Revised 20 July 1922
" 22 October 1924
" 19-22 Sept. 1924
" 27 February - 1 March 1930
" 5-6 June 1933
" 29 June 1933.
" 5-8 September 1933
" 30 May 1942

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1922-2002

24

THE COURT OF DEATH

1810 Aetat.39

According to a family legal document on the ninth of February 1810 Brown's brother Elijah,Junior bound himself by a bond to Charles Brockden Brown or his heirs,etc., in the sum of ten thousand dollars, the interest of which was to be held in trust by Brown the now only surviving executor of the will of his grandmother Elizabeth Armitt for the use of his mother Mary Brown, on condition that the payment of five thousand dollars would cancel the bond,the other five thousand dollars being represented by a mortgage from Elijah Brown Junior to Charles Brockden Brown as trustee on a lot of ground 25 feet 9 inches by 300 feet on the west side of south Second street, on condition that the payment of five thousand dollars and lawful interest would release the estate so bound. On the outside of the bond is probably the latest signature of Brown now in existence. In signing the acknowledgment of the receipt[1] from Elijah of $2,500 on account of the bond we can easily see in the formation of the r

1 There are also receipts of Elijah,Jr., Armitt and James through his attorney Armitt, of their respective shares and the promise of them to pay the interest to Mary Brown during her life.

and the characteristic flourish at the end what appears to be the strain or difficulty under which he wrote, it being probable he did the writing while sitting up in bed.

Time and fortune have thus conspired to leave testimonials of Brown's fidelity to the trust imposed in him by his grandmother and the scrupulous and business-like attention that he gave to the welfare of his mother even when on his death-bed. The picture of him as an impractical dreamer, incapable of caring for money and according to tradition carrying it in his boots where it was worn to pieces, hardly applies to him when other people's money was concerned. With brothers who were business men it is remarkable that this very practical matter of the executorship came to him. Possibly his legal training was one reason and the fact that he was the eldest of the grandsons living in Philadelphia at the time may have been another.

wrote any record of the sec

From his wife in the 1827 Boston memoir prefixed to Wieland, we derive the ~~best~~ only ~~detailed~~ account of Brown's last sickness.[x] It ~~is~~ had been given essentially the same by Dunlap[1] with the exception of the ~~opening~~ beginning and the end. Apparently she ~~have~~ had not written it in a letter ~~to Dunlap~~ to him, ~~which~~ ~~and~~ ~~both~~ for he was not near to be called to Brown's bedside. No one else ever

II In the account of the death of Jim, Brown had detailed the occasional and the final hemorrhages; here remarkably there is not the least suggestion of them: in fact Brown's death is recorded so peacefully it leaves a suspicion that it was due more to complications than to pulmonary tuberculosis.

III 1809 had closed with the acute attack of pain from pleurisy followed by the bleeding by the physician.

~~When~~ He went to bed with the expectation ~~that~~ that he would recover in a short time so that it is probable the bleeding gave some temporary relief, but he could not have been examined or the diagnosis was incomplete. ~~As time passed~~ Soon after his suffering returned and increased for a time he was in constant pain then his resistance ~~was~~ wore out, ~~and~~ he gave up hope of recovery and by suggestive hints ~~tried to~~ prepared his wife for his death ~~the expected end~~ such as a direction to her that "you must do so and so, when I am absent" or "when I am asleep." ~~When he knew she realized what was to come~~

accepted his fate without complaint

x Vol. II, p. 88 ff.

Messis p. 1986

File 49

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Characteristically

He frequently expressed his resignation; but his resignation was not produced by apathy or pain, for while he bowed with submission to the divine will, he felt, with the keenest sensibility, his separation from those who made this world but too dear to him. Towards the last, he spoke of death without disguise, and appeared to wish to prepare his friends for the event which he felt to be approaching. A few days previous to his change, "While[1] sitting up in bed, he fixed his eyes on the sky, and desired not to be spoken to, until he should first speak.[2] In this position and with a serene countenance, he continued some minutes, and then said to his wife, 'when I desired you not to speak to me, I had the most transporting and sublime feelings I ever experienced. I wanted to enjoy them, and to know how long they would last.' "He concluded with requesting her to remember the circumstance. 3

A few days previous he showed the ruling passion of his life for

His sufferings were protracted till February, 1810. On the morning of the 19th of that month, his anxious family saw with emotions not to be expressed, that a fatal change had taken place. He thought himself dying and at his request his family and friends were assembled round his bed. He addressed them successively with the utmost tenderness and affection. He lingered, however, for three days longer, conversing as usual with perfect composure and self-possession. On the 22d, the final summons came, and with clear and unclouded faculties, he yielded up his soul to Him who gave it.

