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4

1771-87 Birth and Precocity

3

BIRTH AND PRECOCITY

1771-87 Aetat.1-16

Where in Philadelphia Brown's parents lived ~~for~~ during the ten years following their marriage in 1761 has not been learned; curiously no records have been found of the birth-place of any of the elder children, ~~and~~ because Elijah Brown had the real estate operator's habit of moving about so as to occupy the least desirable of his various pieces of property we are thrown back on the doubtful surmise that their births may have taken place in the same house which in 1771 was their home. That home was one of the gabled brick dwellings later so numerous as to become characteristic throughout the city and stood near the south-western corner of Eleventh and Sansom streets, formerly called Eleventh near George. Which one of two or three houses is uncertain. Perhaps it was the old number seventy-two--next door to the house in which Brown was to die--but the confirmation of that number is lost in the old records now inaccessible, ~~to us.~~

The Elijah Brown family circle was one of three[1] famous in the social life of their times. The old English families such as the Chews, Conynghams, Hamiltons and Willings were more or less opposed to the revolutionary blue-bloods, the Butlers, Boudinots, Mifflins and McKeans. The Quaker group, Afflecks, Drinkers, Gilpins, Hunts, Jervises, Lloyds, Logans, Morrises, Paynes, Pembertons and Shippens stood midway in a neutral position. The records of the Society, the historical publications, the correspondence of the time present those families clad in their refined lavender, dove and grey, in their simple, dignified and humane activities quietly moving about the city of Brotherly Love.

At this time Philadelphia[2] was a city of about thirty thousand inhabitants living in five thousand houses most of which were located on High (Market), Second and Third streets and west as far as Sixth street, north as far as Vine and south as far as Cedar (South) street. About one-third of the small rectangular area of the city as planned

1 Maud Wilder Goodwin: Dolly Madison, New York 1897, p.23.
2 The best short description of the early city may be found in Anna Robeson Burr's The City We Visit Philadelphia 1926.

by Penn was built upon, many of the houses having trees along the street and lawns and gardens at the sides and in the rear. To Brown at the time of his birth to that of his death Philadelphia was little more than we may comprehend if we imagine a sort of a composite representation of the shaded sections of the Raspe (Nurnberg 1778)[1] plan and that drawn by W.Barker for Birch's views. Business was either conducted in Water and Front streets or from shops that occupied the first floor front of their homes. The twenty-eight plates published by Birch accurately present the character of the people, buildings and streets.

In such a city into such a home, on the seventeenth day of January 1771, was born the subject of this work, Charles Brockden Brown.

At the time of his birth the children in the Brown family were three, Joseph the eldest being eight years of age. James was the second son and Elijah junior was the third. A couple of years after Charles, Armitt the fifth boy was to be born, and four years later, the only daughter Elizabeth[2] was to come. It is not necessary

1 Geschichte der kriege in und ausser Europa, pt.10. (P.L.Phillips List Philadelphia 1926, No.167, a variation (not a reprint) of the Scull and Heap 1750 map.

2 David Lee Clark: C.B.B. (New York 1923) p.10 says she was named Jane Elizabeth.

to call attention to the lives of Charles' brothers and sister for certain details will be noticed in the course of our work.

Of our author Allen[1] says:

> "He obtained the name of Charles Brockden from a distant relation, whose history is connected with an anecdote too remarkable to be past over without notice. This man was an uncle of our author."

Although the force of the italics was lost on him, Dunlap, in revising Allen's work, omitted the last clause, ~~and it seems he did so wisely~~. By others the name ~~of Charles Brockden~~ is erroneously said to have been taken from the husband of his paternal aunt. ~~John Clement in his essay on~~ Brockden[1] ~~says his~~ third[2] second wife was a Mary Lisle, who we know ~~and she~~ was of the same family as Brown's mother, so that ~~Brockden~~ he was the husband of Brown's maternal grand aunt. The connection ~~is important and~~ has been ~~given~~ shown in our geneological chapter. Allen's more general statement as used by Dunlap is hardly sufficient, the fact of importance being that it was a name connected with the Brown family only by marriage so that no blood of Brockden's flowed in the veins of our author.

1 P.9. John Clement:
2 Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol.XII, July 1888, pp.185-9, gives says she was the second wife.
~~3 Probably his third wife, as will be seen presently.~~

The name of Brockden has had an amusing fate at the hands of the spelling bee. Anciently it was Brogden, at another time it was Brocton and Brockdon, also Brocden and Brockedon but the latest is Brochsden— a sort of ~~Deutschland über alles or more~~ "specter of the Brocken". ~~Probably~~ Its origin is German if not Anglo-Saxon but for all practical purposes, though at one time spelled experimetally by Brown himself without the "k", it has been standardized by usage as Brockden. The meaning of the name is not ~~at all~~ clear. ~~or definite~~. Broch may mean a badger or a brook, Brocken is probably a fragment, the den apparently is a valley; so the name may mean a valley brook or a badger of a valley, or a valley more or less full of fragments broken from the cliffs or mountains, which is at least appropriate if not truly characteristic of our author and his life and work.

Charles Brockden like many other English emigrants has been omitted by the standard biographical reference books. Clement's sketch is unique but it ~~is not to be relied on because~~ gives no authority for the statements made ~~is not given~~ and ~~there is evidence to prove~~ some of them are erroneous. ~~For~~

Brockden's[x] birth was quite likely about 1670 to 1673. Clement[xx] ~~instance, he~~ says ~~Brockden~~ he was born 3 April 1683 in St.Andrews' parish in the Holborn district of London, — which is at least ten years too late. Whitefield in 1740 makes ~~says~~ him upwards of three score — probably three score and ten. Jackson[xxx] says he lived to be ninety-five - if the death record of Clement is correct he would ~~conceivably~~ have ~~lived to~~ been ninety-six. ~~Probably~~ According to our dates above ~~information~~ he may even have reached ninety-nine.

xx Op. cit.

xxx Joseph Jackson: Prints of Philadelphia Real Estate, Philadelphia 1926, p.21./~~says he lived to be ninety-five, which would make this birth date erroneous by ten years.~~

x Richard Brockden who taught school at Byberry 1710-11, went to England in 1711 and returned about 1722 to Philadelphia (Thomas Woody: Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania New York 1920, pp.74 and 224) may have been his brother. The relation of Joshua Brogden is not known. Joshua witnessed the assignment of the copyright of Tom Jones by Fielding to Andrew Millar 25 March 1749. He was Fielding's untiring clerk of the Bow Street Court having similarly served Sir Thomas de Veil; was recommended by Fielding as a Commissioner of the Peace in the riots of 1749; reported cases for Fielding and assisted in the supply of articles for the Covent Garden Journal. (W.L. Cross: History of Henry Fielding New Haven 1918, Vol.II, pp.119, 224 note, 226, 244, 369, 428.)

~~he was more than sixty years old so that this date is questionable.~~

Allen[1] continues with an account of Brockden's youth and emigration to America.

> ....(He) lived in England during the reign of Charles the Second. It is well known that the latter part of the life of that monarch was disturbed with reports of plots and conspiracy. Charles Brockden was at that time a student in the office of a lawyer who was deeply implicated in one of these plots. The conspirators assembled at the house of his master for the purpose of holding a consultation on the most practicable mode of accomplishing the death of that monarch. Charles Brockden in an adjoining room heard distinctly the whole of the conversation,and was at length discovered by the conspirators themselves. Aware of his danger he counterfeited sleep;but so serious was the dread of detection,excited by the circumstance that for their mutual security,they resolved on his immediate death.[xx] His master,wishing to preserve the life of his apprentice,represented him as too stupid to comprehend the plot and too insensible of danger to counterfeit sleep. These assurances satisfied the conspirators for the time,but so great was his personal danger afterwards,from the returning apprehensions of the conspirators,that his master insisted on his embracing the first favorable opportunity to embark for America. This the boy accordingly did,and was promoted by his talents and industry to an important office in this state,which he filled with dignity and honor. From this person Charles Brown inherited the surname of Brockden."

That is fairly accurate so far as we know; it differs in detail but immaterially from the account in Dunlap's book,[3] and is a fuller version than Clement gives. The details may be Allen's romantic invention.

Clement dates Brockden's adventure as in the time of William the

x ~~Pp. 10~~ Pp. 9-10.

xx ~~See~~ Trials of Thomas Walcot, William Horne, etc., London 1683, pp. 11, 17. Gives account of a similar debate ~~where~~ concerning ~~the death of~~ Keeling who had betrayed their plot. Keeling also was tempted to go out of town to be out of reach of the government officers.

xxx Vol. I, pp. 11-12. Dunlap took unwarranted liberties in this instance.

Third but this is ~~improbable~~ impossible for William did not ascended the throne ~~in~~ until 1689 ~~and~~ while Brockden was settled in West Jersey in 1688.[1] Brown in his Stephen Calvert uses some of the details of Brockden's ~~adventure and gives~~ like picturing an elaborate plot in the time ~~as that~~ of Charles the First, ~~and the war with Parliament,~~ but he does not give the scene given by Allen and the ~~time~~ date ~~but this~~ is ~~improbable as being~~ too early, Charles having been executed in 1649, at least twenty one ~~twenty four~~ years before Brockden was born. [for Brockden's adventure because it is by far probably in a Brown mystery.]

Precisely which plot Brockden was involved ~~in~~ in is ~~not known.~~ It may have been something like those organized around the ~~picturesque~~ dramatic figure of the Duke of Monmouth for at that time it was becoming common to exile to the new settlements in America any [persons, undesirable] ~~at home.~~ Curiously Montagues and Montacutes appear to have been connected with the Dukes abortive plans while ~~and~~ Chichester the possible seat of Brown's English ancestors was one of the ~~favorite~~ favorite resorts of "King Monmouth". ~~On the other hand~~ It seems ~~more~~ reasonably to have been the Rye House plot[2] in which the Duke of Monmouth and Cromwell's son as well as several lawyers

1 It is hardly to be supposed that he was only five years old when he signed the 1688 document, ~~therefore the date of his birth as given by Clement must be wrong. We are further confirmed in this by Whitefield who spoke of him in 1740 as upwards of three score.~~

2 Sprat: The Account and declaration of the Horrid Conspiracy, etc., fourth edition London 1696, p.56. Evelyn: Diary, London 1854, Vol.II, pp.178 and 183. Also for West's confessions Copies of Informations, third edition, London 1685, pp.37-69 and 82-93.

of prominence were involved. A peculiarity ~~incident is that~~ of that plot is that ~~an~~ enormous map of London and its environs hung on the wall of Robert West's chamber, which fact if told to Brown when a boy may ~~would~~ have kindled or encouraged ~~added enthusiasm to his~~ love for cartography. The ~~that~~ fear excessive by the conspirators Brockden ~~would betray the conspirators~~ may have been based on the treachery of Keeling for according to law the government only needed one other ~~more~~ witness to obtain conviction. ~~prove its case.~~ A curious ~~Another peculiar~~ coincidence is that in the Rye House plot there was a ~~there was~~ Sir Robert Clayton who may have been related ~~involved.~~ to Brown's ancestor William Clayton.

According to Evelyn this so-called Protestant plot was discovered on 28 July 1683, but it had been reported to the authorities two months earlier ~~as early as 12 March~~. Keeling's treachery was soon followed by that of other members of the club. ~~conspirators~~ It was practically the last important conspiracy against Charles the second who died 1685. Among the group ~~conspirators~~ who were lawyers was John Ayloff, Joseph Tyley of Lincoln's Inn, Edward Norton, Edward Wade, Richard Nelthorp and Robert West of the Middle Temple. Like the others West fled but later ~~took~~ conscience smitten he confessed to his father-in-law and later to Sir George Jeffries ~~to~~ surrendered himself to turn state's evidence. He gave a ~~fuller~~ more thorough ~~and longer~~ information than any other, being examined by Secretary of State Jenkins and others fourteen times. His principal part in

commonly called a councellor at law

His chamber where ~~was seized and~~ searched and furnished the government with considerable valuable evidence

* Account of the discovery of the new plot Edinburgh 1683 reprint.

the plot was to provide arms ~~by~~ obtaining them on the ~~sory~~ innocent reasonable pretext that they were to be sent to America, where he was known to have ~~owned~~ plantations. The plantations referred to are those in East Jersey recorded[1] by Samuel Smith as bought from Sir George Carteret in 1682. ~~It is~~ From ~~through~~ all these peculiarities of the Rye House plot ~~and the further one that Sir Robert Clayton was named by West in one of his informations that it appears probable~~ it is likely that Robert Brockden was a student of law in West's office. We may say he was from at least ten years old, most probably thirteen.

Be the plot whatever it was ~~the~~ noteworthy point is that the story as told gives only the origin of the surname Brockden. Of course, the whole truth is, that, just as he in turn gave his name to one of his own sons and to his nephew Charles Brockden Horner, our author received from the great scrivener the whole name, Charles Brockden.

As we shall see, Brockden apparently came to America between 1683 and 1688 — probably the former, the Rye House year — and after settling in Gloucester county New Jersey came on to Philadelphia where he was employed by Thomas Story (who arrived 12m 1698) the first keeper of the Great Seal and John

1 History of New Jersey, Burlington 1765 reprinted by Wm. S. Sharp (Trenton 1877) p.156. ~~This Robert~~ West is identified ~~by Oldmixon~~ as the English lawyer ~~(Bowden: History of Friends, London 1850, Vol I, p. 97. for~~ Oldmixon: British Colonies in America London 1708, Vol I, p. 142.

2 ~~Clement says 1706 probably because he had not found the 1688 document.~~

add to note 5

He signed Cha. Brockden.

A copy of a marriage bond of William Furman Yeoman (to Joseph Peace of Trenton) when he was to marry Martha Perry was certified with seal 1 Sept. 1753 and signed C. Brockden.

Master of the Rolls under Penn. About 1700 he moved to Middletown Pennsylvania. His first marriage with the Quakeress Susanna Fox[1] of Hackney,London apparently was the cause of his giving up the established church and joining the Society of Friends. According to Myers' Quaker Arrivals at Philadelphia[2] he was recorded as transferred from the Middletown Monthly Meeting of Bucks County,Pennsylvania to the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting under date of 7 December 1711,being received on the 28th. In 1712 he was apppointed Deputy Master of the Rolls. Martin's Chester[3] gives the date of his first practising law in the Province of Pennsylvania as 1713. On the return of Story to England in 1714 or 1715 Brockden was selected to succeed him. He is mentioned in a deed[4] of 23 July 1715 as being present as Recorder of Deeds for the city and county of Philadelphia. From 1720 to 1739 he was also the Register of the Court of Chancery.[5] Stewart's Geneological and Historical Miscellany[6] gives the record of a second marriage as performed by John Ladd in old Gloucester County, as follows:

1 Clement says she died May 1747,probably confusing her with Elizabeth England because he had not found the 1735 marriage.
2 Philadelphia 1902,p.50. 3 P.470. 6 No.1,Woodbury,N.J.,1918,p.23.
4 Historical Collections of Potts Family,Canonsburg,Pa.,1901,p.237. A document signed by him and dated Philadelphia 2 December 1718 was sold in the Henkels sale #1394,26 October 1926.
5 He witnessed a deed dated 14 August 1728 and given in the Potts family record,Canonsburg,Pa.,1901,p.148.

"Charles Brockden, Phila., and Elizabeth England, Phila., 1735."

Ann Brockden and Elizabeth Messar gave consent according to Quaker practise. This newly discovered entry is important because it shows that Brockden first settled in New Jersey. This is further established by the Council of Proprietors' address[1] to Governor William Burnet, which should be dated about October of 1688, concerning the division of East and West Jersey. That address was signed by more than thirty proprietors among whom was Charles Brogden.

In the same year Joseph Wharton who had recently married built the Wicaco residence called "Walnut Grove" which was later to become famous for the Mischianza given by the British officers upon the departure of General Howe. Lippincott[2] identifies its location as in the Southwark district of Philadelphia and describes it as an estate of eighteen acres bought from Charles Brockden.[3]

About 1721 no less a man than Franklin recalls in his Autobio-

1 Samuel Smith: History of New Jersey, Burlington 1765 reprinted by Wm. S. Sharp (Trenton 1877) pp. 551-4.
2 Early Philadelphia, Phila., 1917, p. 100.
3 Its location is given on the G.M. Raspe Nurnberg 1778 map of Philadelphia, also on the Scull and Heap map of 1750 reissued in the Gentlemen's Magazine of 1777.

graphy the eminent scrivener as follows:

> "My chief acquaintances at this time were Charles Osborne, Joseph Watson, and James Ralph, all lovers of reading. The two first were clerks to an eminent scrivener or conveyancer in the town, Charles Brogden."

In the continuation of the account of Franklin's life he speaks of him in connection with his public subscription library and tells us a very dramatic anecdote.

> "I drew a sketch of the plan and rules that would be necessary, and got a skilful conveyancer, Mr. Charles Brockden, to put the whole in form of articles of agreement[1] to be subscribed... When we were about to sign the above-mentioned articles, which were to be binding on us, our heirs, etc., for fifty years,[2] Mr. Brockden, the scrivener, said to us, "You are young men, but it is scarcely probable that any of you will live to see the expiration of the term fix'd in the instrument."

