

Revised 17 June 1922

Reread 7 October 1924

Revised 29-31 August 1927

Revised 4 October 1927

Revised 31 December 1929 - 8 January 1930

Revised 19-24 May 1933

Revised 27 June 1933

Revised 25-28 August 1933

Revised 24-25 May 1942

1596-1620

34

## THE LINNS

1804 Aetat. 33

The year 1804 is of considerable interest in Brown's biography not because he then accomplished any literary work of excellence but because of his marriage to Elizabeth Linn. ~~Decidedly strange~~ ~~is that~~ the material which has survived the ravages of time and chance comprises a letter to his prospective brother-in-law ~~and~~ one <sup>and one to his prospective wife</sup> to his prospective father-in-law <sup>^</sup> so that the year for the most part may be given up to the Linn family.

1537

Philadelphia, (Wednesday) July 4, 1804.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Mrs. L. gives me the pleasure of hearing that you are safely arrived in New York, and that your journey has somewhat benefitted your health. I hope you will return among us as a renovated being. I heard with some regret that you had relinquished the plan of crossing the country to Albany, because the way would be new to you, and because delightful abode lay in the track, whose charming vales and salubrious springs, could not fail of proving a benign restorative to your drooping spirits and shattered frame.

I wrote to you at Boston, in the hope of your remaining there a day or two longer than your letter from that place mentioned. At all events, I knew you would leave word with your friends there to take up your letters and send them after you. Your silence, however, makes me apprehensive that you either omitted that precaution, or that your Boston friends have been remiss, and I am the more uneasy on this account, because my friendship for you gave you good reason to expect that token of my remembrance.

You were very fortunate in leaving Philadelphia when you did. I hardly know how your constitution could have borne up against such an unexampled series of wet, gloomy and tempestuous skies, as we have been tormented with ever since your departure. Even if the ever-dripping clouds extended as far eastward as Connecticut and Massachusetts, the variety and novelty of the scenes around you, would somewhat divert or disarm their evil influence.

I am highly pleased to hear that you have kept something like a journal in your absence. I long to see it. I wish you would transmit it to me immediately by post, and give me leave to make immediate use of it in the Magazine now in the press. At any rate send it to me, and, through me, your family can receive it. I hope you have not been sparing of the pen or of your time: you must have had abundant occasions for remark, and I persuade myself they did not pass by you wholly unimproved.

As to myself and matters here, they have been pretty uniform. The P.'s (our printers) are as punctual, careful and obliging as possible. The number for June you will probably meet with in New York before your return. I am afraid it will not greatly please you. You will find but a single communication in it (Valverdi) all the rest original prose, I have been obliged to supply myself for which I am sorry, for the sake of the credit of the work, as well as of my own ease. The manuscript of Carwin is exhausted, and it was impossible to piece the thread and continue it in due season for that number. It goes on, however, in the present, (for July) the whole original department of which I have been obliged to spin out

1 Mrs. William Linn, mother of J.B. Linn.

2 Whether Brown saw in his friend's failing health a sign of the fate that was in store for himself is not known, but the effect of Linn's death would seem to suggest that he did.

3 It was not published in the magazine.

4 Palmers.

5 John E. Hall.



of my own brain; you will probably find it, of consequence, very dull. The pieces I have already prepared are not few.

As to my own particular condition and feelings, I cannot rejoice your heart by any very agreeable intelligence. I have had less to boast of on the score of health than for some considerable time backward, and the world of business has been darkened by unusual vexations, disappointments and embarrassments. I, however, endeavoured to make the most of the small portion of good that falls to my lot, to think only on the brightest parts of the present scene, and send out hope to explore the future. My mornings, till three o'clock, are passed in Front Street, and for the rest of the day I feel little appetite for any thing but indolence and recreation.

I have received a letter full of respect and compliment, from Kentucky. The writer is a man who has acquired no small credit with the readers of his party, by two publications, an invective against Adams, and a eulogy of Jefferson. He desires their republication in the Magazine, but I mean to write him a private letter excusing myself as I can on the score of our political neutrality.

When you next take up the pen do not forget me. Remember also, the journal. Give my affectionate regards to S. M. and R.<sup>2</sup> in all whose concerns, as well as in yours, there is no one living has a deeper interest than your affectionate

C. B. B.

The Robinson 1807 directory is the earliest entry of that kind we have found.

Aside from its connection with the Linns that letter is important in that it suggests <sup>the same</sup> a point which we have not been able to verify or clearly understand <sup>the question of Brown's business activities.</sup>

From a second-hand source <sup>3</sup> some of the city directories of the <sup>are said to have</sup> time given him the title of "merchant", <sup>probably meaning a shop-keeper.</sup> in 1804 James Brown's office was in Front street, <sup>but</sup> ~~and the street was then the "Publisher's Row" of Philadelphia;~~ <sup>also a sort of</sup> ~~so that his being busy in Front street until~~ <sup>Brown's</sup> ~~three~~

three o'clock may either be due to his regular employment on the <sup>some sort of</sup> Literary Magazine he then was publishing or to ~~his~~ working in

3 Scharf and Westcott: History of Philadelphia, Vol. III, p. 1981.  
 1 Attempts to identify this man have been in vain.  
 2 Linn's sisters, Susan, Mary and Rebecca.

his brother's office. So far as we know the former is the more probable explanation. Of course he ~~could~~ <sup>may</sup> have been doing legal work or merely attending to his <sup>financial</sup> interest in the firm but he was not ~~as Brown as a merchant we have found~~ now tending a shop and ~~there is~~ <sup>we have</sup> no evidence to show he ever did tend one.

