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WIELAND

1798

Wieland; or the Transformation was published anonymously on September fourteenth <sup>fourth of September of</sup> 1798. The joint letter ~~from~~ <sup>of</sup> Brown, Smith and Johnson to Dunlap and the preface dated the third would suggest the book was published on the fourth but Smith's statement in his diary is definite and trustworthy.)

The book was printed by T. & J. Swords for H. Caritat, who copyrighted and published it at his own expense and risk.<sup>x</sup>

~~He~~ <sup>Höeguet</sup> Caritat as early as 1797 at 3 Pearl Street  
 Caritat ran a circulating library, as well as a  
 book <sup>and stationery store</sup> for which he imported and published; in 1799  
 his address was 153 Broadway, in  
 1802 he also sold wines, especially a white  
 Champagne. John Davis was an intimate of his  
 and published <sup>three or more</sup> ~~several~~ of his books through him. ~~Sabin~~  
 Probably he ~~was~~ <sup>back</sup> returned ~~to Paris~~ <sup>to New York</sup> about 1807.  
 (Sabin) when he published Brown's  
Remond

x h. y. Spectator 10 November.



It

is the source for the ventriloquism of ~~Wieland~~. So far as we know Brown's note in chapter XXII which <sup>confesses</sup> ~~makes~~ a definite reference <sup>to</sup> ~~comprises~~ his <sup>indebtedness</sup> ~~real knowledge~~

to be traced to Le Ventriloque ou L'engastrimythe by L'Abbe De la Chapelle, <sup>1</sup> published at Paris in 1772. In that work <sup>there is</sup> ~~we find a source~~ for the idea of the voice of <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>h</sup> ventriloquist being "une révélation divine" <sup>2</sup> or "la voix du Ciel." <sup>3</sup> The voice heard by Wieland in the summer house may ~~likewise~~ have come from the "voix qui partoît de le voûte du Temple." <sup>4</sup> The trick played by Carwin ~~on~~ Clara Wieland by which <sup>appears</sup> ~~she is believed~~ <sup>to</sup> by her lover to be unfaithful <sup>can</sup> be traced to the cases of Barbara Jacobi <sup>5</sup> and Louis Brabant. <sup>6</sup>

In Brown's note <sup>7</sup> there is a reference to the ability of ~~some~~ ventriloquists to imitate musical instruments and there is an explanation of the term "biloquism" both of which apparently were intended ~~by Brown~~ to be <sup>credited</sup> ~~traced to the ideas as found~~ <sup>to</sup> in this work.

1 The pagination is continued through the two volumes.

2 (Vol.I,) p.55. 3 (Vol.I,) p.218 and (Vol.II,) p.468.

4 (Vol.II,) p.472. 5 (Vol.I,) p.162. 6 (Vol.I,) p.211.

7 (Vol.I,) p.204 and (Vol.II,) p.407.

The description of ~~now~~ Baron de Mengen developed<sup>1</sup> his ventrilo-  
 quial powers,<sup>1</sup> and the doctor's presence wanted at Paris,<sup>2</sup> are  
 also ~~indications that Brown's~~ ideas ~~were~~ influenced  
 by ~~the reading of~~ this work. Another<sup>3</sup>  
 is important; ~~and its brevity makes it possible to quote it:~~

"Car il faut avouer que cet Art est, on ne peut pas plus,  
 propre à ce dangereux manège, & à je ne sçais combien  
 d'autres supercheries beaucoup plus graves."

The possibility that what was a source of great amusement ~~when~~  
~~used~~ might become a great danger is clearly one of the germs of  
Wieland. The religious side ~~of ventriloquism~~<sup>4</sup> is also treated in a  
 section devoted to Les Religieux Dupés and is soon followed<sup>5</sup> by  
 calling attention to the possibility of destroying superstition  
 by ~~means of~~ ventriloquial power--Brown's motive in Wieland.

1 (Vol. II, ) p. 290 ff.

3 (Vol. II, ) p. 400.

5 (Vol. II, ) f. 478

2 (Vol. II, ) p. 442.

4 (Vol. II, ) f. 471.



Perhaps the origin of Carwin's character may have come from the  
 explanation of <sup>the</sup> a case of ~~ene~~ Louis Brabant of which La Chapelle says:

"que le voix du Ciel n'est presque jamais que la voix  
 d'un Scélérat ou d'un Filiou."

of course Brown knew (II, 404, 406, 407) <sup>and oriental</sup>  
 The voice of God is classical as well as biblical.  
 Plutarch<sup>x</sup> makes it the daemon of Socrates; in the  
 (and his guardian angel (I, xli)) (V, 343)  
~~Plutarch~~ also has Cassius reason with Brutus that  
 no supernatural being had a human shape or a  
 voice; <sup>that</sup> the voice of the deity was (II, 97) never known.

