

THE LETTERS OF  
Charles  
Burney



VOLUME III

1794–1800



EDITED BY  
STEWART COOKE

OXFORD

THE LETTERS OF  
DR CHARLES BURNEY  
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THE LETTERS OF  
DR CHARLES BURNEY 1751–1814

*General Editor: Peter Sabor*

Volume I	1751–1784	Edited by Alvaro Ribeiro, SJ
Volume II	1785–1793	Edited by Lorna J. Clark
Volumes III–IV	1794–1800, 1800–1806	Edited by Stewart Cooke
Volume V	1807–1809	Edited by Nancy Johnson
Volume VI	1810–1814	Edited by Peter Sabor



Frontispiece to Volume 3 of *A General History of Music* by Charles Burney.  
*Etching by Francesco Bartolozzi after Edward Francesco Burney, 1789.*

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## GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

*The Letters of Dr Charles Burney*, the first collected edition of the letters of the great historian of music and head of the remarkable Burney family, has had an eventful history. The first volume, covering the period 1751 through 1784 and containing 191 letters, appeared in 1991. Its editor, Alvaro Ribeiro, SJ, intended this volume to be the first of four, with the remainder to be edited at McGill University by Slava Klima, who in 1988 had co-edited *Memoirs of Dr. Charles Burney, 1726–1769*, an edition of the first part of Burney's memoirs based on fragments of the surviving manuscript. Klima spent some ten years preparing texts and drafting annotations for the letters but died in 1999, without seeing anything into print. Ribeiro then undertook to continue the editing himself—yet he died in 2013 without readying anything for publication. He did, however, compile a valuable census of the unpublished material, and tracked the relatively frequent appearance of Burney letters in booksellers' catalogues and auctions. His and Klima's materials, now at McGill University's Burney Centre, have facilitated the completion of this long-delayed edition with a new team of volume editors.

Ribeiro, however, underestimated the extent of the project. When his volume was published, he assumed that some 800 Burney letters were extant. There are in fact some 1,100 letters, which will be published not in four but six volumes. Not surprisingly, as Burney's fame as a historian of music and man of letters grew, his correspondents were increasingly likely to preserve his letters. Volume II of this edition which contains about the same number of letters as Volume I, covers a nine-year span, 1785 through 1793. A similar number of letters survives for Volume III, covering the seven years from 1794 through 1799, Volume IV, covering the seven years from 1800 through 1806, and Volume V, covering the three years from 1807 through 1809. Only at the end of his long life did the rate of Burney's letter-writing flag; somewhat fewer than 100 letters are known from his final years, from 1810 until his death at the age of 88 in April 1814. These letters appear in Volume VI, which also includes ancillary material and a general index, as well as any letters that came to light after the publication of the relevant volumes in the edition.

Our editorial methodology follows that established by Ribeiro in Volume I of the edition, with the following exceptions. Whereas Ribeiro left letters in French, German, and Italian, all languages used by Burney,

untranslated, we provide English versions, as well as translating the numerous foreign words and phrases scattered throughout his letters. When Burney writes a letter together with another person (usually a family member) we include the entire letter, whereas Ribeiro provides only Burney's contribution. Unlike Ribeiro, we do not delineate the publication history of the relatively few letters that have previously appeared in print, in whole or in part—unless the relevant manuscript is missing.

Thanks to advances in digital technology, we have been able to restore the great majority of the material obliterated by Burney's first editor, his daughter Frances Burney d'Arbly. On occasion, however, the recovered readings are uncertain, and at times words, phrases, or even entire lines remain illegible. Instead of Ribeiro's system for indicating editorial interventions in these and other cases, we use the following symbols and abbreviations:

< >	Conjectural readings
<xxxxx 3–4 words>	Material that has been obliterated and not recovered; in this instance, 3–4 words
[ ]	Editorial insertions, such as dates or names
{ }	Editorial insertions, used to complete words partly supplied by Burney, such as 'K{ing}' and 'Q{ueen}', or to supply inadvertent omissions

My work as general editor of *The Letters of Dr Charles Burney* has been supported by generous funding from several sources. The Canada Research Chairs programme has allowed me to employ a series of research assistants while also supporting travel to scattered archives. The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada awarded me a five-year Insight Grant to work on the project. Further funding was provided by Le Fonds Québécois de la recherche sur la société et la culture to a research group led by Isabelle Daunais, to whom I am grateful for continuing support. Thanks to visiting fellowships from Trinity College, Cambridge, St Edmund Hall, Oxford, and Jesus College, Oxford, I have been able to undertake sustained research at the British Library, Cambridge University Library, and the Bodleian Library. At Oxford University Press I am indebted to Ellie Collins, who commissioned the completion of the edition. And at McGill University, together with my co-editors I am grateful to the research coordinators of the Burney Centre, first Catherine Nygren and then Nathan Richards-Velinou, who have overseen its operations during the preparation of these volumes.

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My biggest debt, of course, is to my wife Patricia Brock.



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## INTRODUCTION

This volume begins somewhat inelegantly with a discussion of ‘crippled paws’ and ‘pus’ (2). At the end of the previous volume in this series of letters, there is a two-month gap in Charles Burney’s correspondence owing to an attack of rheumatism, which toward the end of January 1794 lingered still. Accordingly, ‘*the order of the day*’ is an account of the ‘State of [his] health’ (2). After a ‘very long & dispiriting confinement by various maladies’ (1), he had finally begun to quit his bedroom. According to Frances d’Arblay, her father suffered from:

a species of evil which for some time had been hovering over him, and which was as new as it was inimical to his health . . . namely, a slow, unfixed, and nervous feverishness, which had infested his whole system. . . . This distressing state lasted, without relief or remittance, till it was suddenly and rudely superseded by a violent assault of acute rheumatism; which drove away all minor or subservient maladies, by the predominance of a torturing pain that nearly nullified everything but itself. (*Memoirs* iii. 175–6)

For a man who worked as hard, and socialized as much, as Charles Burney, the preceding three months were dispiriting, indeed. As he regained his health, however, his interest in politics and his concern for the state of the nation in the aftermath of the French Revolution resumed. He and his daughter Frances were deeply involved with the Society of Ladies, of which he was the honorary secretary, an organization led by Frances Anne Crewe and the Marchioness of Buckingham, which was attempting to raise money for the relief of the emigrant French Clergy forced to flee France. In the volume’s first letter, he proudly mentions that he and his wife Elizabeth had so far raised almost £400 for the cause.

The war with France is an important theme throughout this volume, or as Burney puts it: ‘the events of the times haunt me day & night’ (32). It would be difficult to emphasize too much his distress over the revolution in France and what he perceived as the threat to civilization that ensued:

What a revolution in the minds of men every where, has that in the Governm<sup>t</sup> of Fr. occasioned! Peace, tranquility, content, benevolence, humility, politeness, and all religious & social virtues, are not only

neglected, but regarded as vices!!—...Not to be content with anything, nor to agree w<sup>th</sup> any one in the change of what *has* been, & *is*, for what is *to be*—nor to be alarmed at the imminent danger of religion, morals, liberty, property, & life—constitutes modern freedom & heroism. (12–13)

Charles Burney was a staunch monarchist. He considered democracy a threat to the conservative ideals he held dear, and nothing infuriated him more than English sympathizers with the French Revolution. Calling himself an ‘allarmist’, he held ‘Anarchists & Jacobins in equal horror’ (26). Of course, in the ‘moral panic’ of England in the 1790s,<sup>1</sup> a Jacobin was not necessarily someone calling for an English republic on the French model but simply anyone conservatives found objectionable. Burney would have agreed with Robert Bisset’s assertion in the *Anti-Jacobin Review*: ‘Whoever is the enemy of Christianity and natural religion, of monarchy, or order, subordination, property, and justice, I call a Jacobin’ (i (1798), 223). Burney’s fear that civilization as he knew it was collapsing is a leitmotif throughout this volume, so much so that he uses the word ‘Jacobin’ or a variant forty-seven times. Thus, Charles James Fox and the Whigs are Jacobins: ‘The speeches of Messrs. Fox & Sheridan [are] strongly Jacobinical & hostile to this Country & its constitution’ (56). Charles, Earl Stanhope is a ‘frantic fellow... with his eloge of the Jacobins, atheists, & anarchists’ (4). The trial of the Scottish reformers Thomas Muir, founder of the Scottish Friends of the People, and Thomas Fysche Palmer, a Unitarian minister, ‘has laid open the designs of the Jacobins of that country’ (12). Riots in Shoe Lane are ‘artificially fomented by Jacobins, foreign & domestic’ (51). Amusingly, even the attempt of his estranged daughter, Sarah Harriet, to poach his servant is labelled ‘completely Jacobinical & selfish’ (346). Rather shockingly, the sedition trials of John Horne Tooke, Thomas Hardy, Jeremiah Joyce, and John Thelwall and the hanging of Robert Watt in Edinburgh lead Burney to muse:

The fate of Horne Tooke & Co. I await for with some degree of anxiety. Not that I am so bloody-minded as to wish *all* to share the fate of Watt; but a few of them I do sincerely wish hanged, in mercy to many thousands, that the want of courage to make an example of a few may render more intrepid in Jacobinical exertions against everything that can render the life of rational creatures desirable. (55–6)

<sup>1</sup> A time during which a ‘condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests’ (Stanley Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers*, 3rd edn (Routledge, 1972), 1).

Politics and ill health would dog Burney throughout this volume, but neither kept him long from a social life that most people would envy. By the middle of March 1794, having ‘for more than a fortnight enjoyed more exemption from bodily pain than for many months before’ (10), he informs Madame d’Arblay that he has ‘been immersed in [his] usual way at this time of the year. Indeed beyond the usual way, in hurry & fatigue, w<sup>th</sup> become every year more & more oppressive’ (10). Burney’s social circle was, indeed, hectic, large, and distinguished:

I not only visit a few select patients [pupils], but have been at two clubs—two of Salomon’s Concerts for a little while, & twice to Lady Lucan’s *blue* conversazioni’s—(10)...L<sup>y</sup> Polly I have seen at home & abroad. Seward dines here on Sunday next—O, but I was at S<sup>r</sup> Jos. Banks’s... conversazione. Very crouded it was (14)... On Thursday last I dined with M<sup>rs</sup> Crewe, & met there M<sup>r</sup> Frederic North, M<sup>r</sup> Pelham, & the B<sup>p</sup> de S<sup>t</sup> Pol de Leon—to be sure we did not talk of Politics at all, at all—Yesterday I dined with Malone, & met my old Dresden Friend M<sup>r</sup> Osburne, M<sup>r</sup> Metcalf, & S<sup>r</sup> Cha<sup>s</sup> Blagden!—To Morrow Club—Here’s your works! (19)

Burney’s ‘usual way’ would fatigue most people, much less a man recently recovered from a long illness, but the busier he was, the more he thrived. A year later, he had not slowed down:

[Y]ou may judge of Even<sup>s</sup> work by a list of 9 or 10 successive days rakery—opera house Concert Monday—Club, Tuesday—dinner at L<sup>d</sup> Lucan’s Wed<sup>y</sup>—d<sup>o</sup> w<sup>th</sup> the East-India M<sup>r</sup> Johnson, M<sup>rs</sup> Blaire’s brother, & son-in law to Courteney Wed<sup>y</sup>—Miss Abrams benefit Thursday—L<sup>y</sup> Lucan’s *blue*, Friday—op. Sat<sup>y</sup>—dined w<sup>th</sup> M<sup>rs</sup> Crewe at Hampstead Sunday—&c—The best part of the story is, that I have been gathering strength & spirits through all this bustle faster than I did by nursing & enquiries after my own health. (78)

Much to Burney’s delight, the highlight of this round of visiting was a chance encounter in April 1794 with an ‘old acquaintance’, Hester Piozzi, whom he had not seen in a decade following her second marriage in 1784:

[W]ho among many others sh<sup>d</sup> I have met w<sup>th</sup> at Salomon’s Concert this day 7 Night, but M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Piozzi and all the Miss Thrales? The Ladies all on the same sofa, & la *mere* in the middle! M<sup>r</sup> Piozzi caught my Eye first, & we approached each other, & shook hands, and talked

of the Music & performers before I knew the Ladies were there—but on my hoping that la *Signora sua Consorte* was well, he said she was there, pointing to a sopha close to the orchestra—when I hastened towards it, & met her Eyes with their usual fire & good humour—She held out her hand & mine met it with great eagerness & pleasure—“Why here’s D<sup>r</sup> B. as young as ever—Oh I am but just made up, quo I—indeed but just *got up*, from a bed of Sickness”—&c &c Well, we talked, & laughed as usual, and I never saw her more lively, good humoured & pleasant in my life. My old affection for her all returned, & I w<sup>d</sup> have done anything possible to have shewn it with the same empressement as in the best of Johnsonian, Thralian & Streatham times. (16–17)

It is a tribute to Burney’s good manners, charm, and general clubbability that he was able to mingle on friendly terms even with those on the opposite side of the political divide. Meeting Thomas Erskine, Horne Tooke’s lawyer, and his wife at a dinner party one evening, Burney tells us that although he and Erskine ‘differ[ed] *toto calo* . . . in politics . . . & . . . had a long dish of Politics after dinner . . . [they] all kept [their] tempers’ (48). Moreover, he and the Erskines ‘hit it off so well, that Mrs [Erskine] invited me to a rebound dinner’ (48): ‘Erskine rec<sup>d</sup> me at his house in Serjeant’s inn . . . with the greatest urbanity, and made me a present of one of his printed speeches, with a wish to see me as often as possible’ (48–9).

Even as his ‘Even<sup>g</sup> work’ continued apace, Burney, who celebrated his sixty-eighth birthday on 18 April 1794, seems not to have slowed down his day work either. He had fewer students than in the past, but more than once he complains about ‘Engagements—scholars—printers, proofs, revises—and the D—l and all’ (78). In July 1794, he mentions that ‘M<sup>r</sup> Foljambe . . . has lately placed his 2 daughters musical studies under my direction’ (34), and in April five years later, he is still lamenting being ‘hurried out of doors’, not just by ‘dinners’ and ‘evening parties’ but by ‘scholars’ as well: ‘Till last week I had only 2 pupils & ½ on my hands—last week 4 or 5 more arrived’ (393).

