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Introspections into Rational Fanatics and Thoughtful Deceivers: Examining the Use of Memoirs in the Works of James Hogg and Charles Brockden Brown

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A thesis

presented to

the faculty of the Department of Literature and Language

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In partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree

Master of Arts in English

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by

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May 2019

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ABSTRACT

Introspections into Rational Fanatics and Thoughtful Deceivers: Examining the Use of Memoirs in the Works of James Hogg and Charles Brockden Brown

by

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The memoir as a specific and unique literary genre has only recently been broached for in-depth critical study, with two major, book-length examinations of the genre appearing in the past decade. While the genre has been around in various formats with various conventions for as long as humans have written, only the memoir boom of the late twentieth and early twenty-first-century called for a more sophisticated look at the genre. This thesis will use these recent observations on the memoir as a genre to shed new light on two classics of gothic literature: Charles Brockden Brown's 1798 novel *Wieland* and its serialized prequel "Memoirs of Carwin the Biloquist" and James Hogg's 1824 novel *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner*.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

James Hogg's 1824 novel *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner: Written by Himself: With a detail of curious traditionary facts and other evidence by the editor* (often shortened to *Confessions*) and Charles Brockden Brown's 1798 work *Wieland: or, The Transformation: An American Tale* are both novels which deal with themes of religious fanaticism, murder, and moral corruption through the work of malevolent trickster figures, but, a more striking similarity is that both novels also either feature or are complemented by a section written in the form of a memoir which offers insight and background into the vilified figures of Wringhim in Hogg and Carwin in Brown.

Although the novels differ widely in their structure, with Brown's work being told in an epistolary format through the point of view of the titular Wieland's sister, Clara, and the memoir of Carwin serving as a prequel to this tale that was later published serially by Brown in *The Literary Magazine, and American Register*, with the works now published together as one text in all modern editions of the novel, and Hogg's memoir being included in full half way through the Editor's narrative, both texts still use the memoir genre to provide an additional sense of interiority and psychological depth to their vilified figures. The use of memoirs in these texts provides readers with an alternative or explanation to the otherwise seemingly fanatical or incomprehensible actions of these figures who stood outside of the perceived moral, social, and religious norms of their respective societies.

Robert Wringhim in *Confessions* perceives himself as one of the Elect in the sphere of early eighteenth-century Scottish Calvinist beliefs, and therefore is corrupted by the Satanic trickster figure of Gil-Martin into adapting an Antinomian view which allows him to feel justified to strike down those who are not perceived as being one of the Elect. As critic Karen M. McCall writes, “Using numerous examples of pairing and doubling—both thematically and structurally—Hogg offers for critique not only the Antinomian fanaticism espoused by Gil-Martin, but also the questionable enlightened objectivity of the Editor” (23). One aspect that is left out of this observation is the element of Wringhim’s own agency as detailed in his memoir section. If the Editor and Gil-Martin are two forces which shape the novel’s thematic perceptions, then Wringhim’s memoir is the outlier in the equation. For this project, Wringhim’s memoir will be viewed under the analytical lens of confession literature.

Scholarship and criticism on Hogg’s *Confessions* largely deal with the aspects of psychic doubling, the concept of the doppelganger, and the issues of predestination and the dangerous implications of Calvinism. As critic and horror genre scholar Darryl Jones writes, “the *Doppelganger* or second self, the mirror image, the Other who is also Oneself—tracks, haunts, or shadows cultural production in the nineteenth-century” (103). Jones notes the ‘doubled’ structure of Hogg’s work, and views it as emblematic of Scotland’s split religious and national identities in the mid nineteenth-century. Literary critic Meredith Evans also notes the novel’s dual structure, calling Hogg’s work a novel which “does not so much confront the modern distinction between law and morality with the case-history of an insane religious fanatic so much as it dramatizes that distinction—as well as its possible implications—as internalized within him” (199-200). Hogg’s inclusion of Wringhim, the ‘justified sinner’s’ memoir, which structurally interrupts the ‘factual’ and authoritative Editor’s narrative allows Wringhim to expose these possible internal implications in a nuanced manner which provides a much more psychologically developed and vulnerable image of his character to be sketched than what is present in the Editor’s narrative. The placement of the memoir also works to question the inherent nature of ‘edited’ and ‘presentable’ facts that the Editor takes it upon himself to deliver to his readers. The use of memoir in Hogg’s novel works both thematically and structurally to allow Wringhim to present his own narrative and simultaneously question the authority of the ‘official’ account of the events that befall him and his family.

While *Wieland* does also include the memoir element, Brown’s memoir is not, however, written by his novel’s religious fanatic himself, but rather the character whose actions directly influence the murderous actions of the fanatic. In *Wieland,* the perceptions of the Wieland family, Clara and Theodore Wieland, along with their friends Henry and Catharine Pleyel who are living at the rural household of Mettingen on the outskirts of Philadelphia in the interim between the French and Indian and Revolutionary Wars are tested and subsequently dismantled by the enigmatic figure of Francis Carwin. If held analogous to *Confessions*, Theodore Wieland is the hapless victim who is corrupted in a nearly identical way to Wringhim, and the puzzling Carwin is the trickster figure who correlates with the devilish Gil-Martin. If the novels were to have a true one-to-one correspondence with each other, then *Wieland* would provide the memoir of Wieland, himself, and document his spiral into a murderous religious fervor. However, Brown’s memoir is based on the experiences of young Carwin and how he discovers his ability of biloquisism. Carwin largely functions as a disruptive trickster figure throughout Brown’s novel, existing to add a chaotic element to the domestic and bucolic realm of Mettingen.

Criticism of Brown’s fragmented “Memoirs of Carwin the Biloquist” falls into a decidedly different camp. Views of Carwin have varied from what Hsuan L. Hsu calls a figure of “democratic expansionism,” emblematic of post-Revolution America’s “awkward situation of being both a post-colony and an emerging colonial power” (137) to, as David Lyttle writes, being in the same Godwinian “tradition of *Caleb Williams,* and of Schedoni in Radcliffe's *The*

Italian; he has been called a 'utopian villain' and a 'Richardsonian seducer'" (262). Carwin's ill-defined nature leads to him being both alluring and detestable to the novel's protagonist, Clara, who often remarks that she feels drawn to but then ultimately repulsed by Carwin due to his dangerous and trifling nature. To this end, Carwin's memoir allows for a more unfettered view into the character's roots and upbringing, allowing for an interiority that is not present in the novel's main body which consists only of Clara's writings. Clara, as an educated but also woefully domesticated member of her contemporary society, fails to see the value or reason behind Carwin's actions, and therefore vilifies him even after he attempts to make peace with her and explain himself toward the novel's conclusion. Carwin's memoir therefore allows the character to a chance to represent himself through his own voice and narrative choices, creating his image and identity as he sees fit.

This project will expand upon this existing scholarship by examining the coinciding memoir aspects of both works, and, using a genre analysis of the form of the memoir, examine how this literary form operates as a suitable means of expression for the antagonistic and problematic figures of The Reverend William Wringhim and Carwin, the Biloquist.

Apart from this introduction, this project is divided into three chapters, the first of which being a genre analysis on the history and function of the memoir as a literary mode. The second chapter will deal with the memoir as it pertains to Brown's *Wieland* and its fragmented prequel "Memoirs of Carwin the Biloquist," and how Brown's unique literary context and background shaped the fragmented and supplemental nature of "The Memoirs of Carwin" serial format. The next chapter will examine how the memoir functions, both structurally and thematically in Hogg's *Confessions*. The final section will conclude the project by addressing final thoughts and potential avenues for further scholarship relating to the use of memoir and its implications in these two gothic texts.

Ultimately, this thesis aims to advance and expand the existing scholarship on the works of both James Hogg and Charles Brockden Brown by addressing their use of memoir, a topic which has not yet been explicitly touched on, at least insomuch as how the form is used to build upon the psychological and interior aspects of the characters who wrote them.

CHAPTER 2

WHY MEMOIR? – ORIGINS AND JUSTIFICATIONS

The seeds of the memoir genre have sprouted in various ways over the course of human history. Deriving from the French terms *mémoire* or *memoria*, meaning memory or reminiscence, memoir is most commonly defined as a collection of memories or moments that a subject writes about concerning particular moments or events that occurred in their life. The history of the form goes back as far as records of written language can tell. As Ben Yagoda, author of the 2009 book on the genre *Memoir: a History*, notes, “it is a Western, or possibly human, trait to want to tell others about one’s experience, and people have done so in various ways since time immemorial” (31). The first known occurrences of these instances are speculated to date back to the writings of Psalms (authored by David and other Prophets in the Old Testament) and Paul’s account in Acts from the New Testament, as well as traces of autobiographical leanings found in ancient Roman times from figures such as the senator and historian Publius (or Gaius) Tacitus.

However, very few of these texts survived to be analyzed or studied today. One notable exception to this trend is the *Commentaries* of Julius Caesar, which contains an account of the nine years the general spent fighting in the Gallic War, and is estimated to have been written around the year 50 BCE. While the information conveyed in this work is autobiographical in nature, and more specifically fits the mold for the memoir genre, Yagoda states that Caesar avoided referring to himself in the first person, and instead narrated his chronicles of battle from the third-person perspective, with the intent for his words to be used as a relay which would then be read to groups of Romans who were eager to hear news from the frontlines (32). Julius Caesar used a prototype of the memoir format in order to share updates of his progress in the Gallic War with the citizens of Rome and did not embellish or indulge in any selfish vanity or introspections. While he did write from his own point of view and wrote of the events which he either participated in directly or had directly observed or been informed of, these writings were still strictly pragmatic in their nature and purpose.

