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19

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE WEEKLY MAGAZINE

1798

On the ~~first~~ ³ Saturday ~~of~~ February 1798 there appeared in Philadelphia the first number of the Weekly Magazine ^a of original essays, fugitive pieces and interesting intelligence, ~~a work to be published~~ by James Watters and company.

~~Bibliographically the Weekly Magazine~~ ^{It is} is catalogued as "edited and mainly written" ^{by} by Brown, but there is no authority for such claims,

~~and none of the authoritative memoirs of Brown make any mention of~~

~~it~~. Brown was in New York while the magazine was published in

Philadelphia. In volume two ³ the note to contributors refers to

"the distance at which some of our correspondents reside" as "the

only excuse for a temporary suspension of Arthur Mervyn." Brown's

name appears at the beginning of volume one in the list of patrons,

which would hardly have been the case if he were the editor.

In the number for 9 February 1799, in an ~~notice~~ ^{obituary}

~~of Watters' death it is definitely stated that~~ ^{says} Watters was the

1 Vol. I contains numbers 1-13; Vol. II, 14-26; Vol. III, 27-39; Vol. IV, 40-47. Vol. IV, ~~of which only eight numbers were issued~~, is usually bound up with Vol. III.

~~2 Volumes III and IV were published by Ezekiel Forman who bought Watters' business from the heirs.~~

2/ Added to this statement is one saying that "Vol. III contains Brown's inserted broadside address". A comparison of this with others known to be by Brown will disprove it. It is not a broadside and it is not inserted, being a part of the volume.

3/ P. 384.

original editor as well as proprietor and ~~after his death~~ his

¹
widowed mother, who was dependent on him, sold the magazine and all
the stock to the new editor who was undoubtedly Ezekiel Forman.

If ~~all the stock~~ ^{it} included the whole of ~~Watters'~~ ^{the} business ~~as is~~
~~probable, Brown as the possible new editor and proprietor~~ would have
come into possession of the sheets of Sky Walk which Dunlap says
was not published because Brown's friends were unable to buy them
from Watters' heirs. Added to these facts we find that we have a
letter of Brown's to his brother James, dated New York February
15th., ~~the character of~~ which seems to make it clear ~~that~~ he was
not at this time engaged in editing any periodical whatsoever.

This mistake of the Bibliographers has probably arisen from the
fact that a great deal of the work was, or appears to be, Brown's.

As we intend to follow in all cases involving magazines, we shall,
so far as possible, arrange any contributions claimed by us for
our author into three classes: first, those undoubtedly Brown's,
which we shall treat at length here or in a more proper place;
second, those having convincing evidences of being his, and; third,
those that may not be his but must be considered as ~~most~~ probable..

Thus the order will indicate the degree of certainty.

1 Mary Watters of Willing's Alley, according to the inside back
cover of the twenty-seventh number of Vol. III ~~of the Weekly~~
Magazine sold sundry sensational medicines.

This method may ~~at first sight~~ appear to be an indication of ~~an~~ indecision ~~in the editor~~ but it really owes itself to quite another cause. In the history of American literature, not to speak of the literatures of other lands, there have been some remarkable cases of so-called "attributions" being proven to have been written by others, much to the discomfiture of mind, if not destruction of reputation, of ~~certain writers~~ ^{those} who ~~ascribe~~ ^{have} ~~work~~ ^{work} on the slightest provocation. Of course it is the duty of the one who ascribes to offer some proof other than his own faith and while it may not be every man's good fortune to be as successful as John Leicester Adolphus in the case of the Waverley novels still if the ~~biographer~~ ^{ascriber} practises ~~the most extreme~~ ^{some if not} caution, he may not be unfair to his author and his conclusions may not be ~~untruthful~~ ^{erroneous}.

Among Brown's undoubted contributions we have Arthur Mervyn, the Rights of Women, which is better known by the name of Alcuin, the extract from Sky Walk, the Man at Home, A Series of Original Letters, and the article Facts and Calculations respecting the Population and Territory of the United States of America. The

two first named works are treated at length under the chronological arrangement of Brown's publications in book form. The ~~remaining~~ ^{Sky Walk extract} we shall consider in our study of Edgar Huntly in which it was merged. The

Huge

~~three~~ are to be noticed here, and the last needing only brief attention may be dismissed first.

Brown's connection with ~~the article on the~~ Population and Territory of the United States¹ consists first of a short note calling attention to the privately printed work of Samuel Hopkins from which it is extracted as worthy of preservation. The initials C.B.B. subscribed to it make it unquestionably Brown's. There is also a page of supplementary remarks and estimates by which the future population of the country is determined. This is not only signed C.B.B. but also has added the date New York, August, 1798 and it may be the result of certain manuscript calculations made in the Wieland note-book. It is of interest to note ~~that~~ the fact of most importance to the author is that some day, ~~in the future~~, (he places it in 1956) the inhabitants of the United States will be more than eight times² the population of Europe in 1799 and will have a "similitude of language, government and manners". Hopkins in his part of these estimates had been only interested in computing the population and territory.

1 Vol. III, p. 45 ff. p. 71 ff.

2 "As to 1916 population the standard was 100 millions. The 1916 census was 106,112,467."

The comparison with Europe is Brown's part of the contribution.

This slight piece of editing shows the breadth of Brown's reading at a time when he has been usually considered as absorbed only in works of the imagination. Here, we find him speculating on a prosaic matter of statistics. That he was not only a dreamer but the most practical of men when he chose to be practical is a side of his character that has been almost wholly neglected.

Brown's authorship of the Man at Home is definitely ascertained from Smith's journal of 27 March:

"Received a letter from C.B. Brown informing us..... that he writes the 'Man at Home' in the Philadelphia Weekly Magazine."

The usual external authority for ascribing the work to Brown¹ is the less definite record of Dunlap's manuscript journals where we find this entry:

"Mar. 29, 1798, Smith had some numbers of a weekly mag: in which B. has published under the title of "The Man at Home."."

It ran through the first thirteen numbers, the first volume, dated 3, 10, 17, 24 February; 3, 10, 17, 24, 31 March; 7, 14, 21, 28 April. The strongest of internal evidence corroborates Smith and Dunlap in

1 Smyth's Philadelphia Magazines and its contributors, and Scharf and Westcott's History of Philadelphia stated it to be his so that some libraries have catalogued it as Brown's.

proving it to be Brown's, for as we shall see the whole of the Butler story and the De Moivres was transferred into Ormond.

The possible origins of the story may be narrowed down to the similarity of the opening situation to that of Robert Bage's Barham Downs, which was a work recommended to Smith by Brown in 1797. The Baxter story may have come from some of the details of Dudley's position in the first chapter of Ormond. The idea of the locked chest though a commonplace of life may have some connection in Brown's mind with his ancestor James Brown's experience of having a chest broken open and robbed by an incorrigible servant.

^{or framework}
 The main theme of the Man at Home is that it is the ~~supposed~~
 memoir of one who, having endorsed a friend's note, is living
 in hiding from the sheriff in a room of the suburban home of
 his former washer-woman. ~~where~~ ^{noticing} ~~he~~ ^{discovers} finds a locked chest fastened
 to the floor, ~~he~~ ^{he} opens it, finds it evidently empty and starts to
~~break~~ ^{chop} it up for kindling ~~with an axe~~ when he discovers ^{it has} a false
 bottom that conceals a manuscript of the memoirs of Bedloe who
 had died of the yellow fever in 1793.

The work has all the ear-marks of Brown both in methods of
 construction and in actual details. It is full of digressions.
 Part of the fourth, all of the fifth and the tenth instalments
 are given up to telling the history of the De Moivres, a Frenchman ^X
 and his daughter, the latter of whom ^{survived} ~~went through~~ the ^{yellow fever} ~~plague~~ of
 1793. Instalment six tells the brief story of a schoolmaster who
 had a reputation as a wizard. Seven and nine go off on a philo-

^{name probably was taken from the}
^X The ~~real man~~ ^{the} mathematician Abraham de
 Moivre, 1667-1754, ~~who~~ according to the D.H.B. ^{he} never
 married.

sophical dissertation on domestic establishments and the advisability of Miss De Moivre's writing French memoirs. Eleven philosophizes on life and the slaughter of the Helots in Greek history. Twelve is on love and its disappointments. Thirteen, the last, returns to the main theme.