February

he was called

the bedside.

time he

so called to his more during which apparently some time

during the early morning.

Besides the fact that his death was characteristic in that it had in the ruling passion of his life - a

it Brown's desire for knowledge, one of the most striking things about

3 The dying words of the distinguished, especially the poetic and grammatic, may have been one of Brown's contributions to the Weekly Magazine (II, 408).

This Brown died at the early age of thirty-nine. His ancestors on the whole had lived to the average age and even his descendants have not marked his race as being a short-lived one. Many men meet such

1 Dunlap:as.
2 Dunlap:until he first spoke.

for April 1813 gave just a short note thus:

> "Charles Brockden Brown lived to be a happy and beloved husband and father, and died of a pulmonary complaint in his native city, Philadelphia, after distinguishing himself for his literary taste and acquirements, cut off in the full career to fame if not to fortune."

Later when he came to the actual biography he for the only time became touchingly eloquent. The passage[1] reads:

> "He had ever been an object of the most ardent affection to his own family, and became equally dear to the relatives of his wife. Her sisters were adopted as his own, and on the loss of their father, *he* became a father to them. Ever ready to interest himself for the unfortunate, to advise the unwary, to assist and encourage all; how peculiarly dear must such a man have been to those who were peculiarly dear to him. Though attached to the seclusion of the closet, though he would for hours be absorbed in architectural studies, measuring proportions with his compasses, and drawing plans of Grecian temples or Gothic cathedrals, monasteries or castles, though addicted to every kind of abstraction, and attached by habit to reverie, he would break off with the utmost ease from these favourite occupations of his mind, and enter into conversation on any topic with a fluency and copiousness which approached to the truest eloquence. He was never dictatorial or intrusive, and although pleased when holding discourse and conscious of superior coloquial talents, he was among men of the world, or loud and long talkers, generally silent, though not perhaps a listener. Though not imposing in personal appearance and with great simplicity of manners, he was winning in his address and made friends of both sexes wherever he felt that the object was worthy."

Of the obituaries appearing in various publications ~~the~~ three are the important ones are ~~the one in Poulson's American Daily Advertiser; the one copied from a New York newspaper article by Brown's father and the first article of~~

1 Vol.II, pp.89-90.

~~the Register of Deaths in the seventh volume of the American Register.~~

in Poulson's American Daily Advertiser

The first[1] appeared 27 February, its author is not known though suggested in the closing paragraph in such a manner it ~~may be~~ is apparently by Poulson himself, Brown's friend since his early childhood.

"DIED, In this city, on the 21st. inst., in the 40th. year of his age, of pulmonary consumption, Charles Brockden Brown, Editor of the semi-annual Register, and well known to the literary world as the author of several other productions of genius and merit. In this afflicting dispensation, it will be the source of consolation, to his distant friends, to know, that he died in the enjoyment of his mental faculties, a Christian, full of the hope of immortality, at peace with himself and with all mankind.