In the history of autobiographical texts, the one which “stands like a lone literary skyscraper” amongst the “vast flat” landscape of its time is none other than *The Confessions of Saint Augustine* (Yagoda 32). Ending the vast gap in major autobiographical works from the time of Caesar in ancient Rome, Augustine’s work set the precedent for authors chronicling their own experiences, thoughts, emotions, and personal struggles in a linear narrative format, and allowed for a greater sense of personal reflection and ruminations than the strictly practical and informative nature of earlier works which were tinged with autobiographical elements. This new angle of deep personal reflection and self-centered approach to writing would prove to be highly influential and subsequently act as the catalyst for a new wave of autobiographical works which used the guise of the mapping of a ‘spiritual journey’ or chronicling of internal struggles regarding faith to really just open up for the possibility of the writers to discuss any candid thoughts or moments of their existences.

It was not until thousands of years later, in the context of Christian Europe between the twelfth and fifteenth-centuries, that the mode of this more candid autobiographical writing, in the same vein as Augustine’s *Confessions*, really began to gain footing among introspective religious figures who felt compelled to share their inward spiritual journeys to readers who were concerned about their own shortcomings and overall spiritual well-being.

After another considerable gap between notable works which lasted roughly eight centuries, the next batch of surviving memoir writing can be found in the works of twelfth-century French monks, such as Peter Abelard’s *Historia Calamitatum* (*The Story of My*

Misfortunes or, literally, *History of My Calamities*) which, as the title suggests, details both the physical and mental ailments of the author and is addressed to an unnamed correspondent to whom the tales of woe are conveyed. This work once again broached the idea of the memoir operating as a confessional mode of writing through which the writer could air his grievances to reconcile those wrongdoings and exorcise them through the expression of writing. This religious confessional flavor of memoir would go on to be the emphasis for James Hogg in his *Confessions*.

However, while autobiographical works and memoirs were being written in sparsity between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, the possibilities for these types of works would begin to open up much more in the fifteenth-century when the Renaissance and its themes of enlightenment and more human-forward, self-reflective thinking were trending in full effect over in both Italy and England, and eventually Europe as a whole.

One of the first of these introspective works to come along in England as a result of this new enlightened style of thinking was conceived by an “illiterate Norfolk wife and mother” by the name of Margery Kempe. Her aptly titled text *The Book of Margery Kempe* was written sometime around 1430, but was not officially published until 1501, some 60 years after the author’s death. Margery’s experiences, while originally chronicled by herself, were eventually transcribed by an unknown figure who changed Margery’s narration to the third person, and often referred to her simply as “this creature” (Yagoda 34). The content of Margery’s narrative points to her eccentric nature and highlights her inner turmoil and mystical visions and supposed conversations with God and the disassociation of her person throughout, especially the de-humanizing nouns used to describe her by those who transcribed her work. These factors point to the motif I will be discussing in the following chapters: that of the memoir being the outlet through which disenfranchised and othered individuals recount their experiences.

In a more general sense, however, these religious and spiritual overtones would become a major theme in autobiographical works like memoirs over the course of the next few centuries. Works such as Pope Pius II's *Commentaries* (1463) and Richard Norwood's *Confessions* (1639-40) use the memoir format as an opportunity to examine their religious convictions and interrogate their own beliefs and interpretations of faith. Although, with the advent of the new technologies of the Renaissance, specifically the more readily available printing methods, the memoir began to disseminate into the realm of the Everyman and not just the inspired religious figures who needed to tease out their inner doubts and struggles with their faith.

In an interesting correlation with the Venetian's invention of lead glass mirrors, which allowed Renaissance painters to create artist self-portraits, the sixteenth-century saw many writers such as Shakespeare, Montaigne, Petrarch, and John Donne turning inward and examining themselves through diaries, essays, and poetry which centered on themselves. But these same writers never wrote in the true autobiographical format of the memoir. This form was instead taken up by the more common man across Europe; memoirists throughout the sixteenth century such as Germany's Johann Butzbach, Spain's Luis de Carvajal, and France's Ambroise Paré showed a decisive swing in who was writing these types of works. With Butzbach's tale describing his apprenticeship as a tailor, and Carvajal's documenting his time as a migrant peddler, shepherd, and merchant clerk among other odd jobs, this shift in authorship showed how narratives told from the perspectives of the common citizen could be just as worthy of attention as the internal musings of Popes or other highly esteemed religious or political figures.

While these works span the continent of Europe and offer up various insights into the lives of these disparate but altogether intriguing men, Yagoda claims that the two most notable works of Renaissance era autobiography come from Italy, with the one being authored by a sculptor from Florence named Benvenuto Cellini, and the other by a mathematician from Milan known as Girolamo Cardano. Cardano's work, *The Book of My Life*, which was begun in 1570, has, "by the virtue of its strangeness, an arresting quality" to it. Cardano begins his work by providing his 'rationale' for the endeavor, as the problem most memoirists would face at the time was criticism of the inherent vanity of their work. Cardano attempts to ensure his readers that "No word . . . has been added to give a savor of vainglory, or for the sake of mere embellishment" But, Yagoda also notes that Cardano's book "inevitably" has these qualities in it, as the author seems to hold the conviction that "nothing about himself is uninteresting" (37). As it would seem, during this period, the memoir would begin to attract the attention of the self-absorbed writer and thus a pattern would be set for the memoir to function as an outlet for the more vainglorious writer to boast of his self-perceived importance.

The Life of Benvenuto Cellini, Italy's other major autobiographical work produced in the sixteenth-century, opens in much the same manner, with the author commenting on his rationale for taking on such a work. Cellini writes, "No matter what sort he is, everyone who has to his credit what are or what really seem great achievements, if he cares for truth and goodness, ought to write the story of his life by his own hand." The accuracy of this statement in regard to Cellini's actual narrative could be left up to interpretation, however, as his work details not only his interactions with contemporary artists, but also "his whoring" and his "enduring" of the resulting diseases, as well as "the many times he punched, stabbed, or killed other individuals" (Cellini qtd. in Yagoda 38). The success of Cellini's work and those like it from the same time period tell of a peculiar fascination with exploring the psychological perceptions or moral projections a memoirist might hold of himself versus the actual manner in which he conducts his person. In this example, the memoir reveals the foil between the writer's self-conception and his true nature. During this same time, an interesting distinction can be made between the various sects of Christianity and their usage of the memoir form. Yagoda notes that "relatively few Catholics" created religious focused autobiographies while Protestants, on the other hand, took to the task in droves, with the main offenders being the Calvinist strain of Puritans in the form of their 'spiritual autobiographies."

John Calvin encouraged his followers to examine themselves in order to find faults in their inner workings, going on to say, "We cannot aspire to Him in earnest until we have begun to be displeased with ourselves" (*Institutions of Christian Religion, Books First and Second*, qtd in Yagoda 39). To further the distinctions between Protestants and Catholics and their use of confessional memoirs, figures such as Calvin believed that the sinner should communicate their record of sin directly to God, not to intermediary priests as with Catholics. Also, by documenting their rationale and confessions in a memoir, these sinners have tangible account of their spiritual hardships that could be catalogued and shared as a sort of self-actualizing for the author, a means of announcing themselves as, indeed, one of the Elect, and perhaps, as Yagoda states, "more nobly" provide readers with a help on their own journeys. To this end, the Protestants employed their memoirs as a means of spiritual justification and guide works for the 'proper' path to salvation. This idea of justified spiritual autobiographies would eventually be twisted and distorted in numerous bastardizing attempts, a motif which Hogg plays on in his novel to a febrile degree.

William Perkins, a Cambridge theologian and proponent of Puritanism in Elizabethan England acted as a major contributor to this trend through his highly influential work *The Golden Chain* (1591), in which Perkins writes, “If . . . thou desirest seriously eternal life, first take a narrow examination of thy selfe and the course of thy life by the square of God’s law” (*The Golden Chain,* qtd. in Yagoda 34). These narrow examinations would begin to churn out in earnest by the start of the seventeenth-century as the English Civil War broke out and changes in censorship, cheaper printing became more readily available. These advances allowed for a greater variety of voices and experiences to be told and Christianity then split apart into even more sections like the Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, and lesser known sects such as the Ranters and the Seekers. At this time, the millennial belief of preparing for Christ’s return was in full effect, and each separate sect of Christianity was clamoring for a way to put the justifications for their wicked ways into writing in order to gain a sense of absolution. These attempts would often take the form of memoir-esque writing. For example, the Quakers, following the precedent set by their founder George Fox, kept personal accounts which detailed their travels to prayer meetings, their acts of keeping faith, and their general observations of the world and its sins.

As the seventeenth-century wore on, the religiously based autobiographical works continued to increase in popularity, from proper book-length texts such as Richard Norwood’s *Confessions* (1639-40) to numerous works published in the less substantial form of pamphlets, which typically contained healthy doses of both striking egocentrism and surly accounts of ‘spiritual’ journeys across the various Christian denominations. These works all proved that the spiritual journey was often inseparable from the physical one, and that the personal stories these autobiographical authors were compelled to share were perhaps not valid unless they also chronicled their supposed quests for salvation, although their tales did not skip on the more raucous sides of their existences. Authors such as Laurence Clarkson (or, sometimes Claxton) who was "born into the Church of England" but eventually aligned with "the Presbyterians, the Independents, the Antinomians, and the Anabaptists," and during this time he was arrested for the act of baptizing "six Sisters in one night naked" (qtd. in Yagoda 41). Through the use of these revealing autobiographical texts, it is certainly interesting to track how candid these figures who cling so tightly to claims of religious devotion can be when it comes to unabashedly telling about their more questionable endeavors.

