all 1917 records like this are my first typed copy

1917

15 16th Pm — 11 (pages)

P.M.

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|---|---|---|---|
| A.M. | 16 | 5 — | 16 |
| | 16 | 8 | 24 |
| | 17 | 9 | 33 |
| | 17 | 5 | 38 |
| | | 7 | 45 |
| | 19 | 12 | 57 |
| | 20 | 12 | 69 |
| | 21 | 11 | 80 |
| | 22 | 12 | 92 |
| | 23 | 7 | 99 |
| P.M. | | 12 | 111 |
| | 24 | 6 — | 117 |
| | 24 | 11 | 128 |
| | 25 | 1 — | 129 |
| | 25 | 28 | 157 |
| | 26 | 6 — | 163 |
| | 27 | 11 — | 174 |
| | 28 | 8 — | 182 |
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| | Dec | 15 — | 215 |
| | 1 | 7 — | 222 |
| | 3 | 8 — | 230 |

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Our Brown made a splendid success. He lived to see himself distinguished as a man of letters, throughout the United States for all of his work, in England for his novels and one political pamphlet and in France for one of his novels. While accomplishing what he was living for, he died in 1810, leaving to a wife and four children his household personal property, his books and manuscripts in the study and the precious heritage of his name.

Four years slipped by, during which no official biography was published. Then his executors and immediate connections were publicly rebuked as responsible for a lack of attention to his memory.

His executors were his widow and his brother Elijah. Elizabeth Brown had considerable literary ability, as we shall see, but she appears to have been too shy to become before the world as the biographer. Thirteen years later, she made an attempt in a small way which was only partially successful because she and her publisher did not seem to realize her name should go on her memoir. Elijah Brown was a merchant and merchants rarely can do more for literary fame than to hire out a job. That much he had done in 1811 but the public did not know it. When the laborer chosen failed to complete the biography in a reasonable

time the merchant took ~~it~~ away, and put it in a tinker's what had been done
hands. Soldered with splashes of fluxless lead, patched crazily and hammered to fit between covers we shall in due course find the job stamped with the name of William Dunlap.

¶ ~~Either~~ Through Incompetence as a biographer or because of ~~the~~ complications ~~of the~~ ~~situation~~ tasks Dunlap could not give Brown an honest effort. Nineteen years later when he was unable to correct ~~the~~ errors and falsehoods spread by the book which he ~~had issued~~ published in 1815, he did the same ~~sort~~ kind of thing Elizabeth Brown had done. Unfortunately most of the material he should have used was scattered or inaccessible or partially destroyed and his activities ~~of many kinds~~ had left him a tired old man. So much for the executor's efforts for Brown.

Philadelphia

The immediate connections of Brown, if they are to be distinguished from the executors, would comprise his married sister and living in Princeton and his brothers one in North Carolina, ~~and the other~~ one in England, and another, merchant, all busy as bees gathering money ~~Calvert~~ and helpless. They appear ~~to have been~~ willing to write a book they could not have done it. Brown perhaps fortunately escaped what they might have attempted.

As a result of ~~that sort of~~ criminal negligence, the books which have been placed on the shelves of the ~~public~~ libraries, where they are catalogued as the ones in which the ~~student~~ world is to find ~~his~~ its knowledge of Brown, have ~~been mostly more~~ had to be disseminators of ~~false~~ arrant falsehoods. From the critic who ~~who spends~~ struggled some twenty painful days ~~garbling~~ with what Dunlap ~~perverted~~ garbled; and the two old ~~gentlemen~~ Cyclops who ~~courting~~ ed their what comfort ~~with~~ laudanum could give; from the ~~mule~~ ink-slinger who brazenly acknowledged he ~~has~~ read only a few pages of Brown's novels, to the literary sloven who wrote a monograph ~~on the subject while living~~ in ~~happy~~ contented ignorance ~~of the existence~~ of the ~~so-called~~ Dunlap's Life of Brown, there ~~are~~ have been but one or two writers who have ~~at all~~ approached the subject in an appreciative spirit or have given it honest research or treated it as anything other than a necessary purgatory ~~in preparation~~ for a higher university degree.

~~Those valid reasons for~~ all their omissions and commissions, not their

dream. How a recluse could write ~~such~~ his novels has never been explained for the simple reason that it cannot be; it is false in its premiss. ~~The truth is~~ He had a large circle of friends, ~~very~~ prominent men of various callings of a public, commercial and professional nature and he went among them in clubs and at their homes not infrequently. That at times he preferred to stay at home was only due to the peculiarities of his own profession. Many people unacquainted with literary workers, then even as to-day, believed that an author's time, not being indentured to the routine of an office, was always at everybody's command, and when he insisted on the privacy necessary for his work, he ~~may have been~~ was perhaps thought a selfish and unworldly man of recluse nature.

The greatest misfortune Brown's fame has suffered was not the lies told of him, for they can be corrected however is unbearable. ~~in the death of~~ his best friend Elihu Hubbard Smith, the physician, when twenty-seven years old ~~it was~~ Smith was the ideal man for Brown's biography. He would have done it honestly; he was experienced as an author with an excellent style; he was ~~sane~~ intelligent and practical; accustomed to careful analysis of facts; he had a singular opportunity for accurate observation of his subject with no effort for fine writ at all times and he was unreservedly trusted by Brown. Whether he could have been another Boswell to a man who was not a Johnson, we cannot know, but he ~~might~~ could have proven a deal of a Lockhart to a deal of a Scott.

The first attempt to give the world a Brown biography was made by Paul Allen a prolific literary worker of notable ~~fame~~ birth, thorough education and mental endowment, above the average of his day. His fame has ~~not grown~~, unworthily been neglected but worse than usual, he has been treated to little more than slander. The reference books following in this case a general pattern of detraction merely because in some instances he abandoned a projected work which he had begun very well for a beginning. Any one who has awaited sufficient subscribers to a prospectus should know one reason for his desertion. There was another, much more powerful. The material Allen had for preparing the case of his Brown biography, his manuscript must be recognized as an advantage that no other writer has ever had and probably never again can have. The whole collection of Brown's journals, note-books, manuscripts of unpublished or unfinished works, books in his study and many papers of a legal kind were at his service. How much he realized it as a good fortune and how much of it he desired to publish cannot be known, but we shall see some that was afterwards suppressed. He must have known the whole truth concerning all of Brown's life. He had no motive to lie about anything at any time. Of course he realized the delicacy of his position; for he told us of it when he wrote some of the unfinished correspondence. He had to please Brown's widow and Elijah, if not others, so he was compelled to accept as of no importance in Brown's character all of the sensational elements and incidents, falsify or to give up the job. He gave it up. To the public he had to omit or

which were more numerous in his life than in any of the well-known

While working on the beginning of the study he was in close touch with Dunlap who was in Philadelphia at the Mansion House on theatrical business.

"I wrote a note to day to Mr.P.Allen who is engaged by B's friends to write his biography appointing a meeting."

records Dunlap's diary of 23 March 1811. After that first meeting on the following Monday, Dunlap made numerous calls on Allen and they read and passed Brown's novels back and forth, Allen supplied copies to them. March 26th and Cooke read in Jane Talbot on the 31st., finished it on 1 April and read Clara Howard on the next day. Tuesday 2 April Dunlap records:

"We passed the evening at home; Cooke amusing himself with the novels of my late excellent, and ever lamented friend, Charles B. Brown."

~~Apparently Between Allen and the widow and very likely others, Dunlap was either an intermediary or he was curious~~

× Dunlap: Cooke, Philadelphia 1813, Vol. II, p. 291.

Brown's small cloth-backed note-book, which was also used by some other member of his family contains a slight notice of Allen's projected biography:

> "Townsend, Bookseller (or lawyer1) Boston. A Proposal for C.B.B's Biography was sent to him by Mr.Allen also to Cushen2 Bookseller Salem has one also sent by Mr.A."

The Port Folio for July 1811 contained an article of five pages on Brown's works to which was added:

> "A biography of Charles B.Brown, and selection from his manuscripts, are about to be published. The profits of the work will be exclusively applied to the family of the deceased. The work will be comprised in two volumes." ~~We have not the smallest doubt that the pen of a writer, whose works are deemed worthy of a publication in England, will receive a liberal patronage in his native country."~~

Paul Allen was at the time performing the editorial duties of the Port Folio ~~Dennie being confined to his bed, but who the A.R. was who signed the article is not known.~~ Early in his career Allen had signed his contributions to the Boston Anthology with a lonely A. ~~Another early notice of the work is in~~ The Select Reviews of Philadelphia July 1811 announces:

> "Proposals for publishing the Life of the late Charles B. Brown, late Editor of the American Register, &c. To which will be added, Original Letters and Reflections from his private manuscripts. In 2 vols. octavo."

1 ~~Apparently this is~~ Alexander the brother of the Eliza Townsend who wrote some memorial verses for Brown. He was a large owner of real estate, a lawyer and politician, being a favorite Faneuil Hall orator.

2 Joshua Cushing ~~who~~ printed and published Allen's poems at Salem 1801. ~~A copy of the Port Folio Vol.I., 1809 has a bookseller's label which reads: Isaac Cushing, | Bookbinder | & | Pocket-book maker, | Washington-Street, | SALEM.~~

~~3 Could it have been an error for A.P., the transposition of Paul Allen's initials? It is suspected because it fails to mention Allen.~~

~~4 Vol.V, p.80.~~

Characteristically modest

The ~~the~~ Dunlap's preface ~~opens~~:

> "The plan of these volumes, and the proposals for their publication were laid before the public without the knowledge of the writer of the biography. Engagements having been entered into with subscribers, the present writer has been engaged to fulfil them, but not until the selections for the first volume had been made and printed.
>
> The gentleman who made this selection conceived, that although these papers" etc.

To represent as selection what Allen did is hardly the proper acknowledgment ~~Here the preface goes on~~ (what Dunlap gives and ~~the~~ here continues) concerning the fragments published, ~~evidently~~ quoting from ~~the~~ Allen's preface, ~~which we have already quoted and which is not in the one copy known, though the pagination would seem to indicate that there should be one~~. ~~Our~~ The present interest, however, is in ~~Dunlap's~~ his plea in extenuation. (Vol. I, p. 70)

This plea is in the form of an apology dragged in again with a lack of grace or gratitude; ~~in volume one, page 70 thus:~~

> "The gentleman who first undertook to fulfil the engagements entered into by those who published proposals, and received subscriptions for these volumes, selected for republication, extracts from a work written in the fall and winter of the year 1797, and which, with the greater part of the selections for the first volume were printed before the present writer was engaged for the work."

Thus on every opportunity Dunlap tried to avoid the full responsibility for the burden which he had ~~voluntarily assumed~~ willingly accepted.

It is now clear ~~that~~ we should ~~take a glance at the work he did or better and more accurately~~ see how he proceeded to alter the work

1 ~~Dunlap's~~ His diary proves he had a complete knowledge of the whole business
2 ~~Here the one volume of Allen betrays him.~~
3 ~~Again the one volume Allen betrays him.~~

done by Allen, for which ~~alteration~~ he was ~~permitted~~ to put his name on the title-page. ~~Unfortunately~~ We have not ~~been given~~ the agreement between Dunlap and Allen, if there ever was one, that it gave him every liberty enjoyed by any editor rather than the restricted activity suggested by the statement that the printed part was to be retained, which was not done, may be seen by ~~a study of~~ the "make up" of the book and by a summary ~~comparison~~ of the actual material ~~which was~~ added to or altered from the one volume, ~~of Allen~~. Dunlap's two volumes were manufactured by the printer as follows.

The end papers, front and back, of both volumes were made by one sheet of four pages and a leaf of two pages pasted within.

Vol.I: Unnumbered signature(1): title-page, copyright and two pages of preface=4 pages. Signatures 2°-3°; 4, 5°-9°, 10-13, 14°; 15-21, 22°, 23-27, 28°-33°, 34-44, 45°-49°, 50=total of 49 signatures of eight pages each, ~~numbered~~=392 pages + 4 pages unnumbered=396 pages.

Vol.II: Unnumbered signature(1): title-page, blank verso and text=8 pages. Signatures: Vol.II, 2-54, 55 omitted, 56, pages 441-448 which would have made another (57) signature were not given, 57-59=total of 59 signatures of eight pages each, ~~numbered~~=472 pages, as numbered. Actual pages = 464.

× The starred signatures of Volume I and signatures 18 ~~19~~-20 and six pages of signature 21 of Volume II ~~are those which~~ had been printed for Allen and were retained. Whether any more were printed for Allen's second volume and not used is not known. Those giving extracts are likely to have been retained ~~so as~~ to save additional printer's bills. ~~for alterations~~ The only signature not of eight pages is the unnumbered (1) of Volume I which ~~very likely~~ would have supplied those ~~had~~ and a half four more pages of Allen's preface.

With the exception of 46x-49x which were Dunlap's, all

A comparison of the text of the Dunlap book with Allen's one volume shows 52 A other interesting facts.

Allen's ~~biography as printed~~ begins on ~~the~~ a page numbered 9, the foregoing pages being ~~probably~~ planned for the usual title, etc. and a preface of which ~~Dunlap~~ was given ~~us~~ only ~~an~~ the extract. Up to page 25 the material is either different or, in some pages, it is modified by Dunlap sometimes slightly and at other times greatly; so ~~that~~ the pages do not correspond. From 25 to 39 1 the pages and matter are the same with one unimportant slight exception; 40 to 71 differ with slight exceptions on pages ~~of~~ 57, 64, 65, and 68; 72 to 104 are the same in both works; 105 to 107 differ again; 108 to 111 differ in the pagination but not in ~~the~~ matter; 112 to 168 are the same; 169 differs; 170 to 221 are the same; 222 to 261 differ; 262 and 263 differ in pagination but not in ~~the~~ matter; 264 to 358 are the same with exception of the last five pages which differ in pagination but not in matter; 359 to 386 are made into Dunlap's pages 140 to 169 of volume two; and, 387 to the end on page 390 differ. Of the total of 390 pages about one quarter was refused, 104 pages comprise all on which Dunlap made any alteration whatever and 286 pages were accepted as they had been printed for Allen. Of the 472 pages of Dunlap's second volume not more than 1 Inclusive, always.

sixty can be claimed as original, ~~by Dunlap~~. The utmost generosity in counting can only make Dunlap the author of one-fifth of the two-volume book which bears his name!

As a biography and selections ~~proclaimed~~ from the house-top of the title-page, ~~Dunlap's or Allen's work~~ is ~~to be considered~~ only ~~as~~ a tailed out rather than unwrought quarry; One volume was padded to make two by giving many ~~of the~~ fragments which are easily accessible in Brown's magazines. The Scribbler ~~is the only new one~~. The letters and the verses To Clara are the only ~~additional~~ material not otherwise accessible. ~~Because~~ Allen ~~began the~~ collecting ~~process he~~ deserves all the credit for the ~~best~~ parts of volume one. ~~The inclusion of the Trip to Rockaway was however a slip for it is accessible in the Literary Magazine.~~ How much of the second volume was selected by ~~Allen~~ we shall probably never know, ~~unless some day~~ a copy of his volume two also escaped and is brought to light We have found one fragment in ~~the~~ one volume, ~~and~~ from ~~its~~ character, it is ~~quite possible by far the greater part~~ of volume two was ~~also his~~. This is important because volume ~~two~~ contains ~~some~~ letters which have ~~not~~ been found ~~in the original~~ for comparison with Dunlap's publication of them. Allen had ~~not given them in the one volume but according to the Select Reviews (Philadelphia 1811, Vol.V, p80).~~ ~~he had planned to do so probably~~ in ~~the~~ second volume. ~~So far as we~~ can judge Allen had ~~very little ability~~ in biography. Dunlap did not

× D.K. Merrill: Development of American Biography, Portland, Maine, 1932, p.36 states it was the ~~our~~ first biography of a professional author.

He was deliberately chosen from a score or more, writers ~~of capable~~ capable and he was the first choice.

54

If ~~So far as we know~~ Allen had no marked ~~very little~~ ability, or conspicuous incompetence, in biography. ~~Though he~~ he in 1802 had reviewed a life of Pitt ~~biography of Fox~~ for the Boston Anthology Society ~~which had~~ and because ~~from the fact that~~ they asked him to do another (on Fox) it may be concluded that ~~he had~~ he had not their standards. ~~made a respectable showing~~ as a judge of other men's work in that kind of literary endeavor. Publication by the Anthology was high if not the highest award for quality our country has ever had.

The appendix to the memoirs of Alexander I of Russia which he supplied in 1818 was too slight an effort to display any biographical talent he may have developed. He took. The Brown was so far as we can learn this only instance ~~of to the time~~ where a work ~~of~~ whole (biographical) was attempted by him and ~~of the~~ the rare volume I cannot be accepted as a criterion of his ability; especially the last hundred-odd pages, which were produced under pressure. if not in very unpleasant circumstances.

because

and possibly more

So much for the so-called Dunlap's life of Brown.

~~As~~ An independent work not at all related to this revised Allen biography is Dunlap's real though feeble attempt, twenty-four years after Brown was dead, when he was sixty-seven years old and taking laudanum almost daily, to write a memoir[1] ~~of Brown.~~

The record of it is in his manuscript journal:[2]

"Sept.6th.,1833:I am agreed to furnish a Biography ~~Stuart3 & one~~ of C.B.Brown.
Sun.Oct.13,1833:Look over letters from Charles Brockden Brown,Elihu Hubbard Smith & William Johnson of dates from 1794 to 1805.
Apl.21,1834:~~Noon~~. Read in Spark's Amer.Biog.~~4~~
Aug.16:Walk to Herring's & receive No.12 & 13 National Portrait Gallery--agree to write biography of Brown (C.B.) for him. Recommend that Longacre look at Sharpless port. of Brown before adopting mine.[3]
__.Oct.~~23~~ 11,~~1834~~:Begin a biographical sketch of Charles Brockden Brown for Herring and Longacre.
13 Nov.~~1834~~:William H.Prescott "our coadjutor" is the author of ye ~~biography~~ of C.B.B. in Spark's collection.
Nov.16 Sunday:Write on Biography of C.B.Brown for the Nat'l Port. Gallery.
Nov.17:Write on Biog. or C.B.Brown.
Wed.Nov.19.1834:Finish biograph. of C.B.B."

1 In the Peterson 1852 issue in parts of which ~~this~~ it was No.25 it had added at the end a paragraph of praise which could not have been written by Dunlap.
2 Vol.30 included in the volume numbered 24. In the New York Historical Society.

3 The Forest engraving of Dunlap's portrait and Brown's signature were for the first time given to the public

~~presently and by looking over the few old letters and portraits which he had~~. He carried the subject in mind for more than ~~two~~ a years before he put it in tangible shape, ~~probably~~ doing the actual writing during ~~in three days~~ four weeks. There is only one quotation to suggest he used his own diary though it covered all the years during which he knew Brown. This time Dunlap was able to model his figure as he chose but the pathetically sad result ~~shows it~~ was too late ~~for him~~ to serve Brown's memory.

What he might have done when forty-nine could not be done when he was approaching ~~almost~~ sixty-eight. ~~Though he~~ Omitting the Charles Brockden tradition ~~story~~, the "Boy" anecdote ~~story~~, the Edenton newspaper story, and all account of Brown's schooling ~~thereby tearing himself free from what formerly appeared to him to be the oppressive grasp of Allen's encumbrances by leaving out such anecdotes~~ and attempting to correct errors, he did not succeed in avoiding equally as serious defects. The anecdotes omitted are precisely what is needed to lighten the bald narrative of any biography. His memoir as a memoir or as a sketch lacks construction, there is no attempt at a psychological study of Brown, and ~~it~~ the essay is a mere mechanical narration of

any more than there had been twenty years before

or any other thing than a biography

life ~~had animal existence~~ ~~established~~ based on the falsehoods of his revision of Allen's book.
his ~~doings~~ and character. The first sentence reflects the influence
of Prescott's essay; he disagrees with Allen Concerning ~~in regard to~~ Brown's admiss-
ion to the bar; his idea of Brown's knowledge of the Indians contradicts
the family traditions; and he is entirely in error concerning the pub-
lication of Jane Talbot. What he supplies that is new is little and not of impor-
tance ~~and the writer makes little use of it and does not appear to~~

We must now turn back ~~revert~~ to Prescott's essay on Brown which we have seen had been part of Dunlap's preparation.

II

~~Brown~~ It was the only one of literary man of the sixty subjects in ~~the~~ Sparks ~~Library of American Biography~~ collection. Miss Davidson was the only literary woman. The others of the queer company were politicians, soldiers, divines, scientists, explorers and educators.

F2

(57A)

Prescott's diary[1] gives a ~~repulsive account~~ startling record of its preparation:

> "July 14,1833. Begin to write on Brown's life at Nahant. July 29,1833. Finished B's Life and Writings. Written at the rate of between 3 and 4 noctographs 2 per day. I am afraid it will verify the proverb of "easy writing",etc. I could not have finished one of his novels unless as a job."