Franklin's adjectives of eminent and skilful are no mean praise. Apparently Brockden made no revisions in the original draft, his work was probably purely legal.

John Jay Smith's Notes for a History of the Library Company of Philadelphia[3] says:

> "Charles Brockden having generously executed the original constitution without charge, the directors unanimously agreed to present him with a share "as some acknowledgment of this and other favours"."

1 Dated 1 July 1731. See Original Articles of Association, New edition, Philadelphia 1894 for a copy of which we are indebted to George Maurice Abbot.
2 The term was fifty-one years.
3 Waldie's Portfolio 26 September 1835, p.100.

The articles are well worth reading for the care in stating the legal technicalities of a contract of the kind; in fact they constitute a model of organization. According to the latest publication of them Charles Brockden was himself one of the original signers,[1] his name appearing second.

1 An Isaac Browne is included in the published list. Whether he was any relation to Brown's father is not known. An Isaac Browne's house was a refuge for the Quaker Exiles in Virginia in 1777-8.

George Whitefield in his seventh journal[1] ~~(London 1741)~~ gives a ~~and~~ highly dramatic ~~wonderful picturesque~~ night scene at the Philadelphia Court House stairs where the conversion of Charles Brockden took place.

> "Sunday, 9 November 1740, Mr. Brockden, Recorder of Deeds, &c. a man eminent in his profession, but for many years a notorious deist. In his younger days, he told me, he had some religious impressions, but coming into business, the cares of the world so choaked the good seed, that he not only forgat his God in some degree, but at length began to doubt of, and to dispute his very being. In this state he continued many years, and has been very zealous to propagate his deistical, I could almost say athiestical principles among moral men, but he told me he never endeavored to make proselytes of vicious, debauched people. When I came to Philadelphia this time twelve-month, he told me, he had not so much as a curiosity to hear me. But a brother deist, his choicest friend, pressing him to come and hear me, to satisfy his curiosity, he at length complied with his request. It was night. I preached at the Court house stairs, upon the conference which Our Lord had with Nicodemus.--I had not spoke much before God struck his heart. For, said he, I saw your doctrine tended to make people good. His family knew nothing that he had been to hear me. After he came home his wife, who had been at the sermon, came in also, and wished heartily that he had heard me. He said nothing. After this, another of the family came in repeating the same wish; and, if I mistake not, after that another, till at last being unable to refrain any longer, with tears in his eyes, why, says he, I have been hearing him; and then expressed his approbation. Ever since he has followed on to know the Lord, and I verily believe Jesus Christ has made himself manifest to his soul. Tho' upwards of three score years old, he is now I believe born again of God. He is a little child, and often (as he told me) receives such communications from God, when he retires into the woods, that he thinks he could die a martyr for the Truth."

The text was brief and well chosen and the scene between Christ

London 1741,
1 Pp. 64-5 and 67.
2 That would make his birth at least as early as 1680, proving element to be at least three years in error.

and Nicodemus[X] had its echo in the fact that it happened at night, Nicodemus was an old man just as Brockden and the argument of Christ was peculiarly appropriate ~~in its appeal~~ to the mind understanding of a lawyer. The time, the place,[1] the text suggest that ~~possibly~~ Whitefield had well planned his meeting with the great scrivener ~~and stir his soul to its very depths. In the sequel we shall find that Brockden attempted a similar service of converting Whitefield to the Moravian church, but he never, so far as we know, pursued any more athiestical ideas.~~

The following Saturday in the same work Whitefield relates that one of the unbelievers once said to Brockden:

> "What! Mr. Whitefield could not make the people cry this afternoon." "A good reason for it, says Mr. Brockden, "he was preaching against deists, and you know they are a hardened generation."

It is related[2] that in 1742 when Count Zinzendorf relinquished his title and thereafter being known as Brother Ludwig, there was present in the Governor's House eighteen prominent persons among

1 The Court House was erected 1707 and had a balcony, and stairs winding down around the corners. On one side of High street was the Friends' Meeting House built 1695 and on the other a home of Franklin's.

2 Townsend Ward in Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. VI, No. 2, Phila., 1882, p. 150.

X Chapter III of John.

whom
~~which~~ were Benjamin Franklin and Charles Brockden.

At this time he had ~~undoubtedly~~ reached prominence being ~~and was~~ connected with most of the important men. A reflection of this may ~~is to~~ be found in the fact that Taylor's 1743 almanac was "Printed and Sold by Isaac Warner almost opposite to Charles Brockden's, in Chestnut Street."[1]

~~Although as we have seen he had been converted by Whitefield~~

He is said to have had official relations with ~~Count~~ Zinzendorf after ~~and~~ joining the Moravians; but ~~Just~~ what is meant ~~here~~ ~~by official relations~~ is not made clear, ~~and is doubtful~~. If his attendance at that 1742 function is offered as evidence we should ~~shall be compelled~~ ask why ~~the~~ ~~Bay the same of~~ Franklin was present. ~~According to~~ Ritter, History of the Moravian Church[2] Brockden was one of seven trustees of property at the corner of Broad and Race streets given to the Society for the first Moravian Church.[2] The date of the execution or the trust was 22 April 1746. ~~There is no reason why as a trustee this practising lawyer should be considered an official. Later we shall see that he was undoubtedly a member of the church but~~ Other than this a trustee This

2 Philadelphia 1857, p.42.
1 In 1754 he was taxable in the Middle ward. Pa. Mag. of Hist. & Biog., Vol. XIV, Phila., 1890, p.418.

detail we have been unable to find any further mention of him as an official.

In 1745 he is spoken of,by Spangenberg,[1] as a Moravian brother. The editor of Clement's article[2] quotes the following anecdote as told by Zinzendorf to Cammerhoff[3] the Moravian bishop in June 1747.

> "Whitefield and Brockden recently met each other,and in the course of their conversation Whitefield said "I perceive you wish me to become a Moravian" "It is true", replied Brockden "I wish you were a Moravian,not that I think it would add the weight of one grain to their cause,but because you would thereby find some rest and repose,which in your present situation is impossible. I pity you,for you are like those birds of the Malacca Islands,which,being destitute of feet,are therefore compelled to be always on the wing." "

When this anecdote is compared to that told by Whitefield it falls far short of the sublimity of the Bible story of Nicodemus and its dramatic effect on Brockden. The argument offered is hardly that of an official striving to obtain proselytes.

In 1747 Brockden is said to have lost his wife,apparently Elizabeth England his second wife,and married soon afterwards his third wife Mary Lisle by whom he had four sons and one daughter.[4]

1 Pa.Mag. of Hist.& Biog. Vol.II,Phila.,1878,p.425 in Travels to Onondaga.
2 Op.cit.,p.187 n.
3 Cammerhoff rode a bay horse of Brockden's 8 January 1748 which being led broke through the ice while crossing the Schuylkill. Pa.Mag. of Hist.& Biog.,Vol.XXIX,Phila.,1905,p.162.
4 Op.cit.p.188. (1)John,b.15 Aug.,1749,d.1756;(2) Charles,b.1 Sept., 1751;(3)Mary,b.15 Sept.,1752,married Thomas Patterson 3 March 1768 at Christ Church;(4)Richard,b.13 Nov.,1754,d.1756;(5)John,b.11 Sept.,1756.

~~Clement cites~~ his purchase ~~of~~ a slave Beulah whom he gave to the Moravian Church in 1752. It is not wise to assume that he had at this time come to disbelieve in slavery for among the legal documents of the family is a record of his selling ~~another~~ slave woman Jude on 31 October 1766. In 1767 he resigned his public office because of old age and on Friday afternoon 20 October 1769 he died.[1] ~~Clement picturesquely says~~:[2]

> "The funeral was no doubt an event in the neighborhood. His family and friends from Philadelphia, with the minister of the Moravian Church, were present; the Germans and Swedes, who had served him, with their families, and a few Indians made up the remainder of the cortége who followed him to the grave. In the twilight and with uncovered heads the company listened to the last words of the service read by the Minister, while the requiem sung echoed strangely through the forest. Wild and weird were the surroundings, and the aborigines themselves were impressed with the solemnity of the occasion."

According to Clement he was buried at "Hospitality" his country estate on the ~~O~~ld Cape Road ~~outside of~~ Philadelphia and where he had proposed to the Moravians the establishment of a church graveyard. The location of the grave is unknown, ~~and there is no certainty that it was at "Hospitality".~~

1 According to his diary (Pa. Mag. of Hist. & Biog., Phila., 1885, p. 179.) James Allen, son of Chief Justice Allen, moved into Mrs. Brockden's house 25 April 1771.
2 P.188. No authority is given.

316A ~~159~~

Beck[x] locates Hospitality, in what is now Williamstown, formerly Old Squankum, about twenty-five miles from Camden in Gloucester county. It was a twelve hundred acre tract which Brockden conveyed to his daughter Mary Patterson and her husband Thomas in February of 1769. In 1774 they conveyed it to Johannes Hoffsey. Later it was occupied by one, Cravers.

[x] More Forgotten Towns of Southern N. J., N.Y. 1937, pp. 41-2.

The Charters and Acts of Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania 1762 known to the legal profession as "Big Peter Miller"[1] bears on the verso of the title-page this statement:

> "The Committee.....beg Leave to report to the House, that it appears to Your Committee, from the Affadavit of the said Lewis Weiss, that the said Collection of Laws was carefully printed from a Copy taken from, carefully compared with, and corrected by, the Original Rolls and Records of the Laws now remaining in the Rolls Office, by him the said Lewis and Charles Brockden, Esq; Master of the Rolls..."

How much of the actual editing Brockden did we do not know. The usual biographical collections credit it only to Weiss while Hildeburn (No.1791) adds Brockden's name as told above.

The editing was the smallest part of the work but because it is such a monumental one it involved greater labor than would be imagined. The marginal indexing may have been elaborated. The real index, set in the same type as the text, is increased in usefulness by making it an abridgment. This part of the work, which we should suppose was done by Weiss, comprises 32 out of 366 pages of the whole work. According to the old-fashioned method there are frequent cross references not always well selected and far from excellent, in some cases leading on to a third entry.

1 Two folio volumes bound in one. The same year it was issued in 16mo. The "errata" was pasted on the front end-paper. In the smaller edition it was a leaf at the end of volume one.

Some references are somewhat humorous,probably unintentionally so. Escheats,see criminals;false news,see sedition;fornication, see servants,negroes;guns,see negroes;horse races,see idleness; plays,see idleness;pork,see beef;and provender,see liquors:are hardly commendable as an aid to the reader. Why quare clausum fregit (trespass) was used is not clear. Other equally important legal phrases are not given.

The private,unimportant,repealed,expired,supplied and obsolete acts,the unused charters and some repetitions are so listed and located in the records,but their texts are not given. This part of the work was probably done by Brockden for his official position gave him the knowledge to do it far easier than Judge Weiss could have.

Though it afforded small opportunity to render signal service the connection of Brockden with this work will carry his name down the ages. Not being an original production it is however of historical importance.

Such was the checkered career of the man for whom our author was named. When we read of his enthusiasm in the woods and of the Indians at the funeral we must confess the bestowal of the name

appears uncanny in that, a little more than a year after the great scrivener's death, some of the characteristics of Charles Brockden seemed to be transmitted to the boy by the very act of christening him. (+ A)

ignoring the surplus of childish exuberance from boys make in a home

Of Brown's physical organization and ~~boyhood~~ precocity Allen ~~says:~~ originated the conventional opinion after this superficial manner:

> "Possessing a frail and delicate constitution, he seldom mingled in the sports of children, and it might have been owing to this circumstance originally that his mind was so intensely devoted to books. When the spirit of curiosity is alive, and incapable of being gratified in the ordinary way of children it naturally seeks for other sources of enjoyment."

From the little that science knows about character and heredity it is not quite clear whether ~~the~~ Brown's frailty ~~caused~~ the precocity or ~~the~~ this natural ability ~~gave~~ ~~the~~ an initial impulse for study so that the pursuit produced the frailty, ~~the lives of plenty of other literary geniuses would suggest probably~~ ~~it is best out and part the other reciprocal~~ In later years we shall find ~~that Brown~~ he knew very well any illness he suffered was due to his own neglect of exercise. which his relatives

(A) Brockden's remarkable career was also became apparently the ideal held before Brown's eyes; all through his youth it was ~~the~~ almost an obstacle to his own wishes.

× P. 10. Dunlap took unwarranted liberties in this instance.

The fate of the precocious child ~~is~~ should be well known ~~to all~~ for, ~~every instance naturally excited common attention~~ to all parents. No generation has ever been without conspicuous examples of that ~~sort of~~ sport of nature. The ~~unfortunate~~ boy who happens to be the victim ~~usually~~ follows a regular course; his peculiarity ~~isolates~~ distinguishes him ~~from the herd~~; his contacts with his own generation are discouraging if not ~~actually~~ totally repulsive; he leans to avoid the activities common ~~to~~ of childhood and developes an interior life which more and more estranges at the same time that the

satisfaction of intellectual ~~accomplishment~~ encouragement among his elders ~~gives~~ more than makes up for the pleasure that others find in their thoughtless untrammelled ~~social~~ intercourse. ~~of youth~~. Youth thus robs itself by ~~it~~ growing from babyhood to adolescence without passing through the normal stage of boyhood. Like all rapid growths of nature it carries with it the ~~promise~~ probability of a speedy end.

apparently had the usual woman's attitude toward books; she 318 A

We do not know practically nothing of Browne's mother's interest in his literary efforts; she was busy—perhaps too busy—breeding or looking after the thousand and one details of domesticity; but we do know a great deal something considerable of this father's side. We shall see presently that he took the trouble to copy many of Browne's early verses; in fact if he had not done so it is quite likely we should not have had them. ~~He preserved~~ He never ceased to have the same considerable concern in them — he copied parts I and II of Alcuin in a beautiful hand in 1797, preserved newspaper reports of Browne's ~~orations~~ speeches, copied two lectures on Gilpin's in 1808 and even the obituaries of Brown in 1810.

in a note-book ~~among~~ in a house of four boys;

No child ever became established in precocity, as Browne did, without the assent, ~~if~~ open or tacit, of one or both of his parents.

The home [an environment] was apparently ~~equipped~~ [among them] for encouragement — Brown's father had big books — probably voyages — and [wall] maps ~~in the house~~ and the boy, having an innate rising curiosity ~~like Gibbon~~, was often found poring over them. Sometimes he would hasten home from school, ~~go to the factory~~, slip off his shoes and climb on a table to study the maps on the wall, imagining that he was making adventurous voyages over the paths he traced ~~with his fingers~~. This ~~interest~~ of ~~his~~ boyhood became so well fixed in his memory that long afterwards he used it in a characterization of Philip Stanley, [in Clara Howard *] and in Jane following Cartwright in his travels as related in [Jane Talbot, **] ~~The Recollections~~ ‡ many years after, says Brown told him that as soon as he could put two ideas together, which certainly was at this time of his life, he not only had a craving to invent but felt it an absolute necessity to give expression to the fancies that crowded into his mind.

studying a wall map of North America

means of by maps, charts and books of voyages

* Letter XXVI.

** Letter V XII.

‡ Retrospections New York 1866 ff. 252-4

Allen 380.

(Dunlap II 162 quote)

"He found me ..... ~~actions of Europe~~ dearest of."

~~note, Roberts' chart~~

*The General Chart of Henry Roberts (W. Palmer, &c.) measures without lettering about 21½ × 35½ inches, too large to be displayed before him. Ellen and Raphael and Celini without unfolding. Brown refers two paragraphs later to the book so we can be sure he was recalling the folio volume. In the book he also could have studied the two plates of the beautiful women dancers of Otaheite (Tahiti) the one of the Owyhee (Hawaii) King bringing presents and the view of Karakakooa Bay where Cook was finally murdered and mutilated making it necessary for the explorers to bargain for the surrender of parts of his body. The plates of utensils, the man and woman and the views of Nootka we shall find recalled to us by Brown's September

and that the map was not one of those hung on the walls.

He found me one day with lieutenant Robert's chart of the discoveries of Cook before me. He looked over it awhile. My boy would you like to travel?

Yes; very much.

You would like for instance to embark to-morrow, and go where they say captain Cook went?

No, not to-morrow: next spring perhaps. I should like to have time to get ready.

What preparation would be needful?

I must have money and goods, many things would be needful. I must have Mr. Malcombe's consent.

You would not go then without the approbation of your friends?

No, to be sure.

But if you had their consent, and money and goods, and all things needful, you would go to Owyhee, and Otaheite?

Why, I cannot say that. Captain Cook saw all that was to be seen there I suppose. I should like to go along the southern or northern coast of New Holland.

What would you expect to find there.

I do not well know. New people may be; new languages; new manners; may be no people at all. It may be a perfect desert. Yet I cannot but think I should see many curious things.

Thou art in the right my boy. Thou wouldst find much stranger things than thou dreamest of.

Though there is no formal record of it in the house, among those big books we are sure of the presence of one work, the well-known Cook's Voyages presumably the eight volumes in quarto – three voyages, three volumes for each of the first and third and two volumes for the second, with the folio of large engravings and the maps of Magellan's and Behring's Straits and the General Chart.