This 'anything goes' approach to storytelling provides an interesting intersection between how writers of the time wished to express themselves versus the restrictions of the staunch religious expectations of the environments in which they were writing. The use of the memoir format allowed for a new level of open expression in writing, and these more scandalous, and, most importantly, the supposedly 'true' chronicles of real-life figures, led to the genre's rising popularity as the eighteenth century drew closer along the horizon. With the knowledge that a person could now take up the pen and act as his own scribe and recount their own personal tale for readers to encounter quickly led to the idea that these same works could be used to spread the author's own theological opinions or viewpoints, with the hopes that readers might connect with these ideas and perhaps join in with the author's cause. Clarkson's work would eventually give way to blatantly atheist claims, although he would eventually fold into the brand of Christianity known as Muggletonianism, founded by Lodowick Muggleton and his cousin, John Reeve. Muggleton pioneered his beliefs in his own memoir, *The Acts of the Witness of the Spirit* (1699), which stated that he and Reeve were none other than the two 'witnesses of the spirit' which are mentioned in the Book of Revelation (with this only being one claim among many other fantastical claims).

While works produced by those such as Muggleton proved how memoir could play out when in the hands of those with a less than firm grip on reality, such wild memoirs written in the latter half of the seventeenth century were balanced out by the more solemn and grave accounts of writers like Paul Bunyan, who crafted both the pious *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, as well as the seminal (albeit allegorical) *Pilgrim's Progress* during the same time, perhaps saving the genre of spiritual memoir and salvation narratives from the depths of literary ridicule.

The next major evolution in the form would hit the scene in the early eighteenth century with the arrival of Daniel Defoe and his works of fictionalized memoir. Defoe penned a series of works, beginning with 1717's *Minutes of the Negotiations of Monsr,* followed by *Mesanger at the Court of England*, then *A Continuation of Letters Written by a Turkish Spy at Paris* and *Memoirs of Majr, Alexander Ramkins* the following year and ending with *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner*. These contributions are not only notable for being works produced by one of the most famous among England's first novelists, but also for being among the first known works to use memoir as a literary device in the realm of fiction. *Robinson Crusoe's* title page even sports the confusing claim that the text was "Written by Himself," a technique which, whether done intentionally by Defoe or not, suggested that the line between the real author and fictional one was to be conflated or blurred.

This shift was an indeed a critical one in the history of literature, as it added a new wrinkle or complication into the concept of genre. As Yagoda plainly states, "Defoe shook everything up" (47). The line between fiction and truth was now allowed to be hazy. Even David Hume weighed in on the subject in 1740, when he noted the differences between the readers and their varying perceptions on a text; while one might view a work as a "'romance'" another might read it as a "'true history'" (qtd in Yagoda 48). While this development came along relatively early in the history of the novel, it would not take long for writers to begin to adapt this loose interpretation of re-appropriating forms of nonfiction and using them as ways to enhance or play upon the genre convictions of fiction in novels that featured certain elements or degrees of genre hybridity.

While the works of memoir produced in both the New England Colonies and old England during the seventeenth century were largely analogous despite their distances, the eighteenth century saw a break in content between the two geographic locations. While novelists like Defoe were using the form to create fictional accounts, the memoirs produced in the colonies stuck to a very real tone. Critic Annette Kolodny noted that this trend led to "'the single narrative form indigenous to the New World,'" which was the "'captivity narrative" (qtd. in Yagoda 52). These works included those by Mary Rowlandson (*A Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*, 1682) and John Williams (*The Redeemed Captive, Returning to Zion*, 1707). The Puritan settlers used these captivity narratives as opportunities to profess their faith in God, as they were firm believers that their hardships experienced in the New World were truly tests of their faith brought on by their savior. This theme of memoirs used as spiritual narratives was still present in the Colonial memoirs, although the means of their delivery shifted to the recounting of much more literal hardships and perils.

Though we have now seen that literary mode of the memoir has been in use throughout history, since the times of Julius Caesar in ancient Rome, to the fifth century in the form of religious confessionals, and in latter centuries in the forms of conversion narratives, captivity narratives, and eventually in fictionalized versions, critical examinations of the genre did not truly begin until its explosion in popularity during the last two decades of the twentieth century and carrying over into the new millennium. In fact, it would not be until 2007 (only two years prior to the publication of Yagoda's book on the genre) that a proper, all-inclusive book-length examination on the genre would emerge in the form of Thomas Larson's *The Memoir and the Memoirist: Reading and Writing Personal Narrative*. Although Larson's book directly responds to the genre's boom in popularity from the 1990s through the mid-2000s (chiefly heralded by the outing of James Frey's 2003 'memoir' *A Million Little Pieces*), his insights still illuminate the genre as whole, and can be applied to the use of the form in the gothic works of Charles Brockden Brown and James Hogg in the late eighteenth into the mid nineteenth centuries, respectively.

One of the most important tasks that must be accomplished when delving into the study of the genre of the memoir is differentiating it from its close counterpart, the full autobiography. This distinction can be made by examining the author's intent when sitting down to write about their life experience. Larson argues that, "Autobiography's central tenet—wisdom gained through many years—is much too grandiose for the memoirist" (16). This raises an interesting question about the inherent purpose behind choosing memoir over autobiography. Larson settles the differences between the two modes of nonfiction by stating that an autobiography becomes "self-justified" and focused on the learned "moral experience" of some larger than life figure (11). Memoirs, on the other hand, come from the experience of the common man or woman, and details their day-to-day struggles, showcasing the extraordinary in the lives of the ordinary.

Larson defines the qualities of such memoirs to be, "spare, universal, confessional, and true" (14) as well as, "diary-like, reflective, intimately close and trusting, at times uncomfortably so" (16). While autobiographies focus on the grander scope of an often famous figure's life, sometimes even going so far back as to detail the origins of their lineage, from parents to grandparents and perhaps even beyond in some cases, memoirs instead tend to focus on or around a *singular* event in the author's life, and will provide only the specifics which are concerned with that particular event in how they relate to the narrative as a whole.

Larson uses Lucy Grealy's 1994 memoir *Autobiography of a Face* to relate this point, as Grealy says of her own work, a memoir about a childhood operation which removed a portion of her jaw and consequently disfigured her face, "This singularity of meaning—I was my face, I was ugliness—though sometimes unbearable, also offered a possible point of escape," and that this incident became "one immediately recognizable place" in her life: "Everything led to it, everything receded from it" (Grealy, qtd. in Larson 16). Grealy's example points to a key difference between the narrative scopes of autobiographies and memoirs, showing that the memoirist is concerned with relating their life story around a certain life-changing event within it, rather than telling a unifying or morally cohesive tale about their struggles and triumphs which eventually lead to their fame and recognition. Larson notes that "memoir situates the one story as equal to or greater than—even against—the epic chronology of the Life [sic]" (16). The "one story" of a particular moment or event takes precedent over the more all-encompassing life story for the purpose of the memoirist's narrative structure.

However, this focus on a particular event or moment calls into question the reliability of the memoirist's narration. As Nancy K. Miller writes in her article "The Entangled Self: Genre Bondage in the Age of Memoir," the genre comes with a certain set of inherent expectations: "When you go to the bookstore and pick out a book that says 'memoir' on it, you expect to be reading the truth, even if, being a sophisticated modern reader, you also realize that some of the details might not stand up to Googling" (538). Why, then, can memory and truth not coexist within the same genre? According to Larson, "In the memoir, writers use a modicum of summary and great swaths of narrative, scenic and historical, to sustain their single theme or emotional arc" (17). To this end, Larson argues that memoirs may not always contain factual truths, but rather *emotional* truths, in which the memoirist may not have necessarily recounted the events exactly how they occurred, but how they remembered feeling as they occurred. This means that memoirs cannot be read as true accounts, but rather versions of, or variations on the account itself.

P.L. Thomas addresses this distinction in his article "Diving into Genre—A Case for Literature a T(t)ruth" by dividing the idea of the representation of truth in literature in two categories, "truth," that accounts for plain factual accounts, and "Truth," which takes into account the writer's emotional embellishments which enhance or support the way in which the writer *felt* that the account actually happened, as opposed to what actually did happen (7). Thomas also cites the example of Frey's *A Million Little Pieces* debacle as a point of addressing the general public's perceptions on the nature of "T(t)ruth' and the function of memoir as a literary genre. While Thomas attributes abstract "Truth" to works of fiction, and unembellished "truth" to the facts presented on a nightly news broadcast, he conflates the two meanings into the combined amalgamation "T(t)ruth" to define the factually nebulous nature of memoirs, claiming that even with *Walden*, Thoreau "manipulated," "crafted," and "often sacrificed truth for Truth" (8). This malleable nature of truth, especially when considering memoir used to enhance or supplement a work of fiction, immediately begs the question of the reliability of the fictional memoirist and to what degree the reader can accept their memoir as truth when compared to another version of events that is told through a more regulated or less subjective means. This concept will be further explored in the following chapters devoted to use of memoir in the novels of Charles Brockden Brown and James Hogg.