The manners of the deceased were mild and unaffected--his attachment to his friends ardent and sincere--his knowledge extensive--and his criticisms were generally admitted to be acute, liberal and profound--and if, in early life, he indulged in speculative theories and opinions, it was to be ascribed to the versatile exuberance of a brilliant imagination--the unwearied inquisitiveness of a rich and active mind--and to that never failing propensity to scrutiny and investigation, consequent on a disposition to admit nothing on trust, when in search of truth. He was blessed by nature with the most facile capacity for the acquirement of knowledge, and having received a liberal education, which he greatly improved by study and research and possessing, at the same time, a laudable but modest ambition for the acquirement of literary fame, together with the most copious command of language, and the happy art of communicating his thoughts with perspicuity and force, he seemed destined to become one of the brightest ornaments of his country. He was a Philadelphian by birth, and resided here the major part of his life. He lived in innocent but not inactive seclusion from the world, being wholly devoted to literary pursuits--to a beloved family, and to the society of a few select friends, to whom he endeared himself by the most amiable and disinterested attentions--by his overflowing affability, and by the instructiveness of his unassuming conversations.

General Mindset

1 Reprinted United States Gazette, 5 March 1810.

Few perhaps ever exceeded him in the varied richness and fertility of his colloquial powers--and by few has he been surpassed in the candour with which he examined the opinions and defects of others.

This short obituary, to the merits and memory of the deceased, is the hasty spontaneous production of one who enjoyed his friendship and confidence from their juvenile days--who knew him well--and now deeply mourns his loss. To the future biographer he consigns the task of portraying at large the virtues, acquirements and labours of his departed friend."

The second one was copied into a note book from the New York Evening Post 26 February by Brown's father who indicated the authorship thus:

"The above is from the pen of one of his particular literary friends in New York, A. Mecker."

The name ~~is not clear and~~ is doubtless an error for Anthony L. Bleecker. ~~Bleecker's obituary reads:~~

"Died at Philada on the 22nd. of February 1810 of a consumption Mr. Charles B. Brown Editor of the American Register.

The private sorrow of a beloved wife and children whom death has prematurely deprived of everything that conjugal and parental fondness is capable of bestowing, is the ordinary subject of that sympathy which melts the heart at the sight of the widow's tears, and the Orphans woes: and seldom does the melancholy subject occur with more touching appeal to this sentiment than in the present instance. But the death of this estimable man must awaken in many a bosom something more than sympathy. Personal friendship, to which the gentle virtues of his heart, the elevated sentiments of his soul, and the amiable simplicity of his manners were so well known, has sorrows of its own to suffer in the loss of so enlightened and interesting a companion.

As a writer Mr. Brown enjoyed a very high reputation. Devoted from his youth to letters, his active inquisitive and ingenious mind was ever engaged, either in some work of the imagination, designed to analyse and display the human character, or in some moral or critical disquisition

calculated to improve the heart, or the understanding. Relinquishing however the regions of fancy, and the pursuits of speculative knowledge Mr. Brown for the last five years of his short but useful life employed all his talents and industry in the more substantial and profitable branches of science, --and the American Register-- which will admit of no comparison with any work of the kind ever attempted in this country, exhibits strong marks of the vigour and comprehensiveness of his judgment as an annalist, and at the same time presents a most laudable instance of indefatigible research and faithful compilation, calculated to uphold and perpetuate the political civil and scientific history of the United States. The suspension of this work alone, by the death of one so eminently qualified to render it valuable and interesting must excite the regret of the statesman, the politician and the historian.

A system of Geography on an entirely new plan had for several years past occupied much of his attention, and from the known ingenuity of his mind and the uncommon proficiency he had made in this science high expectations have been entertained on the subject by those who have perused the Prospectus, but disease, it is much to be feared interrupted his researches and death has perhaps irretreviably prevented this addition to his fame.

Of a delicate frame of body, and occasionally subject to spells of lassitude which his studious and sedentary habits tended to promote, he was almost a stranger to the pleasures of robust health: but neither indisposition nor despondency could repress the activity of a mind so keen in its perceptions, and so anxious and inquisitive in the pursuit of knowledge.

His domestic character comprised every thing endearing in a husband and a father, his social qualities inspired confidence and friendship, his mild and benevolent disposition bespoke the harmony of his mind, and the purity of his morals emanated from the purity of those principles which an exalted sense of his duty to God and to man had established in his bosom."

no II

When five volumes of Brown's <u>American Register</u> had been issued and the work seemed to be settling to a definite plan the opening of the sixth must have come to many a reader as a shock. Brown lived only to complete the first volume for 1809 which as we may see must have been issued after November 21. The preface to the second part opened and closed as follows.