The faults of the work are characteristic of Brown and numerous. For instance, the narrator at first is determined not to go to prison but in the last instalment he argues himself into preferring prison to paying his debts. Of course if he had got to philosophizing on prisons in the first instalment the story would have gone no further. Our interest in the chest is no more than firmly established when Brown switches off to one of the minor digressions, ~~evidently~~ with the purpose of bringing in ~~the~~ various tales he has to tell. As we ~~shall later~~ find developed into a habit Brown here introduces a character and names him some time after. ^{midnight} ~~12 P.M.~~ has the usual fascination for Brown that it had for all the supernatural school. In the case of Baxter through whose eyes we see Miss De Moivre burying her father in the garden, we have a scandalous slur thrown on his actions which are perfectly proper, and at the same time we have another man, whose purposes are pictured as

unblemished, acting scandalously. Instalment seven ends telling us ~~that~~ the narrator will ^{proceed} go on with Miss De Moivre's welfare, but eight turns aside ~~again~~ to ~~carry on~~ the story of the chest. The weakest part of the construction is the unnatural method of telling ~~the details of~~ Miss De Moivre's history by having the narrator address ^{his story to} her, ~~reviewing them.~~

On the other hand there are some details ~~of the work~~ which ^{show} ~~give promise of~~ developing Brown's power. The discovery of the chest and the interplay of reflection and action on the part of the hero though somewhat marred by too much of the staccato sentence, is an example of the Man at Home at its best.

How much Brown was conscious of his own powers at this time can be ~~very~~ well illustrated by a few sentences, ~~in this series of essays.~~ These, if ~~they are~~ supplemented by a reference to his letters, will be found particularly definite, and the force of them will be seen again and again throughout his work and recognised as one of his best characteristics. He says:

"My train of reflections, on most subjects, are, I believe, singular....My own observation has furnished me with plenty of materials. I want neither the brick and mortar of the mason, nor the genius of the architect."

The Man at Home has both singular reflections and varied obser-

vations and as a minor work ~~deserves~~ to be read by any one who would ^{thoroughly} understand the author.

While we are at first inclined to be disappointed when with cruel brevity we are informed, in instalment seven, that the chest contained nothing: we must lay that disappointment to the lack of artistry that Brown sometimes showed. Had he revised this work it is very probable ~~that~~ he would have deferred that detail to the next issue of the magazine, when it would ~~not have disappointed~~ ~~but~~ have taken its place as one of the logical steps of the ~~development of the story, of the chest.~~

We have already noticed the digressions as one of the faults ~~of the work~~ but there is one of them that has ~~about as~~ much to recommend it, ~~as to condemn it.~~ Brown showed himself to be no despicable writer when he turned the reader's interest from the chest to the story of ^{its} ~~the~~ former owners, ~~of it.~~

As we have found developed to a higher plane in Wieland we here have ¹ a great deal of not uninteresting philosophizing.

The germ of many a striking and harrowing situation may be found ~~here~~ in the burial of De Moivre. Likewise we have a suggestion of one of the mooted points of Wieland in the same scene when

Miss De Moivre's candle lights up into hideous distortion the face of Baxter as he peers over the fence watching the burial..

As we saw in the case of Wieland here also too little attention has been called to the strong possibility for fiction of using simply a candle. The old-fashioned Hallowe'en cellar tricks with candles should stand as a remembrancer of the weird distortions, the mystical lights and shadows that a candle will make. Such a detail was most suited to Brown and the only surprise is that he did not make his use of such a legitimate piece of machinery sufficiently prominent to attract the attention of the critics.

At the time Brown wrote this fantastic medley, for properly the work is that, he may have been engaged in working on Arthur Mervyn for here as there, as well as in other works of this time, the plague of the yellow fever in 1793 towered over all his other "singular reflections."

As we have seen in our study of Wieland and Carwin he had planned to write some story of Bedloe perhaps just such as the memoirs found in the chest may have been. The title was to have been Bedloe or the self-devoted and it probably resulted in Arthur Mervyn.

~~Save for a few rare instances one of Brown's motives probably lay dormant almost all of his life.~~ In instalment eleven the narrator and his two friends Harrington and Wallace read and discuss the massacres of the Helots from Grecian history. A grasp of essentially appalling details together with his staccato sentences, here suggests ~~what~~ ^{well} Brown might have done ^f with such material. ~~Like the fascination of the candle at midnight~~ ^{This} ~~sort~~ ^{kind} of subject had the strongest sort of an appeal to his imagination, but ~~unlike his use of the candle~~ ^{the} ~~this~~ Helot massacre ~~theme~~ never afterward recurred, though ~~the~~ ^{the} theme was used in Thesalonica ^{in the} ~~of the~~ ^{magazine}.

From its use in Wieland as well as from the ~~actual~~ statement here it is evident ~~that~~ ¹ Brown was at this time reading Erasmus Darwin's Zoonomia. In the twelfth instalment there is a foot-note referring to the book, ~~read~~ ^{there is} just as ~~we have found a similar one~~ in Wieland. But in this instance the point to be noted is that Brown gives his cases from his own observations and not from ~~those~~ ^{book.} of the ~~author of the~~ Zoonomia.

As a contribution to an ephemeral magazine ~~this~~ ^{The} Man at Home is no pot-boiler for it has ~~some of the germs~~ ^{many} of the powers of its author. ~~It should be recognised that those powers were being~~

¹ For the present day reader it is necessary to use the Christian name. To one living in the twentieth century the name Darwin recalls a far different ^{man} individual than it did to Brown. However, Erasmus was the grandfather of Charles.

~~tasked to their utmost in the days that preceded and followed closely on the appearance of this work.~~

The next contribution that bears convincing marks of ~~being~~ Brown's is A Series of Original Letters. ~~The work~~ ^{it} was given no other more definite name and was left ¹ ~~in~~ ^a fragmentary form, there being no explanation given for its abruptly breaking off and leaving the story, ~~as it were,~~ hanging in the air.

²
What there is of it was given in seven instalments in the numbers dated April 21, 28; May 5, 12, 19, 26, and June 2, 1798.

^{it}
The proof that Brown wrote ~~this work~~ is by the strongest of evidence, ~~both~~ external and internal.

The appearance in the Weekly Magazine, of which we have seen Brown and Dunlap were patrons, and to which we know Brown contributed Alcuin, ^{The Man at Home} and the first nine chapters of Arthur Mervyn, is strengthened by the fictitious letter to the editor signed A.Z. ~~As our work goes on~~ the evidence that A.Z. was Brown will be cumulative. ~~But this external evidence is only of striking importance when we consider along with it the internal.~~

- 1 The possibility ^{is} ~~of~~ either Mary or Henry, or both, ^{might} ~~being~~ made the title character, ~~makes it unadvisable to speculate on what Brown would have called it had he completed the story and published it in book form.~~
- 2 Each gave a letter except ~~in the cases of~~ II and ~~III~~ which gave two letters. Letter VIII was omitted so ~~that~~ though they are numbered up to ten they comprise ~~but~~ nine.

The key to the identification of the work is in the names ~~used~~.

Eliza Hadwin, and Mrs. Hadwin, Henshaw, Katy the washerwoman and Lucy Beddoes are all used in ~~works that are~~ Brown's. Bedloe is one of the names from the lists of the Wieland note-book. Mrs. Hadwin and her daughter Eliza or Betsey Hadwin are wholly transported into Arthur Mervyn under the same names and Mary D----- is probably the same person as Susan Hadwin another daughter in the same work. Lucy Beddoes becomes in Arthur Mervyn Lucy Villars one of the three daughters of Mrs. Villars. Henshaw the clerk in the treasury, whose name is given late, characteristically Brownish, becomes in Jane Talbot a very insignificant person at whose place certain information is learned by Henry Colden. In his case Brown did nothing but use the name. Katy Fitz the washerwoman of Lucy Beddoes had grown from plain Katy in the Man at Home, where she was really more important, for the hero of the story found an asylum in her house. She appeared again as a laundress in Henry Colden. This is only one of a number of instances where Brown showed his appreciation of ~~the position of low-life~~ characters such as landladies and washerwomen. It was not in his nature to ^{use} ~~hold~~ women of unfortunate circumstances ~~up to ridicule~~ and to ^{do} ~~make them~~ a cause for laughter.

Mrs. Berriton is undoubtedly the prototype of Mrs. Villars, as can readily be proven by a comparison of the two descriptions.