Considering factors of the malleable nature of the truth, the lowly social standings of the average memoirist, and the seemingly nonstop outpouring of works (now often self-published digitally), readers could easily question the literary merit of the memoir; as Miller notes "whether the word enlisted to discuss the phenomenon is *genre* or *category* or *classification*, it seems clear that autobiographical writing in the early part of the twenty-first century is posing sticky problems of reception" (539).

But, if this is the case, then where does the successful memoir, and the worthy memoirist, separate from the slough of mediocrity in an oversaturated market? How does, as Thomas calls it, the "T(t)ruth" of the memoir support its weight as a valid mode of literature? To get to the root of this issue, Larson refers to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*'s description of the term, which, in regard to the "old plural form" of *memoirs*, is a form which "emphasizes 'what is remembered rather than who is remembering,'" which Larson then equates to a book which "emphasizes the who over the what—the shown over the summed, the found over the known, the recent over the historical, the emotional over the reasoned" as a memoir (18). The issue of present emotional resonance being represented in the account of a past event is, according to Larson, a key defining factor in separating a memoir from an autobiography. To this end, Larson claims that "memoir is a record, a chamber-sized scoring of one part of the past. Despite its rightness, it's a version of, perhaps a variation on, what happened" (19).

If this is the case for the text of the memoir itself, then this leaves the memoirist in the position of being, as Larson states, the one who during and after the writing process, "realizes the existential limitation of memoir," which leads to the question itself, why write in this mode? Larson claims that the appeal lies in the genre's "[p]rivate, mythic, score-settling," nature, which is "at times given to ax-grinding or ax-wielding terror—and yet true to one rigid but gossamer particularity" (20). In this light, the form of memoir can certainly be quite appealing to those who have experienced significant hardships or personal struggles in their lives—the disenfranchised and the Othered, those who might not have the chance to express their voices in any other mode. However, this delivery must still adhere to some semblance of narrative structure and ethical pattern, a sincerity that will sell the "Truth" of the experience so that the story can be celebrated like *Walden* and not condemned on the basis of false advertisement as with *A Million Little Pieces*.

This issue leads to the problem of objective storytelling, and to what extent the memoirist can get away with embellishing their narrative for the sake of Truth and to what extent they can relate the series of events as truthfully (lower case) as possible. To be successful in this format, the truth must exist and be told effectively in both capacities.

Using Virginia Woolf's pioneering personal essay "A Sketch of the Past" as an example, Larson dives into the issue of separating between an author's "I-now" and "I-then" (27). This is a fundamental issue for the memoirist, inherently an author who seeks to bring to life their "I-then" with the immediacy and perspective of their "I-now." Noting this connection as a paradox, Larson admits, "Though much time and many realizations may separate these two I's, it is nigh impossible to keep the voices of today's narrator and of yesterday's narrator apart" (24). If a memoirist aims to tell both the "truth" and the "Truth," then they must indeed wrestle with this apparent paradox and realize that the truth seemingly exists on a spectrum, and that the "I-now" and "I-then" cannot truly be separated from one another, which further complicates the implicit truth the memoirist is aiming to represent through personal narrative. Larson sums up this struggle by stating:

> The Truth is two-sided: I am not exactly him nor am I free of him. It feels natural to see the remembered self as a character who has an independent life, chooses for himself, indulges free will. But Memoirists avoid such self-casting. The memoir writer does not situate himself in a recreated world as though he were a literary character. What the memoirist does is connect the past self to—and within—the present writer as the means of getting at the truth of his identity. (24)

So, to this end, where can the line be drawn between memoir and fiction? Larson claims that both forms are narrative arts. In the same way that a fiction writer might base his characters or scenarios on real life events, the memoirist must invert this practice and weave a narrative thread through his memories, and, more specifically, tell the narrative of how one particular life event shaped his narrative. This approach leads to the inherent problem of emotion coloring the events themselves, but the memoirist is tasked with recounting the event as how it occurred or appeared to them, instead of how it actually might have occurred.

This concept relates back to the principle of fiction writing that addresses the occasion for a story. A general rule of thumb regarding writing creative fiction is to start as close to the end of the story as possible. In the mingling between the genres of memoir and fiction, this same principle can be applied. As Larson states:

> The quotidian life is a complement to these peaks of being. Moments are enlarged by our memory; this grandiosity makes much about the past seem more exceptional than it probably was. Moments are self-selective: they highlight, expand, over-power, and change the past. Moments argue for their being as they wrangle with the present to be heard, to be part of a dialogue, to frame the picture of, at least, a part of one’s life. (30)

By the nature of the genre, the memoirist focuses on the immediate occasion for storytelling, paring the narrative down to the moments which could be considered as the “peaks of being,” eschewing the more pedestrian details which might be included in the work of a different genre such as biography or other nonfiction outlets.

With these elements in mind, the following chapters will look at the works of two gothic authors, Scotland’s James Hogg, and America’s Charles Brockden Brown, and how they implement the memoir format into their novels in regard to structure, themes, and overall effect. By covering the history of the form in the first half of this chapter (Yagoda), and the effects of its implementation in the latter (Larson), we can now apply these in a thorough analysis of how and why these two authors, separated by a couple of decades and an ocean, use memoir to supplement or inform their own works of literature.

CHAPTER 3

THOUGHTFUL DECEIVERS: EXAMINING CHARLES BROCKDEN BROWN'S *WIELAND* AND "THE MEMOIRS OF CARWIN THE BILOQUIST"

This chapter will examine how Carwin's memoir acts as a counter narrative to Clara's 'establishment' point of view which casts Carwin as an antagonistic and marginalized figure due to his status as a misunderstood social outcast.

Carwin's use of the memoir allows him to express his narrative and define himself in a way that is not available through Clara's representation of him in her letters which serves as the main text of *Wieland*. To this end, this chapter will first examine Carwin's history and origin as he defines it in his memoir. Secondly, I will argue that the existing scholarship surrounding Carwin is incomplete, because scholars generally cast him as a projection of other forces, such as the diabolical or the mistreated, while ignoring the very aspects that make Carwin who he is as a character and inform the decisions he makes throughout both *Wieland* and his fragmented "Memoirs." Lastly, I will examine how Carwin mirrors his creator, Charles Brockden Brown, and how Brown's personal connections to the character reveal how Carwin's "Memoirs" can be read as a memoir for Brown, as well.

These factors all contribute to my argument that the memoir format provides misunderstood figures such as Carwin, figures who are not accepted by society at large; for Carwin this society is represented both by Clara and her household at Mettingen, as well as Ludloe and his secret society in Europe. With no one willing to listen to or accept Carwin due to his admittedly problematic nature, the odd figure turns to memoir as a chance to control his own narrative and provide himself with an opportunity of self-actualization, opportunities that are repeatedly denied to him due to his inability to fit in with the societal expectations that surround him.

By providing his counter narrative through the form of memoir, Carwin is able to voice himself and allow his future readers to compare his narrative to the ill-reputation that precedes him, thus providing a chance for his character (or reputation) to undergo revision as readers come to understand him and his motives better.

While the scholarship specifically concerning Brown's incomplete prequel to *Wieland*, "The Memoirs of Carwin the Biloquist," is scarce, there is much more written about Carwin within the context of the main novel of *Wieland*, itself, which will provide a good contextual stepping stone for this chapter's in-depth examination of the unfinished "Memoirs" tale that is now generally published together with *Wieland* in most modern editions of the novel.

One such approach is outlined by Tyler Roeger in his article "Agrarian Gothic: Carwin, Class Transgression, and Spatial Horrors in Charles Brockden Brown's Wieland." In the article, Carwin is defined as a threat to the Wieland family's Mettingen, a symbol of the "aristocratic-leisure class" which contrasts "Carwin and the agrarian-class implications" and the misunderstood identity this creates in the minds of Clara Wieland and her company (85-6). The creation of this identity further distances Carwin from what is considered 'correct' societal expectations represented by the cast of Mettingen, expectations that, as Roeger states, Carwin exposes as a "posture" (86). Carwin, through his infiltration of Mettingen, "destabilizes class boundaries" and shows how Clara's upper-class existence is a mere "pose" and not a "privilege" (87). These actions are all perceived as vile and even diabolical through Clara's perspective and thus presents an unfair or incomplete view of Carwin's character as he is filtered through Clara's lens of experience.

The nature of Carwin's character and the motivations for his actions have always been an amorphous and perplexing topic among scholars of Brown's work. When looking for a solution to figuring out the puzzling aspects of Carwin's character, some turn to a psychoanalytic approach to Brown himself to perhaps find parallels or personal inspirations for the enigmatic, antagonistic figure from *Wieland.*

In writing about the purpose of Carwin's *Memoirs,* Jay Fliegelman states that, "Rather than clarifying the strange events in *Wieland*," the memoir prequel "suggests the infinite regress that awaits the reader who seeks first causes or explanations for actions that are, themselves," as Brown believes, "part of an infinite series of reactions and conditionings that cannot be parceled into convenient units of cause and effect" (Introduction x). While many writers within the Gothic tradition sought to demystify the supernatural elements in their tales, Brown sought to re-mystify and ultimately complicate his narratives by offering no conclusive explanations or motivations for a character such as Carwin.