Philadelphia summer weather <sup>noticed in these July letter</sup> is well known. June which only had eight clear days <sup>the previous months being fairly evenly divided.</sup> Brown's experience may be supplemented by ~~his~~ <sup>his</sup> note on Volney's comment (page 108) on the after dinner nap or siesta.

(quote ~~as marked in my working copy~~)

"Strangers.... complain

machines."

II The mention of the black beaver hat is the sole record we have of any head covering Brown ever wore.

\*

The grandfather of William Linn came from Ireland in 1732 ~~and~~  
to settled in Chester County, removing in 1750 to the Cumberland  
Valley. The father of Elizabeth Linn was ~~the~~ William Linn born in  
Lurgan Township near Shippensburg <sup>1</sup> now Franklin County, Pennsylvania,  
on the 27th. <sup>2</sup> February 1752, the eldest son of the William Linn who  
was the ruling elder of the Middle Spring Presbyterian Church and  
who was the son of the Irish immigrant. His mother was Susanna  
(Trimble) Linn <sup>who</sup> ~~and~~ died at Shippensburg in November 1755. He was  
educated in the village schools, was tutored by Rev. George Duffield,  
attended the Classical School of Rev. Robert Smith of Pequea and  
was graduated from Princeton College in 1772. He studied theology

1 The Centennial Memorial of the Presbytery of Carlisle, Harrisburg, Pa., 1889. p. 56 gives it as Roxborough.

2 Thomas E. V. Smith: New York.... in 1789, N. Y., 1889, p. 133 gives it 7th. -- a typographical error.

with Rev.<sup>1</sup>Dr.Robert Cooper. His license to preach was given to him in 1775 and he was ordained by the Donegal Presbytery in 1776 and became a chaplain of the 5th. and 6th. Pennsylvania<sup>2</sup> battalions but for family reasons was not able to go to Canada with them. In 1777 and until 1784 he was pastor of the Big Spring (Newville, Pa.) church. In 1784 he became the President of Washington Academy in Somerset County,<sup>2</sup>Maryland, in June of 1786 he became Pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, and later in 1786 became Pastor of the Reformed Dutch Church at New York. In 1787 he was elected a Regent of the State University which position he held until his death. On 1 May 1789 he was chosen the first Chaplain of the National House of Representatives. At this time his residence was at 66 Cortland street. During this year he was given the degrees of S.T.D. by Columbia College and D.D. by Princeton. From 1791 to 1794 he was temporary acting President of Rutgers College,<sup>3</sup>a trustee from 1787 to 1808. In 1797 he was Secretary of the Trustees of the New York Society Library and served as a Trustee from 1794 to 1805. In 1804 he was one of the founders of the New York

1 Kelby: New York Historical Society, N.Y., 1905, p.5, to which we are indebted for several details not otherwise given.

2 The Portfolio July 1811, p.90 gives the county as Cumberland.

3 His address at the commencement of Queen's College, N.J., 25 September 1792 appears in the United States Magazine Newark, N.J., for April 1794.

Historical Society. In 1805 his health failing he removed to Albany where he performed half the pastoral duties of the church and where he died 8 January 1808 aged 55. Just previous to his death he had been chosen President of Union College but he did not live to be <sup>u</sup>inagurated. He was said to have been married three times;<sup>1</sup> the first marriage was in 1776 to Rebecca Blair the daughter of Rev. John Blair<sup>2</sup> of Newville. Rebecca's father was vice-president of Princeton College. By Rebecca, William Linn had twelve children five of whom were living in 1811.<sup>3</sup> His second marriage was 15 July 1795 to Mrs. Catherine Moore, widow of Dr. John Moore of New York. Valentine's Manual (N.Y., 1916-17 p. 250) gives the record of marriage as follows:

"1795--Saturday, July 18. Rev. Dr. William Linn, Minister of the Reformed Church of this city, and Mrs. Moore, widow of Dr. John Moore, married Wednesday last."

By this marriage he had two children one of whom was living in 1811.<sup>3</sup> Thirdly he married Helen Hanson, the widow of Richard Hanson.

By her he had two children one of whom was living in 1811.<sup>3</sup> His<sup>2</sup> The Blairs, then noted as a family for its divines, were probably of Fagg's Manor, Chester county. See Pa. Mag. of Hist. & Bio., Phila., 1883, Vol. VII, p. 1.

<sup>1</sup> A wife was alive in 1807. Probably the one referred to was Helen Hanson. See Memoirs of James Kent, Boston 1898, p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> Portfolio July 1811.



publications were mostly sermons, one of which, a eulogy of Washington,<sup>1</sup> was delivered before the Cincinnati of which he was an honorary member, but he also was interested in the political life of the time and took part in the controversy over the religious belief of Jefferson by publishing a pamphlet<sup>2</sup> against him.

