an extension or abandonment is rumored—has resulted in a plethora of individual, regional, and national misconceptions, fed by inadequate, false, and even malicious information. The more sensational such accounts the easier has been their spread, and, unfortunately, their acceptance. Such widespread fallacies are not always historical in nature, but are frequently applied to current rail operations and even projected railroad plans.

A recent edition of a popular national magazine, echoing an opinion heard throughout the country during the past four or five years, published an account of the spectacular post war program envisioned by the nation's air enthusiasts, and confidently concluded that within a "few years after the end of the war" passenger and cargo planes would be handling the bulk of the traffic now moved by the nation's railroads. This concept seems to have many adherents, although no one has explained how aircraft can move a million head of cattle, millions of tons of coal, iron, and other ore, millions of bushels of grain, or hundreds of thousands of tons of heavy construction material, automobiles, and farm equipment in a single year! Yet the railroads do it annually.

There is, however, a reawakening interest in railroad and transportation history, economics, finance, and operation on the part of professional scholars and an increasing number of business leaders and government officials. In part this may be due to the recognition of the herculean feat accomplished by the railroads of the United States during the recent world-wide conflict but in no small measure it is also due to an increasing realization on the part of professional and business leaders that the nation's railroads constitute a vital and indispensable part of the capital investment of America, and that they have played a prominent role in the national development. An increasing number of popular as well as scholarly works on railroad development and operation, based upon the study of original source materials found in railroad records depositories, testify to this interest. One national publisher, the *Creative Age Press* of New York City, has announced the projected publication of a series entitled "The Railroads of America," and has contracted for a dozen volumes to be written by professional historians who will cover lines from coast to coast. Another manifestation of the reawakened interest is the recent formation of the "Lexington Group" by a number of university investigators interested in railroad studies.

Most significant has been the renewed interest in the collection and consolidation of the records of individual railroads, the establishment of permanent depositories for non-current railroad records in public institutions, the emphasis placed upon collections of railroadiana by major depositories and libraries, and the potential value of such materials to the writers of economic and business history. The action of the trustees of the Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad (Colorado-New Mexico-Utah) in establishing in 1941 an archives and records division and in depositing its more vital non-current records with the Historical Society of Colorado and the more recent deposit of operating and executive files of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad and the Illinois Central Railroad at the Newberry Library in Chicago are excellent examples of this trend. Such universities as Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Chicago, Stanford, and California have over a period of years assembled representative collections of railroadiana, while the American Antiquarian Society and the library of the Bureau of Railway Economics (Washington, D.C.) have acquired large and equally important historical collections of American railroad publications.

Unique among the collections of such railroad source material is the "Pliny Fisk Collection of Railroad and Corporation Finance," at Princeton University. Pliny Fisk, one-time head of Har- vey Fisk & Sons, Wall Street banking house, was considered at the turn of the century one of the "Big Four" of finance—along with J. P. Morgan, the First National and the Chase National banks. He was the son of Harvey Fisk, noted Civil War financier and co-founder of the financial house of Fisk and Hatch in 1862. Following his graduation from Princeton, Pliny Fisk entered his father's firm with his three older brothers. In 1885 they reorgan- ized and changed the name of the company to Harvey Fisk & Sons, of which young Pliny soon became head. The new firm prospered from the start, handling such accounts as that of the fabulous Hetty Green and the Hudson Tunnel Project promoted by William Gibbs McAdoo. Fisk reached the peak of his operations in the period just preceding and just following the turn of the century. Witnessing the many railroad reorganizations and consolidations that took place in this period, he conceived the plan of consolidating the locomotive builders of the nation upon whom the railroads depended for their locomotive power. He created and underwrote
the American Locomotive Company and gained further foothold in the railroad industry through his connection with the early financing of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation. Despite a success equaled by few Wall Street operators, failing health, family difficulties, and a series of unfortunate investments between 1919 and 1930 cost Fisk his entire fortune. He died in 1939 at the age of seventy-eight. It is interesting to note that he was one of the few major Wall Street speculators who approved of the regulatory Securities Exchange Commission program instituted by the late Franklin D. Roosevelt.

In 1915, when remodeling his New York offices, Pliny Fisk presented to Princeton University the research library of railroad and corporation materials assembled after the Civil War by Fisk and Hatch and later by his own firm. The wealth of corporation materials in the collection is due largely to the efforts of Harvey E. Fisk, the eldest brother, a member of the firm and also a graduate of Princeton. The collection was composed of some 5,000 books and 15,000 pamphlets on financial and transportation subjects, 40,000 broker’s circulars and 70,000 newspaper clippings on finance, corporate founding, development, reorganization, and consolidation. In this vast collection there were 7,500 annual reports and 3,000 mortgages of railroad corporations, 4,600 annual reports and 1,000 mortgages of street railroads and public utility corporations, 13,400 annual reports and 1,200 mortgages of industrial and miscellaneous corporations.

In addition to railroads and corporations in every state in the union the collection contains many items relative to the financial operations of foreign rail and industrial corporations. Represented in the latter group are such countries as Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Malay States, Mexico, Panama, Scotland, Spain, and Wales.

So far as known, at least 2,000 industrial and miscellaneous companies are now represented in the collection. Well over 65% of these companies are no longer in existence but have either merged, consolidated, retired, or passed from the industrial world through bankruptcy and failure. Their papers constitute probably the richest source for their corporate history now extant. In the annual reports may be found not only the names of the founders and something of their organizations, construction, extension, operations, and financial history, but also the story of their progress, success, and failure, as well as the effect of regional and national financial crises or disasters upon their corporate existence. The several thousand mortgages—generally for sums exceeding a half million dollars—are among the rarest corporate literature. Some of these are in manuscript form—both long and typed—and include a number of rough drafts showing changes made as the document progressed from its initial to its final stage. There are many copies of leases, reorganization and consolidation agreements and reports, findings and records of special investigators, receivers, trustees, and security holder’s committees. The railroad reports date back to 1888 and in a considerable number of instances are in complete sets up to the present date.

Among the bound volumes in the Fisk collection are a number of complete sets of such important serial publications as Hunt’s Merchants’ Magazine; The Commercial and Financial Chronicle; Poor’s Manual of Railroads; Poor’s Manuals of Industries and of Public Utilities; Poor’s Handbook of Investors’ Holdings; Moody’s Manuals; American Street Railway Investments, continued after 1910 as McGraw’s Electric Railway Manual; Railway Age Gazette and Railway Age; The Street Railway Journal and its successor The Electric Railway Journal. There are also very nearly complete files of the American Railroad Journal, Railroad Gazette and The (London) Stock Exchange Official Intelligence. There are in addition sets of state reports of railroad, corporation, and public utility commissions, as well as a number of federal origin. The large number of letters, circulars, prospectuses, and newspaper clippings pertaining to the financing of railroad, industrial and public utility corporations and municipalities are frequently related to other published reports, mortgages, and pamphlet material concerning companies in which Fisk either played an important role or held large interests.

While the entire collection is indexed under the name of the corporation and a large portion is cross-referenced, the indexing by subject, unfortunately, is incomplete. The work of indexing is being continued by the present library administration. There is also a card index to all “Corporation Notes” in the Commercial and Financial Chronicle from 1865 to 1940.

The saga of Fisk in his railroad and industrial operations is immediately evident from the materials included in the collection now at Princeton. Fisk, his Gould, Huntington, Vanderbilt, Morgan, and others, knew the importance of the various “gateway” cities and their railroad connections. It is interesting to note that among the papers turned over to Princeton University by Pliny
Fisk there are appreciable collections specifically applicable to so-called "gateway lines." There are, for example, 36 companies directly linked to Baltimore, 18 to New York, 22 to Boston, 11 to Chicago, 4 to Cincinnati, 6 to Kansas City, 8 to St. Louis, and 9 to Denver. Among those railroads directly handled by the Fisk firm as shown by these records, there are a few speculative or "gold mine" lines. Fisk not only was active in steam railroads, but took an active part in the development and financing of street railways, traction companies, cable car companies, elevated railroads, subways and electric lines. The collection contains vital documents relating not only with the corporate history of these companies, but also with Fisk's relationship to them. Unfortunately, the collection does not include the personal and company files of Harvey Fisk & Sons which would have given a unique value to the documentary materials deposited at Princeton. The result is that this collection cannot be used to develop a history of the operations of the Fisk company but can serve only as a research library from which source material on other corporations can be obtained.