Cessation of Oracles (I, xxv) a voice proclaiming the death  
 of Pan; in Lycurgus there ~~is~~ <sup>are</sup> ~~another~~ <sup>heavenly</sup> voices, ~~from~~  
~~heaven~~ and Camillus

The idea  
 It is common in the Arabian nights and the  
 Hindus had it when the world was young. <sup>of the</sup> <sup>God</sup>

All <sup>of the</sup> <sup>will</sup> bible readers recall the voice from heaven in  
 the garden of Gethsemane. <sup>no similitude and</sup> <sup>only</sup> <sup>heard</sup> <sup>a</sup>  
 has it that Israel saw ~~nothing~~ <sup>nothing</sup> only heard a  
 voice. <sup>imagined</sup> <sup>of the</sup> <sup>superior</sup> <sup>being</sup>  
 imagined as the voice of the superior being.

as well as ~~and~~ the voice <sup>of Jehovah</sup> out of a cloud on Mt. Sinai and Paul's  
 seeing the light and hearing a voice (Acts ix, xxii, xxvii) on his way from Jerusalem  
 to Damascus.

X (Vol. II) p. 481.

xx Collected Writings, 10 vols., Boston 1906.

h97

~~Ca Chapelle~~ <sup>all these possible sources</sup>To ~~that book~~ we might add the two sermons by Lowman read by Brownin 1795, for the voice of God, ~~instead of being figurative may have~~~~come literally from~~ <sup>is in</sup> the Dissertation on the Civil Government of theHebrews. The application of some of the Revelation of St. John mayhave likewise had ~~a personal~~ echo in Brown's heart.



~~experience~~<sup>1</sup> Among the quakers a "dazzling light" and "voices  
whispering of evil" were details quite common. <sup>X</sup> Perhaps the

temple <sup>could</sup> ~~may~~ have originated in George Fox's idea that God did not

dwell in temples made by hands but in people's hearts. John Woolman,  
following the precept of Plutarch (V, 454) or the command given to Abraham or  
the same commands of Moses, had one of these experiences, having his idols to be sacrificed--they

were silver vessels which he <sup>forthwith</sup> buried under an oak. <sup>2</sup> That Brown ~~may~~

have owed something to his Quaker training for some of the religious

side of his novel could be traceable to their doctrine of direct <sup>Biblical</sup>

revelation <sup>and Command</sup> even though he turned the inner light into spontaneous

combustion and the direct revelation into ventriloquism thereby

giving proof positive to Friends that the novel as a class was

pernicious and Wieland as an example was sacrilegious. ~~However,~~

The effulgence may be the illumination of Christ in  
transfiguration or the <sup>illustration of the</sup> countenance of Moses on Mt. Sinai.

1 A.R.Burr: Religious Confessions and Confessants Boston 1914, p.

154. Lamb wrote to Coleridge 13 February 1797 of a Wieland-like

2 Journal New York 1922, p. 187, 13d 2 mo. 1757.

(instance)

Ann Eliza Bleecker in her December 1781 letter written from Tomhanick a part of Pittstown in Rennselaer county New York to her half-sister Susan Ten Eyck says:

"The most tragical affair has happened here that I ever remember to have heard of. James Yates (son of him at Pitt's-Town,) a few nights ago murdered his wife, four children, his horses and cow, with circumstances<sup>2</sup> of cruelty too horrid to mention: by all appearance he is a religious lunatic."

~~The two periodical appearances of~~ The story carry<sup>es</sup> at the head<sup>a</sup> ~~ing~~ this letter addressed to the editor:

"Sir,  
The enclosed Account I transmit to you for publication, at the particular request of a friend, who is well acquainted with the circumstances that gave rise to it. - It was<sup>3</sup> drawn up<sup>4</sup> by a female hand, and she here relates respecting Mr. Y--- what she knew of him herself,

- 1 In her Posthumous Works, N. Y., 1793, p. 152. The book was printed by Brown's printers the Swords!
- 2 In her 6 August 1782 letter to the same she says "Poor Mrs. F-- was lately delivered of a child who is a terror to every one that sees it. It seems she was struck with so much horror at the sight of James Yates's murdered family, that it made too fatal an impression."
- 3 himself: was.
- 4 Favorites of Brown's diction.