"It is said that his trumpet-like voice could be heard for a mile and he has been without doubt justly described as the most eloquent preacher of his time in New York and one of the best in the United States... His imaginative powers and command of language were great, and his sermons, which he committed to memory, were delivered naturally and gracefully, although he is said to have been at times over-vehement in gesture."<sup>3</sup>

To have been connected with his family by matrimony was sufficient cause for pride in any one of his time or of ours, though Brown of all men was the last one to have displayed any such flummery.

The following, part of a characteristic letter, is given because it so closely agrees with Brown's opinions. It is written to the son<sup>4</sup> with whose work Valerian we shall in 1805 find our author intimately connected in a professional literary way.

1 Sabin, 41342-50, gives nine titles.

2 Daily Advertiser, N.Y., 30 October 1789.

3 Under date 31 January he also writes to Dr. Romeyne in appreciation of his undertaking the boy's training.

4 Dr. Linn and his wife dined in company with Washington 17 December 1789. Linn's Proclamation sermon delivered at Alexandria 9 May 1798 was attended by Washington to whom a printed copy was later presented. See Washington Diaries Boston 1925, Vol. IV, pp. 59 and 276.

5 Tom Paine, Works New Rochelle, N.Y., 1925, Vol. IX, p. 154, slaps at him for it.

(Mr. John B. Linn, at Dr. Romeyn's, Schenectady.)

New York, Feb. 22d. 1797.

Dear Son,

I received a few days ago your letter dated the 6th. of this month and was pleased to hear of your safe arrival and intention immediately to begin your studies. I am persuaded that in a retirement from this city and the advantages which are enjoyed at Schenectady you may prosecute them to good effect. At no time does our happiness consist in a large acquaintance and frequent amusements; and these are peculiarly unfavorable to the due improvement of the mind. You will find where you are one or two chosen companions with whom you can unbend, and with whom you can now and then, by walking, fishing, or hunting take that exercise which is necessary to promote health of body, and cheerfulness of mind. You will remember that the acquisition of knowledge ought to be the principal object, and that if your present season is not improved you can never be respectable and useful. Whatever Providence may direct as to your future calling, be diligent now;--whatever it may be, you will find knowledge of every kind beneficial to you, and that idleness is the rust and decay of our faculties."

The letter continues with advice in regard to theological study and sermon writing--no mention of the young man's poetical, legal and dramatic ambitions which he had put behind him--unusually interesting clericatures of their kind but not any better as an illustration of the old gentleman's character.

The eldest child by his marriage with Rebecca Blair in 1776 was that same John Blair Linn now at Union College and of whom we shall have an extended account in the memoir which our author wrote as an introduction for Linn's posthumously published Valerian (1805).

Among the twelve children of William Linn by Rebecca Blair was  
<sup>1</sup>  
 Elizabeth whom Brown married on Monday the nineteenth day of November 1804. Poulson's Daily Advertiser for 22 November announced the marriage thus:

"Married at New York, on Monday last, Mr. C. B. Brown, of Philadelphia, to Miss Elizabeth Linn, eldest daughter of the Rev. Doctor Wm. Linn of that city."

1 The miniature of Elizabeth Linn, painted in 1806, was in the collection of the late Mrs. Joseph T. Drexel of Philadelphia and our reproduction was kindly furnished by Mrs. Drexel several years before her death. It is oval, about 2 1/8 x 2 5/8 inches. There is a slight suggestion of madder in the cheeks. The flesh tints and background are made up mostly of blue so that the picture is gloomy and depressing. See our extract from Dunlap's diary 6 January 1806.

Brown's mother's diary has a record on the inside front cover thus:

\* "Son Charles B. Brown married 19 Day of 11mo. 1804."

The tradition is that he married against the wishes of the family but that is doubtful and if true the family hastily forgot its wishes and accepted the union gracefully. Such a story is probably an ex post facto piece of slander based on the iron bound rule of the Society of Friends which says that marriage must be within the sect. D.L. Clark<sup>1</sup> quotes a certificate of dismissal, presumably from the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, as follows:

"Charles Brockden Brown of this city who had by Birth a right of membership in our Religious Society--having accomplished his marriage by the assistance of an hireling minister--to a person not in profession with us--it became our concern tenderly to treat with him on that account--but not appearing duly sensible of the impropriety of his conduct--We testify that we cannot consider him a member among us--yet desire that thro' submission to the operation of Truth he may be qualified to condemn his transgression to the satisfaction of this meeting and become united in Religious Fellowship with us."

Of course if Brown had not been Brown he would have gone through any sort of form that would not offend. Being himself he probably told the Quaker officials to go their own way in peace--he did not intend to submit to any discipline and if he and his ever went to church

1 C.B.B. (N.Y., 1923) p. 45 source not given.



it would be to any one convenient--probably Presbyterian.

An hireling minister! Imagine what that must have meant to Brown and Elizabeth. True, Dr. Linn was paid a salary--so far he was a hireling but it is hardly probable he took any pay from Brown for marrying him to "a person" his daughter--and thus far he was no hireling! We have seen what sort of a man of God the "hireling minister" was!