Brown's use of the book may be found in the fragment which we entitle Adini,[xx] reading as follows:
in a passage

[xx] Allen M. 380.
Dunlap, Vol. II, f. 162
did no revising here.

1801 talk with the mate of the Hudson river sloop Swan.

In the November 1803 number of his literary magazine (Vol. I, p. 82) in the extracts from A Student's Diary – which was Brown's own – there appeared a section entitled On Quackery in which a man makes the identifying distinction point to the edition indicated above as Hawkesworth's editing of Cook's Journals, gives an account of the Indian James Cook – a child witness of Cook's murder – and ends by claiming him as his friend. Brown says he was an actor in the Cook tragedy presented at the New York theatre during the winter of 1802-3.*

is not as we might expect an extract from Cook the Voyages and which

pretty generally early

The Voyages were read by Brown at this time of his life. They might have been rather strong meat, especially the account of some of the customs in Otaheite but then he was not at all an average child. From these references, it seems clear

and use

Vol. VII,

The birds of paradise (p. 207) may have given Brown his reference to the baleful footless birds of Malacca (Moluccas) in his letter to

(+A)

and the fact that such books were put into his hands by a parent is important as showing the early maturity of his mind and the stability of his conduct.

The Death of Captain Cook

* There is no record of the performance. The English pantomime was produced 31 May 1793 (see Ireland, Vol. I, p. 103) but no Indian took part of the name is in the cast. Possibly this throws Brown's Student's diary back to the earlier date.

(A)

Lieutenant Roberts' map may also have been used in 1797 in locating the ideal commonwealth of Carwin though Brown should have known from the Voyages that any such scheme would forthwith be impracticable so long as it was located within reach of any of the settlements studied by Cook. However, it shows the position as given* to have been one of no known land.

* Dunlap, Vol II, p. 252.

(Illustration to be placed

opposite page 312)

~~No child ever became established in society,~~
~~as Brown did, without the assent of one or both~~
~~of his parents.~~ The home environment, was at least
~~not antagonistic~~ apparently ~~was~~ equipped for encouragement.

Brown's father had big books and maps in the house and the boy,
having an innate rising curiosity like Gibbon, probably voyages –
was
~~showed his precocity by being~~ often found poring over the ~~weighty~~
~~so soon as he could~~ Sometimes
~~volumes. Avoiding the play of his school fellows~~ he would hasten home
from school, ~~would~~ go to the parlor, slip off his shoes, climb on a table
and study the maps on the wall. This habit of his boyhood was so well
fixed in his memory that he used it long afterwards in a characterization
Philip Stanley in[1]
of Clara Howard and Jane Talbot.[2] Our illustration taken from what may
be identified as the Wieland note-book ~~also~~ shows he developed skill
engraving
in ~~drawing~~ topographical ~~maps~~. maps.

~~About this same time the boy~~ He seems to have acquired ~~shown~~ remarkable excellence in

in Gates following Cartwright's travels in imagining that he was making all sorts of adventurous voyages.

1 Letter XXVI 2 Letter LXII

penmanship which we have seen his father had. At his death he and may have supplemented the school instruction left a whole folio volume of architectural drawings, ~~which have been said to have been more like steel engravings than hand labor.~~ Just when he did them is not certain, ~~and until they are found it will probably be impossible to determine.~~ but Because there is no ~~other~~ hint of ~~his~~ an absorbing interest in the subject at any other time of his life it is proper to ~~treat of~~ mention them in this place. ~~The discovery of them would be of importance but so far they have not come to light~~. The latest trace of them is in a letter of Brown's son William Linn Brown to Dr.James Rush. It reads:

"Jan'y 15-59.

My dear Sir.

Some time ago I had an interview with you, and promised to send you a book of Architectural drawings of my father's Chas.Brockden Brown as you were interested in such matters.

I have just arranged my affirs in Philada. & New York and am about going to Washington and the Southern Courts to be absent some time and have laid the folio aside for you,addressed to you.

If at any time you should send your man down town, and let him call at my office (as the enclosed address will show) my man will deliver it to him for you,which please accept from,

Yours truly as Ever,
Wm.Linn Brown."

The drawings must appear to have been lost or disposed of for a search of the files of the Ridgway branch of the Library Company of

1 In the Ridgway Branch of the Library Co. of Phila.,where we were permitted to copy it. William Linn Brown had formerly shown them to Griswold,see Griswold:Prose Writers,p.110.

~~Philadelphia which was to receive Dr.Rush's books has been in vain.~~

The only account of these ~~drawings~~ speaks of their engraving-like quality which is probably true for ~~the exapmles we have found show~~ ~~their~~ Brown's skill in the mechanical use of his pen was well able to make them beautiful. ~~The only~~ Examples of similar work we have found are mere sketches not finished drawings. ~~Of them illustrations are~~ from the Wieland note-book one showing a ground plan of no importance and another suggests four door ways of Palladian proportions.

Dunlap's Hist. Pict. Gall. memoir states of Brown having his Palladio, when drawing, ~~which he found very useful~~ having a copy of Andrew Palladio's Architecture which he could have used ~~found~~ several editions: 1715, 1721, 1742 or 1755.

~~Hist. work~~ Plate XLII ~~could~~ (second edition 1721) ~~must~~ have fascinated him. It illustrates the Chambor castle (near Blois in France) ~~that the~~ staircase for four apartments - each stair being so planned that it leads only to one apartment though allowing the user to see the others but not to pass to them. The book could very well have been one of those large volumes that enchanted Francis

R.W. Griswold: Prose Writers Philadelphia (1870) p. 110.

is full of similar wonders and

John Bernard* many years after says Brown told him that 'as soon as he could put two ideas together, which certainly was as early as this time of his life, he not only had a craving to invent but felt it an absolute necessity to give expression to the fancies that crowded into his mind. As we follow Brown along the mazy paths he takes we shall often have occasion to rub our eyes in wonder at the magician's marvels he shows us, even when he was on his death-bed.

He did not drown his book or break his wand

was a Prospero all his life, always rapt in secret studies, always finding a library dukedom large enough and he

* Retrospections New York 1887, pp. 252-9.

Another traditional story of Brown's precocity is as follows:

> "we shall not be surprised at his reply to a man who visited his father when Charles was only ten years old,and on some remarks that displeased him, called him a boy. After the guest had departed,"Why does he call me boy?" replied Charles; "Does he not know that it is neither size nor age,but understanding that makes the man? I could ask him a hundred questions, none of which he could answer."[1]

There we see Brown sedulously seeking after knowledge and judging others by that questionable standard,a trait that he showed almost all his life and one that half seriously and half playfully he often confessed as a weakness. The breeding of the boy is suggestively shown by his making the comment <u>after</u> the guest had departed.

One of the events incident to the home life of his boyhood is to be found recorded in the <u>Journal of Elizabeth Drinker</u>.[2]

> "Sept.27,1779. John Willis (a friend from Long Island) ill last night again,and this evening he was taken ill at ye Pine St.Meeting,[3] and went to bed at Elijah Brown's,where I expect he must stay all night."

Willis was apparently one of the family's numerous Quaker friends; perhaps he was the man referred to in the boy-anecdote above. He probably was a resident of Brooklyn. In March of the same year Sally Brown, one of the correspondents whose letters are to be found in Elijah Brown's book of Quaker letters,[4] called on the Drinkers. She probably was visiting at Brown's home at that time.

1 Allen p.10 or Dunlap,I,p.13 with "a hundred" corrected. Usually the story is inaccurately quoted.
2 P.121.
3 It was on the south side between Front and Second streets.
4 Cf.note p.269.

When we come to the year 1792 we shall find Brown relating an experience which he had about this time of his youth. According to this account his father was in prison and he went with him to keep him company. His curiosity was so much aroused, he had no impression of the cause of the misfortune, but was greatly interested in the highly dramatic life he saw around him. Why his father was imprisoned cannot be learned. If the time is not accurate the story refer to his arrest before being exiled to Virginia because his confinement was in that instance not in a real prison. Brown's life-long interest in the injustice of imprisonment for debt may have some bearing on the matter; but up to the present there is nothing more than that kind of an inference to explain this statement of Brown's early experience.

The usual account has it that at some time before the age of eleven he was sent to school to the Quaker Robert Proud with whom he is said to have studied English, Greek and Latin. According to Proud's records in his manuscript account book[1] Brown must have entered the school as early as August 1779--when he was eight years seven months and four days old--for on 18 June

1. Sold at auction by Henkels 22 July 1919, A vellum bound note-book about 5 1/2 x 15 1/2 inches and was No. 205 in the catalogue No. 1239.

1781 the old schoolmaster entered against his name a charge of eleven pounds and two shillings for the school expenses of one year ten months and six days. In the same book there is a list of twenty boys who were in the school from 24 April 1781 to April 1785. ~~The list gives~~ Our author is given under the name of Carol. Brown and the other nineteen boys were; ~~as follows:~~ Josh.Ash, J. Ashbridge, Isaac Bartram, Jon.Bringhurst, Sam.Coates, John Davidson, Francis Dickinson, Walter Franklin, Edward Howell, Thomas James, Jesse Johnson, Richard Jones, Ezekiel Maddock, Samuel Parrish, Isaac Price, James Starr, William Todd, John Wells, and Fred.Zerban.

Of three, John Davidson, Walter Franklin and John Wells we shall hear more hereafter. ~~Jonathan~~ Bringhurst (Jos.) may be an error for Joseph. If not Isaac Bartram and William Todd ~~may~~ could have been the means of Brown's later acquaintance with Joseph Bringhurst, ~~a brother and intimate of~~ ~~Joseph was not a classmate~~

~~1 Born 3 May 1796 and died unmarried 9 November 1818. See Leach: History of the Bringhurst Family, Philadelphia, 1901, p.32.~~

1 John Davidson we shall find referred to in Brown's letters of 19 and 21 May 1792 and in the 1786 poem written by Brown.

2 ~~The present writer owns~~ Some volumes of Brown's Literary Magazine containing Walter Franklin's autograph. We shall find him referred to in Brown's letters 21 May 1792, 16 August 1793 and 11 June 1793 and in the poem entitled Epistle I written by Brown after he left Proud's school.

~~3 Possibly the brother of John Todd, Jr., the friend of Brown's friend William Wood Wilkins.~~

3 John Wells ~~was~~ became an intimate of Charles Adams the friend of Elihu Hubbard Smith and a member of the Drone and Friendly Clubs of New York.

4 One of Brown's brothers, Armitt, married into the Zerban family. Possibly Armitt met his wife through Brown's acquaintance with this probable brother.

Isaac was probably a brother of

~~Brown's~~ William Bartram the botanist whom Brown some years later visited in company with William Dunlap and John Todd junior ~~who~~ William Todd could have been a brother of

~~was a~~ the friend of William Wood Wilkins and the first husband of the famous Dolly Payne Todd Madison.

The account book of Proud is important because it shows Brown ~~entered~~ attended the Quaker school a short time before he was nine and because it also shows he ~~attended~~ continued to only up to April 1785--when he was fourteen. Usually it has been stated that he ~~entered at about eleven years old and~~ left when he was sixteen.

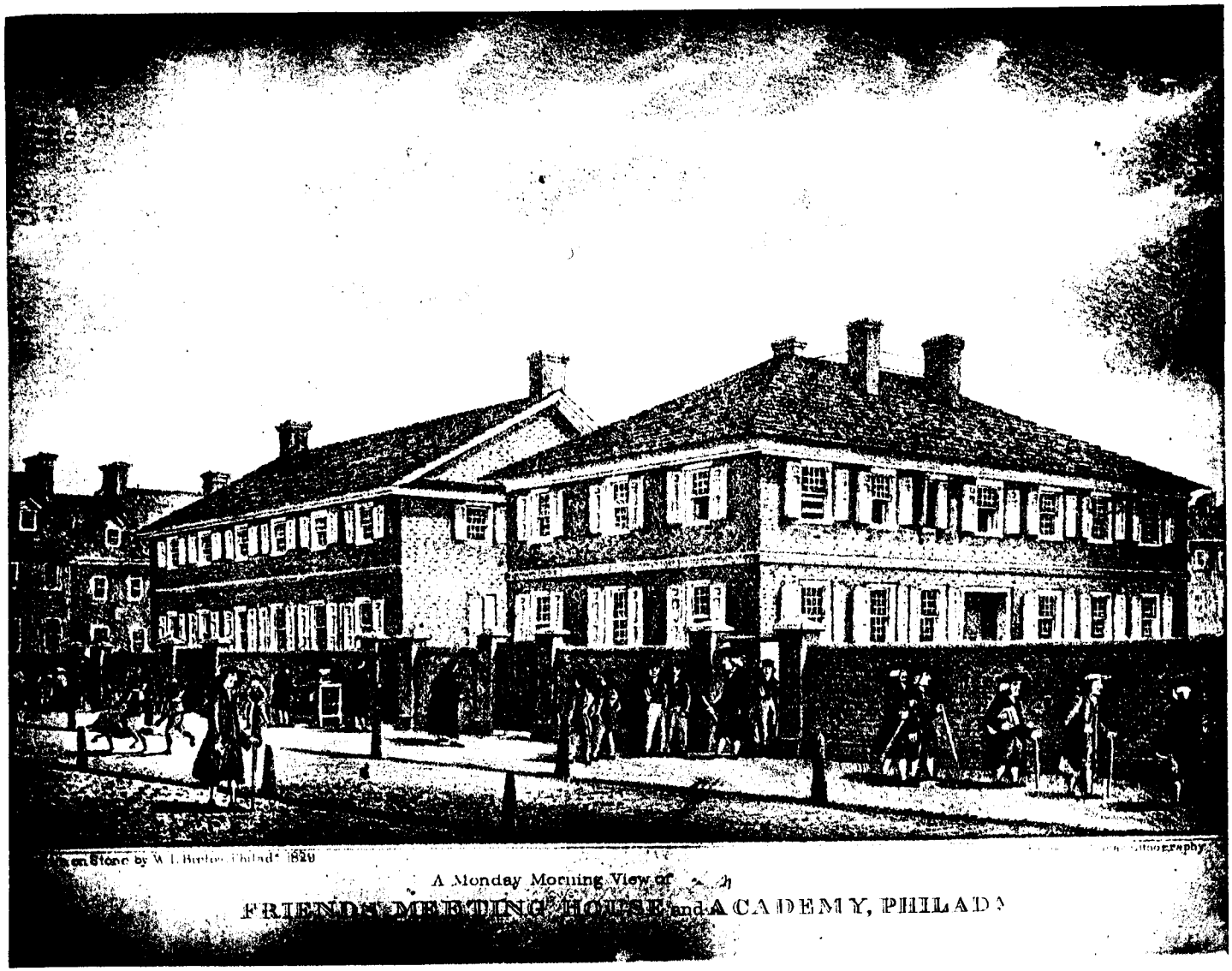
Dominie Proud,as he was called,was born in 1728, had failed in business,[1] was disappointed in love[1] and had come to America in 1759 to become a schoolmaster having been recommended the year previous by John Fothergill to Israel Pemberton.[2] He was tall,his nose Roman and his brows "most impending".[3] He wore a large curled grey bush-wig even after others had discarded them,and a half-cocked ancient hat,carried an ivory handled cane and was a model of a gentleman. From 1761 to 1770 and from 1780 to 1790[4] he conducted the so-called Friends' Latin school--

1 Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography Philadelphia 1904, Vol.XXVIII,p.377 quoted from Bucks County Patriot of 1826.
2 Thomas Woody:Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania New York 1920, p.206.
3 Simpson:Lives of Eminent Philadelphians Philadelphia 1859,p.822.
4 Autobiography in Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography Philadelphia 1890,pp.434 and 437. During the interval he wrote his History of Pennsylvania.

now known as the William Penn Charter School--which was located in south Fourth street,an old view of which we give as an illustration. In that picture the point of interest for us is the group of boys with Proud at the gate. It is possible Brown was intended as the slight boy pictured as nearest the master.

Proud was apparently very strongly royalist in sympathies for he was in retirement or exile during the War for Independence and the success of the revolutionists caused him great loss in the business in which he had engaged and made him discontented with his lot. In his last ten years,when he suffered from failing health and poverty and even had to borrow the money to publish his great History of Pennsylvania,he pathetically bewailed the loss of his friends and former pupils.

About 1784 one of the masters probably the assistant allowed Proud under whom Brown may have studied was John Todd who appears to have been the father of Brown's schoolmate William Todd as well as the father of John Todd junior the first husband of Dolly Payne who later achieved fame when she married James Madison. Todd had been a master of the English school at Seaton,he taught reading,English grammar,



A Monday Morning View of
FRIENDS' MEETING HOUSE and ACADEMY, PHILAD'A

(Illustration to be placed

opposite page 319)

writing,arithmetic and some mathematics at least as far as plane geometry,and according to Watson the historian he used the birch unmercifully.[1]

The selection of Proud's school may have been merely a matter of sending Brown as his father had been sent before him to the best classical school of the Society of Friends in Philadelphia but it may have been also influenced by the fact that the Quaker schools were established by the Monthly Meetings and that his father's uncle William knew the head master very well from Proud's living at his home in Walnut street from 10 September 1759 to 6 February 1761,as related in Proud's

1 M.W.Goodwin:Dolly Madison Boston 1897,p.36 and Thomas Woody:Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania New York 1920,pp.58,72,186,211,222. It is doubtful if Richard Brockden,a possible brother of Charles, was a master at this time. See Woody:op.cit.,p.56.