~~Account as the actual truth of all the details of the Yates~~  
~~murders.~~

As there are few accessible copies of either of the old  
 magazines ~~it has been considered wise to~~ <sup>we</sup> publish the story  
 here in full. ~~as it appears in both periodicals.~~  
 X The few alterations made in the Minerva reprint will

~~be indicated in notes.~~

~~The Anna story reads:~~

X Carl Van Doren, ~~in the Nation~~ 12 November 1914, pp. 577-8 is the  
 first student of Wieland who has bothered to consult it.

## "AN ACCOUNT

Of a MURDER committed by Mr. J----- Y-----  
upon his Family, in December, A.D. 1781..

THE unfortunate subject of my present essay, belonged to one of the most respectable families in this state; he resided a few miles from Tomhanick, and though he was not in the most affluent circumstances, he maintained his family, (which consisted of a wife and four children,) very comfortably.--From the natural gentleness of his disposition, his industry, sobriety, probity and kindness, his neighbors universally esteemed him, and until the fatal night when he perpetrated the cruel act, none saw cause of blame in him.

In the afternoon preceding that night, as it was Sunday and there was no church near, several of his neighbors with their wives came to his house for the purpose of reading the scripture and singing psalms; he received them cordially, and when they were going to return home in the evening, he pressed his sister and her husband, who came with the others, to stay longer; at his very earnest solicitation they remained until near nine o'clock, during which time the conversation was grave as usual, but interesting and affectionate: to his wife, of whom he was very fond, he made use of more than commonly endearing expressions, and caressed his little ones alternately:--he spoke much of his domestic felicity, and informed his sister, that to render his wife more happy, he intended to take her to New Hampshire the next day: "I have just been refitting my sleigh," said he, "and we will set off by day-break."--After singing another hymn, Mr. and Mrs. J---f---n departed.

"They had no sooner left us (said he upon his examination) than taking my wife upon my lap, I opened the Bible to read to her--my two boys were in bed--one five years old, the other seven;--my daughter Rebecca, about eleven, was sitting by the fire, and my infant aged about six months, was slumbering at her mother's bosom.--Instantly a new light shone into the room; and upon looking up I beheld two Spirits, one at my right hand and the other at my left;--he at the left bade me destroy all my idols, and begin by casting the Bible into the fire:--the other Spirit dissuaded me, but I obeyed the first, and threw the book into the flames. My wife immediately snatched it out, and was going to expostulate, when I threw it in again and held her fast until it was entirely consumed:--then filled with the determination to persevere, I flew out of the house, and seizing an axe which lay by the door, with a few strokes demolished my sleigh, and running to the stable killed one of my horses--the other I struck, but with one spring he got

1 ~~Jefferson~~ 2 The Bleecker record says he killed a cow and his horses.

x humerus: lack <sup>of</sup> bracket.



clear of the stable.--My spirits now were high, and I hasted to the house to inform my wife of what I had done. She appeared terrified, and begged me to sit down; but the good angel whom I had obeyed stood by me and bade me go on, "You have more idols (said he) look at your wife and children." I hesitated not a moment, but rushed to the bed where my boys lay, and catching the eldest in my arms, I threw him with such violence against the wall, that he expired without a groan!--his brother was still asleep--I took him by the feet, and dashed his scull in pieces against the fire-place!--Then looking round, and perceiving that my wife and daughters were fled, I left the dead where they lay, and went in pursuit of the living, taking up the axe again.--A slight snow had fallen that evening, and by its light I descried my wife running towards her father's (who lived about half a mile off) encumbered with her babe; I ran after her, calling upon her to return, but she shrieked and fled faster, I therefore doubled my pace, and when I was within thirty yards of her, threw the axe at her, which hit her upon the hip! the moment that she felt the blow she dropped the child, which I directly caught up, and threw against the log-fence--I did not hear it cry--I only heard the lamentations of my wife, of whom I had now lost sight; but the blood gushed so copiously from her wound that it formed a distinct path along the snow. We were now within ~~side~~ <sup>side</sup> of her father's house, but from what cause I cannot tell, she took an opposite course, and after running across an open field several times, she again stopped at her own door; I now came up with her--my heart bled to see her distress, and all my natural feelings began to revive; I forgot my duty, so powerfully did her moanings and pleadings affect me, "Come then, my love, (said I) we have one child left, let us be thankful for that--what is done is right--we must not repine, come let me embrace you--let me know that you do indeed love me." She encircled me in her trembling arms, and pressed her quivering lips to my cheek.--A voice behind me, said, "This is also an idol!"--I broke from her instantly, and wrenching a stake from the garden fence, with one stroke levelled her to the earth! and lest she should only be stunned, and might, perhaps, recover again, I repeated my blows, till I could not distinguish one feature of her face!!! I now went to look after my last sublunary treasure, but after calling several times without receiving any answer, I returned to the house again; and in the way back picked up the babe and laid it on my wife's bosom.--I then stood musing a minute--during