"THE present number is delivered to the public with unfeigned anxiety and diffidence. In consequence of the lamented death of Mr. Brown, the former editor, the original matter has been supplied by another hand who until he was engaged to execute that delicate trust, was an absolute stranger to the pages of the register.....

...Inevitable circumstances resulting from the lamented death of the former editor, have procrastinated the appearance of the present volume. It is hoped that our patrons will excuse what could not have been avoided."

Just when this volume appeared is not clear, and the identity of the new editor is not certain. Volume seven ~~came forward with~~ gave its tribute to Brown at the opening of the American register of deaths.[1] It is the third of the obituaries ~~those~~ found important and by us, was ~~possibly~~ either by Anthony Bleecker or ~~was~~ elaborated by the new editor from the shorter one by him. ~~and reads as follows:~~

Draft version at

"ON the 22d of February, 1810, fell a victim to consumption *Charles B. Brown* the editor of the Register. His health had been for a long time held by a precarious tenure; inheriting from nature a delicate frame of body, which a sedentary life, rendered indispensable by his literary pursuits, tended to augment. Early in life, he aspired to the love of letters with an ardour which constitutional imbecility rather served to heighten than abate. He found in his own mind such resources, his attention was so powerfully abstracted and engrossed by his studies, as to render him almost unconscious of bodily pain and insensible of its exercise. Ever on the alert in quest of information, he patiently enquired, he read, reflected, examined and compared, opposing facts and arguments—the result was a judgment luminous, consistent, and just. This habit of

See "Registered Marks" in

Kennedy accurate here

Method

1 Vol.VII, pp.169-70.

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investigation and research, became at last so familiar to him, that it almost formed a part of his nature. The most trivial incident which to an ordinary eye would be passed without observance, was often with him a subject of ardent curiosity, and was so appropriated as to lead to the illustration of matters more important in literature, politics, or morals. It is difficult to conceive what acquisitions a mind thus instituted, possesses above ordinary men. Those hours devoted by the generality of the world to colloquial amusement, and which the memory afterwards retains no vestige of, were to him all subordinate to the grand purpose of his life, the acquisition of knowledge. Study and investigation lost the character of painful drudgery, and assumed that of pastime and recreation. In early life he delighted to indulge in the visions of fancy, and the productions of his juvenile pen, bear the stamp of that character. The public have witnessed the success of his reiterated attempts, and his tales of artificial distress have extorted tears of sympathy from our eyes. For the last five years of his life, he abandoned the regions of fancy, and devoted himself exclusively to more solid and severe pursuits. He undertook the difficult and arduous office of an annalist, and the American Register is decisive evidence of his skill and talents in that responsible department of letters. The habits of analysis for which he was so peculiar and characteristic, were now applied to an object that above all others requires the exercise of such talents. Added to this, there was another trait in his character, that peculiarly fitted him for the office of an annalist, the philosophic candour he maintained in his record of political events. As an annalist inaccessible to the biasses of party, he seemed more to write in the style of an historian of past ages, than the recorder of those passing occurrences that tincture our public councils, and embitter the charities of domestic life. We do but echo the opinion of the public, when we pronounce this Register under his superintendence to have put all competition at defiance.

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The merits of this eminent writer were rivalled by the virtues of his private life. His friends in his society felt none of that reserve and uneasiness that great intellect naturally inspires. His mild and unassuming manners so rarely associated with superior talents, and his hospitable heart, rendered him the delight and ornament of friendship. It was in the endearing recesses of domestic life, where the heart warm with confidence, expands and unfolds, that the character of the deceased shone with its loveliest lustre. It was in the cultivation of those domestic endearments indescribable but by appealing to the bosom of the friend, the parent and the husband, and which Thomson so beautifully expresses by the general terms, "fire side enjoyments, home born happiness," that he delighted to participate. Benevolence was not with him a sudden impulse of passion, that subsides with its cause, but a steady rule and systematic principle of action. He had been so used to consider the happiness of a friend as forming an integral part of his own, that he laboured with the same zeal and perseverance to promote it, that others do from selfish motives alone. We may be well assured that characters of this kind, were not formed to amass wealth, or to catch the fleeting and evanescent popularity of the day—it may be said without the slightest trespass upon truth, that they are above the exercise of those acts that secure the possession of both. They are formed for higher rewards, the approbation of those who know how to estimate worth, and a self-approving conscience. Some may regard this as a portrait drawn from fancy, would to heaven that it was! While the literary world has lost a member whose genius amused, delighted and instructed, the circle of his private friends have been bereaved of its brightest ornament, and both will confess this is no panegyric on the memory of Brown."