Letter X says:

"This home was inhabited by a lady, by name Berriton, and her three daughters. She was the relict of an English officer, and had lived at Baltimore, on her first arrival in America. She sustained, for some time, a good character; but this gradually declined, till at length, it became suspected that the opulence in which she lived, was built upon the unchastity of her daughters."

Compare with this the account of Mrs. Villars in the first chapter of the second volume of Arthur Mervyn.

"There lived in a remote quarter of the city a woman, by name Villars, who passed for the widow of an English officer. Her manners and mode of living were specious. She had three daughters, well trained in the school of fashion, and elegant in person, manners and dress. They had lately arrived from Europe, and for a time, received from their neighbors that respect to which their education and fortune appeared to lay claim.

The fallacy of their pretensions slowly appeared. It began to be suspected that their subsistence was derived not from pension or patrimony, but from the wages of pollution."

One may remember that Arthur Mervyn appeared in part in the same magazine in which we find this Series of Original Letters, in fact that it started in the number issued two weeks after the last Original Letter, that tenth one, had appeared. But this is not such conclusive evidence as it would appear to be for just

the part that contains the Villars people did not appear until the second volume was published in 1800, never having appeared in serial form. However we are warranted in assuming that the whole story was more or less in Brown's mind when he wrote the first volume and inasmuch as we can trace the Villars people back to the Berritons of 1798 it is not unreasonable for us to believe that even at the time of the magazine appearance of the earlier parts of Arthur Mervyn they were a part of Brown's story of Clemenza Lodi.

As a detail of our proof next in importance to the recurrence of names and the Berritons and Villars is the fire scene. Letter IX in which it is found was in the 26 May 1798 number and reads:¹

"It is past eleven, and a distant clamor has been stealing on my ear. It has gradually swelled, till its near approach renders it distinguishable. Fire is the subject of this loud and fearful warning. A neighbouring bell tolls, at first interruptedly, and at irregular intervals: presently, with brisk and continued strokes. Now I hear a second and more distant larum: voices ascend, on all sides, and the pavement under my window is beaten by innumerable feet."²

Compare with this a passage in the Memoirs of Stephen Calvert in the Monthly Magazine³ for July 1799.

1 Vol. II, p. 105.

2 The innumerable footsteps and feet may be compared with the "pavements were beaten by numberless feet" in Tressalonia, Monthly Magazine, Vol. I, p. 110.

3 Vol. I, p. 272.

At this moment our attention was called away by a distant and faint sound. It was the murmur of confused and unequal voices, mingling, and, at each moment, growing louder and more distinct. Presently a tolling bell was heard. The sounds were, at first, slow, and at long intervals; but suddenly the strokes succeeded each other with more rapidity, and other *larums* were rung in different quarters. The sounds gradually approached the door. The pavement without was beaten by innumerable footsteps, and the fearful warning, ascending from a thousand mouths, was *Fire! Fire!*

Curiously both fires happened about the same time of night: one past eleven, the other about twelve. If we had no other evidence to confirm our suspicion that Brown wrote this work this comparison of the fires and the Villars and Berritons would warrant our charging him with the authorship of both works or accepting the alternative of pleading guilty to flagrant plagiarism. If the alternative could by any possibility be proven it would stand as the only case of its kind in all Brown's work.

In general the diction is Brown's; the melancholy of Henry, his study and criticism of the law are not only Brownish but they are actually autobiographical. Letter II gives his defense of the profession, and Letter V comes out strongly with his criticism of it. The noteworthy thing about this work however is that unlike the author Henry does not decide against it; at least he scolds

1 See note 2 on previous page.

It is likely that
 but continues his reading of law. ~~Probably~~ Brown following his
 own experience would have had ^{him abandon} ~~him throw~~ over the ~~rubbish of law-~~
 if he had continued and completed the story.

The dating of the letters at Philadelphia and Burlington; the
 Utopian dreams and the music of letter IV; the rustic arbor and the
 stroll along the river bank in letter VI; the "plague-begetting
 smells,"¹ the subsistence by needlework and the ^{theft} ~~stealing~~ of Bobby
 Willet's shirt in letter VII; and the lack of attention to details;
 are all minor characteristics of Brown's ~~style and composition.~~

^{later in}
~~When we come to the Monthly Magazine we shall find Brown making~~
 use ^{of} ~~of~~ the interpolated story of Linehoff.² If it were not his own
 he would there be found ^{took} ~~guilty of taking~~ unwarranted liberties
~~with another's work~~ for he dressed it up with a new title--The
Punishment of Ridicule, a fragment.

Taking ~~all these~~ details both internal and external, no one
 should hesitate to say ~~that they more than~~ constitute ~~a~~ proof
 that Brown was the author of this Series of Original Letters.

The work is introduced by the following:

- 1 This recalls the mention in Arthur Mervyn of Medlicote who held to the theory originated by Dr. Rush that the unsanitary condition of the city was the cause of the plague. It is ~~indeed a matter of surprise that~~ Brown did not put more ~~of the~~ plague material in this work.
- 2 From Vol. II, p. 105 ⁵ ~~first full paragraph in the first column to the second full paragraph in the second column of page 105 appears in the Monthly Magazine, Vol. I, No. 157-9.~~

should be a touchstone of the author's truthfulness as well as ability.

This work is the most distinctively Brownish fragment that we have and so far as it is carried it presents not only an interesting weaving of the circumstances of the story but presents them in a way that has many excellencies, particularly in the various scenes.

The epistolary structure is built up with some evident attempts to make it approach perfection, as for instance by the care to preserve the reality of the fictitious letters as shown by the introductory letter to the editor; by the note correcting the dating of letter I and by the supposed omission of letter VIII. The letters are exchanged between brother and sister, H.D-- and Mary D--, and are so indexed despite the title.

The story pictures the two as being left in poor circumstances so that the sister is living with friends at Burlington and the brother is studying law being bound in tutelage to a lawyer of Philadelphia. When the story is stopped the four possible motives of the work are left incomplete: the possible love affair of Mary and Beddoes, the fire, the possible love affair of Henry and Lucy

Beddoes and the mysterious law student are suggested but as motives are only partly developed.

How the story would have been completed is almost out of possibility of conjecture, nevertheless there are a few hints that should be examined. With a shadow thrown over their characters the Beddoes would have to be shown to be the victims of malicious gossip, just as was that of Colden in Jane Talbot, if we are to suppose that one brother came to love the other sister and the sister came to love the other brother. According to the use made of the fire motive in Stephen Calvert and Wieland we are lead to suppose that it will be the means of Henry meeting Lucy, perhaps the development of that can be found in Stephen Calvert where, ^{as} we shall see the woman is of doubtful morals, is rescued from the fire by the hero and ultimately meets and falls in love with him. Thus, possibly, Lucy Beddoes may be the actual prototype of Clelia Neville. But, if the Lucy Beddoes affair should be developed in that way we are confronted with the situation of Mary and Lucy's brother, for which we have no parallel save that of Ormond to show how Brown would develop it. A great deal of white wash is really necessary for both Beddoes. What part the mysterious law student would play in

the continuation of the work is quite inconceivable.

From the mention in Henry Colden that "the subsequent incidents of the story are contained in a series of letters" it might be thought ~~that~~ this work belonged originally there but a study of the respective situations discloses no probability of such a connection.

To discuss the merits and demerits of a fragmentary work, other than in general, ~~as we have already done~~ is of course unfair to Brown, but there are a few details that have been passed by him and so far as they are concerned the fragmentary nature of the work does not excuse them, any more than it detracts from some good strokes ~~that can be found~~ in it. The worst ~~can be found~~ in letter III where Henry speaks of intending to spend a week with Mary at the end of this month; but all of May passes and the story even goes into June, and there is no ^{further} mention of the visit, ~~being made or cancelled.~~

The contrast of the sunny disposition of the sister with the melancholy of the brother is very well suggested and the narration of it is further strengthened by giving pictures of the ^{respective} lives, ~~of the two~~. The birthday party in the sylvan land is all ~~from~~ ^{from} ~~his~~ ^{his} ~~one volume biography, p. 255, reprinted in our appendix.~~

the more a gala day in the face of the morose drudgery of the reading of law in the unsanitary city. On the other hand these two scenes are excellent in themselves. Brown was peculiarly able by constitution and experience to picture both with truth and power; in fact they probably stood in his life as the extremes of happiness and utter misery.