which interval I thought I heard the suppressed sobbings of some one near the barn, I approached it in silence, and beheld my daughter Rebecca endeavoring to conceal herself among the hay-stacks.--1

AT the noise of my feet upon the dry corn stalks--she turned hastily round and seeing me exclaimed, "O father, my dear father, spare me, let me live--let me live,--I will be a comfort to you and my mother--spare me to take care of my little sister Diana--de--do let me live."--She was my darling child, and her fearful cries pierced me to the soul--the tears of natural pity fell as plentifully down my cheeks, as those of terror did down her's, and methought that to destroy all my idols was a hard task--I again relapsed at the voice of complaining, and taking her by the hand, led her to where her mother lay; then thinking that if I intended to retain her, I must make some other severe sacrifice, I bade her sing and dance--She complied, terribly situated as she was,--but I was not acting in the line of my duty--I was convinced of my error, and catching up a hatchet that stuck in a log, with one well aimed stroke cleft her forehead in twain--she fell--and no sign of retaining life appeared.

I then sat down on the threshold, to consider what I had best do--"I shall be called a murderer (said I) I shall be seized--imprisoned--executed, and for what?--for destroying my idols--for obeying the mandate of my father--no, I will put all the dead in the house together, and after setting fire to it, run to my sisters and say the Indians have done it--"I was preparing to drag my wife in, when the idea struck me that I was going to tell a horrible lie;" and how will that accord with my profession?(asked I.) No, let me speak the truth, and declare the good motive for my actions, be the consequences what they may."

His sister, who was the principal evidence against him, stated--that she had scarce got home, when a message came to Mr. J-----n, her husband, informing him that his mother was ill and wished to see him; he accordingly set off immediately, and she not expecting him home again till the next day, went to bed--there being no other person in the house. About four in the morning she heard her brother Y----- call her, she started up and bade him come in. "I will not (returned he) for I have committed the unpardonable sin--I have burnt the Bible." She knew not what to think, but rising hastily opened the door which was only latched, and caught hold of his hand: let me go, Nelly (said he) my



hands are wet with blood--the blood of my Elizabeth and her children.--She, saw the blood dripping from his fingers, and her's chilled in the veins, yet with a fortitude unparralleled she begged him to enter, which--as he did, he attempted to seize a case knife, that by the light of a bright pine knot fire, he perceived lying on the dresser--she prevented him, however, and tearing a trammel from the chimney, bound him with it to the bed post--fastening his hands behind him.--She then quitted the house in order to go to his, which as she approached she heard the voice of loud lamentation, the hope that it was some one of the family who had escaped the effects of her brother's phrenzy, subdued the fears natural to such a situation and time, she quickened her steps, and when she came to the place where Mrs. Y----- lay, she perceived that the moans came from Mrs. Y-----'s aged father, who expecting that his daughter would set out upon her journey by day break, had come at that early hour to bid her farewell.

They alarmed their nearest neighbors immediately, who proceeded to Mrs. J-----'s, and there found Mr. Y----- in the situation she had left him; they took him from hence to Tomhannick, where he remained near two days--during which time Mr. W---tz---l (a pious old Lutheran, who occasionally acted as preacher) attended upon him, exhorting him to pray and repent; but he received the admonitions with contempt, and several times with ridicule, refusing to confess his error or join in prayer--I say join in prayer, for he would not kneel when the rest did, but when they arose he would prostrate himself and address his "father," frequently saying "my father, thou knowest that it was in obedience to thy commands, and for thy glory that I have done this deed." Mrs. Bl-----, at whose house he then was, bade some one ask him who his father was?--he made no reply--but pushing away the person who stood between her and himself, darted at her a look of such indignation as thrilled horror to her heart--his speech was connected, and he told his tale without variation; he expressed much sorrow for the loss of his dear family, but consoled himself with the idea of having performed his duty--he was taken to Albany and there confined as a lunatic in the goal, from which he escaped twice, once by the assistance of Aqua Fortis, with which he opened the front door.