5

Rembrandt Peale,[1] who is distinguished for his portrait of Washington in the United States Senate chamber, may have found Brown's death the inspiration of the figure named "consumption" in his colossal painting the "Court of Death".[2] Peale returned to Philadelphia, after various travels, in 1809 or 1810; he was a Quaker and moved in Quaker circles; he painted among others portraits of Dolly Payne Todd Madison and Joseph Dennie and he was interested in the literary side of an artist's life. Whether he knew Brown is not known but it would be ramarkable if he did not.

The date of the beginning of the "Court of Death" is not known--its completion is spoken of in a letter of Charles Wilson Peale to Jefferson to the effect that it was very near completion in July. The usual authorities have thus been deceived and say it was painted in 1820. How a painting containing twenty-two figures and measuring 13 x 24 feet could have been done in that time is incomprehensible. Peale's "Roman Daughter" was three years in painting. Being an exhibition

The New England Galaxy 27 April 1821 (p.115) advertises and notices its Boston exhibition at 16 Market Street ~~picture probably intended for his father's Museum the "Court of Death"~~ ~~probably~~ admission 25¢, children half price; (4 nights) illuminated in the evening. It inspired a letter to C.W. Peale (Bryan Clifford July 17) and finally was hung in the municipal museum at Baltimore.

1 Information derived from Dunlap's Arts of Design, Appleton's Cyclopaedia and Mr. Horace Wells Sellers of Philadelphia. John Neal wrote of Peale in the Yankee, Portland 1828, Vol. I, p.210 but there is no commensurate account of his life and work.

2 A colored lithograph 15 x 26 5/8 inches, was published by G.O. Coulton, N.Y., 1859. Colton owned and exhibited the picture. The print is not of the proper proportions for a 13 x 24 foot painting.

picture probably intended for his father's museum the "Court of Death" may have been 1993 B
~~was~~ begun as early as 1810.

Peale's models were his friends and family and some classical literary conventions. It is said his father, two daughters, his youngest child and John Neal thus served him. By 1809 Peale had five children, four daughters and one son (who died 1833). The scheme of the models used for the "Court of Death" may therefore be worked out as follows. Fever is one daughter; Intemperance is another; Pleasure may be a third; Faith may be the fourth; the Orphan is his youngest (a boy); the widow would probably be his wife; Old Age is his father (+Homer); War is John Neal the one man who "discovered" Brown; Gout may be his brother Raphael; Death may be Blackstone + the Sphinx; Famine and Pestilence (yellow fever?) may be the furies à la Fuseli and Consumption may be Brown.

In general the figure of "Consumption" agrees with the descriptions of Brown. It represents a young man of about his age, the expression and hair are Brown's and the clothing suggests a night-gown rather than the classical costumes worn by the other characters. Possibly some day the truth concerning this remarkable picture may be known.

So far as known there was no public funeral.
The record makes it appear ~~possible~~ ~~and apparently~~ Brown ~~he~~ was buried on the same day on which he died but there is no certainty of the record's accuracy.

The location of Brown's grave is not definitely known though the circumstantial evidence is such as to lead to a reasonable conclusion. George Vaux contributing to a magazine[1] gives a Quaker record which he had found relating to Brown's burial. In part it reads as follows::

> "The interment was in Friends' Burial Ground, Arch and Fourth Streets, Philadelphia, 2nd mo., 22, 1810, age thirty-nine years; disease, decay; Locality, row 18, Grave 16, District, Southern. The locality has no significance--all the early grave mounds in this ground were levelled about seventy years ago and no interments earlier than 1848 can be identified."