So far as results went it seems Brown did not entirely lose his birthright, at least in his case the Quaker fulmination was not extended to the point of denying him burial in their burial ground. However, fulminations, readings out and all such formalities to the contrary notwithstanding, Brown married the woman of his choice and the sequel will go to prove that his <sup>o</sup>choice was a very wise one.

He had first met his beloved at New York and his engagement to marry her may, as the tradition goes, have been of long standing. Be the story true or not, the attachment seems to have been no hasty one. It is probable his meeting with her came about through his acquaintance with her father who, as well as most of Brown's New York friends, was a trustee of the New York Society Library. Perhaps Elizabeth was one of the Misses Linn who attended the party at Dr. Miller's 5 October

1796 when Brown <sup>naturally</sup> did not show enough partiality for her to get it

recorded as it surely would have been--in Smith's diary.

If we are to trust the miniature painted by Dunlap, she was per-

haps as "remote from beauty" as Brown <sup>may have</sup> once suggested the actress

Mrs. Mattocks was. Certainly her hair could have been more attractively

dressed and she might have been told to stop pursing her lips, <sup>though</sup>

Dunlap may be at fault for that ~~pursing of the lips~~, being inclined

like many of his contemporary portrait painters to give all his

sitters too many like details, <sup>such as</sup> the mouth, eyes and nose, ~~being the~~

~~same in too many of his subjects~~; so that we cannot rely on the

accuracy of the <sup>miniature</sup> presentation. It may in Elizabeth Linn's case be the

worst sort of caricature, <sup>but it</sup> ~~at least we hope she was better looking.~~

~~However Dunlap's is the only representation of her known, and never~~

~~before has it been used in a book.~~

~~In spite of her lack of facial beauty, which after all is hardly~~  
~~the criterion for a good wife, Elizabeth Linn had all the sterling~~  
qualities of mind which make for happiness and usefulness on earth.

~~As our work progresses~~ The reader will see what a capable wife she

was, how she <sup>may have</sup> ~~probably~~ assisted her husband with prose and verse in

the Literary Magazine and possibly even in the composition of his novels, what a faithful mother she was and when a widow how nobly <sup>tried</sup> ~~attempted~~ to serve his memory by she ~~rose from mental depression to write~~ an account of Brown's life and work, ~~for the Boston 1827 edition of Wieland~~. Surely one could not wish for more admirable qualities. Her hatred of letter writing as shown in Brown's letter of 9 January 1802 to Mary Linn was probably transmitted to him—at least from about the time he met her he appears to have written few <sup>or and shorter</sup> letters.

What is perhaps an excellent picture of her ~~as Brown knew her in~~ <sup>1</sup> 1803 may be found in the Literary Magazine under the title of Portraits. <sup>2</sup> The second portrait of the four which has all the appearances of being intended for her reads as follows:

"Esperanza had just entered her nineteenth year.<sup>3</sup> None who knew her ceased to esteem and to love her. The expression of her countenance was irresistibly captivating. Her complexion was clear and blooming, and, without regularity of features, or any singular advantages of person, she would be called beautiful and uncommonly interesting.... Her intellectual qualities were superior to those which generally fall to the lot of woman. Her sensibility was refined, her fondness for poetry almost extravagant, her imagination active and inventive. She had read much, and had not read without study and meditation. Her temper was mild and generous; it was neither sullen nor irritable, but disposed to be happy under every situation."

1 Vol. II, p. 9.

2 <sup>read</sup> Significantly the name of Esperanza is there given her. The initial corresponds to ~~her~~ <sup>her</sup> name as the R (of the third portrait) does to Rebecca Linn. For ~~the Rosa being~~ Rebecca compare this description / portrait with that suggested in Brown's letters to her in 1802-3.

3 ~~There is no way to~~ We have no records of the birth <sup>days</sup> of the first child.

~~There he presents her as nineteen, which conforms to the date of~~  
~~the birth of an Elizabeth Brown as given by Munsell's Annals of~~  
~~Albany.~~ The courageous side of her character is to be seen in the  
 sequel to <sup>her</sup> ~~Brown's~~ marriage, ~~to her.~~ While not in poor circumstances,  
 Brown's death when it came six years later did not leave his  
 family in financial comfort. He left no will and his <sup>personal</sup> estate was  
 valued at about seventeen hundred dollars. Letters of administration,  
 dated 10 April 1810, were granted to his widow and his <sup>father</sup> ~~brother~~ and  
 these two with his brother Armitt and James Robertson a merchant  
 were the sureties under the usual bond for ten thousand dollars.  
 As was common in similar cases in those days the widow may have

not including <sup>real estate</sup> ~~the~~ or  
 any share in his brother's  
 firm.



1608

turned the home into a boarding house. On the other hand it appears  
<sup>1</sup>  
from a letter of Dr. Samuel Miller to Dr. Ashbel Green dated 14 June  
1813 that she probably sold or let it. The passage reads:

"In the course of my last interview with Mr. Bayard, he suggested something about a probability that Mrs. Brown's house might be for sale, or to rent, in the course of two or three months. If there be any prospect of this, I should be glad to know it."

Be that as it may, it is certain that she ran a boarding house at  
<sup>2</sup>  
74 South Eleventh street in 1811 and even up to as late as 1823  
she was so given; at the latter part the address being changed to  
128 South Fourth street.