Charles Brockden Brown was as much of an odd figure as his fictional creation of Carwin. As David Lyttle notes in his article "The Case Against Carwin," Brown's friend and biographer William Dunlap observed of his friend that he appeared "'in society an eccentric, if not an isolated being'" (qtd. in Lyttle 258). From this observation and several others relating to Brown's upbringing and personal life, Lyttle makes the case that the author perhaps created the character of Carwin as an extension of himself, and calls Dunlap's previous statement "a fitting description of Carwin" (258).

The parallels between Brown and Carwin are many; Brown was born of typical Philadelphia Quaker parents who held to typical late eighteenth-century beliefs and expectations for their son's future. Dunlap writes of Brown's origins that he was the fourth of five brothers, all of whom were "'actively engaged in the pursuit of happiness and fortune according to the usual fashion of the world'" (qtd. in Lyttle 260). This distinction of following paths that were the 'usual fashion of the world' is key when examining the similarities between Brown and Carwin.

Brown would grow up to ultimately forgo his parents' expectations of him to pursue his own creative endeavors, but felt an 'unutterable regret' because of this decision, going so far as to write at one point, "I am sometimes apt to think that few humans beings have drunk so deeply of the cup of self-abhorrence as I have" (qtd. in Lyttle 260-1). While there are few specifics available regarding Brown's home life or his relationship with his father, (both points that are crucial elements of Carwin's character development in "Memoirs") it is documented that Brown's behavior during his boyhood years was "precocious," and that he held "an uncommon talent in expression, and he was a keen if not a profound or original thinker," who also held on to a "compelling passion for geography," a peculiar detail which will show up prominently in Carwin's "Memoirs." (Clark 17). Brown naturally excelled in his studies, but found himself preoccupied with his writings, and eventually his love of letters led him to abandon his predetermined path of law and commit fully to his literary pursuits. While it is difficult to surmise just how directly Carwin's upbringing coincides with Brown's, it would be remiss to not address the similarities between the two that are readily apparent. The young Carwin, as he is presented at the beginning of his "Memoirs," is shown to be a bright and studious young man who says of himself:

> My thirst of knowledge was augmented in proportion as it was supplied with gratification. The more I heard or read, the more restless and unconquerable my curiosity became. My senses were perpetually alive to novelty, my fancy teemed with visions of

> the future, and my attention fastened upon everything mysterious or unknown.
>
> ("Memoirs" 281)

Carwin contrasts himself with his elder brother, of whom he states, "His wishes never led him astray from the hay-stack and the furrow. His ideas never ranged beyond the sphere of his vision or suggested that to-morrow could differ from today" (281). Through this opening contrast, Carwin immediately sets himself apart from both his family and his surroundings, observing but not outright stating that he does not fit in with his family or their lifestyle.

Lyttle notes that Carwin's unabashed sense of curiosity and thirst for knowledge is met with harsh reproaches and punishments by his father, whom Carwin describes in terms of "[r]eproaches and blows, painful privations and ignominious penances," but Carwin, much like Brown did, takes in his father's objections but persists on with his pursuits, regardless. Carwin notes that his father, "has often lamented, with tears," what he calls Carwin's "incorrigible depravity" (282). As previously stated, it is difficult to know with any high degree of certainty that Brown faced tensions this extreme with his own father, Elijah (a devout Quaker), when he decided to follow his own path in life despite his choice not being the practical and secure profession that he was expected to go into, but the parallels between himself and Carwin are prominent. As with Carwin, Brown had older siblings who did stay to their more perceivably 'narrower' paths in life, choices which to Brown might have come across as ideas which "never ranged beyond the sphere of his (brothers') vision(s) or suggested that to-morrow could differ from today."

This connection is a relevant one due to the fact that, since Brown never directly wrote memoirs of his own, and any of his internal communications must be gleaned from his letters, or inferred by outside observers such as his friend William Dunlap, the closest readers might get to experiencing Brown in a memoir format is perhaps is extrapolations and projections on to the character of Carwin which are explored through that character's own fictional memoir.

Lyttle states that the motif of "the imaginative, lonely boy guilty rejecting the wishes of the paternal image" is one that appears in both Carwin's "Memoirs" as well as Brown's *Arthur Mervyn* which were composed "within a hectic eleven-month period" along with Brown's other major works, "strongly indicates further that this pattern was not coincidental" (261). And, while Brown would not officially publish Carwin's "Memoirs" until several years later in a serialized form in his *Literary Magazine*, he still began the work on this section at the same time as *Wieland* around 1798, as made evident in his correspondence with Dunlap in which he mentions having a separate work planned to focus on the character of Carwin. In a later correspondence with his future brother-in-law Dr. J.B. Linn, Brown writes:

> The manuscript of Carwin is exhausted, and it was impossible to piece the thread and continue it in the due season for that number. It goes on, however, in the present, (for July) the whole original department of which I have been obliged to spin out of my own brain. (qtd. in Lyttle 262)

As Lyttle notes, even though it is apparent that Brown's drive to flesh out the background of Carwin eventually died out, it was also apparent that the character was "extremely important to him" (262). This is a crucial claim to stepping into the significance of Carwin's "Memoirs" and the examination of Brown's relation to the character. As David Lee Clark points out in his biography of Brown, *Pioneer Voice of America*, chiefly in the "Brown's Boyhood Interests," the young Brown's "letters and journals bear witness that curiosity ran high in him in his early days and that it found a natural outlet through the pages of books" (17). Also, while not much is said of Brown's relationship with his father, Clark is able to speak to the relationship Brown carried with his school master at Friends school in Philadelphia, one Robert Proud. Of Proud, Clark writes, “Perhaps there never was a better illustration of the old adage that as is the teacher so is the school. During his nineteen years as master of the leading Friends school, Robert Proud succeeded, as no other master had done, in impressing high ideals upon the youth of Philadelphia” (20). Proud gained a special rapport with Brown, and to surmise from Brown’s Journal and other writings from the time, Proud is made out to be a “man of wide and varied interests and a student of the larger problems of life,” and it was precisely these qualities which impressed upon the young Brown and “had the most abiding influence” upon his ideals (21).

The most obvious connection to draw between the real-life Brown and Proud and the story that is represented in Carwin’s “Memoirs” is the connection between the aspiring Carwin and his tutor, Ludloe. While Carwin contemplates using his newfound ability of ‘biloquism’ (ventriloquism) to gain reprieve from his father’s farm, he is ultimately unable to complete this task as he is cut short during the act by a thunderstorm which subsequently catches the family’s barn on fire. Afterwards, while practicing his ability at a performance in the town square, he is eventually noticed and picked up by this Godwinian figure and whisked away to Ireland where he experiences the fulfillment of his desire to be surrounded by knowledge to the utmost degree. Ludloe is a member a secret society who wishes to bring about a new utopian age, which draws back to an interesting parallel of Brown’s own personal life, as he apparently wrote in his Journal musings about a “Utopian commonwealth” of his own imagining (Clark 17).

The purpose of identifying these connections is not to just point out uncanny similarities between Brown’s personal history and the character of Carwin and the plot of his “Memoirs,” but rather to examine the question of why it is important that Brown implements this tale through the form of the memoir genre. A careful eye can notice that Brown repeatedly turned to this format in describing his works, whether it was added on later as with Carwin's, or implemented as a subtitle as with *Edgar Huntly* (the Memoirs of a Sleepwalker) or *Arthur Mervyn* (Memoirs of the Year 1793). Whether this is just the tale of the gothic conventions at the time, or a suggestion of Brown's preoccupation with the term is difficult to say, but Brown clearly did find significance in the implementation of the memoir genre to add a sense of weight or depth to his novels.

The use of the term memoir, whether in the subtitles to his novels, or as a separate tie-in piece, speaks to a certain element or concept of interiority that Brown wished to imbue his works with. So, the question remains for *Wieland*, why the preoccupation with Carwin? Why is the character for which Brown provided his readers with additional material for, through the means of serialization in his *Literary Magazine*?

Out of the two antagonistic figures in *Wieland*, the titular, murderous Theodore Wieland, and the nebulous trickster figure of Carwin, described by Lyttle as being an amalgamation of Lord Byron and Frankenstein's monster (264), why did Brown provide a background through the use of memoir for Carwin, and not Wieland, who experienced a much greater internal struggle (culminating in a homicidal mental breakdown)?

While Carwin is a perplexing and exotic force of nature style of character, one might think that after finishing their read of *Wieland* that Theodore Wieland himself might be more apt for a tacked-on memoir section. However, Brown decided to go with Carwin, (perhaps due to the similarities mentioned previously) and to mixed results.

Carwin's "Memoirs" is ultimately fragmented and convoluted, but Brown seemingly worked more out of passion and his own moralistic viewpoints than out of worry for literary cohesiveness and overarching dramatic effects.

As Lyttle states, Brown is “an exasperating writer. His work leads to critical uneasiness. It has a lack of consistent authorial perspective, an unsettled fluidness of vision” (257). And while this may be true to some extent, it would be remiss to state that Brown’s work is without any underlying narrative or thematic cohesion. While his points may not always come across coherently or smoothly, Brown still had points to make regarding the state of America and his place in it. Whether he was fully aware of it or not, Brown provided a nuanced commentary of not only early American life through the contrast of Carwin and the Wieland household inhabiting Mettingen, but also using Carwin as a personification of what scholar Hsuan Hsu labels as American “democratic expansionism.”

In Hsu’s article “Democratic Expansionism in ‘Memoirs of Carwin’,” the *Wieland* antagonist is defined as an opposing and disruptive force whose “intrusion upsets both the integrity and the legibility of the democratic grid” that is represented by the Wieland’s home of Mettingen (139). Hsu notes the historical, real world precedent set by Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello, the “independent yeoman farm” which represented the “ideal of self-sufficient private life” in the newly established American democratic society.