(Illustration to be placed

opposite page 316)

autobiography.[1] ~~He may also have been the brother-in-law of a Robert Browne of Yorkshire.~~[2]

The rules[3] ~~which were~~ drawn up by Proud ~~and were similar to those~~ and later used in a modified form by the Overseers of other Philadelphia schools ~~were~~ when set forth under ten heads:

1—Duty in attending
2—(Conduct)
3—How to behave and study
4—Behaviour to the Master,etc.
5—Behaviour to one another
6—Not to take another's Property,etc.
7—The language
8—School transactions not to be divulged
9—Proper attitude and behavior
10—Behavior in Religious meetings

The curriculum[4] of the school was second to none in those days or in ours. Proud taught about thirty boys in Perrin's French Grammar (Philadelphia 1779),in Greek,in Rudiman's English Grammar (Philadelphia 1776),in mathematics as far as spherical trigonometry and conic sections and in writing or penmanship. He had an usher or assistant in his teaching and received two hundred and fifty pounds ~~per~~ year. He was particular in his choice of books to avoid those ~~that were~~ anti-Christian.

Passages of the Scriptures and Penn's ~~and Barclay's~~ works were read

1 As published in the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, January 1890,p.433.

~~2 A.M. Sumners:Journal of John Woolman,N.Y.,1922,pp.137 and 325.~~

3 Quoted in full by Thomas Woody:Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania N.Y.,1920,pp.183-5.

4 Thomas Woody:Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania N.Y.,1920,pp.183 and 202 et passim.

three times a week. Barclay's Apology was read in Latin. The Testament was read in both Latin and Greek. Davy's Adminiculum Puerile and James and John Gough's English Mannor were also used.

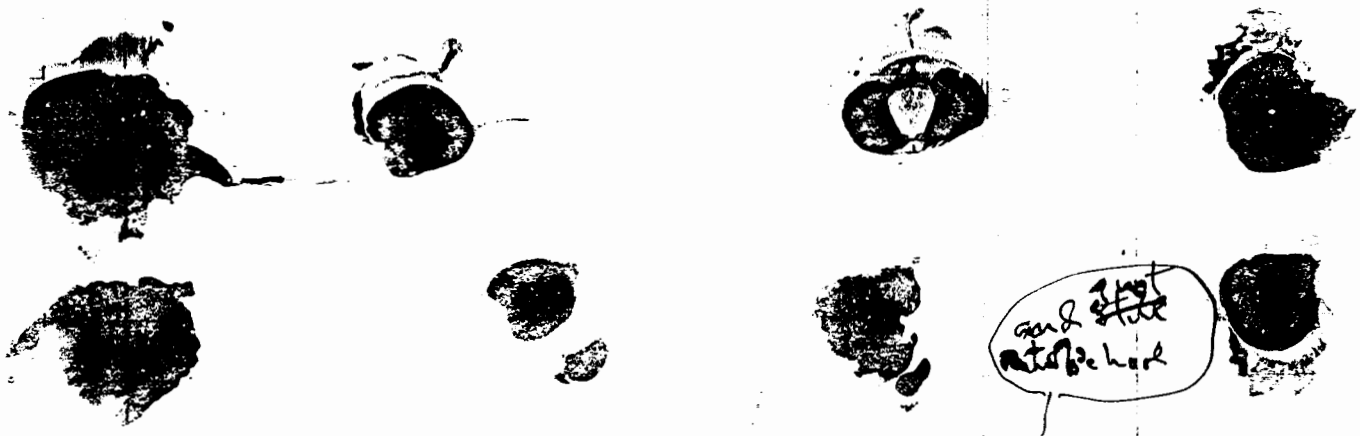
Proud's school seems to have had rough times despite the gentleman who conducted it, the rules he drafted for its guidance and the curriculum.[1] Watson tells an anecdote of his scholars breaking the fourth rule. The wig was their object of assault and the little rascals

> "bored a hole through the ceiling over his sitting place, and by suspending a pin-hook to a cord, so attached it to his wig as to draw it up, leaving it suspended as if depending from the ceiling."

Another picture is given by Elizabeth Drinker in her Journal.[2] 1 November 1782 her son William, who had entered the school 24 April 1780, came home about dinner time, his face much bruised, having been boxing with one of the Latin-school boys.

1 Historic Tales of the Olden Time, Philadelphia 1883, p.157. Another prank played on Jonah Thompson one of the teachers, is related in Lippincott: Early Philadelphia, Philadelphia 1917, p.201.

2 At this time Proud boarded at Sam. Clark's. See Elizabeth Drinker's Journal Philadelphia 1889, p.346.



~~Effusion by~~ The Sage Ephranor of ~~the~~ Brown's verses on the members of the Philosophical Club written when he was fifteen[x] was his first ~~Tribute to Friendship~~ Poem.

O favor'd Youth whom Sage Ephranor[x] taught,
To expand the Soul, and rear the infant thought.
The painted meads of classic learning Tread,
A(nd) trace the streams of Science to her head.
O may his precepts, stamp the soul with awe
For learning's votaries, and Religion's Law.
May his example show life's peaceful road,
Tho' anguish haunt thee, and misfortune goad,
O how shall heav'n the mighty loss repair,
Who shall survive his virtues and his care.
When the just guardian of the youth is Dead,
When from this narrow orb his soul is fled.
No mournful cypress o'er his head shall wave
No guilded monument, Adorn his grave.
No pompous eulogy shall speak his praise
No muse indulgent prompt the funeral lays,
But lasting mem'ry shall declare with truth;
The parent, friend, and guardian of the youth.

~~In his Eleg~~

(Stet) ~~Change not to~~ ~~a reference to~~ ~~Probably~~ Prov. and ~~Ephraim~~ Eliphalet Brown, senr. ~~who as~~ a chief ~~of~~ of the twelve tribes of Israelites had ten thousand children in his care.

x Possibly ~~Dr. Hun~~ Eliphalet Brown, senr.

Proud found Brown proficient as well as industrious so that it was not long before apparently he became the master's favorite pupil which led him later to become an assistant teacher in one of the smaller Quaker schools. Brown found Proud a sort of schoolmaster of Suabia with fifty-one years' record of thousands of floggings - of other boys needed the birch. Old Proud probably applied it. Brown was influenced by Proud in many ways; a student of the same type and had a real affection for the old gentleman that it was lasting is shown by his consideration for him thirteen years afterward when he wrote to him using some Quaker forms of language as a mark of his respect. He was not one of the pupils who deserted the old gentleman in his last days.

When he wrote

~~This is sig-~~ ~~nificant because Brown~~ he introduced his old teacher in his Edgar Huntly as Sarsefield, and in Clara Howard as Howard, and he made the friend and teacher of in Arthur Mervyn a Quaker in memory of Proud.

The hero

Proud he reappears

There is no reason to believe ~~that~~ Brown ever had to box or that he joined in any of the schoolboy frankes. According to his letter 30 May 1792 he held aloof, ~~from~~ not literally but relatively so, for in the Philosophical Club he had his exclusive coterie. He knew he was superior in that he had a "just conception of the dignity of science" and was never idle while the mass like most boys filled up their spare time with attention to Punch's wit or took their turn at the pugilistic encounters going home with black eyes.

As he later explained it[1] he ~~had~~ did not forget ~~ten~~ his Latin verbs so he used the word science as Milton in Paradise Lost (Book IX line 680 et seq.), did not in its present narrow sense but in the wide reference practically making it synonymous with knowledge. ~~He became a student after the same type as Brown. pursuing knowledge for its own sake~~

1 in Juvenile Eloquence in Literary Magazine Vol.V,pp.301-2 to be quoted by us in the following chapter.

Though Proud did not teach Brown French,which the old gentleman excelled in, he probably lead him to study it later without any instructor. Brown never progressed enough to satisfy himself but he undoubtedly picked up its essentials. That he learned to read Latin at the school is confirmed by the fact that it named the school and was the most emphasized part of the discipline as well as of the curriculum. Rule seven demanded its use even in conversation. Cicero in particular seems always to have remained a favorite of Brown's and apparently gave him the foundation for the Latinized English that later distinguished his style. All during his life he made frequent use of Latin quotations and translations. It has been claimed[1] he could read Spanish with ease, but aside from an impossible confirmation of this in Edgar Huntly[2] and the assumption that his contemplated plan of 1795 to go as supercargo to Spain implies he spoke the language,we have no authority for such a statement. It was not taught at Proud's. Constantia Dudley in the third chapter of Ormond studying Italian and French seems almost autobiographical but from it alone we cannot conclude Brown knew Italian. From the plan of 1795 to go to Germany as supercargo we also do not need to assume he spoke German. There are several instances of his

1 Marble:Heralds of American Literature,Chicago 1907,p.309.
2 Chapter XIII,in which Weymouth says his abode in Spain had made him somewhat conversant with its language. Weymouth can by no stretch of the imagination be Brown.

use of reference to Homer that seem to show his knowledge of Greek which he is said to have studied under Proud. In the Man at Home we find Brown acknowledging a neglect of foreign languages for English but there is no certainty of the passage being autobiographic. However under Proud he acquired a thorough rudimentary education that lead him well into the classical and undoubtedly he there continued the studious habits which he had practised ever since his childhood.

He soon began to believe that by diversifying his studies and bookish pursuits he could give to them a novelty they otherwise would not have--he thought he had made the important discovery that a change of studies would answer all the purposes of relaxation better than total abstinence. The hours which many literary men devote to indolence, on the assumption that nature is exhausted were by Brown appropriated to other studies helpful to his advancement in learning. Such a scheme of life and conservation of health may do very well for a time,but ultimately nature will make no exception and assert its law,as it did in Brown's case.

As a consequence,while in school,his health was considerably affected by his tense application to his studies and his neglect of exercise and recreation. Proud saw his mistake and prescribed relaxation and

encouraged rambling into the country;but while Brown followed the latter part of his advice and formed an agreeable walking habit that remained with him all his life, his youthful enthusiasm did not allow him to benefit by any relaxation. His mind being awakened was constantly on the alert for new experiences and sights; he developed a power for concentration so that at times he was plunged deeply in thought,unconscious of what was passing about him. Dunlap in his National Portrait Gallery article says he got all his knowledge of the Indians from his imagination but by some it has been considered a tradition that he rambled among the Indians with whom he stayed for days and weeks, causing the family some anxiety in spite of the fact that most of the the Red men were friendly and went freely to and fro among the settlements near Philadelphia. Though believed to be only a tradition those rambles would be the more plausible explanation of his acute knowledge of Indian character and custom as afterwards portrayed by him in Edgar Huntly and in the notes to Volney's View.Lippard said that he loved to ramble about Laurel Hill but though it is probable he loved all the picturesque spots near Philadelphia there is no confirmation of the particular statement.

It appears probable that ~~the book~~ was an account book of Joseph's, that as soon as the Passyunk farm was given up he tore out many pages at one end of it, wrote Charles' name in it and presented it to ~~the fifteen-year old as an act of encouragement of his couplet ventures. Because it is doubtful if Brown wrote his name in the book it has not been deemed advisable to give reproductions of the signatures as there found. Later more will be said concerning the important details of that note book.~~

The statement by Allen, repeated by Dunlap and others, that Brown wrote a number of verse essays after he left Proud's school is clearly corroborated by the verses we have found but it should be noticed that it is more accurate to extend the statement so as to include the ~~versifying~~ days previous to his leaving school.

1 ~~The book bears date~~ 1783 ~~by~~, which we identify it ~~as~~ is the date when Joseph first used it. From the May 1786 record to be given later it is apparent he could not have given it to Charles earlier.

~~Certain verses that have been found in the 1763 book seem to bear evidence of being the ones mentioned~~. The ~~first edition is the~~ "Rising Glory of America. Introduction," evidently written when there was plenty of blank pages in the book. ~~This~~ appears to be part of the epic verse spoken of ~~by most writers~~ as the Discovery of America and reads:

"O muse that oft hath left Celestial Towers
To dwell with mortals in their humble Bowers
That oft hath deign'd to fill the outen Reed
And sing fair Virtue,& the heroic Deed
O bear me to thy seat,where fancy Beams
O let me seek,the Heliconian streams
The murmuring fountain & the peaceful Grove
Where Poesy--& meditation rove;
Where the enraptur'd Bard is wont to tell
The tuneful Nine & airy wood nymphs Dwell,
And if a youth,can dare the adventrous song
O may thy sacred fire to me Belong
No more I descend to tune the Grecian string,
With Homer's Gods,& god-like Heroes sing
Nor Maro's lyre where polish'd lays unfold
To view the purest veins of classicl gold
Or Milton's awful flight to soar above
And sing the seats of Harmony & Love.
  Forsake Parnassus,once the muses seat
Oppression now deforms the sweet retreat,
Arcadian plane,& Tempe's happy vale
Where rural music,danced in every gale

1 Originally written,polish'd.

There smiling Innocence and Love serene
Trod hand in hand the blooming verdant green
Bless with thy Presence Grecia's realms no more
Celestial muse,but seek this happier shore
When sacred freedom rears her standard high
Can science then aught of her Joys deny
Thy joyful votaries crown with wreath of Praise
And let Columbus Name adorn his lays
Caliope,thou with Urania Join
To raise my soul,and all her powers refine
If Franklin deign to view the unpolish'd lay
O let my Bosom feel thy genial Ray,
Incline his soul to patronize the muse
Who fam'd in Life's bright rising none pursues
When brooding ignorance depres'd the soul
When superstition reign'd with fierce control
When persecution stalk'd with horrid sway
Fire torches Death work'd her destructive way
When dire oppression fill'd Europa's throne
And science beams in other Regions shone.
Genoa's state beheld the hero rise,
His daring genius tempt the awful skies
His soul expanding soar beyond the earth
Above the narrow orb which gave him birth
Astronomy her choicest gifts bestow,
And to his mind another region show
The fate withstand the destiny deny
If perserverance all her aid supply
If Labor ask ev'n stubborn fate shall yield
And destiny be slight as air reveal'd
Tell if thou knowest O muse his native home
Contemn'd he left in foreign climes to roam
His hope in royal favor to pursue
And for a King to bring a world to view
In vain he sought,'till Isabella saw
Her breast refin'd by mild Religion's Law
Received the Hero....1 ride
And now beheld three stately.... 2
..... 3
The distant mountain's and the lessning shore
His arduous way thro' seas he now pursu'd
While human knowledge n'er before had viewed
Resisting Neptune strive but strove in vain
To turn his manly soul by fear or pain
But pitying Heaven a just reward bestow'd
And fruitful fields chang'd for a boundless flood
A land of rich fertility is found,
The joyful ships with grateful peals resound
And now the dubious path again they trace
With willing prows the(y) cut the wat'ry space

1 & the contract tied,has had the pen run through.
2 A line has been abraded here. Ride in the line above is probably a part of it to complete the couplet.
3 At his command and lash the famin'd tide,has been abraded

readers and a religious seriousness and thoughtfulness unusual for a mere boy. There is no poet there, but there is the germ of an unusual man.

The line

"And once again their native fields they hail"

has a faint echo of Pope's

"Where slaves once more their native land behold"[1]

and some of the adjectives are all the possible traces of indebtedness to Pope, for the language used or the ideas expressed. The metre is the same trochaic pentameter couplet which he often used and apparently owed its inspiration to the same master.

1 Essay on Man, Epistle I, line 107.

add to text

The unfinished lines show his struggle to avoid a triplet. The line preceding the final couplet should also be noticed — its rhyming fellow was omitted in copying rather than unwritten.

Except for some possible influence by Pope the most obvious indebtedness[1] in these verses is to the poem of the same title by Philip Freneau published at Philadelphia when Brown was one year old. On the whole Brown's poem shows some influence of that author but the most noticeable link between the two is that the subject was the same. Therefore their comparison assumes a greater interest for us.

Brown did not follow the dialogue method used by Freneau. That was one of the technical boundaries limiting Freneau's work. In Brown's case the author was free to develope the story as he saw fit. In this composition he also had no partner like Freneau had in Breckenridge.

Both works conform to the classical standards by an invocation to the muses; in Freneau's it is short and uninteresting--in Brown's it is extended to an undue length and has many happy lines. While it is possible it is highly improbable that Brown owed anything to Freneau for the pastoral simplicity of parts of his work.

1 Brown uses the name Acasto in his Calista of 1794.

His knowledge of the best known works by Pope and his general education in the classics at Proud's school would impress him much more with the idealistic character of such a phase of Greek and Roman life than any verses he may at any time of his life have read in English.

The Columbian side of the subject is enlarged by Brown to the advantage of the whole,while Freneau on the other hand goes back to an earlier possible history of the discovery of the country. Brown's method here is an excellent point and all in his favor. It shows that our author was conforming more to his title. Thus what makes Freneau's poem drag along an uninteresting length is absent in Brown. He saw the point clearly and went right to the heart of the matter. Freneau's knowledge of the early explorations thus handicapped him.