This volume also sees Burney’s return to publishing. He had begun working on a biography of the Italian poet and librettist Pietro Metastasio in 1789 but by 1791 had put it aside. Taking it up again in 1794, he warns his daughter, Frances d’Arblay, in August to make shelf room for ‘at least 2 thick 8<sup>vo</sup> Vol<sup>s</sup> of Metastasio’s life & letters’ (50) and in October informs her that he ‘work[s] at [Metastasio] in every uninterrupted moment’ (54). This project, like all of Charles Burney’s projects, was ambitious. In addition to translations of Metastasio’s letters, Burney intended to

include 'a chronological list of all his secular dramas, w<sup>th</sup> a short analysis, & translations of 2 or 3 songs & sometimes of whole scenes from each, chiefly to point out & illustrate the *moral tendency*, the *utile* as well as *dulci*, of his dramas' (71). In August, however, he felt forced to suspend the printing of the book, which had begun in July, after he learned that a new edition of Metastasio's correspondence had been published in Vienna. Thinking that he could not continue without reading the new work, he 'set all [his] engines to work', issuing a flurry of inquiries 'at the King's library & Museum, as well as of booksellers, & collectors of books' and 'gave a commission to 5 different importers of foreign books' (70) to no avail. A letter in January 1795 from Marianne Martines, whose father was a friend of Metastasio, solved the mystery. The book in question was not a book of letters but, rather, the *Opere Postume dell'Abate Pietro*. Burney then went ahead and had the first two volumes of the *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Abate Pietro Metastasio* printed in the summer of 1795. After the third volume was printed late in 1795, Burney, who was nothing if not thorough, added an appendix incorporating extracts from Metastasio's posthumous works of which he had finally obtained a copy. It was to be Burney's final book.

As is frequently so in collections of Burney family letters, there is a whiff of scandal in this volume. It is significant that Sarah Harriet, Burney's daughter from his second marriage, is rarely mentioned in the first four years of this volume even though she lived at home with her father and mother. Burney mentions in passing, 9 October 1795, that Sarah 'for some time past...has been as closely confined as a *monthly Nurse*' (121), taking care of her terminally ill mother. That confinement would continue for another year until Mrs Burney's death. Despite the expectation of some members of the family that Sarah's relationship with her father would improve after her mother died, this turned out not to be the case. Indeed, their relationship seems to have gone 'from bad to Worse'.<sup>2</sup> Burney writes in December 1798 that 'she is become a more steady & prudent house-keeper than I ever expected, & moreover, a kind & good girl' (201), but a letter from Sarah's step-sister, Maria Rishton, to Madame d'Arblay in March 1798 tells a different story, mentioning that Sarah and her father 'passed days without speaking' and that Sarah 'complained bitterly of her Father's Severity and Coldness towards

<sup>2</sup> Maria Rishton to Frances d'Arblay, [3 September 1798], Barrett. Quoted in *LSHB* xxxix.

her...and that if he did address or Answer her it was with bitter raillery—or Harshness'.<sup>3</sup> Presumably having had enough, Sarah decamped from Chelsea Hospital in September to set up housekeeping with her half-brother James. Despite some initial suspicions, the family seems to have accepted that there was no real impropriety involved. In fact, Burney herself appears to have been more bothered by the couple's attempt to poach Molly, his 'most excellent & faithful servant' (345–6), than by their co-habitation.<sup>4</sup>

Burney's sense of loss in this volume was owing not only to his despair at the political situation but also to the death of many of his friends. His sister Ann Burney died c.20 August 1794 while his friend Horace Walpole died on 2 March 1797 followed soon thereafter by Edmund Burke on 9 July 1797. Until nearly the end of the volume the death that hit Burney the hardest, however, was that of his second wife Elizabeth (Allen) Burney. After a long and painful illness, she died on 20 October 1796, leaving him distraught. He was completely unable to achieve the 'philosophical resignation' (139) that he had advised his friend Thomas Twining to adopt earlier in the year upon the death of Twining's wife. In a letter to his Moravian friend Christian Latrobe, he revealed the depths of his grief:

At present, nothing interests me sufficiently, to make me forget myself. During my Rheumatic tortures, I contrived to divert my attention from bodily sufferings, by composing *Canons* of the most complicated & difficult construction; but I perceive that mental pain requires a stronger Opiate. *Books* have, till now, through life, afforded me great amusement; and I always lamented the want of sufficient leisure to enjoy them; but now, whatever the subject or language, I am not sufficiently interested to retain a simple idea of their contents. Nor of the many thousand vol<sup>s</sup> in my possession is there any one on w<sup>th</sup> my mind can fasten. *Music*, that used, if good, to amuse & delight me, in whatever humour I happened to be, I now cannot even bring myself to try its effect: as in my present state of mind, it only promises disgust. For *conversation* I am unfit; as indeed I am for any employment of mind or body. (195)

Unfortunately for posterity, the one activity that he felt capable of performing for the next three months was to burn the thousand or so letters between himself and his wife that they had preserved over the years:

<sup>3</sup> Maria Rishton to Frances d'Arblay, [3 September 1798], Barrett. Quoted in *LSHB* xxxvi.

<sup>4</sup> For a cogent argument that this was not an incestuous liaison, see *LSHB* xxxvii–xxxix.

All I have hitherto attempted, has been the heart-rending task of looking over & burning old letters and papers, that have been accumulating for so many years... you will readily believe, when I tell you, that I have destroyed near 500 letters of my own writing to the dear Soul, during absence; and w<sup>ch</sup> in her kindness and partiality, she had thought worth preserving. And these, I am certain, produced an equal number from her. (195–6)

These letters would undoubtedly have provided a corrective to the one-sided portrait of ‘the Lady’ drawn by Burney’s children. For him, their ‘similarity of taste and coincidence of opinion in all matters of w<sup>ch</sup> the discussion is apt to ruffle the temper and alienate affection’ made her a ‘bosom friend & rational companion of 30 years, who had virtues, cultivation, & intellectual powers, sufficient to make home not only desirable, but preferable to places where amusement is sought & promised’ (190).

It was a suggestion by Madame d’Arblay that would eventually pull Burney out of his sorrow and back into the world. He had long had an interest in astronomy and had, in fact, published in 1769, jointly with his first wife Esther Sleepe, a pamphlet entitled *An Essay towards a History of the Principal Comets that have appeared since the Year 1742*. In 1789, inspired by a craze in ballooning, he began a rather fanciful poem about a space journey, completing almost 350 lines before putting the poem aside to begin more serious work on his *Memoirs of Metastasio*. Coming across the poem while sorting through his papers, he succumbed to Madame d’Arblay’s ‘urgent entreaties’ to take it up again in a more serious vein (214). The result was a verse rendering of the history of astronomy entitled ‘Astronomy, an historical & didactic Poem’. His ‘bold plan’ was to write twelve books. The first ten would take the reader from the beginnings of the science through the first half of the eighteenth century:

My 1<sup>st</sup> book of course gives the origin & progress of Astron<sup>y</sup> in the Earliest times. 2<sup>d</sup> Alexandrian School, Hipparchus, &c—3<sup>d</sup> Ptolemy—Arabs, Persians & Chinese—4<sup>th</sup> Astron<sup>y</sup> in Europe to the time of Copernicus—5<sup>th</sup> Copernicus, his system and immediate followers—6<sup>th</sup> Tycho Brahe, Kepler, and Galileo. 7<sup>th</sup> Their contemporaries and followers—8<sup>th</sup> Descartes. Hevelius. Riccioli. Huygens. Cassini. Picard. Flamstead—Halley—and Hooke—9<sup>th</sup> Newton—10<sup>th</sup> From Newton to the middle of the XVIII Cent<sup>y</sup>. (306)

The eleventh book would treat ‘the progress of astronomy from the middle of the present Cent<sup>y</sup> to the time of Herschel’, and the final book would be devote[d] to ‘Herschel and his discoveries’ (306).

It was a daunting task not only because of the amount and difficulty of scientific knowledge involved but also because of the difficulty of rendering it into verse. For help, Burney enlisted the aid of two experts: the classical scholar and linguist Thomas Twining ‘for [the] *Poetry*’ and the King’s Astronomer William Herschel ‘for [the] *doctrine*’ (306). Twining, who was one of Burney’s closest friends, read the first ten books in January 1798. Presumably, he approved of the poetry, for April 1798 finds Burney, at a dinner party given by Mrs Crewe, reading the first three books of the poem to the guests, including William Windham, the Secretary at War, and George Canning, the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Although they knew each other from Royal Society meetings, Herschel, unlike Twining, was not an old friend of Burney’s. Somewhat audaciously, however, Burney wrote to Herschel in August 1797 reminding him that in the last meeting, he had ‘confidentially communicated . . . the idea of a work w<sup>ch</sup> [he] had undertaken’ and asking if he could ‘consult [Herschel] on some doubtful points, and be corrected in the theoretic part, wherever [Burney] may have misconceived, or mistaken, the doctrines of anc<sup>t</sup> Sages & Fathers of the Science’ (249). Herschel agreed and, thus, began a correspondence between the two men as well as a series of meetings in which Burney would read aloud instalments of the poem. In the first visit, at the Herschel household in Slough in September 1797, he read to Herschel books 7 and 8, his ‘longest & most formidable 2 Books’ (273) and had the comfort ‘to find that [his] doctrine was orthodox’ and that Herschel objected only to the use of two words, ‘one word too weak, & another too strong for the science & Ideas [Burney] wished to convey’ (273). Moreover, Herschel admitted ‘that he had never been fond of Poetry—He thought it to consist of the arrangem<sup>t</sup> of fine words, without meaning—“but when it contained science, and information, such as mine (hide my blushes!) he liked it very well” . . . this encouragem<sup>t</sup> from *such* a man, & such a supreme judge of my subject, if I was 50 years younger w<sup>d</sup> turn my head’ (273).

In December 1798, Burney and Herschel met again, twice, both times at Chelsea Hospital. In the first meeting, after Burney had ‘read to him the first 5 books’, Herschel ‘was so humble as to confess that [Burney knew] more of the hist<sup>y</sup> of Astronomy than he did, & had surprised him w<sup>th</sup> the mass of information [Burney] had got together’ (357). At the second meeting, Burney ‘read 4 b<sup>ks</sup> & ½—Des Cartes, & Newton, over again . . . Doctrine all right, & explanations of Astronomic mysteries: such as Gravitation, Refraction, &c &c, clear & accurate’ (358). Herschel

must have been satisfied with what he heard, for at this point '[h]e . . . consented to let [Burney] prefix his head to the 12<sup>th</sup> book'. Indeed, Burney reports that '[a]t our parting after the 2<sup>d</sup> reading he . . . thanked me for the Entertainment & *Instruction* I had given him—"can any thing be *grander*?"' (358).

'Astronomical matters stand still' after these meetings (397), partly owing to the death of Herschel's mother-in-law, until July 1799 when Burney paid his last visit to Slough. Burney gleefully reports a meeting between himself, Herschel, and King George III in which the king asks "'How does Astronomy go on?'" and tells Burney "'that what ever you write, you will make it entertaining'" (474). When Burney modestly bows and merely relates that he has written all twelve books and has read eleven of them to Herschel, Herschel informs the king that 'it will be a capital work' (474).

The fate of this 'capital work' is not to be found in this volume, however. In a letter to Herschel dated 2 November 1799, Burney mentions that he has been 'severely revising the XI first books of my poem', incorporating corrections Herschel had sent him (494), but there remain 'other doubts to be cleared, & inaccuracies corrected; additions to be made, & superfluties cancelled' (495). On 19 November, work on the poem is mentioned for the last time. Burney tells Madame d'Arblay that he 'work[s] at [his] Astronomy—polish[es]—add[s]—and make[s] Notes' and has 'had 2 or 3 consoling letters from Herschel' (503–4), and at the next full moon, he and Herschel are 'to conjure together' (504). We hear no more about the poem.<sup>5</sup>

Much of the volume consists of Burney's travels, which take him both into the country and into his past. A proposed visit to the estate of his friend Richard Cox at Quarley, Hampshire, in July 1794 finds Burney writing to entreat Frances Anne Crewe, the daughter of his former patron, Fulke Greville, to meet him there. The village of Quarley is but 4 miles from Wilbury House, Fulke Greville's former seat in Newton Toney (now Newton Tony), Wiltshire. Burney speculates 'how pretty it w<sup>d</sup> be' if he and Mrs Crewe, who was born at Wiltshire House, 'c<sup>d</sup> but visit Wilbury & its Environs together' and 'revive the remembrance of old & happy times' (38).

<sup>5</sup> For an insightful analysis of the poem and its genesis, see Elaine Bander, "'The Astronomic Muse': Charles Burney and Astronomy", *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 43:3 (2021), 259–76.

This joint return to ‘dear Wilbury’ (38) did not happen since Mrs Crewe, on her own travels at the time, passed by Wilbury the day before Burney’s arrival. Burney and Richard Cox visit the place without her, but Burney laments her absence: ‘it w<sup>d</sup> have heightened my pleasure exceedingly to have performed this pilgrimage with you: as we sh<sup>d</sup> have adored the same relics, & renovated the same juvenile pleasures. . . . What a number of former incidents, characters, & conversations w<sup>d</sup> have been brought to mind by this local scenery, had we been together!’ (40).

Burney would have to wait three years for another opportunity to revisit the past. In July 1797, he and Mrs Crewe, while en route to Crewe Hall in Cheshire, stopped at Blenheim Park and Stratford-upon-Avon, where he ‘visited the wretched house w<sup>ch</sup> gave birth to our dear & e{x}quisite Shakespear’ (244), ‘sat in his clumsy, uneasy, easy-chair in his Chimney corner’ (244), ‘& wondered more than ever that a man living in so miserable a house & town, s<sup>d</sup> have such sublime ideas of grandeur, & human affections in the most exalted situations, as well as of the lowest orders of mankind’ (288). They then visited two of the towns the young Burney had lived in. The first of these stops was in Shrewsbury where, he tells us, he ‘knew all the streets, lanes and parishes, as well as [he] did sixty years ago’ (240) despite not having visited it for forty years. He spends a nostalgic day and a half in Shrewsbury where, in addition to having breakfast with Charles Darwin’s father and Josiah Wedgwood’s daughter, he plays the tour guide for his travelling companions, taking them unerringly ‘to the old Town Hall, the New Town House, High Street, and Raven Street . . . and then to the Free School, founded by Henry VIII and endowed by his daughter Bess’ (240). Writing to his daughter Susanna Phillips, he reveals the significance certain places hold for himself: ‘*Raven Street*, where I was born—the Free School, where I was flogged—the Severn, where I narrowly escaped drowning more than once—The *Quarry*, w<sup>ch</sup> I still insist on being the prettiest public walk in Europe’ (288). Burney’s pleasure at revisiting the haunts of his childhood is, however, dampened by a keen awareness of the ravages of time:

{i}t was a melancholy part of my wandering through Shrewsbury, that there was not a single inhabitant living that I remember, or who remembered me; though when I left the Town more than 50 years ago, there was not a single house-keeper of any kind of consequence that I did not know and to whom I was not known! But such {are} the terms of our existence! and such in old age the melancholy events of the last act of the vital drama! (288–9)

After two weeks at Crewe Hall, Mrs Crewe takes Burney to Chester, the second of his 'Alma Maters' (246), where he lived from 1739 to 1742. He tells us that he 'ran ab' Chester, the Rows, Walls, Cathedral, and Castle, as familiarly as [he] c<sup>d</sup> have done 50 years ago' and 'visited the free-school, where [he] hic, haec, *hoc*'d it 3 or 4 years' as well as 'the Cathedral where [he] saw and heard the 1<sup>st</sup> Organ [he] ever touched'. Despite his conviction that he would find no one alive who remembered him in these places, he encounters an old man, a singer in the choir, who, having heard of Burney's impending visit, is there to greet him (291).

