

Charles Brockden Brown, Translator

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IN HIS LIFETIME Charles Brockden Brown translated one work only: C. F. de Volney's *A View of the Soil and Climate of the United States*. For the novelist-editor-critic and, as of 1803, political pamphleteer, the translation of Volney in 1804 seems an odd choice. Although he was America's foremost litterateur, Brown rendered into English no romantic tale in the tradition of Chateaubriand's *Atala*, but "the first book to give an organized synthesis of the physiographic and geologic regions of the United States and of the climatology of the continent."¹ The choice for translation seems doubly puzzling when we consider that a London English language edition was already available in America even as Brown labored at its American counterpart. And without engaging in the perpetual debate over the noblesse oblige of literary translators, one must upon examination of Brown's work concur with a reviewer for the *Monthly Anthology and Boston Review* that Brown "omitted notes that did not accord with his own ideas" and "wholly altered the form of one of the appendices."² But while his biographers have viewed Brown's effort as an anomalous, quasi-literary interlude between his novels and his political-historical activities, such easy dismissal of the translation may leave neglected a significant aspect of Brown's thought. The *Monthly Anthology* reviewer had denounced Brown's alterations of Volney as "wholly unpardonable," both dishonorable and unjust. Yet a close look at the eccentricities of Brown's translation suggests that Volney stimulated the Philadelphian both to define the American in relation to his nation and continent, and to attempt actuation of the territorial expansion which, as of his first political pamphlet, Brown evidently believed would insure national progress. Indeed, the special biases Brown reveals in his translation make it quite clear that the effort was no perfunctory exercise in a language self-

¹ George W. White, "Introduction," Charles Brockden Brown, trans. *A View of the Soil and Climate of the United States*, by Constantine Francois de Volney (New York, 1968), p. v. All references are to this edition; page references will hereafter be cited in my text.

² *The Monthly Anthology and Boston Review*, V (July, 1808), 442.

taught, nor a task undertaken only at the urging of Brown's fellows in the Friendly Club. Rather, Brown's translation of Volney appears to be the work of a mind bent upon using the pen for specific nationalistic purposes.

Brown's interest in, and encouragement of, American national self-consciousness in varied areas of life has been well documented.³ For example, his brief editorial tenure at the *Monthly Magazine and American Review* (1799-1800) had found him reviewing "more or less critically" some "one hundred and fifty American publications."⁴ And his later journalistic ventures in editing the *Literary Magazine and American Register* (1803-1806) and then the *American Register, or General Repository of History, Politics, and Science* (1807-1809) reveal by their contents—and even by their titles—the value Brown placed upon preserving the current record of the growing nation. Moreover, as a novelist Brown had used fiction to define the American experience. His portrait of the American wilds in *Edgar Huntly* was no happenstance of setting, for "the work unites Old World intrigues with the hazards of a New World civilization."⁵ Further, *Arthur Mervyn* has recently been called a novel in which "self realization occurs on American soil and in American terms . . . in more complex ways than most readers have imagined."⁶ But Brown published no fiction after 1801, and Warner Berthoff finds in the "feebleness" of his last two novels an anticipation of Brown's "abandonment of the novel as a literary instrument." It was in "journalism and pamphleteering, history and politics" that Brown was thereafter to focus "his serious critical interest in ideas and their practical consequences."⁷ Certainly one of Brown's major ideas concerned American nationalism, a term whose political ramifications are perhaps best revealed in the kinds of liberties Brown took with Volney's text and in the cast his marginal notes gave that work.

It is important to recognize the tradition of which Volney's *View*

³ See David Lee Clark, *Charles Brockden Brown: Pioneer Voice of America* (Durham, 1952), pp. 137-154.

⁴ Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850*, I (Cambridge, 1958), 219-220.

⁵ Clark, *Charles Brockden Brown*, p. 175. See also Donald A. Ringe, *Charles Brockden Brown* (New York, 1966), pp. 86-107.

⁶ James H. Justus, "Arthur Mervyn, American," *American Literature*, XLII (Nov., 1970), 305.