~~Our illustration~~ The engraving by John Sartain for the Eclectic Magazine 1858 (XLV,291),presents Prescott as ~~he was actually~~ photographed when using the noctograph. Like Dunlap, He was blind in one eye and could use the other only for about half an hour each day. ~~of reading or revision.~~

1 Ogden's Prescott,Boston 1904,p.70.

2 The device ~~used was said to have been~~ invented by one of the ~~English~~ Wedgewood~~s family~~ (~~the~~ D.N.B.does not tell ~~us~~ which ~~one~~) ~~and~~ was brought to Prescott~~'s~~ attention by Mrs.Delafield in 1816. It was a grille ~~made~~ of copper wires strung in a frame. A sort of carbon transfer paper was ~~used~~ beneath the wires and above the manuscript paper,and the writing was done ~~by pressure~~ with an ivory or agate stylus. Ticknor's Life of Prescott,Boston 1864,~~carries~~ has an illustration of a device of the kind ~~on page 121~~. The description says there were sixteen wires, the illustration only shows fifteen though the sixteenth may be hidden at the top by the position of the frame when it was being drawn. The reproduced ~~page of Prescott's~~ manuscript written ~~with the assistance~~ of the noctograph gives seventeen lines, ~~so that the illustration may be from the actual one used,~~ the seventeenth ~~line~~ being guided by the frame. For the blind ~~the important point~~ is that there is no adjustable guide to indicate where on the page and line the writer left off. Apparently Prescott established the use of it in and around Boston for he had many made and sent to those needing them. For a time he was a trustee of the Perkins Institution for the Blind.

The reference to "easy writing" is to Sheridan's couplet[1] ~~from~~

~~Clio's Protest published the same year Brown was born.~~

"You write with ease to show your breeding,
But easy writing 's curst hard reading."

Relating to the essay ~~Prescott~~ he[2] received from Jared Sparks a kindly letter dated Cambridge 9 August 1833, which reads in part:

> "It is just the thing it should be, and you need not fear to put your name to it. As a literary criticism upon B's genius and writings, it is beautiful, spirited, & graphic. There is nothing wanting but more biographical incidents and personal traits. These are not to be created, and if there were none to be found, why, there was an end of the matter. I cannot think that B's friends will not be pleased with your representation. If not, they will be more unreasonable than is to be expected."[3]

~~Being a New England product of course it never occured to~~ had it appears Sparks to ~~ask some Philadelphia author to do~~ had tried to have done by Robert Walsh who wrote to Sparks 8 December 1832 saying "I should prefer the life of Morris." 3 As a result Walsh did none. the Brown memoir. ~~Of the authors of Sparks' collection there were only two Pennsylvania and two or three New York men, none of which was eligible.~~ all the whole

Walsh may have been the editor who took over the Brown Register when Dick died

1 Prescott used the Philadelphia 1826 edition of Clio's Protest in which the couplet appears Vol.I, p.31. It was lot 1031 in the sale of his library. ~~in 1871~~.

2 Ogden's Prescott Boston 1904, p.70.

~~3 Sparks apparently had read the English Monthly Review for October 1832~~

3 H.B. Adams Jared Sparks Boston 1893, Vol. II, p. 188 note. 03 Chr.

To Sparks[1] 25 November 1840 Prescott wrote

> "What a humbug the business of reviewing is! When will the honest public see through a mill stone?"

According to his journal he could not understand how one critic could "look another in the face without laughing".His own opinion[2] of the essays was continually changing. 27 February 1845 they were spoken of as "certain miscellaneous pieces"; 30 March they are "some dozen of reviews", "literary essays" and "periodical trumpery" and 30 May they become mere "essays". 14 September he says "the purchaser will get a heap for his money of--something" which cryptic value is 15 December explained as "not worth a maravedi", a small fraction of a cent.

Ogden's biography of Prescott says[3] that later in life he made some claim he had exaggerated the merits of Brown. We only have to read the essay to see that his interest in Brown's merits was infinitesimal. In 1845 when he sent the essays to Richard Bentley for publication in a volume as Miscellanies he read over the essay on Brown and made some alterations of punctuation and similar details of no importance. The only real revision was "Our hero" became merely "Young Brown". Thus

1 Correspondence of W.H.Prescott Boston 1925,p.179.
2 Ibidem,pp.529,534,540,552 and 566.
3 Boston 1904,p.70.

unfortunate for Brown that ~~Prescott~~ he was chosen. He did not fill the requirements as expressed in the "advertisement" to the first volume of the series, where opportunity and inclination were supposed to attract the writers to their subjects.

"

It appears that Silas Dunlap ~~[illegible]~~ to Allen, Prescott ~~[illegible]~~ Blake's second fiddle to Robert Walsh of Baltimore. 3 December 1832 Walsh wrote to Sparks, "If the Brain," I should prefer the life of Morris." X Strange fatality, or was it because Walsh knew the truth, possibly long before from Allen himself or from John Neal?

X H.B. Adams: Jared Sparks Boston 1893, Vol. II, p. 188 note.

No one begrudges ~~him~~ Prescott occupation and forty-four dollars and a pocket full of maravedi for his industry but it is deplorable that on the strength of his reputation as a historian this essay has been ~~generally~~ accepted as a just critique on Brown. ~~Prescott~~ He did little more than "select a few of the most prominent incidents" as he believed from Dunlap though really from Paul Allen, and in doing so he sometimes quoted erroneously. There is no research in the ~~whole~~ essay, he added nothing new to the subject though his publisher did supply as a frontispiece a reproduction of one of Brown's letters which has been lost or destroyed. Almost one-third ~~of the bulk of his essay~~ is ~~made up of~~ quoted material. According to the popular style ~~when not quoting~~ he lived up to his "easy writing" gracefully "showing his breeding", throwing in pedantic references to foreign authors, touching it up with a little cheap French and not failing to make good capital out of his historical information. At times he made poor attempts to insert something original, but save for a few hackneyed words on

~~It is the earliest example of his handwriting given to the~~

juvenile productions, an ~~uncalled for~~ unnecessary defense of the law and some airy nothings concerning lawyers who have given up the profession for literature, among whom he may have been thinking of himself, ~~unmentioned as well as the others~~, he, for the most part, ~~gracefully appropriated~~ leaned upon Dunlap's Allen and Mrs. Brown's memoir, ~~of the 1827 Boston edition of Wieland. In spite of his suggesting he was only able to appreciate parts of the novels~~ he unwisely gives a summary of the plot of Wieland, "selects"--as other writers before him had done--a passage from it and one from Edgar Huntly, thereby spoiling both

for many readers; he completely ignores the Carwin memoirs and, with a superficial reason, ~~prefers to consider~~ thinks the reader ~~as~~ "duped" by the author. After such an "exaggeration of Brown's merits" most readers decide they have had enough ~~and never bother to read any more of Brown.~~

As a graceful essay, perhaps another spray in the wreath of laurel on his brow, the work ~~seems to have been~~ was of course well received by his Boston friends and ~~elicited~~ obtained a highly eulogistic review, which as a mill stone he may have seen through and laughed ~~at~~, in the New England Magazine ~~for May 1834.~~ Buckingham's May 1834 ~~1~~ According to the reviewer who deals mostly in superlatives it did "full justice, and no more, to the man, whose virtues and talents are commemorated"--whatever that "humbug" may mean! Prescott's criticism ~~consists of fault finding~~ is based on the erroneous assumption that ~~every reader takes up a book believing it perfection so that~~ the ~~principal~~ thing ~~for the critic~~ to do is to show the ~~are~~ defects. Saintsbury would mince no words but mark him a blemish-hunter.

~~1 Vol. VI, pp. 428-9.~~ May 1834; ~~1~~ ^

There are many suggestions of Elizabeth Brown's Connection ~~with the~~ in the memoir. In the opening paragraph the "friendship" and "affection"; the frequent reference to "Mr. Brown"; the omission of what was personal in the quotations concerning his domestic happiness; the reflections of her religious training, such as the mention of Brown's scepticism, the reference to his parents as members of the Society of Friends rather than the silence of Allen and the ~~Q~~ Quakers of Dunlap, the quotation from the Editor's address of the Literary magazine and the idea of Brown's yielding up his soul to Him who gave it; the reference to her own description of his last hours; and the ~~dating~~ dating of the essay: ~~at Philadelphia~~ ~~April~~ ~~all should appear only in the original issue~~: all should have identified the writer for any curious reader. However it has never been known that she wrote it. Many times it has been hastily ascribed to Dunlap, indeed it has even been credited to David MacKay who in 1827 had not yet appeared ~~for~~ ~~from~~ ~~the stars to this~~ earth.

the astounding omission of any description of his personal appearance

¶ Elizabeth Brown had literary ability of no common order, she had written prose and verse for publication though not under her own name and quite likely had collaborated with Brown. Her diction was the same, her sentences were always well formed, often times when excited they shot out in the Browns staccato manner though she surpassed him in paragraph grouping and in structure. ¶ This was the time of all others when it would have been the best sort of a recommendation had her name been given but her shyness and modesty, among many excellencies which she had, either prevented it or else her judgment was such that she knew the thought absence of her name would draw the reviewers' attention solely to Brown's work. x It may be she thought that up to that time no wife believed had ever written any biographical account of a husband, which is probably at least true of Americans.

Because of the rarity

¶ Her relation to Dunlap and Allen may be misused from our presentation of their defects. She was not writing merely an abridgment condensation of their cumbersome work. They had misrepresented her husband, they could not claim his merits, they were so tedious they bored, they did not write intelligible English. She must have known the reception they had received, she may have taken what she wished from them but she modified what she took revised when it offended her modesty or recalled the terrible details of Brown's death or presented mere fancies that their imaginations had suggested and

through which she could have secured from the same sources they used

She corrected whatever errors she recognized.

¶ In a quiet modest way, in a style ~~faintly~~ reminiscent of Brown's, she shows a ~~most~~ remarkable knowledge of ~~all~~ the various sides of Brown's career, ~~While~~ although the construction is ~~nothing of note being~~ the simple formal one of ~~all~~ most biography, ~~a straight forward~~ chronological narrative, ~~of facts~~ the criticism is real criticism of a high type, not blemish-hunting, so that it

although it is perfectly clear that she had thoroughly read what she wrote of

and the most consummate courage to claim for him ~~what~~ a higher position than any other writer has or will ever claim.

is far superior to either Dunlap or Prescott. There never has been written a more incisive and comprehensive paragraph of Brown criticism, so brief and excellent as the following which summarizes all his well known works with the charm of a cameo. The passage[1] reads:

> " Upon the character of these fictions, little more can be said upon this occasion. They have now in their favor the voice of British criticism, tardy as it has ever been to proclaim the merits of American genius; and that excellence must indeed be positive on this side of the Atlantic, which can win or extort applause from the judges on the other. They are indeed remarkable productions. Once read, the impression they make is never forgotten. They are *original* in every sense,—in the conception, the style, the execution; in the characters, sentiments, manners, incidents—altogether original. Full of energy and pathos, they abound with passages of genuine eloquence and irresistible force. Few works excite such breathless anxiety and awful apprehension. The tone of seriousness and solemnity that pervades them, repels the ordinary reader of novels. One fond of mere love-tales must not look into them for enjoyment. They are calculated only for those who indulge in the deep and powerful emotions; for those who think and feel strongly; who delight patiently to trace every action to its appropriate motive; and to mark the ebbs and flows of passion, and follow them out to their farthest consequences. To such readers they will always be welcome, notwithstanding the admission, that the characters and incidents are too frequently in extremes, and lie barely within the range of probability. Few writers of fictitious narrative can be pronounced equal to Mr. Brown, in the analysis of the thoughts and emotions of the soul; in exquisite skill in the arrangement and development of incidents; and in accuracy, extent, and variety of knowledge. "

As was natural under the circumstances there are a few pardonable errors in statements such as that Brown's ancestors landed <u>with</u> Penn,

1 P.xii.

~~from intimacy with him.~~

When we look for any account or suggestion of his personal appearance in Mrs.Brown's memoir we find mentioned nothing but a weakness of body or of physical constitution. This absence is perhaps only to be expected ~~in a memoir by~~ from the one person who felt no need to describe him, but it is remarkable.

Finding nothing where we naturally would expect the most we turn to ~~William~~ Dunlap, ~~who~~ in the National Portrait Gallery memoir, ~~which we should remember is distinct from the so called Dunlap biography~~, gives a ~~most~~ thorough description: ~~of his appearance, thus:~~

> "The personal appearance of Brown was remarkable. Below the medium height, and slender in an uncommon degree, he was active and quick in his movements, and had always delighted in pedestrian exercises. The writer has accompanied him in a day's walk of forty miles, during which his copious funds of knowledge were poured forth with boundless prodigality, to the delight of his companions--occasionally interrupted by fits of abstraction, during which he would walk rapidly in silence, mentally conversing with himself or with the inhabitants of other worlds. His usual dress was singular. His dark brown hair had never been disguised by powder, although such was the fashion of the days of his youth, but fell in natural guise upon his neck and shoulders. His complexion was pale and sickly,

Dunlap's 13 February 1806 letter to his wife says Mrs.Smith's husband a little man reminded him of Brown.

> his eye a dull gray,but capable of flashes when excited by conversation,and of a general expression of benevolence. No feature of his face was good,and yet the whole when animated was agreeable."

With his one eye Dunlap ~~seems to have been~~ was no mean observer.

Would that he had been as able a portrait painter!

A ~~totally~~ different picture of him ~~is to be found in~~ was given by John Bernard[1] ~~Retrospections of America~~, who ~~Bernard~~ knew him personally ~~only~~ for a brief part of his life; ~~and inconsistently describes him as follows:~~

> "Brown gave very little idea of an imaginative writer in his appearance. He was short and dumpy,with light eyes, and hair inclining to be sandy,while the expression of his countenance told rather of ill-health than of intellect. The lines on his brow seemed to have been corroded by consumption,not chiselled by midnight meditations,and this was partly the case. A weak constitution had been his parents' legacy to him,and the ebullitions of his spirit proved too powerful for the vessel that contained it. Yet vividly in his countenance glowed the light of benevolence; that was his nature, and he could no more have suppressed its expression than he could have kept his eyes closed."

It is not to be expected that a man who was ~~in~~ not ~~sense~~ a scholar could distinguish whether study or disease had wrought the ~~physical~~ havoc ~~which~~ he thought he saw.

1 Retrospections of America, N.Y.,1887,p.252 ff.

The traditional picture ~~of him is now~~ told in the family of one of the collateral descendants ~~somewhat to the effect~~ was that he was a dreamy youth, with blue eyes and sandy hair, who loved to sit in a half-lighted room ~~while~~ telling fairy stories to a circle of children. The poetry, their love of flowers and woods ~~their knowledge of arboriculture and love of hunting~~ wandering in the came from him. He loved all animals and they ~~in turn~~ trusted him, especially the birds ~~who would come at his call~~. Occasionally he would be absent from home for weeks, probably visiting the Indians, for he once brought home a wampum belt and at another time Indian head dresses for his brother's children. His brother Armitt acted as his financial agent, ~~paying~~ supplying him ~~an allowance~~ with money which it was his custom to ~~secrete~~ hide[1] in his boots where it sometimes was forgotten and trodden into pulp. He was a very loveable man and had ~~such~~ an ease of manner ~~it~~ that suggested an ~~want of an appreciation~~ absence of responsibility or a disregard of the petty formalities of life. This blissful serenity is confirmed by a passage of Bernard's[2] ~~which reads:~~

> "One of the most agreeable acquaintances I formed in Philadelphia was with Charles Brockden Brown, the first, and for many years the only, novelist America had produced. Few men have united talent and worth in a larger

1 The poet Campbell used his slippers for the ~~same~~ purpose.
2 Retrospections, N.Y., 1887, p.50. ~~Notice that the references to Bernard are to the American work and not the English one in two volumes.~~

> proportion,or been more marked by a characteristic which is supposed to be incompatible with the pursuit of letters--equanimity. In a powerful mind this must be a mental influence. It bespeaks an active as well as speculative life,a daily observation of the world's admixture,engendering contentment with its best and respect for its weakest part. It is the fate of writers who seclude themselves,that,carrying a high standard of character into the world,they are not prepared to put up with the discovery that they have deceived themselves."

It has been ~~whispered about in~~ literary gossip that Bernard is not entirely reliable ~~for facts,~~ but the unprejudiced cannot fail to notice in the usual references a tendency to slander him. ~~Whether~~ He did not deserve any such treatment ~~may be doubted~~ even though the earlier description quoted ~~by us~~ lacks consistency and this passage shows how little he knew of intense literary life. So far as known his intention was to give a faithful recollection.

With what authority ~~the author~~ Prescott does not state,Brown's appearance and character is represented ~~by Prescott~~ as nothing striking and his manners simple. Prescott did not know Brown personally and his picture ~~may have been~~ was derived ~~at second hand~~ from ~~Allen through~~ Dunlap. Of course he had not the ~~excellent Dunlap~~ fuller and better collection of the Portrait Gallery description to guide him. ~~He appears to have used the Forrest engraving of Dunlap's miniature (II) --~~ an inferior engraving of an inferior painting--which makes Brown an insipid weakling.

Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography[1] is a fair example of the common reference book which goes far from the mark ~~in that it~~ and makes him tall, his hair black and his expression melancholic. The man who wrote that description not only never saw Brown but probably did not ~~even~~ see the cut taken from Forrest's engraving of Dunlap's miniature (II) which was to accompany his article.

Dunlap painted three ivory miniatures of Brown. So far as their probable accuracy is concerned one (II) was said by the painter himself to be a sketchy likeness, and the other (I) must have been thought fairly good for it, ~~as well as~~ with the companion ~~one~~ piece of Elizabeth Linn, ~~was~~ are presented to Brown. III is merely a somewhat flattering replica of II. The ~~sketchy likeness (II) and the replica (III)~~ Three have defects in all the principal features, ~~and~~ ~~X~~ ~~the~~ ~~X~~ their usual presentation of II by Forrest's engraving ~~are~~ is not for a moment to be considered seriously, for it is a ~~appears that the man who gave us the best descriptive account of Brown has given us a~~ engraving which is a caricature of the portrait ~~which~~ and unfor-

1 New York 1887-9, Vol.I, p.397. Probably written by Richard Henry Stoddard.

To these and all others who employ similar ~~arguments~~ terms it is sufficient ~~to say~~ that Brown has a great many characteristics in his ~~works of~~ fiction that could not ~~all~~ be found in any other English-speaking author, and his intent was ~~at least~~ national ~~if~~ though his ability to accomplish it was not sufficient~~ly complete~~.

Of course ~~the matter falls into~~ this leads to the ~~much~~ mooted question of the American novel, what is it and who has it been written by or will it ever be written? The specialist and expert, who are ~~at least~~ first cousins of Neal and Gardiner, come in and say that up to the present there is no such thing as the American novel.

The next stumbling-block is the question of the novel. What are generally spoken of as Brown's novels are not properly to be called so. Technically It is best to avoid the term and speak of ~~Brown's~~ his works of fiction. ~~According to the rule that of course includes his verse,~~

No. 12

Richardson[1] says ~~Brown's~~ the "novels" are essentially romances; Beers[2] calls his stories romances; Chandler[3] calls them tales; and the Retrospective Review[4] calls Brown a writer of romantic narrative.[X] His nature description should ~~define~~ make him a romantic of romanticists. in the latter

Only a few of his works of prose fiction are ~~really~~ novels, such as Ormond, Clara Howard, Jane Talbot and Arthur Mervyn, the last being a novel of adventure. Wieland and Edgar Huntly are probably to be[20] classed[5] ~~as romances because of their improbabilities. So that it must be admitted that the term given Brown is entirely too loose a one.~~

Generally the phrase First American novelist is a pigeon-hole label, ~~satisfactory to those who know little of the subject. It is~~ suitable for picturesqueness, it can be used to gnibble or it can be played on indefinitely but it needs a long long rest, having been overworked ever since it was born.

1 American Literature, Vol.II, p.442. 2 American Literature, p.80.
3 Literature of Roguery, Vol.II, p.405. 4 Vol.IV, Series I, p.317.
5 If they are, Cooper cannot be ~~given credit for being~~ the founder of American romance. See Phillips' Cooper, N.Y., 1913, p.1.
~~6 Boston 1827 Wieland, p.xiv.~~

Hugh Henry Brackenridge's (1748-1816) Modern Chivalry 1792-7 is full of slaps at law, lawyers and government; in fact it is first class political satire true of any time. Indian treaties are incidental, Rabelaisan indecencies appear in spots, the Indian Queen hotel is used (II, 50) and the bagnio of Mrs. Robeson serves the gullible, and for incident. The introduction to Part III uses the pretense of finding the manuscript. We have no knowledge that Brown read any of it.

BPH

Ebenezer Bradford's ( – ) Art of Courting 1795 ~~has been inaccessible for study~~ left no record of Brown's reading it.

Harvard

James Butler ( – ) in Fortunes' Foot-ball 1797-8 was also left no record of Brown's reading it.