The Pliny Fisk Collection embraces many items not found in other depositories and in several instances it is the only known source for documentary material of corporations which have long passed from the scene. The collection compares favorably with that of the Bureau of Railway Economics Library in Washington, although it is not as large nor as comprehensive. It does, however, contain items not as large as those found in the Washington depository. Since the collection was founded after the Civil War, it is not strong in the field of early American railroad materials and cannot be compared with the Streeter collection recently given to the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester. The collection of annual reports is not as extensive as those found in the Yale and Harvard libraries and in the field of Pacific Coast companies does not approach the collection at Stanford or the University of California. In the aggregate, however, the Fisk collection attains its importance not through its numerical strength but through the fact that its records form complete units. The mortgages, equipment trusts, financial summaries, and the various reorganization, refinancing, trustee's and receiver's documents combine with the various annual reports to give a cohesive account for the various roads covered. For such roads, during the period from 1865 to 1915, the Pliny Fisk Collection at Princeton thereby acquires a unique importance not inherent in the other collections mentioned. The

best collections of materials in the Midwest—at the Universities of Chicago, Wisconsin, and Indiana—also lack this unique quality. While the economic or transportation historian will find in this valuable collection material on more than 5,000 companies, it does not offer in itself the material from which complete histories of any of the lines or corporations covered could be written. It does present a vast accumulation of printed source materials from which may be gleaned specific facts and some knowledge of the corporate operations of the many corporations whose reports and financial papers are preserved therein. The collection offers the researcher the materials for a number of valuable studies in corporate financing and in the operations of that small group of these Wall Street figures who from 1870 to 1915 played such an important part in the development of America's transportation and industrial systems. Such records not only present a picture of interlocking directorates, but also show the influence of British investment in American transportation and industrial life.

The collection bespeaks the mind—the interests and operations—of one group of such Wall Street operators. In general, however, the principal value of the Pliny Fisk Collection remains the same as it was during the time that it was housed and used by the members of Harvey Fisk & Sons. It was a research library from which definite facts and figures could be obtained to be used with other information and material gleaned from sources not within the library itself. As a research collection it has no counterpart in any one university library although many institutions have as many or more items in their general, though uncorrelated, collections. The Princeton University Library staff has wisely continued the serial sets of reports and publications and is as well endeavoring to add to the major collections of railroad and corporate materials in the Fisk collection. The most valuable recent addition has been the large number of original reports and other printed materials given Princeton by Mr. Thomas W. Streeter of Morristown, New Jersey. This collection of some 300 separates covers the period from 1841 to 1870 and includes pamphlets on railroad corporations in New Jersey, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania. The present administration under the capable direction of Dr. Julian P. Boyd has recognized the value of corporate papers and of the Pliny Fisk Collection, and under the personal direction of the librarian in charge of the collection, Miss Dorothea Collins, the work of increasing the general usability of the collection has made excellent progress. The economic historian interested in finance, railroad
construction, operation and development, industrial development along established transportation routes, location theory, rates, commodity prices and production, and many other problems incident to the growth of the United States from 1870 to 1915 will find the Pliny Fisk Collection an invaluable source for primary information.

* The scope of the present Pliny Fisk Collection of Railroad and Corporation Finance is considerably broader than the title of the collection would indicate. It now serves not only the students and faculty members of the University's Department of Economics and Social Institutions but also several research organizations located in Princeton. While emphasis is still placed on corporation finance and transportation in all its branches, other subjects of importance are: money and banking, taxation, price regulation and government regulation of industry. An effort has been made to collect statistics, bibliographies and other reference guides to be used in conjunction with the text and serial publications of the general economics collection located in the stacks of the Princeton University Library.

Charles Lamb's “Companionship... in Almost Solitude”

BY JEREMIAH STANTON FINCH

So accustomed are we to think of Charles Lamb as a Londoner born and bred that we rarely call to mind his later years, spent almost entirely away from the city, in what were then the country villages of Islington and Enfield. We lose sight of the elderly Elia, set free from the India House, withdrawn from the book stalls and taverns, lonely and at loose ends, though still fond of puns, tobacco, good wine, and good reading. Not enough is known of Emma Isola, the Lambs' adopted daughter, who came to live with them as a child of thirteen and later married Edward Moxon, then just beginning as a publisher with the help of Lamb and his friends. Few recall that the author of Dream Children had at length under his roof a "girl of gold," as he called Emma, to whom he was able to give the fatherly love and care wistfully suggested in the famous essay.

Somewhat more of Emma and of the Lambs at Enfield can now be known from a collection of MS letters given to the Princeton University Library by Mr. Charles Scribner '13. In the collection, formed around the turn of the century by Mr. Scribner's father, Charles Scribner '75, are ten letters—nine of Charles's, one of Mary's—written during the last years of Lamb's life (1839-1844) to Maria Fryer, Emma Isola's school-girl friend. Only one of the letters has heretofore been published. It has been supposed that in Lucas's recent edition of Lamb's correspondence most of the extant letters had finally been brought together, but here is an important record until now little known.

It was probably in 1830 while playing whist with their friends, the Aylons, in Cambridge that Charles and his sister first saw the dark-haired Emma, daughter of Charles Isola, one of the Esquire Bedells of the University. Her grandfather, an Italian refugee, had become professor of languages and had numbered among his pupils Gray, William Pitt, and Wordsworth. The Lambs took an instant liking to the child, invited her to London the next winter, and shortly after her father's death brought her to live with them as an adopted daughter.

Thus began an emotional attachment which had a noticeable

1 The Lamb MSS in the Scribner collection are listed at the end of this article.
influence remarks on Charles Lamb throughout his later years. Less than twelve months before, he had unsuccessfully proposed marriage to Fanny Kelly, the actress. Although he had accepted her rejection good-naturedly and continued his friendship with Miss Kelly, his sense of loneliness deepened perceptibly, finding poignant expression in Dream Children, where one suspects Fanny Kelly to be the real Alice W—is. In New Year’s Eve, however, melancholy wistfulness towards the past and the lost "Alice W—is" gives way to cheerful hope for the future, which may reflect his rise in spirits at Emma’s arrival for her first visit in December, 1820. "Emma has been a very good girl," he wrote gaily during her stay, "I wish I could cure her of making dog’s ears in books, and pinching them on Pompey, who, for one, I dare say, will heartily rejoice at her departure." During the fruitful years 1820–1838, when Lamb was producing the best of the Elia essays and widening his acquaintances among literary men, increasingly frequent references to Emma Isola in his letters and allusions in Crabb Robinson’s journals suggest the growing interest and pleasure Lamb took in his young charge. More and more both Charles and his sister devoted themselves to Emma’s concerns. One reason for the trip to Paris in 1822 was their desire to help Emma with her French. When Emma went off to Dulwich to school, Lamb fretted and grew distressed; during her holidays at home he became himself again.

In 1823 came the first move northward—to Colebrooke Cottage in Islington, by the New River. The change of residence did not, however, result in any great change in spirits or burst of activity on Lamb’s part. Even Emma’s presence could not bring other than occasional pangs of buoyancy and hope. He experimented with gardening, took to wearing a flower in his buttonhole, went on occasional rambles—but the depression remained. "I have been insufferably dull and lethargic for many weeks," he wrote Barton in January, 1824. "And cannot rise to the vigour of a Letter, much less an Essay." A month later, "I am accounted by some people a good man. How cheap is that character acquired! ... things may turn up, and I may creep again into a decent opinion of myself."

Except for the keenly appreciative letter on Blake and the brief

1 Quotations from previously printed letters are taken from E. V. Lucas’s edition, The Letters of Charles and Mary Lamb, London, 1936. As the letters can easily be revised, printed letters will be given within quotation marks in the text. Letters printed here for the first time will be set off from the text, deletions and illegible places in the letters in the Scribner collection being placed within brackets.

anticipathetic remarks on Byron, that year saw little of importance from Lamb’s pen. In 1822 poor health, restlessness, and dreams of being set free on a pension culminated finally in his retirement from the office where he had so long been employed. "I have left the d——d India House forever!" he wrote Robinson exultantly on March 29th. But misgivings followed. The Supernatural Man and that fine piece of reflective prose, That We Should Rise With the Lark (1825–6), rich as they are in imaginative suggestion, indicate Lamb’s deep-rooted dissatisfaction with himself and the world about him. The burdens of leisure were heavy. These were quiet years, but gloomy. Serious illness in the form of a breakdown accompanied by sleeplessness struck him. Crabb Robinson described Lamb’s "a distressing object." After his recovery Lamb confessed to Wordsworth in a letter dated September, 1826: "I can live without the necessity of writing, tho’ last year I fretted myself to a fever with the hauntings of being starved." Not infrequently the most cheerful letters are those in which Emma’s name appears. In March, 1826, he asked Coleridge "May we venture to bring Emma with us?" There are stray remarks about her holidays from school and about long walks in the country. Emma’s Latin lessons elicited a number of Elia whimsicalities. "I am teaching Emma Latin to qualify her for a superior governess-ship; which we see no prospect of her getting," he wrote Mrs. Shelley in July, 1827, "Sisyphus his labours were as nothing to it." Later J. B. Dibdin was solemnly informed that "Emma has just died, chock’d with a Gerund in dun. On opening her we found a Participant in ruin in the pericordium." As early as May, 1827, Lamb had written to C.B. time and again, "She is nineteen, her French (you know I am no critic there) is ... very good. ... Above all I can testify to this, that she is a most excellent English Reader. ... We have taken great pains with her ... a very good, attentive, docile young person, and I have never seen her out of temper." In September, 1827, the Lambs moved farther northward to Enfield. "Twas with some pain we were evicted from Colebrook," Lamb wrote Hood, "you may find some of our flesh sticking to the door posts. To change habitats is to die to them, and in my time I have died seven deaths." Thomas Westwood, then a boy of thirteen living next door, described their first visit to the new house:

1 Quotations from Crabb Robinson’s journals are, with one exception (see n. 10), taken from Lucas’s Life of Charles Lamb, London, 1906, which includes nearly all of Robinson’s important references to the Lambs.
"Leaning idly out of the window, I saw a group of three issuing from the 'gamboge-looking cottage'... a slim middle-aged man, in quaint, unconnected habitments; a rather shapeless bundle of an old lady, in a bonnet like a mob-cap; and a young girl. While before them, bounded a riotous dog ('Hood's immortal 'Dash') holding a board with 'This House to be Let' on it in his jaws." On another occasion Westwood recalled an evening at Enfield: "I see the room now—the brisk fire in the grate—the lighted card-table some paces off—Charles and Mary Lamb and Emma Isola... seated around it, playing whist—the old books throning the shelves."

At first life moved along quietly at Enfield, disturbed only by Mary's frequent illnesses. Lamb's main concern seems to have been the obtaining of a position as governess for Emma. There are more jokes about the Latin and much to do over pieces of verse for Emma's album. Though he had protested against the album, Lamb became an active solicitor for contributions. Hood, the Dibdens, Bernard Barton, Procter, George Dyer, and a good many others were asked to send verses for 'a silent brown girl, who for the last twelve years has run wild about our house in her Christmas holiday."

"Emma, too, had tried her hand at verses. "What to call 'em I don't know," Lamb wrote Hood in September, 1827. "They must be call'd EMMAHOS."

In spite of attempts at light-heartedness, the letters of this period reveal anxiety and strain. Headaches are mentioned frequently (how Lamb would have rejoiced in aspirin!). "Don't come yet," he cautioned Alloo, in a note probably written in November, 1827, "the house is so small, Mary hears every person and every knock. She is very bad yet..." Nevertheless he was determined to find Emma a place, and notes in her behalf are numerous during these months. "It grieves me to give her up," he confessed to Mrs. Shelley at about that time, "but I must not let slip the chance."

Finally he succeeded, and Emma took up her duties in the house of Edmunds: "Emma, hat, and all, departed for Cambridge on Thursday can be placed in May, 1828. "She has left an ugly gap in our society, which will not close hastily... We are quiet as death and

lonely as his dark chambers—but parting wears off, as we shall wear off—the great remedy is to be as merry as we can, and the great secret is how to be so..." Fine, thoughtful passages like this one seem to have come from Lamb's ample pen without effort. The best of his prose has the same quality and rhythm.

Thereafter, the letters hitherto available tell of Lamb's fluctuating moods, which brightened when Emma came home for holidays. Mary informed Hood in the autumn of 1828 that he could not expect Lamb to write a piece for the Gem until after Emma's vacation: "... his time will be quite taken up with her," she explained. In February, 1829, Robinson wrote in his journal that Lamb "read to me some feeling lines on her coming of age next April." It was during this early period of Emma's employment at Bury that the first of the letters in the Scribner collection was written. A note signed by Mary, postmarked May 14, 1829, introduces Emma's schoolfellow, Maria Fryer, of Chatteris, between Bury and Cambridge:

Chase-side Enfield

My dear Miss Fryer,

Our young friend Emma Isola has surprised us with the agreeable news that she is coming to us on the thirtieth of this month. And as we know that it would be the pleasantest thing in the world for her to meet you here, we request that you will obtain the consent of your mother to come to Enfield, and be with us a part, or the whole, of Emma's stay, which will be about three weeks. I shall hope for a favorable answer, when my brother or myself will write you how to find us. You know we are old acquaintances of yours, and we remember the pleasant days you used to spend with us in Russell Street. We beg to present our kindest respects to your Mother. Believe me,

My dear young lady
Yours truly
Mary Lamb

May 14th

Shortly afterward Lamb acknowledged Maria's acceptance:

Enfield 25 May 1829

Dear Miss Fryer,

It has given us both great pleasure, that you have so kindly accepted our invitation. We have every reason to expect to see Emma on Saturday Evening next, & immediately on her arrival
she shall write to you to say how you may find us. If it would be pleasanter to you to have a companion on your little journey, I am sure she would come with great joy to shew you the way. We hope you will stay with her as long as you can.

Yours Truly,
Chas Lamb

The visit took place but was saddened by Mary's sudden illness. A letter to Barton dated June 3rd, 1829, mentions the arrival of Emma and a schoolfellow, but states that Mary has had to be removed from the house, which "feels at times a frightful solitude." An undated note to "William Hazlitt, Jun." says bluntly: "The young ladies are very pleasant, but my spirits have much ado to keep pace with theirs. I decidedly wish to be alone.... Emma will explain to you the state of my wretched spirits." In the same note, as reported to Lucas by W. Carew Hazlitt, is a message in Emma's handwriting: "Indeed Mr. L's spirits are very bad... But he is very indifferent, and hopes to get better by being alone." On July 4th Lamb wrote Barton again: "10 days I have past in Town. But Town, with all my native hankering after it, is not what it was. The streets, the shops are left, but all old friends are gone..."

Cross, 'twas heavy unfeeling rain, and I had no where to go... and I got home on Thursday, convinced that I was better to get home to my hole at Enfield, and hide like a sick cat in my corner."

The third Scribner letter, postmarked August 17, 1829, might seem to suggest that things looked brighter to Lamb, but the general gloominess of the correspondence of this period indicates otherwise: Lamb was simply being as cheerful as he could:

Dear Miss Fryer,

You have made Emma as proud as a Peacock. She goes about trilling her bright shawl, & looking like a second crop of Laburnums. She thinks every body looks at it, and so humble is her vanity, of window, thinking she was looking at her. We hear lamentable sits resting his head upon his right hand over the counter, pensively-directed it absurdly Mary Friars, & the shop porter was all the day trying to find such a place. So you see you can give joy & grief to some purpose. I partake of both, sorry to have lost you, yet glad to

have seen so much of Emma's friendship. Pray give me always a corner in [your fri] that friendship. Yours truly

Chas Lamb

When in September, 1829, Mary returned home in a state of depression, Lamb (who throughout his life acted decisively in times of crisis) decided to give up housekeeping once and for all, and moved his family next door for board and lodging at the Westwoods. The change did Mary good, and Emma's holiday visit cheered the household, but still another sorrow was to afflict the weary Elia. In February, 1830, came the bad news from Fornham that Emma was seriously ill with brain fever. The news was a complete surprise, because Emma had been getting on well. Lamb's frantic appeal to Mrs. Williams is highly revealing: "I am so shaken, I can scarce write. We shall be in the most terrible suspense. We had no notion she was going to be ill... We are in great distress... I will fetch her here, or anything... I hardly know what I write." Clearly, the thought of losing Emma was more than he could bear. A life of constant apprehension over Mary's illnesses had hardly prepared him for another blow. But welcome news came, and he rushed to post an excited letter of gratitude to Mrs. Williams. By March his letters to Emma's employer became more formal and composed, showing by contrast how high a pitch of anxiety he had at first reached. In April came his amusing report of his safe journey home with Emma, and a droll note to the physician who had addressed a prescription to "Miss Isola Lamb"; in May he wrote to Sarah Hazlitt of accompanying Emma to the Williams's and of obeying her plea: "Now, pray, don't drink—do check yourself after dinner for my sake; and when we get home to Enfield you shall drink as much as ever you please, and I won't say a word about it." Thereafter, the letter goes on to say, Emma took up her residence at Fornham again.