⁷ Warner Berthoff, "Brockden Brown: The Politics of the Man of Letters," *Serif*, III (Dec., 1966), 3-4.

of the Soil and Climate is part. Misleadingly, Joseph Dennie had called it "these travels."⁸ But Volney did not write the kind of impressionistic, anecdotal travel narrative that was fast becoming a literary genre all its own, especially for disgruntled European visitors eager to excoriate America for its crudities. On the contrary, Volney, an "accomplished French linguist, philosopher, politician, scientist, author, and extensive traveler in Africa and Asia Minor," followed his scientific predecessors Buffon and de Pauw, both of whom had concluded by deduction that natural conditions in America could not promote population growth nor support a healthy populace.⁹ In sum, Volney, a friend of Jefferson and Fellow of the American Philosophical Society, did not present himself as one French traveller piqued by drafty coaches and greasy dinners, but as a savant prepared to assert in the authoritative language of disinterested science that America was thoroughly pestilential and rife with threatening savages, that of its vast area the only sites fit for civilized life were "the southern point of Rhode Island, or the south-west chain in Virginia between the Roanoke and Rappahannock," or the "highlands of Florida and Georgia," or the shores of Lake Erie "a hundred years hence" when "it will not as now be infested with fevers" (p. 264).

Volney's caveats appeared in the same year as Brown's first political pamphlet, which urged the expropriation of the Louisiana Territory Spain had recently ceded to France. Brown's main intent in *An Address to the Government of the United States on the Cession of Louisiana* was to alert Americans to imminent colonial danger, but the boldness of his proposal contrasts sharply with Brown's recognition of the awesome vastness of the United States as currently bounded, and of the nation's self-induced vulnerability through interregional strife. In 1800, three years earlier, Brown had described the enormous area and maze of divisions in his country:

Only reflect upon the motleyness, the endless variety of habits, ranks, and conditions in our country. The theatre itself is too wide for you to traverse: a thousand miles one way and fifteen hundred the other: various

⁸ *The Port-Folio*, IV (1804), 269. Dennie advertised Brown's forthcoming translation as "fully equal, if not superior, to the foreign," and he urged that "these travels may be purchased with avidity, and criticized with candour," though it is doubtful that he anticipated the acerbic forthrightness of the *Monthly Anthology* reviewer.

⁹ White, "Introduction," *View of the Soil and Climate*, p. v.

in climate from the ceaseless ardors of the tropics to the horrors of the arctic winter; divided into near a score of separate states, in each of which there are very great peculiarities of constitution and laws; each of which has climate, soil, productions, distributions of property and rank somewhat different from those of its neighbors.¹⁰

Brown's reflections on the multiplicity of the country are not singular for himself or his time, for American periodicals were reiterating the difficulties of defining the interrelation of citizen to nation to continent, and of deriving a national identity from disparate peoples in disparate geopolitical regions. Brown's own *Monthly Magazine* tried to distill the "American spirit," and his *Literary Magazine* contained warnings of regional disputes and perspectives on the American character.¹¹ Similar writings appeared in the *American Museum*, the *Monthly Anthology*, and the *Port-Folio*.¹² Nor did Brown neglect such matters in his *Address to the Government*. Seemingly his horror of Americans' myopic parochialism (and concurrent indifference to their fellow citizens in other regions) led him to cry in his political pamphlet, "Do the people of the coast regard as aliens and enemies those beyond the mountains? Those of the northern states, however distant in place and dissimilar in manners, do they regard with no paternal emotions the happiness or misery of their Southern countrymen?"¹³

Yet boldly in his *Address to the Government* Brown asserted the importance of United States territorial imperatives over the "lesser" matters of cultural and regional variance among Americans. Righteously he called for seizure of the Louisiana Territory. "We have looked on with apathy," he wrote, "while European powers toss among themselves the property which God and Nature have made ours . . . America is OURS . . . and therefore Louisiana is ours." He urges that the Territory be secured "for removing all obstacles to the future progress of our settlements." Minimizing current difficulties, Brown's tone becomes visionary as he legitimizes the ex-

¹⁰ "On a Scheme for Describing American Manners," *Monthly Magazine and American Review*, III (July, 1800), 8-10.

¹¹ *Literary Magazine and American Register*, II (1804), 215-220, 252-257.