The literary influences on Brown are in varying degrees scattered among a ~~great~~ number of works by American, English, French and German authors. To be considered at this time are those ~~that have~~ with possible resemblances and ~~at the involve~~ sufficient doubt to make a ~~full~~ study necessary. The instances most unlikely, if not amusing, will at least throw ~~a strong~~ some light on many of Brown's characteristic materials. ~~Sometimes the biographical, or bibliographical or critical side may be a fact in the decision.~~

Generally the minor authors will not be considered here though some exceptions will be, especially if there are not more fitting opportunities in the course of the biography. ~~to present them more fittingly.~~

It is amazing to find the American influence ~~the most~~ difficult to suggest or prove. Too often there is no record of his reading a particular book; perhaps because he did so when he was not keeping a journal or note book or he and his friends ~~were~~ neglected to mention it. In spite of that we must believe he read many of them for he was a ~~constant~~ frequenter of libraries wherever he happened to be. As a rule ~~the~~ bibliographers do not give the information of original periodical appearance of some of the books so the later dates of ~~books~~ publication in book form may not help ~~to~~ decide some cases. In prose fiction we ~~should~~ shall ~~however~~ limit ourselves to ~~those~~ accepting as conclusive works published before 1802 for by that time Brown had practically ended his production of ~~works~~ of that kind.

The epistolary novel, as originated by Fanny Burney and distinguished from novels that merely quote an occasional letter, was common among Brown's American predecessors. Imitating the English they told their stories that way, ~~but did not often put both of~~ which sometimes became a part of the title, as Brown ~~had~~ did in Clara Howard. Jane Talbot was his only other book in the kind, though not displayed on the title-page. Jessica was in part published periodically as Original Letters. Besides Burney, Rousseau, Richardson and Smollett also gave the technique of the epistolary novel.

Three of Brown's predecessors form what may be called the Seduction Group: The Power of Sympathy, Charlotte Temple (1794) and The Coquette. (1797). Mrs. Rowson may be included here until some one has settled the ~~technical~~ point whether she is English or American. Both the D. N. B. and the D. A. B. claim her. However her date and the title are not accurate — the first edition was London 1790, the title was Charlotte, a Tale of Truth. The first American edition was Philadelphia 1794 under the English title.

So far as Brown is concerned if English she may be ~~included here or~~ withdrawn and later added to the other English possible influences.

The ~~Seduction~~ Group is ~~very~~ doubtful as in Brown indebtedness. He was no more interested in the process of seduction than Hawthorne was. Both treated the theme for the results on character and ~~action~~ conduct. The nearest Brown came was in Ormond; but ~~Mrs. Rowson~~ he was indebted for that partly ~~as he was~~ to Richardson's Lovelace (1747-8). His women of a fault were always subordinate characters, never developed like the group presented them.

(1759-1840) in The

Hannah Webster Foster, Coquette 1797 may be dismissed at once. There is no record or suggestion he read it. If he did, it left no traces of influence.

and is used by Brown; it

William Hill Brown (1765-1793) in The Power of Sympathy 1789 is not known to have been read by Brown. It has the heroine isolated which makes the seduction possible; is epistolary in kind; has three interpolated stories; ends in a Goethe suicide; uses some of the diction characteristic of the Wieland title-page verse; has verse on its title-page, though not in the metre Brown used; has a Temple of Apollo summer house (I, 28); pleads for female education (II, 120); talks of novels (I, 41) and the duty of self knowledge (I, 60); introduces fraud in business ventures (II, 120) as Craig practised in Armond; uses several names Brown found acceptable; closes letters with the adieu we often meet in Brown: all of which have to give precedence to English authors we know he did read.

The same author's Ira and Isabella duplicates several of those ~~Power of Sympathy~~ details but we have not discovered any early periodical publication so the 1807 should eliminate it from Brown's indebtedness.

We now know Mrs. Morton was not the author. See Arthur W. Brayley: (editor of) Bostonian Vol. I, No. 3, Dec., 1894, pp. 224-33 and Milton Ellis: American Literature, Durham, N.C., Vol. 4, No. 4, January 1933, pp. 355-68.

Susannah Haswell Rowson (1762-1824) in Charlotte Temple ~~London~~ 1790 or 1794 of course has the vocabulary of the Wieland title-page, the coupled adjectives, the nature description and a few names that Brown used more or less. Lucy needles and paints for a living and Charlotte harps and sings verse for the audience of hus. Beauchamp (chapter XX) as Brown would in Arthur Mervyn; a visit to Fleet prison (II) to one in debt is pretty slim evidence for Arthur Mervyn; a summer house is less for Wieland and the meeting of La Rue and her lover at church amounts to nothing but commonplace. Even her System of Geography (1806) and the Boston Weekly Magazine (1802-6) which she edited are not suggested or recorded as known to Brown.

Hus. Rowson's Inquisitor 1793 has some names Brown used; Rebecca 1794 has three; and Mentoria 1794 one and an essay on female education at the end. The Trials of the Human Heart 1795 is the one work which should have supplied ideas if Brown was to get any from her; but several names, a father in prison, meet to part no more (II, 42) and the epistolary form hardly make its acquaintance probable to Brown. Reuben and Rachel 1798 has some names; an Indian foray (1.286) though Mohawks rather than Delawares; scenes on the Delaware, and at Philadelphia and Mount Pleasant (2.58); and a happy end (in) Philadelphia.

With these shadowy skeletons as the only substantialities it is of no importance whether we include hus. Rowson here or among the English authors. ~~or throw her out altogether from consideration~~

one Brown's favorites

Jeremy Belknap (1744–1798) in The Foresters 1792, published in the Columbian Magazine the same year, used the epistolary method and put it on the title-page as Brown did with Clara Howard. It presented the fundamentals of our government to attract Brown but its Rabelaisan touches were repulsive. Slaps at the lawyers, clean children and the adieu closing are all Brown could have found there as likely influence. ~~so it had to be on Brown~~. The second edition 1796 was reviewed probably by Brown. in the Monthly Magazine (I, 434). The allegory was declared imperfect, the style good, but the book obscene and vulgar.

Anne Eliza Bleecker (1752–1783) in The Posthumous Works 1793 in the History of Maria Kittle which had originally appeared in another Brown favorite The New York Magazine for 1790-1 gave an epistolary form and captivity Indian foray used one name Brown used; a few touches of the supernatural; and an interpolated tale. Brown probably read it in one printing or another though he left no record of it. His printers the words printed both its publications. Henry and Anne in the Works volume has not one idea he used. One of the letters to Miss Ten Eyck (f.162) has an arbor of vines. Margaretta V. Faugeres' verses in the latter part of the volume could have supplied the name Calista, but unlikely so. The total amounts to very little and ~~that~~ only made up of possibilities.

One ~~other~~ idea from the volume of a surprise we shall reserve for our Critical Studies where it will better serve.

98 g ~~135~~

The Golden Age

by Celadon 1785 has been inaccessible for study. It is LC
recorded as only sixteen pages. The date is early for Brown's
reading. No record.

Fidelity Rewarded 1796. GAS VF

No record of Brown's reading it.

Hapless Orphan 1793

No record. Harvard

The History of Constantius and Pulchera 1795 at its close has a situation something like that of Clara Howard (1801) but we know where Brown got his so he was not indebted to The History. Curiously there was a first New York edition of ~~the Salem work~~ dated 1801 with an engraving by Scoles. There is no record of Brown's reading it.

Enos Hitchcock (1744–1803) in the Farmer's Friend 1793 used the name of Villars for a respectable character. Brown found it there he ~~used~~ perverted it for his trial of prostitutes. x, In the monthly magazine (III, 273) ~~Brown~~ he reviewed Hitchcock's discourse on Washington and found one of the similes laughable. There is no record he read the book ~~Farmer's Friend~~.

The Memoirs of the Bloomsgrove Family 1790 is an ~~first person~~ epistolary work of homiletic cast more or less indebted to ~~Goethe~~ Rousseau. A Constantia (II, 50) is the only possible influence on Brown. No record.

Francis Hopkinson's (1732–1791) Pretty Story 1792 is a political allegory that never existed, so far as Brown is concerned.

Royal Tyler (1757–1826) in The Algerine Captive 1797 exposed the artifice of dedications which could have decided Brown never to use any. Its only other possible touch was the word mazes (I, 66).

The Yankee in London 1809 is rather late for Brown's reading though it may have appeared earlier in some periodical. No signor record; but it is quite likely he read all of Tyler because of the connection with Dennie in the conduct of the Farmer's Weekly and the Post-Folio.

X || The English influences are ~~directly opposite to~~ distinctly different from the American for they are recorded ~~satisfactorily~~ clearly and often completely. ~~These~~ instances ~~are to be~~ given here ~~which~~ are important ~~for~~ in themselves or for Brown. ~~Beyond~~ Many ~~lesser~~ minor ones will be noticed in our biographical study.

The ~~first and~~ most notorious English influence though ~~not the most powerful or important~~ is that of William Godwin.

A third factual detail is the preface to ~~Ctk to note on~~ Wanderville ~~in which~~

Godwin ~~in the Wanderville preface~~ acknowledged his indebtedness to Brown, ~~which~~ That fact may be the reason why some have said Brown acknowledged ~~the~~ debt to Godwin, which he never did.

trusting to ~~a~~ faulty memories

¶ What we ~~are pleased to~~ call the Godwin myth is generally comprised of a statement ~~to the effect~~ that Brown based his work, meaning ~~only~~ his six well-known pieces of prose fiction, on ~~the~~ Caleb Williams. ~~of Godwin.~~ The idea was derived from Paul Allen's ~~and is a~~ claim ~~that~~ that there is an affinity between the characters of Ormond in Ormond and Falkland ~~in of~~ Caleb Williams. He Allen knew very well there was some relation between the two ~~men~~ authors and ~~he~~ ~~hastily~~ wishing to end his connection with the Brown biography ~~the~~ jumped at what seemed ~~the obvious~~ one. a parral

done as possible he

As we shall see Falkland's only possible influence on any of Brown's work is ~~on another book~~, not on Ormond. Allen's statement ~~which~~ Dunlap allowed to stand without revision. So the story was set free and grew like the enchanted giant ~~let out~~ of an Arabian bottle.

~~With a few act~~

~~In his 1 December 1798 letter~~ In a letter Brown's friend ~~and roommate~~ William Johnson claimed the "major propositions of Mr. ~~Godwin~~ and Mr. ~~Brown~~ are hypothetical"; a statement ~~that does not seem to~~ deserves ~~to be considered because it is entirely too~~ general. Though original, it is impossible to know precisely what Johnson was trying to say. ~~Of what books or books he was writing, or if he was actually talking of books~~ If ~~by conjecture~~ he referred to Brown's oral arguments we must accept his legal and expert judgment; if to Brown's books we cannot ~~see at a loss~~ to identify which ones. ~~From the context it may be plainly, Stephen from the date Johnson may~~ Calvert, which can have no part in the Godwin myth. he meant

¶ The Port Folio of June 1814[2] spoke of Brown's likeness to Godwin--whatever that may mean, whether personal or literary.

Dunlap in 1815 added that Brown was an avowed admirer of Godwin's style,[3] ~~indefinite and will be further studied. presently~~ which is ~~equally as exaggerated as the Port Folio but if~~ understood in its usual sense is a half-truth ~~if not a falsehood~~ for ~~the reason that Brown also avowed~~ he expressed an admiration of the style of ~~for~~ many other authors ~~than~~ it less

~~1 P.389 ff.~~

2 P.572. Caldwell was then editor.

3 Vol.II, p.15.

anything and usually is very little if anything. The American Quarterly Review[1] said ~~Brown~~ he only took from Godwin the idea of analysing motives and adventures. ~~So far as we know~~ Godwin ~~may have a right to~~ did not claim the invention of ~~that literary~~ the method which ~~afterwards~~ developed into the ~~modern~~ detective story ~~unless as~~ ; in fact though he ~~himself~~ suggests he took it from the Newgate Calendar and similar publications on crime and criminals[2] ~~but he cannot be given credit~~ with that ~~for any such idea~~ of analysis.[3] Gilfillan ~~gave the~~ like Lord Neal listed Godwin's school as ~~composed of~~ William Godwin the younger; Mrs. Shelley; Brown and Shelley, which ~~never~~ were their pupils; though ~~on earth actually~~ could have been assembled but if ~~it~~ they had been would have ~~proven such~~ the four never ~~a well attended establishment~~ driven the master ~~would starve to death or go~~ insane ~~over~~ while the motley collection ~~which usually~~ kicked every curriculum ~~all~~ to pieces. The only ~~real~~ literary pupils Godwin ever had he was given the teaching of through ~~the channels of~~ natural guardianship. His son and daughter he may have influenced. His son-in-law never belonged to his school of prose fiction; in fact preceded him and was his superior in every respect. ~~The so-called American Godwin our Brown is an ignorant child's nightmare, vague and shadowy, of no real existence.~~ Olympian

1 December 1830, p.321.

2 ~~See~~ Ford K. Brown: William Godwin London 1926, p.82. Godwin's ~~own~~ story of the composition of Caleb Williams may be found in his new preface to the ~~Bentley~~ Standard Novels edition of Fleetwood 1832.

3 Gallery of Literary Portraits London 1845, Vol.I, p.35.

By 1869 Neal had time to believe the fable ~~more faithfully~~ than ~~he~~ did in his contributions to stronger he had 1823,1824 and 1828. Brown's works now became "marvellous parodies of Godwin"[1] but still[2] superior to Godwin himself and even superior to Caleb Williams. In other words they were not what they were, but something else, whatever that was--Heaven help us! In 1830 Bernard[2] the same as Dunlap the same as Allen represented Brown as modelling his style on Godwin. In 1887[3] Beers found ~~that~~ Brown's works "belong more properly to the contemporary school of fiction in England" which he designates ~~so~~ not by authors but by titles as ~~comprise~~ Vathek, Caleb Williams, St.Leon, Frankenstein, The Monk, The Castle of Otranto and the Mysteries of Udolpho of which ~~four either we~~ one was published after ~~Brown~~ was dead, three either were not read ~~by Brown~~ or if read had ~~no~~ influence on him, and ~~than~~ the remaining three ~~which~~ had but a little.

Lowell* in 1887 thought. his "models were lay figures shabby from their long service in the studios of Godwin and the Germans" because others had expressed the idea, half a century earlier, not because he had read any of Brown. like Hazlitt

* Speech at Chickering Hall, New York, 28 November, quoted in Scudder Vol. II, p. 364.

1 Recollections Boston 1869, p.197. 2 Retrospections, N.Y., 1887, p.251.
3 American Literature, N.Y., 1887, p.80.

Woodberry[2] in 1888

says he has the stamp and impress of Godwin, which is merely making a ~~pleasantry out of~~ grandiloquent the slovenly statement ~~made by the~~ Portfolio[1] seventy-four years earlier. Gregory[3] in 1915 ~~evidently has not studied Brown's life and~~ says ~~he~~ Brown is of the type of Godwin's hero, which strikes us dumb! Fod[4] K. Brown in 1926 ~~overspreads the sky with a Bolshevistic monster and says~~ thinks Wieland and most of Brown's novels were inspired by Godwin's earlier works.



The further we go the more we seem to be getting away from the forth-right path into mazy swamps and sodden morasses. ~~At this rate by the~~ So through all the years the same old ~~tale~~ myth is told in language to suit ~~every~~ occasion, though ~~still~~ lacking uniformity and yet holding a ~~more~~ generality suggesting some sort of a relation. ~~Some sort of~~ to varied

[2] Atlantic, May, p.712.
[3] The English Novel and the French Revolution, N.Y., 1915, p.115.
[4] William Godwin London 1926, p.323.

¶ Earlier than the Ormond-Falkland statement (Journal) ~~to Jessica~~ Allen ~~originated~~ the Godwin myth ~~from~~ thought he found in Brown's ~~reference which~~ reading[1]

> "What is the nature or merit of my performance? This question is not for me to answer. My decision is favorable or otherwise, according to the views which I take of the subject. When a mental comparison is made between this and the mass of novels, I am inclined to be pleased with my own production. But when the objects of comparison are changed, and I revolve the transcendant merits of Caleb Williams, my pleasure is diminished, and is preserved from a total extinction only by the reflection that this performance is the first."

The reference to the story as his first shows ~~It is necessary to notice that~~ the record is ~~not~~ a complete mess. What work it refers to remains a mystery but if it is to Jessica as Allen and Dunlap give it we would have one very important difference from Godwin and a ~~very~~ stronger similarity to Rousseau in that it is an epistolary narrative.

¶ The reader who ~~desires~~ would to enjoy Brown's merits should pay no attention to the redundant if not pompous epithet transcendant, which to him merely meant ~~great~~ lofty or high. (Possibly parenthetically) he did not look it up in his Johnson's dictionary or he would we hope ~~at least~~ have changed its spelling,[x] ~~but~~ nevertheless he could have acquired ~~the use of~~ it from Johnson's other works of

Comparison of ~~those~~ "transcendant merits" of Caleb Williams should ~~also~~ be made with the "transcendant excellence" of Rousseau as found in Brown's (letter ~~dated 5 May~~ (1792) ~~in which~~ referring to the Héloïse:

x Saintsbury Prose Rhythm London 1912, p. 295 note says "'transcendant' is a 'book-word,' almost a 'gradus epithet,' not a mot propre or a mot de lumière."

1 Dunlap, Vol. II, p. 102.

"I have been conversing with Rousseau. I have, since ten o'clock, been flying with a rapturous attention through his illumined and impassioned pages....I can easily perceive the transcendant excellence of this performance. What a model of pathetic excellence!"

~~Probably Godwin never received any higher praise from any other reader but when we compare to it that bestowed by Brown of Rousseau we find the Godwin one as much less as the words differ~~ Brown made the correct distinction between merit and excellence in meaning. Incidentally ~~in it~~ there is ~~also~~ no ~~mention~~ suggestion of Caleb Williams as a model while there is one reference to this in Rousseau's work ~~Later~~ Brown speaks of his work as a very definite

"a correspondence which I have often been delighted in comparing with the vivid fictions of Rousseau, and this comparison has furnished a stronger proof of the genius of that inimitable writer, than could be afforded by the application of any other test of beauty or propriety."

~~Thus the phrase relating to Godwin's Caleb Williams loses all the~~ force of the admiration given it by all critics when it becomes apparent that Brown drew his remarkably similar and fuller and more flattering comparison ~~to Rousseau's work~~. Of the two the Rousseau is ~~strongly~~ to be preferred ~~to the Godwin~~ because his influence ~~of the Frenchman is far~~ can be shown to be the greater, ~~than that of any Englishman~~.

The Godwin myth was ~~further developed and~~ amplified by Dunlap in his National Portrait Gallery article ~~as follows~~.[1]

~~1 Vol.III,p.2.~~

(103)

"Ever ardently devoted to study, he had from infancy devoured every book thrown in his way; but very early he systematized his reading;and history,with its necessary attendant,geography,occupied the boy instead of marbles or any of the sports usually the delight of that period in man's existence--the study of architecture was likewise a favorite with him,and he drew plans for earthly houses and palaces,at the same time that he built castles in the air;--he kept a diary;--he made efforts to form his style upon such models as he admired,beginning with Johnson;but Godwin became his favorite,and was such at the time he commenced author. A pure style,more exclusively his own,flowed rapidly from his pen and his lips in a more advanced stage of his existence."

Noticed ~~that~~ the Godwin preference is here given to us on Dunlap's word, which we doubt because he had a prejudice against Johnson, qualified by the clause which fixes it at the time of Brown's commencing authorship. (It is also

That was at least ten years before any of his six pieces of prose fiction was written. There is ~~also~~ furthermore ~~there~~ an apparent confusion of what Dunlap in his two publications claims were Brown's models. Because the ~~present~~ statement ~~Given above~~ is followed by the account of Brown's 1793 visit to New York his study of Caleb Williams ~~must~~ should ~~therefore~~ ~~might be surmised to~~ have been made before or ~~about~~ in 1793, but it had ~~must~~ to ~~have~~ been later for the book was not published in England until 1794 and in Philadelphia in 1795.

91 A sensational result of all this claimed indebtedness is that in idle nomenclature,

× Dunlap read the second edition 17 August 1798 (Diaries, Vol. I p. 330) but he had read it earlier. The earliest recorded (Brown) acquaintance is 30 October 1795.

the same as ~~Cooper~~ was ticketed the American Scott, Irving the American Goldsmith; ~~Sigourney the American Hemans and other authors the American this that and the other,~~ Brown has been dubbed the American Godwin, for which there is not ~~so~~ much justification ~~as~~ for any Englishman ~~calling~~ him the American Radcliffe, ~~or~~ the American Walpole, ~~or~~ the American Monk Lewis or ~~the latest~~ the American Wilkie Collins.[1] Some day ~~some~~ German may ~~have courage to call~~ him the American Wieland or Richter; some Frenchman may elect him the American Rousseau or Hugo and if we like this sort of amusement there ~~would~~ be ~~no~~ reason why a Spaniard may ~~not call~~ him an American Cervantes. ~~or~~ an Italian ~~dub~~ him an American Tasso.[2] The Foreign and Colonial Quarterly Review has not been content with this frivolity but has ~~added a~~ ~~ill chosen adjective~~ making Brown a coarse Godwin, which ~~adds~~ a sting to ~~the~~ insolence. ~~patronage of the original ticketing.~~

With the general claim and convenient epithet established, ~~to bring the subject back to its level,~~ an investigation of the details must be made. ~~If each case~~ the instances are arranged in chronological order we may know ~~exactly~~ when any influence on Brown was present, and when it ceased.