Freneau's satirical turn in regard to the motives of the discoverer is not to be found in Brown. The fact that Columbus sought to add to the glory of his native land and to gain a knowledge of the unknown world is the key note of Brown's interest and the verse that he wrote.

Freneau's elaboration in another part--that relating to the

religious faith of the early discoverers--is not needed to be extended for any American reader. It becomes a sort of a digression and is not followed by Brown.

The impersonal nature is best shown by Brown's omission of Penn. In that particular he had a better opportunity to develope the subject by reason of his ancestors' connection with the early settler of Marcus Hook. This impersonality is also to be seen in the omission of any verses relating to Commerce,and in the avoidance of any anti-British expressions such as Freneau too often used in all of his verse.

In the matter of the metre Brown's work with its faulty pentameters has more music and real poetic merit than Freneau's halting blank verse. Both forms of versification show the hand of youth too much but Brown's has the greater poetic promise.

As we have seen Brown's poem is called the introduction and therefore does not give the whole poem. Therein he differs from Freneau who had Brakenridge's help in the concluding part. Thus it appears that his work is a fragment. Being never published and only written

as an attempt in the same line in which Freneau had succeeded it is remarkable for its merits and is excusable for its imperfections--which Freneau's poem is not.

revise note on Flaccus

One Flaccus was a governor of Syria. Flaccus Albinus was also the pseudonym used by Alcuin at the Palace School at Aachen; but the reference here apparently is to Horace whose name was also Flaccus.

Horace, which is the allusion Brown intended.

The Rising Glory of America

This is followed by "The Times a Poem" with the customary quotation at the opening, only in this case it is in Latin--"Ignotis errare Locis Ignota videre Flumina gundabat." Gundabat should be gundebat, and the second line if completed would be peculiarly appropriate to Brown.

Here we will find several lines repeated from the other verses and the whole decidedly fragmentary, it is undoubtedly a variant of the "Rising Glory of America."

"The hardy Swain that dwelt on Schuylkill shore
And I saw the dayly increase of his store
As oe'r the fruitful down he sped his way
At the first dawning of the fruitful 2 day.
With secret joy he view'd his new bought field
The golden grain with lavish Plenty yield
His bosom swel'd with rapture at the sight,
And every object--gave him new delight.
The peaceful joys of competence to find
Free from those cares that vex his troubl'd mind
Where by adversities hard hand oppress'd
His days past void of Peace, his nights of Rest,
And forc'd without the comfort of a Friend,
With all the ills of Fortune to contend.
Charmed with the thoughts 3 that burst his heart 4 he cries
With grateful accent, and uplifted Eyes.
Kind Heaven thou saw and pitied my distress
And deign'd to crown my Prayers 5 with success
When on one happy and auspicious morn
Thou tempted me, poor helpless & forlorn
To seek another but more friendly shore
Where Power oppression Fortune frowns no more
Where proud Ambition & her lawless Race
Taint not with Broil the pleasing reign of peace;
Where Truth & Innocence their 6 Joys display,
To soften 7 Justice brightens freedom's sway.
That by the Patriot's Hand with laurel crown'd
Gives arts, and oppulence & peace around;
Oft have I sat upon my Uncle's knee
When prattling childhood shower'd its 8 Joys on me
And fond to hear as thron'd in corner'd state
The good old man his youthful deeds, relate

× In copying the last word was gundabat, an error.

1 day by, has been abraded. 2 Formerly, cheerful
3 Formerly, scenes 4 Instead of burst his heart, bloomed around.
5 Formerly, wishes. 6 Formerly, her
7 Jostly was added and abraded. Before that the line began,
Brightens her nights and softens...
8 Formerly, his.

It is from the Metamorphoses (Book IV, ll. 294-5) "He loved to wander over unknown spots, and to see unknown rivers, his curiosity lessening the fatigue."

(with Estudio inmente laborem)

Usually that kind of story is not given in the texts used with young sters to-day.

All were attentive to the wondrous Tale
When winter darkness cloth'd the silent vale
And their numb'd limbs the crackling faggots cheer
While no intruding sound disturb'd his ear.
Save when afar off in the forest deep
Was heard the owl scream,and the still mouse creep
To escape the catlthat in each hole doth pry
And the hid cricket in the corner cry
Then would he tell,he left his native shore
The unknown coasts of this fair land t'explore
With horrid shades and gloomy forests crown'd
And barren cliffs that Terror nods 2 around
How o'er yon mountain dwelt a Simple Race
Yet unrefin'd by culture,or by Peace
Where education taught the Robust youth
To reverence Valor fortitude and Truth
Where brutal strength and savage fierceness Rule
All other merit meets but ridicule
To trace the lofty stag,to use the bow
The arts their Fathers knew,they seek to know.
Now cultivation spreads her fruitful reign
And plenty comes with all her smiling train.
Where then naught but a barren waste appear'd
Or forest huge its aged branches rear'd
And where the savage Race unheeded stray,
Unknown to man and stranger to his sway,
Unnumber'd cities ornament the shore
Where lonely desolation stalk'd before
Rich fields and Villages now grace the strand
Where nought appear'd before but parched land
And bridges rise,and Fleets securely ride
Where lonely once,and silent flow'd the tide.
Where brutal strength and savage fierceness rule
All other merit meets but ridicule.
And strength of genius or a noble mind
By Europa's arts and elegance refin'd
Is forced to bend beneath the Frown of Pride
Or thrown as useless to the state aside.
Since Tuneful Flaccus3of the times has sung
And lash'd the vices that from greatness sprung,
No candid Bard from the promiscuous throng,
Has ris'n to tempt the elevated song,
To make vice shrink & the unruly tame
To give to Virtue the name of Fame
To crown the Patriot with a wreath of Bays
And teach mankind the only way to Praise
But this a new fair world affords I deem
For heav'n born poesy the noblest theme
To scan the manners of a vicious age,
With partial envy or satyric Page,
I far beneath the man that boasts from heav'n

1 Formerly started with a capital "B"
2 Formerly terror followed nods.
3 Flaccus Albinus was the pseudonym used by Alcuin at the palace school at Aachen. See further our study of Brown's Alcuin of 1798. Flaccus was also the name of Horace.

The fire that warms the Bosom to be given.
The rising glory of this happy land,
Contemns the efforts of an envious hand.
Bless with thy presence Grecia's realms no more
Celestial muse but seek this happier shore
Forsake Parnassus once[1] thy favor'd seat
Oppression now deforms the sweet retreat
Arcadia's plains and happy vale
Where rural music danced in ev'ry gale
And where thou sawst thy favor'd son arise
And with an heavenly ardor tread the skies
E'en there thyself indulgent touch'd the lute
Lull'd the rude winds and sooth'd the rugged Brute
Bended the oak and stop'd the currents course
And Death's obdurate arm depriv'd of force.
Bless with thy presence Grecia's realms no more,
Celestial muse,but seek this happier shore.
Where round thy Epic Bard a wreath of Bays
And let Columbus ? name adorn his Bays
The tuneful sage that o'er yon dusky Hills
Dwells by the stream of an hundred Rills,
Hunt in sweet solitude he in his Bowers
In meditation spends the evening Hours
Save when with heavenly songs he fills the plains
And draws around him all the neighboring swains
And listens while he tunes the oaten Reed,
And sings fair Virtue and the heroic Deed.
How War and Desolation hand in hand
Laid waste the cities and destroyed the land
Of Freedom's struggles with oppressive power
How clouds did threaten boding Tempests hour
And how with Laurel by the Patriot crown('d)
She gives Arts oppulence & peace around
And how when Ignorance oppress'd the soul,
And superstition reign'd with fierce control,
And persecution stalk'd with horrid sway
Death's Tortures,marking her destructive way
When dire oppression fill'd Europa's Throne
And science Beams in other regions shine (shone)
Where god like minds tempted the awful skies
Genoa's state beheld the hero rise
Whose soul expanding soar'd beyond the earth
Scorning the narrow orb which gave him birth
With nobl'st views and just ambition Fir'd
His soul contemning meaner things aspired
To Deeds more worthy of immortal fame
Than power or riches borrowing honor's name
Astronomy with all her gifts,his mind
Adorned the first to bless the human mind (kind)
The first reach true glory arduous goal
Raised him on high to glance from pole to pole
Traverse the globe and view another shore
That human knowledge had not known before
The timid cowards weak exertions fail
The just the virtuous and the brave prevail
Indulgent heaven shall stubborn labor bless
And manly perserverance find success
Then would he sing how oft his native home
Contemn'd he left in further climes to roam

1 Written carelessly one. These four lines are repeated from the second paragraph of the former verses.

in blank insert
(Temple's)

Partial to merit and to genius just
And let not virtue langusih in the dust
To some great monarch whose enlighten'd Eye
Could thro' the veil of Ignorance descry.
The paths of knowledge hid from vulgar view
And under Kingly auspices pursue--
His vast designs,he sought,but sought in vain
Till Isabella the greatest Boast of Spain
The pride of Queens,beheld the hero one
Among the Christian Sovereigns that alone
Despised the bondage of a meaner mind,
And soar'd to ages Polished and refin'd,
Through stormy seas the Hero made his way
Where in the deep is sunk the Evening ray
Resisting Neptune strove,but strove in vain
To turn his manly soul by fear or pain
But pitying heav'n had just rewards in store
To such superior virtue and no more
Fated to struggle with the tempest's rage
That with the heavens eternal war doth wage
Sent the bright messenger of peace to cheer
Him,and confirm the hope that land was near
Undaunted yet thy Glorious end pursue
She said,and morn with land shall greet thy view
Attend we now to yonder mountains height
From the the impervious night
The dread futurity shall nought withhold
But all the secrets to thy view unfold
Thus said she bore him with a rapid flight
Through the thin air and reach'd a mountains height
And the vast propsect fill(s) his soul with dread
And earth and sea appear before him spread
The sun with purer lustre seem'd to shine
With brighter influencel the thick air refine
With milder beams reviving Nature's Bloom....."

1 Formerly,lustre.

Here again he breaks off leaving the verse fragmentary and unfinished; making it clear that he was practising his hand in imitations of the popular couplets of the day. At the same time we have there an indication of the boy's growing powers. Often the tragic element which was to become his strongest literary device and which was to reach its height in Wieland here for the first time grows to efface the unembellished picture of early settlers in prosperous farm lands. In those verses there are several autobiographic touches, the best of which is the picture of the boy sitting on the knee of his uncle and listening to the tales he told.

Whether these verses owed anything to Freneau's Picture of the Times originally published in the Freeman's Journal 19 July 1782 and reprinted as Philosophical Reflections in 1786 is not clear. Some of the lines repeated from the earlier Rising Glory undoubtedly owe all to Freneau that the earlier poem did but other than in a few such particulars the two poems are on the whole different. Other parts such as the stanzas in praise of the freedom of the new country which could have been derived from Freneau were surely common enough in Brown's days not to need any such origin.

While both were ostensibly imitators of Pope in writing couplets and Brown later acknowledged the indebtedness it may be true that Brown followed Peter Markoe in his Times. So far as the title is concerned The Times is not sufficiently distinctive to be credited to any one author being used by several others;and besides the title the ideas in Markoe's poem that reappear in Brown's are commonplaces to the subject. Markoe's was partially published in one of the newspapers before its issue in two different editions as a pamphlet in 1788 and Brown's was,so far as we sknow,not published at all,so that it is impossible to claim any influence of Brown's on Markoe. The two works are similar only in several obvious details,though not remarkably alike and the most reasonable conclusion is that they were both inspired by Pope. Brown never referred to Markoe and it is improbable that he would have read his poem and made not even a mention of its author.

The important point for us is that in all his early couplet verse Brown was more original than imitative.

The next verse in the 1783 book is what he calls "Epistle I". It is addressed to his brother James and because it was not written until 6m 14,1788 it will be quoted later under its proper date.

We have seen that Allen said Brown planned three epic poems; one of which was on the Discovery of America, the fragments of which seem to have been found in the Rising Glory of America; another he is said to have written was on Pizarro's Expedition against Peru and a third on Cortez' Expedition to Mexico:[1] but the last two have escaped all researches. Possibly the statement of Allen is to be taken literally, that he planned the three and when he said no more only made attempts at the first of them. Allen also says he wrote a number of small essays some in poetry and some in prose. Of the latter we probably have a great part in the various periodicals with which Brown was connected. Of the verse Allen says there was a version of a part of the book of Job, not located and identified, some of the Psalms of David and several passages of Ossian. Of them it seems possible from internal evidence

1 Erroneously given as America, (p.11) corrected by Dunlap (p.14).

(A) Dunlap in taking over the biography also apparently never read the 1783 note-book. ~~Verses which~~ have been quoted above.

that the "Attempt to paraphrase some parts of the Twenty-fifth Psalm" in the original poetry for the Weekly Magazine[1] is one.

Brown's opinion of the Psalms was very high and may be found expressed in the History of the Carrils and Ormes[2] as follows:

"The Psalms of David are the genuine effusions of a man, dictated by a great variety of feelings and situations, which occurred during an eventful life. There are few men, therefore, and particularly few princes, who cannot find passages in these odes, adapted to almost all the sentiments and incidents which have befallen themselves. They are addressed by David to that Divinity who ruled his own destiny. They may therefore be addressed, without impropriety, by any other person to their guardian power; these therefore are commodious vehicles of devotion, which have been employed by almost all christian sects."

The idea of adoration might be expected of any versification of any of the Psalms but the universality of them is not common and when elaborated in the poem is a very welcome piece of evidence of Brown. The paraphrase reads as follows:

1 Vol.I,p.347. 2 Allen and Dunlap,Vol.I,p.289.

2
347 A

TO thee O God! my ſecret prayers ariſe;
On thee with confidence my ſoul relies;
Fountain of light and life! illume my mind,
To error ſubject, as by nature blind:
Teach me thy will, and lead me in thy ways,
And learn my tongue to liſp the notes of praiſe!

In times like theſe, when headſtrong paſſions rage;
When vice and folly rule a faithleſs age;
When erring man, his boaſted Reaſon's ſlave,
Vain of the gift, forgets the hand that gave,
Shall thoſe that love thee, be withheld by ſhame,
Their truſt from owning in th' eternal name?
Ah no!—far rather let the ſons of pride
Return repentant to th' unerring guide;
From Sin and Death, from doubt and darkneſs flee,
To light,—to life,--to happineſs, and thee.

The meek and lowly who upon thee wait,
Know that thy goodneſs, as thy power is great;
They know thou wilt in boundleſs mercy roll
A tide of rapture o'er the humbled ſoul,
Which fill'd with grief, with conſcious guilt oppreſt,
To *thee*, the *rock of ages* flies for reſt.

Before thy throne, with trembling hope I bend!
Thy wonted mercy to my ſoul extend—
That tender mercy which of old diſplay'd
Has ceaſeleſs cheriſh'd all thy hand has made.
Great are my ſins; to thy all-ſearching eye,
Expos'd, in order, my tranſgreſſions lie:
Thou know'ſt each guilty thought, each ſecret ſtain,
That wrings my boſom with remorſe, and pain.
Great are my ſins; but be thoſe ſins forgot;
My countleſs failings from thy memory blot.

347 A 3

Behold my grief, and give my heart to
prove
The joys, the riches of thy pardoning love.
And Oh! while wandering in this mortal
state,
Where round my path unnumber'd dan-
gers wait;
Where ſtrong temptation oft incites to ſin,
And reſtleſs paſſions raiſe a ſtorm within,
Do *thou* be near me! let thy arm of
power
From evil ſhield me, in each trying hour;
To *thee* for aid I turn th' imploring eye;
To *thee* for pardon, and for ſafety fly.
Supremely bleſt the man who *feels thee*
near,
Whoſe life is govern'd by thy ſaving fear:
Thy love will lead him, in the paths of
peace;
Thy life-fraught preſence, all his joys
encreaſe:
Inform'd by thee, *he only rightly* knows
To enjoy the bleſſings which thy hand
beſtows;
To him, more gay the bloom of ſpring
appears;
A lovelier garb luxuriant ſummer wears;
More brilliant ſcenes, autumnal fields
diſplay;
And more ſublime the Winter's ſtormy
way.
From all thy works, his mind inſtruc-
tion draws;
In all, with rapture, ſees the great firſt
cauſe;
And when deſcending to the oblivious
tomb,
When life's frail taper yields to deep-
ening gloom,
By no vain terror is his mind diſtreſt,
This ſcene, at changing, for eternal reſt,
O'er death's dark gulph he caſts ſerene,
his eye
To happier worlds, where joys immortal
lie;
Where doubt and fear no more the ſoul
appal;
Where peace forever reigns, where thou
art all in all.
Source of all good! continue ſtill to
pour,
Thy countleſs bleſſings on Columbia's
ſhore;
Still keep, in mercy, from her fields afar,
The woes, the horrors of wide waſting
war,
Alike remote, preſerve her favour'd race,
From proud aggreſſion and ſubmiſſion baſe;
Teach them that ſhame and ruin, vice
await,
That virtue only makes a nation great;

That strength and peace,will but from union flow;
But above all things teach them Thee to know."