This record presents us with the story as it is usually given. It should be noticed that it refers to the interment at the time of his death. The date 1848 is significant in the light of other evidence to be offered presently.

As suggested in the Vaux note the story goes on with the statement that after the burial when the cellar of the Merchant's Hotel on Fourth street was being dug the excavated material was drawn across the street and levelled over the graveyard, thereby blotting out all signs by which Brown's grave might be accurately located.[2] Those who wish to believe any such desecration of a Quaker burial-ground are free to do so but it seems hardly probable that a proper disposition of the remains of those

1 Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, April 1906, Vol. XXX, No. 118, pp. 242-3.
2 Philadelphia Sunday Press, 19 July 1896, supplement article entitled "A Heart Broken Novelist" is another instance of this legend.

buried there would under all the known circumstances be neglected. The fact that the locations were obliterated and no records kept suggest that there was no further need for them; in other words, that the remains all those buried there had been removed to Laurel Hill where Section Four described as in a beautiful little meadow waving grasses and nameless graves was known as the Friends' burying ground. 1

In 1829 Samuel L. Knapp's testimony of his "hardly being able to trace Brown's grave," would suggest that the place was ~~somewhat neglected.~~ entirely abandoned as a burial ground

To-day the passer-by, walking along the sidewalk until an ~~occasional~~ opening in the brick wall affords a glimpse within, will notice ~~few~~ no indications that the place was ever ~~a burial ground.~~ no. In most accounts we find the ~~large~~ plot ~~of ground~~ cited as an evidence of the wealth of the Quaker church near by. No suggestion whatever is made that it was a graveyard. ~~So that on the whole it is not beyond reasonable probability that it not only was seldom used for burial but that it in course of time became less and less so, out of a proper appreciation of its very inappropriate location.~~

~~In this connection it is interesting to bring together a few facts.~~

We know that Brown was buried in 1810. We have ~~just~~ seen that Knapp ~~found~~ sought the grave there in 1829. The Merchant's Hotel was not only there when George Lippard wrote his article in 1848 but was in full operation

1 Lectures on American Literature, p.138.

as far back as 1837 when it was given in A Guide to the Lions of Philadelphia[1] as a "new establishment just opened by Mr. Sanderson" so that if Lippard knew what he was talking about or was any thing more than the dandy he pictures gazing from the hotel porch on the graveyard across the street, we must refuse the part of the story which relates to the covering of the graves by the cellar-digging for the hotel. The chronology at least appears disordered.

After the apochryphal desecration story we come to that pathetic account as given by Lippard in the January 1848 number of the Nineteenth Century.[2] At the time of the writing of that article he thought Brown's body was still there but he evidently did not cross the street to see the grave. Even more significant however than the reference to the Quaker graveyard at the opening of the article is the reference near the close to one of Brown's sons as then living and wealthy. Lippard laboring under the delusion that Brown's body was over the way made a strong appeal to that son to take up the remains and bear them in triumph to Laurel Hill, but so far as we know any such proceeding was then an impossibility for the simple reason that they had already been taken there.

1 Philadelphia 1837, p.54. For an excellent illustration see Atkinson's
2 Vol.I, No.I, p.19 ff. (Casket June 1837 pages 280-1 the accompanying article also saying it was "just opened".

Some unidentified "H.S." in[1] strolling through the South Laurel Hill cemetery says he unexpectedly

> "came across the storm-worn marble monument (an unfolding scroll), set on a small granite base,[2] hidden under a clump of young trees. I was amazed to read thereon the name of "Charles Brockden Brown, died in Philadelphia, February 22, 1810." "

This communication of "H.S." was followed a week later by H.O.F. who told the usual desecration story of the Arch and Fourth street grave and suggested Lippard deserved credit for the Laurel Hill monument but unfortunately neglected to investigate.