1 Meade Minnigerode: Fabulous Forties N.Y., 1923, p.121.
2 Reprinted in Littell's Living Age October 1844, p.648.

Brown's ~~conception~~ fancy of ~~several~~ more than one ideas entertained at one time, of sincerity ~~and~~ suicide, and the sincerity of suicide sleep as an infirmity of human nature and of immortality may all be

from Political Justice, ~~Book VIII, chapter IX,~~ but are ~~probably~~ not original with Godwin. ~~When he~~ The Godwin argued wants against law ~~his ideas~~ could not ~~may~~ have been derived from Political Justice, ~~Book VII, chapter VII~~ or in briefer form from ~~the~~ Godwin's Enquirer ~~Part II, essay V~~ ~~but it is highly doubtful if he~~ because he had them years before he read any Godwin. ~~Of course he did not go~~ ~~went to any literary source to find arguments against doing what had~~ ~~no strong or permanent attraction for him.~~ Brown really knew more ~~about lawyers than Godwin ever knew about any thing.~~ law and should be

In ~~the September 1795~~ a letter to Dunlap he said Sky Walk was planned ~~with the hope of~~ to equal~~ling~~ the length of Caleb Williams, ~~the only detail in which that one work of Godwin's is superior to Rousseau's Julia~~ but, ~~from the little we can know of it,~~ it is possible to know no one can come to a ~~reasonable~~ conclusion whether or not it was modelled on Godwin's novel. ~~It may have been, but if it were,~~ Dunlap and Johnson were the only persons alive who could have known; ~~of it~~ for they ~~had~~ read Sky Walk ~~or had it~~ read to them by Brown, Smith and Watters ~~had died~~ or read it themselves- who had were ~~had both been~~ victims of the yellow fever. ~~the manuscript had also died and~~ The manuscript, ~~had presumably been~~ and any sheets printed must have been the printer's after the time of Brown's death, had

[1] The ~~second~~ first London 1796 edition is used. Though ~~it is entirely~~ revised, the essentials ~~which are~~ of interest to us are unaltered. ~~for the second edition of 1796~~ Dublin 1796 edition octavo and for the London octavo

because no one since then has ~~seen~~ even one page of them.

destroyed, ~~of the critics who have spread the Godwin myth Dunlap was the only one who ever saw Sky Walk~~ (1798)

In the Man at Home the locked, ~~fastened-to-the-floor, false-bottomed~~ chest ~~containing the manuscript may~~ could be from ~~Godwin's~~ Caleb Williams but it is highly doubtful. The dissertation on domestic establishments may come from ~~the same~~ the same source or from Johnson's Rasselas, and probably came from ~~neither of them~~ neither. Rousseau ~~there~~ might claim ~~an~~ the influence ~~if he needed any to bolster up his reputation~~ for he published more of that kind of theory ~~(xciii and cxxix)~~ than any author of the time. ~~Godwin ever thought of.~~ Richardson in Pamela is most likely to ~~may~~ deserve the credit ~~for~~ introducing it in English prose fiction.

(1798)

In Alcuin the opinions of marriage and cohabitation may be from Political Justice, ~~Vol.II,p 498~~ but more likely ~~probably~~ came from Rasselas, ~~or~~ Rousseau's Héloïse or Richardson's Pamela. The dream for women may be from Godwin or Mary Wollstonecraft but

for Brown's had several important additional characteristics.

may ~~equally~~ also have originated ~~with~~ in Johnson. Probably it is much older than any of the three. All the ~~Mary~~ Wollstonecraft ~~and~~ or Godwin ~~philo-~~ opinions ~~sophy as presented by Brown in~~ that may be of Alcuin shows no acceptance ~~of it~~ by ~~our author~~ Brown. ~~He was interested to~~ debate the same matters and ~~to~~ make a few of his fictional characters interested in ~~that philosophy~~ them but from these ~~uses~~ we ~~are~~ cannot ~~warranted to fly in the face of the facts and~~ say ~~that Brown~~ he was a believer in Godwin's philosophy or indebted to his prose fiction. He made Mrs.Carter the representative of that sort of ~~philosophy~~ argument merely as a foil to his own ideas expressed through the mouth of Alcuin.

One writer[1] claims ~~that~~ Wieland (1798) shows the influence of Godwin but the reason ~~adduced seems to us~~ given is not convincing. ~~more applicable to Brown than to many another work by authors never thought of in any connection with Godwin.~~ ~~as indebted to~~ ~~From the fact that~~ Because Ormond and Arthur Mervyn are included ~~in the same category~~ it appears ~~that~~ the statement was hastily made. Some of the experience of Clara ~~may~~ Wieland could come from the woman with uplifted hatchet standing over Caleb Williams but the idea is too ~~general~~ common to be credited ~~designated as~~ to Godwin.

broad enough to fit any possible instance while avoiding study to find one

1 Loshe: Early American Novel, N.Y., 1907, p.34.

Almost all writers who touch the subject ~~have been led astray by following~~ merely repeat Allen's ~~guidance and have~~ claimed that (1759) Ormond was indebted to ~~Godwin's~~ Falkland of Caleb Williams. Our study ~~of that work~~ traces the origin of Ormond's character to other more reasonable sources; here it is only necessary to state the conclusion that ~~say~~ there is no indebtedness of Ormond to Caleb Williams or any other work of Godwin. Allen's ~~silly~~ hasty explanation of what he thinks a change of Ormond's character from benevolence to malevolence ~~may apply to Welbeck of Arthur Mervyn but~~ ~~when explained of Ormond of Ormond~~ is ~~as~~ untrue ~~as it is~~ and superficial.

~~1 Pp 389-90.~~

(1795?)

Jessica to which Brown's quotation is usually referred ~~but doubtfully so,~~ is not at all indebted to Godwin. ~~The~~ Its only possible connection ~~may~~ Could be the speculation on government of Colden and Harry Arnot but for that Brown was ~~probably~~ more likely indebted to Johnson's Rasselas or some one of several ~~other~~ ideal commonwealths ~~of English literature~~.

Miss Loshe[1] ~~has~~ included Arthur Mervyn (1799-1800) in the Godwin myth; but she only found Arthur somewhat reminiscent of Caleb Williams. Right There was fertile ground, ~~to her hand only needing a little~~ cultivation, for between Caleb Williams and Arthur Mervyn there are some ~~possible~~ likely resemblances. ~~The details of the~~ Their early life ~~of both~~ is ~~are a deal~~ similar because in both cases ~~though they may just as well have~~ it most likely came from Johnson's Rasselas. ~~The pruriency of both would be enough to class them together if it were not one of the commonest of traits of human nature. Besides,~~ Remarkably, we have both works founded on ~~an~~ the unusual circumstance that the scoundrels Welbeck and Falkland ~~who take in and~~ each harbors an unfortunate child of curiosity, ~~both turn out to be scoundrels. The fact~~ and that both works are autobiographical, ~~both~~ the narrators lament ~~they are doomed to such an~~ their awful destiny ~~as is to be told~~ and both works ~~have~~ have a ~~leading~~ character who corresponds to the detective in the modern detective story ~~is~~ constitute the ~~only~~ solid and entire

1 Early American Novel, N.Y., 1907, p.34.

foundation of the Godwin claim. The method ~~of Godwin and Brown~~ of exiting the terror of the reader by the experience and reflections of the narrator cannot be credited to Godwin any more than the Johnsonese English, ~~in which they both wrote.~~ The names of two characters ~~of Brown's may be intended to~~ recall Caleb Williams for there is a servant of the Hadwins named Caleb and a sea captain named Williams. Hadwin is almost himself Godwin, but that is perhaps carrying ~~the idea of~~ an echo too far. ~~Marr-~~ Wollstonecraft ~~has been~~ had been named Hadwin there would have been an actual echo. marriage as an irrevocable contract (chapter IX) and the ideas of politics could be from Godwin but more reasonably ~~probably~~ are due to the talk of the day, ~~or~~ to Tom Paine, ~~if not~~ to Rasselas or Rousseau.

According to John Dunlop's History of Fiction (III 463) the character of Falkland was not original with Godwin being preceded by ~~the character of~~ Chamont of Beaumont and Fletcher's Nice Valour, but Dunlop seems to be in error for ~~Chamont is not like Falkland, in fact,~~ there is no character in the play ~~at all~~ that resembles Godwin's villain. On the whole it appears ~~that it is precisely~~ the character of Falkland ~~which~~ is Godwin's only probable influence on Brown. If ~~Falkland~~ is given up Rousseau can claim all that remains of ~~the~~ any Godwin traces. ~~myth. Taken as a whole~~ All the points of resemblance are interesting and suggestive ~~and~~ but warrant as a reasonable conclusion only some slight influence of

1 Vol. III p. 463.

Summarizing ~~the Godwin myth it should be said that~~ the influence of Godwin on Brown has been preposterously exaggerated. There is a suggestion of it in Alcuin and Carwin, and a ~~actual~~ possible sign of it in Arthur Mervyn; but it is ~~only a mere touch, probably~~ slight, and confined to a ~~one~~ small part and ~~heartily resented all the rest of Brown's life. His indebtedness was~~ quite likely derived from the authors to whom Godwin was indebted. It was stronger ~~to other~~ and greater ~~men than to Godwin and~~ the ~~any~~ emphasis ~~laid on~~ to the possible relations of the two betrays in the critic a surprising ignorance of both Brown and Godwin not to speak of that ~~unjustly~~ maligned romance of Johnson and other influences, especially ~~the French.~~ Rousseau.

¶ Despite the efforts apparently successful to filch the credit from a French classic and hand it over to a fourth-rate English exponent of French ideas; to set up as Brown's model Caleb Williams ~~by no means Godwin's best~~ rather than the Nouvelle Héloïse which is probably the greatest French novel ever written, there is plenty of evidence to show ~~that the strongest~~ Godwin's was the weakest influence ever exerted on Brown by any author he ~~ever~~ we know read. ~~was Rousseau's and the weakest was Godwin's.~~ A.

Johnson's life and works had an peculiar appeal to Brown as early as he made his first attempts to become an author. The fact that Johnson had written something about every possible phase of a literary life, from the depths of degradation of mere hackwork to the heights of genius, including the arts and technique of criticism, publishing and bookselling, made it certain that Brown throughout his life could never be unmindful of him. The Use At nineteen he bought a copy of the dictionary, the seventh octavo edition.

¶ So many of the details of Brown's life that he never undertook. are remarkably parallel to, if not patterned on, those of Johnson, which might warranted to claim he had patterned his on them. Johnson wrote a prologue for the opening of a theatre--Brown did likewise; Johnson composed a tragedy which at first was refused acting--Brown wrote part of one; and on having it unfavorably criticised he burned it; both tried teaching in early life and heartily hated it; Johnson loved his birthplace Litchfield--Brown loved the natural beauties of Litchfield, Connecticut and wished it to be his everlasting resting place; Johnson wrote verses to a Stella--Brown did likewise; both experimented superficially on systems of shorthand though Johnson did not Johnson translated the travels of Lobo--Brown translated Volney. from the French It

~~principles of authorship as a profession and the fullest explanation of an author's position relative to his public~~. When ~~he~~ Brown became the editor of the Literary Magazine he did not imitate Johnson's Preface in his Address but he did conduct ~~it~~ the periodical in a manner that recalls Johnson's ~~similarly-named publication~~ and he named it the same. As a matter of course both had to write reviews.

II ~~In several of his works~~ Many times Brown introduced as a ~~trick of~~ literary ~~architectonic~~ device a letter or a part of a letter ~~sent by a correspondent~~ intended to have been. The tenth Rambler is one of Johnson's ~~rare~~ few instances where the device was no device, for Miss Mulso ~~is said to have written~~ wrote the four extracts given, but there are numerous ~~instances~~ uses of ~~the use of~~ it ~~all through~~ in the three periodicals with which Johnson was connected ~~and~~ so it is more than probable ~~that~~ Brown learned its literary possibilities from him. Curiously both often failed to complete these epistolary inventions for ~~so that they are always often~~ them.

Rasselas, that much-maligned romance of Johnson's, has a surprising number of ideas which Brown ~~may have~~ used ~~in one or the other of his works~~. ~~Some~~ Attention has been called to some of them heretofore

credited to Godwin or Mary Wollstonecraft. The "advertisement" or preface especially recommends the book to Brown because it was written by Johnson when he had proved the vanity of human wishes; it displays the gloomy shades of his character and the tale has a melancholy moral. The old instructor of chapter three must have recalled to Brown his preceptor Robert Proud; that Rasselas did not consider of weight the ignorance of infancy suggests the Boy-story told of Brown's youth; Imlac's reflections on government in chapter eight and Rasselas' thought of a Utopia at the end of chapter forty-four; Imlac's delight in knowledge and his loss of respect for school-teachers as a class; his acquaintance with the sea captain; his schemes of conduct; his study of the most probable incidents for fiction; his desire to move the world with delight or terror; to gratify the reader with esoteric and unexpected instruction; to content himself with the slow progress of his reputation; Rasselas' situation of being about to make a choice of the activities of life, especially because his position made him free to choose; his opinion of the importance of walking three hours a day; his decision in the fortieth chapter to devote himself to literary solitude; the tardy

naming of Pekuah and the mention of her attendants;the lecturer's daughter dying of a fever;the suggestion of the supernatural in the Catacombs,in Pekuah's fears of the cavern of the Pyramids and the simile of the astronomer in chapter forty-six:all have their correspondences in the life or work of Brown.

Alcuin may be indebted for the marriage debate especially between a gentleman and a lady such as Rasselas and Nekayah.

Wieland may be indebted for the meditation and solitary walks on the banks of rivers such as Carwin and Brown himself took. The princess and Rasselas met on the bank of a river in a summer house very like Clara Wieland's.

Carwin may be indebted for the search of the woodland for an avenue of escape and for the teaching of Carwin by Ludloe similar to the astronomer who selected Imlac as the novice to carry on his great philanthropic work.

Edgar Huntly may be indebted to the cavern entrance of the Happy Valley,the precipices and stream through the mountainous region, the search for an opening out of the kingdom,the Princess detecting Rasselas as Edgar Huntly did Clithero,the secret passages of the palace,the secret passage found out of the valley,and the capture

Q. the maid Rekuah by robbers or savages.

Brown's style surely was Johnsonian so far as it was modelled on any one. ~~For later when we come to study it~~ we shall notice the details. ~~In the meantime it may be taken for granted.~~

~~However~~ this diction could have acquired transcendant ~~merit~~ transcendental excellencies from ~~excellence~~ from the Rambler #207 or Boswell on Warburton × or quite generally in Johnson, though the dictionary spells it "ew the expressions counting clowns, if not common in his time may have come from the Idler #71, or the False Alarm, or On the bravery of English common soldiers; Jemy scribler ×× if not from the Jemy whipster of Othello and Justre faction ××× (though not crawling) may both have been derived from Boswell's Johnson. ~~Brown used the seventh octavo edition of the dictionary which he bought in 1790.~~

× Glover edition, Vol. III, p. 127 note.

×× Ibidem, Vol. I, p. 83 and 193.

××× Ibidem, Vol. III, p. 325

P. many Ideas ~~& subjects~~ that may not have been original ~~with Brown~~ should be noticed in connection with ~~Brown's relation to Johnson in his~~ works other than Rasselas, in instances other than his style and in the Boswell biography.

Single space

Chatsworth connected with Brown's ancestry was visited in 1777 and 1784 and written of by Johnson (to Mrs. Thrale 27 Sept. 1777). Cowley ~~also~~ is mentioned in Boswell's Johnson.

Friendship was ~~handled~~ a subject of the Rambler, partly in #13, ~~and~~ in ~~#60~~ 64 and in the Idler #23.

His exercises of the Adventurer or the Idler #22 (the substituted version) and #38 may have intensified Brown's interest in prisons.

The attraction of garrets for literary men was one of the gems of the Rambler ~~in~~ #117 that became a Brown opinion.

Brown's favorite a stage coach and its travellers ~~became~~ was a ~~literary~~ subject in the Adventurer #84.

A fossil toad (in marble) was in the Adventurer #35.

An interest in Ossian appeared in Boswell's Hebrides and Johnson and in Johnson's Journey.

Vida (on poetry, not chess) was in the Rambler #92.

One passion driven out by another was in the Young of the Poets, though Plutarch may have given it to Brown.

Sleep, which as an infirmity of nature had an interest for Brown, appeared in the Adventurer #39 and in the Idler #32. Sleepwalking was talked of generally in Boswell's Hebrides.

The Newtonian philosophy was in the Rambler #151.

Brown's method of translation followed ~~that of~~ the Idler #68. and 69 and the Dryden and Denham of the Poets and was somewhat like Bobo's Abyssinia though not enough to make ~~sure~~ certain he had read it, still it is likely.

Elizabeth Carter whose Coterie may have influenced Alcuin presented in the Rambler #44 and 100 a dream ~~That~~ Brown ~~came to~~ imitated.

The same quotation from Othello (Act 5, sc. 1 – nothing extenuate +) was erroneously quoted by Boswell's Hebrides and Brown. Transmitted errors are strong evidence.

resume
3 line
spacing

~~If the saving hand Rekuah by robbers or savages.~~

~~The author read by Brown~~ (he) ~~I know~~

¶ Though he was not the earliest to use the idea of meeting again to part no more, Richardson, Fielding and Smollett having preceded him, it is likely Johnson was the one who impressed it on Brown. The death-bed of Catherine Chambers, the faithful maid-servant of his mother and the family, is one of the great and beautiful scenes of his life, happening in 1767 when Johnson was fifty-eight years old. When he and Catherine were left alone he prayed with her and kissed her good-bye and in response to her expressed wish never to part Johnson added the hope of an endless meeting hereafter.

¶ The consideration of the better method of presenting a tremendous height was given in Boswell's Johnson (Arnold Glover edition, London 1901, Vol. I, p. 389 ~~[illegible]~~ the notes) in Johnson's fear and applied to Shakespeare's Dover cliff scene (Lear Act iv, sc. vi). Brown in a 1762 letter quoted Paradise Lost (Book II, lines 527+) where the position was likewise at the top of the precipice. In the same letter ~~his~~ mention of the sea shows he had the ~~Shakespeare~~ Lear passage also in mind. In the literary magazine (VII, 264) he suggests a possibly stronger impression if Passaic Falls had been viewed from the bottom of the gorge.

× Glover edition, London 1901, Vol. I, p. 389.

Brown's
The use of the same names is very slight as the sole evidence
but with other peculiarities added the list becomes competent.
~~is worthy of attention~~

single space

Acastus (Acasto) appears in the Rambler #150.
Asratus is mentioned in the Idler #68 and 69.
See Aretas.

Aretas (the martyr) is in Lobo's Abyssinia, ff. 256 and 309. Brown used it to designate himself.

Calista is in the Rambler #126 and in the Rowe and Young of the Poets. (Fielding had used it earlier.)
Clitheroe (Clithero) is in Boswell's Johnson.
Colvill is mentioned in Boswell's Hebrides.
Helena is in Lobo's Abyssinia, ff. 311.
Julius (III) is in Lobo's Abyssinia, ff. 316.
Malacca appears in Lobo's Abyssinia, ff. 222-3 and 26
but with no postless birds for Brown.
Mabob comes in Boswell's Hebrides and Johnson's Journey
Oldeba, desert of, (Oldeb) is in Lobo's Abyssinia, ff. 214
Ormond is in Boswell's Hebrides, in the Milton, Roscommon
Dryden and Granville of the Poets.
The Susquehanna is in Boswell's Hebrides.
Talbot (Catherine) wrote the Rambler #30, Lord Talbot made one of the arguments in the debate on Indemnifying Evidence as well as took part in other debates. The name is also in the Thomson of the Poets.

---

Resume regular stanzas

In speaking of a debating society in ~~his~~ a letter ~~of 1 June~~ 1792

Brown said that as a model for speeches he should prefer to the ancient orators the Parliamentary orations of Johnson and Hawkesworth ~~but~~ He never had an opportunity to attempt similar writing; the nearest he came was the essay he read to his various clubs.

^ Johnson and Hawkesworth's debates were not actual reports. ~~In his old age~~ In his old age Johnson confessed he wrote them almost wholly from imagination but in the days of their publication their influence was secretly supplied for parts of them. Both believed ~~considered~~ authentic; in fact actual material though supplied with fictitious anagramatic names reporters had to use ingenuity to escape ~~avoid~~ arrest and punishment at the hands of Parliament ~~in the days when~~ for it did not believe its Complete deliberations should be presented ~~known~~ to ~~by~~ the general public. There is no evidence Brown made any use of them; indeed he could have made the reference he did from very little if any reading of them. Curiously ^ They were never even cited in the American Register where they might have been most appropriately ~~made~~.