On his way back to Chelsea, Burney makes one more nostalgic visit, stopping at Lichfield in Staffordshire with the intention of 'visiting the houses that gave birth to D<sup>r</sup> Johnson, D<sup>r</sup> James [of James's Powders fame], & Garrick' (248). Searching fruitlessly for Frank Barber, Dr Johnson's servant, Burney finds 'the house where dear D<sup>r</sup> Johnson was born', which he describes as 'stuccoed' with '9 sash windows in front, & pillars before it' (254). Like the Bard's house in Stratford, which had been converted into a butcher's shop (288), the Great Cham's house was now a grocer's shop (254). The Garrick family home, inhabited by Garrick's sister after a court battle with a conniving apothecary, he describes as 'lately repaired, stuccoed, enlarged, & sashed' (254). Unable to find the residence of Dr James, Burney is 'indignant' that 'the ungrateful inhabitants knew nothing ab' him' (255), more evidence of the melancholy 'terms of our existence'.

Of the many journeys Burney makes in these years, perhaps the one that best sums up his favoured status as a man of letters and explains his moral panic owing to the political turmoil of the times occurs in 1799. At the invitation of the Crewes, he travels to Dover to stay with them in 'the best house in the place' (440), where he witnesses a massive military build-up as part of the Anglo-Russian invasion of the Netherlands. While there, he finds himself admitted to the inner political circles and delights in hobnobbing with the elite, dining with the likes of William Pitt, the prime minister; Henry Dundas, the Secretary for War; Baron Loughborough, the Lord Chancellor; and George Canning. He proudly mentions Pitt's notice to Madame d'Arblay: 'at Dinner, his civility to me was as civil and attentive as if I had had half a dozen boroughs at my devotion—offering, to me, though a great way off him—of every dish & wine' (452). On the occasion of the third embarkation of the British fleet for the Netherlands, he participates in 'a scrambling dinner' with Pitt, the Duke of York, 'all his aids du Camp, & Lord Chatham, & 2 or 3 Gen<sup>l</sup> officers, with the D. of Portland, & M<sup>r</sup> Dundas' (455) as well as several members of the nobility. As he jokingly

but tellingly writes to Madame d'Arblay, '[d]o you imagine that after the notice of King, Queen, Princess of Wales, D. of Portland, and other Cabinet Ministers, I shall ever think such *Shabroons* as you worth my Notice?' (453). Having spent a lifetime working his way up from a mere musician from Shrewsbury to a privileged place in the highest circles of society, Burney was not keen to upset the status quo.

Roger Lonsdale has written that '1799 was probably the happiest year of Burney's life' (394) and cites several reasons in addition to Burney's enjoyment of high society at Dover: the progress of his astronomy poem, the hope generated by Nelson's naval victory at the mouth of the Nile, the Queen's admiration of a song about naval heroes that he had written (394–5), among others. His happiness was to be short-lived, however. In the autumn, Burney learned that his favourite child, Susanna Phillips, was very ill. Her capricious and impecunious husband, Molesworth Phillips, had moved his family to an isolated, half-finished cottage in Belcotton, Ireland, in October 1796. After three years of neglect compounded by the terror of the Irish Rebellion in 1798, Susanna's health was so bad that the obstinate and irresponsible Phillips, who had hitherto refused to let her return to England, was forced to allow it. Charles Burney, Jr, was dispatched to Parkgate, on the Wirral Peninsula, to pick up the ailing Susanna and bring her to Chelsea in his carriage. On 3 January 1800, he wrote the following:

She passed a sad Night.—The complaint in her Bowels, which had torn her to pieces for several weeks, and had reduced her to a shadow, raged violently. . . . I staid an hour by the poor Soul's bed; but she knew me not:—she saw me not—she spoke to me not.—

Phillips & Fanny soon returned:—and about 20 minutes before two. . . . (Barrett, quoted in *JLSB* 59)

Presumably unable to finish the sentence, Charles ended the letter abruptly.

On the same day, Charles Sr, not knowing of his daughter's death, wrote to his son to express his 'joy . . . to find that she is once more on English ground' and to inform him that he is 'very glad, much as [he] long[s] to see and embrace her, that she proposes staying some days at Park-Gate to refit, ere she approximates Chelsea' (526). The dramatic irony of this letter is very touching. It is hard for the sympathetic reader not to agree with Burney's assessment of the wretched Phillips's character a few months later: 'Vile swindler—liar—& hypocrite' (Osborn). A volume that begins with a recovery from an illness thus ends with an illness from which there would be no recovery.

## A CHRONOLOGY OF CHARLES BURNEY

1726	7 Apr.	Born at Shrewsbury
1738–44		Schooling at Shrewsbury and Chester
1744	Aug.–Sept.	Moves to London as Thomas Arne's apprentice
1746	summer	Meets Fulke Greville and Wilbury circle
1747	summer	Meets Samuel Crisp
1748	29 Sept.	Greville purchases Burney's indentures from Arne
1749	24 May	Esther, first daughter, born
	12 June	Marries Esther Sleepe, who ran a fan-shop
	29 Oct.	Elected organist of St Dionis's Backchurch
	3 Dec.	Elected to Society of Musicians
1750	13 June	James, first son, born
1751	Sept.	Obliged by illness to leave London for King's Lynn, Norfolk, as organist at St Margaret's Church; meets William Bewley
1752	13 June	Frances, second daughter, born
1755	4 Jan.	Susanna, third daughter, born
	16 Feb.	Begins correspondence with Samuel Johnson
1757	4 Dec.	Charles, second son, born
1760		Returns to London, living in Poland Street; becomes fashionable music master
1761	4 Nov.	Charlotte, fourth daughter, born
1762	29 Sept.	Esther Sleepe Burney dies
1764	June–July	Takes his daughters Esther and Susanna to Paris
	Nov.	Elected to Society of Arts
1765	June–July	Fetches Esther and Susanna from Paris
1766	21 Nov.	<i>The Cunning Man</i> , his translation of Rousseau's <i>Le Devin du village</i> , performed at Drury Lane for fourteen-night run and published in two editions
1767		Appointed 'Extra Musician' in the King's Band

- 2 Oct. Secretly marries Elizabeth Allen of King's Lynn, a wealthy widow with three children: Stephen, Maria, and Elizabeth
- 1768 20 Nov. Richard Thomas, third son, born
- 1769 22 June Awarded D. Mus. by Oxford University
- 25 Oct. Publishes 'An Essay towards a History of the Principal Comets'
- 1770 7 June Departs on musical tour of France and Italy
- 24 Dec. Returns to new residence in Queen Square, Bloomsbury
- 1771 4 May Publishes *The Present State of Music in France and Italy*
- 1772 3 July Departs on musical tour of the Low Countries, Germany, and Austria
- 29 Aug. Sarah Harriet, fifth daughter, born
- early Nov. Returns to London
- 1773 23 Apr. Publishes *The Present State of Music in Germany*
- 28 Apr. Correspondence with Thomas Twining begins
- 16 Dec. Elected Fellow of the Royal Society
- 1774 20 May Promoted to 'Musician in Ordinary' in the King's Band
- 8 Oct. Moves to Newton's former residence in St Martin's Street
- 1776 31 Jan. Publishes first volume of *A General History of Music*
- 12 Dec. Gives first harpsichord lesson to the Thrales' daughter Queeney; joins the Thrales' circle at Streatham
- 1777 Begins correspondence with Hester Lynch Thrale
- Oct. Charles, Jr expelled from Cambridge University for theft of library books and exiled from family home
- 1778 29 Jan. Frances Burney publishes her first novel, *Evelina*
- 1779 Publishes *Account of an Infant Musician* [William Crotch]
- Disappointed by not being appointed Master of the King's Band

1780	June	Witnesses the Gordon Riots
1781	Jan.	Portrait painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds
	4 Apr.	Henry Thrale dies
1782	29 May	Publishes second volume of <i>A General History of Music</i>
	summer	Disappointed in attempts to become organist in the Queen's Band and of St Martin's-in-the-Fields
	12 July	Frances Burney publishes <i>Cecilia</i>
1783	24 Apr.	Samuel Crisp dies
	5 Sept.	William Bewley dies
	18 Dec.	Obtains, with the aid of Edmund Burke, post as organist at Royal Hospital, Chelsea
1784	17 Feb.	Elected to The Club
	May–June	Handel Commemoration; George III approves of Burney as historian of the event
	July	Hester Lynch Thrale marries Gabriel Piozzi; end of Streatham circle
1785	13 Dec.	Samuel Johnson dies
	24 Jan.	Publishes <i>Commemoration of Handel</i>
	Jan.	Publishes a brief account in the <i>London Review</i> of the life of Maria Theresia Paradis, the blind Viennese musician
	13 March	Break-in and theft of money at house in St Martin's Street
	March	Disappointed by not being appointed Master of the King's Band in Ireland
1786	June	Starts contributing to <i>Monthly Review</i>
	Sept.	Visits Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill, with Frances
	11 Feb.	Marriage of daughter and amanuensis Charlotte to Clement Francis
	May	Disappointed again by not being appointed Master of the King's Band
	17 July	Accompanies Frances to Windsor to take up her appointment as Keeper of the Robes
Nov.–Dec.	Borrows manuscripts from George III to write section on Handel in his <i>History of Music</i>	
	29–31 Dec.	Visits Frances at Windsor; converses with George III about music

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|------|------------|--|
| 1787 | July       | Begins to rent rooms at the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, though still retains lease on house in St Martin's Street |
|      | 20 Aug.    | Christian Ignatius Latrobe publishes <i>Sonatinas</i> , dedicated to Burney                                    |
| 1788 | Nov.       | Moves to a smaller apartment at the Royal Hospital   |
| 1789 | 30 April   | Publishes last two volumes of <i>A General History of Music</i>  |
|      | June       | Leaves St Martin's Street; makes permanent move to Royal Hospital  |
| 1790 | 30 June    | A licence to stage Italian operas issued to the Pantheon (of which Burney was a proprietor)                    |
|      | Oct.       | Begins to catalogue and organize his library   |
|      | Nov.       | Becomes a member of the newly formed Society of Musical Graduates  |
|      |            | Charles Burney, Jr, publishes <i>Remarks on the Greek Verses of Milton</i>                                     |
| 1791 | 2 Jan      | Haydn arrives in London; visits Burney next day  |
|      | 17 Feb.    | Opening of Pantheon for operas   |
|      | 23 April   | Organizes musical evening with Haydn at Chelsea  |
|      | May        | Publishes 'Verses on the arrival in England of the Great Musician Haydn'                                       |
|      | 7 July     | Brings Frances home to Chelsea after she resigns her position as Keeper of the Robes                           |
| 1792 | 14 Jan.    | Pantheon burns down; Burney loses much of investment   |
|      | 21 Mar.    | Death of elder brother, Richard  |
|      | c.10 April | Suffering from rheumatic pain, writes farewell letters to his daughters in expectation of death                |
|      | June       | Haydn hosts farewell dinner to Musical Graduates; leaves England   |
|      | June–Aug.  | Helps organize musical aspects of Lord Macartney's embassy to China  |
|      | 9 Nov.     | Death of John Hayes, who leaves his library to Burney  |

- 1793 28 July Frances marries Alexandre d'Arblay in Mickleham, Surrey (repeated in a Catholic ceremony in London on 30 July)
- Aug. Joins Frances Anne Crewe's 'Ladies' Plan' in aid of the Committee for the Relief of the Suffering French Clergy
- 19 Nov. Frances Burney d'Arblay publishes 'Brief Reflections relative to the Emigrant French Clergy'
- 1794 c.20 Aug. Sister Ann ('Nancy') Burney dies
- 1796 Feb. Publishes *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Abate Metastasio*
- 7 July Sarah Harriet Burney publishes her first novel, *Clarentine*
- (?12) July Frances Burney d'Arblay publishes *Camilla*
- Sept. Susanna Burney Phillips joins her husband Molesworth Phillips in Ireland
- 20 Oct. Elizabeth Allen Burney dies
- 1797 Jan. Begins writing 'Astronomy, an Historical and Didactic Poem'
- 9 July Edmund Burke dies
- 31 July–1 Aug. Visits Shrewsbury, his childhood home
- c.12 Aug. Visits Chester where he attended school from 1739 to 1742
- 1798 21 July Begins visit to the Duke of Portland at Bulstrode
- Sept. Sarah Harriet Burney leaves home to set up house with her half-brother James
- Dec. Writes song in praise of Nelson's victory at the Battle of the Nile
- 1799 Jan. Publishes *Hymn for the Emperor*, an adaptation of Haydn's *Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser*
- Sept. Dines with William Pitt, the Prime Minister
- 1800 6 Jan. Susanna Burney Phillips dies, after which her daughter Frances comes to live with Burney
- 14 July Slips while debarking from a boat and injures his head