I went in 1782 with a little girl, by whom Mr. Bl----- had sent him some fruit; he was then confined in  $\times^2$  dungeon, and had several chains on--he appeared to be much affected at her re-

1 Minerva: Bleecker.

2 Minerva: in a.

membrance of him, and put up a pious ejaculation for her and her family--Since when I have received no accounts respecting him.

The cause for his wonderfully cruel proceedings is beyond the conception of human beings--the deed so unpremeditated<sup>x</sup>, so unprovoked, that we do not hesitate to pronounce it the effect of insanity--yet upon the other hand, when we reflect on the equanimity<sup>xx</sup> of his temper, and the comfortable situation in which he was, and no visible circumstances operating to render him frantic, we are apt to conclude, that he was under a strong delusion of Satan. But what avail our conjectures, perhaps it is best that some things are concealed from us, and the only use we can now make of our knowledge of this affair, is to be humble under a scene of human frailty to renew our petition, "Lead us not into temptation."

May 27, 1796."

Brown's use of ~~the details of~~ Anna's Account make a remarkable display of his literary ability. His omissions exhibit his superiority to <sup>in</sup> ~~Anna's~~ taste; the transfer of some details unaltered prove ~~the accuracy of~~ his judgment for the essentials of a story; but by far the best examples of Brown as we should know him are in the details which for one reason or another he altered.

Wieland's ~~personality so far as the murder motive is concerned~~ is the same in both stories; of course Brown added ~~to his title~~ ~~character~~ other details from the other motives ~~that comprise~~ Wieland but in both the source and the book we find the murderer has the same quality of ancestry, the same character of kindness

<sup>x</sup> hincere: premeditated.      <sup>xx</sup> So spelled in both appearances.



and industry and sobriety, the same general financial condition of simple comforts of life and the same sized family, a wife and four children.<sup>1</sup> As in most murders night is the time of the act. There was no lock to the J---f---n door the same as in Clara Wieland's home. The effulgence seen by Wieland is the same new light that J.Y. saw just before he beheld the two spirits. Mrs. J---f---n is gotten alone at night by her husband going off to visit a sick mother just as Clara is isolated by Pleyel going to attend on Catherine. The cause for the crime was in both cases insanity.<sup>2</sup> Both stories conclude with the unnecessary moral tag. In both the narrator is the sister of the murderer. In both the murderer is confined in a dungeon, in chains or fetters.

The omissions made by Brown comprise the following. All identifying details of Anna's case he wiped out. Not one name was allowed to afford any clue; and for this Brown deserves all the more credit because he could have had no danger of any libel suits such as Mrs. Bleecker's daughter who published the name

- 1 One child is not Wieland's own so that the number of children is not exactly the same though to all intents and purposes it may be considered so.
- 2 Brown's explanation in chapter XX is the mania mutabilis as given in Erasmus Darwin's Zoonomia.

and the family of the murderer, may have had. The day of the crime; the religious service at home; the plans for the following day; the axe and hatchet used as weapons; the sleigh and horse; the details of the murder of the children; the wife's attempt to escape; the gruesome dance and song of Rebecca; the consciousness of lying if he burnt the house with its horrors; the moving about of the prisoner from house to house until he was located at the Bleecker's<sup>1</sup>; the bloody trail on the snow; the aqua fortis (nitric acid) which was the singular means of one of the murderer's escapes; the prayer of the prisoner and the mysteriously unexplained little girl who took fruit to the prison; all are left in the periodical source wherein they were found.

The alterations comprise a number of minor changes, several of paramount importance to the story of Wieland and some made necessary by the elimination of certain details of the crime as narrated by Anna which probably appeared to Brown to be purely fictional.

Instead of the neighbors finding the murderer at the J--f--n's they find him at Clara's house. The case knife on the dresser

<sup>1</sup> Ann Bleecker's husband had been previously captured and carried off toward Canada so that a proper guard for any criminal might well have been found at their farm.



becomes a pocket knife. The time set for the sister's death, early morning, is changed to night. The omission of the destruction of the sleigh and one horse carried with it the omission of the wife's knowledge that the murderer had performed any acts of violence which makes the Wieland scene between the man and his wife all the more powerful. J.Y. had a proper repugnance to being considered a murderer but he knew perfectly well he was one--Wieland would not allow any one to think of him as such a criminal; through the story almost to the very end he maintained an unchangeable belief in his performance of his duty. The burnt Bible disappears but by Brown the idea is carried over into the spontaneous combustion motive of Wieland the elder. The change of location from Tomhanick and Albany to the fanciful Mettingen in the environs of Philadelphia consequently changes the trial and jail confinement from Albany to Philadelphia. To provide for the incidents which happen out of doors Brown also found it necessary to fix the date of Wieland's crime at a different season; therefore the snow on the ground of December 1781 was changed to the summer and early autumn "between the conclusion of the French and the beginning

In chapter XXII there is a note which contains the Macbeth quotation and ~~which~~ thereby acknowledges the "Hold! Hold!" ejaculation of Carwin was derived from Shakespeare.