Contrary to all critical estimates Brown really knew humor when he saw it, but the tenor of his life made it a means of creating powerful scenes out of what would otherwise have been merely a theme for laughter. Thus the interpolated ¹tragedy of Linehoff in letter IX though only an unrelated incident in the story is a very good instance of Brown's attitude toward the humorous situation. By nine out of every ten novelists the situation would have been eagerly siezed upon to lighten the story by a humorous turn, even though it does smack of the doubtfully humorous practical joke; but Brown saw in it a trick of technique for accentuating the tragedy. Just as one has one's risibility sufficiently aroused the picture shifts, the pen knife stabs and a gasp of horror takes the place of a guffaw. The author who uses a humorous motive in

1 This story we shall see is extracted and given the title The Punishment of Ridicule, a fragment, in Vol. I, pp. 257-9 of the Monthly Magazine.

that way is undoubtedly a ^{true} greater artist, ~~than a Brown, even if~~
~~the clown be a Grimaldi.~~

As suggested in proving this work ~~to be~~ Brown's the law practise
 and self-condemnation are ~~points, that have~~ autobiographic quality.
 In letter I there is a passage about Henry's father's financial
 condition that may likewise be autobiographic, at least it may be
 considered so in the absence of any other testimony as to who
 paid Brown's expenses in his days of wandering.

The dating of the letters at Philadelphia and Burlington is
 remarkably significant because Brown's ancestors came from those
 places.

In letter VII Henry, pictured as taking a dish of tea with Mrs.
 Willet, reminds us of Brown's tea-drinking with the Dunlap-Smith
 circles.

A Series of Original Letters has never been reprinted in any
 form, and it lies buried in the Weekly Magazine. ^{It}

~~In view of the facts this Series of Original Letters~~ must be
 classed as one of Brown's practise pieces. With the exception of
 the discussion of ^{the} law, ~~Brown~~ ^{he} took out of it all that was of value

and either worked it up for or transplanted it into other more important pieces of fiction.

We now come to ~~what we have indicated as being~~ the second class of the contributions: ~~to the Weekly Magazine~~ those having convincing evidence, ~~of being his.~~

Because in the case of the Series of Original Letters we found Brown using A.Z. as initials ^{ed} to conceal their authorship. When we have found that certain initials have been used by our author we may logically conclude that every use of them under the same circumstances may ^{conceal the} be for that same author. Of course as any one familiar with pseudonymous literature knows we cannot expect A.Z. always to mean Brown even when it is contemporary. But let us follow this out in other contributions to the Weekly Magazine.

^{Record} The ~~next~~ use of the initials we find in a note ² in ~~volume one~~ in which A.Z. asks for an explanation of the title Sky Walk. ^{That} There is ~~here what~~ may appear to be a coincidence, but it ^{actually} really takes on the

1 In the Monthly Magazine, III, p. 264 we ^{shall} have another appearance of these initials which we ~~will~~ treat ^{at} length, in studying that ~~particular~~. For our purposes here it might be said that that A.Z. will also be ^{appear} ~~assumed~~ to be Brown. There is no A.Z. in the list of the patrons, at least no individual who could use these initials.

2, p. 318.

Vol. I,

Weekly's

importance of ~~being~~ a confirmation of our claim. Sky Walk was

Brown's. ~~A. Z. we believe to be Brown. So we conclude~~

~~that this request of A. Z. was fictitious. If the~~Series

of Original Letters is introduced by a fictitious A.Z. it is not

difficult to believe ~~that~~ this Sky Walk use of it, ^{but} is merely

method of Brown's ^{advertising} ~~to explain to the public what~~ was not a source

of curiosity to his friends ~~but a matter of the author's desire.~~

It is unreasonable to suppose that any one would think the title

^{somewhat} anything more than ^{obs} obscure. The evidence seems strong enough to

warrant the inclusion of this note ~~of a request~~ ^{the second} in ~~the class~~ ^{in which} ~~it is included.~~

^{now} ~~but~~ In this place it is not necessary to consider ~~that~~ ^{it} Sky Walk

~~notice~~ further. More properly it comes under the study ~~of the work~~

which we shall make when we come to Edgar Huntly (1799) into

which Sky Walk was ~~afterward~~ merged.

The next item we find with the A.Z. initials is a miniature

tragedy entitled A Lesson on Sensibility ^{2.} ~~which appears in volume~~

~~two~~. While the evidence in this case is quite convincing it is

not ^{so} ~~as~~ strong as one would wish before allowing it to be placed

among the unquestioned. ~~Then too it is, with the exception of the~~

~~initials, wholly internal, and internal evidence alone is thin~~

1 In the lists of Indian names which we have been able to consult ^{we} we have found no explanation of the term ^{is} ~~as~~ Brown ~~gives it.~~

~~It~~ ~~This A.Z. explanation may~~ ~~be a fanciful one but not having an~~ ~~studied extensive~~ ~~literature relating to the Indians we are~~ ~~unable to state the~~ ~~truth of the matter.~~

² ~~Vol. II~~, Pp. 71-6.

Knowledge of Indian

We have found that in his fiction one of Brown's characteristics is his delay in giving the name of characters. Here his heroine is first the daughter of a family of pride of birth, a little later she is a lady, and the latest we have is that she is Miss Butler. What her Christian name is we do not learn. Similarly in the case of the hero we do not know his surname. In this connection the detail that her family is related to the house of Ormond is significant in view of the fact that Brown's story called Ormond was probably being planned about this time. There is another relation of this work to Ormond in the passage that reads:

"She without scruple, on those tokens and suggestions which Archibald, like an hovering genius, laid in her way without allowing her to distinguish the agent."

Like "an hovering genius" suggests the Ormond expression "like a secret witness" and the idea of this character profligate and plotting immediately recalls the disguises and spying of Ormond on Constantia. In this case the victim is, however, of quite the opposite character to Constantia.

Besides this there is the resemblance of Miss Butler's attitude toward matrimony to that of Jane Talbot in letter III of that work, and the resemblance of the title to A Lesson on Concealment which has evidence to allow us to attribute to Brown.
1 Monthly Magazine, Vol. II, pp. 174-207.

When we come to the year 1809 we shall see that some essays entitled The Scribbler bear traces of Brown's hand and we have in one of them a fragment entitled Insanity which is the same as this story of A Lesson on Concealment, having the same plot and names of characters, but among other details differing in the addition of one paragraph at the opening and four at the end. It was indicated as written for the Weekly Magazine and undoubtedly was revised for Dennie's Portfolio.

It should be noticed that the name Salkeld may have been derived from John Salkeld a well known Friends' preacher of Chester County;¹ and the name of Beckwith is one of those in the Wieland note-book.

The arrangement for opening the tomb of Miss Butler at midnight and Archibald's running off to the West Indies when his love meets with obstacles are familiar Brownisms. Aside from and by their presence strengthening these details there are the more important witnesses of the Brown diction, the psychological analysis, the character of the principal actors in the tragedy, and the structure of the whole work.

¹ Martin's Chester, p. 35.

As a short tale the story does not have to go far afield into literature for its catastrophe--it can be found in Romeo and Juliet--but Brown saw in the awakening of the heroine a chance for the morbid side of his analytical mind.

The first death, or more correctly, the apparent death is not at all made clear. If Brown had inserted an explanation, something in the manner of Romeo and Juliet, of the failure of the messenger to reach the hero and warn him of the sleeping potion we would not be forced to take the apparent death of Miss Butler as an anti-climax.

"Before it (Archibald's marriage to another) arrived, however, tidings reached him, by what means I shall not mention, of the fate of the Irish lady;..."

It is not too much to suppose that the "means" was a messenger or a letter, informing Archibald of her plan. And if we do supply that means we have, what we otherwise lack, a reasonable motive for the strange wish of Archibald to see Miss Butler in her tomb. Lacking that detail, and having in its place such a determined clause of refusal to explain the means, the whole structure totters and the force of the tale, as a tale, is weakened.

The remaining weaknesses are in minor details and startling though reasonable changes of intention by the chief personages.

The structure mentioned as being characteristic is as follows.

At the opening there are two preliminary paragraphs in which we learn of Archibald's character and position. The story proper begins at the third paragraph and continues to the last but one. In the last we have the completion of the circle by bringing us back to the second paragraph.

The cause for Archibald's passionate character being found in the romantic pictures in fiction, the presentation of him as an example of the bookish man of undisciplined mind, and the independence in the religious belief of Miss Butler have in them suggestions of the autobiographic. Not that they are to be looked upon as actual facts of Brown's life but rather as warnings of what might happen; as developments of the ideas that had come to him in his own experience.