1801	July	Paid £1,000 to write the music articles for William Rees's <i>Cyclopaedia</i> , published in thirty-nine volumes from 1802 to 1819 with some 1,750 contributions by Burney
	Aug.	Resigns as reviewer for the <i>Monthly Review</i>
	Dec.	Joseph Nollekens completes bust of Burney
1802	Apr.	Frances and son Alexander join Alexandre d'Arblay in France during the Peace of Amiens
	22 Sept.	Returns to Chelsea after stay at Bulstrode where he meets Lord Charles Spencer and his son John Spencer, the poet
1803	Jan.	Charles Jr appointed Professor of Ancient Literature at the Royal Academy
	May	Frances and family stranded in France by the resumption of war
	June	James Burney publishes <i>A Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean</i>
	24–9 Aug.	Begins summer travels at Bulstrode
1804	6 Aug.	Thomas Twining dies
	6–18 Sept.	At Bulstrode for '10 or 12 days'.
	4 Dec.	Burney's publishers George and John Robinson declare bankruptcy
	Dec.	Begins revising his 'Memoirs'
1805	Jan.	Lectures William Crotch for his intemperate criticism of Haydn's music
	9 July	Dines with the Prince of Wales
	12 July	Begins receiving Frances's royal pension while she remains in France
	Aug.	Spends first part of a four-week journey at Bulstrode
1806	Apr.	Granted a royal pension of £200 annually
	31 July–4 Aug.	Spends a week at Bulstrode
	Sept.	Falls and injures hip while hiking on Worcestershire Beacon
		Afflicted by paralysis in left hand
	Dec.	Travels to Bath to recuperate
1807	12 Jan.	Makes his will at Bath

	March	Returns to Chelsea Hospital
	July	Visits Bulstrode
	13 July	Frances Phillips marries Charles Chamier Raper, leaving Burney alone, with no female relative or companion
	Aug.	Sarah Harriet Burney returns home to live with Burney
	Sept.	Returns for another visit to Bulstrode
1808	July	'Memoirs and Character of the late Mrs. Ord' published in <i>Gentleman's Magazine</i>
	July–Aug.	Visits Bulstrode
	Sept.	Sarah Harriet Burney publishes <i>Geraldine Fauconberg</i>
1809	Aug.	Visits Bulstrode
	30 Oct.	Duke of Portland dies
1810	27 Feb.	Charles Jr elected to The Club
	28 Apr.	Appointed Correspondent of the Institut de France
1812	25 Apr.	Sarah Harriet Burney publishes <i>Traits of Nature</i>
	25 May	Edmond Malone dies
	14 Aug.	Frances returns surreptitiously to England from France with her son
1814	28 March	Frances Burney d'Arblay publishes <i>The Wanderer</i>
	12 Apr.	Dies at Chelsea Hospital and is buried there
	Apr. and July	Obituary notice in <i>Gentleman's Magazine</i>
1817	Aug.	Monument to Burney erected in Westminster Abbey
1832	23 Nov.	Frances Burney d'Arblay publishes <i>Memoirs of Doctor Burney</i>



## SHORT TITLES AND ABBREVIATIONS

### PERSONS

- CB = Charles Burney (D.Mus.), 1726–1814  
CBF = Charlotte (Burney) Francis, 1761–1836  
CBFB = after 1798 Charlotte (Burney) Broome  
CB<sub>Jr</sub> = Charles Burney (D.D.), 1757–1817  
EAB = Elizabeth (Allen) Burney, 1728–96  
EBB = Esther (Burney) Burney, 1749–1842  
FB = Frances Burney, 1752–1840  
FBA = after 1793 Madame d'Arblay  
SBP = Susanna (Burney) Phillips, 1755–1800  
SHB = Sarah Harriet Burney, 1772–1844  
SPB = Sarah (Payne) Burney, 1758–1832  
SRB = Sarah (Rose) Burney, 1759–1821

### (I) WORKS, COLLECTIONS, ETC.

Standard encyclopaedias, biographical dictionaries, peerages, baronetages, knightages, school and university lists, medical registers, clergy lists, town and city directories, court registers, army and navy lists, road guides, almanacs, and catalogues of all kinds have been used but are not cited unless for a particular reason. Also consulted were a variety of online resources, including Early English Books Online, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Literature Online, IntelLex Past Masters, the Burney Collection of Newspapers, the International Genealogical Index, Ancestry, Stirnet, and Findmypast. All quotations from the Bible are from the King James Version online, and all Shakespeare references are to the Folger Shakespeare Library online edition. In all works, London is assumed to be the place of publication unless otherwise indicated.

Ailesbury                      Ailesbury Papers, Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre.

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- Alumni Oxon.* Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, 8 vols (London: Foster, 1887–92).
- Annals* London Literary Society, *Annals of the Club* (1914).
- Annual Register* *The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politics, and Literature . . .* (1758–1800).
- Barlow and Gilman Jeremy Barlow and Todd Gilman, ‘A Monumental Mistake. New Discovered Letters to Handel Editor Samuel Arnold’, *Handel-Jahrbuch* 60 (2014), 349–50.
- Barrett The Barrett Collection of Burney Papers, British Library, 43 vols, Egerton 3690–3708.
- Barthomley* Edward Hinchliffe, *Barthomley: In Letters from a Former Rector to His Eldest Son* (1856).
- Berg The Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, New York Public Library.
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- [Burney, Charles]
- CB, Diary Diaries of Charles Burney (Berg)
- [Burney, Charles]
- CB, *Memoirs* *Memoirs of Dr. Charles Burney 1726–1769*, ed. Slava Klima, Garry Bowers, and Kerry S. Grant (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1988).
- [Burney, Charles]
- Commemoration of Handel* Charles Burney, *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster-Abbey, and the Pantheon, May 26th, 27th, 29th; and June the 3d, and 5th, 1784, in Commemoration of Handel* (1785).

- [Burney, Charles]  
Fragmentary  
Memoirs Holograph fragments of Burney's 'Memoirs' that survive in the Berg, Barrett, and Osborn Collections.
- [Burney, Charles]  
*History of Music* Charles Burney, *A General History of Music*, ed. F. Mercer, 2 vols (New York: Harcourt, 1935).
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*LCB* Peter Sabor et al., *The Letters of Dr Charles Burney, 1751–1814*, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991–).
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*Memoirs* *Memoirs of Doctor Burney, Arranged from His Own Manuscripts, from Family Papers, and from Personal Recollections*, by his daughter, Madame d'Arblay, 3 vols (1832).
- [Burney, Charles]  
*Metastasio* Charles Burney, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Abate Metastasio*, 3 vols (1796).
- [Burney, Charles]  
*Tours* *Dr. Burney's Musical Tours in Europe*, ed. Percy A. Scholes, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959).
- [Burney, Frances]  
*Camilla* *Camilla* (1796), ed. Edward A. and Lillian D. Bloom (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983).
- [Burney, Frances]  
*CJL* *The Court Journals and Letters of Frances Burney*, ed. Peter Sabor et al., 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 2011–19).
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- Hyde The Hyde Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- IGI International Genealogical Index.
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- OMO Oxford Music Online.
- ORO Oxford Reference.
- Osborn The James Marshall and Marie-Louise Osborn Collection, Beinecke Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
- OSEO Oxford Scholarly Editions Online.
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## EDITORIAL SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

- < >                Uncertain readings
- [xxxxx 3–4 words]      Material that has been obliterated and not recovered; in this instance, 3–4 words
- []                 Editorial insertions, such as dates or names
- { }                 Editorial insertions, used to complete words partly supplied by Burney, such as ‘K{ing} and Q{ueen}’, or to supply inadvertent omissions
- AJL                Autograph journal letter
- AL                 Autograph letter
- ALS                Autograph letter signed
- AN                 Autograph note
- ANS                Autograph note signed
- L                  Letter

LS	Letter signed
N	Note
x	Indicates a range of years during which the subject may have been born or may have died
Pmk	Postmark: only the essential elements are abstracted, e.g. 12 IX
※ 卩	Madame d'Arblay's editorial symbols, which she used to indicate items to be saved and possibly published

LETTERS OF  
DR CHARLES BURNEY  
FROM 25 JANUARY 1794 TO 9 JANUARY 1800

[Royal Hospital,] Chelsea  
25 January 1794

To Frances Burney d'Arblay<sup>1</sup>

ALS (Berg)

*Addressed:* To / M<sup>rs</sup> D'Arblay / Bookham, near Leatherhead / Surry.

*Pmk:* A 25 JA 94 A\*ANDERSON

*Annotated (by FBA):* French Emigrant Priests—Subscription for, & F. Lit<sup>y</sup>  
Address &c. ‡

Chelsea—25 Jan<sup>y</sup>  
1794

My dear Fanny

It is so long since I have been able to give you any signs of life in answer to your kind enquiries,<sup>2</sup> one of the first uses to w<sup>ch</sup> I can put my crippled paw shall be to tell you in this unequivocal way, that after my very long & dispiriting confinement by various maladies,<sup>3</sup> I now begin to

<sup>1</sup> Frances (1752–1840) [FBA], novelist, CB's second daughter; married (1793) Alexandre-Jean-Baptiste Piochard d'Arblay (1754–1818), native of Joigny, artillery officer.

<sup>2</sup> From 5 November 1793, there is almost a three-month gap in CB's correspondence owing to an attack of rheumatism although he continued to write book reviews for the *Monthly Review*.

<sup>3</sup> According to FBA, CB suffered from:

a species of evil which for some time had been hovering over him, and which was as new as it was inimical to his health . . . namely, a slow, unfixed, and nervous feverishness, which had infested his whole system. . . . This distressing state lasted, without relief or remittance, till it was suddenly and rudely superseded by a violent assault of acute

quit the bed-room, & to have some hopes of soon being able to go out. My coup d'essai,<sup>4</sup> however, must of necessity be short till my fore-finger, w<sup>ch</sup> is still extremely weak & tender, is better able to afford the Pus a Steerage.<sup>5</sup> After so long a silence, many matters are struggling for preference in discussion, but they must be put off with *the order of the day*—w<sup>ch</sup> is merely to give you & our dear Susey<sup>6</sup> a short *Bulletin*, of good authority, concerning the State of my health.

My foot is now perfectly easy, though I am still unable to wear a shoe—The pain in my hand, not much, or constant; though as I said before, it is yet of but little use.

M<sup>rs</sup> Crewe<sup>7</sup> [see Fig. 1] is come to Town & was here yesterday morning, when I had the *hardiessse*<sup>8</sup> to appear before her *en robe de Chambre et en pantoufles*<sup>9</sup>—but if I had been in bed, she s<sup>d</sup> she w<sup>d</sup> have shook hands with me, there. She enquired much after you. I told her how admirably Miss Thrale<sup>10</sup> had taken up the cause of the poor *Grey beards*<sup>11</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> gave her great pleasure. L<sup>y</sup> Buckingham<sup>12</sup> who has sent your Tract<sup>13</sup> & Plans to

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rheumatism; which drove away all minor or subservient maladies, by the predominance of a torturing pain that nearly nullified everything but itself. (*Memoirs* iii. 175–6)

<sup>4</sup> First try.

<sup>5</sup> i.e. to allow the infection to disperse and thus heal. Ralph Griffiths concluded his letter to CB, November 1793, with 'good wishes for that part of a R[viewer]', the 'forefinger of the right hand' (Osborn).

<sup>6</sup> Susanna ('Susan') Elizabeth [SBP] (1755–1800), CB's third daughter; married (1782) Molesworth Phillips (1755–1832), marine officer.

<sup>7</sup> Frances Anne (1748–1818), the daughter of CB's patron, Fulke Greville (1717–1806) and his wife (married 1748) Frances Macartney (1726–89). Frances Anne, who married (1766) John Crewe (1742–1829), Whig M.P. for Stafford (1765–8) and for Cheshire (1768–1802), was a life-long friend of the Burney family and a noted bluestocking hostess. In praise of her beauty, FB wrote in 1779: 'the *elegance* of Mrs Sheridan's Beauty is unequalled by any I ever saw except Mrs. Crewes' (*EJL* iii. 226).

<sup>8</sup> Audacity.

<sup>9</sup> In dressing-gown and slippers.

<sup>10</sup> Hester Maria ('Queeney') (1764–1857), eldest daughter of Henry Thrale (c.1728–81), a wealthy Southwark brewer, and his wife (married 1763) Hester Lynch Salusbury (1741–1821).

<sup>11</sup> CB was honorary secretary to the Society of Ladies, which, led by Mrs Crewe and the Marchioness of Buckingham, was attempting to raise additional money for the relief of the French Clergy (*Memoirs* iii. 184–7). In her reply, 27 January 1794, FBA wrote: 'I will send you Miss Thrale's Letters on the subject of the respectable Priests' (*JL* iii. 36). These letters to FBA, which CB considered 'natural, affectionate, & humane' (below, 8), have not been preserved.

<sup>12</sup> Lady Mary Elizabeth (c.1758–1812), daughter of Robert Craggs-Nugent (1709–88), 1st Earl Nugent (Ireland) (1776); married (1775) George Grenville (1753–1813), later (1779) Nugent-Temple-Grenville, 1st Marquess of Buckingham (1784), Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1782–3, 1787–9). In August 1793, Lady Buckingham organized the manufacture of tapestry, which provided employment for 200 priests (*Burke Corr.* vii. 395 n. 4). See also François Xavier Plasse, *Le Clergé français réfugié en Angleterre* (Paris, 1886), i. 378–9.

<sup>13</sup> FBA added the following note: 'Address to British Ladies for the distressed Emigrant Priests'. The full title is 'Brief Reflections Relative to the Emigrant French Clergy' (1793).



Fig. 1. Frances Anne Crewe, Lady Crewe. Stipple engraving by Thomas Watson, after Daniel Gardner, 1780.  
© National Portrait Gallery, London.

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The verso of the title page states that '*The profits of this Publication are to be wholly appropriated to the Relief of the EMIGRANT FRENCH CLERGY*'.

Ireland & other great personages there are now working very hard & successfully in that Kingdom—the B<sup>p</sup> of Clonfert, D<sup>r</sup> Marley,<sup>14</sup> has collected & sent to M<sup>rs</sup> Crewe £200—Y<sup>r</sup> Mother<sup>15</sup> p<sup>d</sup> to M<sup>rs</sup> Crewe yesterday upwards of that sum w<sup>ch</sup> has been contributed & collected by our friends & persons whom we have set to Work—w<sup>ch</sup> w<sup>th</sup> what we had previously p<sup>d</sup> in to Boldero the Banker,<sup>16</sup> amounts in the Whole to near £400—

I had not felt myself so well & alert for a long time, as the great & unexpected majority for a continuance of the War in Parliam<sup>t</sup> made me.<sup>17</sup> What a wicked gang it is who oppose it!—& what a frantic fellow is L<sup>d</sup> Stanhope,<sup>18</sup> with his eloge<sup>19</sup> of the Jacobins,<sup>20</sup> atheists, & anarchists! How w<sup>d</sup> such an *enrage*<sup>21</sup> in favour of England be treated in the National Convention of France, that land of *perfect liberty*?<sup>22</sup>

How fortunate it was that M. D'Arblay<sup>23</sup> & his friends did not go to Toulon!<sup>24</sup> I expected that place, while in the hands of the Royalists, w<sup>d</sup>

<sup>14</sup> The Right Reverend Richard Marlay (c.1728–1802), Bishop of Clonfert (1787) and of Waterford (1795); member of The Club.