~~The examination of the details of the possible sources of~~  
~~Wieland must take account of another influence.~~ It has been  
<sup>1</sup>suggested that Brown's Wieland owed something to Schiller's  
Der Geisterseher. This idea has been adopted for investigation  
by Walter Just in Die Romantische Bewegung.<sup>2</sup> Just finds parallels  
in the motifs such as the doppelganger motif,<sup>3</sup> in the principal  
characters who appear to have a sombre destiny; in the religious  
madness motif underlying Wieland's character; in the secret socie-  
<sup>4</sup>ties, the romantic mysticism and the night side of nature. All this  
is going too far afield for what can be found nearer at hand<sup>5</sup> and  
~~is entirely too general and too indefinite.~~

<sup>5</sup> The solitary walks on the banks of rivulets and the meeting in the summer house on the bank of the river may be from the walks of Rasselas and the Princess' and her brother's meeting in Johnson's Rasselas.

1 F.H. Wilkins: Americana Germanica, Vol. III, No. 2, p. 137 note and p. 138. Possibly Keats' idea of Wieland (22 September 1819 letter

2 Weimar 1910.

3 This is inexplicable. So far as we understand the German idea there is no such motive in Wieland.

4 There is no secret society in Wieland. The idea was used in Carwin.

to Woodhouse) as "a domestic prototype of Schiller's Armenian" may have been known to Wilkins.



as the  
Affarctionist

Weekly Magazine (nos. 6-20, 3 Aug. - 19 Jan)  
948 1798

Schiller's Gheisterseher was made available to the American who did not read German by an abridged edition <sup>published in fifteen installments of the New-York</sup> ~~taken from the London one~~ <sup>or in book form as the Ghost-Seer printed</sup> ~~of the year previous~~ published by Brown's publishers the Swords in 1796. ~~The 1801 edition entitled The Armenian and published by William Fay of Philadelphia was in two volumes--later issued in the Bentley Standard Novels series in two volumes as the Ghost Seer--and according to the "advertisement"~~ <sup>Both issues</sup> ~~comprised the whole work of which only the first volume, had been formerly translated and published, the second having been carelessly abridged, so that Brown could only have had the former.~~ To have had the whole work he must have read volume two in German--or had <sup>it</sup> ~~it~~ <sup>of 1795</sup> ~~translated to him;~~ <sup>to him;</sup> not at all improbable. No difficulty should be made of the matter. Brown and any other man like him would know the whole work if he knew any part of it; so we assume he did, but divide the detailed evidence according as it may be traceable to one or the other of the two volumes. The <sup>partially</sup> ~~epistolary~~ <sup>1</sup> form; the figure in the midst of splendour; <sup>2</sup> the opening for another work; the candle extinguished and the warning voice of thunder; <sup>3</sup> the inter-  
<sup>4</sup> course with superior beings; and the hereditary religious melancholy <sup>5</sup>

1 Letter IV, Johnson to Seymour--Vol. I, p. 182 of the Philadelphia 1801 edition, published by William Fay as The Armenian.  
2 Vol. I, p. 154.      3 First letter of Count O. in continuation.  
4 Vol. I, p. 44.      5 Vol. I, p. 65.

may be echoed in Wieland. ~~More probably~~ <sup>1</sup> they are the commonplaces of literary craft and owed nothing to Schiller. The secret inspector who suggests the secret witness may have given the secondary title to Ormond if we must go so far to find ~~what it is all about any human being.~~

<sup>2</sup> The secret society; and the meeting of Theresa in the church <sup>3</sup> may have gone into Carwin if we cannot believe them commonplaces. ~~The latter is hardly worth claiming.~~ So far as we know Schiller had no more right to a patent on church meetings than Monk Lewis. If the idea is to be credited to any <sup>4</sup> one Petrarch and Laura, 1327, and Boccaccio and Fiammetta, 1334, are respectful claimants. If the story told of Charles Brockden were an invention of Brown's it may have been inspired by the meeting of the secret society when the murder of the witness <sup>4</sup> is argued.