The Lesson on Concealment is well named and its tragic ending throws us back on the moral that is suggested at the beginning and worked into the early part of the tale. With a hero and heroine of sensibility or sentiment, opposing forces in the family of Miss Butler and the friends of Archibald, in the defeat of their wishes by their weaknesses, and in the climactic horrible death of Miss

Butler and the resulting insanity of Archibald:Brown has condensed into paragraphs a story with a moral that he might have elaborated into a volume of as many chapters.

So far as we have been able to discover, this story is the only instance of Brown's using the motive of premature burial, and it may be related to the name selected by him, to be found in the Wieland note book--Gower, or the dead recalled.

1

In the second volume we find a list of twenty-two numbered "queries" signed A.Z. While any claim for Brown's authorship of these questions would be more intelligible to the reader after he has seen Brown's character in all its phases still enough is already known of him to warrant our considering them at this time. In the case of the minor ones we have given their subjects to indicate the character of the author, in the case of those that are significant we shall quote in full and explain.

- 1: Newton's method of Fluxions and D'Alembert's calculus.
- 2: Chiselling a statue.
- 3: Unknown planets.
- 4: Sun's light.
- 5: Sun's spots.
- 6: "Would human happiness be promoted by discovering the longitude?" Longitude here means longevity.
- 7: Impenetrability and matter.
- 8: Contemplating two ideas simultaneously.
- 9: "Is sleep the suspension of thought or only of memory?"

- 10: "Is sleep a perfection or a defect in the human frame?--If the latter, is it curable?"
- 11: Variolous contagion.
- 12: Intestinal and blood motion.
- 13: "Which has most influence on life and health, the moralist, the apothecary, or the surgeon?"
- 14: "Has an instance of ventriloquism fallen within the knowledge of any of my readers?"
- 15: "Did they ever witness the vagaries of a somnambulist?" ¹
- 16: "Did they ever meet two persons so alike as to be undistinguishable from each other except by dress or some artificial appendage?"
- 17: Dead languages.
- 18: Money spent on snuff, pig-tail² and cigars.
- 19: Taxes and liquors.
- 20: Miser and endower.
- 21: West Indian products and the slave trade.
- 22: Miser and spendthrift.

No. 6 contains the germ of a great many works of fiction and especially so of some that should be classed as supernatural. That Brown did not, so far as we know, do more than mention the elixir of life, in fact that he did not write a work based on the motif is one of the surprises of a study of him. As he wrote in a letter dated 5 May 1792 the possibility of living forever was of more than speculative interest.

No. 9 and 10 are related to 15 and show his mind was at work on the motive of Sky Walk afterwards Edgar Huntly. As we have had suggested in his letters 9 and 10 have some autobiographic interest. 10 also echoes the twelfth instalment of the Man at Home.

No. 13 surely is of interest autobiographically. The moralist is

2 A roll of tobacco usually chewed.

1 The same number in which these queries appeared contains the Negretti case which may have been suspected by Brown.

~~undoubtedly~~ a broad generalization and in Brown's mind included all literary men who had ministering spurs to action the same as he had.

No.14,15 and 16 are the strongest indications of Brown's having written these questions. 14 immediately calls to mind Wieland, 15 Edgar Huntly and 16 is the solution of the Memoirs of Stephen Calvert and also is used in a story of Brown's entitled Julius given in his letter dated 21 May 1792.

No.21 recalls Brown's consideration of negro slavery which ^{was} ~~we are~~ hinted at in Alcibiades. ~~and we shall see it~~ ^{to see} further developed in Stephen Calvert.

A.Z.

The interests of ~~the writer~~ are certainly not confined to any one walk of life, they run the gamut of knowledge, touching subjects from all science, through sculpture, botany, astronomy, philosophy, physics, psychology, medicine, ethics, philology, statistics, philanthropy, commerce, and banking to the particular lines of investigation in which Brown was at this time interested. ~~Several of them may be echoes of Godwin's~~ Political Justice.

Until we find some author who had an interest equal to Brown's in all these themes, for he had taken all knowledge for his province;

1 In Vol.IV, p.39 there is an article that gives some remarkable resemblances one of which may have inspired Brown but we have found no contributions in that volume which can be considered ^{ascribed} ~~to as written by~~ Brown.

until we find some one who had many if not all of them in mind at this time, a time ~~that~~ we should remember was previous to the publication of Brown's development of any one of them; the claim that Brown was the author of ^{these} ~~this set of~~ queries ~~communicated by A.Z.~~ will be unshaken.

~~Except~~ No. 15 to which we shall see one of Brown's friends supplied an actual instance ^{was the only one} ~~he received, no other answers to these queries and~~
~~had to go to books and conversation for his information.~~

Taking these A./Z./ contributions as a whole they are convincing. With a clearly proven case such as the Series of Original Letters ~~which we have proven~~ we can start with confidence. Then along comes the explanation of Sky Walk signed with the same initials. That confirms the first case and yet may be a coincidence. Our astonishment however has no more than quieted when along comes The Lesson on Sensibility with strong proof but really many times stronger because the A.Z. has again appeared. After that when the "Queries" appear with the A.Z. the astonishment has buried all doubt and certainty has taken its place so that we readily say why A.Z. is Brown of course. After this manner the repeated appearance of two initials farthest away from
 * Plutarch (Symposiums - Life of Alexander the Great) could have answered No. 10 - if he did not suggest the question.

any obvious connection with Brown's name leads us to the inevitable conclusion. The first and last letters of the alphabet are natural selections for pseudonymous purposes.

There is in the first volume a notice of the intended publication¹ of Sky Walk signed Speratus. The internal evidence is ~~to be found~~ in ~~all~~ the grammatical construction and the order of the sentiments, not in the sentiments themselves; for they may have naturally been absorbed from Brown by another writer. The opinion of the value of a work of the kind; the "strains of lofty eloquence," "exhibition of powerful motives" and "sort of audaciousness of character" which are coins ^{from} ~~from~~ the same mint as stamped the expressions in ^{Brown's} ~~the~~ letter to Jefferson; the contemptuous reference to money; and the Virgil quotation Posthac paulo majora canemus which applied to the ability of an author is another way of saying the Virgil quotation used on the title-page of the Monthly Magazine, Viresque acquirit eundo; the closing statements in regard to the facts and the foundation of the tale which would seem to have been only possible to the knowledge of Brown; all, taken as a group, make it most ^{likely} ~~probable~~ ^{it} ~~that~~ Brown wrote ~~this notice~~.

In our third class, ^{the} ~~these~~ contributions, ~~that are~~ doubtful, there are five articles ~~that~~ ^{ing} bear the pseudonym of Philo and all bear some evidences of coming from the hand of Brown. In volume one² the first is entitled at the heading ~~of the article~~ "On Theatres".

and at the heading of the next page "On the Effects of Theatric
Representations". It is ^{the} an answer to an article in the previous

¹ number signed T. Markwright--whether that is fictitious for Brown

there is no evidence to prove, but it is of little consequence

for if it is we have erred on the safe side; so that we ^{begin} ~~enter on~~

the Philo proofs assuming it to be ^{genuine.} ~~some other writer~~. The internal

evidence ~~to be adduced~~ is in the diction, the staccato sentences,

and the opinions the total of which is ^{not much.} ~~little~~. The external evidence

is in the signature, ~~of Philo~~.

We have a stronger case in the next appearance of ^{the} ~~that~~ pseudonym
when the writer treats ~~of~~ the same subject and we therefore shall

² pass to another page of the same volume where we find the title

to be "On the Effects of Theatric Exhibitions". The diction,

staccato sentences and opinions are even more striking here,

especially ^{opinions.} ~~so in the latter particular~~. In a letter to William

Dunlap dated 28 November 1794 we have:

"But what my friend, shall I say upon this interesting
subject? you yourself were present at the performance
of the piece, you know how little the theatrical people
are entitled to encomiums; what, therefore, could justify
your friends here publishing their sentiments upon the
acting....my imagination is too undisciplined by
experience to make me relish theatrical representations.
I cannot sufficiently abstract my attention from accom-
panying circumstances and surrounding objects...not
having the piece before me, I can recollect only the gen-
eral impression;...."

A comparison of this with what follows, will show such a similarity

~~of ideas~~ that it ^{may} ~~might~~ be accepted as evidence.