¹² See *American Museum*, VII (1790), 237-241; *Monthly Anthology and Boston Review*, I (1804), 293-297; *Port-Folio*, II (1809), 302-303; V (1811), 388-389.

¹³ Quoted from Clark, *Charles Brockden Brown*, pp. 265-268. Clark reprints large sections of Brown's pamphlets because of their general unavailability.

propriation of land as ordained by higher powers, “God and Nature.” David Lee Clark has observed that “Brown was moved primarily by wholesome patriotism—the desire to see his country expand from ocean to ocean.”¹⁴ But indications are that Brown’s position required a striking imaginative leap both geographically and temporally, as well as politically.

Thus committed to the view that America’s destiny lay in future continental expansion, Brown used his translation of Volney both to reaffirm his view and to actuate that expansion by nullifying Volney’s charges about savage Indians and unhealthy natural conditions. At the very outset Brown takes his visionary stance, his imagination fueled by the Louisiana Purchase:

The recent addition of Louisiana has carried the western limit far beyond the Mississippi, and embroiled it in a world of unexplored deserts and thickets. The circumstance has aided the imagination in its excursions into futurity; and instead of anticipating the extension of this empire merely to the sea on the south, and to the *great river* on the north, we may be sure that, in no long time, it will stretch east and west from sea to sea, and from the north pole to the Isthmus of Panama. (p. 2n.)

Just as his *Address to the Government* has emphasized the importance of United States geographical extension, so in the translation Brown characterizes Americans by their reach upon the continent, seeming to settle for himself the question of who is properly an American citizen:

The want of a peculiar geographical appellation, and their superiority in numbers and importance to every other nation, exotic or indigenous, of America, has given to the people of the United States the name of “Americans,” among their neighbors and among Europeans. . . . Instead of regretting this circumstance . . . I think it rather a cause of pride and exultation. We should . . . ardently anticipate the period, when the extension of our empire will make the national appellation of *Americans* a strictly geographical and precise one. (p. 338n.)

Yet the plausibility of “extension of our empire” from “sea to sea” over the entire North American continent obliged Brown to counter

¹⁴ Clark, *Charles Brockden Brown*, p. 269.

Volney's indictments of America as unhealthy territory riddled with incorrigible savages.

Throughout the *View of the Soil and Climate* Volney had revealed his distaste for Rousseau, "who, having created for himself an airy and fantastic world, knew as little of the society of which he was born a sequestered member, as of Indians, of whom all his notions were gathered from the woods of Montmorenci" (p. 386). With satisfaction Volney portrays the indigenous American as the ignoble savage, at best a herd animal, at worst a cannibal devouring enemies alive. He is delighted that Floridian traveller Bernard Romans agrees that the Indian race is "sottish, filthy, idle, pilfering, and haughty," not to mention "vain, irritable, vindictive, and ferocious" (p. 272). In large part Charles Brockden Brown might be expected to concur with these views, for in *Edgar Huntly* (1799) he had by no means portrayed the Indian sympathetically. Of necessity Edgar slays five savages in the course of the action, and in the narrative recounts how "notwithstanding the progress of population, and the multiplied perils of such an expedition, a band of them had once penetrated into Norwalk, and lingered long enough to pillage and murder some of the neighboring inhabitants."¹⁵

But while Brown perceived the Indian as a rich resource for fiction, using him in Roy Harvey Pearce's term, for "the luxury of horror," still his translator's notes do not accede to Volney's view of the Indian as a violent threat to civilization.¹⁶ The Indian refusing accommodation to a reasonable mode of civilized life is, Brown says, simply a despicable creature of habit, much like his white counterparts (p. 376n.). "The true problem is not why the Indian cannot be changed into a shopkeeper or mechanic," but why he stubbornly resists an agrarian life which "is all that the welfare of the United States" and his own "happiness and dignity" require of him (p. 377n.). Yet the example of Chief Little Turtle heartens Brown that "an Indian can abjure his habits, and adopt all the modes of the whites which are worthy of adoption." Brown neither patronizes nor condescends, but firmly resists agreement with Volney. In fact, Brown suggests Indian *extinction* is likely in the offing, for while the native peoples "have already probably taken several steps toward

¹⁵ *Edgar Huntly*, ed. David Lee Clark (New York, 1928), p. 181.