Through an examination of Carwin’s “Memoirs” and Brown’s own take on the American socio-political climate at the turn of the nineteenth century it is possible to define a motive for Carwin’s behaviors and identify the significance of the use of the memoir genre in relation to his tale.

If, as Hsu argues, Mettingen is comparable to Monticello as a bastion and model of ‘democratic space,’ emblematic of America’s position in the aftermath of the Revolution, a picture of an independent, single family home that was established on their own ideals of religious freedom (in the form of Wieland) and Lockean rationalism (characterized by Pleyel) then Carwin's encroachment on this space can be interpreted as a invasive counter narrative to the Wieland's white colonialist narrative, or "upsetting the colonial grid" (139). By contextualizing the status of America in *Wieland* and "Memoirs" as "post-colony" and "a proto-colonial power," Hsu classifies Carwin as mouthpiece who "voices that spatial claims of displaced peoples" and serves as a reminder for the new Republic that their property is a redistribution of lands which "belonged to Native American tribes on one hand, and the king of England on the other" (144). Through his presence in both the main novel of *Wieland* and his own "Memoirs," Carwin's acts to "destabilize the Jeffersonian grid by importing colonized voices back into the inmost cells of the colonizing nation" (Hsu).

Through this approach, Carwin's motives become 'de-mystified' as his aggressive, antagonistic actions toward Clara and her household at Mettingen can be reinterpreted as the voices of the Native peoples which were displaced by the white settler's colonialism enacting revenge through Carwin's acts of ventriloquism.

As critic David Kazanjian discusses in his article "Charles Brockden Brown's Biloquial Nation: National Culture and White Settler Colonialism in *Memoirs of Carwin the Biloquist*," as Carwin discovers his natural ability of ventriloquism at the start of his "Memoirs," he notes his voice as carrying the "shrill tones of a Mohock savage" (284). Kazanjian in turn notes that this instance is the only time that this particular terminology appears in either "Memoirs" or *Wieland,* but states that this phrase is a "tenuous foundation for more than these two plots" (460). Through the use of this single phrase, Kazanjian suggests that Brown employs Carwin's voice and the implications of this description of it to replace "the violent history of white settler colonialism with an aesthetic call to incorporate scenes of 'wild' America into tales of white colonial life" (460).

This is a bold claim, but one that can certainly be supported by the evidence of Carwin's infiltration and subsequent dissemination of Mettingen in *Wieland*. However, Carwin's representation in that novel is colored through the limited perception and understanding of the embodiment of that very white settler colonialism, Clara Wieland. Her narrative paints Carwin in the light of the same "Mohock savages" that were disenfranchised by America's expansionism. While Clara is at first intrigued and even nearly seduced by Carwin's unruly character, she eventually turns against him due to her lack of understanding regarding his actions and blames him for the dismantling of her secure domestic space.

As Carwin's "Memoirs" reveal, he is just as American, if not more so, than Clara and Theodore. While the Wielands were born of German immigrants and exist in a life of privilege in their upper middle class dwelling of Mettingen, Carwin was born of a simple farmer on the outskirts of Philadelphia and was only able to escape this setting through his ingenuity and desire for a better life. Although his use of his 'biloquism' brings up questions of Carwin's true ethical and moral nature, it can be said that he is still justified in employing his ability as he becomes a voice for those such as the Iroquois who went unheard and were ultimately subjected to suffering due to the forces of the new American government. As Kazanjian states, at the time Brown was writing, "the U.S. government worked vigorously to assimilate Iroquois communities . . . by forcibly converting them into discrete yeoman families on privately owned plots of land" (460).

Carwin first discovers his ability for ventriloquism when he is alone and apart from these colonist domestic spaces. In seeking a short-cut back to his father's farm, the young Carwin stumbles upon a glen, and follows this path which is "narrow, steep, and overshadowed by rocks." With the sun quickly setting, and the path obscured "almost as much as midnight would have done" Carwin finds himself fearing "goblins and spectres" that "were unavoidably connected with solitude and darkness" (284). Through this harrowing experience in the wilderness, Carwin first draws forth his ability for 'biloquism' and he is able to dispel his fears and quickly conquer his fears and apprehensions of the dark wilderness. From this point onward, Carwin gains a new confidence and a subsequent sense of mischievousness as he muses on how he can employ his newfound ability to his own ends.

How can Carwin's character be contextualized as a characterization of a counter narrative to America's new emerging national narrative? In taking the role of one of America's first novelists, Brown is keenly aware of how this new literature would come define the expectations of the new American experience. He is shown to be aware of the distinction of what is 'natural' in America and the way in which the representation of that naturalism can differ when retold through the writings of white American writers.

As Kazanjian notes, "Literary magazines of the period are filled with programmatic calls for the founding of an authentic American culture derived not from Europe but from 'indigenous' – that is, white settler colonial – sources" a process which sought to turn these settlers into the "proper subjects of America" (463). Thus, for Brown, a perceived concern for the distinction between those who were Native Americans and those who were 'natives of America' was born. As a 'native of America,' but one who is seemingly in touch with the voices of the Native Americans, Carwin thus develops his biloquial ability and therefore has a 'double voice,' one that Kazanjian defines as a transitional voice between the 'traditional' past which Carwin's family and contemporaries cling to and the modern and enlightened future which America would strive for with its idealism.

Literary critic Ed White provides another insight into Carwin's genesis in "Memoirs" in his article "Carwin the Peasant Rebel," in which he interprets Carwin's origin sequence as “vintage Brown” that combines “geography with a host of social coordinates” including elements of “landscape, ‘primitive’ communication, and herding” which come together to provide “startling insights about structure, culture, and agency respectively.” These factors all create a “simultaneously narrow and expansive construction” and paint Carwin as “much less and much more than a ‘self’” (50). In an attempt to determine the implications that these aspects of Carwin’s origin have on his own path of self-determination and their later effects on those he will encounter along the way, it is important to consider how the memoir format provides a voice for this character who is categorized as an “evil genius” and a “double-tongued deceiver.”

In Lyttle’s article “The Case Against Carwin,” the distinction is made between the moralistic etchings of Carwin’s parental figures, his father who is a representative of the staunch religious convictions of the Quakers and “’a confident believer in supernatural tokens’” (qtd. in Lyttle 264) and Ludloe who is characterized by his rationalism and belief in secular knowledge over religious superstitions. Lyttle quickly labels Ludloe as “a satanic, antiauthoritarian figure, a grand rebel of the old country,” while also being “the mentor of Carwin” (264). This distinction is key, as it highlights what is perhaps the main reason for Carwin presenting his history in the form of the memoir. Carwin’s tale is entirely secular, with his search being one which consists of outward physical movement, not of inward spiritual journey.

However, due to Carwin’s position as an outcast to his family and his old, ‘traditional’ society (as defined by Kazanjian), he finds no form of acceptance or audience to hear him out or understand his situation. To what end, then, can it be said that Carwin’s character is truly sinister? Is he justified in being labelled as villainous and diabolical by upstanding members of society such as Clara, or misunderstood by the simpler yeoman figures like his own father?

Carwin’s mysterious nature can be attributed to his thirst for knowledge, but to tie into another biographical aspect from the life of his creator, the latter portion of his adventures in “Memoirs” can once again be attributed to Brown’s own personal interests.

In his article “The Bavarian Illuminati, the Early American Novel, and Histories of the Public Sphere,” critic Bryan Waterman traces the connections between the real life Bavarian Illuminati scare of the 1790s in which “members of the Federalist Congregationalist clergy attempted to persuade parishioners and politicians that a cabal of European atheists had orchestrated the French Revolution and intended to overthrow religion and government in America” (10). Due to Brown’s own interest in a utopic society, it can be gathered that Carwin’s introduction into Ludloe’s unnamed European secret society, one whose goal is the creation of utopic ‘new world order’ is a convergence of these events and Brown’s own personal interests. Even in this society, however, Carwin is still not fully accepted. Ludloe asks that Carwin reveal to the society any secrets he might be withholding in order to gain full admittance, a request which Carwin ultimately and tacitly denies, opting to flee back to America rather than unveil the truth about his biloqulism to Ludloe’s organization.

Due to the obfuscating nature of his character, Carwin is incapable of fitting in anywhere, and he operates as a figure who stays on the move, only stopping to complicate or disrupt the established environments into which he can never truly fit. Due to this, Carwin must turn to memoir as a form of expression, and as the only true place where he can be heard. His self-alienation and concealment, while perhaps not entirely due to his own nature, but rather the nature of the society which rejects him, prompts him to turn to the memoir as the space in which he can openly communicate, even if this ultimately leads to his being his own audience in the end.

CHAPTER 4

RATIONAL FANATICS: EXAMING THE USE OF MEMOIR IM JAMES HOGG'S *THE PRIVATE MEMOIRS AND CONFESSIONS OF A JUSTIFIED SINNER*

To now divert away from the devious antics of Carwin the Biloquist, this chapter will focus on the figure and memoir of Robert Wringhim in James Hogg's *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner*. This chapter will explore Wringhim's narrative in a way that will build upon the concepts discussed in Carwin's chapter, but then delve into the different, unique complications that arise out of Hogg's memoirist.