<sup>15</sup> Elizabeth Allen [EAB] (1728–96), widow (married 1749) of Stephen Allen (1724–63). She married CB in 1767.

<sup>16</sup> Either Edward Gale Boldero (1757–1848) or Charles Boldero (1758–1851) of the firm Boldero, Kendall, Adey, and Boldero at No. 30, Cornhill Street (F. G. Hilton Price, *A Handbook of London Bankers* (1876), 16, 181; *Law Times: The Journal and Record of the Law and Lawyers* (xviii (1852), 151); *English Reports in Law and Equity*, ed. Edmund H. Bennett and Chauncey Smith (viii (1852), 266)).

<sup>17</sup> A division in the House of Lords on 21 January resulted in the defeat of an amendment advocating peace with France by a vote of 97 to 12 (*The Times*, 22 January 1794).

<sup>18</sup> Charles (1753–1816), 3rd Earl Stanhope (1786), moved on 23 January 1794 'an humble address . . . praying that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to acknowledge the French Republican Constitution'. The House, tired of the 'unbounded eulogism' of the French Constitution, 'loudly called for the question', which put, was 'negated by the Whole House, the Mover excepted' (*The Times*, 24 January 1794).

<sup>19</sup> Eulogy, panegyric, encomium, praise.

<sup>20</sup> The Society of the Friends of the Constitution or Jacobin Club (1789), led by Maximilien Robespierre, was one of the most radical political groups in the French Revolution. Its purpose was 'to maintain and propagate the principles of extreme democracy and absolute equality' (*OED*).

<sup>21</sup> Fanatic.

<sup>22</sup> For FBA's comments, see *JL* iii, 37–8.

<sup>23</sup> In September 1789, M. d'Arblay was made a major in the National Guard of Paris. He was an ardent constitutionalist and his friendship with Louis, comte de Narbonne-Lara, then Minister of War, helped him to the rank of adjutant-general, 3 August 1791, and Commandant of the fortress of Longwy. After the revolutionary coup of 10 August 1792, he, like other constitutionalists loyal to the king, left France with Lafayette and in October settled with Narbonne in a small group of French émigrés at Juniper Hall near Mickleham, where FB met him. For an account of his career, see *JL* ii. x–xi.

<sup>24</sup> Toulon capitulated to the forces of the Convention under Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) on 17–18 December 1793, and the English evacuated the town by 19 December (*The Times*, 16 January 1794). The failure was attributed partly to a state of insurrection and

have been a rallying point for all the Friends of *Monarchy*, limited or otherwise, in that part of the World—but republicanism, anarchy, & force are *evil Spirits* too powerful in that Quarter to be cast out or subdued but by self destruction and Massacre.

But here, sans y penser,<sup>25</sup> I am got to political discussion. God bless you, my dear Fanny—all our best Comp<sup>is</sup> to M. D'Arblay—I am glad he is studying English—If you know of any particular authors in our language in my possession w<sup>ch</sup> he most wishes to read, I hope he will not spare the Chelsea circulating Library.<sup>26</sup>

We have some hopes that Sussey will bring her dear boy<sup>27</sup> to school, *via Chelsea*—I therefore shall rest my Paw a day or 2 longer ere I employ it in her service—so for the present adieu—C. B.

Royal Hospital, Chelsea  
29 January 1794

To James Boswell<sup>28</sup>

AL (Boswell)

*Addressed:* To / James Boswell Esq<sup>r</sup>

*Endorsed (by Boswell):* D<sup>r</sup> Burney 29 Jan<sup>ry</sup> 1794.

D<sup>r</sup> Burney presents his best compliments and thanks to M<sup>r</sup> Boswell for the honour of his enquiries as well as present. D<sup>r</sup> B. has been confined by indisposition, & crippled hand & foot, for near 3 Months; but is now so far recovered that he is able to hold a pen & put on a shoe. Notwithstanding

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anarchy within the port. M. d'Arblay had earlier 'offered his services [to the royalist forces] at Toulon' (*JL* iii. 21).

<sup>25</sup> Without thinking.

<sup>26</sup> See FBA to CB, 27 January 1794: 'M. d'Arblay, with his *best respects*, accepts your kind offer, and will be much obliged by the loan of *Tom Jones*—which he has only read in French' (*JL* iii. 36). *The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling*, a novel by Henry Fielding (1707–54), was published in 1749.

<sup>27</sup> Charles Norbury Phillips (1785–1814), on holiday with his mother at Norbury Park, was attending Charles Burney, Jr's school at Greenwich.

<sup>28</sup> James Boswell (1740–95), Edinburgh-born lawyer, diarist, and biographer of Samuel Johnson.

sickness & indifference ab' most other things, roused by the advertisement of M<sup>r</sup> Boswell's additions to his admirable life of their great friend Johnson,<sup>29</sup> he procured, & greedily perused it, the day it came; & found that it procured him more ease, or at least, diverted attention from self, more than any medicine he had taken. He will however gratefully preserve the gift as a flattering testimony of M<sup>r</sup> Boswell's kind remembrance, & hopes soon to be able not only to thank him *vivâ voce*,<sup>30</sup> but to meet him at *the Club*,<sup>31</sup> at which he is always mortified when not able to attend.

Chelsea College 29 Jan<sup>y</sup> 1794.

Royal Hospital, Chelsea  
5 February 1794

To Frances Burney d'Arblay

ALS (Berg)

Addressed: To / M<sup>rs</sup> D'Arblay / Bookham

Annotated (by FBA): French Priests. F. d'A.'s Tract. 5<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup>—1794 ※

Dear Fanny.

Capt. Phil.<sup>32</sup> dines with us & allows me to run away from him to say a few *pleasing words*<sup>33</sup>—In the first place I am much better. Within this week

<sup>29</sup> Samuel Johnson (1709–84), writer, lexicographer. Boswell's 'Advertisement to the Second Edition', revised and augmented, was dated 1 July 1793. *The Principal Corrections and Additions to the First Edition of Mr. Boswell's Life of Dr. Johnson* (1793) was published as a forty-two-page pamphlet (*Life* i. 10 n. 2, 13).

<sup>30</sup> Out loud.

<sup>31</sup> On Tuesday, 4 March 1794, Boswell noted that he 'Dined at the Literary Club with the Duke of Leeds, Lord Spencer, Lord Lucan, Dr. Burney, and Windham': 'It was not as in the day of Johnson. I drank liberally' (*Private Papers of James Boswell from Malahide Castle* xviii. 266). 'The Club', to which CB was elected in 1784, had been founded in 1764 by Dr Johnson after a suggestion by Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–92). There were nine original members; thereafter, membership required unanimous election. From 1791, dinners were held fortnightly at 5:30 p.m. during sessions of Parliament (David Cannadine, Peter Hennessy, and Charles Saumarez Smith, *New Annals of The Club* (Henry Sotheman, 2014), 94); there were informal evening meetings, with supper at 10 p.m., in the weeks when there was no dinner. Also in 1791, The Club moved from Dover Street to Parsloe's in St James Street (*Annals* 36).

<sup>32</sup> Molesworth Phillips, captain in the Royal Marines, would be promoted to the rank of major on 1 March 1794.

<sup>33</sup> A Burney family catchphrase.

I have gained ground in ease & stren{g}th very much. I am sorry your preux<sup>34</sup> Chevalier has caught cold & Rheumatism by his Gallantry. But I believe Chevalerie<sup>35</sup> c<sup>d</sup> never be practiced in our climate with half the prowess in favour of the ladies as in more southern climes. I am glad to find however, that notwithstanding M<sup>r</sup> Burke's assertion<sup>36</sup> Chevalerie is not extinct, though unluckily subject to colds & Rheumatism.

I have borrowed Sall's<sup>37</sup> every-day Tom Jones for M. D'Arblay: as mine, bequeathed to me in 8<sup>vo</sup> Edit. of all Fielding's works is in a splendid aristocratic birthday suit, unfit to travel in: being bound in red Morocco with gilt leaves, & the Lord knows what finery<sup>38</sup>—If it sh<sup>d</sup> have happened to be "brushed by the hands of rough mischance,"<sup>39</sup> en route, it w<sup>d</sup> have vexed you & M. D'Arblay perhaps more than me. If you meant my Musical Tours<sup>40</sup> that it was a shame not to have<sup>41</sup>—I will remove 2 thirds of your blushes by presenting M. D'Arblay with the last copy I have left of the Germ. Tour; but of the Italian I am at present unable to find one—but shall probably ferret one out somewhere or other ere long, & shall forget to wh<sup>ch</sup> set it belongs. A 1000 thanks for your pacquet of the wonderful escapes of M. Beaumetz<sup>42</sup>—But what will he & many others do in this unexpected order for quitting England?<sup>43</sup> The times grow more & more tremendous every day. There will certainly be exceptions in this

<sup>34</sup> Gallant or valiant.

<sup>35</sup> Chivalry.

<sup>36</sup> Edmund Burke (1730–97), politician and writer: 'But the age of chivalry is gone.—That of sophisters, economists, and calculators, has succeeded' (*Reflections on the French Revolution* (1790), 113).

<sup>37</sup> Sarah Harriet Burney [SHB] (1772–1844), daughter of CB and EAB.

<sup>38</sup> This 1771 edition of Fielding's *Works*, in 'old moroc. gilt leaves' (*Cat. Misc. Lib.* No. 592) was sold for £4 7s. to 'Pristley'.

<sup>39</sup> Thomas Gray (1716–71), 'Ode on the Spring', line 38. 'Hands' is 'hand' in the poem.

<sup>40</sup> *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* (1771) and *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and the United Provinces* (1773). Both books are subtitled *The JOURNAL of a TOUR through those Countries, undertaken to collect Materials for A GENERAL HISTORY OF MUSIC*.

<sup>41</sup> In her letter of 27 January, FBA wrote: 'M. d'Arblay intends asking *something else* besides Tom Jones.—But I shall <beg that till> the next opportunity, as I believe he rather wishes it to be a *gift* than a *loan* . . . & <certainly> I say it is quite *indecent* of us to be without 2 *books* of my Father's' (*JL* iii. 38).

<sup>42</sup> Bon-Albert Briois, chevalier de Beaumetz (1759–1801), fled to England after Robespierre's coup of 10 August 1792, secretly returned to France, and after his second escape visited the d'Arblays at Mickleham. For FBA's detailed account of his adventures, see *JL* iii. 24–32.

<sup>43</sup> The Alien Act of 8 January 1793 placed the French refugees under police supervision and gave authorities the necessary powers to deport them. In a letter of 31 January 1794 (Berg), the comte de Narbonne informed SBP that Beaumetz's friend Talleyrand had received orders to quit England within five days. Beaumetz and Talleyrand boarded a ship bound for Philadelphia c.1–3 March 1794. See *JL* iii. 47 n. 11.

order, w<sup>ch</sup> can never be intended to reach quiet folks<sup>44</sup> remote from the Capital.

Thanks for Miss Thrales letters<sup>45</sup>—they are natural, affectionate, & humane—I love her and her sisters<sup>46</sup> better than ever. I have told dear M<sup>rs</sup> Crewe of their activity—She has been here 2<sup>ce</sup>—Her friends are working ver{y} hard for the poor Grey-beards in Ireland at presen{t.}

Your little tract is very well spoken of in the *European Mag*.<sup>47</sup> & they say still better, that is, more at large in the *Gentleman's Mag*.<sup>48</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> I never see; but the good old Hutton<sup>49</sup> has. He swears by your tract—In Ireland some great Ladies to whom M<sup>rs</sup> Crewe & The Marchioness of *Bucks* sent it, say that it is quite unanswerable, & does a great deal of good to the Cause.—Not a word ab<sup>t</sup> it in the *Monthly* or *Crit. Reviews*.<sup>50</sup> W<sup>ch</sup> is a very kind forbearance to me & my family, for they never mention a Work in favour of Religion & Governm<sup>t</sup> but to abuse it.<sup>51</sup>

Adieu, for the present, I can keep the Capt. stationary no longer, or I w<sup>d</sup> write a word or two at least to our dear Susan, to whom I sh<sup>d</sup> have written immediately on the recovery of the use of my Pen, but that

<sup>44</sup> Such as M. d'Arblay.

<sup>45</sup> Missing.

<sup>46</sup> Susanna ('Susan') Arabella (1770–1858), Sophia ('Sophy') (1771–1824), and Cecilia Margareta Thrale (1777–1857).

<sup>47</sup> The *European Magazine and London Review* was launched in 1782 by the journalist James Perry and published eighty-nine volumes before ceasing in 1826. Its reviewer praised FB's pamphlet for its 'elegance of style, acuteness of observation, and spirit of philanthropy' (xxv (January 1794), 32). Either Hutton or CB is mistaken. The *GM* had not reviewed the pamphlet. See also the *British Critic* (ii (December 1793)), where the pamphlet is said to give 'much honour to the head and heart of the writer, and cannot fail to have a considerable effect' (450).

<sup>48</sup> A monthly magazine founded by Edward Cave (1691–1754) in January 1731. It produced 302 volumes before ending general publication in 1907.

<sup>49</sup> James Hutton (1715–95), one of the founders of the Moravian Church in England. CB's acquaintance with Hutton began in 1773 when Hutton wrote him a letter criticizing his description of the poverty of Germany in *Tours* ii. See *EJL* ii. 26–32.

<sup>50</sup> The *Monthly Review* was a periodical started in 1749 by Ralph Griffiths (1721–1803), honorary LL.D. (Dartmouth College) (1796) and published until 1845. CB was one of its reviewers. The *Critical Review* was a conservative newspaper founded in 1756 by the printer Archibald Hamilton (c.1720–93) with Tobias Smollett as its editor until 1763. It ceased publication in 1817.