In the Schiller <sup>use</sup> ~~account~~ the idea of transportation to America was

however not included. The second volume supplies several similar details and only could be influential in one that is peculiar; namely, <sup>though abandoned by Brown</sup>

<sup>5</sup> the use of aqua fortis for opening bolts and locks which was

originally planned for use in Wieland, ~~by Brown but abandoned.~~ Cebell-

<sup>6</sup> ioni and his wig in the history of the Armenian may recall the story

1 Vol. I, p. 12.

3 Letter V.

5 Vol. II, p. 154.

2 Vol. I, p. 69.

4 Vol. I, p. 147.

6 Vol. I, p. 95.

*But even that had a historic origin in that Charles I used it in an attempt to escape from Carisbrook Castle, Isle of Wight.*



for by the other sources given.

After all there has been too much of a ~~very~~ general nature and not convincingly original made out of whole cloth so as to claim a possible influence of the German romantic movement on Brown. He undoubtedly derived from the supernatural school, which existed in England long before Germany had any Gothic romance movement, all that he did not find in the authorities which he indicated or devised for himself.

In spite of Ford K. Brown's claim that Godwin's earlier works<sup>1</sup> inspired most of Brown's novels Wieland cannot possibly be called Godwinian either in its morbid characters or in its incidents.

To sum up: we have three unquestioned origins. (1) The spontaneous combustion motive which comes from the <sup>British Literary Magazine,</sup> ~~Italian and French journals,~~ (2) the ventriloquism which comes from La Chapelle and (3), the murder which comes from Othello, the Madness of Hercules and gruesome Anna. ~~Having traced these origins in detail it is proper that attention be directed to Brown's work on the story.~~

<sup>1</sup> William Godwin London 1926, p. 323.

Manuscript

"Thou, omnipotent & holy! Thou wast the prompter of my deed. My hands were but instruments of thy will, I know not what is crime. Of what action! evil is the ultimate result. Thy knowledge as thy power is remembered. I lean upon thy promise I cheerfully sustain the load of pain or of hatred men may lay upon me. In thy arms of thy protection I entrust my safety. In the fullness of thy justice I confide for my reward.

You say that I am criminal. Presumptuous man! Thou deservest that the arm of (?) vengeance should crush thee. Thus impiously to usurp the prerogative of thy creator. To count thus rashly on the comprehension of thy views: on the full pervading property of thy!

I am not commissioned to be thy punisher. 'Tis well for thee, I am not. The wrong thou hast & I is to resentment. A space is allowed thee for repentance. If I were, how would thy shadowy security vanish. I am fettered & surrounded. There I cannot reach thee where thou art, but let the commission be given & in spite of chains & walls & interposing multitudes, my hands should snatch thee from thy seat & hurl thee to death."

Wieland

You say that I am guilty. Impious and rash! thus to usurp the prerogatives of your Maker! to set up your bounded views and halting reason, as the measure of truth!

"Thou, Omnipotent and Holy! Thou knowest that my actions were conformable to thy will. I know not what is crime; what actions are evil in their ultimate and comprehensive tendency or what are good. Thy knowledge, as thy power, is unlimited. I have taken thee for my guide, and cannot err. To the arms of thy protection, I entrust my safety. In the awards of thy justice, I confide for my recompense.

"Come death, when it will, I am safe. Let calumny and abhorrence pursue me among men; I shall not be defrauded of my dues. The peace of virtue, and the glory of obedience, will be my portion hereafter."

Being the only example of original manuscript of any of Brown's published works, the passage is important and worthy of reproduction for illustration. It shows how our author worked when he revised—how he cut down, how he introduced Latinisms, and how he improved the relation of a part to the whole.

1 Illegible.

2 Infamy or Infirmity, cancelled.

3 P. 19 has the last few words.



Brown revised story and was in his 70's Estima of 1789.