Although Lamb could write thus good-naturedly about his own shortcomings and seem to be cheered by Emma's apparent recovery, the occasional stabs at humor in the correspondence of this period are misleading. As things stood, he found himself aging, and unproductive; his sister's periods of mental upset were becoming longer and more frequent; he had given up his home and most of his belongings to live as a boarder; Hazlitt had died; and finally Emma, the person to whom he had looked for steadiness and comfort, had broken down and was in but "tolerable health." It was just at this time that Carlyle chose to visit Enfield and to make the
unfortunate remarks that do credit neither to the distraught Lamb nor to Carlyle’s righteous self. If Lamb appeared too fond of gin and water and seemed to gasp and stammer, he had good reason. That autumn he again made his will, leaving everything in trust for his sister, the reversion to go to Emma Isola.

At this point the letters in the Scribner collection assume considerable importance, for they make possible a fuller understanding of the situation in the Lamb household at this time and reveal very clearly the strength of the attachment Lamb felt for Emma Isola. Of the Lambbs in the year 1831 Lucas’ biography remarks: "Our knowledge... is small; but we may suppose that life was a little easier for them." How little easier, will be seen. Emma was now the main cause of Lamb’s anxiety, for after a brief trial at the William’s she had once again broken down and returned home. Lamb’s letter to Maria Fryer, postmarked March 17, 1831, movingly describes Emma’s grief at learning that she could not continue in her position. In addition to its importance to the story of Emma Isola, the letter is of particular interest for its revelation of the strong friendship that was developing between Lamb and Maria Fryer. This, and the subsequent letters to her, show that as time went on Lamb came to look upon Maria as one of the persons to whom he could unburden his heavy heart:

Dear Miss Fryer,

Emma came to us on Thursday last, having quite parted with Mrs. Williams, which has been a very severe feeling, I believe, to both. She is not ill than your friendly apprehensions for her may have anticipated, but she is in so low a state, that it is absolutely necessary for her to have a very long repose and holyday from all business. She left us at Christmas quite well and cheerful, but some untoward events at Cambridge, on her way home, quite unsettled her. I will love you ever, Maria Fryer, for your truly friendly letter. That you would be a good nurse to her, I am sure, and so is my sister, who begs also to love you,—At present we are quite compe—
day before the coming summer is gone, with a sight of her at Chatteris with her old buoyant spirits with her. But she must have some good long months before her without thinking of moving.

She tells me that it is not unlikely you will be coming to town. Whenever that shall be, I am sure you will spare us a few days at Enfield, when you will be [the] better judge of her. But I can almost say with confidence, that she wants nothing but long quiet and nothing to do, to make her as well, as when we used to ramble about old Winchmore Hills. The mortification to her at being obliged to quit a family so kind to her has been very painful indeed. If any thing could alleviate it, it would be the excessive kindness of the manner in which Mrs. Williams broke the necessity to her. When I say, long reposes is necessary for her, I mean at least a twelvemonth. She appears to have combated against her disorder, and to have done everything she could to give satisfaction at Fornham, but the indisposition would not let her. She has been cheerfuller this morning, and is making up her mind, now she knows that Mrs. Williams’s determination is settled, but the first announcement, which was by a letter, since she came home, was cruel. She cried most bitterly, for she was deservedly attached to the Williams’s, to the children, & the very household, who all did their best to make her situation agreeable to her,—Well, now she must think of nothing but getting well, she has a year, years (if we live & do well) to compose her mind and strengthen her. She cannot be quieter than here, nothing shall tease her, no loves, no anything. We will teach her nothing but good spirits, & she shall teach nothing to any body. You will be surprised how well you will see her, when you shall come & see us. Then you shall ask her to Chatteris, and among us all she shall not pine away for the loss of one situation—She made herself loved where she was, an[ms. torn] hope all the good people in the wor[ms. torn] can appreciate a good Governess, are no[ms. torn] onfined to one Mrs. Wns. tho’ she be very good. We have been walking this fine summer, warm, but blowy morning for an hour, & she is set down to answer a letter of her Aunt’s quite composed and tranquil. Had you used an out of the way word, like blowy, I never should have made it out. You see the pains I take to make it legible. Well, tho’ I can’t make out every title in yours, yet, I read in it as plain as a pike staff, Goodness, & sweet friendship. May God bless you—and your mother whom I have not seen. Emma’s love to you, She shall write soon, & please to rank us (Mary & me) among your friends always GE

Emma's postscript adds:

If you come to town dear Maria pray come and see us. but I hope
soon to be well enough to come to you. At present I want [mis. torn]—very quiet—
Very many thanks for your great kindness to your affectionate Emma.

What precisely had so seriously upset the young governess one can only surmise—whether it was the strain of her efforts to do well combined with ill health, or whether the breakdown had its roots in the afflicted Lamb household, remains a mystery; but it is plain that Emma was badly off and that Lamb was deeply troubled. Save for the valiantly cheerful remarks at the end, the letter is serious and entirely lacking in the tomfoolery in which Lamb often indulged when the world looked dark.

In April, 1831, a note written in Lamb's not very choice Latin mentions his watching over carioris nostrae Emma; by the end of the summer, however, her health had sufficiently improved so that she was able to go visiting with Maria Fryer. Lucas supposed that she returned during the autumn, but the next letter in the Scribner collection, postmarked January 9, 1832, and mentioning "a half-year's absence," shows that the visit was prolonged. The letter is uncertain and hesitant; it portrays Lamb's desire to have Emma back and his reluctance to make his desire known too strongly. One suspects that Maria understood the situation, but found it difficult to do much about it:

Dear Miss Fryer,

Emma need not have made herself uncomfortable about my omission to write with the parcel; I had written so recently, that I had really nothing to say: nor about the silly scrap on the outside, which was only to freshen up her Latin. She has stayed a naughty time away [with] from us. But our first wish is to have her happy & well. Our second to have her here. So entreat her from me to cast off all care and every consideration but to keep well, that she may come home to us with good looks and cheerful spirits. It is Saturday—tell her, I shall be obliged to her if she will write to me this day three weeks, by then perhaps she will be able to tell us some of her plans. I wish she could save her Cambridge journal, but there is no altering the map. I will write to her Aunt, and I will do [W] it is usual to give young folks tasks in their holidays. Tell Emma, [it] I set her for a task to make herself perfect mistress of

the 1st Book of Virgil to say it when she returns. But if it teases her, not that. I only wish her to be happy. I would write to her, but it is one of my headache mornings. Believe me, I take your writing very kindly—

Yours & hers most affectionately

C. Lamb

she will write on the 28th, & mind, if you or she think a longer stay beneficial to her, we will not say an unkind word to her about it—She shall be as much as ever our Emma.

Emma stayed longer, nevertheless, and the long absence was having serious effects. Neither Crabb Robinson at the time, nor Lucas in his biography, seems to have understood what was happening. Robinson observed that Lamb's state "looks like the approach of that catastrophe which everyone must fear...I am afraid of going down to him." Lucas, having wrongly dated a letter indicating that Emma had returned, attributed Lamb's condition to Mary's illness, but it was not so. A letter in the Scribner collection postmarked March 1, 1832, tells the story. Lamb needed Emma, and confessed to Maria Fryer that he had exaggerated the seriousness of his sister's illness in the letter to Emma which he copied and enclosed for Maria. One feels ill at ease at reading this hundred-year-old revelation of a lonely man's need and pathetic stratagem:

Thursday

Dear Miss Fryer,

I have copied over leaf the letter I have just written. I think it should have the effect of bringing her to Enfield. Do not be alarmed—'I know your kind heart—I have no fears for my Sister, but all the facts are true, or as near true as can be when one wishes to express one's self more strongly rather than less—

Thanks for your sweet letter, & for [1] all your attentions to dear Emma, double love to you for them—

You may resort on me unintelligibility, but I am nervous & my hand unsteady: your letters were perfect printing

C. C. Lamb

Thanks to your dear mother for altering her future plans "tho' she cannot change the Map." Mary's Love——

Dear Emma,

I have just heard from Maria Fryer, that you have left Chatteris—

This brings us to the final items in the Scribner collection and to the final event in the story of Lamb and his adopted daughter—her marriage to Edward Moxon. "Moxon has fall’n in love with Emma, our nut-brown maid," Lamb had written Patmore in July, but it was not until the spring of 1833, when Moxon had set up as a publisher with the financial support of Samuel Rogers, that definite plans for the marriage were made.