¹⁶ *The Savages of America* (Baltimore, 1965), p. 198.

a total assimilation to the customs of the whites, they are hastening to extinction with a much quicker pace than to civilization" (p. 381n.). So much for that threat to national expansion.

On the subject of health Volney had charged that even the most populous and civilized portions of the United States were debilitating. Philadelphia in midsummer is so intensely hot, he complains, "that the streets are deserted from noon till five o'clock, and most of the inhabitants retire to repose after dinner" (pp. 107-108). Yet the northeast wind "fills the air with the chilliest and most benumbing fog" which "oppresses the brain, and produces torpor and headache" (p. 137). Volney extends the pathology to the national character, implying that America is distinguished by "torpor and feebleness of mind" (p. 138). He complains of drenching rainfall and, as if water, wind, and heat were not abusive enough, warns that when he "first saw thunder storms at Philadelphia, the electric fluid appeared so copious, that all the air was on fire." Lightning bolts, he adds, "often occasion the most disastrous accidents" (pp. 198-199).

Brown discredits Volney with light irony, declaring risible the Frenchman's avowals of prostrating heat and citing himself as a Philadelphian active in all weathers. "The writer of this note," he says, "has been sitting at his ease, in a spacious room in an airy situation, surrounded by trees" and "at six o'clock P. M., observing the noon-day heats remitting, he has looked at the glass and found it 89 degrees." No sedentary creature, Brown "has himself walked five miles in a dusty, shadeless road at noon day, with a black beaver hat on his head, when the heat was 91 in the shade of an adjacent wood" (p. 108n.). As for the wind-induced headache and torpor, Brown writes that most Philadelphians and visitors experience nothing but the consequences of dreary weather "rather uncheering to the fancy than directly hurtful to the health" (p. 137n.). And those lightning accidents are "rare," though with irony Brown adds that the "terror of lightening," especially among the ladies, "is a genuine and formidable evil in America" (p. 199n.). But Brown takes umbrage at Volney impugning the national character. "It is somewhat surprising," he says caustically, "that notions so crude and generally exploded, should be countenanced by our author" (p. 138n.). But he cannot resist exploding the notions anew.

Far more serious are Volney's imprecations about diseases in

America, for at length he describes those "whose prevalence entitle them to be considered as the direct offspring of the soil of this country" (p. 223). Volney charges that fatal consumption is caused by widely fluctuating American temperatures. Further, fevers are rife and while "not immediately fatal," they "sensibly enfeeble the constitution and shorten life" by fifteen to twenty years (p. 229). Volney's gravest accusation, however, is that "the yellow fever prevails more and more in the United States" (p. 237), and that, contrary to the accepted medical hypothesis, it is not a disease imported from the Caribbean via infected sailors, but an indigenous malady engendered by the soil and climate of the United States. He lists each symptom until "death hastens to close the scene"; and then Volney offers a chilling geographical profile of the disease reaching inexorably northward in America throughout the eighteenth century. "Louisiana and the southern coasts of the United States, where heat and moisture combine their pestilential influence, were never strangers to it," nor were "New Orleans, Pensacola, Savannah, Charleston, and Norfolk" usually "free from it for five years together." The Potomac River had long been its boundary, but the disease had got such a stronghold beyond it that "it may be now considered as congenial to the northern as well as to the southern states." It had "appeared at Philadelphia as a pestilence," had "raged at New York," and "ravaged Baltimore, Norfolk, Charleston, and Newburyport." It had also been diagnosed at Boston, Harrisburg, Oneida, and "the Miami of Lake Erie" (pp. 240-241). Yet even as the disease gained ground, Volney charges, the American medical profession had through a sense of national pride conspired to deceive the public into belief that the yellow fever was imported. On the contrary, Volney suggests that it "is capable of being generated within the country, by a concurrence of certain incidents of time and place" (p. 246).