The copyright of Dunlap's 1815 biography of Brown was taken out  
in the name, and issued for the benefit of, Elizabeth Linn Brown.  
How much of a sale it had is not known.

William Dunlap thought highly of Elizabeth Brown and speaks of  
<sup>3</sup>  
her as Brown's "amiable consort". In the National Portrait Gallery  
article he extracts the following from his diary of 1811.

"I called yesterday for the second time on the widow of my friend, Charles Brockden Brown, and found her at home, and in company with his mother, likewise a widow since my last visit to this place. I saw the twin boys who used to be my playthings. I took them on my knees. I kissed them, and remembered former days--poor things! Charles has left another boy besides these, and an infant girl."

1 Life of Dr. Sam Miller, Phila., 1869.

2 Philadelphia Directory.

3 Monthly Recorder, June 1813.

1

According to Dunlap's manuscript journal on 19 October 1819 Elizabeth Brown was visiting at his home and he went with her to the theatre. On 30 October Dunlap makes this entry:

"He (Tom Seaman) has been married thirty years and (as E. Brown tells me) his wife was a fine fashionable card playing Lady and is now a Methodist..."

2

John Neal speaks of her as "a very superior and interesting woman." *He was the first to suggest she had assisted in Brown's novels.*

3

On 9 June 1822 Dunlap mentions her thus:

"I had an opportunity during this visit, to see my former friends, the mother of Charles B. Brown, one brother, and the widow of another. His widow was out, and I did not see her while in the place."

4

In the Arts of Design Dunlap says in April 1830 he found Mr. and Mrs. Darley "where I had passed so many happy hours with Charles Brockden Brown, his wife, children and friends." It appears <sup>5</sup> that the Darleys lived in Brown's former home as early as 1819. Later we shall find Neal speaking of Darley improving the place. Mrs. Darley died there in 1848. ~~Probably F. O. C. Darley the son was born there in 1822.~~

1 In New York Historical Society. 2 Blackwood's Magazine, October 1824.  
 3 Arts of Design, Vol. I, p. 290. 4 Vol. I, p. 306.  
 5 Club of Odd Volumes Boston Exhibition 1914, note to No. 41.

Elizabeth Brown's death occurred during the first <sup>may have</sup> ~~two~~ weeks of  
 September 1834, on some day from the first to the <sup>sixth</sup> ~~twelfth~~ of the  
 month. Waldie's Select Circulating Library <sup>Tuesday</sup> 9 September ~~1834~~

1  
 records::

"The widow of Charles Brockden Brown died last week  
 in this city. She was a lady of great literary ac-  
 quirements, and devoted to reading."

<sup>however</sup>  
 Dunlap's manuscript journal gives the date as 12 September, 1834.

~~Joel Munsell records the death of an Elizabeth Brown on 3 December  
 1838 aged 54 which would make her born in 1784 and thirteen years  
 younger than Brown. <sup>himself and fifty-one at the time of her death</sup> Dunlap was so intimate with Brown's widow <sup>it</sup>  
 seems as if <sup>he</sup> he should have known, but <sup>too</sup> <sup>he</sup> so often wrote up his~~

~~journal some time after the dates recorded <sup>so</sup> it is possible he erred,~~

~~somewhat, but not enough to make us prefer Munsell's date. Some time~~

~~after 1827 possibly in 1829 after Mary had died Elizabeth Brown~~

~~appears to have left Philadelphia and gone to Albany to live for a~~

~~time with her sisters.~~

~~Brown represented his <sup>Esperanza</sup> as <sup>just nineteen</sup> in April~~

1804

1 On the back cover at the head of the article entitled Varieties.

2 Annals of Albany 1859, Vol. X, p. 296.

284

whole page 276

504  
 126  
 127



In this connection it is interesting to notice what were Brown's ideas of marriage and love. On the whole they appear to be sensible ones. Contrary to what we might expect from his romantic turn of mind his belief is not at all sentimental. In Alcuin love is "a vagrant and wayward principle" "is an empty and capricious passion". In Stephen Calvert it "is an ambiguous and capricious principle" "is a motley and complex sentiment". In Jane Talbot "most men of ardent temper can be dying of love for half a dozen different women in the course of a year." In <sup>his</sup> a letter to John E. Hall, to be given later, we shall find that his idea was the usual one of the world that a man never can settle down and become thorough-going in his work until he is agreeably married. According to the fragment entitled Jessica

"The strongest mind and the most enlightened, looks not, in women, for various and studious zeal like its own. These are not the cementing powers between the sexes. These give not birth to love, and form not the charms of wedlock. It is the concord of hearts, the mingling of affections, that give force to this bond."