Of course Lamb had all along given freely his help and advice to the young man, whom he had singled out as a clerk in Longman’s office some years earlier, and the first book to bear the Moxon imprint was Lamb’s *Alma Verter*. In May of 1833 Lamb wrote to Wordsworth that "with my perfect approval, and more than concurrence, she is to be wedded to Moxon... So perish the roses and the hawthorns—how is it?" Crabbe Robinson noted in his journal that "Lamb was quite eloquent in praise of Miss Isola; he 1834 said of her that "she is the most sensible girl and the best female talker he knows. He wants to see her well married, great as he would have been, to her." On July 30, 1833, Emma and Edward were married, he "tripped a little at the altar." A behaved tolerably well," though he intended to be present at the wedding-party:

Dear Miss Fryer,

We have had a very happy wedding, and Mr & Mrs Moxon are gone off to Brighton & to Paris. Miss Moxon, Mr Wm Moxon, Miss Humphreys, Harriet, & me myself in especial, send their love to you—Bless you ever,

C Lamb

Dover St. 30 July 1833

The next letter in the Scribner collection, postmarked August 2, 1833, a few days after the wedding, is of particular interest. More 1833 of the hitherto available correspondence, it adequately than any of the of Lamb’s nearly complete dependence upon Emma of tells of Lamb’s steady and careful work in the match which he himself had helped to bring about.

Thanks, Maria Fryer, for the sweetest letter. It told of tears, and provoked those which have relieved me. I am as yet upon a sandy and deserted, unaccompanied. I want to talk to some one; and in the desert.
puzzle of my thoughts for a self-losing moment think, I will tell so and so, even to the circumstances of the marriage, to Emma. But time, and the recovery of my Sister, which—I date at no distant period, will quiet me.

On Saturday I accompanied E. to meet her Aunt's arrival. We took apartments in Southampton Buildings, at very good old friends & Landladies long since of ours. There I staid Saturday night, and leaving town on Sunday, return'd Monday evening. I found Moxon & I had come to one conclusion, that our two parties,—Emma, Harriet, Aunt, & I, [st] & M. & his Brother & Sister should quietly breakfast separately, and he brought a coach for us at 9. Rogers excused himself, and I was father. Emma looked pritettly, made her responses beautifully, never was a wedding better conducted, never pair set off more happy—to Brighton on their way to Paris—

I staid at Moxon's the day, but got home peacefully at night. I cannot tell you what your letter has done for me. It seems a link of Emma—As if she were not all gone. Your non-congratulatory epistle is more soothing than all congratulations.

I have been vexing myself with the awkward bit of paper I sent you from Dover St.,—but it was in the midst of cake-cutting & the turbulent flat fun that is attempted after a wedding, when the chief actors are departed.

I am sustained with hopes of Mary's recovery, [k] not long first, but at present she is scarce competent to judge of our loss or gain—

I know in my reason this is a good match, but I cannot but remember a companionship of Eight years in my almost solitude—

Since the departure of E— your letter has been my first comfort [or] I have persuade it tearfully thrice, and more than that shall have recourse to it.

Emma was my only friend; why have not you a thousand?

I am anxious you should have this trifle of a note in time, & shut it up in blessings to you

Your Emma's friend, CL
Write to me sometimes

I will write to you when Mary is well. A few weeks I hope will make a difference. Once more, my cordial thanks

With this letter the story of Charles Lamb and Emma Isola draws to a close. One of the final chapters in his life was ended, and as this letter shows, he realized it fully. Moreover, the letter supplies, perhaps, the best answer to the question of Lamb's own love for Emma. Crabb Robinson noted in 1855 that Mary Lamb had told him that Charles "loved the mother [of Moxon's child] and she him, but . . . the disproportion was too great in their age." Little reliance can be placed on Mary's statement, though it may be that Emma's presence during the unhappy later years of Lamb's life may have stirred in him yearnings that he knew in his heart could not be realized. It is probably well not to try to be too precise. Lamb's own words to Maria, to whom he always seems to have written in perfect frankness, are ample: "I know in my reason this is a good match, but I cannot but remember a companionship of Eight years in my almost solitude."

Lamb now found himself more than ever alone, but he had hope that Mary's illnesses might at last be ended, for a note to Maria, postmarked August 7, 1835, tells of Mary's miraculous recovery and quotes her own words to the Moxons:

Dear Miss Fryer, dear Mary has recover'd, in an unprecedented quickness, almost suddenly, to the thorough use of reason, which I can impute to nothing but the turn given to her mind by the certainty of the Marriage, which as a mystery had so puzzled her. We read, [illegible] walk, and are in good spirits, and I am become calm and happy. She has just written to them, and I copy her exact words undicted! "Dear Edward & Emma Moxon, accept my sincere congratulations, & imagine more good wishes than my weak nerves will let me put into good set words. The dreary blank of answer'd question to which every day I ventured to ask in vain, was clear'd up on the Wedding Day by Mrs. Walden taking a glass of wine, and with a total change of countenance begged to drink Mr & Mrs Moxon's health. It restored me from that moment as if by an electrical [shock] stroke to the entire possession of my senses. I never felt so calm & quiet after a similar illness as I now do. I feel as if all tears were wiped from my eyes, & all care from my heart."—"I am quite happy & calm, & once more have somebody to [spoke] speak to. God again bless you C.L."

Mary's recovery did not, however, continue, and after she suffered another attack of the old malady Lamb moved to Edmonton, to become a lodger at the house where Mary was receiving care. Though he seems to have remained calm and cheerful, he found

11 Mary's original letter to the Moxons is printed in Lucas' edition (II, 386). Lamb made no important changes in copying it, except the addition of the words "every day" in the sentence beginning: "the dreary blank . . . ."
himself more than ever alone, and the final letter to Maria Fryer, written after a birthday visit to the Moxons, on February 14, 1834, must have moved her deeply.

Dear Miss Fryer,

Your Letter found me just returned from keeping my birthday (pretty innocent!) at Dover St.—I see them pretty often! I have since had letters of business to write, or should have replied earlier. In one word, be less uneasy about me. I bear my privations very well. I am not in the depths of desolation, as heretofore. Your admonitions are not lost upon me. Your kindness has sunk into my heart. Have faith in me. It is no new thing for me to be left to my Sister. When she is not violent, her rambling chat is better to me than the sense and sanity of this world. Her heart is obscured, not buried; it breaks out occasionally; and one can discern a strong mind struggling with the billows that have gone over it. I could be no where happier than under the same roof with her. Her memory is unnaturally strong, & from ages past, if we may so call the earliest records of our poor life, she fetches thousands of names and things, that never would have dawned upon me again; & thousands [in] from the 10 years she lived before me. What took place from early girlhood to [the] her coming of age principally, lives again (every important thing, and every trifle) in her brain with the vividness of real presence. For 12 hours incessantly she will pour out without intermission all her past life, forgetting nothing, pouring out name after name to the Waldens! as a dream; sense & nonsense; truth & errors huddled together; a medley between inspiration & possession. What things we are!

I know you will bear with me, talking of these things. It seems to ease me, for I have nobody to tell these things to now.—Emma I see has got a Harp! and is learning. She has framed her three Walton-pictures, & pretty they look. That is a book you should read; such sweet Religion in it, next to [Worl] Woolman’s tho’ the subject be bats, & hooks, & worms, & fishes. She has my copy at present, to do two more from. Very, very tired—I began this epistle having been epistolizing all the morning, & very kindly would I end it, could I find adequate expressions to your kindness. We did set our minds on seeing you in Spring. One of us will indubitably. But I am not skill [ms. torn] in Almanac learning, to know when Spring precisely begins & ends. Pardon my blots I blunder’d in turning over this leaf. Excuse it I am glad you like your Book.

wish it had been half as worthy of your acceptance as John Woolman. But tis a good natured book.23

This, the last of the letters to Maria Fryer known to exist, is altogether fitting as a final expression of Lamb’s inmost self, for its tone is calm and sober. There is in it a hint of tragic resolution and of peace after the years of apprehension, struggle, and disappointment. No more is known of Maria Fryer, save that in 1848 Talbourn referred to her death.24 It may be that some account of her can be found by inquiry in the neighborhood of Chatteris. Her devotion to Emma and to Charles Lamb, so amply revealed in the letters which have been presented here, deserves to be recorded. To the roll of worthies who knew and loved Charles Lamb and were loved by him, the name of Maria Fryer should be added—with full honor.

During the last year of his life, 1834, Lamb continued to see and correspond with the Moxons. Though some of his letters are reasonably cheerful, they have an undertone of sadness, and with Coleridge’s death in July, Lamb lost heart and strength. Mary, Emma, and Coleridge, the three persons he loved the most, were now nearly or completely lost to him. His own death in December, 1834, followed inevitably.