In *Wieland*, Brown examined the consequences that arose out of faiths in both rational and religious beliefs being put to the test through the antagonistic external force of Carwin, and the subsequent memoir provided by Brown further explored that character's origins and motivations in a decidedly secular manner. This explicit factor of secularism was one that created the tension between the outcast figure of Carwin and the expectations of his surrounding Quaker society characterized through his simple yeoman father, the inexperienced Clara, and, in its most extreme form, the radical Theodore Wieland. These characters all serve as examples of representative figures of Philadelphia society in the late 18th century who ultimately reject or are upended by Carwin's seemingly inexplicable and disruptive activities.

A defining attribute of Carwin's Otherness in relation to the society and expectations that he disrupts, and a key factor to his ultimate exclusion from those elements is his lack of identification with any religious affiliations. Carwin's secularism allows him to operate outside the boundaries of the Quaker dominated establishment of late 18th century Philadelphia, but ironically casts him as a demonizing figure by those at Mettingen, and his secret ability of ventriloquism even outcasts him from Ludloe's secret society in his "Memoirs."

These distinguishing factors must be kept in mind when examining the connections between Brown's Carwin and Hogg's Wringhim. As per Yagoda's distinctions regarding memoirs, the character of Robert Wringhim in *Confessions* falls into the group of the religious or confessional mode in his memoir, while Carwin's remains rather strictly in the secular realm.

Hogg's *Confessions* instead reads as if Brown had selected the character of Theodore Wieland to be the memoirist for the memoir that is attached to *Wieland,* as he focuses on Wringhim, the murderous sinner who writes his memoir as a confessional, an attempt to justify his narrative against that of the Editor. Carwin's memoir operates in a similar manner, acting as a counter narrative to the representation of him in Clara's letters, which make up the text of the main novel of *Wieland*. Wringhim's memoir is provided by the Editor himself, in full, as an interjection to his tale, allowing for his reader to see both the Editor's presented 'facts' and then the narrative from Wringhim's perspective.

This chapter will examine the ways in which Hogg implements Wringhim's memoir and the implications of this narrative structure, as well as the significance of the memoir as a confessional format (an angle hinted within the previous chapter), and the manner in which memoir reflects the perception of the memoirist and the problematic issue of doubling or personal doppelgangers. As with Carwin and his "Memoirs," there is virtually no existing scholarship available on the use of the memoir format itself within Hogg's novel. This chapter will seek to expand on existing scholarship about the nature of Wringhim's character and examine those angles through the lens of the effects of memoir on the narrative structure as well as its applicability to Wringhim's plight as a seemingly 'justified sinner.'

From the opening of *Confessions*, the Editor's Narrative establishes the oppressive religious overtones of the novel through the rather overt dialogue from the characters as well the dichotomous relationship between laird of Dalcastle George Colwan and his new wife (the parents of the dastardly Wringhim). Opening with the couple's wedding, the Editor notes that the "festivities at Dalcastle partook of all the gaiety, not of that stern age, but of the one previous to it" (4). Here, the Editor quickly establishes the distinctive tone by which the rest of the tale is measured, the "stern age" that Reformation Scotland found itself in in the late seventeenth-century (1687, to be exact), the period of time the Editor's Narrative examines as the novel's framing device.

Wringhim is born into a fraught and tumultuous period of Scottish history and born in the contentious position of being the illegitimate (as he is disowned by his father) second son of the laird Colwan and the judgmental and religiously zealous Rabina. Of the circumstances of his birth, Wringhim comments in his memoir that he "…was born an outcast in the world, in which I was destined to act so conspicuous a part" (71). Through his father's act of disowning, Wringhim is eventually taken in by Rabina and the staunch Calvinist Reverend Robert Wringhim, where his beliefs and distaste for his birth father, the laird Colwan, and his brother George Colwan junior, are warped and twisted underneath his mother's and stepfather's fanatical religious convictions. Throughout the Editor's Narrative, Wringhim's tale is presented in much the same manner as Carwin's is through the letters of Clara in *Wieland*. However, while Carwin's "Memoirs" provide that character's origins and possible explanation for his motives in *Wieland*, and acts as a stand-alone piece, (although Brown had originally intended for the memoirs to be included along with the main novel of *Wieland*), Hogg provides Wringhim's full memoir (as presented to the reader by the Editor) in the middle of the novel as a direct counter narrative for the reader to consume in concurrence with the tale the Editor is presenting as the 'factual' , account of the strange events, or, as he describes, the "motley adventures" of the house of Dalcastle (3). This concurrency allows for a unique opportunity for the reader to experience the events of the novel twice, once through the Editor's Narrative and then again through "The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Sinner written by Himself," that Wringhim pens and is later discovered buried along with him in the novel's metafictional and non-chronological conclusion. To this effect, more so than Carwin's memoir, Wringhim's "Private Memoirs and Confessions" acts as a literal interjection into the established narrative provided by the Editor and corroborated by various eye-witness accounts and testimonies and allows the murderous figure of Wringhim an opportunity to voice his plight and circumstances in full disclosure to those who encounter his text.

Through the use of the memoir form, Wringhim is able to recount his experiences in a retrospective manner, the "I-Now' Wringhim as defined by Larson in chapter one writes from the vantage point of knowing the end results of Gil-Martin's schemes while still presenting his interactions with him with very little narrative or psychic distance from the events he is recounting. To this end, Wringhim's memoir serves as his attempt to give his reader the full scope of events of his tale from his own perspective, and it is important that Wringhim presents these events as candidly as he does for it gives the reader the opportunity to judge his version of events alongside the narrative crafted by the Editor and labeled as "a Detail of Curious Traditionary Facts, and Other Evidence" of which the Editor admits is stitched together from the limited amounts of documentation and testimony available to him. He writes as he introduces the situation of the Colwans and their plight at Dalcastle:

> …this being all I can gather of the family from history, to tradition I must appeal for the remainder of the motley adventures of that house. But, of the matter furnished by the latter of these powerful monitors, I have no reason to complain: It has been handed down

> to the world in unlimited abundance; and I am certain that, in recording the hideous events which follow, I am only relating to the greater part of the inhabitants of at least four counties of Scotland matters of which they were before perfectly well informed. (3)

To this end, as the Editor is essentially basing his account on the hearsay and tradition of the tale that has been passed down since its inception, Wringhim's memoir acts as a direct counter narrative to the general beliefs and conjectures which serve as the source materials for the Editor's narrative and the version of events it portrays. Due to the way the Editor gathers the sources for his narrative, the narrative itself serves as the general consensus of the populace from which it was collected, the collected voices and opinions that shaped the tale of Wringhim without his own input being taken into account. The Editor's narrative is the tale of Wringhim without Wringhim's own agency included. Thus, Wringhim's memoir provides the opportunity for the vilified figure to voice his own narrative. The memoir provides Wringhim the opportunity to plead his case when there was no suitable ear available to hear out his deepest personal thoughts and confessions.

The Editor signals the beginning of Wringhim's section of the novel by describing the document that is his memoir as "an original document of a most singular nature, and preserved for their perusal in a still more singular manner." He states that he will "offer no remarks on it, and make as few additions to it, leaving everyone to judge for himself" and finishes his preamble by claiming, "We have heard much of the rage of fanaticism in former days, but nothing to this" (71). This departing statement from the Editor's narrative is important to note, as it makes the distinguishing claim that all of the following text, Wringhim's "original document of a most singular nature" will be presented to the reader in an untouched, unadulterated format, leaving the memoirist Wringhim now solely accountable for the manner in which he is presented to his readers.

As such, Wringhim begins by boldly detailing his awareness of his troubled nature:

> My life has been a life of trouble and turmoil; of change and vicissitude; of anger and exultation; of sorrow and of vengeance. My sorrows have all been for a slighted gospel, and my vengeance has been wreaked on its adversaries. Therefore, in the might of Heaven, I will sit down and write: I will let the wicked of this world know what I have done in the faith of the promises, and justification by grace, that they may read and tremble, and bless their gods of silver and gold that the minister of Heaven was removed from their sphere before their blood was mingled with their sacrifices. (71)

Through this opening, Wringhim immediately establishes his memoir as a confessional, which separates it from the secularism and lack of morality in Carwin's memoir. Before he begins to describe his origins (which is where the Editor first begins, tracing the lineage of Wringhim's problematic history) Wringhim first provides an explanation of his motives as they relate back to the spiritual doctrine of his age. Even in the attempt to develop his own narrative against the backdrop of Reformation-era Scotland's religious and societal expectations, Wringhim still finds himself incapable of extricating himself fully from those confinements. Wringhim's language in the opening salvo of his private confessions highlights the duality of his mental state, by first confessing the internal conflicts he has faced throughout his life, the "sorrows" that were all for a "slighted gospel," but then, in the second half, claims that his vengeances were just and that he is still separated from the "wicked" on which he employed his judgments.

Most existing criticism concerning Wringhim's plight centers around the character's duplicity and the confounding ambivalence of his narrative; however, as with Carwin, there is virtually no existing scholarship concerning the role of memoir as it pertains to Wringhim's attempt to claim narrative authority and ownership of his identity in regard to the external forces which work against him throughout Hogg's novel.