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If In connection with Brown's indebtedness to the school of the supernatural novel, we shall later remind the reader that Johnson strongly recommended the Gothic Romance.

Brown's early couplet verse was undoubtedly inspired in its metre, ~~in its~~ stanza form and ~~in its~~ satire by Pope but Johnson's London and Vanity of Human Wishes could ~~appear also~~ have supplied some of the ideas ~~materials~~ which he expressed in Pope couplets; ~~especially~~ if he needed any other source than his own experience for complaints ~~that are~~ perennially common to the human mind. So far as we have been able to recover Brown's his poetical work it appears he followed Johnson's objection to triplets (in the Denham of the Poets) but ~~could hardly~~ possibly wrote one ~~only~~ which in some incomplete lines which he never completed and left only in manuscript.

¶ The debt of the man at home may have come from the Adventurer #41 and the setting may have been inspired by the Rambler #161 though Brown could there have found nothing more.

---

Wieland could have found its ~~model~~ imitator bird in the nightingale singer of the Rambler #84, but probably did not.)

(Its title-page ~~The~~ verse could have been assisted by the motto to the Rambler ~~#~~ 76. Remarkably #77 followed with a reference to the paths of virtue. The Adventurer #74 (motto from Horace) probably goes ~~many~~ ways and led astray. However their diction ~~of those verses~~ back to the Bible. Boswell's Hebrides (1.453) may ~~Gold~~ have also assisted in forming the verses.)

---

¶ II Carol and the Carols and Crimes could have been partly suggested by the Dissertations added to Rob's Abyssinia.

Brown ~~we know~~ studied Latin ~~Virgil~~ when he was ~~a youth~~ in Prondi's school. How much he read of the Aeneid and whether he used Dryden's translation ~~with Prondi's permission~~ which is likely, we do not know. Years later in his Dialogue on Painting[x] he puts in the mouth of the Lady a reading of the fourth book of the Aeneid for three times at one sitting which left a lasting impression of Dido, ~~the infelix Eliza of Geneva~~. Curiously that same book (line 175) in the Latin could have supplied ~~Brown~~ him with the quotation "vires que acquirit eundo"[2] which he used more than once. Dryden had also translated the Seventh Eclogue from which (ll. 4-5) in the Latin he ~~Brown also~~ could have acquired the "Arcades ambo, et cantare pares, et respondere parati"[3] ~~used~~ found in one of his letters. In this connection

All ~~our~~ references to Ker are to the ~~Prose Works~~ Essays of ~~Dryden~~ Oxford edition 1926 edited by W. P. Ker.

x Dunlap, Vol. II, f. 131 et seq.

2 Ker, translated Vol II, f. 10, Latin II, 225.

3 Ker, Vol I, f. 92. Dunlap says ~~he~~ Brown

Some ~~Other resemblances~~ resemblances that may come from Latin or Greek classics are of little value because Brown usually had an acquaintance with the originals. The hint by Dryden may only have strengthened the impression when they did not originate it. Dialogues, even the Preface to W. Walsh's Dialogue Concerning Women,[x] the dialogue of four persons, Dramatic Poesy, ~~written in plagiarizing~~ and names such as Eugenius (Eugenio), Helena in Poetry and Painting,[xx] and the satires of Flaccus, probably belong to details of that kind. ~~Some~~ Other of the names used may also be noticed. The Epilogue to Calisto or the Chaste Nymph probably did was not needed to for Brown's Calista. The Duke and Duchess of Ormond to whom the Fables were dedicated, the whole to the former and Palamon and Arcite to the latter, were hardly sufficient to inspire Brown's use of the name.

~~Quotations such as Cascades[3] + vouchsafe +~~[4],

~~Eclogue vii, ll. 4-5. Dryden's~~

[x] Ker Vol. I, p. lxxvii

[xx] Ker Vol. II, p. 118.

~~[3] Ker Vol. I, p. 62.~~

~~[4] Ker translates Vol II, p. 20, Latin II, 225. Aeneid iv, 175~~

~~Brown used exactly~~ words for ~~curtus~~

The "nothing new under the sun" of Solomon[x]; the pestilence in the Greek army[2]; all the references to Raphael[3] even the sign-post dawbers and painting a devil, which Brown used; Curtius throwing himself into the gulf[4]; the puny Councellors of the Dedication of the Genesis and the scribblers of the Preface to Sylvae[5]; the paraphrase method of translation[6] which he Brown used; the references to Tasso's Gierusalemme[7]; the quatrain verse highly praised by Dryden[8]; and the men of transcendant literary genius[9]; and the opinions of the use of the supernatural[10] may be details that indicate of indebtedness or they may only be instances to point the way to others who influenced both Dryden and Brown.

x Ker Vol. II, p. 148.
2 Ker Vol. II, p. 167.
3 Dedication of Genesis.
4 Ker Vol. II, p. 130.
5 Ker Vol. I, p. 264.
6 Ker Vol. I, p. 237.
7 Ker Vol. I, p. 245.
8 Ker Vol. I, p. 211.
9 Ker Vol. I, p. 211.
10 Ker Vol. I, p. 152 a

No one should expect a man who had come under the influence of Johnson and Goldsmith and others of contemporary if not the same literary circles to escape some of the distinguished political fireworks of Edmund Burke (1729-1797) Perhaps his fame as a politician and man more than his published essays and speeches lead Brown either to imitate or to reflect the influence of his life. An interest in Burke's character appeared in the first volume (February 1804) of the Literary Magazine where he gave a short summary apparently selected from some 1797 English periodical. The significance is that the notice was friendly and not concerned with his literary character. An early consumptive tendency, boyhood versifying, Drake intimates, an early literary club, the abandonment of law for literature, prospects of a teaching career the Beefsteak Club, near sightedness, and his political pamphlets and editorial experience were similarities in their lives.

This personal influence was preceded by an article which he had pulled out of an old note-book and entitled Pensions in the first (October 1803) number of the Literary Magazine which opens with the statement that he had been read the speeches on Economical Reform (1780). Brown of all men would not stop there; he must have read more.

125R2 ~~1775~~

(1756-7).

# Wieland may be studied in the light of the Sublime and Beautiful. The novelty, the horrible terror, the astonishment, the fear, the obscurity with so much of it happening at night, the power and its uniformity lift it towards the Burke sublime as if Brown had constructed it ~~according to~~ on the highest principles ~~laid down~~ expressed. The ~~expression~~ phrase remote from beauty could have been found in ~~Burke's~~ that essay, as well as gone astray, the question of the power of description of great height or depth, the idea of the mind attending to more than one thing at a time, ~~may have come to Brown from that source~~.

Other possible literary influences may be as follows. The rising glories of the country may be found in his early verse, the speech on Conciliation (1775); transcendant merit was used in Fox's East India Bill (1783), an animated mass of instruction was in the speech Upon his .... Conduct (1780); ~~the~~ a Cocoa Tree in Pall Mall appears in one of ~~Burke's~~ the letters to Barry

The speeches and reports on India could have lead him to the View of nature by Richard J. Sulivan who was one of a family given lucrative positions under Hastings' administration. Brown favorite Latin quotation, Arcades ambo, appears in full in the opening speech of the third day of the impeachment. Burke's favorite adjective, runs through practically all his writing he never tired of it and when he yoked it to a whipster in the fourth letter on Regicide Peace (1796-7) he would seem to have passed the expression on to Brown who used it in the monthly magazine (III, 476). But then of course both may have found it in Othello, Burke* can easily claim to have popularized the expression, nabob, which Brown used in Arthur Mervyn. ~~The speech at Bristol (1780) was an animated mass of jurisfaction which Brown certainly vulgarized.~~

which Brown followed closely by using "every with it.

In our study of Browns American Register his ~~[illegible]~~ acknowledged debt to Burkes British Annual Register will be ~~acknowledged and gone~~ traced in all its possible phases.

Attention should be directed to ~~the fact that~~ ~~though~~ the Abridgment of English History which covers some of the same material Brown used in Cassel and the Cavils and Crimes, but it probably could not have inspired them because it is not known to have been published until long after Brown's death. The discovery of an earlier publication would of course reverse this conclusion.

* not in the Oxford dictionary.

leaving out the American Revolution which was too early in his life for him to take any active part

It is quite likely Brown was better acquainted with Burke's life and work than we have any evidence to prove. The idea that had he lived longer he would have become a publicist may be partially based on some such knowledge but it is fruitless to make any comparison of the whole life of Brown and the same number of years of Burke's life. If the possibilities in England from 1729 to 1765 were not those of the United States from 1771 to 1810. The Embassies, Memorials, Embassy, Treaty, Purchase, Pamphlets, are examples of Brown's power as a publicist; if he had lived to see the War of 1812 he might have got a different sort of name than he did. In a literary way he never approached the Vindication of Natural Society or the Sublime and Beautiful and Burke in turn never wrote a Wieland, though he may have remotely contributed to its excellence.

> "Mr.Cooper is a man of genius," said Lockhart:"no one can deny that,but it seems to me that Brockden Brown was the most remarkable writer of fiction that America has produced. There is a similarity in his style to that of the Radcliffe school, and in the tone of mind to Godwin's Caleb Williams;but in his machinery,he is highly original. In his display of the darker passions,he surpasses all his models."

All hail to Lockhart! What he says is finely expressed with delicacy in the choice of his words--as criticism it is not only flattering but mostly true.

Scott, on the other hand,was evidently out for an argument or else he felt he was speaking from the tripod.

> "That may be true," said Sir Walter,"but it is neither a wholesome nor a popular species of literature. It is almost wholly ideal; it is not in nature; it is in fact contrary to it. Its scenes,incidents,characters,do not represent life; they are alien to common experience. They do not appeal to a wide circle of sympathy in the hearts of mankind. The chief emotion that it excites is terror or wonder. The suggestive manner of treating every subject,aims at keeping the mind constantly on the rack of uncertainty. This trick of art was long ago exhausted. Brown had wonderful powers,as many of his descriptions show;but I think he was lead astray by falling under the influence of bad examples,prevalent at his time. Had he written his own thoughts,he would have been,perhaps, immortal; in writing those of others, his fame was of course ephemeral."

If any one knew how to court popularity with common experience and write a "popular species" Scott did and Brown did not. So far as popularity and common experience is concerned the criticism is the dullest of truisms concerning our author;but,as we shall see,Scott was false

in every other detail, ~~of the oracle~~ at least he was so, if he was correctly reported. ~~In this connection~~ The reader should know that ~~Scott himself~~ Scott had no little ~~touch of a~~ love for the supernatural ~~in his nature~~ and used it to good purpose in his novels.[1] When he planned and fitted out with armor and skulls his false Gothic entrance hall at Abbotsford he was doing in an amateurish ~~small~~ way what Walpole and Beckford had been ridiculed for doing on a magnificent scale. Why any of them when building should not have used Gothic ~~or Italian or Jacobean~~ or any other architecture he fancied has never been made intelligible. Gothic, ~~though~~ commonly thought synonymous with bad taste, though Goethe claimed it for his country,[xx] is with its combination of light tracery and dark, melancholy heaviness peculiarly appropriate to mystery, in fact there is no other better as a setting for ~~the~~ a supernatural novel.

The Gothic Romance is otherwise somewhat of a misnomer, for the stuff is not always romance; in fact, ~~as the prologue to Polly Honeycombe says,~~ it may often be romance's younger sister the novel.[xxx] If the term is used in a narrow sense as peculiarly German, ~~which Goethe claimed for his country~~ and true, it is of course Gothic or Teutonic; but for all supernatural novels it may better be supplanted by

1. His indebtedness (For indebtedness see) ~~may be found well presented in~~ Clara H. Whitmore, Woman's Work in English Fiction, N.Y., 1910, pp. 102, 104-5.

xx In his autobiography.

xxx Prologue to Polly Honeycombe, the comedy by Colman.

the title the Tale of Terror, Storm und drang, Roman Noir, Roman Terri-fiant or l'ecole du cauchemar. Garnett[1] says:

> "The fashion of the terrific in fiction and drama had been imported from Germany....and the rise of the German romantic school had anticipated the English by twenty years."

Apparently Garnett did not search out the matter for the dates of the first editions of the English Tales of Terror precede the German; in fact, the idea is older than the reign of Elizabeth,[2] if not as old as humanity itself. Heine in Die Romantische Schule[3] politely but effectively disposed of any possible claim of a French origin of "ghosts" though he had two years in which he might have at least become acquainted with Balzac's Peau de Chagrin. In France the super-natural--l'ecole du cauchemar[4]--as an element of prose fiction was in its earliest manifestations eastern and oriental if not merely a rustle from fairy land, later it crept into the themes of Amadis and Arthur and Charlemagne; then it grew somewhat sonorous at the hands of D'Urfé and Madame Scudéry, it resounded in the work of La Calprenede and Hamilton--especially in Zénéyde--it colored the tone of Ducray-Duminil's work as well as Ducange's but it finally did not burst forth

1 Introduction of Nightmare Abbey, London 1891, p.8.
2 See Speeches delivered to Queen Elizabeth, Lee Priory Press, 1815, p.15 introduction.
3 Samtliche Werke: Neuter band, p.105 Stutgart: Bibliothek der Weitlitteratur.
4 Gautier, preface to Maupin, called it "carrion romance"--le roman-Charogne.

in full ~~orchestral~~ diapason until the time of Nodier and Balzac. It was indebted to Walpole, Ann Radcliffe, Lewis, Maturin and Polidori; was not only late but it was distinctively imitative, adding ~~nothing~~ constantly nothing in material ~~or~~ and method. ~~As we have suggested and shall presently see elaborated, any~~ French influence ~~of it on Brown was on his works of a period when the character of them was anything but supernatural.~~

The Tale of Terror or the Gothic Romance if you will, which by the way was recommended by Doctor Johnson, may owe some of its origin as prose fiction to Ferdinand Count Fathom of 1753 in which Smollett, ~~has used~~ as we have seen, had used the usual terrific quasi-supernatural to strike terror. ~~In that work issued~~ There, twelve ~~eleven~~ years before Walpole's Castle of Otranto, he has his hero superstitiously terrified when finding the a corpse

in the room in which he is locked. In another place Renaldo makes a midnight visit to the supposed tomb of Monimia; and ~~in another place~~ elsewhere he describes an eerie night in the wood between Bar-le-duc and Chalons: all of which comprise essential Gothic details. However Walpole is usually credited as the founder of the ~~Gothic Romance as a~~ school of prose fiction ~~for the more reason that~~ because he set the fashion ~~in~~ for it ~~if for no other.~~ In the hands of various authors the Tale of Terror when it constituted a supernatural novel had two ~~distinct solutions.~~ different endings. Walpole ~~The Castle of Otranto, of~~ in 1765, dealt with impossibilities, inspired little fear ~~in his readers~~ and was unexplained. It ~~may be taken~~ is the model for the real supernatural and is ~~very~~ rarely found because it is so ~~very~~ difficult as a work of art. Clara Reeve in the Old English Baron,[1] ~~of~~ 1777, paid some attention to character drawing and dealt so much in probabilities that save for the doors opening mysteriously to the master of the castle, the haunted wing of the mansion and ~~one~~ a single groan which she suffered herself to use it would ~~otherwise~~ not belong to the school. Like Brown she proclaimed her freedom from the influence but failed to prove it by her practise. Mrs. Ann Radcliffe, so far as related to the ~~supernatural~~ school was

[1] The first edition of 1777 was entitled The Champion of Virtue but it is usually reprinted and known from the ~~well-known~~ title of the second edition.

the model for practically all of the followers of her days and ours in that she professed and practised the explanation of the seemingly supernatural by perfectly natural means. The world is full of examples all more or less meritorious and it is probable no generation will ever be without them. Barnum's formula that humanity likes to be fooled may have applied to the hectic days when he flourished but to make it applicable to all times it must be altered to the motto that most human beings love to be mystified. Legerdemain, Indian jugglery, magicians, sorcerers, medicine men and optical illusions have always had more or less success. Curiosity for the unknown directs the interest to the solution of puzzles and acrostics and conundrums, to legends and old wives' gossip, to stories of witches, ghosts and vampires, to the murder mysteries of the press, to all problems of crime and to novels of intrigue as well as novels of the detectives and the supernatural.[1] The trick of art which Scott thought was long ago exhausted is still alive and active.

Brown's relation to the school of the supernatural novel is to be found confined principally to Wieland and Edgar Huntly in

1 In slightly different form some of these ideas were used in ~~my~~ review of a book on William Austin's Peter Rugg, Boston Evening Transcript 18 April 1925, Book Section p.2.

which he is the follower of the type detested by Saintsbury[1] ~~the~~ Radcliffe ~~type of the Gothic Romance or Tale of Terror~~ though as a follower he was neither too long, nor tedious ~~whether short or long,~~ when Compared to most novels he was short. ~~or too much if at all given up to Euphuism.~~

Possible echoes of the mysteries of Udolpho are composed of possibly even the variation of the rhyme way - astray; the title-page verse, the temple which may be only an improved fishing house; the verse (II 339, 342 ~~& III~~ 147 and IV 325 XX) whether ventriloquial or not is uncertain, and the moral at the end in Wieland Edgar Huntly ~~may~~ echoes the nature description, especially the precipices; the plank or tree bridge over the chasm (in the verse of II 11) which was repeated (IV 241). Ormond echoes could come from the lute of Emily (III 267); the verse interspersed; the look at the door (II 368); and the recognition of the song (III 126), and the threat to part no more Arthur Mervyn may have ~~suggested~~ echoed the miniature; Wanton in the locked room (II 392); and the burial in the vault below (I 42 the castle (III 101). The heavy chest (III 274) could have been transferred to the man at Home; and the passions reduced but the heart not defrauded (IV 374) may have gone in Wieland's letters.

1 History of Prose Rythm London 1912, p.420 note and Essays London 1923, Vol.III, p.141. Though he was fond of diablerie and once read Wandering Willie's Tale every night for a week without finding it stale he preferred Balzac's Peau de Chagrin "without ekings, or explanations, or other trumpery." His praise of Gautier's La Morte Amoureuse, probably the greatest of vampire stories, makes it seem he preferred the half-explained supernatural novel--for the world of half dream and half reality is essentially an explanation.

XX References are to the third edition 1795.

The over-acted sentimentalities[1] of the school are generally supposed to have lead to its death blow in the Rovers or the Double Arrangement and other parodies of the Anti-Jacobin. James Gillray by a caricature entitled Tales of Wonder[2] made a hilarious attempt to ridicule "Monk" Lewis, Byron in the English Bards and Scottish Reviewers labelled him "the wonder-working spectre-mongering", in Eaton Stannard Barrett's Heroine, in Jane Austen's Northanger Abbey and especially in Peacock's Nightmare Abbey and in Byron's Don Juan (Canto XVI) the school was eminently satirized. In the Receipt for A Modern Romance in the Weekly Magazine[3] 30 June 1798 Brown himself had not hesitated to join the ridicule. Despite all the gratuitous funeral sermons and ceremonies of The King of Terrors the Tale of Terror proved its legitimate ghostship by continuing "to walk", the school being founded on a trait of human nature survived and reappeared in the prose fiction of Maturin, Mrs. Shelley, William Godwin the younger, Dr. Polidori, Bulwer-Lytton, Poe, Hawthorne, Stevenson, Kipling, James, George MacDonald and probably a host of less impor-

2 Published 1 February 1802. No.514 in Wright and Evans Account London 1851. If the devil himself had ever laid eyes on the creature back of the candle he would have rushed off home in a terrific panic!

3 Vol.II, p.278.

1 George Colman in 1760 had ridiculed romantic novels and circulating libraries in an uproarious one-act comedy entitled Polly Honeycombe. The preface lists 182--plus twenty et ceteras--popular novels of the day. Clara Reeve spoke for the defence in her Progress of Romance of 1785.

tant writers.[1] Brown is ~~of course supposed~~ sometimes represented to have died along with the earliest of the school ~~but~~ though he is very much alive to-day because he did more than write Gothic romances. Despite his excellent satire Peacock did not find ~~Brown's~~ his use of the quasi-supernatural ~~quite so~~ objectionable:[2] ~~He says:~~

> "There are many stories in which the supernatural is only apparent, and is finally explained. But some of these, especially the novels of Brockden Brown, carry the principle of terror to its utmost limits. What can be more appalling than his Wieland? It is one of the few tales in which the final explanation of the apparently supernatural does not destroy or diminish the original effect."

After all Brown was not ~~entirely~~ ~~at all~~ enough a supernaturalist, ~~in spite of~~ as Tuckerman ~~who~~ presents him in his Essays makes him the representative of ~~that~~ the school in America. His machinery was scientific, though not popularly known. At the same time his magazines ~~show instances where~~ the scientific side of ventriloquism and sleep walking was being called to the public attention.[3] ~~But~~ Brown even went further and cited instances in ~~the~~ preface and foot-notes, after which no one has the author to blame if he thinks the phenomena supernatural.

2 Gryll Grange, chapter XXXIII.

1 The Tale of Terror by Edith Birkhead, London and New York (1921) is a goodly collection of ~~material relating to~~ the subject but for us is not ~~to be seriously considered as an~~ authority, for ~~the simple reason that~~ there is no ~~original~~ research ~~done~~ on Brown.