Emma’s later life need not be recounted at length. Edward Moxon died in 1858. According to an account in the Illustrated London News of February 14, 1891, the publishing firm failed after his death, and another publisher came forward, fought a suit in the courts, and paid to Mrs. Moxon in 1877 a large sum and an annuity. A highly interesting item in the Scribner collection furnishes here a rather pathetic footnote. It is a letter, apparently in the autograph of Henry James, describing Mrs. Moxon as in need of funds and anxious to sell Hazlitt’s portrait of Lamb by advertising it in America:

23 This letter, apparently an authentic autograph, is the only letter to Maria Fryer in the Scribner collection which is printed in Lucas’ edition. Lucas does not indicate the source, but a number of minor omissions and changes in the version as he printed it suggest that it was copied from the less polished original presented above. It did not appear in his earlier edition of the letters.

The correspondence with Maria Fryer presented here makes possible a correction to a note by Lucas about the poem entitled Harmony in Unison. The poem refers to “Emma brown, exultant in talk,” and to “The fair Maria, as a vocal, still.” Lucas (Works of Charles and Mary Lamb, London, 1909, V. 311) mistakenly thought that the reference was to Emma and Mary Lamb.

24 Final Memorials of Charles Lamb, 1846, p. 189.
Dear Mr. Garrison—
I have received a pathetic appeal from poor old Mrs. Moxon, widow of the late publisher (who brought out Lamb, Wordsworth, Tennyson &c) requesting me to make known to all Americans that she desires to sell a portrait of Chas. Lamb by William Hazlitt, for the sum of $50. I have offered to advertise for her in the Nation (the only way to help her I can think of,) & send you to this end, her little announcement. She was in her early years a great friend of Lamb’s (She figures in Talfourd’s Memorials as “Emma Isola”) & she vouches for the value of the resemblance, which furthermore must have some interest as Wm. Hazlitt’s work. She is very poor (she claims that she was ruined by Tennyson, after her husband’s death withdrawing his books from her,) & she seems to desire intensely to sell the picture. Would it be possible for you, among the Notes, to call attention to the advertisement? Please charge the latter against my acct. Something may come of it. I leave very shortly for the Continent for the Autumn, whence I hope to write you a letter.

Yours ever H. James

Mrs. Moxon’s announcement appeared in the Nation in September, 1879, but presumably attracted no buyers in America, for the portrait now hangs in the National Gallery in London.14 One wonders what sort of a financial settlement was made for her in 1877, that two years later she found it necessary to part with this memorial of her life with Charles Lamb. She lived on until 1891, dying at the age of eighty-two, having carried out in full measure the “punishment” which Lamb had playfully imposed in the verses he wrote for her twenty-first birthday:

Ungrateful Emma, to grow up so fast,
Hastening to leave thy friends!—for which intend,
Fond Rumagate, be this thy punishment.
After some thirty years, spent in such bliss
As this earth can afford, where still we miss
Something of joy entire, may’t thou grow old.

As we whom thou hast left! That wish was cold.
Of far more age’d and wrinkled, till folks say,
Looking upon thee reverend in decay,
“This dame for length of days, and virtues rare,
With her respected Grand sire may compare”

This final letter, connecting the adopted daughter of Charles Lamb with Tennyson and Henry James, takes on added interest when one recalls that Emma’s “grandire” had been tutor to the poet, Gray, and that one of the contributors to her album was the elderly Mrs. Piozzi, who as the wife of Henry Thrale had moved intimately in the circle of Dr. Johnson. More important, however, in the light of the new correspondence that has been presented here, is the place Emma Isola must assume in future biographies of Lamb. Our knowledge of his devotion to the young woman who grew to maturity under his care is considerably enriched, and in these letters we can read once again, “as plain as a pike staff,” his individuality, warmth, and profound human sympathy.

LAMB MSS IN THE SCRIBNER COLLECTION


Charles Lamb ALS [1814?] beginning “Dear H——” [Lucas believed that it was addressed to Leigh Hunt]. Concerning the appearance of Lamb’s essay, “The Confessions of a Drunkard” in Some Enquiries into the Effects of Fermented Liquors, 1814. Removed from a copy of the Enquiries in the Scribner collection. Accompanying the MS is a clipping mentioning the sale of the MS at the auction of Judge Arnold’s library. This sale is listed in Book Prices Current as having taken place on March 8, 1895. Printed in Lucas’ 1885 edition, II, 1445.

Charles Lamb ALS postmarked May 28, 1818. To Messrs. Ollier, Booksellers. Regarding title page and table of contents of vol. 2 of the Works (1818). Removed from a first edition of the Works in the Scribner collection. Book Prices Current lists the sale of “AL signed with initials, to Ollier. In regard to his Works Bangs’, May 24, 1897.” In a foot-

14 The Nation, September 4, 1879, XXIX, 177. Mrs. Moxon’s address is given as 54 Buckingham Road, Brighton, Sussex. James’s name does not appear. William Garrison (son of William Lloyd Garrison) was editor of the Nation at this time. Henry L. Edgerton, A Biographical Dictionary of the Editors of the Nation, N.Y., 1940, lists the editorship of Laubach,Letters of Henry James, N.Y., 1960.
note to his 1905 edition Lucas mentioned this letter, but said it was not available for printing. Not in 1935 edition.


Mary Lamb ALS to Maria Fryer May 14, 1829

Charles Lamb ALS to Maria Fryer May 25, 1829

Charles Lamb ALS to Maria Fryer August 17, 1829

Charles Lamb ALS to Maria Fryer March 17, 1831

Charles Lamb ALS to Maria Fryer January 7, 1832

Charles Lamb ALS to Maria Fryer March 1, 1833

Charles Lamb ALS to Maria Fryer July 30, 1833

Charles Lamb ALS to Maria Fryer August 2, 1833

Charles Lamb ALS to Maria Fryer August 7, 1833


Charles Lamb MSS prepared for publication in *The Every-Day Book*, consisting of nine pages autograph and five leaves extracted from Hannah Woolly's *Queen-Like Closet* (1661), with instructions to the printer in Lamb's handwriting for setting up the quotations he uses. Bound with the *Every-Day Book* article, extracted. Two book-plates: "Ex Libris Charles Scribner" and "Ex Libris Charles B. Foote." Listed in *Book Prices Current*, 1895, as item 1961, no. 180 in Bangs's sale, Jan. 28, 4, 5, 1895.


Leaves of a printed memoir of Hone, accompanying.

Mary Lamb DS Assignment of the copyrights for *Tales from Shakespeare and Mrs Leicester's School* to Robert Baldwin and Charles Cradock, July 21, 1836.

Signed twice by "Mary Ann Lamb" and witnessed twice by Edward Moxon.

Thomas Westwood ALS April 25, 1840. Mentions Lamb's chair and a Lamb MS (see above), removed from a copy of *John Woodvil*, 1804, presented by Westwood to T. Reeside, with this letter.


H. James ALS dated August 16 (1897) to Garrison. Regarding Mrs. Moxon's desire to sell a portrait of Lamb by Hazlitt.
A Medieval Historical Roll

One of the most interesting and valuable recent acquisitions of the University Library is a vellum roll made in the thirteenth century for some gentleman of that period to serve as an outline of his country's history. It consists, physically speaking, of three strips of vellum stitched together. The first and shortest strip contains an account of the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy, ingeniously disposed within and about a large circle, together with a set of Latin verses in praise of various English towns taken from Henry of Huntingdon's Chronicle. The reverse of the sheet is blank. This short section of the roll was evidently fastened to the original document by some owner who wished to have a record of events in English history before King Alfred's time. It may well have been added a century and a half later.

The older and much longer section of the roll is made up of two strips, which together measure five feet. It presents on one side a dynastic history of England from Alfred to Henry III, and on the other a text of the Prophecies of Merlin by Geoffrey of Monmouth. The history of each reign is shown by grouping about a centred medallion, in which is somewhat crudely pictured the king in question, other medallions representing his kin, and in every sufficient space some account of important events. Necessarily these scraps of Latin are very brief, for the medallions and the lines showing genealogical connections take a good deal of space. The purpose of the roll, clearly, was to furnish an historical summary rather than a full account such as would be found in a chronicle. The arrangement had the advantage, however, of being semi-pictorial: the possessor of the scroll—or his children—could see at a glance what had taken place during the reign of Alfred or any of his successors. So much for history. One can only guess why the maker of the roll copied the famous Prophecies of Merlin on the reverse side; but it is a reasonable supposition that his patron looked to the future. Having a record of the past, he wished to know the shape of things to come and fell back on the clouded statements which the imaginative Geoffrey had concocted early in the preceding century.