At the end there is the dating "Burlington,3 April 1798". If it were not for Allen's statement that the versification of the Psalms was among his youthful verse we would be compelled to take the date as the guide and give these verses under the study of the year 1798. To make the date reasonable it must be assumed that it indicates the time when the poem was put into the final form as we have it in the Weekly Magazine and sent to the publisher James Watters. Inasmuch as we know Brown's family came from Burlington and because Brown's whereabouts are unrecorded for that date it is probable he had gone to Burlington and being there bethought himself of his youthful verses. We are sure he was in the neighborhood of Philadelphia on that date.

It should be noticed that the verses are in the familiar Pope couplet,especially the iambic pentameter which Brown used so frequently in his youthful efforts.

The ideas not only conform to those given in the extract from the Carrils and Ormes as quoted,but they are distinctively

Brown's. We only need to compare them with the St,James version of Psalm twenty-five to see that what the author added was characteristic of Brown. The failure to elaborate the Biblical idea of showing the Creator's ways and teaching his paths is due to the couplets which Brown wrote for the title-page of his Wieland where the path of the virtuous is suggested by contrast. The interpolated elaboration of the godly man's admiration and enjoyment of nature's beauties is a good example of Brown's love of nature which will be found developed as a part of his technique in Edgar Huntly. The ten lines,53 to 62, on death and futurity comprise another peculiar trait of our author's contemplation at this time. The selection of the adjectives are the same and some of the lines are clearly echoes if not mere alterations of those used in his other youthful verse. When we find in the closing group of ten lines the petition of the author for Columbia,which he had found suggested in the Bible by the prayer of David for protection against his personal enemies we have an excellent indication of Brown's

patriotism and just such a presentation as we have already had in his other youthful verses.

From Allen's statement and the character of these verses we are warranted in giving them at this time of Brown's youth rather than under the date or in connection with the periodical of 1798. Wherein they were revised we do not know and according to what we do know of Brown's usual methods we are driven to conclude that they were very slightly changed, if at all, from what they were when originally composed. Still, like most instances of his verse it is probable some revision was made.

As verses they are not above the standard of Brown's other attempts though they have some well expressed ideas and a few excellent lines, notably the last four.

~~The several~~ Three passages of Ossian have been found ~~in Bradford's Merchant's Daily Advertiser in which Brown's brothers James and Joseph when in partnership with Summerl advertised.~~ Whether they are all Brown ever attempted or all that Allen and Duffy referred to by the word several is not known but they probably are.

The first one is Ossian's Address to the Sun appearing Saturday 13 January 1798 as written for ~~the~~ Bradford's Merchant's Daily Advertiser. It comprises forty iambic pentameter verses arranged in couplets.

The origin of the Address to the Sun is to be found at the end of the poem Carthon[2] which in Macpherson's version is rendered into prose thus:

> "O thou that rollest above, round as the shield of my fathers! whence are thy beams, O son! thy everlasting light? Thou comest forth, in thy awful beauty; the stars hide themselves in the sky; the moon, cold and pale, sinks in the western wave. But thou thyself movest alone; who can be a companion of thy course! The oaks of the mountains fall: the mountains themselves decay with years; the ocean shrinks and grows again: the moon herself is lost in heaven:--but thou are for ever the same, rejoicing in the brightness of thy course. When the world is dark with tempests; when thunder rolls, and lightning flies; thou lookest in thy beauty, from the clouds, and laughest at the storm. But to Ossian, thou lookest in vain; for he beholds thy beams no more; whether thy yellow hair flows on the eastern clouds, or thou tremblest at the gates of the west. But thou art, perhaps, like me, for a season, thy years will have an end. Thou shalt sleep

~~1 The "ad" was dated 2 April 1798 and offered for sale coffee, flour, rice, beef, pork, pitch, turpentine and varnish.~~

2 Glasgow 1824, Vol. I, pp. 78-9.

in the clouds, careless of the voice of the morning. Exult then, O son! in the strength of thy youth! Age is dark and unlovely, it is like the glimmering light of the moon, when it shines through broken clouds, and the mist is on the hills; the blast of the north is on the plain, the traveller shrinks in the midst of his journey."

This is versified by our author as follows:

"O! thou, that borne high on thy fiery car,
Majestic roll'st aloft through fields of air,
Round as the bossy shield my father's bore
When danger stalked on Morven's echoing shore!
Whence are thy beams! O! Son, effulgence bright?
Whence thy pure streams of everlasting light!
Forth from thy hall, in awful grandeur clad,
Thou com'st, the stars before thy glories fade,
Blasted, by thy supreme effulgence, fly
To darkest coverts of the distant sky,
While the cold moon, all trembling, hastes to lave
Her pallid form deep in the western wave.
Alone thou mov'st resistless in thy force,
No bold companion of thy glorious course!
To grandeur lost, see mountain oaks decay,
Mountains themselves with years dissolve away;
On earth, old ocean ceaseless ebbs and flows,
In heaven, the moon a changeful visage shows;
But thou, unknown to change or dark decay,
Triumphant hold'st thy bright celestial way!
When gathering tempests darken all the sky,
Deep thunders burst, and red-tongued lightnings fly,
Thou smil'st aloft, in fair majestic form,
Safe from the dangers of the hustling storm.
But now to Ossian vain are all thy beams,
Ossian receives no more thy golden streams,
Whether thou dost, with purple light, adorn
The radiant brow and shadowy clouds of morn;
Or fling'st thy red ray on the mountain's crest,
Shot from the crimson chambers of the west.
But thou, perchance, like me shall sink in night,
Thy glories faded, and forgot thy light.
Deep shalt thou slumber in thy clouded hall,
Deaf to the sound of breezy morning's call.
Exult in youth, O! Sun! enjoy thy prime!
Dark and unlovely are the shrouds of time!
Like moon-beams glittering through a clouded sky,
When gathering mists across the welkin fly,
Bleak roars the northern blast along the heath,
And, faint, the hapless traveller sinks in death."

The second passage is Ossian's Address to the Moon "for" the Merchant's Daily Advertiser. It is given as found in the issue for 17 January 1798 and compared,by notes,with the version given among the original poetry of the Weekly Magazine[1] in the number for 16 June 1798.

The poem comprises forty lines of Pope couplets thrown together in groups of four,six,eight and ten lines of iambic pentameter.

In the Weekly Magazine reprinting of it the following was given as a foot-note indicated by an asterisk at the end of the title.

> "It originally appeared in the Merchant's Daily Advertiser,but has since been altered by the author,from whose corrected copy it is now printed."

The details of the revision may be seen in our notes; in general they are confined to such insignificant changes as punctuation and typography. The correction of the error in the twelfth line is perfectly obvious and is equally unimportant. It is only when we come to the thirty-fourth line that we find any reasonable cause for the note as given. There the line is altered by changing only three words. If we place both versions in lines and indicate by ditto marks the unchanged,the insignificance of the alteration will become apparent at a glance. They

1 Vol.II,pp.220-1.

~~162~~ add initials for version 347A[10]

MDA Sweep —

WM Through —

show up thus:

"Sweep the wide welkin in your billoway course"
"Through " " " urge " headlong " "

Surely there was only one man connected with the Weekly Magazine who had an interest to go through so much trouble over such trivial details of indifferent verse!

The origin of the Address to the Moon is to be found at the opening of the poem entitled Dar-Thula[1] which reads in Macpherson's prose rendering:

> "Daughter of heaven, fair art thou! the silence of thy face is pleasant! Thou comest forth in loveliness. The stars attend thy blue course in the

1 Glasgow 1824, Vol.I, p.313.

east. The clouds rejoice in thy presence,O moon! They brighten their dark-brown sides. Who is like thee in heaven,light of the silent night? The stars are ashamed in thy presence. They turn away their sparkling eyes. Whither dost thou retire from thy course,when the darkness of thy countenance grows? Hast thou thy hall,like Ossian? Dwellest thou in the shadow of grief? Have thy sisters fallen from heaven? Are they who rejoiced with thee at night,no more? Yes! they have fallen,fair light! and thou didst often retire to mourn. But thou thyself shalt fail,one night; and leave thy blue path in heaven. The stars will then lift their heads:they,who were ashamed in thy presence, will rejoice. Thou art now clothed in thy brightness. Look from thy gates in the sky. Burst the cloud,O wind! that the daughter of night may look forth! that the shaggy mountains may brighten,and the ocean roll its white waves in light."

Which in the hands of our young poet is cast into couplets thus:

CELESTIAL maid! mild regent of the night!
Fair is thy form array'd in ſilvery light!
Pleaſing the penſive ſilence of thy face,
Beauteous thy ſmiles, and all thy movements grace!
In loveline ſupreme thou glid'ſt along,
Attendant ſtars around thy banners throng.
Beneath thy reign, O Moon! with rapturous voice,
In frolic train, the fleecy clouds rejoice,
Sport in the wind, their ſhadowy wings diſplay,
And from their ſides—reflect thy brightening ray.
In Heaven's gay throng, who can with thee compare!
Sternely[1] as thou rid'ſt ſublime in air,
On diſtant orbs doſt pour a living light,
And with thy arrowy radiance conquer'ſt night!
Abaſh'd the ſtars that fret the vaulted ſkies,
Turn from thy [redacted] fair their ſparkling [redacted]

Where doſt thou dwell? ſay! in what ſecret place?[2]
When darkneſs veils the glories of thy face?
Haſt thou, like Fingal's ſon, thy hall of woe?
Brood grief's dark ſhadows o'er thy ſilver brow?
From Heaven's vaſt concave are thy ſiſters hurl'd,
Thy joyous, fair companions round the world!
Yes,[3] they have fallen from their ſplendid bourne,
And oft doſt thou retire their loſs to mourn!

But thou a hapleſs victim to decay,
Shalt yet forſake in heaven[4] thy azure way.
Then ſhall the ſtars thoſe twinkling gems of night,
The ſtars, once envious of thy fairer light,
Rear their bright heads, and with exultant voice,
At the diſaſters of thy fall rejoice!

In brightneſs circled, and enthron'd on high,
Look through thy pearly portals in the ſky!
Blow fierce, ye winds, and, with reſiſtleſs force,
Sweep the wide welkin in your billoway course;[5]

1 The "sternely" of the first printing is obviously a misreading.
2 The altering of the interrogation mark to a period is an error.
3 The change to lower case is intelligent there being no need for the small capitals.
4 Heaven is heaven whether spelled with a capital or not.
5 Altered to: Through the wide welkin urge your headlong course;

Burst the thick clouds,that forth the queen of night[1]
May look,array'd in all her glories bright;
With virgin silver tip the mountain's head,
The midway hill,the plain,and lonely glade.
Smile on old ocean's[2] billows,as they rave,
And pour full radiance on the dashing wave!"

Why these lines were signed in the Weekly Magazine with the initials "C.C."[3] is not known. There is no record of any author,who is known to have rendered into couplet verse any part of Ossian,who could have legitimately used them.[4] Possibly they were suggested as a disguise for B.B. which would have been too patent to the periodical's readers. In the cases of the two earlier Ossian poems there were no initials signed to the first and the second was indicated as "by a gentleman of this city" which is more like the pseudonyms used by Brown than any other author of his time. C.C. may of course

1 Given as a single line in which there was no room for the "t" of night.
2 In the altered form the word was spelled with a capital.
3 Other verses so signed may be considered when we come to study the Weekly Magazine in which they appeared.
4 Though Dr.Charles Caldwell was designated as C.C. in connection with two articles on yellow fever appearing in the Advertiser in August 1797 he never so far as is known wrote any verse for it though two years later he did publish elsewhere some iambic pentameter couplets on Washington. Neither is this unknown to be identified as a certain banker C.C. of 1806. The only other one of Brown's circles who could have done it was Richard Alsop who versified a passage from the fifth book of Temora which may be found in the American Poems Litchfield (1793) pp.255-62, but he used iambic quadrimeter riming in alternate lines and grouped in stanzas of four lines each.

347 A 13

change earlier Asian poems to

other " "

to

second

~~third~~

have merely meant "corrected copy", ~~But~~ or very remarkably it may be for "Charles Cheerful" the name signed to the article entitled The Folly of Self-Tormenting which ends at the top of the same page of the Weekly Magazine. and which is probably Brown's.

Edward D. Snyder in his Celtic Revival in English Literature[2] gives Brown more praise than he was accustomed to mete out to other ~~the~~ minor poets of his study when he says:

> "An American author signing only the initials "C.C." produced some heroic couplets of no little beauty entitled "Ossian's Address to the Moon", which were printed in The Weekly Magazine (Philadelphia)."

~~Apparently~~ Snyder may have been deceived by the introductory note for he says these lines had "appeared in a slightly different form". Had he seen their original appearance, he might have suspected the author and ~~if he had troubled to search~~ searched out the old newspaper ~~and had not been hurried~~ he might have turned its pages and found the two other versions of Ossian. ~~What he might have thought of them would have been indeed of interest to us.~~

~~1 Consideration of that article will be given later in our study of the periodical.~~

2 Cambridge, Mass, 1923, p. 186.

The third is Ossian's Address to the Evening Star, for Bradford's Merchant's Daily Advertiser "versified by a gentleman of this city", which appeared Saturday 3 February 1798. It comprises twenty-two iambic pentameter verses arranged in couplets.

The origin of the Address to the Evening Star may be found at the opening of the Songs of Selma[1] as rendered into prose by Macpherson thus:

> "Star of descending night, fair is thy light in the west! Thou liftest thy unshorn head from thy cloud; thy steps are stately on thy hill. What dost thou behold in the plain? The stormy winds are laid. The murmur of the torrent comes from afar. Roaring waves climb the distant rock. The flies of evening are on their feeble wings; the hum of their course is on the field. What dost thou behold, fair light?--But thou dost smile and depart. The waves come with joy around thee: they bathe thy lovely hair. Farewell, thou silent beam! Let the light of Ossian's soul arise!"

which becomes couplet verse as follows:

> "From western skies, fair is thy silvery light,
> Bright pearly star, gay harbinger of night!
> High o'er the cloud which veil'd thy splendours fair;
> Thou rear'st sublime thy head of radiant hair;
> High o'er thy beamy hill thou mov'st with grace,
> While glories brighten round the hallowed place!
> Forth as thou look'st from thy beams on high,
> What dost thou on the lowly plain decry?
> Past is the storm, yet on the echoing shore,
> Dwells the deep music of the tempest's roar.

1 Glasgow 1824, Vol.I, p.179.

Forth rush,with hollow sound,the mountain floods,
Echo the hills,and headlong sink the woods,
Round the rude rocks of troubled ocean raves
The foaming flood,and break the thundering waves.
The flies of eve their feeble wings expand,
And soothe,with softest hum,the listening land!
What dost thou here behold,fair twinkling light!
-But with armadiant smile thou sink'st in night!
Triumphant round thee roll the joyous waves,
And each,with silvery foam,thy tresses laves.
Farewell,thou silent beam,pride of the skies!
Let the pure light of Ossian's soul arise!"

These really completes, if not all Brown's poetical attempts, recall ~~of Brown is~~ the idea ~~presented by Omond in his English Metrists~~ that modern prosody begins in England with Christabel 1816 and in America with Bryant's article on iambic measure ~~in the~~ September 1819 ~~number of the~~ North American Review so that Brown, should not ~~cannot~~ perhaps be judged ~~by~~ according to rules he never could have ~~seen~~ known. Probably any prodical principles he had learned by this time were found presented in Blair's Rhetoric (Philadelphia 1784) which at least gave him an acquaintance with the technique of which as Omond notes, ~~was entirely satisfied with~~ Pope's versification. we know he read and which

Pope's couplets as a rule were complete - as Saints busy Pope says they might be written as rapidly as but Brown never found them so light as that. The general run of all his words he did not imitate, he introduced very heavy vocables in the interior of the line, the occasionally used ~~the~~ antithesis in the halves of the lines and in the couplet, he practically never used an alexandrine, never used enjambment - slowly climbing up the line and suddenly dropping - only occasionally did he stop at the end with commas near the middle of the line ~~like~~ and Thomson he never used triplets. ~~Like Longfellow~~ Though he had Pope's tunes by heart he was ~~at times~~ as ~~wooden~~ vocalic as the negative singer.

T. S. Omond: English Metrists
Oxford 1921.

xx Prosody, Vol. II, p. 113.

As verse these renditions of Ossian are better than the average of Brown's attempts. With the guidance of the Ossian we find all the details carried over into the versification. Nevertheless many of the felicitous hits are original and the total impression is an improvement and exhibits very well the superiority of verse over prose, though the Ossian as rendered by Macpherson is remarkably poetic. With a few exceptional lines the rendering is excellent; the usual sing-song of the couplet being often broken by carrying the sense over into a second or third line.

As a selection from the great bulk of Ossian's poems these particular passages show good taste on Brown's part--they are some of the finest of the whole epic. Still there is here a touch of the autobiographical. With his contemplative character, his withdrawal from the amusements of youthful companionship the subjectivity of the passages with their echoes of the mental state of the narrator is peculiarly of appeal to a man like Brown. His interest in these poems remained with him as late as 1805 when he published in the Literary Magazine[1] two articles on Ossian. The first is entitled Ossian in his own language

1 Vol.IV, pp.127 and 354.

unsigned and the second The latest evidence concerning the authenticity of Ossian's poems signed O. ~~and will be noticed further~~ According to they may be ~~in~~ our study of the Literary Magazine ~~as an~~ ascription to Brown.