In Jane Talbot "conjugal affection is the genuine sphere not only of happiness but duty". Dunlap quotes the following:



1608

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~~Joel Munsell records the death of an Elizabeth Brown on 3 December~~

~~1838 aged 54 which would make her born in 1784 and thirteen years~~

~~younger than Brown. Dunlap was so intimate with Brown's widow it~~  
<sup>himself and fifty-one at the time of her death.</sup>

~~seems as if he should have known, but he so often wrote up his~~  
<sup>too he</sup>

~~journal some time after the dates recorded it is possible he erred,~~  
<sup>so</sup>

~~somewhat, but not enough to make us prefer Munsell's date. Some time~~

~~after 1827 possibly in 1829 after Mary had died Elizabeth Brown~~

~~appears to have left Philadelphia and gone to Albany to live for a~~

~~time with her sisters.~~

~~Brown represented his <sup>Esperanza</sup> as <sup>just</sup> ~~nineteen~~ in April~~

1804

1 On the back cover at the head of the article entitled Varieties.

2 Annals of Albany 1859, Vol. X, p. 296.

284

whole page 276

504  
 126  
 127



In this connection it is interesting to notice what were Brown's ideas of marriage and love. On the whole they appear to be sensible ones. Contrary to what we might expect from his romantic turn of mind his belief is not at all sentimental. In Alcuin love is "a vagrant and wayward principle" "is an empty and capricious passion". In Stephen Calvert it "is an ambiguous and capricious principle" "is a motley and complex sentiment". In Jane Talbot "most men of ardent temper can be dying of love for half a dozen different women in the course of a year." In <sup>his</sup> a letter to John E. Hall, to be given later, we shall find that his idea was the usual one of the world that a man never can settle down and become thorough-going in his work until he is agreeably married. According to the fragment entitled Jessica

"The strongest mind and the most enlightened, looks not, in women, for various and studious zeal like its own. These are not the cementing powers between the sexes. These give not birth to love, and form not the charms of wedlock. It is the concord of hearts, the mingling of affections, that give force to this bond."

In Jane Talbot "conjugal affection is the genuine sphere not only of happiness but duty". Dunlap quotes the following:



"My conceptions of the delights and benefits connected with love, and marriage, are exquisite. They have swayed most of my thoughts, and many of my actions, since I arrived at an age of reflection and maturity. They have given birth to the sentiment of love, with regard to several women. Mutual circumstances have frustrated the natural operations of that sentiment in several instances. At present I am free. None of those with whom I recently associated, have any claims upon me, nor have I any upon them."

And we have seen the same idea expressed in several of his letters to Bringhurst.

Despite the fact that he had had a brief experience early in life Brown's marriage with Elizabeth Linn undoubtedly settled the tenor of his life. It is generally considered that second marriages are more successful than first ones merely because the contracting parties enter the state with a full knowledge of its responsibilities. This marriage of Brown's is on his side at least an example of that fact. We have already seen him turning away from the writing of romances and as his married life continued we shall find him to have entirely deserted that field of literary endeavor for the more purely intellectual one of an editor, critic, biographer and translator.

One of the host of happy results of this marriage was the opening

of his new home to the sisters of his wife. When in 1805 John Blair

<sup>1</sup>  
Linn died Mary and Susan Linn came there to live as if they were  
real sisters, like he had pictured Wieland doing in chapter IV of  
that work and as in others of his works he always represented lonely  
sisters, ~~doing~~ As we shall see presently they probably occupied a  
room ~~together~~ <sup>next to</sup> Brown's study.

<sup>2</sup>  
In a letter of 10 April 1804 of James Kent to his wife we find  
that having dined in company with the Miss Linns he makes this record:

"Susan and Mary Linn look very pretty, but it is time  
the first is married. I am afraid her charms will not  
be impressive long."

Susan was described by Brown in the first of the Portraits in the

April 1804

<sup>3</sup>  
Literary Magazine which reads:

"JULIA was the favourite child of her father. Her life had numbered twenty-five years. She was not handsome, either in person or face. Her countenance bespoke warmth of temper and irritability. Few at a first interview were prepossessed in her favour, or would say, I should like to be upon terms of intimacy with that woman. Her understanding was uncommonly strong, her discernment quick, her wit keen, her taste correct, her mind active and penetrating, and though at times she was disposed to be severe and censorious, yet her heart was generally warm and affectionate."

1 There is a copy of Clara Howard in which Brown had written her name on the title-page.

2 Memoirs of James Kent, Boston 1898, pp. 129-30.

3 Vol. II, p. 9. Probably the name of Julia came from Rousseau's Heloise.

1614  
In another James Kent letter dated 25 August 1807 we have

"Miss Linn paid me a visit with Miss Bridges yesterday afternoon, and notwithstanding their excessive shyness I got them both seated in the office; but I could not prevail upon them to honor me at the tea table, and they fled off soon."

This undoubtedly refers to the youngest of the Linn girls, Mary, and the fourth of the Portraits in the Literary Magazine is probably a description of her. It reads:

"Laura resembled Esperanza more than any of her sisters. She was less giddy than Rosa, and less mild than Esperanza. She was not sufficiently studious. She was gifted with a good understanding and amiable manners, but the gifts of nature she did not industriously improve. Her temper was generous, but at times a little waspish. Her appearance was not strikingly beautiful, but was on the whole interesting.... She had it in her power to become highly respectable, when contemplated in every point of view."

It was apparently ~~not~~ <sup>reputed</sup> from his father ~~was not~~ <sup>included</sup> in the inventory of his estate.