"Let us sum up the effects flowing from the nature of the scene, from our previous knowledge of the actors, and from the light, heat, and confinement of a crowded room.... Let us recollect, that the complex impression we derive from attendance on the theatre is owing, in great part, to other sights than those we see upon the stage, and other actions than those that are there performed... a young girl is seated in a side box... which of these occupies most of her attention... which occupies the largest share in producing that impression which she carries away with her?"

This point of view of the theatre is not only striking but

^{quite likely}
it is ~~almost~~ original, ~~the only other person who may have written~~
~~it being William Dunlap. But it seems as if~~ ^{for a person} ^{no theatrical man, like} Dunlap, could ~~not~~ have
^{written it} ~~done so~~ ^{becomes} for he ~~should by this time have become~~ so accustomed to
the theatre ~~that~~ ^{little more than} he could see ~~nothing but~~ the stage. However
^{who}
no matter ~~which one of the two~~ wrote it, it may have been inspired
by the visit of Brown and Dunlap to Lailson's circus in 1797.

In another place in the same article we have another possible
Brown trace. The passage reads:

"Let no man look upon the world with an accurate and comprehensive scrutiny. The spectacle will drive him into madness."

and we shall venture the assertion that any one who scrutinized
^{comprehensively}
~~carefully~~ all that Brown knew to exist in the world will ^{have to} ~~meet the~~
~~take care to preserve his~~ ^{sanity.}
~~and promised him here.~~

In summing up we may have Brown the practical man as distinguished from the romancer.

"It is possible that opportunity and liberty ought to be afforded to all to visit these spectacles, but it is unquestionably proper for me to employ my time and money in a more beneficial manner."

In Brown's case we know that when the dreamer becomes practical he oftentimes exposes more of the follies of life than we would wish.

The third item signed Philo is found in the second volume.¹ Again we have a Brown theme--one that, as we may see in his letters he had studied a great deal and, had his reason not conquered his sentiment and melancholy, ^{might} ~~would probably~~ have been the cause of his death. The essay bears two opening recollections of his letters. Its title is Suicide and the first words "Self-preservation" are the same association of ideas as we have been led to expect of Brown. While it is not impossible that any thinker would ultimately consider the subject in its contrast to the first law of nature it is important to make probable as his such an article that Brown had associated the ~~two~~ contrasting ideas.

At first it appears to be an ^{indifferent} ~~uninteresting~~ article on the general subject but we only have to read as far as the third paragraph to 1 P.3.

find far more attractive matter. It is really a piece of fiction, at least we have nothing to verify it as fact and it has too many details beyond the pale of the probable.¹ We may consider it in two ways; as a Lesson on Suicide, which Brown might better have named it; and as a "disquisition" on suicide, which cannot by any means be considered a large enough part of the whole to warrant the name it bears. The former is the fictional side, the latter is merely an interesting but slight commentary on the subject as treated in his letters.

The story tells the temptation of Henry Brighton. He intends to appropriate² to his own use the money intrusted to him for a friend's child; he has formed the habit of chewing paper and so destroys the fifty dollar bank note when on the way to use it; he commits suicide and his body is barely cold when a twin brother arrives. That brother intended to share with him his great wealth.

In general we have the Brown characteristics; the diction; the

1 From a letter of Brown's in 1792 it is possible that the friend of whom the story is told may have been a friend of his correspondent. But this is only the flimsiest of conjectures.

2 Misappropriation of money was one of the details selected by Neal (Randolph 1823, Vol. II, p. 211) as characteristic of Brown's fiction.

staccato sentences; the reflections or philosophizing of the narrator; the delay until the tenth paragraph in naming the suicide; the two brothers who so closely resemble each other; the drawing of the moral; the lack of wood¹ which seems to be Brown's universal tag to indicate poverty; the application of the tale to the thoughts of the narrator who is evidently contemplating the subject exactly as Brown had done in his letters and the method of presenting the story by a general introduction of a few paragraphs, a manner that Brown now had but later improved upon by the simple detail of some imaginary person to whom the tale is told. Perhaps the chewing of the paper owes its origin to the tradition told of Brown that he often trod to pieces in his boots the money he had ^{hidden} ~~secreted~~ there.

When one has read this tale if he will extract a few of the statements of Brown from his letters he will have no hesitation to accept the idea that Brown was the author. ~~of this story. For such a purpose~~
 Let us cull a few of them. Brown says:

1 In 1798 there was a shortage of wood that sent the price up to about twenty dollars a cord, and at the same time there was a prejudice against coal.

"Farewell and possibly forever! Who knows but before the return of morning I shall be no more. Death may sieze me ere I sleep!....I expected nothing less than another illustration of the Doctrine of Suicide. Self-murder or the murder of one's wife or child, are, in the opinion of mankind crimes of the deepest malignity, and though I, at present, differ in opinion from the majority with regard to the first of these offences, if such it may be called, yet I cannot but confess: that I listen to the tale of self-destruction with as much awful attention and delightful horror as any of my fellow creatures....such is the darkness and perverseness of my understanding that I think them, if the truth must be honestly avowed, wholly justifiable.... have I done anything more than given my opinion on a speculative question? Does my friend differ from me in opinion on the subject of suicide?....But it is, perhaps, of more importance to adopt a just opinion with regard to the lawfulness of suicide, than with respect to any other subject...Do you fear that I shall ever kill myself merely because I think it justifiable? If this be your fear lay it aside because it is unreasonable. The principle of self-preservation is not to be extinguished by argument or declamation. He that is persuaded to esteem it improper to avoid death or danger on any occasion whatsoever, will yet start from the ruffian's dagger with as much agility as he who never bewildered himself in the same refinements....If to destroy ourselves it be only necessary to justify Self-destruction it would not be easy to conceive a question of more unspeakable importance but it is evident that somewhat more is requisite, and that whether suicide be justifiable is a question of importance only to him whom some other motives have previously influenced to resolve on death...Dost thou wish me to become a convert to your doctrine? Implicitly to believe my own Immortality. And to gaze at self-destruction with abhorrence, to believe it execrable and flagitious? How easily may your wishes be accomplished."

In December of the same year Brown repeated his belief to be practically the same and significant for our present purpose adds:

"There are few subjects on which I have written or reflected more..."

His lasting interest in the subject is shown by his review of Samuel Miller's book on suicide in the Literary Magazine and in the

1

article signed Henricus in the same periodical. It should also be recalled that in several of his letters of 1792 he had considered all possible view points in preparation for an argument on suicide.

The fifty-dollar bank-note should be compared with those of Arthur Mervyn and Ormond; and the twin brother with the same complication in Stephen Calvert and in Julius as found in his letters and in the "queries" signed A.Z., already shown to be Brown's.

2

The fourth appearance of the pseudonym is with an important article entitled On Scheming . The signature; the diction; the staccato sentences; the method of an introductory paragraph; the absence of a name³ for the friend of the narrator; and the closing words addressed to the schemer are the traits that suggest Brown as the author. The mention of Count Rumford should be noticed because of its connection with the next appearance of the signature Philo.

4

In volume two there are five review articles of Count Rumford's

1 Vol.VII,p.17.

2 Vol.II,pp.38-9.

3 William Bartram, whom Brown and Dunlap visited in 1797 may be the man.

4 I begins on page 6; II-p.35; III-p.65; IV-p.97; and V-p.129. The review had been promised in a foot-note to the extract in Vol.I, p.403, of Rumford's account of the arrest of beggars at Munich.

Essays that deserve our attention for two reasons. This review appeared in the Monthly Magazine in three¹ articles instead of five and they were followed by four² others. In the appearance in the Weekly Magazine Nos.II,III,IV and V were signed Philo. In the Monthly Magazine No. II was signed O³ and all the others were unsigned. The Philo signature would stamp them as Brown's and to confirm it we have the more extended review in the magazine that Brown afterwards edited. At the end of No.III we have a paragraph that does not appear in the later appearance. It reads:⁴

"The remainder of this essay, containing speculations on the properties and uses of Indian corn and potatoes, will be noticed in a future number."

A comparison of the portions that appeared in both magazines discloses the fact that Brown as editor or as author, or both, took the liberty of deleting commas and in a few instances added or omitted words. They are not of the character to be excused as "typographical errors" and it is not very probable that he would be interested in altering unimportant details except in the cases where the work was his own.