Among the early literary essays that have been preserved seems to be the verse written by Brown after he had left Proud's school and copied by his father in an old parchment-covered book, dated 1796-7. From the heading it is learned that during his last year in Proud's school there was ~~among the scholars~~ in his circle a so-called Philological[1] Society.

These verses and their heading read:

1 It ~~should be noticed that this so-called Philological Society~~ antedated by two years the one organized by Noah Webster. Dunlap in his American Theatre, p.114 confuses ~~the Proud society~~ it with the New York Friendly Club.

"(By C.B.Brown my son at 15 years old his first essay)
On some of his School fellows members of the Philosophical Society.[1][2]

Shall the keen edge of Satan's cruel dart,
Be raised to pierce the unoffending heart,
From pride,and dark deceipt,its proper aim;
Shall it be turn'd to sully spotless Fame.
Shall genius shine in Hudibrastic Lays,
To blast the character deserving praise;
Forbid it Justice and superior Truth,
Who guides the Labors of the manly youth.
Let dove-like candor,with celestial fire,
The Poet's arduous page inspire.
But let auspicious pleasing maid
To dark depravity refuse her aid.
And shine fair Virtue to inspire the Theme.
And only render great the poet's name.
Impartial Justice,Thou inspire the song,
Let virtue want an Advocate not long;
While from the Youthful train a willing mind,
A muse,by art,and Science,unrefin'd.
Shall dare to vindicate the manly youth,
And bold accompany Celestial Truth.
Where cheerful breast proclaim itself the seat,
Of smiling peace,unknown to foul deceit;
The purer pleasures which thy Age afford,
Shall I now tell,when Science is explor'd,
O age of youth,of Innocence and Joy,
Which care,or avarice,cannot destroy,
Not him,the Youth who free and careless strays
Into the wiley netts,which pleasure lays.
Whose soul,by enervating Sloth depres't,
Expels the nobler passions of the breast.
But him whom Virtue's joys shall only bind,
By taste,and mild Benevolence refin'd.
To Probity and honors Sacred Laws
Who of the Wise alone seek just applause.
Who studious follows sage discretions Rules
Dreads not contempt,nor ridicule from fools.
Whose soul with friendhip's sacred ardor glows
Whose pitying Breast can feel another's woes
For thee my hands a Laurel wreath shall twine
The choicest wreath O Ebulus is thine.
  How great thy joys,serene Philosophy,
How great the raptures,which belong to Thee.
When e'en they can the active youth controul,
And fill with thy sublime pursuits his Soul,

1 From this we do not need to conclude that Brown was in school when he wrote these verses.
2 Elijah Brown had probably not seen the earlier verses.

Add to note on 15[x] years old 347A[20]

[x] The last twenty-eight lines we shall ~~find~~ presently find copied in their revised form and indicated as written when he was sixteen.

When time revolves,and circling years proclaim,
Manhood mature,no mere impartial Fame,
Shall tell unequall'd the Americ sage,
Who studious brought to Light fair wisdom's page,
Who guides the light'ning by a mortal's force,1
And bids the Thunder cease his awful course.
No more shall thou the revered palm adorn
Great Franklin's brow,e'en Newtons shade shall mourn.
E'en now,O favor'd youth,I see thee rise
I see thee trace the secrets of the Skies,
On mild Philosophy's sublimest wing,
Beyond creations bounds I see thee spring.
Explore the terrors of the realms of night,
The hoary deep devoid of heav'n-born light,
Or wouldst thou learn Apollo's sacred art
To avert the edge of Death's obdurate dart
To study man his weak and transient frame
Thou2shalt eclipse a Cullen's fam'd name!
3Whom next shall Genius tell her fav'rite son,
The Patriot,Scholar,and the friend in one.
Should Science him,with all her honors bless
E'en all her honors would appear the less.
When Envy shall her narrow heart extend;
And in a Modestus,tell the faithful friend.

× × × × × × × × 4

The human mind in various shape is made
O'er god-like virtue foibles cast a shade,
Tho' chief she reigns,tho' sage discretion guide;
Perfection to a mortal--is denied.
Let censure then,with pitying eye behold,
A youthful foible be to failings cold
But whom superior Virtues grace the breast,
With meek-ey'd lenity--reprove the rest.
Sweet approbation,fills with true delight,
The Critic's rage deters young genius's flight.
But him whose hope an alter'd look repels,
In whom sweet modesty unrival'd dwells.

1 Brown's note on the same line=Franklin.
2 Brown's note=John Davidson. Cullen was William Cullen the famous chemist and medical student.
3 Brown's note=Charles Evans.
4 Brown?

Why ~~It is probable~~ he was not included in Prowd's list ~~because he was not a praying patriot~~ is unknown.

4 Here follows the eighteen lines on Prowd already quoted by us. as the Sage Ephraim ~~Nothing would be gained by~~ There is no cause for repeating them here.

May Dove-like candor on Modestus tend,
His failings meet the Judgment of a friend.
His virtues,and his talents soothing praise
Too great,too high,for my unpolish'd lays."

Though indebted to Pope for its trochaic pentameter those lines are not to be hastily passed over as indifferent verse. For a boy of fifteen they show the maturing mind and for independence, for knowledge of the world,hatred of its vices and honor of its virtues will compare favorably with any versifiers' youthful ventures. Of course they should not be expected to equal the work of real poets. As we shall find all through Brown's verse some of the adjectives applied to the nouns are the same as Pope used but the ideas are,so far as we know,original.

(indicated in our notes)

Here follows twenty-eight lines which are repeated with ~~slight~~ the variations in ~~another~~ poem which ~~is by~~ Brown's father ~~given~~ a separate heading thus:

"By Charles Brown--Aged 16 years. The first part on himself under the signature of Aretas & several of their society under the signature of .....

'Mongst virtues 1 youthful sons the least he stands,
He not the least impartial praise commands,
When education with unerring aim,
Points out the virtuous road to deathless fame,
Whom with all forming hands she brings to view
And teaches honors dictates to pursue.
Let Truth o'er Satires rank'rous pen preside,
And Candour Just shall we impartial guide.
Tho' unexperienced in the wiles of Art,
He speaks the purest dictates of his heart.
But where Discretion bids beware,
His words, his actions are inspir'd by care,
The weepless Tale does not lament alone
Such sensibility unrival'd strays,
His breast to mercy honor & to praise
Anothers woes pierce deeper than his own
But when of Modesty he slights the bound
His breast his inmost soul shall feel the wound.
And thou, fair muse, will thou refuse thy aid,
To sensibility sweet soothing maid,
Adjust his unskill'd hand to touch the lyre
And fill his soul with thy celestial Fire,
The nine propitious oft shall condescend,
At least to sing the virtues of a friend,
Aretas oft shall rove thro' fancy's plain
And live immortal in a polished Strain.
What tho' not faultless flows the youthful Lay
It shall flow faultless in another day.
When the shrill Cock his early matin sings
And the up soaring lark fair morning sings
Forsaking the soft bed of ease & health
He seeks far from these scenes of Pomp & wealth
'Midst the cool fields, or thro' the fragrant grove
With cheerful Innocence he loves to rove--
In contemplation Paths to stray
In shades impervious to the noontide ray.

1 In preceding poem=learning's. 2 Capitalized 3 Tho' 4 Comma.
5 A superfluous word formerly omitted. 6 Wisdom's. 6 Period. 7 Single cap.
8 Word formerly spelled in full. 11 No P. 12 and.
13 Formerly filled up by cautious. 14 New P. 15 Assist. 15 Sweet.
16 The. 17 Delete. 22 Soar. 23 In. 24 Fancies. 16 No comma.
17 Semi-colon.
27 The addition of a dash here makes all the difference between conceit and hope.
21 Brown's note = Written hastily. 25 Polish'd. 26 Flow. 28 Future.
9 Cf. L'Allegro, I. 115.

Often does he feel the pleasures of the mind
Pleasures by Education's Taste refin'd,
To reap Instruction from historic page
To search the records of a distant age,
To view with Robinsonl states,kingdoms rise"

Here the verse breaks off with the couplet unfinished.

In the first few lines of this Aretas poem,the idea that he was equipped by ~~the~~ his education ~~he had received at Proud's school~~ to select his career is of importance,[1] ~~to us as~~ showing ~~that, at the time of their composition~~ he had left school and was devoted ~~ing his time~~ to rural rambles that inspired ~~ation for the~~ versifying ventures, ~~of his career~~. Whether ~~it is~~ by poetic license or not this poem is strongly autobiographical in that he says he had a bed of ease and health and home surroundings of wealth.

As verse we do not need to consider those Aretas lines because the general observations made on the earlier verse equally apply here. ~~The only~~ One detail to be added is that some of the alterations show ~~that~~ Brown ~~was~~ struggling with the metre,making corrections by omitting ~~extra~~ superfluous syllables; in fact he had made the first great step in ~~the~~ a poet's career by turning his attention to the ~~essen-~~ niceties ~~tials~~ of versification.

1 Matthew Robinson wrote on ~~historical subjects connected with the~~ British colonization of America. His Considerations on measures carrying on with respect to the British Colonies and its Appendix were reprinted at Philadelphia in 1774 and 1794 respectively.

add note on Aretas × (text - not verse) 347 B 3

× ~~Where Brown got the name is not clear.~~ There was a King of Syria circa 96 B.C. ~~of the name and a governor of Jerusalem circa 170 B.C.~~ and three ~~from ancient history~~. possibly governor of Jerusalem

Aretas I was King of Arabia B.C. 170;
Aretas II (Philhellène) B.C. 106-96, probably King of Syria and Aretas III circa A.D. 30. Brown could have found the name mentioned in Second Corinthians XI, 32, or Second Maccabees V, 8.

Another group of humorous verses which lacking a title may be called "Marriage" and said by Brown himself to have been written about this time, is to be found in the letter dated 21 November 1806 and addressed to John E. Hall. As we shall see later there is in them no trace of any indebtedness to Pope save that their are couplets.

Probably an experiment in dactylic quadrimeter. Couplets, will a have except mould.

There seems to be little doubt that at this time he began what is spoken of by Allen as a journal[1] of his thoughts, feelings and correspondence, of which we are able to collect from various sources, especially from a series of note-books, what appear to be parts.

~~This diary or journal has never been seen by us and may not be before it has been lost or destroyed or we have gone to press.~~

About this same time Brown is supposed to have invented a system of shorthand, but our evidence is against its being so early

1 Very much as later in Jessica we find the heroine writing a journal of the conversations she hears.

as this and under a later date[1] ~~we shall give~~ our readers will find some letters ~~attention to what~~ written in the method he devised and never carried ~~we have found.~~ beyond an experimental stage.

~~What~~ Brown studied French at this time, ~~is quite certain and, as~~ that Allen says

"self taught he acquired a competent knowledge"

of the language. How far that knowledge extended will be ~~developed~~ shown ~~at length~~ when we come to the year 1804, in which he made a practical use of it by translating and publishing his edition of Volney's book in the United States.

In the 1796-7 parchment book of Brown's father there is another of the verses he wrote at sixteen. It is entitled "For the Grocer's Window"[2] and was written at the request of one of his brothers. Like the marriage verses sent to Hall and his "Epistle I" to be given ~~by us~~ under date of 1788 parts of it present Brown in a light hitherto unknown--as a humorist.

which in 1806 were

1 P.12.

2 Did this inspire the Country Shopkeeper's Advertisement in the Baltimore Weekly Magazine 14 January 1801, p.183 or had they a common inspiration of earlier date?

"The best of the kind
Put up to your mind
And here to be got very handy;
Vinegar,and Rice,
Molasses and spice,
Good spirits,and excellent brandy.

To buy it if willing,
You'l have for a shilling,
A bottle of excellent Cyder.
The corks are all new,
The bottles are too
Much larger than others & wider.

American Beer
Enquire for here
For bottle or cash,as you love it,
As good,I'll be bold
As ever was sold,
To tell you a lie I'm above it.

By hamper or set
I defy you to get
China,better or cheaper about,sir,
By the dozen I sell it
But proud am to tell it,
A single one you may pick out,sir.

I have Porter made here,
As well as my Beer,
But English,I likewise have sir,
True Bristol,and ale,
Best Taunton,and pale,
So good,that it makes me a sot,sir.

Sugar here may be had,
Loaf,lump,muscovad
Good pipes,tobacco & snuff,Sir;
Dip'd candles and mould,
Are also here sold,
Soap soft,or hard,cheap enough,sir.

Good Burlington Pork,
Beef,just come from Corke,
And other things various and many:
Come therefore my friend,
To my warehouse and spend,
With your humble obedient a penny."

The brother for whom this verse was written was probably Joseph or James. The 1785 directory gives a Joseph A.Brown[1] storekeeper,and the 1783 note book of Brown's has a copy of a letter of Elijah Brown's

1 Presumably Armitt.

to the managers of the Schuylkill Point Meadows in relation to the non-payment of taxes on a part of a farm called Passyunk. At this time Joseph and James were out of town in Maryland. They were merchants in Pine street,Philadelphia and probably ran the farm for supplies or they had given up the farm and gone to Philadelphia where they ran a store in Joseph's name. The 1783 note-book which has preserved for us so much of Brown's early verse has on one of its covers in a handwriting which is probably Joseph's "Poems on several occasions by Charles Brown of Philadelphia,North Carolina &c." On the same page are some accounts of payments and a memorandum of planting sweet potatoes,peas,beans,water melons and cucumbers, with the dates of 1, 11 and 13 May 1786; so it is apparent that at that time Joseph was at Edenton in connection with the business which he and James conducted.

From that address of Brown we are justified in saying that he had gone to Edenton on a visit to his eldest brother. This would be one of the trips which we have seen Proud recommended for the boy's health.

It was apparently at this time and possibly while he was in Edenton that Brown wrote his Epitaph on Franklin, at least the copy of it which has been found says it was written by him when sixteen years of age. In the letter dated 5 June 1868 from Jane Hunter Brown to Henry Armitt Brown it consists of twenty iambic quadrimeter lines alternately rimed in stanzas of four which read:

"Can Franklin be less than the first
Or walk in the rear of the wise
Can virtue exalted from dust
Be nearer akin to the skies.

Him liberty crowned with a wreath
Philosophy showed him her plan
While the Muses inscribed underneath
The Hero, the Sage, and the Man.

Can annals of Athens, or Rome
When virtue pervadedl the state
Exhibit a Hero in whom
United the good and the great.

What honors of old had been given
What Temple in valley, and grove,
To him who by pointing to Heaven
Had shattered the arrows of Jove.

Let candor then write on his tomb
Here Americas favourite lies
Whose soul from the want of due room
Has left us to range in the skies."

1 Written transposed, prevaded.

According to Jane Hunter Brown, Franklin requested Brown not to publish the epitaph for he intended to write his own--which we all know he did, probably as far back as 1728. Brown's club would have published it if it had not been suppressed at the request of Franklin who probably had never had any intention of expressing himself in verse knowing very well from experience that he was less able to do it well in that form than Brown had shown he could do. But the matter was not allowed to rest there. Brown was an ardent admirer,some say a friend but surely an acquaintance of Franklin, and he also thought highly of his attempt to eulogise him so that he may have privately passed around his manuscript;at least a copy apparently found its way among the papers of his brother Joseph at Edenton and thus fell into the hands of his daughter Jane.

According to Paul Allen it was about 1789 when Brown published in an Edenton newspaper a poetical address to his hoped-for-patron which we can only identify as this epitaph.[1] Quoting[2] from Brown's journal entry he gives the startling details of its publication:

> "The blundering printer, from his zeal or his ignorance, or perhaps from both, substituted the name of Washington. Washington therefore stands arrayed in awkard colors. Philosophy smiles to behold her darling son; she turns with horror and disgust from those who have won the laurel of victory in the field of battle, to this her favorite candidate who had never participated in such bloody glory, and whose fame was derived from the conquests of philosophy alone. The

1 The twelve lines in praise of Franklin in his verses On some of his school fellows cannot be considered an epitaph and are written in an entirely different metre.

2 P.17.

> printer by his blundering ingenuity made the subject ridiculous;every word of this clumsy panegyric was a direct slander upon Washington,and so it was regarded at the time."

It is quite proper that the blame should be put on the printer for the proprietors were both Federalists and conducted a Federal publication. How such an alteration could pass the proprietors is astonishing.

Such an experience was enough to give Brown a prejudice against the pretty town where the printer had thus provoked him. That prejudice lasted as long as 14 April 1795 when he wrote to his brother James saying that he had "imbibed most formidable prejudices against Edenton."

When one remembers that in those days the people were parading the streets in mobs threatening the immortal Washington,that "blunder" by the printer may have been not a little intentional. Probably the Satanic work was done by the printer's devil;at least there is much more than a suspicion when we learn that the only comment Brown made on it was by his saying in his journal "your printers are whimsical animals."

add to text

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Jane Hunter Brown's testimony concerning the date of composition warrants the inclusion of these verses at this time rather than two or three years later when they may have been published.

While these verses may be clumsy attempts at poetry they are important in our author's life. To link his work no matter how poor technically with Washington and especially to Franklin with the hope of depriving the world of one of its best and most famous epitaphs is no slight matter.