As Elizabeth W. Harries points out in her article "Duplication and Duplicity: James Hogg's *Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner*" that Hogg places the Editor's narrative and Wringhim's memoir together in a manner which is "not cumulative but repetitious, not continuous but a doubling back," and that Hogg "deliberately runs the risk of the twice-told tale" (187-8). This concept of doubling is the most common critical avenue through which Hogg's novel is viewed. Harries focuses on this element, as does Helen Sutherland in her article "Varieties of Protestant Experience: Religion and the Doppelgänger in Hogg, Brown, and Hawthorne," where she employs John Herdman's definition of the doppelgänger to most closely identify with Gil-Martin, the diabolic double figure who plagues Wringhim throughout *Confessions*. Sutherland writes, "Gil-Martin comes the closest to matching [Herdman's] definition of the doppelgänger," and that Gil-Martin along with the doppelgänger figures present in the works of Brown and Hawthorne, "exist first and foremost as functional characters distinct from the characters they come to double" (71).

An examination of Gil-Martin as Wringhim's doppelgänger helps to inform the reading of Wringhim's use of the memoir format by broaching the question of Wringhim's need to turn to a psychological double in order to mediate his internal conflictions. As Robert Rogers notes in his book *A Psychoanalytic Study of the Double in Literature*, Wringhim's antagonistic double Gil-Martin is "an obvious projection of Robert's evil inner impulses, which are released from the bonds of conscience" when his foster-father, the Reverend Robert Wringhim, "informs him that he is one of the Elect (and hence beyond good and evil)" (33). Rogers claims that Hogg's portrayal of the diabolical double in the form of Gil-Martin allows the reader the chance to "shunt [sic] off the guilt" he may unconsciously share with the evil protagonist due to the way in which Wringhim "accentuates and isolates" his impulses into projects made upon his double which allow him to disclaim any responsibility for his actions. I would like to argue against this point by claiming that this is precisely where the confessional nature of Wringhim's memoir comes into play. For, although, as Rogers points out, Wringhim's projections on to Gil-Martin, as the representation and personification of his mindset of being one of the 'Elect' who is beyond the essential bounds of good and evil (and in true antinomian fashion) is a valid reading of the character's relationship to his double, I believe that Wringhim's memoir provides a third angle into the interiority of this 'justified sinner.'

Even with how ever-present Gil-Martin is throughout the course of Wringhim's detestable and misconstrued journey, the Satanic double figure, although he most likely is the by-product of Wringhim's own twisted psyche, is never actually seemingly privy to the young man's private thoughts and insights. Just as with the rest of the novel's characters, Gil-Martin serves as an external force whom does not seek to understand or care for Wringhim, but rather manipulate and exploit him for some ulterior motive. Indeed, Wringhim is not intentionally a murderous or evil figure to begin with, with his most egregious sin as a youth being a quarrel with a fellow school boy. However, upon hearing the news from his foster-father, the Reverend Robert Wringhim on his 18th birthday, Wringhim is delighted, writing in his memoir:

> I wept for joy to be thus assured of my freedom from all sin, and of the impossibility of my ever again falling away from my new state. I bounded away into the fields and the

> woods, to pour out my spirit in prayer before the Almighty for his kindness to me: my whole frame seemed to be renewed; every nerve was buoyant with new life; I felt as if I could have flown in the air, or leaped over the tops of the trees. An exaltation of spirit lifted me, as it were, far above the earth and the sinful creatures crawling on its surface; and I deemed myself as an eagle among the children of men, soaring on high, and looking down with pity and contempt on the grovelling creatures below. (84-5)

However, this jubilance is short-lived, as Wringhim then immediately encounters a stranger whom he tries to shun and avoid but is ultimately overcome with "a sort of invisible power" that has "something like the force of enchantment," which he is incapable of resisting. Gil-Martin then introduces himself: "'You think I am your brother,' said he; 'or that I am your second self. I am indeed your brother, not according to the flesh, but in my belief of the same truths, and my assurance in the same mode of redemption, than which I hold nothing so great or so glorious on earth" (86). As Rogers notes, Hogg is less than subtle in aligning the appearance of Gil-Martin with Wringhim's newfound status as one of the 'Elect,' but in this sequence the reader is also capable of seeing the inherent disconnect between Wringhim and his double Gil-Martin. Gil-Martin immediately begins to tell the newly justified Wringhim all the words that quell any doubts he might have about the infallibility of his position, to the extent that within the course of their very first exchange, Wringhim claims that his "spiritual pride [was] greatly elevated by this address" and Wringhim quickly endeavors to spend his days in the company of his newfound companion.

To further complicate this relationship, C.F. Keppler provides another view of Gil-Martin as Wringhim's second-self in his book *The Literature of the Second Self*. Here, Keppler writes that Gil-Martin is so like Robert (Wringhim) that "he is more Robert than Robert himself" (66).

This angle acts as an interesting contrast to Wringhim's "private memoirs and confessions," working as a space in which Wringhim is capable of spelling out his own narrative for himself, as the presence of Gil-Martin as a double of second-self then begs the question of just how much agency Wringhim has over his own narrative, or, if he has any at all. Wringhim is forced to admit that he has now adopted a second presence or persona and that this figure is plaguing his existence:

> I generally conceived myself to be two people. When I lay in bed, I deemed there were two of us in it; when I sat up I always beheld another person, and always in the same position from the place where I sat or stood, which was about three paces off me towards my left side. It mattered not how many or how few were present: this my second self was sure to be present in his place, and this occasioned a confusion in all my words and ideas that utterly astounded my friends, who all declared that, instead of being deranged in my intellect, they had never heard my conversation manifest so much energy or sublimity of conception; but, for all that, over the singular delusion that I was two persons my reasoning faculties had no power. The most perverse part of it was that I rarely conceived myself to be any of the two persons (113).

In this passage, we can see the way in which Wringhim is able to employ the memoir format to express his insights and insecurities in the form of self-reflective, confessional writing. Being a self-diagnosed outcast from the beginning, and further alienating himself through the extremity of his religious convictions, Wringhim is able to confide these sentiments only in the security of his confessional memoir. The format allows not only for his confessional statements, but also for his introspections into his own psyche in a personal way none around him are capable of offering. His double and ever-present tormentor, Gil-Martin, though beginning his relationship under the guise of friendship and comradery ultimately turns Wringhim into a means toward his own wicked ends and chastises and reprimands him when the meager reverend’s son begins to doubt or question the morality of their deeds. Equally, Wringhim’s disjointed family unit offers no solace or comforts for their wayward son. While they do express concern over the apparent decline in his physical appearance, Wringhim’s mother Rabina and his adoptive father figure can only suggest that he turn to his religious principles for guidance, and ultimately keep their estranged son at a distance. And even though he attempts to bridge the disparity between himself and his kin, Wringhim’s brother George’s offers are rebuked by Wringhim due to his allegiance to his dogmatic religious convictions.

Thus, through these contributing factors, we are able to see both the power and significance of the memoir as a tool for those such as Wringhim—the Othered, the vilified, the outcast or oppressed—to take agency in telling their tale in their own words, to have an outlet in which they are able to voice their confessions, insecurities and insights where they might otherwise be dismissed or simply go unheard. As the Editor’s Narrative ends when Wringhim is fled from Dalcastle, and is seemingly vanished from existence, the Editor is no longer able to document or tell Wringhim’s tale due to the lack of solid evidence with which he can do so. Where the Editor can no longer find traces of Wringhim’s narrative from the second-hand documents and accounts with which he used to cobble together his ‘factual’ account of Wringhim’s tale, he turns to the primary source written by the misunderstood figure himself and allows for the readers of history to form their own judgment on this contentious figure.

CHAPTER 5

FINAL THOUGHTS AND CONCLUSIONS

Through an analysis of the memoir genre, looking at its history and various uses from the pragmatic use of the genre from figures like Julius Caesar to relay information and provide updates to citizens and troops in ancient Rome, to its more introspective uses as a form of chronicling and reconciling religious experiences and struggles in the works of Saint Augustine in the third century, to the form becoming an outlet for the common man to relate his experiences in text, the form evolved into a nuanced genre that allowed for novelists to shape and mold the form into new creative forms which enhance and complicate their narratives.

To extend this project further, I would like to explore how the specific religious aspects and conditions unique to Charles Brockden Brown and James Hogg and their respective texts informs the way in which the memoir is employed in both their contemporaneous societies and their novels. This would expand upon the existing scholarship began by Helen Sutherland in her article "Varieties of Protestant Experience" which examines the differences between the Protestant experience in the works of Brown, Hogg, and Nathanial Hawthorne in the forms of Quakerism, Calvinism, and more general Puritanism, respectively. This angle would examine the memoir more in depth in the context of the particular community and religious context in which the memoir would have been produced at the time.

I would also like to further examine the concept of the double, the doppelgänger or the second-self manifesting itself in the form of a memoir. This research would take a closer look at the psychological aspects which play into the memoirist separating their perceived selves (the self which they are presenting in the memoir) and their actual selves. This idea would build upon the idea the memoirist recounting an 'emotional' truth instead of an actual one, as well the concepts developed in this thesis concerning the idea of the memoirist creating his own narrative agency in contrast to the narrative that has been prescribed to him by external voices and perceptions.

I am also interested in furthering the connection between Brown and Carwin, as Brown's personal details and lack of his own personal memoir or autobiographical writing, (aside from the odd "New Year's Day" which is fictionalized but too closely mirrors Brown's personal history to be ignored as autobiographical) leads me to hypothesize that Brown's special connection to the character of Carwin leads to the character containing traces of Brown's resentment and personal feelings toward being an outcast from his own family and Quaker community in Pennsylvania (Brown was ex-communicated for marrying outside of the circle of Friends).

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