3 Gillray published 1 November 1795 ~~a drawing of~~ The Sleep Walker. ~~of which the meaning as a political caricature is not clear.~~ No. 131 in Wright and Evans Account London 1851. Wright's later book on Gillray, London (1873), p. 191 explains it as an allusion to Pitt's recklessness.

As a member of the school ~~of terror~~ he used none of the customary extravagances. What he employed was ~~the~~ permanent, ~~in it which~~ has managed to come through the ~~fire~~ fashions of more than a hundred years ~~and~~ so it will ~~probably~~ most likely survive all future attempts of the scrappers.

We know Brown read the Bible in 1795 for religious purposes but how much earlier he had become acquainted with it is not known. With ~~such~~ the ~~a~~ schooling ~~as~~ he had, with the ~~kind of a~~ home he came from, with cousins and aunts and uncles named from Biblical characters, we may be sure he had been ~~made~~ familiar with most of the book before he was thirteen. It was the basis of his school catechism which he learned when he was eight and a half years old.

In his mature reading of it he used the King James version of the Old and New Testaments, the Apocrypha and the translator's preface. Whether he applied literary judgment to it is somewhat doubtful. The possible traces would indicate he was influenced by ~~a~~ yearly one quarter of ~~the~~ its ~~whole books~~. The absence of any reference to Daniel and its ~~equally~~ excellent supplements ~~in the Apocrypha~~ Susanna and Bel and the Dragon — both of which everyone interested in legal affairs should study — is remarkable. When he had ~~properly~~ appreciated Ecclesiasticus it is astonishing ~~that~~ he did not find Ecclesiastes ~~inspiring~~ ~~if the~~ one book for the literary worker.

II The common Biblical phrases and references, which he may have acquired from general reading rather than from particular study of the Bible, were sometimes seldom used by him. ~~though not so often as most writers use them.~~ ~~Of the separate books are grouped in sort of a descending scale~~ his indebtedness may be easily ~~seen by us~~ comprehended.

~~6*~~ Considering his character and his youth when he probably first read in the book it is not surprising that the Wisdom of Solomon made the strongest impression ~~on him~~; the Boy Story told of him ~~youth~~ could have found its inspiration there; ~~possibly~~ some of its phraseology may have helped to form the verses of the Wieland title-page; ~~perhaps~~ if he needed an actual text rather than a general knowledge of an artist's life he may have also got imbibed his contempt for wealth ~~riches~~ from there that fountain; surely the name of Ephraim for Pride in this early verses had no other source. Brown thought Solomon discover ~~That~~ there is nothing new under the sun, ~~was not lost on Brown~~ he quoted the idea once in his Scribbler essays (~~1 Port Folio February 1806~~ p. 164) but he had mistaken its source and did not look it up in Ecclesiastes (1, 9).

~~No~~ II Unlike so many young people whose enthusiasm for a big book is exhausted by the beginning he ~~Brown also~~ showed some influence of Genesis.

~~* Ecclesiastes 1, 9.~~

his early attempts at versification.

The former may have supplied the name for Job Strutt (Literary Magazine Vol. III, p. 15) especially because of its remarks on the Bible and the Biblical names of the Old Testament. Ecclesiasticus could have had a small part in the youthful Times verse as well as the verse of the title-page of Wieland.

reiterates the name of Ephraim which Brown found in the Genesis Wisdom of Solomon.

Numbers, Judges, Proverbs, ~~the Psalms~~ and Isaiah ~~1:1 verse~~ may also have helped to form the Wieland ~~title~~ verse. ~~on the title-page of Wieland~~.

I Chronicles

Deuteronomy, Joshua, II Maccabees, Mark, Luke, II Corinthians, I Timothy, II Peter, III John and the translator's preface could have influenced ideas in Wieland have supplied the name of Uretas to the youthful verse the name of Ac(h)sah to the handsome widow of Arthur Halloran and surely gave him the idea of the "man of sorrows" of Wieland.

Judith could have given a name, though not the character, to Clara Wieland's servant.

Philemon, he may ~~soon~~ have played with, become the Philibert of the Carids and Crowns, ~~(30 I)~~ for he liked to juggle with names.

The Queries respecting the Jews (monthly magazine Vol. III, p. 184) and What is a Jew by Querist (ibidem, p. 323) are apparently not Browns but the inclusion of them in his periodical is of Biblical interest. The original article Will Christianity ever become Universal by P.S. (ibidem p. 4-7) if his would be similarly interesting. for the same reason. and In the American Review (Vol. I, p. 41) the review of Samson's Beauties of the Bible is

Revelations (I, 16) with its two-edged sword from the mouth appeared ~~got in~~ one of his 1794 letters.

There is a one-page manuscript of Browns on the Reformation and his Carols and Queries is more or less at work of ecclesiastical history so that it is certain he was at times curious in theology. ~~for~~ literary ~~purposes~~ ~~but~~ That he fully appreciated the merits of many parts of the Bible is very doubtful.

~~as we have suggested~~

The strongest influence on Brown's verse is the heroic couplet of Pope. Of the twenty-four hundred (more or less) lines found two-thirds are in ~~couplet~~ that form. In diction, inversion and similar characteristics of language he ~~probably~~ may show ~~a~~ slight ~~influence~~ traces of Milton's epics. Of Johnson's verse ~~he also~~ we have suggested ~~may have been influenced by~~ London and the Vanity of Human Wishes to ~~the~~ a modest extent ~~that those two poems~~ they could have supplied ~~him with~~ some of the ideas ~~expressed in his~~ in his couplets. James Beattie whose Minstrel Brown ~~referred to~~ mentioned in ~~the first~~ his Scribbler ~~essay~~ and to whom he refers in one of his 1792 letters ~~as "Edwin of immortal memory"~~ was so closely allied to Pope in his diction as well as in social intercourse he ~~probably~~ could have inspired the title-page verses of Wieland if not of more. However, many a Brown verse that seems to echo Beattie really echoes Pope. The supernatural touch never strong in Beattie may have added to the prose influenced Brown. His love for standing on eminences to look over the surrounding country ~~is probably~~ can be a mere sightseer's commonplace. The hatred of sport, so called, apparently was ~~frequently~~ found in many ~~most thoughtful~~ especially among people of the time. Beattie's acquaintance with Mrs. Montague from whom he named his second son was sufficient of a stimulus to send Brown dreaming over the royal branch of his ancestors. The touch with Dr. Cullen could hardly have needed

The French influence on Brown ~~during his formative period~~ affected him ~~so~~ profoundly ~~it could not fail to~~ moulding ~~react on~~ the conduct of his formative years ~~life,~~ forming his opinions written to his correspondents and directing ~~on~~ many of the literary efforts which he made then and later. In one of his letters ~~dated 30 May 1792~~ he said ~~acknowledged~~ his earliest ideas of a literary career were inspired by Diderot, D'Alembert and other French encyclopaedists; many ~~but not a few~~ of his opinions of reading and writing may be found in

more probable than Fielding as 134 A 3

Rousseau's Nouvelle Héloïse,[1] 1761, (letters xii and lxxix). The foundation of the Boy-story told of him may owe something to Rousseau's exaggerated ~~idea~~ for ~~meaning an immeasurable number of~~ A of living a thousand years in a quarter of an hour (letter x) the same as the charts and maps on the wall of his home though there for the commercial uses of the family may have pleasantly echoed those of Lord Bouraton (letter clv). Temptation to jump off a precipice could have been suggested ~~if it needs any suggestion,~~ by letter xxvi. If we had ~~Brown's~~ his arguments justifying suicide we might find them merely liftings from Rousseau's letters cxiv and cxv. As a solution of disappointed love ~~the crime~~ it was suggested in letter iii (billet iii). Rousseau certainly helped to color ~~Brown's letters of~~ 1792-3 with more lugubrious blotches of blue than ~~Godwin could ever have thought of, if he had ever given expression to them which he did not~~ any other author he ever read. According to ~~a~~ one of his letter ~~dated 5 May 1792~~ ~~Brown~~ he suggested Rousseau's book as the model of the work he then had in hand. ~~It probably was the strongest French influence on him.~~ [2] Whether he read the book in the original or in translation is not clear. In ~~his~~ a letter he suggests he used the original and ~~in the 19 May letter~~ later he mentions the title Julie which identifies

1 Everone knows the exact title was not the Nouvelle Héloïse but very few would know the book ~~referred to~~ if we called it Julie. Saintsbury, requiescat in pace!

2 There is nothing to suggest he read Zelide's tales and there are good reasons to show he was inspired by Richardson the same as she was.

the original; but in telling the circumstances of the Julius and Julietta story he says Henrietta G. had the original which she refused to loan to him but he secured elsewhere a translation of two volumes of another. In the 16 May 1792 letter he refers to the book as Eloisa which identifies the 1784 London edition ~~translation probably by Thomas Nugent~~ which was in four volumes. ~~But the Philadelphia 1796 edition of the same translation was in three volumes of which two carried the story through Letter CXXXV.~~ Apparently we should accept the suggestion of the use of the original 5 May letter even though he may have been posing before his friend rather than deliberately lying to him, ~~but at the same time too much should not be made of the matter for Brown could have read the original if he had ever had the desire to do so.~~ ~~He read the 1796 three volume translation from the French edition most likely Philadelphia~~

~~From Rousseau~~ Brown may have conceived a love of singularity from him. If Jean Jaques has any patent on a weakness common to humanity, ~~since the Garden of Eden~~. From ~~the same probably source~~ he may have taken ~~took~~ much if not all of his "pathetic excellence", perhaps the whole gallery of his romantic heroes and heroines with their versatility in rhetoric and rhapsody, perhaps his "reasonable" women--if they do not blush when they do not blush they may not come from Richardson--and perhaps his sensitive style. So far as ~~literary~~ style goes if we ~~Brown~~ ignore Johnson Brown could not have selected as a model a man better suited to his purpose; for Rousseau has always been recognised as a supreme master in the

sentimental novel. In this connection it is ~~of~~ interest~~ing~~ ~~to recall remember~~ that Rousseau in ~~his~~ the Confessions thought the third and fourth parts of Héloïse masterpieces of diction. Apparently Brown learned a lot of rhetorical and linguistic tricks from him ~~Rousseau~~.

Many of Brown's ~~methods~~ devices may be similarly traced. Interpolated stories — if not from Richardson — could have been derived from the romance of Lord Bouraton suggested in letter clxviii and detailed in the sequel to the whole work as well as from ~~that of~~ the story of Claude Anet and Fanny in letter xxxix. The psychological analysis which has usually been considered more or less ~~original~~ characteristic with ~~Brown~~ him should ~~probably~~ possibly be credited to Rousseau who had mastered it much earlier. The capricious introduction of verse, the notes explanatory and critical of the letters, the omission of ~~some~~ unimportant letters and the ~~ubiquitous~~ frequent italics may have been found in Rousseau if they were not imitated from Richardson's Clarissa. The ~~lack of perfection~~ faults of the epistolary method probably did not come from Richardson who attempted to perfect it in ~~minute~~ detail but from Rousseau who neglected its most obvious essentials. Brown's coupled adjectives, some of his diction especially words like transcendant and his neglect in naming his characters (St. Preux is said in letter cvii the note to be his feigned name and the billet enclosed in his letter civ is signed S.G. unexplained), his so-called lack of humor and his use of sympathy of the elements with the emotions

~~Both might have absorbed it from Richardson~~.

of the characters (letter xxvi) may all have been indebted to Rousseau. In ~~the~~ a series of letters which ~~according to the 19 May 1792 letter~~ comprised the story of Julius ~~and Juliette~~ and Julietta the mother Mrs. Brownlow was given the same part ~~in the story that~~ Julie's father had played in Héloïse. Brown's use of the name Clara may have come from the Clary and Clara of Clarissa or from Julie's cousin Clara (letter vi) for names often fly about more mysteriously than angels. Though Brown wrote on music, in a dialogue, and on duelling, in his journal and ~~published~~ in the Literary Magazine, he did not drag them in to pad as Rousseau did in the Héloïse (lxi ad ante) but in his prose fiction of the epistolary type there are many letters otherwise like Rousseau's, ~~than a man like Godwin ever included in all his works~~. Of course no one should think Brown forgot the duelling which begins and ends Clarissa. The belief of the English translator of the Héloïse of London 1784 (p.viii) that he should give the ideas and not the words of the French original may have lead Brown, if he read that edition, to adopt Volney's suggestion of paraphrasing rather than literally translating the View of 1804 ~~at least if he read the translation~~.

The parallels which may be noticed in a chronological survey of the works of Brown influenced by Rousseau and which make that influence appear ~~certain~~ likely should at the same time be remembered as possibly received through the agency of Richardson's Clarissa (1740). Rousseau, as is well known, was influenced by Richardson in many ways so ~~that~~ we probably never shall ~~be able to~~ know precisely from which one Brown drew some of his material.

If ~~Brown~~ he had never before happened on the word rhapsody—it is by no means common and enters the average person's vocabulary rather late—he could have derived it from Rousseau (letter lxxvi) or Richardson: more probably the former.

The reference to Plato's Republic and the equality of the sexes (xlvi and xcii) may have slipped into Alcuin almost unknown to its author the same as the idea of a simple democracy (xxiii) could have slipped into Carwin.

One so-called supernatural germ of Wieland, the religious visionaries, may be found in letter clvii of the Héloïse—if we needed to seek for what we know very well. Straying from the path of virtue (xcii), the expression of clown for a country person (xcii), the mystery of bowers

Clarke's

(xiii) later a dairy house (xxviii) and an Elysian bower (cxxx) may all be ~~also~~ derived from Clarissa (ii, volume I, xx, II and xliv note, II) but are too general to be claimed: still the suggestion of the supernatural (cvi and clxiii) and the dream of the veil (clxvi) can surely have come from Rousseau, though possibly from the haunted coppice of Richardson (xxxv, volume I and xliv, II) and the dreams of Clarissa (xlii, volume II).

though the need to part no more is more likely Johnson's than from the sequel to

Ormond probably derived them from Clarissa but the appeal to the confidant and the idea of weeping no more could have been found in letter vii ~~of~~ the Héloïse / St. Preux disguised as a gardener ~~who wrked~~ for Julie (cxxxi) is improbable as an influence when Lovelace had used at least four different disguises, not to be near the beloved so much as to spy on her like Ormond did on Constantia. Wolmar's free-thinking could have infected Ormond.

Arthur Mervyn has some details similar if not the same as the Héloïse. All the benevolent sides of Wolmar as well as Lord Bouraton's advocacy of the hero may be found in Welbeck. Julie's portrait (lxxxvii) and a contagious disease (cvii--smallpox not yellow fever) may be general rather than ~~at all~~ a matter of indebtedness but when Brown astonished his readers by having his hero marry the beautiful brunette Achsa

Fielding he was merely imitating what Rousseau had made necessary and reasonable when he had St.Preux marry the dark haired widow Clara.

The wild nature description (xviii) need not be the source for that ~~found~~ in Edgar Huntly which we know Brown took from ~~the book of~~ nature, but it may have had something to do with his decision to use it.

~~When he came to write~~ For Clara Howard ~~Brown~~ he may have ~~been led to~~ believed the double love situation litaresque from Rousseau's having used it in the romance of Lord Bouraton in the sequel ~~to~~ Héloïse. ~~The fact that~~ In ~~thinking~~ speak of Wilkins, ~~Brown~~ in ~~his~~ a letter of ~~16 May~~ 1792 he recalled ~~Lord~~ Bouraton, which would seem to corroborate this but ~~the~~ it idea should not be credited to ~~any~~ one author ~~and~~ for it could ~~very well~~ also have come from Richardson. ~~Of course~~ We know Brown got his from ~~real~~ life. If we were looking for a motto for Clara Howard we could not do ~~much~~ better than take it from ~~Rousseau's~~ the Héloïse (~~English translation~~ London 1784, Vol.IV, note) where ~~we read~~ "The poor philosopher seems to be in a droll dilemma between two pretty women." Perhaps the disguised letter, the possibility of a delayed letter and the ~~possible~~ changes that may meanwhile happen ~~may have~~ a come from ~~similar minutiae of~~ Clarissa but could also have ~~been derived~~ come from the Héloïse. The world trip of the hero (cxix) and

the lover sent away as a matter of policy or punishment (xv) could only have come from Rousseau for Richardson did not use any such device.

What Brown admired of the Héloïse and did not put in Clara Howard he carried over to ~~on for use in~~ Jane Talbot. The tyrranous parents (iv) became a single one, the mother who had to be humored ~~to be brought~~ to favor the hero's suit. The possibility of a delayed letter and the ~~possible~~ changes that may meanwhile happen could have come from Rousseau (X, ix) if it needed any source other than common ~~human~~ experience. Hamlet or Colden's free-thinking may have been inspired by Wolmer.

The memoirs of Mary Selwyn ~~which appeared in Brown's Monthly Magazine~~ which is an explanatory confession to clear a wife's character probably was inspired by the secrets of Rousseau's Héloïse. ~~which caused~~

There is no record of Brown's reading of the Confessions and it is quite likely any acquaintance he and his friends had with the book was not mentioned. For the general public of his day the book was a little strong when not presented as fiction. However there are considerable traces of its influence on his work as well as on his life. His early life was patterned after Jean Jacques though too much of solitary walking did not need the Reveries of a solitary walker for the habit in fact we know he owed it to Prond's advice but it may have had some effect in forming his lost Journal of a Visionary.

~~had not De Wasseau might have suggested the~~
~~dame of Toledo of Cervin~~

The idea that nature did not intend him or any other human being for study he acknowledged he got from Rousseau though he could not remember the reference. It might have come from Book VI. - Or from Burke. The preservation of his religious principles may merely echo Rousseau's reference to the atmosphere at his uncle's (Book II).

The Third Walk may have given the idea that he was not formed for this world, ~~though his frailty could have made it spontaneous.~~

His favorite argument in early manhood that truth was to be divulged he may have found in Walk iv though curiously he believed deception in writing fiction was no lie.

* ~~Rousseau could have got it from Burke.~~

Rousseau's
~~The~~ governess Jacqueline could have supplied
~~the~~ imaginary wife Jacqueillete of ~~the~~ ~~to many~~
one of his ~~her~~ letters.

fiction in ~~the~~

~~Brown's~~ The inspiration for an author's career which he remembered as derived from ~~Diderot and~~ the Encyclopaedists, already referred to, ~~by us~~ could have been ~~easily~~ found in the Confessions, the same as the idea of authorship as a trade and the change of occupation as a relaxation.

The blushless
Madame de Warrens might have suggested the chaste Dame of Toledo in Carwin

~~134~~
even

Rousseau's ~~The~~ frequent visits to Montpellier ~~probably~~ quite likely was the source of ~~the~~ use in Wieland.

~~more~~ elaborated

Grimm, Diderot and ~~the~~ the trull in the ~~silly~~ mystery of a tempest in a tea pot could have supplied one of Brown's ~~stock~~ situations.

ho II The Epistle to d'Alembert could have given him the theory of opposing passions if he did not get it, as remarked, from the sequel to the Héloïse.

II Other works of Rousseau that he may probably did not have read but should have, are the essay on Arts and Sciences that might have perfected his dialogues on Music and Painting. The Letter to the Archbishop of Paris with its reasoning on religion might have been useful.
The Preface to Narcissus with its condemnation of his dramatic piece comedy though Rousseau did not have the courage to smother the bantling as Brown did to his tragedy might have provoked at least an interesting rejoinder.
The posthumous continuation of the Émile which in the 1780 edition would give the name of Sophia for Jessica (perhaps) as the original title could have supplied Emilius for his self as a pupil in his schoolboy verses. The faith of the Savoy and Vicar might have answered many of his troublesome doubts, indeed it would have been better for Brown if he had read more than Rousseau than he can be shown to have read.

The influence ~~Brown received~~ from the Germans is difficult to determine, ~~because the evidence which can be found to day is not as conclusive as it should be~~. In view of his ~~Brown's~~ generalized statement ~~which speaks~~ of his knowledge of several languages and another particular one in which he admits an ~~the~~ influence of Goethe, it might be thought ~~is possibly safe to conclude~~ he could read German. An opinion of it as a means for reading the authors of the language and learning English etymology is ~~to be found~~ in the Monthly Magazine in April 1800 No. III of the Dialogues of the Living which we ~~do not hesitate to~~ ascribe to Brown; Be ~~it~~ his or another's, there was no necessity for him to read the foreign language. ~~According to Goodnight~~ indeed with so many Germans settled in and around Philadelphia it would be surprising if he did not have a knowledge of general conversation phrases the language. The dialogue -2-

"The interest in German Literature began in America about 1795...The magazines show it to have been largely a period of second hand knowledge of the subject. Practically the only works accessible, aside from the dramas and theatrical notes just mentioned, were translations made in England, which were frequently reprinted here..."

~~In that way~~ ~~Thus~~ the noted works of Gessner, Goethe, Bürger, Schiller, Wieland and Zimmermann ~~in English translations~~ were accessible to ~~Brown~~ him before he had issued one book of his own[1] ~~and it was~~ through English translations ~~and translations alone~~ ~~that he gained any acquaintance he may have had with German authors~~.