Such rolls as the one described, the purchase of which we owe to the Friends of the Library, are relatively rare. Ours has the triple interest of being a little-worn and very well preserved example of medieval illumination and writing, of showing how a family of the period learned history, and of giving a new text of a document famous in the annals of political prophecy. Fortunately the scroll can be dated with some accuracy. Attached to the medallion portraying Henry III, the last of the kings, are six small circles. In five of them are inscribed the names of his five children; the sixth is empty, as if there were still the probability of a further addition to the royal family. Since Henry was married in 1256, it is reasonable to believe that our scroll was finished not much later than 1250. It should be noted that his third child and second son, Edmund, was old enough to be named King of Sicily in 1255.

Gordon Hall Gerould

An Example of Bookbinding

This restoration of an important book is a task not made any less difficult by wartime conditions. It is especially pleasing therefore to be able to show at this time an example of contemporary rebinding done with unusual competence and understanding. The book under consideration, which we have reproduced here, is the Sommola di Pacifica Coscienza, printed at Milan in 1479 by Philip of Lavagnia. Since this is the second book reported to contain in-
taglio engravings, its position in the history of graphic arts is important.

The binder's sympathetic approach to the problem as shown in a letter from Peter Franck to Elmer Adler adds a special interest to the book and we are sharing Mr. Franck's letter with our readers:

"To preserve this interesting example of a fifteenth century bookbinding method, I decided to reproduce the original binding as accurately as possible. On some points it was not smooth going and so delayed the completion of the job. At first, I thought it might be better to have an expert cabinetmaker cut and make ready the wooden boards. I gave him a three hundred year old oak board which I had saved from the binding of a book some years ago, to cut the boards needed for the repair of the volume. He missed in the cutting but came along with a couple of substitutes from an old piece of oak full of worm holes, but with, in his opinion, a 'beautiful grain.'

"We lost his boards as well as my own set, because the grain was not suitable. I then asked around for old wood of the necessary, narrow, straight grain but in vain. Fortunately I found a couple of small fifteenth century boards stuck away with other material in my bindery and luckily they were of the same wood—beech probably—as the original broken ones which I shall return for your verification.

"When I came to the clasps another scramble began for a thin piece of brass. You are aware that brass is out and has been used up everywhere, but I finally found a small piece of thin pipe, left over when we built our house and which had somehow escaped the scrap collector. Having cut the boards, I decided that I would also cut the clasps myself and avoid further disappointment. I believe that they are a fairly good reproduction of the ones on the original binding—that is judging from the faint traces on the board and the cut-outs on the other. The clasp-straps and the sewing bands are of strong alum cured white pigskin. The sewing which Mrs. Franck did for me, is an exact reproduction of the original sewing.

"When I took the book apart, I found that the headbands had been made separately from the sewing and with an inferior thread, as seen on the spurious remains left. From this and from the fact that boards were cut absolutely flush with the sheets, I concluded that the headbands and the lace-in cuts had been put on much later by the second binder who had also put on the first leather back of deerskin. It seemed a contradiction putting on projecting headbands on a binding with flush boards. Naturally they soon wore off. You will see on the sheets that they were not pasted or glued at the spine and both repair binders stuck the leather lightly to the sewing bands.

"I believe that I departed on only one point from the original—a signature of endleaves at front and back for better protection. Otherwise it is a faithful reproduction.

"Sincerely yours,

"Peter Franck."

Mrs. Seth L. PIERREPONT of Ridgefield, Connecticut, has recently presented the Library with two letters exchanged between the Reverend Nathaniel Chauncy of Durham, Connecticut, and Jonathan Belcher, Colonial governor who so beneficently associated himself with the founding of the College of New Jersey. It appears that the Reverend Chauncy, a grandson of the second president of Harvard College, was paid his salary in wheat by his parishioners of the Connecticut valley; this he disposed of in the Boston market, receiving in return necessary groceries and dry goods.

The first of the two letters, dated September 4, 1712, is concerned with various mercantile matters; it is addressed to "Reverend Nathaniel Chauncy at Durham" and is signed by Governor Belcher. The second, dated July 24, 1717, is addressed to "Jonathan Belcher, Merchant at Boston," and extravagantly states: "I have sent you by Mr. James Lewes sixteen bushels of wheat hoping it may (if the market be not fallen) answer the four pounds I am in your debt, and herewith the most thankful acknowledgment of your kindness therein and your other free and unmerited regard and favors."

We feel that Bred in the Bone, an anthology of undergraduate verse edited by Henry Fischer and Bruce Berlind with a preface by Allen Tate should not pass without notice from us, particularly as the paste-paper binding was designed and produced at Forty Mercer Street by members of a graphic arts group interested in giving practical expression to their enthusiasm for the art of bookmaking.
New & Notable

One of those tempting last-of-the-budget-year opportunities came to the Library recently in the form of a thirteenth-century manuscript roll chronicle of the kings of England from Alfred the Great to Henry III which the Library was able to acquire mainly from funds given by Friends with a little help from general funds. So rare and fine an item deserves very special treatment and such it has been given in another section of the Chronicle.

Were it not for the roll chronicle, three sixteenth-century items might seem rather exciting. Perhaps they are, anyway. After all, they are books, not manuscripts, and the three are quite varied in type. First, there is Filippo Beroaldo’s Opuscula, Orationes et Poemata. Basel, Johann Froben, 1523, the first complete edition of the works of the famous teacher at the University of Bologna. An excellent philologist, a poet, a translator of Boccaccio, his writings were known and discussed in all the cultural centers of his day. This volume contains, along with his speeches, poems, and translations, his treatises on earthquakes and pestilence, and thus shows how versatile was his knowledge. A number of speeches and prefaces by contemporary authors and some early manuscript notes add to the book’s interest. It was bought on the Le Brun Fund.

The second sixteenth-century item is the Ecclesiastae sive de Ratione Concionandi Libri quatuor, opus recent, nec antehac a quoquam excussum. Basle. Froben, 1535 of Erasmus, a beautiful folio volume with Froben’s device on the title page and last leaf, a woodcut medallion portrait of Erasmus after Holbein, and large woodcut initials. Dealing with the need for sincerity in preaching and the qualities of the true minister, who is primarily a teacher according to Erasmus, he uses the very Christian William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury as the perfect example of bishop. The work was written in Freiburg-in-Breisgau where Erasmus had settled after leaving Basle in 1529. This copy is the first edition and was acquired on the Theodore F. Sanxay Fund.

François Beroalde de Verville’s Les Souspirs Amoureux. Avec un discours Satyrique de ceux qui escrivent d’Amour par N. le Digne ... Paris, T. Touss. 1583 came to the Library through the Le Brun Fund, a charming volume in polished calf with the bookplate of Prosper Blancheman. The author, although generally known as a philosopher and mathematician, had a wide range of knowledge, writing also in the fields of chemistry, medicine and architecture, with an occasional excursion into the curious, as in the case of Les Souspirs Amoureux.

The acquisition of the first English translation of the Koran is especially interesting because of Princeton’s famous Garrett Collection of Arabic Manuscripts. This rare edition, the first English, appeared in 1649, having been translated from the successful French edition of André Du Ryer, one time French consul at Alexandria. Du Ryer had as his aim in producing the work, the disarrangement of the Prophet and his teachings. The title page reads The Alcoran ... translated out of Arabique into French, by the Sieur Du Ryer, Lord of Malezair ... and newly Enlished, for the Satisfaction of all that desire to look into the Turkish vanities. London, 1649. Whether or not the purpose was accomplished, a wide circulation was achieved and Du Ryer’s effort was translated not only into English but into Dutch and German as well. The Harry C. Black, ’09 Fund made possible the purchase of this work which is a valuable and useful addition in the field of Arabic studies.

A rather curious seventeenth-century book is the Hallado en las Ares mas generosas, y nobles Sacado de sus naturales virtudes, y propiedades de Ferrer de Valdeccebro, published in Madrid in 1689. It is only partly scientific, but sufficiently so to give some interesting ideas about Spanish ornithology of the period. For the rest, the work is emblematic in the manner of the early bestiaries with numerous engravings, some of them signed by Obregon. The Theodore F. Sanxay Fund is responsible for this volume.

The Edward W. Sheldon, ’79 Memorial Fund brought to the Library a rare seventeenth-century scientific work by the famous Dutch mathematician and physicist, Christian Huygens. He is best known for his Horologium Oscillatorium, but the Κυκλοθρομος, sive de Terris Coelestibus, eurumque ornatu conjecturae. The Hague, Mootjen, 1698 is equally interesting, dealing as it does with his discovery, at the age of twenty-six, of the rings of Saturn, which is in some ways rather more exciting than clocks.
and pendulums. There are six folding plates showing the Rings of Saturn as they appeared to him.