Brown likely prepared his refutation in counsel with his medical colleagues in the Friendly Club. Of course he could not dispute the Frenchman's statistics, so instead he emphasizes the efficacy of preventive measures. Evidently Brown was convinced that a well-regulated life made the body a healthy garrison for warding off disease. This was his position in *Arthur Mervyn*, in which the narrator, Dr. Stevens, says that in the midst of the epidemic his

family "enjoyed good health" and were "hopeful" of escaping infection because they followed a regimen of "cleanliness, reasonable exercise, and wholesome diet," rather than of fumigation or flight from the zones of disease.¹⁷ Mervyn himself becomes ill only when he abuses his body by ignoring advice to eat and rest, and he hears a companion impute the disease, "not to infectious substances imported from east or west, but to a morbid constitution of the atmosphere, owing wholly or in part to filthy streets, airless habitations and squalid persons."¹⁸ Noteworthy here is the attribution of the fever, not to an indigenously pestilential soil and clime, but to an hygienically insulting condition created by men, and presumably correctable. In his translation Brown indicates that corrective measures are indeed underway, observable in Philadelphia's new public water system, which had been installed after Volney departed the country secure in his conviction that the quays of New York and Philadelphia "surpass, in public and private nastiness, any thing [he] ever saw in Turkey" (p. 255).

In defending the healthful virtues of a well-ordered life, Brown attacks European customs and chides his countrymen for aping them. Diseases, he believes, "are owing to absurd modes and vicious habits," and he regrets that "the dress and diet of Europe are assiduously copied in America, where it is far more injurious from the nature of the climate" (p. 225n.). He castigates Americans frequently for alcoholic abuses and complains that "men are every where reckless of health." Regrettably, "habit reconciles us to every thing, and a stupid confidence in our own good fortune possesses us" (p. 231n.). Nonetheless, Brown vehemently denies that America is unhealthy. He credits the "middle and eastern states" with having "the strongest physical claim to salubrity," and to these adds "New England, the inland of New Jersey, and the eastern part of Pennsylvania" as being "entitled equally, and in a high degree, to this praise, and as long life, with as few diseases [as] are to be found in . . . France, Spain, or Italy." Likely projecting American national expansion into Canadian territory, Brown adds that "a northern climate, and a social and agricultural state similar to that of Norway and Scotland, is doubtless still more favorable to health and longevity" (p. 264n.).

¹⁷ Arthur Mervyn, ed. Warner Berthoff (New York, 1962), p. 4.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 153.

Significantly, Brown's translation includes prescriptive treatment for the fevers Volney only warns against. Brown reprints these cures from Bernard Romans's *Concise Natural and Moral History of East and West Florida* (New York, 1775). Volney himself had excerpted from Romans brief passages which comprised an "Appendix." But the Frenchman used the excerpts to document Indian brutality in the Southeast, and to reveal which horrible diseases awaited the unsuspecting there. Dutifully Brown translated those passages without comment. But then he expanded that portion of the "Appendix" to four times its original length—an alteration which incensed the *Monthly Anthology* reviewer. But Brown had special reason to quote extensively from Romans, for not only did the Floridian traveller concur with Brown about the enervations of alcohol and the virtues of life free of all debauchery (including carousing and gormandizing), but he further prescribed specific cures for tetanus, sunstroke, fluxes, and even the yellow fever. Thus Brown's version of the "Appendix" becomes in part a layman's practical pharmacopoeia. The inclusion of these cures markedly alters the tone of Volney's work. For by implication, disease, once contracted, can be dealt with successfully. It need not be a deterrent to salubrious life in the United States, nor to national expansion into southeastern American territory.

Brown's generous quotation from Romans evinces in other ways his motives for actuating national territorial expansion. He inserts a lengthy passage extolling the natural resources of the region. There is pine that makes "both excellent and good timber," on land which maintains "immense stocks of cattle." "Barren and unfavorable soil" nonetheless sustains "peach and mulberry orchards," and rice production yields an abundant crop "very willingly" and, "if sufficiently made dry, always proves the best for corn, indigo, and hemp." Romans has seen "very good corn and rice together, with two kinds of melons, and cucumbers in great perfection on this species of soil" (pp. 273-282).¹⁹ Brown's permutation of Volney's "Appendix" reads,