1 ~~Vol.II,p.284 ff.~~ April 1800.

2 Scott Holland Goodnight: German Literature in America prior to 1846, University of Wisconsin Bulletin, No. 188, December 1907, p.33.

(that)

Brown used some of the stock-in-trade of the old fashioned German romances such as doubtful parentage, recovery of lost children, disguises, twins and meetings after the lapse of years. Some of what seems morbid may also come from Tieck. In his occasional coarseness, audacity, wild fantasie, sentiment, utter reality or utter sensuality, he is perhaps German if such are blemishes and peculiarly German, which is doubtful. In his simplicity, if not actual crudity, of composition he may be German, the English and French practising care and polish even to excess in such a detail. If Carlyle is correct in suggesting that wizards and ruined towers, with mailed knights, secret tribunals, monks, spectres and banditti were the peculiar forte of German literature we might consider the character of some of Brown's work to be fundamentally German. What the Chelsea sage calls the "bowl-and-dagger department" of literature and Jeffrey condemns as "overstrained theatrical horrors" we can undoubtedly find traces of in Brown; but any reader who thinks Brown has outdone the German school, if he has a strong stomach as well as a brave heart, should ride in that stage

1 Francis Jeffrey called attention to this characteristic in his review of Goethe's Werther. Saintsbury, Essays London 1923, Vol.I, p.96 accuses the Germans of abusing the supernatural. ~~Bron a lion may be found napping some time!~~

2 State of German Literature 1827 paragraph 13.

coach going from Bracke as pictured by Arnim.[1] The morgue, the graveyard, and all the pest houses of the middle ages ~~and all the horrors of liquid flame and poison gas~~ will seem tame by the time he reaches Brussels; at least if he lives to arrive, there will never be anything left in the world to fear.

Some such influence, though mild in degree ~~when~~ compared to Arnim, is probably what is meant when it is said[2] ~~that~~ Brown had a Byronic strain. Usually anything ~~inclined~~ thought to be morbid, introspective and of the blood-and-thunder school is considered Byronic, ~~when in truth~~ whereas it is more properly to be traced to the German, the Goth, the Gothic Romance. As it was of Byron, ~~just~~ so it was only a single phase of Brown's life and work. To call ~~Brown~~ him Byronic is especially ~~in bad taste for the reason that~~ unfair because Byron's influence on American authors did not arise until after Brown was dead. Those who use the label think them alike because they both drank at the same fount. At best the idea is an anachronism, if not a device to ~~conceal the want~~ avoid a study of ~~attention to~~ the Germans ~~school~~ to ~~which~~ whom Brown and Byron possibly ~~was~~ were indebted.

1 Heine: Samtliche Werke Neuter band, p.104. Stutgart: Bibliothek der Weltlitteratur.
2 Atlantic Monthly May 1888, p.713 by George E. Woodberry.

If a translation of Bürger's tale ~~of~~ Leonora ~~Brown~~ was read in New York ~~with Smith in~~ 1797, probably ~~in~~ the J. T. Stanley ~~translation~~ version published at London the [previous year] 1796 by Brown when he was visiting E

His pleasure ~~in reading~~ it was great as it very well might be because of its diablerie but it ~~was to be~~ had no ~~part~~ part in her Gothic literary influence. ~~in his work~~ The English supernatural novel had captured him years earlier and gave him more of the kind than he could ever have obtained from Bürger.

II Gessner's Death of Abel was brought by Brown for his brother Elijah in 1788 so no one who knows his character can deny he ~~had~~ read it. The edition was probably the 1770 Philadelphia reprint of Mary Collyer's adaptation.

In the elements Gessner added to the story ~~as told~~ in ~~the above verses of the fourth book of~~ Genesis (Book I) ~~and the~~ The tower of Jessamine and roses and the Temple of Venus (Book IV) may have impressed him ~~Brown through their~~ although probably did not. The introduction of Anamelech (Satan) may have also had ~~an esoteric~~ some possible ~~some~~ part in the ~~causing~~ formation of ~~to~~ Cain's character. However, both of these details are too early in his life and too faintly presented ~~to~~ be accepted ~~without for so important a purpose~~ as ~~presenting~~ an influence. There is nothing more.

we must find the only possible influence on Brown

Goethe's Werther is the one German work prominent in especially the one for the basis the Dela
Brown's life during 1792 and from it he appears to have absorbed the passion for "playing heroics". It was accessible to and probably read by him in an incomplete translation, either in the incomplete English one of 1785 or in the first American edition published 1784 at Philadelphia Fitchfield, Connecticut by Collier and Bell and derived through the French version of Aubry. His 1792 letters show he detected the logical fallacies of the arguments on suicide. Other than that it left no perceptible mark of influence; some of the many great things of it ever reappear or are even hinted in all we know Brown wrote which is so —

It is well known that Goethe was indebted to Burney, Richardson, Fielding and Goldsmith so he could not help but have some of the themes, some of the ideas and some of the literary methods which Brown also had absorbed from them.

There are an astonishing number of parallels in their lives; literary interests, love of knowledge, simplicity and unconventionality of life, loves and hates; indeed in all lines except government affairs and science but it is improbable any of Brown's were suggested by Goethe.

The Sorrows of Werter

contrary to his usual reaction there should be no surprise when we read an article in the Literary Magazine (Vol. XI, p. signed X which we ascribe to Brown. It presents the complete appreciation to sometime danger to youth if the character made alluring, whereas is approved as true and abhorrent. Peregrine Pickle is condemned along with Werther.

# There ~~is no~~ evidence of ~~any~~ influence of Wieland's Agathon is too slight to make it probable (Of course he could have found ~~there~~ in it most of his classic favorites as well as Heloise; the dialogue with Hippias, the method of resemblance derived from a Greek manuscript, the interpolated narratives could all have echoed in Brown's mind; probably none of them was suggested to him as ~~part of~~ literary devices for the first time. The beautiful dancer who plays the lyre equally as beautifully, her watch over the sleeping lover and her confidential relations with Hippias might have lingered in Brown's mind long enough to affect ~~in~~ his Clara verse in Ormond and Arthur Mervyn.) The control of one passion by another may be found in more than one part of the book but Brown may claim that really Agathon is a stupid failure because the ~~interminable~~ boresome Syracusan padding spoils ~~all~~ the attraction of the story. Brown might have been attracted by ~~interested in~~ the suggestions of part of it but he never could have read it all. It must have been ~~proved~~ repulsive; in fact it may be taken as an example of the type of book that promises more than would otherwise have.

Agathon is the home of Hippias could never have existed. Brown's stated knowledge of Greek might well have extended to the Greek romances but not to a thing as obscure as Agathon.

temporarily

with much attention or admiration.

a book ever can fulfill. It probably never had and never will have any influence on anyone.

from evidence ~~supplied by~~ derived from John W. Francis ~~has~~ suggested ~~that~~ we may conclude Brown to have been personally acquainted with P.Will and ~~his~~ that Armord and Ludlow may be indebted to ~~Will's~~ his translation of the Marquis of Grosse's novel Horrid Mysteries. ~~but~~ Francis is unreadable there is nothing to show ~~Brown~~ he knew either the man or the novel. ~~he introduced to an English fol~~ Brown ~~probably~~ read many such books, and very likely ~~may have~~ read this one, but ~~in writing he was anxious to avoid the supernatural novel.~~ Anything he ~~might~~ may have found inspiring in ~~the Horrid Mysteries might if possible be better~~ it may be traced to its obvious source in Schiller's ~~Ghost Seer.~~

~~The question of~~ Brown's reading of Zimmermann's Solitude we shall notice in connection with ~~the~~ a critical study of Mary Selwyn in our ~~the~~ monthly magazine. The Literary magazine (VII, pp. 175 and 243) contained a memoir of Zimmermann.

1 Early American ~~Fiction~~ novel, N.Y., 1907, p.42 note. ~~N.Y. 1858 p. 46 says Rev. H.D. Will after a short~~ Francis: Old New York, New York 1858, p. 46 note.

With the April 1799 number of the monthly magazine and American Review Brown ~~entered~~ took made his first venture as editor of a periodical. For the remainder of his life, in addition to his book and pamphlet publications, he always had a magazine to reach the public. On the whole he well met his editorial responsibilities. In every case his hands were free; his assistants, if he had any other than unpaid contributors, did not interfere; indeed they often failed him when he most needed their help. At times his printers ~~were~~ he was so little restrained publications were unfavorably reviewed. Such freedom of course permitted him to ~~He stamped~~ his four periodicals with his own personality; their strongest attraction was derived from that fact.

In character and name his literary magazine was indebted to Johnson, the American Register he modelled on the British Annual Register but his second magazine The American Review though planned to be general proved to be a critical venture and was probably the earliest of its kind in the United States.

Of the periodicals issued in parts not a single number of the monthly magazine, the American Review or The Literary magazine was supplied wholly or mostly by correspondents so his ~~power of invention~~ resources had to be ~~exerted~~ searched to the utmost. When the printer informed him he lacked material to make up the promised number of pages he rifled his note-books, journals and manuscripts; he extracted from books and magazines in every branch of literature; he increased the size of the instalments of his stories or he began a new one.

~~the Brown~~ Brown ~~did~~ ~~had~~ and he found his earliest inspiration for an authors career in the Encyclopedists, but many of the other authors he read, especially in a large measure Johnson and Rousseau, and in some part Richardson, Fielding and Smollett, slightly in Goldsmith, Dryden and Spenser and some of the Bible and Goethe had taught him his "trade" as many years later he called it. Curiously One of his early publications was the verse written in tribute to Franklin ~~and it was his~~ whose friendship patronage he hoped for, like James Ralph who had realized the ~~same~~ ambition. Ralph had ~~pseudonymously~~ published under a pseudonym in London in 1755 The Case of Authors by Profession or Trade, in which the truth in its worst form was displayed. Anyone who would ~~become~~ continue as an author after reading that can have no cause ~~to~~ to complain ~~for any~~ no matter what kind of public reception he receives. And, though Brown often ~~Brown~~ spoke of his life work, he never complained.



No I

Job and some of the Psalms made an echo in his early attempts at their versification. ~~especially the twenty fifth~~

The former may have supplied the name for Job Strutt (Literary Magazine Vol. III, p. 15) especially because of its remarks on the Bible and the Biblical names of the Old Testament.

No III

Ecclesiasticus could have had a small part in the youthful Times verse as well as the verse of the title-page of Wieland.

reiterates the name of Ephraim which Brown found in the Genesis Wisdom of Solomon.

No IV

Numbers, Judges, Proverbs ~~the Psalms~~ and Daniel ~~the verse~~ may also have helped to form the Wieland latter verse. ~~on the title page of Wieland~~.

I Chronicles

No V

Deuteronomy, Joshua II Maccabees, Mark, Luke II Corinthians I Timothy II Peter III John and the translator's preface could have influenced ideas in Wieland have supplied the name of Lucetas to the youthful verse the name of Ac(h)sah to the handsome widow of Arthur Inkerman and surely gave him the idea of the "man of sorrows" of Wieland.

No VI

Judith could have given a name though not the character, to Clara Wieland's servant.

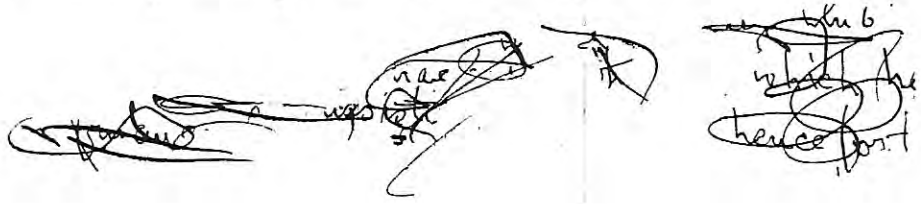
No VII

Philemon, he may ~~even~~ have become the Philibert of the Carids and Orsmes, ~~(308)~~ for he liked to juggle with names. played with, to

Any study of Brown's political pamphlets would seem to be worthless unless the state of affairs of which he writes is thoroughly understood. Perhaps it is because this necessity looms large that so little has ~~heretofore~~ been written critically of them; but no long digressions on the historical side are needed and need not be tolerated, for occasional explanations may be confined mostly to notes where according to the reader's fancy they may be read or neglected.

Brown as a dramatist is generally new to biographies and biographical articles and though teasingly short and shadowy there is an old highly-colored account for the stage. To say more at this time might spoil its effect on the reader. As the biographer of his brother-in-law as a translator from the French a thorough study may be made with considerable advantage if we with all the peculiarities of method and accuracy that kind of literary work. There is one notable example to be studied.

~~The Brown~~ Brown ~~in 1776~~ said he had found his earliest inspiration for an author's career in the Encyclopedists, but many of the other authors he read, especially in a large measure Johnson and Rousseau, and in some part Richardson, Fielding and Smollett, slightly Goldsmith, Dryden and Spenser and some of the Bible and Goethe had taught him his "trade" as many years ~~later after~~ he called it. Curiously one of his early publications was the verse written in tribute to Franklin ~~and it was his~~ whose friendship patronage he hoped for, like James Ralph who had realized the ~~same~~ ambition. Ralph had published ~~pseudonymously~~ under a pseudonym in London in 1758 The Case of Authors by Profession or trade, in which the truth in its worst form was displayed. Anyone who would ~~become~~ continue as an author after reading that can have no cause ~~to~~ to complain ~~for any~~ no matter what kind of public reception he receives. And, though Brown often ~~spoke~~ spoke of his life work, he never complained.



The problem of authorship as it presented itself to ~~Brown~~ him was to have a means of reaching the public, a means that would recognize that his work was to compensate him the same as if he were a lawyer. There were four ways to this end. Contributions to paying periodicals, books for booksellers who paid him something on each copy sold, ~~and~~ political pamphlets and his own magazines. ~~That promised to do the same~~. When any one failed to make a return he could rely on one or more of the ~~three~~ others.

~~Brown's~~ His motive in writing may be approached by some passages from John Bernard's Retrospections[x] which are likely to be as accurate reporting as we can expect from an actor. For their high coloring we, especially welcome them, adding as they do a quality wholly lacking in almost all other accounts of Brown's life and work. Bernard probably wrote his memories as a diary, his power of observation was not common among the English visitors of the time, his partiality for the United States was well known and when he took his pen in hand his ~~power~~ skill in expression was certainly strong and often picturesque. We have no reason to believe his intention was other than thoroughly honest. He says

x New York 1887, pp. 252-3.

X ~~Brown's~~ His novels cannot be the source of a judgment of ~~their motives~~, because they are merely one type of his ~~total~~ literary output. His intention was to be a professional man of letters, not merely a writer of novels or tales or romances. In his day there was no specialization in any of the learned professions; indeed business even of the store-keeping kind was not conducted so. ~~Brown's note-books~~ no authors specialized. and journals prove ~~positively~~ he had many motives.

As Bernard relates fame ~~alone~~ was not his ~~only~~ motive. Indeed, if he had ever ~~had~~ been compelled to have but one he probably would have been a teacher; for his desire to instruct was strong; ~~but~~ however, even there he would not have specialized.

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Bernard was careful to use the word enjoyment when speaking of Brown's writing. On the other hand

The idea that ~~Brown~~ he wrote for his amusement which had its origin in the hurried end of Allen's biography and has been echoed by several writers ~~since~~, is ~~of course~~ simply indifference to the truth if not absolutely absurd. ~~Any one who believes that literally it is needless to live on in ignorance of the true motives of the man. True or not the quotation just given from Bernard is the proper answer.~~ Some literary work may have its amusing spots but no ~~work~~ prose fiction of Brown's could ever have been ~~prosecuted~~ written to the end ~~In~~

144 A

~~pleasure.~~ The ~~idea has been expressed in~~ the 1822 London ~~Colburn~~ ~~edition~~ abridgment of Dunlap's work ~~which has~~ gives this excellent note ~~by the editor.~~

> "None of Mr.Brown's Novels are of that class which pretends merely to amuse,and is therefore addressed to "popular feelings and credulity". His aim was much higher."

Brown's methods of composition cannot be ~~absolutely~~ found in any one work. In some cases his brother made a fair copy ~~whether~~ for submission to Brown's friends or for the printer which is good evidence that revision had been made.

The common report is that he wrote at break-neck speed

throwing the copy to the waiting printer's devil as fast as the type-setters needed it; but this ~~is not~~ can be only of the material for his periodicals. ~~not true of all of his work, though it~~ quite likely was due to his writing at home instead of his having an office at the printer's. ~~may be sufficiently accurate for a general statement, derived from one and probably no more than one work.~~ Another false idea is Dunlap's ~~says~~ generalized statement:[1]

> "He began to write a novel after having only determined upon one leading circumstance, character or idea, and trusted to the growth of one incident from another, and the appropriate sentiments from the incidents. One volume would be finished and printed before he had formed any plan for the beginning of the second, or any plan for the continuation, developement or denouement of the story."

Arthur Mervyn is the only work Brown issued in two volumes so ~~that~~ it is clear Dunlap was thinking of that one work only ~~and~~ we know from Brown himself ~~that~~ it was carefully planned and altered under the advice of his brother.[2] Later Dunlap adopted several passages of the worst of Allen's ~~one of~~ when ~~he was~~ hastening to end his part of the Known book, which presents the ~~same~~ idea of ~~haste even~~ unexplained mysteries in a stronger light, thus:

> "The reader accompanies him step by step throughout the whole labyrinth of his mysteries, with an expectation of finding them eventually cleared up. As he proceeds, however, his attention is arrested by still further novelties, which are brought forward to explain the preceding and which themselves require the same explanation. At the end he closes the volume with a mind still unsatisfied. The author was often asked by his friends, when he proposed to elucidate the mysteries with which his works of fancy abounded, to which he would give some sportive reply, plainly intimating that he considered it a matter of perfect indifference whether this task was ever accomplished or not. He seemed to consider the curiosity of his readers as an engine in his hands, which he might play upon for his amusement merely, and relinquish when he tired of such sport."

1 Vol.I,p.258. 2 Vol.I,p.260 from Allen p.388.

~~Some of~~ ~~All that sounds very much like the stock criticism made on Haw-~~ In all the stories given to the public by Brown thorne's ~~Marble Faun and if~~ there ~~are~~ mysteries unexplained, ~~which~~ is not one which he, not Brown, gave. His comments thereby In his haste Allen has confused the published with the fragments ~~have never been found by us~~ Allen ~~appears to have~~ exaggerated if not falsified what is ~~very~~ doubtful and if partially true is of very when you quibble ~~little~~ different importance. Brown's undeveloped openings for sequels ~~further volumes~~ are not common. ~~the~~ Of the six well-known stories only two have them. In all his work there is only one other ~~and they are the smallest part censurable; indeed there are plenty of defects to be found without noticing what is not only~~ Rather than being unexplained mysteries they are recognised as legitimate in prose fiction ~~but is~~ and are often to the reader a cause of curiosity and pleasant anticipation. ~~Somewhat~~ Like that ~~blessed and~~ ~~praiseworthy~~ commendable person who wished Richardson's Clarissa to go on forever, many a reader's ~~pleasure~~ interest is more than doubled when he is told in the book or has learned from other sources that a sequel ~~is to~~ will follow. Insofar as Allen's quotation relies on the premise that all ~~points~~ the details of a story regardless of their importance should be completely explained it is false to human nature and worthless as criticsm. ~~Volume~~ ~~It was to be neither as a~~ Arthur Mervyn is complete in itself and if he so wishes the reader may not ~~bother to~~ read the second volume. The only other novel Brown issued in more than a single and complete volume is Edgar Huntly which has no unexplained mystery in it, but it was a three-volume work ~~so~~ elaborately made ~~that~~ when it might ~~otherwise~~ have been published in ~~only~~ one ~~volume~~ as it always has been since the first and second editions.

~~Lazy and dishonest~~ critics commonly say Brown's literary construction was defective; they graciously concede ~~that~~ he had the power to arouse the reader's curiosity, ~~to make his hair stand on end, so to speak,~~ but that he knew nothing of literary architectonic. If the reader encounters such statements ~~and respects those who make them~~ he should remember that ~~when we pass such a judgment on Brown's prose fiction a fine sense of literary construction is~~ an unknown thing; for in his day the whole catalogue of classic novelists had not been compiled; in fact ~~when Brown wrote~~ there were but a few English novelists ~~of notable ability and fewer foreign novelists who had any admirable artistic perception~~. According to the light of his day Brown had the customary sense of construction ~~but, in comparison with~~ the novel's technical development ~~since then~~, he ~~was obviously~~ lacking ~~in~~ ~~most~~ of the virtues now stamped with favor. ~~He wrote in a melodramatic style because every one of the time wrote in the same strain.~~ To ~~expect him to ape the style of the present is to demand the impossible.~~

~~Many~~ of Brown's defects are ~~seldom~~ of importance; ~~and~~ are due to his haste of composition ~~for as a rule~~ his prose fiction was published

with too little revision.