The eighteenth century is represented this quarter by Voltaire and Joseph Priestley. Voltaire's *Memoires pour Servir à la Vie de M. de Voltaire. Ecrits par Lui-Même* appeared in 1784, six years after his death. Probably written around 1759 after his quarrel with Frederick the Great since the parts dealing with that monarch are scarcely enthusiastic; the manuscript was later destroyed by Voltaire, when he and Frederick patched up their differences, but two copies had been made and the second one finally resulted in the appearance of this volume which was widely circulated in Paris in spite of the vigorous efforts of the Prussian ambassador, Baron von Goltz, to suppress it. Princeton's copy, bought on the Romance Seminary Fund, has an armorial bookplate, that of Elizabeth Whetnred.

An unusual collection of pamphlets by Joseph Priestley, the famous English theologian and scientist, mentor of Newton, will be of interest to students of American history also, because Priestley, after coming to America in 1794 when his position in England became difficult, due to his sympathies with the French Revolution, was active in the American Philosophical Society, and continued his scientific research here. Among the rarer pamphlets are *Letters to the members of the New Jerusalem Church formed by Baron Swedenborg.* Birmingham, 1791; *Letters to the Jews; inquiring into an amicable discussion of the evidences of Christianity,* Birmingham, 1786; and *Observations on the increase of infidelity,* the Third edition. To which are added, animadversions on the writings of several modern unbelievers, and especially the ruins of Mr. Polley.* Philadelphia, 1797. Priestley, however radical, was apparently much concerned with the growth of scepticism and was doing his best to combat the influence of Voltaire's *Lettres sur les revolutions des Empires* which was very widely read at the end of the eighteenth century. General Library funds paid for the Priestley pamphlets.

A very fine copy of *Shelley's Revolt of Islam; A Poem in Twelve Cantos.* London, Brooks, 1829 makes a fine addition to the English poetry collections. It comprises the sheets of the first edition, but with the cancelled title-page, this being the method by which Brooks disposed of some few sheets of the first edition which remained unsold. In its earliest state, the first edition brings a very high price, and while the collector and Librarian may covet it, Princeton's copy is an interesting one to have, is identical with the earliest state as to text and did not tax the purse strings too much, although it is itself a rare and desirable item. The Scribner Fund is responsible for its acquisition.

For those who are sometimes a little nostalgic for the literature of the intelligentsia of thirty years ago, the complete set (three numbers only) of *The Signature* will have great charm. This is the short-lived but important magazine which was written entirely by D. H. Lawrence, Katherine Mansfield and J. Middleton Murry. It contains two stories by Katherine Mansfield, written under the pseudonym of Matilde Berry, which have never been included in her books, and will be seized upon eagerly by those who have known the perfection of her work. Only eighty copies of the little magazine were printed and lack of subscribers brought about its early demise. Only four complete sets are recorded in America. To study the history of the literature belonging to the period of World War I, *The Signature* will be a real find. Its acquisition should serve to show how carefully the Library watches for the significant, whether it be the product of the sixteenth century or the twentieth. General Library funds were used to secure it.

Three more first editions of James Fenimore Cooper were added to the rapidly expanding collection of this author on the fund established by Harry C. Black '09: *The Oak Openings; or the Hunter's Dream.* New York, 1848; *Sketches of Switzerland.* By the Author of *The American Part Second.* Philadelphia, 1836; and *Notions of the Americans.* Picked up by a Travelling Bachelor.* London, Henry Colburn, 1828 (the English edition precedes the American in the case of this last).

In American literature, the Library found it possible, through its general funds, to make a worthwhile addition to the very fine collection of first editions and manuscripts of Archibald MacLeish which it secured last winter. This is the complete original typescript of *The Irresponsible*—thirty-one pages typewritten with many corrections by the author, and five pages entirely in manuscript. The title is written in on the first page in MacLeish's hand with his signature.

The real prize of the quarter's garnering must be seen to be thoroughly appreciated, and it cannot be shown in the little exhibition cases at the circulation desk, although it would be a beautiful exhibit indeed. Charles Grosvenor Osgood, always the Library's good Friend, has given to it his copy of the Doves Press *English Bible.* Of the Doves Press books, Will Ransom, in his *Private Presses* has said "When it is said that they approach dangerously
near to absolute perfection in composition, press work, and page placement, everything has been said. Their peculiarly individual quality is entire absence of decoration. Not a single florist appears; besides the characters of a simple roman alphabet there is only a paragraph mark. True, there are drawn initials occasionally and a marvellously accurate use of red—and such a red—but that is all. And that all is magnificent." The English Bible, 1905-1905, in five volumes has been called Cobden-Sanderson's "magnum opus." There are not words to describe these beautiful printed pages. Mr. Osgood has indeed given the Library a great treasure.

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THE FRIENDS
OF THE PRINCETON LIBRARY
Volume XVI, Number 4
June 1945

MEETING OF THE COUNCIL

The Council held its annual meeting on May 17. Present officers and members of the Council are to continue for another year—with one change in the Council. Sinclair Hamilton '06 replaces George A. Brakeley '07 on the Council, but Mr. Brakeley, as a member of the Budget and Executive Committee, will continue to meet with the Council.

The financial report for the year 1944-45, as well as the budget for the year beginning July 1, 1945, were presented. A summary follows:

Operating Account

Receipts

Balance July 1, 1944 $1455.12
Dues collected 2100.00
Subscriptions to Chronicle 238.00
Contributions 550.00
Special Chronicle project 250.00
Miscellaneous 109.00

$4799.12
Expenditures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Printing of Chronicle, Vol. V, Nos. 3-4</td>
<td>$734.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing of Chronicle, Vol. VI, Nos. 1-2</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>Poster Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous (printing, postage, etc.)</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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36 University Place (Formerly Forty Mercer Street)

Receipts

<table>
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<tr>
<td>Balance July 1, 1944</td>
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<tr>
<td>Contributions for year 1944-45</td>
<td>3485.00</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$4636.88</strong></td>
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Expenditures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rent, maintenance of building, and insurance</td>
<td>$3084.60</td>
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</table>

The year 1945-46 starts, therefore, with a balance of $1552.28 on the Operating Account, and $1552.28 for 36 University Place. The Operating Account balance will have to meet the cost of printing the Chronicle, Volume VI, Numbers 3 and 4, roughly $900.00, plus $110.00 set aside for the balance on the special Chronicle project, which covers distribution of four issues to contributors to the new Library building fund. These charges still to be met total $1010.00 and leave available toward the next year approximately $500.00. So far dues for 1945-46 and subscriptions to Volume VII of the Chronicle total $2032.75, making money now available $2532.75. The new budget allows $1700.00 for the Chronicle, Volume VII; a further payment must be made on the debt, and the use of the balance will be determined by the Council. More renewals of memberships and new members will materially improve the situation.

36 University Place starts the year with the balance of $1552.28 plus $1105.00, received so far from contributors.

A tabulation of these remarks:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<tr>
<td>Operating Account, 1945-46</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free balance July 1 (approximately)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dues and subscriptions for 1945-46, so far received</td>
<td>$2032.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>$2532.75</strong></td>
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36 University Place, 1945-46

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balance July 1</td>
<td>$1552.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributions, so far received</td>
<td>1105.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$2657.28</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A further report on 36 University Place will be made later. The exact cost of renovating the new location has not yet been covered by bills; this outlay is to be met over a period of three years by payments to the University.

CONTRIBUTIONS

Contributions for book purchases received since the last issue of the Chronicle total $30.00. Chauncey D. Leake enabled us to buy an appropriate book which was marked as a memorial to Richard B. Schmon '43. From Willard Thorp came a further contribution to the Freneau book fund which is used for purchases of books in American literature.
THE PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY CHRONICLE

VOLUME VI - 1944-1945
THE PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY CHRONICLE

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Charles Nisbet and Samuel Stanhope Smith—Two Eighteenth-Century Educators
by Michael Kraus
A Pope Exhibition and an Unpublished Letter of Pope
by Robert Kilburn Root
New and Notable
by Verna E. Bayles
Library Notes and Queries
by Lawrence Heyl

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Dedlcatory Note
by Struthers Burt
James Boyd, 1888-1944
by James Boyd
Answer, Sky (Poem)
by James Boyd
Away! Away! (Unpublished Story)
by James Boyd
James Boyd: A Checklist
by Verna E. Bayles
Library Notes and Queries
by Lawrence Heyl
New and Notable
by Verna E. Bayles
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by Lawrence Heyl

NUMBER THREE

A Collection of Early American Illustrated Books
by Frank Jewett Mather
Early American Book Illustration
by Sinclair Hamilton ’06
A Sampling of Victorian Poets at Princeton
by Verna E. Bayles
Salutem ad Ricardum Dunnemensis Episcopum, Philobiblon Autorem
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