1 I of the Weekly Magazine appeared as Article V of the review of American Editions of Foreign Publications beginning Vol.I on p.132; II in ditto p.239; III, IV and V in ditto p.299.
2 Vol.I, p.376; I, p.449; Vol.II, p.61; and p.139.
3 In our study of the Literary Magazine we shall find articles so signed which we shall suggest as possibly Brown's.
4 P.67.

In diction and method it is characteristic of most of Brown's work but being an early instance of his reviews, of which we are to have more as time goes on, it is of interest to notice how he took up the reviewer's pencil.

The first paragraph has rather an abrupt opening suggestive that something had preceded this essay, which makes it quite probable that the biography in the first volume¹ was the real opening of the whole review.

As a reviewer Brown has none of his old interest in debate and he fails to seize upon the opportunities that Rumford¹ offers to carry on speculations pro and con of the subject. As a rule he extended his extracts beyond the realm of a review and the patience of the reader so that the work is liable to prove a substitute for rather than an incentive to reading Rumford's essays.

On the whole the points made are good ones, but there is no criticism save the implied kind that consists only in the adjectives used. The reviewer took his proper place in relation to the reviewed book but he gives too few and too informal opinions and endeavored

1 P.37 ff. Not signed.

so far as he was able to present the reader too much of the actual material ~~to be found in~~ ^{of} the book. Thus the review barely approaches the outskirts of the realm of criticism and it shows Brown's ability as a critic to be ^{weak.} ~~very small. He depended too much on extracts from the book and he merely introduced it and then stood aside and allowed it to make its own way.~~ As a review, which ^{after all} it only pretends to be, ~~the work~~ ^{it} is passably fair for the time when it was issued; ~~as a criticism it is worth only the slightest mention.~~

It is quite probable ~~that~~ this review was somewhat connected with the Philo essay On Scheming. In the opening paragraph we find a reference to Rumford as a schemer which immediately recalls ~~the fact~~ that the essay On Scheming was aimed at Adam Smith and Rumford.

As we shall see when we ~~come to our~~ study ~~of~~ the Monthly Magazine Brown revised the essay and added to it. For our present purpose it is of interest to notice that in the later appearance, especially in the added instalments ~~the review is~~ ^{it} improved in critical power.

In the five appearances of the signature Philo we have found the evidence sufficient to warrant close examination and the conclusion that Brown probably wrote all of them. Like the case of

A.Z. we have considerable weight added to our argument in the recurrence of the pseudonym but because of the possibility of error in some of these instances we have been compelled to include the whole five as a group of what we have called the third class of ~~the~~ contributions, ~~to the Weekly Magazine~~. There is no reason why the third ~~Philo~~ appearance, and possibly the fifth, should not be accepted even though the first, second and fourth may be rejected; for it is ^{though not very likely that} possible [^] some other writer used the pseudonym ~~in Brown's day~~ under the same circumstances. If ^{only} the third and fifth appearances ~~alone~~ were concerned they would have been included among ^{those} ~~that~~ appears to bear unmistakable traces of Brown's authorship.

¹
In volume one there is a piece entitled A Contrast unsigned. It is composed of two scenes of two contrasting women pictured in the same unfortunate condition and it has several of the earmarks of Brown. The first is the history of Charles and

Henrietta Morton. Charles is a merchant and the failure of other merchants involves him in business difficulties so that he is thrown into prison for debt and dies. Henrietta, a fine type of the resourceful woman, soon follows him. The second part gives a picture of Henry and Fanny Blossom. They are the conventional high-livers of the sporty, half-fast set in reduced circumstances. The scene as given by the narrator pictures Mrs. Blossom emaciated and pale, leaning over her squalid child.

The characteristics of Brown are to be found in the situations of the Mortons and the Blossoms the former possibly corresponding to that of the Dudleys in Ormond and the latter in its feminine side possibly being related to Harriet Wallace in Henry Colden.¹ Other details are the diction; the sentences; the education of woman which suggests Alcuin; the recourse of Henrietta to the needle; their living in an obscure court as in Ormond; in fact, the similarity of the position of the embarrassed merchant and the break down in the character of Charles Morton to that of Dudley in Ormond; the delay in giving the names; the drawing of the moral; the Grecian temple for the ball that recalls the Roman one in Wieland; the

¹ Allen, p. 227.

lack of attention to the logical order of the Morton story; and the scene of the squalid child which recalls a similar one in Arthur Mervyn.

The conduct of Morton when his creditors fail him and he is cast into prison may ^{come from} ~~be a reference to~~ the record of the same trouble of a friend as given in one of Brown's letters or ^{from account} ~~to~~ the ~~story~~ of Brown's father told in explanation of the prison experience which Brown had when he was scarcely sixteen years old.

The name of Henrietta ~~we have found~~ ^{as} Brown using in the Julius story and Morton ~~we shall find~~ used in Clara Howard.

In the case of the Mortons there are enough similarities to make it probable ~~that~~ they were the germ of the Dudleys in Ormond, Henrietta ~~especially~~ appearing to be a prototype of Constantia. Her surprise by the touch on the shoulder also recalls the scene where Ormond similarly surprises Helena Cleves.

At the end of the second Contrast there is a suggestion that the author was a woman. So far as we know there was no reason why Brown should not have used that as a device to conceal the authorship. As we go on with the group to which this Contrast belongs we shall find the fiction of a woman author growing weaker and weaker, and the more probable authorship falling on the shoulders of a man. Intimately related to this Contrast are the pieces entitled Charity and Sudden Impulses both of which are signed with the same variation of the name of Constantia as used in Ormond; namely, Constance.

The piece entitled Charity is in the same volume and is designated as being by the author of the Contrast. The moral attitude of the narrator toward the money he has in hand is in keeping with Brown's character. In striking contrast is the picture of the epicure who spends on his own luxuries what would have saved a poor man's last possessions. The usual Brown traces of diction and sentence are there, with a possible reference to Dunlap in the friend who wanted the narrator to attend an exhibition of paintings. It is signed Constance and at the closing suggests that the same writer will in the future take up the subject of "sudden impulses." The signature in Brown's mind would of course be merely the indiscriminate variation he will use in Ormond.

A little later in the same volume we have that promised article on Sudden Impulses. In it we have the characters walking in the State House Yard recalling Ormond as well as Wilkins; the character of the narrator though still maintained as feminine is here described and proves

to be Brownish; and the meeting of the late named Lawrence Freemore also suggests the Ormond. ~~Thus~~ It is possible ~~that~~ this piece was a part of Constantia Dudley's walking about the city. The self-accusation of Freemore is characteristic of Brown in every particular.

The reference to the yellow fever, the drawing of the moral, the diction, the sentences, the sentiments and the late naming of the characters are all ~~details that are~~ traces of Brown. As in many other places we here have ~~another~~ example of the Brown peculiarity that his characters seldom live at home; perhaps because a landlady offers suitable material for all sorts of romantic stories.

Taken as a whole these four "Constance" items have considerable in them to warrant the statement that they not only are Brown's but that they ~~probably~~ are related to ~~his~~ Ormond. The Sudden Impulses is the best in that particular and from it we are led to believe ~~that~~ the whole group may be discards from ^{the} ~~his~~ more important ^{story.} ~~prose fiction.~~

1

In the second volume there is a story entitled "Memoirs of a Spy" signed Antiphilus, which bears striking evidences of being Brown's. First there is the title--it is only ^{too likely} ~~probable~~ that had

Brown worked the story over or enlarged it that it would have been named as Arthur Mervyn, perhaps "¹----- Wimpson or Memoirs of a Spy." The structure of the story is like others by Brown; ~~it~~ ^{is} introduced by a formal paragraph giving the situation and the source ~~of the story~~ ^{ending} and ~~it ends~~ by completing the circle and reviewing the same. The diction and the sentence peculiarities are Brown's. A point to be noticed is that Philadelphia is the only city of those in which the spy had adventures that is at all familiar to the author. The usual detail neglected by Brown can be found in the part where Wimpson attempts the life of the sea-captain--had any such attempt been made he would have ended his career at the end of the plank instead of living to die of the yellow fever in Philadelphia in 1793. The coincidence of resemblance to the youthful London highwayman is another Brownism. The relations of Wimpson to the polished masters he served in London and Paris resembles Arthur Mervyn's position in the household of Welbeck. The drawing of the veil over the immorality of his relations with the sister-in-law of Ayscue ^{also} resembles Welbeck in Arthur Mervyn. The

1 The name of Wimpson (sic) may have been taken from Vol. I, p. 54, Wimpssen's Voyage to St. Domingo.

late naming of the boy Frank Bilden, the lack of a name for Ayscue's sister-in-law, the dragging in of Leslie to bring the story to a conclusion, the sister who resembles the sister of Arthur Mervyn seduced by Colvill and the sister of Watson led astray by Welbeck in Arthur Mervyn and Wimpfen's bookish habits should also be noticed. With a case of circumstantial evidence so well corroborated there seems to be little reason to doubt Brown's authorship of the story.