<sup>51</sup> CB was wrong. FBA's pamphlet was favourably reviewed in *MR* (new ser. xii (1793)—'The most energetic, the most pathetic, the most eloquent charity sermon that ever came under our perusal' (475)—and was later to get a three-page spread in the *Critical Review* (x (1794): 'our advice to the amiable author may all be comprehended in two words, *Write on*' (321)). See also *JL* iii. 40 n. 2.

I expected<sup>52</sup> every day to *see her*, in her way to Greenwich<sup>53</sup> with the delightful little Norry—He's fatter, handsomer & more agreeable than ever, in spite of X<sup>mas</sup> fare & indulgence.

M. D'Arblay will send a Cart when the books w<sup>ch</sup> the {Captain}<sup>54</sup> brings have done their duty. All our best Comp<sup>s</sup> & wishes for health & comfort to both are united.

C. B.

Chel. Coll. 5 Feb<sup>y</sup>

1794.

I have begun to go out, à l'ordinaire,<sup>55</sup> 2<sup>cc</sup> a Week—& stand it tolerably well.

Royal Hospital, Chelsea  
19 March 1794

To Frances Burney d'Arblay

ALS (Barrett); copy by Charlotte Francis Barrett (Berg)<sup>56</sup>

*Addressed:* M<sup>rs</sup> d'Arblay

*Annotated (by FBA):* Politics. Revolutionary Dangers—M. d'Arblay's Gardening. ※ †

Chel. Coll. 19. Mar. 1794.

<sup>52</sup> CB wrote 'her' here and failed to remove it when he added the phrase 'to see her'.

<sup>53</sup> In 1782, Charles Burney, Jr [CB Jr] (1757–1817), classical scholar; CB's second surviving son, became master of a private school in Chiswick founded by William Rose, who would become his father-in-law in 1783. When Rose died in 1786, CB Jr took over as headmaster and immediately relocated the school to Hammersmith. He purchased the Greenwich School, which had been in existence since the late seventeenth century, in 1793 and remained there until he transferred the school to his son in 1813. CB Jr's memorial tablet in Westminster Abbey reads: 'When imparting to his pupils the higher polish of education, he exhibited a talent for instruction the most precise and exquisite, and in forming their minds to every call of duty, protected the character of the Master with the greatest truth and dignity' (<http://www.westminster-abbey.org/our-history/people/frances-burney>).

<sup>54</sup> CB neglected to include the noun.

<sup>55</sup> As is my wont or habit.

<sup>56</sup> The copy is headed by Charlotte Francis Barrett 'From D' Burney to / Madame d'Arblay'.

My dear Fanny,

I am so deeply in your debt, that I know not how to begin liquidation.<sup>57</sup> But ever since I have been able to put pen to paper or foot to the ground, I have been immersed in my usual way at this time of the year. Indeed beyond the usual way, in hurry & fatigue, w<sup>ch</sup> become every year more & more oppressive. However, thank God, I have now, for more than a fortnight enjoyed more exemption from bodily pain than for many months before. And now I not only visit a few select patients,<sup>58</sup> but have been at two clubs<sup>59</sup>—two of Salomon's Concerts<sup>60</sup> for a little while, & twice to Lady Lucan's<sup>61</sup> *blue conversazioni's*<sup>62</sup>—previous to the first I was invited to dine—& met at dinner only L<sup>d</sup> & L<sup>y</sup> Clermont,<sup>63</sup> L<sup>y</sup> Spencer,<sup>64</sup> & M<sup>r</sup> T. Grenville,<sup>65</sup> besides the family.<sup>66</sup> In the Even<sup>g</sup> however, there was one of the most agreeable assemblies one c<sup>d</sup> have wished, at w<sup>ch</sup> among others

<sup>57</sup> CB refers to at least two unanswered letters from FBA (*JL* iii. 40–3).

<sup>58</sup> Music students.

<sup>59</sup> Probably the meetings of The Club on 4 and 11 March (see above, 6 n. 31).

<sup>60</sup> Johann Peter Salomon (1745–1815), German violinist, conductor, and composer. His concerts were given in the Hanover Square Rooms on Mondays. The first of this year took place on 10 February and presented new works by Haydn. CB probably attended the fifth on 10 March and the sixth on 17 March. For the music performed at these concerts, see *Haydn, England* 242–4.

<sup>61</sup> Margaret Smith (or Smyth) (1740–1814), miniature painter, bluestocking, married (1760) Charles Bingham (1735–99), 7th Baronet (1752), 1st Baron Lucan of Castlebar (1776), 1st Earl of Lucan (1795) (*GM* lxxxiv<sup>t</sup> (1814), 301; Ernest Radford, rev. by V. Remington, 'Bingham [*née* Smith], Margaret, countess of Lucan', *ODNB*). In his Fragmentary Memoirs, CB writes that 'L<sup>y</sup> Lucan had blue parties 3 Fridays de suite' (Berg).

<sup>62</sup> The bluestockings (or blues) were a loosely knit group of learned women who met at conversazioni or salons for literary and intellectual conversation from c.1750 onward. The *OED* cites both Charlotte Ann Burney—'He said that a lady that read Livy, ask'd him to give [her] a succinct account of the new opera. We were speaking of the blue stocking Club' (*ED* ii. 309)—and FB: '[H]e took occasion to say most high & fine things of the Ladies of the present age,—their writings & talents; & . . . I soon found he had no small reverence for us *Bluestockingers*' (*EJL* iv. 154).

<sup>63</sup> William Henry Fortescue (1722–1806), M.P. for co. Louth (1745–70), Postmaster General (Ireland) (1764–84), 1st Earl of Clermont (Ireland) (1777); K.P. (1795). In 1752, he married Frances Cairnes Murray (1733–1820), daughter of Colonel John Murray and Mary Cairnes.

<sup>64</sup> Lady Lavinia Bingham (1762–1831), the eldest daughter of Lord and Lady Lucan, married (1782) George John Spencer (1758–1834), 2nd Earl Spencer (1783), who would be appointed First Lord of the Admiralty, 17 December 1794 (Malcolm Lester, 'Spencer, George John, second Earl Spencer', *ODNB*).

<sup>65</sup> Thomas Grenville (1755–1846), Whig politician, M.P. for Buckinghamshire (1779–84) and for Aldeburgh (1790–6), ambassador to Berlin (1799). An ardent book collector, he left over 20,000 volumes to the British Museum. He would be elected to The Club in 1800.

<sup>66</sup> Lord and Lady Lucan had one son, the Honourable Richard Bingham (1764–1839), and two other daughters: Lady Margaret Bingham (c.1764–1839) and Lady Anne Bingham (c.1766–1840).

were the D. of Leeds,<sup>67</sup> L<sup>ds</sup> Spencer, Mansfield,<sup>68</sup> Ossory,<sup>69</sup> &c: w<sup>th</sup> Mess<sup>rs</sup> Windham,<sup>70</sup> Malone,<sup>71</sup> Bozzy,<sup>72</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Cha<sup>s</sup> Blagden<sup>73</sup> &c &c—and among the Ladies—Duchess dowager of Manchester<sup>74</sup>—Duchess of Montrose<sup>75</sup>—L<sup>y</sup> Clermont—Spencer—dear M<sup>rs</sup> Crewe & Betty Carter<sup>76</sup>—& many many others. Ladies Lucan & Spencer enquired much after you—& what you were doing—I shall inclose you the invitation to the 2<sup>d</sup> blue party, as you are concerned.<sup>77</sup>

Coming downstairs after a short visit to M<sup>rs</sup> Crewe in Gros<sup>r</sup> Street,<sup>78</sup> I yesterday met M<sup>r</sup> Crewe, who among other short questions (after Thursday, to morrow, was settled for my dining with him) said—“Was M. D’Arblay in the House (of Commons) yesterday?”—“Not that I know of”—I answered. He probably supposed that the Motion in favour of M. de la Fayette’s<sup>79</sup> enlargement from prison (w<sup>ch</sup> you will see, w<sup>th</sup> the debates on the subject in all the papers) w<sup>d</sup> have brought

<sup>67</sup> Francis Godolphin Osborne (1751–99), 5th Duke of Leeds (1789); M.P. for Eye (1774) and for Helston (1774–5), Lord of the Bedchamber (1776–7), P.C. (1777), Lord Chamberlain to the Queen (1777–80), Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (1783–91), K.G. (1790).

<sup>68</sup> David Murray (1727–96), statesman and diplomat; 7th Viscount Stormont (1748), 2nd Earl of Mansfield (1793). See *LCB* i. 119 and n. 3.

<sup>69</sup> John Fitzpatrick (1745–1818), 2nd Earl of Upper Ossery (Ireland) (1758), M.P. for Bedfordshire (1767–94). Although not a founding member of The Club, he was one of its early members.

<sup>70</sup> William Windham (1750–1810), of Felbrigg Hall, Norfolk; M.P. for Norwich (1784–1802), Privy Council (1794), Secretary at War (1794–1801).

<sup>71</sup> Edmond Malone (1741–1812), Irish Shakespearean scholar and editor.

<sup>72</sup> James Boswell.

<sup>73</sup> Charles Blagden (1748–1820), physician; F.R.S. (1772), Kt (1792). He had just been elected to The Club on 18 March.

<sup>74</sup> Lady Elizabeth Dashwood (1740–1832), married (1762) George Montagu (1737–88), 4th Duke of Manchester (1762).

<sup>75</sup> Lady Caroline Maria Montagu (1770–1847), eldest daughter of the dowager Duchess of Manchester, married (1790) James Graham (1755–1836), 3rd Duke of Montrose (1790).

<sup>76</sup> Elizabeth Carter (1717–1806), bluestocking, Greek scholar, and intimate friend of Elizabeth Montagu.

<sup>77</sup> ‘I am much obliged to Lady Lucan’, FBA wrote on 22 March, ‘& think it indispensible to tell her so, in common decency. I shall write a little note, which you will have the kindness to let Sam drop for me by any opportunity’ (*JL* iii. 46–7).

<sup>78</sup> The Crewes’ London address was 18 Lower Grosvenor Street (*Boyle’s Court and Country Guide* (1796), 21)

<sup>79</sup> Marie-Joseph-Paul-Yves-Roch-Gilbert du Motier (1757–1834), Marquis de Lafayette, was a constitutionalist. After the riots of 20 June, when the mob invaded the Tuileries and put a Jacobin cockade on the king’s head, he attacked the Jacobins in the Assembly. After the Jacobin coup of 10 August, he was declared an enemy of the Revolution. On 19 August, he crossed the French border with six officers and was arrested by the Austrians and eventually transferred to prison at Olmütz, where he languished until 1797. One of the officers who left France with him after 10 August was M. d’Arblay.

M. D'A. to Town.<sup>80</sup> But however he may have wished it, and whatever interest he may feel for the fate of his *Ci-devant*<sup>81</sup> commander, unless M. D'A. was determined on again resuming a military life, I cannot help expressing my humble opinion of his being right, (in the present state of things, during the narrow and illiberal manner w<sup>th</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> foreigners, particularly, are watched) to remain as quietly as possible in his retreat.<sup>82</sup> Lord Lauderdale<sup>83</sup> is going to make a motion for a list of all the Emigrants put away by the Alien Bill—I know not for what purpose; but certainly for none amicable to the present government of this country. The trial of the conspirators (I must call them) in Scotland has laid open the designs of the Jacobins of that country<sup>84</sup>—& a *convention* there, here, or anywhere else, w<sup>d</sup> certainly be modelled on that of France. It is curious that the English Jacobins<sup>85</sup> are now the defenders of M. de la Fayette, whose ruin & misfortunes were brought on by those of France, who w<sup>d</sup> doubtless doom him to the Guillotine, if he sh<sup>d</sup> fall into their hands! What a revolution in the minds of men every where, has that in the Governm<sup>t</sup> of Fr. occasioned! Peace, tranquility, content, benevolence, humility, politeness, and all religious & social virtues, are not only neglected, but regarded as

<sup>80</sup> Not only Lafayette but also M. de Latour-Maubourg and a few other Constitutionalists were detained by the King of Prussia in prison at Olmütz. On 17 March, there was a debate about Lafayette in Parliament, but the motion that 'his Majesty would . . . interfere in such a manner as . . . to effect the release of those Gentlemen' was defeated by 153 to 46 (*The Times*, 18 March 1794). M. d'Arblay, Lafayette's friend, was angered by an article published in *The Times* on 14 March 1794, which had accused Lafayette of 'treachery towards the unfortunate Royal Family of France'. It was alleged that while pretending to contrive the king's flight, 'he sent an express to *Drouet*, the postmaster at Varennes . . . with orders to stop [the royal] progress.' For FBA's worries regarding her husband's outrage, see *JL* iii. 45–6. A manuscript of M. d'Arblay's defense of Lafayette is in the Osborn Collection.

<sup>81</sup> Former.

<sup>82</sup> 'I can easily conceive far more than you enlarge upon in this counsel', FBA answered. 'We give up, therefore, all thoughts of our London excursion' planned for May (*JL* iii. 44–5).

<sup>83</sup> James Maitland (1759–1839), 8th Earl of Lauderdale (1789), M.P. for Newport (1780–4) and for Malmesbury (1784–9); one of the founders of the Society of the Friends of the People.

<sup>84</sup> In August 1793, Thomas Muir (1765–99), founder of the Scottish Friends of the People, and Thomas Fysche Palmer (1747–1802), Unitarian minister, were arrested, accused of sedition, and, after unfair trials in September, sentenced to fourteen years transportation. The sentences aroused vigorous protests in the opposition. On 11 February 1794, they were sent on board the *Surprise* to Botany Bay. In 1844, a monument was erected in Edinburgh to the memory of these reformers (Watson, 358–9). See also CB to Frances Anne Crewe, 1–2 October 1793 (Osborn).

<sup>85</sup> The Honourable Charles James Fox (1749–1806) and his followers, who supported the French Revolution.

vices!!—"Pull Baker, pull devil,"<sup>86</sup> is the order of the day. Not to be content with anything, nor to agree w<sup>th</sup> any one in the change of what *has* been, & *is*, for what is *to be*—nor to be alarmed at the imminent danger of religion, morals, liberty, property, & life—constitutes modern freedom & heroism.