Probably the newspaper in which the verses appeared with Washington's name substituted in the first line is the Edenton (North Carolina) Gazette but an examination of all the numbers known to us gives a barren "poet's corner"--most of the copies have had their verse cut out and no printed copy of Brown's lines has ever been found. Just when they appeared in print is not known. The date should be after 1 January 1789 for it was at that time the first number of the Gazette was issued from Hodges' and Wills' press at Edenton. It seems quite likely it would be after Franklin's death--17 April 1790--when the publication would not be restrained by Franklin's desire.

In that same 1783 note-book there is another set of verses--evidently copied in the book by Brown's father--which ring true to the same spirit as those for the grocery window. Again they display our author in the hitherto unknown character of a humorist. They read:

"The Grape and Tobacco Plant.

The boasted Grape in tipsy cant
Thus rally'd the Tobacco plant:
  Beneath my shade, the soil accursed
A noisome vegetable--nurs'd.
Thou grov'ling shrub, thou baleful weed!
What Creature cares on thee to feed?
Whilst I (mankind proclaim the odds)
A sov'reign gift bestow'd by Gods,
Am sent to soothe the Human breast,
The choicest good by Man possesst;
The plant replies "why this derision!
To Mortals I'm a fam'd Physician,
The dropsy, Cholic, and the gout
I soothe at least, if not drive out:
Then for external applications
All the Doctors own me thro' the nations.
The Man at Arms my aid Invokes
And now he chews and now he smokes.
I cheer the peasant, cheer the great,
At City Feasts thy constant mate:
Am now the titillating Grain,
In silver Urn, perfum'd or plain,
My virtues by the fair allowed;
No less attack the Vulgar crowd;
I oft the Lover recommend,--
Presented to his female Friend:
In arts of Eloquence excell
On me the pensive pleaders dwell:
'Tis I conceal all hesitation;
They pause, and I the fair occasion.
The Preacher too might know my force,
And needful help to all discourse.
Whilst now so specious, soft and gay,
Your thoughtless votaries still betray:
In fights and brawls your pleasure ends,
You disunite your dearest friends,
Of health and ease, and Wealth the bane,
Curst source of Poverty and pain---"

"The titillating Grain,|In silver Urn,perfum'd"

apparently is inspired by Pope's Rape of the Lock (Canto V,l.84)

"The pungent grains of titillating dust"

the dust suggesting the urn,and the pungency suggesting the perfume while the grain,though distinct in meaning,is common to both writers as is the unusual Latinized adjective titillating. At the same time it should be noticed that in this selection of iambic quadrimeter Brown distinctly breaks away from Pope.

In that verse we have the same idea of a contest as in that of another fragment to be given later--the ~~debated~~ question as to the superiority of quill pens of the feathers of the crow or the goose.

As verse this is ~~of course~~ not entirely indifferent, its occasional lilt is amusing; but with its sense often strained for the sake of the rhyme, and the halting, staccato effect of ~~the~~ some couplets, it ~~is of~~ has slight no literary ~~value~~ merit still it is of considerable interest as an example of Brown's boyish versification. ~~That~~ It has its biographical value as presenting ~~our author's~~ Brown's ideas of snuff-taking, smoking and drinking ~~is probable~~.

The closing should be ~~especially~~ noticed and remembered for we shall see later in the Cooke story ~~from~~ life that Brown well understood the ~~fate~~ of ~~the~~ a drunkard.

About this time According to his letters, dated 19 and 30 May 1792 Brown wrote the Journal of a Visionary which he abandoned when he became interested in making love. No manuscript of this title having been found we are compelled to rest content with the account of the work which those letters supply.

or publication

~~While Brown's boyhood verses are jingling in our ears~~ Attention should be directed to two other sets of verses originally published in Noah Webster's rare American Magazine ~~one of which~~ was reprinted in a publication which ~~hitherto~~ has not been connected with Brown. In 1793 ~~Brown's~~ friend Elihu Hubbard Smith edited a volume entitled American Poems, selected and original, published at Litchfield, Connecticut by Collier and Buel ~~and~~ the first volume of a work which was planned to extend at least to two volumes. Copies may be found in a few libraries that have exceptionally large collections of poetry but the book is not any more accessible than the original magazine. The ~~first~~ poem ~~in which we are interested~~ is given as anonymous, ~~is~~ entitled "Utrum Horum Mavis, Elige", ~~and~~ In the periodical appearance it reads:

1 May number, ~~New York 1787,~~ pp.427-8 and July number, p.594.
2 Pp.222-6.
3 The differences, with the exception of unimportant use of capitals and punctuation, will be indicated in our notes.

"Let sage discretion the gay world despise;
Let dull philosophers o'er lamps grow wise,
Like bees their summer providently waste,
And hoard that treasure which they ne'er shall taste;
Let statesmen court the bubble of applause,
And staring cry for sumptuary llaws;
Let peevish prelates in devotion kneel
And curse that pleasure which they try to feel;
Life is a blessing,use it as you can,
And the best purpose of that blessing scan.
All human reason is no more than this,
To guide our footsteps in the realms of bliss,
While,as in drinking,so in life the will
Must bound our joy,and dictate what to fill.--
Live freely then;for if thy life offend
'Tis ne'er too late to alter and amend:
But should you hesitate the season's lost,
As backward fruits are subject to the frost.
Then if true spirit every hope inflame,
Mark well the lessor of my proferr'd fame.
  First trace the limits of thy destin'd sphere:
Here rest thy wisdom,thine ambition here.
'Tis not each clown that triumphs,tho' he dare
Aspire to charm and captivate the fair;
'Tis not each witling who the ape displays,
That strikes our fancy or provokes our praise:
But would you sin,be sinful with a grace---
Inaptitude can even vice debase.
Search then your genius,ev'ry bent survey;
And where she prompts be ready to obey.
See thro' this crowd where brilliant prospects rise,
The chace how luring,and how rare the prize!
The paths of pleasure to no bounds confin'd,
As in their shape,are various in their kind.
Fix then thy province,make thy talents good
And be a fop,a gentleman or blood.
  Happy the first2,who studious to dispense
With all the cumb'rous pedantry of sense,
Knows no ambition but the pride of dress;
And for that toy can every wish suppress:
Whose natal bounties like the fly's consist
In two short words,to flutter and exist;
If to such fame thine emulation turn,
Hear his pursuits;and from example learn.
--'Till ten the morn's squandered in his bed;
One precious hour's devoted to his head,
Another's finish'd ere his dress complete
From top to toe be critically neat--
Then he struts forth to greet his kindred beaux,

1 Lower case in the reprint.
2 Reprinted in italics.

And urge some tardy tradesman for his cloaths;1
Or mid the town to saunter and to stare,
And kill an hour or two he knows not where.
In the noon's bustle vacant and serene,
He deals in bows,his business to be seen:
--Perhaps united to some fair he meets
From shop to shop pursues her thro' the streets,
For the last fashions stimulates2 her pride,
And on the modes is3 zealous to decide.
Next his soil'd charms he hastens to repair,
To give a finer polish to his hair,
His ev'ry grace with ev'ry art entwine,
And form his looks more strikingly divine;
Till the last noblest pastime of the day
To his bright zenith summons him away.
There in the circle of some coterie,
Rous'd by the exhilirating fumes of tea,
View him triumphant,with unrivall'd fame,
Attract each ogle,and each breast inflame;
To ev'ry sense a magic thrill impart,
And steal thro' all the mazes of the heart.
Next4 let us view the gentleman at ease,
Too rich to toil,too indolent to please;
Whose days unharass'd by desire or woe
In one smooth stream uninterrupted flow:
Born to no end,for no one purpose fit,
A load of vanity,a grain of wit,
Who,far remov'd from ev'ry worldly strife,
Lives for himself,and sleeps away his life.
If to the third4 thy happier choice incline,
And thy warm genius as a Blood would shine,
Be the first caution in thy bold career,
To shun low comrades and a vulgar sphere;
The great unpunish'd from their rank offend,
But humbler culprits with the laws contend.--
Then if some revel or a midnight joke
Insult our slumbers,or the watch provoke,
Thy looks can wrest stern justice from the scale,
Suspend her frowns,and snatch thee from a jail.
Let dauntless spirit animate thy soul,
No fears restrain thee and no threats controul.
Whether in hunting,at an arm's expense,
You dash a furious courser o'er a fence,
Or at a bottle be thy matchless boast,
To sit the longest,and to drink the most:
--So shall thy fame to wond'rous heights ascend;
And ev'ry rake shall hail thee as a friend.
--But,if thy soul such base ambition spurn,
And in thy breast a purer spirit burn,

1 Reprinted as plotces.
2 Reprinted correctly.
3 Reprinted as he's.
4 Reprinted in italics.

Leave such poor laurels to the brows of youth;
And place thy seal in wisdom and in truth.
Then in thy way,tho mean temptation rise,
The task discourage or the world despise,
Proceed--until the triumph of thy worth record,
That virtue is the surest best reward.
The fop,whose merits on his charms depend,
May gain a mistress,but will lose a friend;[1]
The blood will tell thee e'er[2] he quit the stage,
That joy of youth's the misery of age;
And the deluded idler with remorse,
Will own a blessing what he fear'd a curse:
But he whose wisdom,such desires withstood,
Unites his pleasures with his greatest good,
Knows not misfortune tho a fair one frown,
His wealth escape him,and his friends disown;
But,firm in what he is,in what he may be,blest,
Feels an unvaried sun shine in his breast.
New York,May 10,1788."

In a note at the end of the magazine appearance of those verses

"The counterpart,addressed to the female sex,is requested agreeably to the promise of our ingenious correspondent"

and accordingly in the July number[3] of the American Magazine there appeared

"An Address to the Ladies,by their best friend Sincerity"

which reads as follows:

1 "In one a Mistress drops,in one a Friend"--Pope,Bk.II,Epistle II,l.75.
2 Reprinted correctly,ere.
3 P.594.

Jordyce
change date 1786 to 1765

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"A TIME there was of manners plain,
When tyrant custom did not reign;
When splendid trappings were unknown,
And decent merit rul'd alone.
But now behold! this simple verse,
Proclaims the case is quite reverse;
Look when we will,what crouds are seen,
What crouds of female beaux I mean,
Aloft we see with wild surprise,
Their mighty towering caps arise.
We stand astonished to find,
The head so high,so low the mind,
Go search the toilet,there review,
Pomatum,combs,and powder too.
With cockades,lappets,feathers,flies,
Of every sort and every size,
These grand materials all declare,
The vast importance of the hair,
How various,numerous,rich and gay
The ornaments their heads display?
So much without! can it be sin,
To say there is not much within?
Cou'd mother Eve this scene behold,
She would almost attempt to scold.
"Are these my children that I see?
No,they are not,they cannot be.
What study,what incessant pains,
To deck a head devoid of brains;
Ah! sad,perverse,degenerate race,
The monstrous head deforms the face;
Be gone--I do protest indeed,
Against this modern spurious head"
Thus every mother should condemn,
And not their daughter's faults commend.
Fordyce[1] in florid style exprest,
That simple neatness was the best,
The most becoming ornament,
That ever genius could invent.
And Thompson's[2] soft harmonious strains,
The same important truth contains.
E'en wisdom's favorite son declar'd,
That garments plain should be prefer'd.
But let who will the sex reprove,
Still they will practise what they love.
Ladies,for once attention lend,
And hear the council of a friend.
Averse to all the flattering arts,
That gain access to female hearts.
What? shall a cap or lock of hair,
Employ your constant ardent care?
Let not a high aspiring roll,
Your ev'ry faculty controul,
Why should a thing,so base,so mean,
In your affections reign supreme?

1 James Fordyce the Presbyterian minister who published moral essays under the title Sermons for Young Women 1786,which was widely popular and often reprinted.
2 James Thomson the poet.



« LA PETITE MAITRESSE A LA PROMENADE DU SOIR. »

(D'après une estampe de la fin du XVIIIe siècle.)



« LA GROSSE MAMAN PRENANT LE FRAIS A LA CAMPAGNE. »

(D'après une estampe de la fin du XVIIIe siècle.)

Forbid it! let it not be said,
That rolls and combs command the head.
Why will my friends be so unkind,
To the endowments of the mind?
What are the charms of dress or face,
To mental beauty,mental grace?
The former like the transient flowers,
Bloom and decay in one short hour,
But intellectual gifts avail,
When all external graces fail,
Then ladies strive to win the prize,
That shall exist above the skies.
Fair Virtue's precepts learn to love,
What she commends do you approve,
Let each prefer the better part,
And aim to beautify the heart;
Fear not tho' fops conceive offence,
But dare to be--possessed of sense."

The date of the first poem 1788 is obviously an error. ~~important for it was at this time of its original appearance that Brown was writing verse strikingly similar.~~ The New York added to the date is mysterious--probably it was an error or an editor's device. ~~at least~~ Smith had some cause for omitting the date and place in his reprint though he did date and locate other poems in his collection. In Smith's ~~the 1793~~ reprint the earlier of the two poems is immediately followed by one by Dunlap; there is none credited to Brown in the volume; Brown and all of his personal friends were subscribers to the book; most of the contributors were subscribers; most ~~several~~ of its characteristics are the same as Brown used, such as the adjectives selected which show the writer's ideas of the nouns to be the same and several rhetorical devices. ~~used are the same.~~ Some lines are remarkably autobiographical. The magazine from which these verses were taken ~~has been examined with a view of finding~~ supplies no ~~some~~ evidence to prove our ~~warrant a positive~~ conclusion that they are Brown's ~~but none has been found.~~ The poems are not claimed for any other author of the day and the friends of Brown and of Noah Webster whose verses appeared in the 1793 collection are identified by their names.

The heading of the first "Utrum Horum Mavis,Elige"× is significant in connection with the essay entitled "Utrum Horum" in the Weekly Magazine[1] which is signed "B" and which we attribute to Brown. ~~Both poems are unquestionably by the same author.~~

Whether Brown read these verses and was influenced by them, or whether the author of them had seen Brown's and imitated them, or whether they were as is apparent, though not positively proven, Brown's composition, awaits further evidence.

The character of the two poems is distinct. The first one shows a marked improvement over Brown's earlier verses; the wisdom of life is sounder in that there is less generalization; the similes of pastoral interests are exceptionally good. A remarkable detail is the hint of a love interest, which we shall soon see developed. Both ~~poems~~ differ considerably from the host of imitators of Pope. The first one being actually offered for publication it is more than probable that it was carefully corrected by Brown. The second one does not show the same care and may have disappointed

1 Vol.II,p.297.

× Accipe not elige is the usual reading of the proverb. Translation – Take which of the two you prefer.

Webster in our author. Possibly they owe something to the couplet verses of David Humphreys, Joel Barlow and perhaps Jonathan Trumbull and Lemuel Hopkins; for the Anarchiad of those authors was not only known to Brown but also their better known works in couplet verse were read by him. As we have noticed ~~in our introduction~~ and elsewhere there may have been some verse indebtedness to Johnson's London but more probably the metre was acquired from Pope.. ~~As we have already seen in Brown's earlier use of the couplet~~ there is in them not one idea taken directly from Pope. The adjectives may be Popeian but are not Pope's invention, being more likely commonplace.

a

~~At this time according to his~~ letter dated 16 May 1792 Brown at thirteen years of age ~~he~~ says ~~he~~ was absolutely independent of his parents--an amazing situation for any ~~thirteen year old~~ boy though he were most precocious--but just what he meant is not clear, and ~~After he probably~~ thirteen may have been an error for sixteen. after he was fourteen years and three months old he ~~was~~ no longer ~~compelled~~ attended ~~to go to~~ school, perhaps he was given an allowance, we know he ~~was~~ had been permitted to make a visit - probably his first - to Joseph at Edenton, ~~perhaps he was even permitted~~ to occupy the house next door to ~~the~~ old home especially ~~since~~ it was also owned ~~by~~ his father, ~~perhaps~~ he also visited ~~Wilkins~~. ~~At least~~ One thing is certain, he was no longer a school-boy and though not of man's years he had more brains than most men and was treated by the family as if he were an adult.

What more reasonable may be surmised than that his father may have said "young man, you want to study and write, to be independent. I am perfectly willing you should be, you are well able to be. My house next door is vacant, no tenant is likely to be and for some time your mother will supply you with furniture. Equip a few rooms to please your fancy and live there. When you wish you can come here for anything you need. You have never been to a boarding school, you have never been to college. Set up your chambers there and read and write to your hearts' content." Elizah Brown was a father to talk like that - and Brown was the boy to try the experiment.

When we come to the years 1792 and 1793 we shall find that in two letters, dated 16 May and 25 July, Brown says that sixteen was a critical time in his life, that his fate was fixed ~~at this time~~ then and that he was one "who before I was seventeen, rioted in the delicious banquets of love and friendship" and "spent hours of rapture at the feet of angelic beauty." As ~~Brown's~~ his life is unfolded it will be seen that superlatives, ~~such as these~~ mystifying which ~~were~~ can not always be understood literally and were ~~quite~~ common in all his accounts of his experiences. Exaggeration ~~was not only~~ originated in Brown's youthful braggadocio, ~~it~~ became ~~one of~~ his most powerful and triumphant literary devices. ~~The~~ grew into a sort of cabalistic patter of the prestidigitateur and