(Because there is no complete manuscript of any of his work there can be no certainty ~~of~~ ~~that~~ the revision he did make. ~~too soon.~~ A study of a ~~certain~~ fragment of Edgar Huntly and a comparison of it with the elaborated work ~~will~~ shows he was a competent reviser, when he revised. ~~but unfortunately the opportunity seldom seems to have offered or if it offered was accepted for that purpose.~~ Generally he ~~preferred to~~ told another story rather than ~~to~~ revised the one already told. That the times made any such haste necessary is not ~~certain though~~ likely the methods of book production were essentially the same as to-day, the process was type-setting, proof ~~may have made it so, but it appears he was hasty in~~ for revision and publication. In some instances there were cancelled sheets ~~his work not because he wanted publication and the money but more probably because he hurried from one story to another, merely because his mind conceived them as~~ replaced by last-minute corrections with ~~faster than his pen could record them.~~ Had ~~it been possible for him to have~~ he done proportionably as much revision in all of his ~~best known~~ work as he did in that fragment ~~of~~ Edgar Huntly he ~~probably~~ would not have affected the artistic reputation of them a great deal ~~for it is mostly in small details that his work is inartistic.~~ (Stet)

After all, perfection of construction is ~~only~~ an ideal means to a very practical end and it is not the whole of criticism of a literary work any more than it is of engineering. Paradoxical as it may seem, though he can never become a model he ~~will probably~~ always has been ~~as he has often been~~ an inspiration to novelists.

~~In essentials~~ Brown's ~~style is the man, which according to one expert, at least, is all that is necessary~~. ~~His~~ efforts to acquire a good style, ~~which~~ do not follow the rules laid down in his favorite Blair's Rhetoric for severe revision but do practise ~~his~~ the recommendation of respect for the glow of composition, ~~are often considered failures because~~ disliked In general his studies lead him to hand on the Johnsonian tradition, ~~Godwin may have~~ or confirmed him in the staccato sentence,

His models were English and some if not all of the best so ~~that~~ he wrote in a language that will be perfectly comprehended so long as English continues to be written and read. (Stet)

¶ When we ~~narrow the study to~~ seek a subtle explanation of ~~Brown~~ his style we may find that what it has good if not excellent is in its prose rhythm.x Certainly its power is very much indebted to this quality. With recurring amphibrachs and iambs or trochees his sentences often divide themselves as fast as one can read; at suitable times he hits with the might of a hammer in a monosyllabic foot.

(long or stressed)

x many books on versification or preferably

It unnecessarily complicates what is already sufficiently difficult ~~complicated~~ to argue about longs and shorts or stressed and unstressed syllables. Everyday in the common use of language the ordinary ear hears the stress and if you mark that with any sign you like the feet will readily reveal themselves. Saints bonds ~~last (poem)~~ will suffice their names. x the rest of the mystery is daylight itself. (If you pronounce properly.

It is of course possible that prose rhythm as an art, as a conscious detail of literary effort, began only as early as De Quincey × so that all the harmonious prose before him was possibly accidental or incidental to good English. The important thing is its conscious or not matters little; if conscious it was a part of his art, if unconscious it was a part of the nature expressing itself in his art. In one of his early letters xx of the eighties speaking of Cicero as an orator he does not make the distinction that would imply a knowledge of the prose rhythm of oratory. The italics of the dialogue on music xxx would perhaps suggest he did not know the trick but one of the examples to be given would as strongly suggest he did know it. In a 1792 letter he speaks of cadence as a subtlety of prose, which hardly could have come from a person ignorant of prose rhythm.

and the last sentence of our Arthur Symons selection refers to "cadences and emphasis and pause"

× Johnson's Rasselas and Burke's Sublime could have given him some of what we shall see he had.

xx Dunlap, Vol. I, p. 45. xxx Dunlap, Vol. II, p. 124.

× Compare Saintsbury: English Prose Rhythm, London 1912, pp. 306-7.

II From ~~knowledge of~~ his study of Johnson we might expect him to follow the Johnsonian rhythm but ~~of~~ many examples we have divided and scanned* ~~as well as~~ besides those we shall here give as illustrations do not show ~~such~~ imitation to any ~~great and abiding~~ extent. The Valerian memoir has the strongest suggestion of it. Of course Brown has Johnson's parallelism. ~~However the did not have~~ never developed an elaborate rhythm cadence, nevertheless he often had good rhythm even in some of his characters' conversations, which is a rarity. ~~Possibly~~ Quite likely it was through his early practise in versifying — for the greater part in iambic pentameter couplets — that he came in time to write not a little harmonious prose. When a man has some of the poetic graces he is occasionally liable to slip in a line of blank verse. ~~And some but few~~ have been found.

~~His~~ The legal decisions ~~in the first Dunlap volume~~ (Dunlap, Volume one) are Johnsonian and not fair examples. ~~Of Brown's his prose style~~. The works written in epistolary form such as Jessica ~~Grant~~ ~~or~~ Jane Talbot and Clara Howard would not be expected to give us much ~~of this grace~~. In the ~~first~~ trip to Rockaway (Dunlap, II) ~~he Brown~~ ought to hear music in the murmur of the waves ~~that succeeded in~~ ~~little more~~ ~~but~~ transferring ~~more~~ to his writing ~~the~~ a monotonous undulation ~~of~~ broken by the occasional crash of a monosyllable. Alcuin is, without distinction in respect of its rhythm ~~which~~ is somewhat Johnsonian but mostly Burke. From its polemic character it naturally aims at no beauty ~~or~~ harmony. The Scribbler essays – especially the second paragraph on page 265 Dunlap, II – has some uncommon excellencies, shows attention to the ends and is indeed so good ~~a piece~~ it would be quoted if more examples were necessary. Melesian is grave ~~solemn~~ and oratorical with no effort to make it ~~sparkle~~ ~~excellent~~. It has a conversational undulating movement, never accented, never brought to an effective close. The feet are varied but the language has no marked beauty. Perhaps for those reasons it is most ~~appropriate~~ suited to its solemn purpose.

Though they are, as we shall see, by no means barren. ~~Of its~~ ~~other qualities~~.

Brown's sentences are by the critics characterized as staccato, short, monotonous and hammering. As peculiarly adapted to the general tenor of his prose fiction they are excellent; if they had been always well measured and grouped into stately paragraphs they would have ruined his prose rythm and would not have stabbed and startled the reader with terrific force.

Brown really had at his command two kinds of sentence and did not always employ the staccato. Outside of the tense moments in his prose fiction it occurs only when perfectly suitable exactly as it is used to-day. In his political pamphlets for example he was careful to write long and leisurely in the elaborated Johnsonian which is pure and displays great command of language, great flexibility and full expression of his ideas.

the t

Brown's diction is ~~usually~~ in his prose fiction too often condemned, though it has few discordant patches and as a rule ~~has the virtue of being~~ is said to be musical. He uses too small a parcentage of Saxon words and too great of Roman, or Latinisms, so that ~~some critics find them~~ they sound bombastic, inflated, ~~big sounding, unusual, pedantic~~ and stilted. Contrary to his personal simplicity the ~~so called~~ sonorous Johnsonese though it was the best sort of an example for him to study and imitate, gives his work ~~an~~ that affected air ~~as it were, a posing~~ but not for long. Sometimes

No ¶ Of the lists of examples of his Latinisms made by some writers possibly one-third may be unfalatable. ~~But~~ They were found in the six volumes of prose fiction. In the remainder of his writing, which would probably make at least forty-eight similar volumes, they are never so obtrusive.

F7



school, ~~and then~~ Its author personally knew Holcroft and Godwin. However it has only ~~not~~ a single characteristic of Brown; ~~though it does~~ winding up the story with a moral tag. The Man with the Cloaks and the Sufferings of a Country Schoolmaster[1] contain references to ventriloquism but there is not the slightest hint that ~~to Austin~~ the word recalled Brown's use of it.

Thomas Wentworth Higginson[2] expressed his belief ~~that~~ in the ~~probable~~ likely influence of Austin on Hawthorne and though he mentioned Brown in the same letter apparently it did not occur to him to look for traces of ~~Brown~~ him in Austin's stories; at least if he did so ~~search~~ he failed, exactly ~~just~~ as we have, to find any.

John J. Bailey's Waldimar, New York 1834 has been ~~considered~~ thought[3] based on the reign of Theodosius ~~in Thessalonica~~ of which the massacre was used by Brown in his Thessalonica. With such an origin the two works, Brown's and Bailey's, could not fail to have some of the same characters; of ~~far~~ more ~~interest~~ importance is that so few were used. It is remarkable that Waldimar[4] ~~which gives the title to Bailey's play~~ is in

1 The Literary Papers of William Austin Boston 1890 includes this as Austin's. J.T. Buckingham Memoirs Boston 1852, Vol II, p.148 says Leonard Foster Apthorp was the author. ~~Buckingham should have known, if any could.~~

2 Letters and Journals Boston 1921, p.334.

3 A.H. Quinn: History of the American Drama N.Y., 1923, p.254.

4 There was a real Waldemar in the History of Brandenburg and Denmark.

Brown's work given as Walimer, ~~both being inventions of the authors.~~

In Act IV, scene iv, there is a possible echo of Brown's Ormond in the threat of Hersilia to commit suicide and in the sixth scene of the same act there is a touch of the supernatural in the appearance of Martian, but more than these commonplace details there is nothing to suggest Bailey had read Brown's work. The prologue ~~to his play~~ was written by Robert C. Sands and the epilogue by Theodore S. Fay, either ~~one~~ of whom ~~may~~ could have brought ~~Brown's~~ the rather obscure ~~story~~ Thessalonica to Bailey's attention. So far as Brown's influence goes, Bailey must be included among those refuted.

A few

The intense rivalry of Boston, New York and Philadelphia literary circles may have had something to do with Bryant's dislike of Robert Walsh, whom he called an enemy ~~still~~ ~~not~~ he probably was acquainted with Walsh's attempt to continue Brown's Register, his article on the Boston 1827 edition of Brown, the Philadelphia Encyclopaedia Americana article of 1830 and the American Quarterly Review article of the same place and date.

can have no doubt ~~that Burk~~ he had Brown's work in mind when he wrote his ~~amateurish~~ melodrama.

Wallestein the mortal foe of Bethlem Gabor was the supposed murderer of Gabor's wife and three children. Besides these strong ~~links in the chain~~ details of influence we ~~also~~ have Rosalind's arbor which recalls ~~the one of~~ Clara Wieland's; ~~in Wieland,~~ Bethlem Gabor prowls around the Wallestein realm very much like Carwin does; ~~in Wieland;~~ the possibilities for mischeif in the use of the ventriloquism by any depraved person recalls Wieland; the rescue ~~from murder~~ of Rosalind first alone and later with the child in act III echoes Wieland; the learning of the art "out of curiosity" is Carwin's ~~in Wieland~~ and ~~even~~ the number of children of Bethlem Gabor is ~~remarkably~~ like[1] that of Wieland, ~~in Wieland~~. The subterranean passage may come from Edgar Huntly if not from Ann Radcliffe. The disguise of St.Leon as a travelling Jew probably came like the name from Godwin rather than from Ormond in Ormond. If Anna singing a song did not come from Ormond she may have acquired her ability from Ann Radcliffe.

~~1 Here three, Augustus, Julia and Eloise; in Wieland there are~~ Besides the three of Wieland's own ~~and~~ one adopted except that ~~Why there were not decidedly more or less is strange.~~ was

We know he was so saturated with German literature ~~so much so even~~ the bowl-and-dagger department was in him. Schiller's Ghost Seer was his clothing and somnambulism ~~and sleep walking~~ was his daily walk (for most of his life) but precisely when he became acquainted with Brown is not definitely known though it may be fairly well surmised. Edgar Huntley with C.C.'s biographical introduction appeared first in Bentley's Standard Novels Series in 1831. Is it possible C.C. is not Charles Collier - as we think - but another smoke-screen for like C.X. (Oliver York) hiding from Carlyle? Likely not. However, in his Early German Literature in the Foreign Quarterly Review of the same year he says:

> "Philip II has his Cervantes, and in prison Washington and Jackson have only their Coopers and Browns."

The reference to Jackson would alone suggest the time - not earlier than 1829 and not later than 1837, Eight Coopers novels were reprinted by Bentley from 1832-6.

during which period Bentley was flooding the country with ~~copies of~~ Edgar Huntly.

The other half of the Ghost Seer had appeared by the way with Frankenstein.

With the completion of the Ghost Seer.

Baillie the Covenanter in the Westminster Review 1841 shows patches of its influence.

~~When edited by Irving~~ has its first interest ~~for us~~ in the domestic literary intelligence, ~~of the~~ August 1814, ~~number where we find~~ with a flattering notice of Brown's American Register. ~~Four issues~~ later[1] there is an announcement of the preparation of the Dunlap biography, ~~which reads:~~

> "William Dunlap, Esq. is preparing for the press a life of the late Charles Brockden Brown of Philadelphia. Mr. Dunlap's last literary performance was the life of Cooke. A more striking contrast cannot well be conceived than that afforded by the whimsical medley of genius and folly exhibited in the character of Cooke to the mild and quiet virtues, the retiring modesty, the domestic habits, the unwearied industry, and the acute, inquisitive mind of Charles Brown.
>
> Brown has left behind him no one work which can fairly be considered as a just standard of his talents. But in every one of those works, which flowed with unceasing rapidity from his prolific pen, may be traced some marks of his singularly ingenious and original mind. The wild and sombre imagination of his Wieland and Ormond, and the yellow fever scenes of Arthur Mervyn, the many passages of the historical part of his Annual Register, as well as the inexhaustible fertility of argument and objection which he displayed in his political and moral essays, are sufficient proofs of the variety and excellence of his talents. We doubt whether public opinion has yet done justice to his memory. To assert the posthumous claims of a man of genius to the respect and applause of his countrymen, is a task equally honorable and pleasing, and it is one which, we doubt not, Mr. Dunlap will perform with zeal and ability."

The tone of intimacy and the ~~lugging in of~~ Cooke contrast is in character with ~~Irving's~~ his known interest[2] in the biography of the actor and his personal acquaintance with

1 December 1814, pages 520-21.
2 Life and Letters of Washington Irving, N.Y., 1864, Vol. I, p. 293.

Brown. This notice ~~together with~~ and the earlier one are obviously regular editorial work and so far as we know constitute Irving's only tributes to Brown. According to ~~the~~ a notice on the inside of the original back wrapper Gulian Verplanck had become the editor by May of 1815. Irving's letter, to his brother William, dated 15 January shows him at Philadelphia severing[1] all connection with the periodical. ~~but it should be suggested that Irving edited more than~~ he Besides the first four volumes, two each for the years 1813 and 1814 he probably edited four numbers of volume five. By the last of May he was on the Atlantic bound for Liverpool and Verplanck was in full charge of the Analectic.

The importance of this Analectic work by Irving is that it shows him to us as well acquainted with Brown's life and works. As we go on we shall see how Irving became personally acquainted with our author.

1 "Bradford and Innskeep have failed and ruined Moses Thomas the bookseller who publishes the Analectic." A notice that assignees had taken over the accounts was inserted on a slip in the February 1815 number. The periodical was ~~however~~ continued until December 1820, it then became the Literary Gazette for 1821 and died.

Every reader of the Pit and the Pendulum, 1843, who remembers his Edgar Huntly[1] immediately recognises some sort of familiarity which when examined supplies enough parallels to indicate Poe was in this instance almost entirely indebted to Brown. Apparently chapters X and XV were thoroughly absorbed before he put pen to paper. The first person narrative, the use of yards for measures, the swooning, the fear of burial alive, the groping around the walls in darkness, the slippery foothold, the tearing of the shirt, the pit and its water at the bottom, the articles of food, the awakening, the sensations of suffering, the stone floor and the fear of dying by famine may be found in both stories. Brown's panther becomes a simile of a tiger, his scientific explanation of sound becomes a clever excuse for the error of estimating the size of the dungeon, the tomahawk tried on his finger and to be used for suicide becomes the pendulum blade. Brown's slight reference to Spain may have been the suggestion for making the Inquisition Spanish. The usual comment on the story is that it is of no striking originality,[2] or reminiscent of more than one English story.[3] Woodberry[4] gives the origins as William Maginn's Man in the Bell (Blackwood's November 1821)

1 Killis Campbell: Poe's Reading University of Texas Bulletin No.2538 p.183 text and note.
2 Woodberry: Life Boston 1909, Vol.II, p.343.
3 Works Chicago 1894, Vol.I, p.99 introduction to the tales by E.C.Stedman
4 Life Boston 1909, Vol.I, p.382.

and William Mudford's Iron Shroud (Blackwood's August 1830), from the former Poe may have developed the demon drawings on the wall; the latter undoubtedly supplied the iron torture box. The heating of the box and the rats from the pit were Poe's additions. According to the rules laid down by the Reply to Outis the case is cumulative and convincing.

[illegible] from Introduction
[illegible] 1926-7
Revised and added to 18 - [illegible] October 192
Made Vol VIII - 19 October 1927
Revised December 27, 1927 - 30 March 192
Revised 4 December 1928 - 10 January 192
Revision 22 - March 1930
Revision 8 - August 1931
Revised 7 - April 1934 (13-15 out) to 29 May 1934
~~[illegible] out~~
Beatrice added 4 June 1934
Whittier added 8-12 March 1935
Lowell & Holmes July - August 3 1936
Bryant 3 - August 1936
Stevenson Dec - 18 Jan 1941
Doyle Dec 1940 - " " 1941
Revision 20 Feb. - 12 Mar. 1943 = 20

In drawing

"So far as character is concerned what Brown was really interested in was the presentation if not development of human characters under the enormous pressure of uncommon if not almost miraculous circumstances. the secret and complicated motives of they are the leads to amazing action in unique if not unique an

When the story is new it holds the reader spellbound under an uncanny fascination and curiosity analysis of motive but when ended finished it loses something of the secret of its power and often the reader does not care to go back to it until like a magician's legerdemain. can recover from astonishment it. When character drawing is not a Consequently the its details are have been forgotten. As a result one of the commonest the more critics' technical jargon for biography, superficial charges of to-day against Brown is that he did not sufficiently attend to character drawing, His custom was to Brown if is mere anacronism. The criticism should be based on more than skimming and glean not merely follow rather than what others have said. The brutal sledge-hammer imitation of Jeffrey that speaks of the about his books "mere sticks" of women of Brown and Cooper may be in some instances true enough if it be used of subordinate characters. of a host of other novelists.

It The astonishing thing is that I not did not get the idea from reading Brown, but he accepted it from the New York mirror (2 August 1834, p. 39) where the passage does not use the expression actually merely reading: "Brown's women are mere abstractions, and Cooper's are nothing at all." If he had made a better acquaintance with the same mirror 11 July 1840 he could have found it giving the highest of praise to Brown's Constantia, finding alone superior.

The matter is of course properly a part of our Critical Studies where it will be studied in detail.

X Boston 1892, p. 87. Irving claimed Mabel Dunham of the Path finder was a real drawing of female character. See Knickerbocker Magazine Jan. 1860, p. 94. Scott's and Thackeray's women got their touching in Knickerbocker Aug. 1853, p. 155. C.G. Clarke was then editor.

The overwhelming reason for any obscurity of Brown is the so-called [illegible]'s biography which has always been accepted as a royal road or common highway to a knowledge of the man and his works when in truth it is mostly a poorly blazed trail through tortuous and mysterious woods haunted by all sorts of spectres, strewn with fatal pitfalls and leading to a desert bereft of all that is human.

~~He~~ quaintly ~~part of a~~ comments of the old Massachusetts Magazine[1] that

> "Bacon and Brockden Brown and DeQuincey[2], and many other intellectual Titans, are relegated to the libraries of scholarly old gentlemen."

---

2 After ~~one has read~~ reading ~~his~~ DeQuinceys translation of Tieck's Love Charm the reader should turn to his own Household Wreck (Vol.II, Uncollected Writings London 1890) and see what a Titan can do in the terrific of prose fiction.

1 November 1885, p.209.

If it were ~~a fact~~ true that Brown appeals only to the old gentlemen ~~which is not so~~ it might be very strongly argued as an ~~proof~~ indication of his intrinsic merit. ~~for~~

~~It~~ It is impossible to believe the ~~journalist~~ author intended his ~~the~~ grand ~~Williams~~ as complimentary to Brown ~~but~~ ~~and~~ ~~but~~ to anyone who has read Bacon and De Quincey ~~that~~ opinion ~~is~~ carries the highest ~~of~~ praise in the writing of prose. No other American author has ever been placed in ~~quite~~ such a distinguished company. ~~category.~~

~~It~~ The anti-quarian spirit of that passage does not at all represent the attitude of ~~most people~~ the readers to-day. The fact ~~that Brown has been neglected,~~ that all of us do not know the truth ~~of~~ Concerning the man who had done so much meritorious literary work, that we all have not read at least some of ~~his work~~ it is to old scholarly gentlemen and young inquisitive ~~ones~~ alike a matter of utter surprise.

From his prose fiction alone Brown is presented as a recluse un-acquainted with the affairs of ~~the~~ a ~~very~~ small world and living in a perpetual