There is no talking or thinking of anything else but the tremendous encrease of discontent, danger, & unheard of profligacy & horrors. If I c<sup>d</sup> find any two Frenchmen or Englishmen of the same mind ab<sup>t</sup> Government & what w<sup>d</sup> satisfy their demands in point of liberty, disorganization, & future establishments, I sh<sup>d</sup> hope at least that my Grandchildren might have a few years of peace & quiet; but while every man, however ill qualified by parts or education sets up for a Legislator, thinking all *wrong* that was once by the wisest inhabitants of the globe thought *right*, & determining neither to submit to nor approve of any opinions but his own—as your mother often says—"Wh{y} L{or}d have Mercy upon us!"—But she shall sp{eak} for herself, after I have begged you to present my Comp{ts} to M. D'Arblay, & to remind him of *Candide's* last injunction.—viz. *Qu'il faut cultiver notre jardin.*<sup>87</sup> & with this *new* axiom I finish, & give you my benediction.<sup>88</sup>

M<sup>rs</sup> Montagu<sup>89</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Mat. M.<sup>90</sup> were at L<sup>y</sup> Lucan's 2<sup>d</sup> blue—& M<sup>r</sup> at the first. I had not seen any of them since last year. Nor have I seen M<sup>rs</sup> Ord<sup>91</sup> yet. I called once, but she was out—L<sup>y</sup> Polly<sup>92</sup> I have seen at home

<sup>86</sup> This expression originates in the legend of a struggle between a crooked baker and the devil. *The Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs* (1970) gives the first printed occurrence of the saying as the heroic poem *The Rolliad*, written in 1759 by George Colman the Elder (1732–94): 'So have I seen in Jack o'Lanthorn quick, / Fierce Battle 'twixt a Baker and old Nick: / . . . / Pull Tom, pull Nick, pull Baker, and pull Devil' (*Prose on Several Occasions: Accompanied with Some Pieces in Verse* (1787), ii. 297).

<sup>87</sup> *Candide ou l'Optimisme* (Geneva, 1759), by Voltaire [François-Marie Arouet] (1694–1778), French writer and social activist. The first English translation of the novel, *Candide; or, All for the Best* (1759), renders the sentence as 'let us take care of our garden' (132).

<sup>88</sup> Fearful that M. d'Arblay might get into trouble by a public defence of Lafayette, FBA agreed with CB: 'better let him accept your Motto, & *cultiver son jardin!* he is now in it . . . working hard and fast' (*JL* iii. 46).

<sup>89</sup> Elizabeth Robinson (1718–1800), noted bluestocking, widow of (married 1742) Edward Montagu (1692–1775), M.P. for Huntington (1734–68).

<sup>90</sup> Elizabeth Charlton (c.1765–1817) married (1785) Mrs Montagu's nephew, Matthew Robinson (1762–1831), who in 1776 had taken the name Montagu in deference to his benefactress.

<sup>91</sup> Anna Dillingham (1726–1808), widow of (married 1746) William Ord of Newcastle (d. 1768) (IGI). See *LCB* i. 202 n. 1.

<sup>92</sup> Lady Mary ('Polly') (1723–1806), eldest daughter of Sackville Tufton (1688–1753), 7th Earl of Thanet (1729); widow of (married 1763) Sir William Duncan (1707–74), M.D. (1751),

& abroad. Seward<sup>93</sup> dines here on Sunday next<sup>94</sup>—O, but I was at S<sup>r</sup> Jos. Banks's<sup>95</sup> [xxxxx 3 words] conversazione. Very crouded it was. M<sup>r</sup> Lisons<sup>96</sup> confirmed there the report of our old fr<sup>d</sup> M<sup>rs</sup> Thrale<sup>97</sup> being on the point of publishing in 2 vol<sup>s</sup> a *Synonime Anglois*.<sup>98</sup>—I have long wished such a work to be undertaken by one equally learned in books & acquainted with the *Ton de la bonne conversation*<sup>99</sup>—I know few women more likely to succeed in so difficult an enterprise than M<sup>rs</sup> T.—Her book will be enlivened, at least, with illustrations, allusions, & wit, however nice discriminations may elude her research.<sup>100</sup> Once more God bless you.<sup>101</sup>

Dear Mad<sup>m</sup> I've just “rec<sup>d</sup> y<sup>r</sup> kind L<sup>r</sup> for Rich<sup>d</sup>”.<sup>102</sup> I did tell that I would not *grudge* a parcel, but none has Come—comp<sup>is</sup> to your [xxxxx 1 word] from EB.

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1st Baronet (1754). She, whom FBA describes in *Memoirs* as ‘one of the most singular females of her day’ (ii. 119), was an old friend of CB.

<sup>93</sup> William Seward (1747–99), noted anecdotist. The son of a brewer, he had been part of Henry and Hester Thrale’s Streatham circle.

<sup>94</sup> 23 March.

<sup>95</sup> Joseph Banks (1743–1820), naturalist and patron of science, F.R.S. and F.S.A. (1766); 1st Baronet (1781); married (1776) Dorothea (1758–1828), daughter and heir of wealthy Kent landowner William Weston Hugessen (1735–64). Sir Joseph was elected President of the Royal Society in 1778, an office he held until his death. The Bankses lived at 32 Soho Square where Sir Joseph had compiled a large library and an extensive botanical collection.

<sup>96</sup> Samuel Lysons (1763–1819), F.S.A. (1786), F.R.S. (1797); lawyer, antiquary, and artist whom Hester Thrale had introduced to CB (*LCB* i. 422 and n. 4). Between 1785 and 1796, he occasionally exhibited views of old buildings at the Royal Academy.

<sup>97</sup> CB first visited the Thrales at their Streatham Park estate in 1777 as music teacher to Hester Maria Thrale (see *LCB* i. 235 n. 1). By the following year, Mrs Thrale had become a patron, friend, and correspondent of FB.

<sup>98</sup> *British Synonymy: or, an Attempt at Regulating the Choice of Words in Familiar Conversation* would appear in print early in April 1794. CB reviewed it in *MR* xv (1794), 241–51, 371–80.

<sup>99</sup> The literal translation is ‘the tone of good conversation’, but a more evocative description can be found in Rousseau: ‘Le ton de la bonne conversation est coulant & naturel, il n’est ni pesant, ni frivole; il est savant sans pédanterie, gai sans tumulte, poli sans affectation, galant sans fadeur, badin sans équivoque’ (*Les pensées de J. J. Rousseau, citoyen de Genève* (Amsterdam, 1763), 194). [‘The tenor of refined conversation is easy and flowing; it is neither heavy nor frivolous; it is learned without pedantry, gay without noise, polite without affectation, gallant without being insipid, witty without being equivocal.’]

<sup>100</sup> FBA was convinced that ‘Mrs. Thrale will make an excellent work of’ it (*JL* iii. 47), but according to Horace Walpole: ‘Dame Piozzi . . . mistakes vulgarisms for synonymous to elegancies’ (*IW* xii. 92–3, 174).

<sup>101</sup> The postscript that follows was written by EAB.

<sup>102</sup> Richard Thomas (1768–1808), CB’s son from his second marriage. He was in India by 1787 for reasons that remain shrouded in mystery. In 1795, he was appointed headmaster of the Orphan School of Kiddepore, a post he held until his death in 1808. FBA had sent a letter, now missing, to be included in a parcel for Richard.

Royal Hospital, Chelsea  
14 April 1794

To Frances Burney d'Arblay

AL (Osborn)

*Addressed:* To / M<sup>rs</sup> D'Arblay / Bookham near / Leatherhead / Surry

*Pmk:* A 15 AP 94

*Annotated (by FBA):* French & Revolutionary Politics—& Mrs. Piozzi & Miss Thrales ※

Chel. Coll. 14. Apr<sup>l</sup> 1794.

My dear Fanny.

After boasting so much of freedom from pain, and convalescent strength, I was unwilling to *bore* you with new complaints; but during the short time the East winds lasted I caught a fresh cold, w<sup>ch</sup> is now matured into a cough, for some time, w<sup>ch</sup> renders sleep a very shy acquaintance. However, this is a time of the year to drive away despair: for somebody says that

“Spring is big with hope  
Though autumn teems with fear.”<sup>103</sup>

and I hope soon to tell the cold winds “I valors<sup>104</sup> none of em, & have had a good Night.”—But let me see—Where shall I begin—Oh, with my best thanks to your kind & honest *Gardener*.<sup>105</sup> His Cadeau<sup>106</sup> was very *sweet*,<sup>107</sup>

<sup>103</sup> The trope is similar to Bion's ‘Idyllium VI’, *The Works of Anacreon, Sappho, Bion, Moschus and Musaeus*, trans. Francis Fawkes (1760): ‘Fell *Autumn* teems with pestilent Disease; / Tempestuous *Winter*'s chilling frosts I fear’ (227).

<sup>104</sup> Dialect for ‘value’, ‘think well of’.

<sup>105</sup> i.e. M. d'Arblay. See FBA to CB, 30 August 1793: ‘M. d'Arblay . . . has just taken to Gardening,—& with such violence of enthusiasm, that he could not believe himself susceptible of any fatigue’ (*JL* iii. 3).

<sup>106</sup> Gift.

<sup>107</sup> ‘Dulcet’ is written above ‘sweet’.

& your acc<sup>d</sup> of the Garden very *recreative*.<sup>108</sup>—But poor M. Beaumetz! How was it possible for him to write so tranquil & good humoured a letter in such circumstances as those in w<sup>ch</sup> he left this country, after such treatment in his own!<sup>109</sup> Nothing but the native gaité du Coeur<sup>110</sup> of a true old fashioned-Frenchman c<sup>d</sup> have reconciled him to such a fate. I always loved & admired the natural cheerfulness & hilarity of the people of France, in general, under the old Regime, w<sup>th</sup> all its tyranny, as much as I detest and abhor the present monsters who have so generously given them liberty & equality.—But the less we talk or think of this subject the better—yet who can talk or think of any other?

'Twere better to talk of our old acquaintance whom I have lately seen and who among many others sh<sup>d</sup> I have met w<sup>th</sup> at Salomon's Concert this day 7 Night,<sup>111</sup> but M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Piozzi<sup>112</sup> and all the Miss Thrales? The Ladies all on the same sofa, & la *mere*<sup>113</sup> in the middle! M<sup>r</sup> Piozzi caught my Eye first, & we approached each other, & shook hands, and talked of the Music & performers before I knew the Ladies were there—but on my hoping that la *Signora sua Consorte*<sup>114</sup> was well, he said she was there, pointing to a sofa close to the orchestra—when I hastened towards it, & met her Eyes with their usual fire & good humour—She held out her hand & mine met it with great eagerness & pleasure—"Why here's D<sup>r</sup> B. as young as ever—Oh I am but just made up, quo I—indeed but just *got* up, from a bed of Sickness"—&c &c Well, we talked, & laughed as usual, and I never saw her more lively, good humoured & pleasant in my life. My old affection for her all returned, & I w<sup>d</sup> have done anything possible to have shewn it with the same empressement<sup>115</sup> as in the best of Johnsonian,

<sup>108</sup> The *cadeau* was 'a taste of' asparagras, most fortunately overlooked by my Weeder' (*JL* iii. 51). FBA's letter to CB of 22 March gives a long account of M. d'Arblay cultivating his garden (*JL* iii. 48–9, 51).

<sup>109</sup> 'As I have interested you a little for the very amiable M. Beaumetz', FBA wrote on 22 March, 'I have borrowed the Letter he wrote to M. d'Arblay upon quitting England' (*JL* iii. 47 and n. 11). This letter, dated 'Londres, 1 mars. 1794', is in the Berg Collection.

<sup>110</sup> Light-heartedness.

<sup>111</sup> Salomon's ninth concert was given on Monday, 7 April, in the Hanover Square Rooms.

<sup>112</sup> After the death of Henry Thrale, Hester Thrale married in 1784 Gabriel Mario Piozzi (1740–1809), an Italian singer. The Piozzis, who had been living in Italy, had returned to England in March 1787. In January 1790, Mrs Piozzi complained in her journal of 'D<sup>r</sup> Burney whom I never see now' (*Thraliana* ii. 754–5). This was their first meeting since 1784.

<sup>113</sup> The mother.

<sup>114</sup> His wife.

<sup>115</sup> Eagerness, enthusiasm, alacrity.

Thralian & Streatham times.<sup>116</sup> Miss T. & I had a good deal of talk ab' our old priests—& I told her sincerely how much I admired her active & intelligent zeal on the occasion. I stuck close to 'em till Haydn's<sup>117</sup> most wonderful new Symphony in the 2<sup>d</sup> Act was over,<sup>118</sup> for w<sup>ch</sup> I only went to the Concert that Night, & then slunk away—& I find they soon followed for I heard Miss Thrales Carr. called for, when I was getting into my own. If I knew where to find Miss Thrale, I w<sup>d</sup> call upon her the first time I was able—but I forgot to ask her address—& she s<sup>d</sup> she had a little Money in her hands for the good Greybeards. On Friday Even<sup>g</sup> what does my I, but go first to L<sup>y</sup> Polly's assembly, & then to L<sup>y</sup> Lucan's Conversazione—Very few people that I knew or wished to know at the 1<sup>st</sup>—3 Cardtables at w<sup>ch</sup> not a female w<sup>th</sup> more bloom than 60 or 70 years afford—2 or 3 of the Corps diplomatique folks talked w<sup>th</sup> me a little while & I preparing for a retreat the whole time; & just when I had worked my way to the door, who sh<sup>d</sup> be announced but M<sup>rs</sup> Garrick?<sup>119</sup> When I told her I was going—“God bless you don't, says she—I know none of these people, & I only came that I may not be scolded by L<sup>y</sup> Mary, my neighbour, all the summer.”—So we sate down for ab' 10 minutes when Miss Pelham, the old Gumbleness<sup>120</sup> approaching fastened on her—& I in a most cowardly manner left her to be mumbled by this old *Jouëuse*<sup>121</sup> (don't read Jewess) who however has been preyed upon too long by time, [xxxxx 1 word] & ill luck for M<sup>rs</sup> G. to fear anything from her but Ennui.

<sup>116</sup> ‘Why what an exquisite Letter, my dearest Father!’ FBA exclaimed in her answer. ‘The meeting with our once so very dear Mrs. T—so surrounded by her family, made me breathless . . . —I heard her voice in “*Why here's D B. as young as ever*” & my dear Father's in his parrying answers. No scene could have been related to me more interesting or more welcome’ (*JL* iii. 50).

<sup>117</sup> Franz Joseph Haydn (1732–1809), composer.