It seems unreasonable that any one would put up a stone of that character and with such an inscription merely as a memorial. It has none of the stamp of the kind. If it were located in a park or on ground not given up to cemetery purposes and if it gave more details of his life and work it might be merely a memorial. The location in a well-known cemetery; the apparent fact that the old burial ground was to be covered up so as to raise the grade; the age of the stone;

1 According to a clipping of unascertained date from the Evening Bulletin signed by William Perrine's Penn-name.
2 Given as case--a typographical error.

At the South Laurel Hill Cemetery there are no official records of any interment of Brown's body although there are some of others contemporaneously transferred there from various other cemeteries. This however is inconclusive.

From the best authority to-day we learn that the monument, as shown in our illustration, has been moved about from one location to another. At first it was located as "H.S." found it, on the edge of the ravine which formerly was south of Nicetown Lane (Hunting Park Avenue) near the east river drive. From that spot the river view is not an extensive one. Formerly there was said to have been a fine spring and some sort of a building below it. The ground has been graded to a considerable depth so that if Brown's body is there it may be under twenty or thirty feet of earth. The monument's second location was at the right (looking north) of the approach to the Nicetown Lane bridge, a spot now covered by the waiting room.

Its third and present location is at the back of the receiving vault on the left side of the same approach to the Nicetown Lane bridge. It stands alone and is easily approached by the walk that runs beside the foundation of the receiving vault building.

The description of the monument by "H.S." does not agree with it as it may be found to-day; there is no "unfolding scroll" but a very sandy crumbling shield on the front of an appropriate water-worn boulder surmounted by a draped urn which probably does not belong to it. If the urn does belong to the original monument and contains any ashes they probably are Brown's. Sir Thomas Browne's Hydriotaphia would hardly have fallen on deaf ears if Brown ever read it. To read the inscription without the shadows our illustration brings out the lettering must be traced by the hand--the stone crumbles to the very touch.[1] The present inscription reads:

> "Charles Brockden Brown|Born in Philadelphia|January 17, 1771|Died February 22,1810|Aged 39 years 1 mo|& 5 days."

The shield on which the inscription is cut appears to have been substituted for the earlier "unfolding scroll" which, according to "H.S.", merely gave the name and the death at Philadelphia on February 22,1810.

According to the Quaker belief Brown's marriage out-of-the-faith should have kept him from burial in any Quaker ground, but so far as we know, he never acknowledged any sorrow for the violation of their

1 For purposes of properly restoring it the original design of an unfolding scroll in an imperishable marble or granite should be cut with a new inscription modelled on the original but giving additional details of the man it memorializes. The present location is prominent though not conspicuous, as Brown himself would have it, and probably it will never again be necessary to move it. If it is to be permanently there some sort of a marker might be placed on the former site beside the ravine.

custom ~~and~~ though it seems he must in some way have made his peace with them for the record found by Vaux goes to prove that the church did not deny him his first or second resting place among the dead of the faith in which he was nurtured. The early Quaker faith ~~also~~ prohibited any monument which would have marked his grave conspicuously but it had relaxed its severity about 1800.

Possibly both these reasons may have been of influence in the removal to Laurel Hill; On the other hand from the original plans of the cemetery it appears that the change was mostly a matter of convenience and propriety, the originators fore-seeing the time when the growth of the city would make ~~the early location~~ city cemeteries impracticable. Apparently the Society of Friends ~~followed~~ the movement and removed their dead to Section Four.

Lippard ~~a veritable madman~~ in his shrieking cry The Broken Hearted--which Brown ~~certainly~~ was not--thought Brown preferred Laurel Hill.

The facts seem to indicate that ~~if~~ he ~~may have been~~ ~~favorable~~ was unconsciously influenced to the opinion by some knowledge that Brown's body had already been moved there. So far as Brown ever expressed himself in the matter we only know that in the 21 April 1793 letter he wished he might be buried in Litchfield, Connecticut. After his marriage to Elizabeth Linn he ~~His mental condition at that time hardly~~ could not have retained such a wish and we can rest assured that he was buried where he wished to be and if he ~~too~~ could have been ~~recommends the idea. Between the two locations~~ Laurel Hill would have ~~is~~ undoubtedly ~~to be preferred~~ have been his choice.

Consulted when the Friends favored the establishment of Section Four