After Brown's marriage at New York he returned with his bride to Philadelphia <sup>to</sup> ~~and~~ made his home on Eleventh Street between Walnut and Chestnut, sometime spoken of as below George. The 1810 directory gives it as No. 74 South Eleventh street. His parents and brothers

Armitt and Elijah, junior lived in the adjoining house, James ~~had~~ <sup>may have</sup> ~~already lived in Chesnut above Tenth street~~ <sup>probably gone to live in England where he was married</sup>, Joseph was married and settled <sup>at Edenton,</sup> in North Carolina and his only sister Elizabeth was married and lived at Princeton, New Jersey.

1 Vol. II, p. 9.

2 Subsequently he is said to have settled at New Orleans

John Blair Linn's miscellaneous Works New York 1795.



<sup>ignored</sup>  
It seems clear that if he had ~~disobeyed~~ the wishes of the family  
in marrying now that he was married any <sup>possible disapproval</sup> ~~disagreements~~ were put  
~~make an appearance.~~

~~aside.~~ We should be more inclined to believe that there was no  
~~great~~ objection by the family, <sup>not even on religious grounds</sup> for in <sup>both</sup> all the other cases the same  
rule of the Society of Friends had been broken. Perhaps the rule was  
none after all.

<sup>sensational</sup> That erratic and ~~unreliable~~ scribbler John Neal says <sup>in one of his "paroxysms"</sup> ~~he~~ <sup>Brown</sup> lived in a

"low, dirty, two-story, brick house, standing a little from the street,  
with never a tree or shrub near it." <sup>1</sup> <sup>He thinks</sup> It was afterward

"improved" by an actor man, "Darling"

whose name  
was

- as he called  
them -

~~from which it is probable~~

Whether all that was accurate or merely a part of  
his <sup>deliberate</sup> ~~exaggeration~~ <sup>pretended</sup> is not known. It is actually  
only one man's impression of the exterior. Neal never  
became <sup>personally</sup> acquainted with Brown, was never inside his  
home and

was playing with his powerful  
imagination so much

~~Relying on his memory, he could help but err.~~ <sup>2</sup> John  
Barley, father of F. D. C. ~~he believes~~ of course.

x Blackwood's Magazine October 1824, p. 422. Neal was  
trying to wake us up by lashing us in an English periodical  
as if he were <sup>giving</sup> an English point of view.



~~Today~~ Brown's home <sup>has gone from the earth forever.</sup> ~~can not be found.~~  
 Watson<sup>x</sup> says that in 1830 the street level  
 was raised as high as the window sills of  
 the old houses. The buildings on that whole  
 (to-day) Rock <sup>are</sup> ~~was~~ of the kind erected <sup>before</sup> ~~in~~ the 'fifties,  
~~now~~ ugly barrack looking marts of commerce;  
 even the sky <sup>is</sup> ~~was~~ not the same as Brown  
 saw it; ~~when~~ no smoke draws a pall overhead  
~~it~~ a stray hen-hawk may <sup>squawk</sup> ~~fly~~ <sup>around</sup> ~~overhead~~ for prey,  
 some summer evening but more probably  
 a growling ~~no~~ <sup>will</sup> ~~tree~~ <sup>scare</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~plane~~ <sup>bird</sup> away.

(Probably it was not long before  
 they were all rebuilt.

It is <sup>the</sup> From certain details of the inventory filed with the administration papers we can restore <sup>that</sup> <sup>cover a</sup> <sup>Brown's</sup> the picture of his home life, in which one finds that, whatever the outward appearance of the house may ~~and~~ have been, within they had <sup>the usual</sup> a ~~surprising~~ number of home comforts.

Of course Brown <sup>did</sup> ~~may not have started~~ out with any such ~~an~~ establishment as <sup>he had</sup> ~~is to be found~~ at the time of his death but a picture of

~~some of~~ the rooms as they were only a little more than four years

<sup>than this time</sup> later will give ~~the reader~~ an idea of the general style of the

interior of the home in Eleventh street.

which may have been  
at the extreme right  
or left

The ground floor is clearly suggested. The entry hall and the stairs were finely carpeted. The illumination was by <sup>the usual hanging</sup> a lamp. The

the appraisal  
totalling \$171.75

Some sort of a medal, a pair of tongs with  
tray and an unidentified (Washington?) post  
were on the tables or on one of the two dumb waiters.

1616

living room was somewhat elaborate, It had an ingrain carpet; the

walls were hung with pictures and mirrors; Windsor curtains and

cornices were at all the windows; there was a fine sofa, rush-bottomed

chairs, and mahogany card tables and an open fireplace with andirons,

wire fender, and tongs and a rug before it. Candles in candle-sticks

and a lamp supplied the illumination. The dining room had another

Kidderminster carpet, Windsor chairs, an expensive side-board,

a mahogany stand, a tea chest, and Japan waiters. A looking glass

hung on the wall, the windows had Venetian blinds and the open

fire was fully equipped with the usual necessities and a bellows

and brush. Besides a breakfast table there were two dining tables,

three tin canisters, a demi-john, a lace green baize (probably a table cover),  
a large supply of silver and plated ware, glass, china and linen.

for a rag carpet the kitchen was the usually well equipped one. Just

where related to the rest of the house it was located is not known.

bushings  
were appraised  
at a total of  
\$106.75  
etc.

excepting  
the silver,  
glass, china  
and  
linen

The lighting required  
a pair of plated candlesticks  
and a pair of snuffers  
with tray.

x Exactly what the article is, is doubtful.