The ascription to Brown of the Memoirs of a Spy signed Antiphilus carries along with it the necessity for an examination of all the contributions signed the same. The second appearance of the pseudonym¹ is in the first volume and is an answer to the article on theatres which we have included in the Philo list. While it is not impossible that Brown may have written both, it is improbable, and with no further evidence, not even in regard to sentences and only partly so in regard

1 P. 394.

to diction, we are compelled to consider this item as a possible exception. Such a conclusion throws doubt on both articles.

The third appearance in the second volume is one that follows¹ the preceding. Save for the facts that Brown was intimately acquainted with the disadvantages of the debtor's prison, as one of his letters showed, and that he had thought a great deal on the subject, and though the diction and sentences are characteristic, we have no further indication that he was the author of the article On Imprisonment for Debt.²

In another part of volume two³ there is a piece called On the Causes of Grief signed Antiphilus. In this instance we have a few strong traits. The piece is marked for its introduction which gives the source of the information and the end reviewing it, as well as three details which recall other items by Brown. As we have seen a washerwoman was a character that Brown sympathized with and used

1 P.14.

2 In answer to the article in Vol.I, p.295 signed Querist. Possibly this Querist may be related to the Queries which we have shown to be by Brown.

3 P.131.

several times, the inability to get wood we have also found to be a tag of his, and the lamentation of the woman and the suggestion that the husband had gone out sober and would come back drunk recalls the sordid story of Cooke the drunkard as given in his 29 July 1793 letter. The diction, the sentences, the sentiments in the final paragraphs, the character of the woman, the absence of names, the safe arrival from sea of a brother and the drawing of the moral are strong points in favor of its being Brown's.

Taken as a whole the Antiphilus pseudonym stands a little more than half way over the threshold. Two items have some proof, one of which is quite convincing, and two items have what amounts to a minimum, so that we are forced to consider them all with some particle of doubt. However no one should fail to read them.

Among the mass of contributions there are several that have the
¹
 initial B at the end which a hasty reader might accept as our author's. At the least they demand study, for errors in ascribing works to an author may lead to disastrous consequences in his biography. There is not sufficient evidence in any of them to warrant an ascription to Brown.

1 The A.B. will be considered when we come to our study of the Literary Magazine and the translation of Volney's View.

Because in our study of Brown's early years we have found the versification of the passage of Dar-Thula from Ossian signed with the initials C.C. we are compelled to assume that other verses similarly signed and appearing in the same periodical may likewise be by Brown.

On pages 157-8 of volume two there are twenty-six lines of Pope couplets in the same iambic pentameter which Brown used so often. They are given as for the Weekly Magazine, original Verses written May 27th. 1798, on taking a Survey of Burlington Church-yard. Inasmuch as the twenty-fifth Psalm verses were dated at Burlington on the 3rd. of April when they were apparently resurrected from his youthful note-book it seems Brown had been revisiting the scenes made familiar to him by the family history. At this time such verses as these echo the subjectivity of the writer and again show us our author finding a solace for unrequited love by walking among the tombs of a graveyard. They read:

HERE wide around in dreary silence
 spread
 The time-worn mansions of the *sacred*
dead!
 To mark the spot of crested *grandeur's*
 dust,
 Here towers aloft no *monumental bust!*
 No *columns* rise; no *statues* blaze on high,
 To deck the ground where laurel'd *war-*
riors lie!
 But better'd *grave-stones*, of an humbler
 mien,
 Throng with their *fancy-forms* the solemn
 scene;
 In simplest terms inemulous of fame,
 Announce of those entomb'd the *age* and
name.

Here *Sorrow* stalks her solitary round,
 And bathes with pearly tears each *bal-*
lowed mound!
 While pale-eyed *Melancholy* sits forlorn,
 Dead to the sweets of joy-inspiring morn;
 Dead to the beauties noontide glories
 give,
 And all the milder tints of shadowy eve!
 Here *Contemplation* walks, *enwapt*
 abroad,
 Glancing "through nature up to nature's
 God;"

Reflects on varied *life's* impending *death*,
 And the weak ties that bind our fleeting
 breath;
 Recalls each tender scene to Memory
 dear,
 And wakes to life the sympathetic tear;
 Then wafts a prayer to Heaven's *resplen-*
dent throne,
 And soaring shoots aloft to worlds un-
 known!
 Unenvious looks on conquerors and on
 kings,
 And leaves with joy all *sublunary* things!

As Pope couplets they ^x ~~usually~~ ^{should} meet with ^{some} ~~little~~ attention. They have the touch of sentimentalism which most critics say is so distasteful to them though humanity ~~often~~ hugs it to its bosom. Walking in a graveyard, when ~~we are~~ disappointed in love or any other ^{earthly} matter, may be sentimental; but it is not necessarily any thing more than ~~we~~ ~~are always encouraged to do by~~ the romance of human existence. At its worst it is far preferable to many other ways of forgetting. Unlike most graveyard verse this instance of Brown's raises the mind on high, throws off "pale eyed melancholy" and "shoots aloft to worlds unknown"--perhaps even into the empyrean of literary ambition. If indifferent as metre, it is remarkable as biographical material. The tone though lugubrious in appearance is in reality ~~philosophically~~ healthy. At least, it has the merit of avoiding ~~pusillanimous~~ whining.

~~together with the twenty-fifth Psalm paraphrase and the three passages of Ossian which belong in our biographical study of the year 1787 this "C.C." verse should not be passed over while studying Brown's probable contributions to this periodical.~~

x The quotation is from the Essay on Man, Epistle 4, line ~~331~~ 331.

By ~~reason of our~~ offering the details ~~that can be found in each~~
 case for ascribing anonymous and pseudonymous pieces to Brown the
 consideration of the Weekly Magazine has ^{perhaps} extended to ^{more than it} ~~considerable~~
^{Warrants.} length. It would be a very easy matter to ascribe the articles
~~considered~~ without offering any proof but it is not our desire to
 merely swell the catalogue of Brown's work, ~~unless we have just~~
~~cause to do so.~~ The investigation of some sort of detailed work
 such as we have present^{ed} will make one more intimately acquainted
 with the characteristics of Brown's work than any other part of
 this whole book.

To summarize: ~~we find that~~ Brown probably contributed ~~at least~~
 fifty-seven instalments, or articles as the case may be, ^{to} during
^{twenty-seven} ~~the appearance~~ ^{the first} of thirty ~~of the~~ numbers of the magazine. Possibly
 his total contributions extended to as many as seventy-seven. To
~~three of the first thirty~~ numbers, 19, 25 and 26 he appears not to
 have contributed.

So far as we have been able to discover he ~~probably~~ ended all
 relations with the ^{magazine} ~~paper~~ after the death of Watters ¹ ~~the~~ editor at
 which time the long-carried advertisement of ^{Brown's} Sky Walk no longer
 appeared on the ^{wrappers.} ~~cover~~.

He died at St. Mary's. Cf. list of deaths in Condie and Folwell's History
of the Yellow Fever, Philadelphia, (1798). 25 August 1798 was the last
 number (30) he edited and published.

As literary works all of these contributions ~~to the Weekly Magazine~~
^{may}
~~are to~~ be classed in a group. If not actually written at the time
~~for~~ the magazine they were, as the fragmentary nature of ^{many} ~~most~~ of
 them shows, ~~with~~ drawn from Brown's stock of manuscript without
 being revised and as a consequence are, with a few noteworthy
 exceptions not entitled to ^{extended} ~~formal~~ criticism.

In some cases ^{an} ~~the~~ opinion ~~of the present writer~~ has been con-
 fined to the selection of an adjective or unobtrusively woven into
 the evidence cited to prove the article to be Brown's. At the
 same time they show the range of Brown's interest and ability
 and in some cases should not be left in the obscurity of a dead
 and almost forgotten periodical.