¹⁹ Published on the eve of the American Revolution, Romans's work can readily be interpreted as a colonization tract. He encourages England to permit her colonists to settle at will throughout the Floridas, which Romans foresees as "the seat of trade and its attendant riches in North America" (p. 91). "This noble country" will "afford not only all the necessities, but even the superfluities of life" if only agriculture is the principal object of "our most arduous pursuits" in a land in which "all the products of the torrid

in short, like an invitation to colonization of the southeastern regions. Agricultural industry is promised bountiful rewards there. Brown says that he "has extended a little the quotations of Volney" because "B. Romans' information on the soil and diseases of those provinces is very curious and authentic" and because "his book is out of print, and extremely rare" (p. 273n.). But surely Brown affects the guise of a bibliophile, a posture he really belies at the conclusion of his altered "Appendix," where he regrets that Romans's work has not been reissued, since "the vicinity of Florida to the United States, and the probability of its being incorporated with our territory in a little time, would render its contents uncommonly interesting to the present, and still more to the next generation" (p. 316n.). Once again looking to the future, Brown spurs the appropriation of lands "God and Nature" intend to be a part of the United States.

All along, with the imperative of American national expansion fixed in mind, Brown refuses the self-effacing role his London counterpart followed in translating Volney. Brown, in fact, insists upon being a dialectic voice throughout the work. And he manages, at least in part, to make translation the metamorphic means for turning an unfavorable view of the soil and climate of the United States into one inviting Americans to fulfill their destiny by taking dominion of a potentially rewarding land. Expectedly, the "Americanization" of Volney's work met with the plaudits of Brown's associates. S. L. Mitchill observed that "the Philadelphia translation contains many critical and explanatory notes by the ingenious Mr. Brown."²⁰ And William Dunlap, mindful of the London translation, archly remarks that "to give an English dress to the crude and often unfounded opinions of Volney respecting this country, was neither congenial with the talents nor feelings of Charles Brockden Brown."²¹ Nor, one might add, with the expansionist motivations of the Philadelphian.

Brown's politically visionary translation of Volney was no intellectual cul-de-sac, for the subsequent prospectus of his General Geography indicates that he hoped to make that work an instrument of the nation's comprehension of its possibilities. Promising

zone as well as of the temperate are capable of being produced" (p. 117). Then Romans lists a dazzling array of cultivatable food and fiber.

²⁰ *Medical Repository*, IX (1806), 286.

²¹ William Dunlap, *The Life of Charles Brockden Brown* (Philadelphia, 1815), II, 85.

a special emphasis on America, Brown writes that "with respect to North America, the daily and rapid extension of our geographical knowledge is notorious, while the rapid progress of this portion of the world, in population and riches, continually calls for new pictures."²² He adds that "every geographical writer justly regards the description of his own country as of chief importance," a topical focus which Brown vows to imitate, promising "one volume, or the greater part of it, to America in general, and particularly to the United States." Of course Brown's death prior to completion of the project makes discussion of it conjectural. But it seems probable that in it Brown planned to convey his beliefs about the nation's territorial growth and progress. Certainly a geography was the ideal genre in which to be informative and visionary, yet also to help realize that vision by enticing readers to emigrate over the landscape. If truly the Lewis and Clark Expedition was Jefferson's instrument of vision, "the enactment of a myth that embodied the future," then plausibly Charles Brockden Brown's very similar vision was to be conveyed in a geography.²³ Here would be a work more efficacious for his purpose than fiction, and one whose practical nature would link it with the American-produced volumes Brown continued to review as a journalist. Doubtless Brown planned to supersede Jedidiah Morse, whom he praised for having given Americans "that knowledge of their country which they would seek in vain in any foreign publication."²⁴ That Volney was uppermost in his mind seems indisputable, and perhaps in retrospect Brown's own translation seemed to him a stop-gap measure. Yet on the continuum of his career it must be viewed as a logical connection between his *Address to the Government* and his proposed Geography, and as an expression of Brown's nationalism for pragmatic and idealistic ends.

²² "A System of General Geography" (Philadelphia, 1809), pp. 6-7.

²³ Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land* (New York, 1950), p. 18.

²⁴ "System of General Geography," p. 3. It is likely that Volney's work first came to Brown's attention as a useful research source for the Geography. Dunlap—*Life of Charles Brockden Brown*, II, 68, 85—says that geography was Brown's "favorite science" and that his "early and constant passion for that science" led him to become intimately acquainted with it.