~~Brown~~ <sup>his</sup> verses on Loo in a letter of 9 May 1792 and in

960

In the Address to Congress of 1809 we find the unusual adjective

mazy. ~~Besides all this~~ <sup>Wieland</sup> The verses are of the same stamp and quite

naturally developed from several lines of his own poem entitled

Devotion and dated September 1794, so that ~~we are lead to accept~~ <sup>when we get back to</sup>  
~~the forth-right way we conclude we must accept~~  
them as Brown's. On first sight it might be said that the absence

of quotation marks indicated that, but Brown often omitted them

in using other's verse. ~~As we shall see presently these verses~~ <sup>all this bother about</sup>

~~There is necessary because they~~ <sup>key to</sup>  
~~are important and necessary as a part of the book and should always~~ <sup>never</sup>  
~~be given on the title-page.~~ <sup>omitted from its</sup>

The scene of the story is laid in the neighborhood of Philadelphia,

for the most part at a country seat five miles distant named

<sup>2</sup>  
Mettingen, and for a chapter or two shifting to the city, then ~~again~~

~~shifting~~ to another country place five miles south of the city, and

in the concluding chapter going over sea to Montpellier in the south

of France near the Mediterranean and finally to Avignon.

The story is the tragedy of the religio-maniacal character

from whom the book takes its name. ~~The Foreign and Colonial~~

1 American Register Vol. III, pp. 567-78.

~~2 Brown says from its first owner but Mettingen is a German town.~~

rambling near Mettingen recalls Brown's rural walks along the Delaware and Schuylkill; and the dream of Clara<sup>2</sup> in which she was swallowed up in whirlpools and caught up in the air by gigantic forms recalls the one Brown had of himself as related in the letter of 9 August 1792.

Several other details may be autobiographic, at least they pertain to Brown's interests in life though they may not be literally related to him. Among these is the bust of Cicero set up in the temple;<sup>3</sup> the earliest appearance of Carwin strolling along the bank of the river<sup>4</sup> may be inspired by the illiterate clown pictured in the 1792 letter from Vine street, Saturday morning, 7 o'clock; and the death of Catherine<sup>5</sup> may be an echo of the death of the wife of Brown's youth. Possibly Clara's thoughts of using a penknife as a method of suicide was the one contemplated by Brown himself. Later we shall see a similar detail of a tomahawk in Edgar Huntly.

1 Chapter XXII.

4 Chapter VI.

2 Chapter XXVI.

5 Chapter XVI.

3 Chapter III.



"I leave you to moralize on this tale. That virtue should become the victim of treachery is, no doubt, a mournful consideration; but it will not escape your notice, that the evils of which Carwin and Maxwell were the authors, owed their existence to the errors of the sufferers. All efforts would have been ineffectual to subvert the happiness or shorten the existence of the Stuarts, if their own frailty had not seconded these efforts. If the lady had crushed her disastrous passion in the bud, and driven the seducer from her presence, when the tendency of his artifices was seen; if Stuart had not admitted the spirit of absurd revenge, we should not have had to deplore this catastrophe. If Wieland had framed juster notions of moral duty, and of the divine attributes; or if I had been gifted with ordinary equanimity or foresight, the double tongued deceiver would have been baffled and repelled."

Thus we see that our author in Wieland did not attempt a mere amusement for his readers. On the low level of pleasure slips and imperfections are hardly serious and small ability is needed to make a seemingly finished product.

Brown on the other hand attempted one of the highest flights--religious bigotry--and a slip there is much more than casual. Further than the opening and closing as quoted the verses on the title-page and the "advertisement" illustrate the author's intention. How well he did it we have shown. Taken as a whole Wieland represents Brown's highest literary achievement in prose fiction.

Brown's

In its relation to his life Wieland stands as ~~his~~ introduction to the public as a novelist. As he afterward in substance said, to have been the author of Wieland made him well known, ~~among the literary people of his day.~~ It might be concluded from the fact

that the Memoirs of Carwin did not appear immediately following

Wieland that <sup>I</sup> ~~this work~~ did not sell as well as was hoped, but we

~~must remember that success with a book is not always a matter~~

~~of sales.~~ On the whole ~~it is clear that~~ Wieland was a success to

the extent that the reception of it stimulated the author to an

almost unprecedented output. As his first pretentious venture

it ~~indeed~~ convinced the public that its author was to be dealt

with as an entirely new and original power; ~~in American literature;~~

a power whose influence <sup>has</sup> ~~was to~~ run through <sup>our</sup> ~~all the~~ literary

history ~~of America even down to the present day.~~ <sup>With the publication</sup> ~~From this time~~

of Wieland in 1778

~~Father Brown's reputation was established imperishable~~

text

1 According to the 1807 catalogue of the Library Company of Philadelphia Brown presented it with a copy, ~~of Wieland~~. Copies of the original sheets were, as we shall see in Brown's letters of 1800, sent to England; so that it is clear the whole first impression ~~was not sold~~. How many copies it was we know not./

had been may