The second floor evidently had three bed chambers and from the furniture listed it seems the back one with three windows <sup>curtained</sup> ~~may~~ <sup>and corniced</sup> ~~and paper~~ <sup>to shade</sup> was ~~have been~~ Brown's - the question whether back or front is of no importance <sup>except in relation</sup> ~~but it is probable~~ the third room, which <sup>was smaller</sup> ~~would serve as a guest room~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~would be~~ next to Brown's rather than at the other end of the hall. Coming up the stairs the appraiser would ~~also~~ <sup>naturally</sup> enter the ~~first~~ door facing him which would be Brown's. The front and back rooms may have <sup>been connected by</sup> ~~been~~ a door. Brown's was carpeted; had a high-posted mahogany bed with curtains and cornices, a smaller <sup>low-posted</sup> bed, later a crib and cradle, <sup>eight</sup> ~~two~~ chairs, two <sup>other</sup> ~~two~~ rockers; <sup>later</sup> ~~one~~ children's chairs; a washstand with water kettle; two bureaus and two dressing mirrors.

and both had open fireplaces with andirons, shovels and tongs.

and another small bed

bolsters and pillows

The second large room also carpeted had a feather bed with bolster but ~~plain~~ no curtains or cornices, and a Field bedstead, a washstand with water kettle, a table, only one bureau and six Windsor chairs. A stove bag-log (sic) appraised at one dollar needs interpretation.



About the last of August or in the early part of September Brown published through the Conrads of Philadelphia his English translation of Volney's two-volume Tableau du Climat et du sol des Etats-Unis D'Amerique, published at Paris the year previous.

In the Philadelphia Gazette and Daily Advertiser for October first and eighth there are two articles relative to a war with Spain, both signed "Poplicola" and they are probably by Brown and should be intimately related to the year 1803 and the Louisiana Purchase pamphlets. They have the strongest of internal evidence to warrant the conclusion of his authorship and though Poplicola had been used by others and Brown was at this time giving attention and time to his Literary Magazine and the translation of Volney's View as well as Linn's Valerian, they are undoubtedly his.

In the 6 December Philadelphia Gazette and Daily Advertiser there is a short criticism of a performance of the Road to Ruin at the New Theatre, which may have been written by Brown. It has internal traces of his style, is evidently by a layman and is signed B, but is indecisive though suggestive. Some details that made the play particularly of interest to our author when he first attended a performance of it

in 1796 have been noticed by us under that date.

A letter to his father-in-law shows Brown as comfortably settled  
in his home. It is<sup>1</sup>

(addressed Dr.Wm.Linn, New York.)

Philad.( Saturday, ) Decr.8,1804.

Dear Sir

I am sensible that many apologies are due to you for my omitting to write to you earlier. I was anxious to transmit to you, agreeably to your wishes, some more copies of the proposals for "Valerian,"<sup>2</sup> but no suitable opportunity has hitherto occurred. I shall seize the first that I meet with and hope they may not arrive too late to be of service. I was desirous likewise of being enabled, when I wrote, to acquaint you that some progress had been made in preparing matters for the press. I have not, however, been hitherto able to arrange the papers which you were so kind as to put into my hands.

Mary<sup>3</sup> has communicated to her family the intelligence of our safe and agreeable journey from New York. We have now, for some weeks, been quietly settled at our home, and anticipate with pleasure a visit from you and Mrs.Linn, a favor which I hope will not be postponed longer than the ensuing spring. When the weather grows mild and settled an excursion of a few weeks towards this quarter will be an agreeable relief to both of you from domestic duties. To you, Sir, particularly, the air of our city has always been, if I am not mistaken, particularly beneficial.

There are little news stirring among us of a religious, political or literary nature. A scarcity of news may sometimes be lamented by those who wish to amuse a distant friend, but tranquillity and uniformity are blessings both at home and abroad: and his situation is generally the happiest who has least to say upon paper. We have nothing to wish for but the continuance of our present tranquillity and happiness. It admits of no small increase, however, from the assurance of the welfare of our beloved friends and relations in New

1 Copy supplied by the owner Simon Gratz of Philadelphia. His Book about Autographs Philadelphia 1920 does not mention it.

2 John Blair Linn's poem to be published 1805. Linn had died in August.

3 Mary Linn.

620  
York. We hope speedily to receive them from you. I am,  
dear Sir,

Your obliged and affectinate Son  
C.B.Brown.

One of the details there demands attention. The wish for a continuance of tranquillity and happiness has in another letter, that of 1805 to Dunlap, been interpreted as a presentiment in Brown's mind of his untimely end, but it should not be so understood. The wish is here seen to be not uncommon to Brown and it appears to have nothing gloomy connected with it. On the other hand it is a perfectly natural expression of his marital happiness with the daughter of the noble old gentleman whom he is addressing.

Brown's editorial work on the Literary Magazine had so much improved during this year he wrote the rare "advertisement" or preface,<sup>1</sup> which he dated 25 December, giving thanks to his patrons.

<sup>1</sup> It was printed on an extra leaf found in Vol.III, following the January 1805 number.