<sup>118</sup> This was ‘The Military’, no. 100 in G, advertised as ‘The New Grand Overture (M.S.) HAYDN’; it had been first performed at Salomon's eighth concert on 31 March 1794. According to the review of the ninth concert in the *Morning Chronicle*, 9 April, ‘the middle movement was again received with absolute shouts of applause. Encore! encore! encore! resounded from every seat: the Ladies themselves could not forbear’.

<sup>119</sup> Eva Maria Veigel (1724–1822), ballet dancer, widow of (married 1749) David Garrick (1717–79), actor, playwright, theatre manager. The Garricks were Burney family friends.

<sup>120</sup> Frances (1728–1804), the unmarried second daughter of the Right Honourable Henry Pelham (1694–1754), First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister) and Chancellor of the Exchequer (1743–54). For her ungovernable temper and her passion for card-playing and gambling, see *TW* ix. 53 n. 7.

<sup>121</sup> Pleasure-seeker.

At L<sup>y</sup> Lucan's there was a very good set—M<sup>rs</sup> Montagu—M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Matt. Montagu—L<sup>d</sup> & L<sup>y</sup> Spencer—young Burke<sup>122</sup>—S<sup>r</sup> Cha<sup>s</sup> Blagden—Major Rennel<sup>123</sup>—L<sup>d</sup> Sheffield<sup>124</sup>—Duchess Dowager of Manchester—L<sup>y</sup> Clermont, M<sup>rs</sup> Crewe, &c. &c. I had told L<sup>y</sup> L. the Friday before<sup>125</sup> that I had a bit of a note for her L<sup>p</sup> from you—& sent it next day—& last Friday<sup>126</sup> she thanked me very much for it—hoped when you *did* come to Town that she sh<sup>d</sup> have the pleasure of your Comp<sup>y</sup> &c. But my dear Fanny, à propos to coming to Town—though I sh<sup>d</sup> have been very glad to have seen you & M. D'Arblay, & am disappointed at your not coming to Charlotte's according to your Plan<sup>127</sup>—yet as matters are circumstanced at present, I really think that M. D'A. determined very prudently not to come while things are in such a ferment, & People are so narrowly watched, & the slightest things construed into importance—It is very natural & amiable in M. D'A. to love his friend & commander M. de la Fayette, & to wish to prove him to have been well intentioned—& faithful to his poor King<sup>128</sup> but it w<sup>d</sup> be difficult now to convince the friends of our present Governm<sup>t</sup> or even that of the late Lord North,<sup>129</sup> that he was a friend to England during the American War. And his cause now being taken up by our most violent Jacobins, who wish so well to the Jacobins of France w<sup>d</sup> render the task still more difficult. The Brissotins, Hebertistes—w<sup>th</sup> Danton & his 4 companions who have *bit the dust*<sup>130</sup> w<sup>d</sup>

<sup>122</sup> Richard Burke (1758–94), only surviving child of Edmund Burke and his wife (married 1757). Jane Mary Nugent (c.1734–1812).

<sup>123</sup> James Rennell (1742–1830), cartographer; surveyor general of Bengal (1767), F.R.S. (1781). In 1783, he published *A Map of India, with a memoir containing a full account of the plan on which the map was executed, and his authorities*. On 22 January 1795, he would be elected member of The Club.

<sup>124</sup> John Baker-Holroyd (1735–1821), of Sheffield Place; Baron Sheffield of Dunamore, co. Meath (Ireland) (1781) and of Roscommon (Ireland) (1783); M.P. for Coventry (1780, 1781–4) and for Bristol (1790–1802).

<sup>125</sup> 4 April.

<sup>126</sup> 11 April.

<sup>127</sup> Charlotte Ann [CBF] (1761–1838), CB's fourth daughter, married (1786) Clement Francis (c.1744–92). At the beginning of March, the d'Arblays had 'thoughts of taking a week's *Londoning* at dear Charlotte's', but the restrictions of the Alien Bill made FBA realize that M. d'Arblay 'could not, at a time such as this, be in London, without *suffering*, or *risking*, perhaps Hourly something unpleasant' (*JL* iii. 43, 45, 58, 61).

<sup>128</sup> Louis XVI (1754–93), King of France (1774–92).

<sup>129</sup> Frederick North (1732–92), 2nd Earl of Guilford (1790), First Lord of the Treasury (1770–82).

<sup>130</sup> Jacques-Pierre Brissot de Warville (1754–93), whom CB and FB had met in 1783 (see *LCB* i. 357–8 nn. 1, 6), was executed on 31 October 1793. In the spring of 1794, the Committee of Public Safety under Robespierre got rid of two other revolutionary groups: Jacques-René Hébert (b. 1751) and his followers were executed on 23 March and

doubtless have shewn M. de la Fayette no mercy if they had caught him while in power. M<sup>rs</sup> Crewe says very truly that “we are now playing for life & death.”—& adds—“May the Jacobins like true Scorpions, finish by stinging each other—ours in Their small minority are like these animals under a Glass, trying, & trying to get out & do mischief, & kept there till they are so enraged that she hopes they will at last do their own work!”<sup>131</sup>

On Thursday last I dined with M<sup>rs</sup> Crewe, & met there M<sup>r</sup> Frederic North,<sup>132</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Pelham,<sup>133</sup> & the B<sup>p</sup> de S<sup>t</sup> Pol de Leon<sup>134</sup>—to be sure we did not talk of Politics at all, at all—Yesterday I dined with Malone, & met my old Dresden Friend M<sup>r</sup> Osburne,<sup>135</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Metcalf,<sup>136</sup> & S<sup>r</sup> Cha<sup>s</sup> Blagden!—To Morrow Club—Here’s your works!

The Duchess of Newcastle<sup>137</sup> & I are become very *thick*—not fat, you’ll mind—But her little Girl L<sup>y</sup> Anna Maria Clinton,<sup>138</sup> you may remember had written instructions from me some years ago, & though I never saw

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Georges-Jacques Danton (b. 1759) with his supporters, François Joseph Westermann (b. 1751), Pierre Philippeaux (b. 1754), Marie-Jean Héault de Séchelles (b. 1759), and Lucie-Simplice-Camille-Benoît Desmoulins (b. 1760), on 5 April 1794. FBA commented on this Reign of Terror in Paris: ‘Brissot—Carra, Gorsas, Clootz, Manuel, Roland-Lacroix—Danton—how little could they imagine, when with such savage insult they erected the scaffold of Murder in the Place de la Revolution, in full sight of his own Palace, for the unhappy King, they were building the structure whence their own heads, as prematurely though not as innocently, were to be brought to the block!—’ (*JL* iii. 52).

<sup>131</sup> Mrs Crewe’s letter is missing.

<sup>132</sup> The Honourable Frederick North (1766–1827), son of CB’s old friend, the 2nd Earl of Guilford. North was M.P. for Banbury (1792–4), D.C.L. (1793), Comptroller of the Customs (1794), F.R.S. (1794), governor of Ceylon (1798–1805). He was a classical scholar, a great traveller, and a linguist. In *Memoirs* iii, FBA attributes to him ‘pleasant wit, practical urbanity’, ‘persevering love of enterprise’, and ‘unvarying gaiety of good-humour’ (193).

<sup>133</sup> The Right Honourable Thomas Pelham (1756–1826), eldest son of Thomas Pelham (1728–1805), 2nd Baron Pelham of Stanmer (1768) and his wife (married 1754) Anne Frankland. Pelham, a Whig politician, was Surveyor-General of the Ordnance (1782–3) and chief secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1783–4, 1795–8) (Mary M. Drummond, ‘Pelham, Hon. Thomas’, *History of Parliament*).

<sup>134</sup> Jean-François de la Marche (1729–1806), Bishop of St Pol de Léon, Brittany (1772–1806).

<sup>135</sup> John Osborn (1743–1814), B.A. (Oxon.) (1764), D.C.L. (1777), F.R.S. (1777), British Envoy Extraordinary to Saxony (1771–5).

<sup>136</sup> Philip Metcalf (1733–1818), M.P. (1790–1806), one of Sir Joshua Reynolds’s executors.

<sup>137</sup> Lady Anna Maria (1760–1834), daughter of William Stanhope (1719–79), 2nd Earl of Harrington (1756). She married (1782) Major General Thomas Pelham-Clinton (1752–95), styled Earl of Lincoln (1779–94), 3rd Duke of Newcastle-under-Lyme (1794).

<sup>138</sup> Lady Anna Maria Clinton (1783–1807) was 11. In his Fragmentary Memoirs, CB wrote: ‘Lady Anna Maria Clinton daughter of the Earl of Lincoln afterward Duke of Newcastle whom I had taught by letter in the country during 2 or 3 years came to Town now, a good player’ (Berg).

her but once for half an hour, she is come to Town a very pretty performer—I attend her at the Exchequer,<sup>139</sup> & the business is made as comfortable as possible. M<sup>s</sup> Crewe is gone to Hampstead,<sup>140</sup> & wishes much that I w<sup>d</sup> take my Night Cap thither & occupy my old room. That I believe will not be—but I believe I shall go & dine there w<sup>th</sup> The B<sup>p</sup> de S<sup>t</sup> Pol—Fred. North—or Malone—or all—I have my choice—Her Politics & mine now agree *in toto*—M<sup>r</sup> C. still the dupe of Chas<sup>s</sup> F. is gone to Chester,<sup>141</sup> I fear to oppose the subscription for augmenting the Militia & raising a Troop of horse<sup>142</sup>—“No danger—all a Ministerial Juggle—Things in France exaggerated. We might make peace if we w<sup>d</sup>—”Tis a cursed ruinous War—& might have been avoided”—&c These are the watch-words of our *Mountaineers*.<sup>143</sup> As there are still Frenchmen here who say that in Fr. *tout est tranquille—vive la Republique!*<sup>144</sup> I am quite sorry you have not yet got the print<sup>145</sup>—The Capt. undertook it with such eagerness that I had *no notion* but you w<sup>d</sup> have had it in a day or two after. But pray mind! We are now in the very act of re-reading your excellent Cecilia<sup>146</sup>—we are just got past the scene with poor Mother Hill, & her complaints ab<sup>t</sup> Billy<sup>147</sup>—I cannot tell you how much more merit than ever I see in the work thus far—God bless you—pray my best Comp<sup>s</sup> to your industrious and Wise Gardener—I see nothing better or safer for him to do at present, than to dig, delve, and plant—“but is it doing nothing to be happy?”<sup>148</sup>

<sup>139</sup> The Court of Exchequer adjudicated on matters of equity such as wills, debt, land titles, etc. It was located in a building adjoining Westminster Hall. Thomas Pelham-Clinton's father, Henry Fiennes (b. 1720), 9th Earl of Lincoln (1730), 2nd Duke of Newcastle-under-Lyme (1768), had died on 22 February and his will proved on 21 March.

<sup>140</sup> FBA described the Crewes' 'little villa at Hampstead' as 'small, but commodious' (*JL* i. 193).

<sup>141</sup> A walled city in Cheshire; originally a Roman fortress named Deva. See below, 246.

<sup>142</sup> Two years later, CB himself was obliged to raise a horse as a contribution to the war effort. See below, 219.

<sup>143</sup> The extremist party in France, which occupied seats in la Montagne, the higher part of the House.

<sup>144</sup> All is quiet—long live the Republic.

<sup>145</sup> Apparently the 1784 engraving by Francesco Bartolozzi (1728–1815), Florentine engraver, of Joshua Reynolds's 1781 portrait of CB (see *LCB* i. 321 n. 19), which CB sent to the d'Arblays by Captain (now Major) Phillips, who 'I find has received your most kind directions, not to deliver it till it is framed' (*JL* iii. 43 and n. 1).

<sup>146</sup> FB's second novel (1782).

<sup>147</sup> See *Cecilia* 86–7.

<sup>148</sup> Based on the Italian proverb *dolce far niente* [delightful idleness], which can be traced back to Pliny the Younger (61–c.113): 'It is long since I have known the sweets of leisure and repose; since I have known, in short, that indolent, but agreeable situation of doing nothing,

Royal Hospital, Chelsea  
26 April 1794

To Lord Ailesbury

AL incomplete (Ailesbury, 1300/2996)

Listed in Historical Manuscripts Commission XVth Rep. App. Part vii, 263

Chelsea College, Apr. 26<sup>th</sup> 1794.

D<sup>r</sup>. Burney presents his most humble respects to the Earl of Ailesbury<sup>149</sup> and gratefully thanks his Lordship for the flattering communication w<sup>th</sup> he has honoured him from Florence.<sup>150</sup> Nothing could afford D<sup>r</sup>. B. more pleasure than the honour of Lady Bruce's<sup>151</sup> remembrance, and the assurance of her Ladyship's health, felicity, & happy advances towards maternal dignity.<sup>152</sup> D<sup>r</sup>. B. feels a kind of parental affection for a Lady whose musical studies he so long endeavoured to promote, and whose genius & disposition transformed the usual drudgery of an ABCdarian<sup>153</sup> into amusement & delight.

If D<sup>r</sup>. B. might take the liberty of writing to his favourite & excellent eleve,<sup>154</sup> he w<sup>d</sup> presume to trouble her Ladyship to procure him a few books from Naples, w<sup>ch</sup> are now so difficult to obtain, in any reasonable time, by the common method of applying to Booksellers.

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and being nothing' (*Letters* 8. 9) (William Melmoth, *The Letters of Pliny the Consul; With Occasional Remarks* (Dublin, 1748), ii. 56).

<sup>149</sup> Thomas Brudenell-Bruce (1729–1814), 2nd Baron Bruce of Tottenham (1747), 1st Earl of Ailesbury (2nd creation) (1776), Governor to the Prince of Wales (1776), Chamberlain to the Queen (1780), Lord Chamberlain (1781–92), Treasurer (1792–1814).

<sup>150</sup> Missing. For the Brudenell-Bruces' stay in Italy, see NA, XVth Rep. App. vii.

<sup>151</sup> The Honourable Henrietta Maria (1769–1831), daughter of Noel Hill (1745–89), 1st Baron Berwick of Attingham (1784), and Anna (1744–97), daughter of Henry Vernon (1718–63), of Hilton, Staffordshire. She had married (1793), in Florence, Charles Brudenell-Bruce (1773–1856), Lord Bruce, the son of Lord Ailesbury.

<sup>152</sup> Twin daughters Lady Charlotte Henrietta and Lady Maria Carolina Anne would be baptized on 10 May in Florence. See below, 334 n. 2010.

<sup>153</sup> Abecedarian, a beginner in any field of learning.

<sup>154</sup> Pupil.