

THE LETTERS OF  
Dr Charles  
Burney



VOLUME IV

1800–1806



EDITED BY  
STEWART COOKE

OXFORD

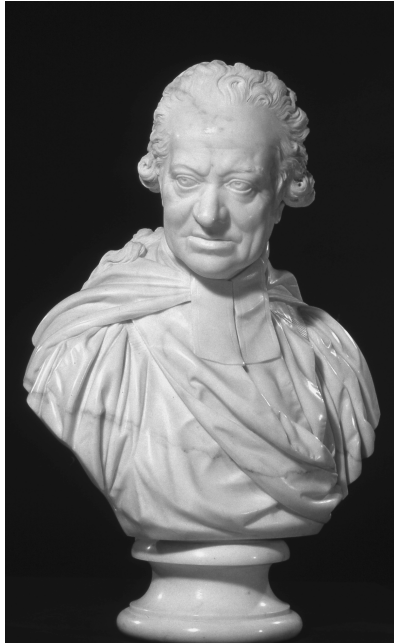
THE LETTERS OF  
DR CHARLES BURNEY  
VOLUME IV



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. Charles Burney. Bust by Joseph Nollekens.

© *The Trustees of the British Museum*

THE LETTERS OF  
DR CHARLES BURNEY

VOLUME IV • 1800–1806

*Edited by*  
STEWART COOKE  
*with*  
LISA SAROLI

OXFORD

OXFORD  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, OX2 6DP,  
United Kingdom

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.  
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,  
and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trade mark of  
Oxford University Press in the UK and in certain other countries

Editorial matter © Stewart Cooke 2025

The moral rights of the authors have been asserted

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in  
a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the  
prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted  
by law, by licence or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics  
rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the  
above should be sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the  
address above

You must not circulate this work in any other form  
and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press  
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data  
Data available

Library of Congress Control Number: 2024946914

ISBN 978-0-19-873964-7

Printed and bound by  
CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CR0 4YY

Links to third party websites are provided by Oxford in good faith and  
for information only. Oxford disclaims any responsibility for the materials  
contained in any third party website referenced in this work.

## 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 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'Arblay. 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.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For funding for this volume, I am especially indebted to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, which provided an Insight grant for the research.

Permission to publish manuscripts has been provided by the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection of English and American Literature, the New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, New York; the British Library Board, London; the Beinecke Library, Yale University Library; Michael Burney-Cummings; the Houghton Library, Harvard University; the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford; the Gerald Coke Handel Collection, Foundling Museum, London; and the Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre. The British Museum, London; the Victoria & Albert Museum, London; the Scottish National Gallery, Edinburgh; the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, London; Dr Johnson's House, London; the British Library, London; and the Cumbria Archive Service, Carlisle, gave permission to use their images.

I owe a large debt of gratitude to my research assistant Elaine Bander and my associate editor Lisa Saroli. Special thanks are due to Lisa, whose superior internet search skills and sharp editing and proofreading improved this book immeasurably. Fellow Burney editors Lorna Clark and Peter Sabor also proofread the text and notes at various stages of the book's production and provided much appreciated corrections. Laura Kopp spent many hours in the Berg and Barrett collections deciphering overscored passages thereby filling in numerous gaps. Stephen Willier helped greatly with the music passages; Bethan Jenkins translated the Welsh passages and provided the annotations for the Welsh Triads; George Kennaway sent information about Anne Young; Hugh Kolb gave us leads to the Seven Stars inns; John Sullivan and Greg Clingham responded to a query about Napoleon; Nicholas Cronk identified the source of an allusion to Voltaire; Dr Phil Bendell kindly checked the Bath Burial Index for Maria-Teresa Kirwan; Roy Cartlidge translated the French passages; and Lisa Saroli and Laura Kopp translated the Italian passages. Peter Sabor was inspiring as usual. My biggest debt, as always, is to Patricia Brock.



# CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	xiii
INTRODUCTION	xv
A CHRONOLOGY OF CHARLES BURNEY	xxix
SHORT TITLES AND ABBREVIATIONS	xxxvii
<b>LETTERS OF DR CHARLES BURNEY</b>	
FROM 10 JANUARY 1800 TO 18 DECEMBER 1806	I
APPENDIX	496
INDEX	499



## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Frontispiece. Charles Burney. Bust by Joseph Nollekens. iv  
© *The Trustees of the British Museum*
1. The Inside View of the Rotunda at Ranelagh Gardens  
with the Company at Breakfast. Print, 1751. 283  
© *The British Library Board*
2. Britannia between Death and the Doctors. Hand-coloured  
etching by James Gillray, 1804. 400  
© *The Trustees of the British Museum*
3. Litlyngton Missal, 1383–4. Given by Dr John Dolben,  
Dean, 1663. 473  
© *Dean and Chapter of Westminster, London*



## INTRODUCTION

This volume of Charles Burney's letters begins with silence. Aside from two letters early in January 1800 to his daughter-in-law Sarah (Rose) Burney and her housekeeper Ann Sabrina Bicknell, as well as a business letter to the music publishers Longman, Clementi, & Co., there is nothing from Burney's pen until near the end of April. Following the death of his daughter Susanna Phillips on 7 January, the usually sociable Burney withdrew to Chelsea Hospital to grieve, his only company the d'Arblays, who stayed for a month, and his granddaughter Frances Phillips, who came to live with him. As he records in his diary, 'I neither went to the Club or Theatres. The 1<sup>st</sup> dinner invitation accepted was to Count Woronzow' [in April] (CB, *Diary*). The depth of his and Madame d'Arblay's shock and sorrow can perhaps be seen in her description of her reception at Chelsea Hospital: 'his first words, on opening the parlour door, at which he stopped and stood, feeble and motionless, with shut eyes, and a look of unutterable anguish, were an almost inaudible exclamation, "I dread to see *you*, Fanny, I dread to see *you*"' (*Memoirs* iii. 295).

Both Burney and his novelist daughter knew who to blame for Susanna's death: her profligate husband Molesworth Phillips, whose cruel neglect of her for years led to her early demise in their eyes. To add insult to injury, Phillips, who had borrowed money from the d'Arblays and had mortgaged lands to Burney for £2,000, was falling further and further behind in interest payments, and by 3 July he owed Burney £200. A combination of grief and anger leads to a rare outburst by Burney: 'I do not think he seems the best & most considerate of fathers. Vile swindler—liar—& hypocrite' (20).

Charles Burney became an octogenarian on 18 April 1806 although he starts referring to himself as such in his seventy-ninth year. Accordingly, illness is a motif throughout the volume. He suffers during this period from occasional colds and flus and a chronic cough that rarely leaves him and which he blames on a 'pestiferous East wind' (204). Its effects vary from 'creaking & croaking' (211) to 'violent bilious disorders' (61) to coughs 'so hard & violent as to draw blood from [his] nose' (238). The only serious ailment he suffers from during these years, however, is what he calls a 'paralytic affection' (459), 'a seizure in [his] left hand w<sup>ch</sup> alarmed [him] much: a numb'dness, or Torpor, as if it was asleep' (478). It confines him to his room for five weeks and only gradually disappears.

Nonetheless, despite his frequent complaints about his infirmity, Burney retains his sense of humour and jokes early in 1806 that his ‘eyes, ears, & mem<sup>y</sup>’ begin to fail [him]’ so that, echoing Jonathan Swift, [he is] ‘fit for nothing but to *con ailments* with old women as infirm as [him]self’ (405). And he repeats Horace Walpole’s witty response ‘a week before he died, in answer to [Burney’s] enquiries concerning his health—“Oh, I am at my best, I shall never be better”’ (310).

During these years, Burney also suffers a pair of accidents, both of which could have been much more severe. Writing to his daughter-in-law Sarah Rose Burney in July 1800, he mentions in passing that his ‘wrist is still weak and useless, though not in pain, when suffered to be quite at rest’ but that his ‘scull & spine had a narrow escape’ (31). These injuries, Madame d’Arblay tells us, were sustained after attending ‘a Review on Ascot Heath’: ‘[I]n returning home by water, as the boat was disembarking its crew at Staines . . . he jumped incautiously from the boat on what he believed to be a tuft of grass; but what proved to be a moss-covered stone, or hillock, which . . . struck him backwards into the boat with frightful violence, and a risk the most imminent of breaking his neck, if not of fracturing his skull’ (*Memoirs* iii. 300–1).

Similarly, in October 1805 while hiking on Worcestershire Beacon, the highest peak of the Malvern Hills, Burney takes a nasty fall:

I . . . set off with my opera glasses in my hand admiring the beauties of Worcestershire on one side & of Herefordshire on the other, ‘never thinking of nothing at all,’ till my feet flew from under me, as if I had been trying to skait for the first time. I hurt my hip extremely by the fall, and had the utmost difficulty to crawl home. However after restin{g} ½ an hour the pain went off & I tried to think no more of my fall. (404)

As a result of this ‘small accident’, Burney is ‘confined at home a month . . . having been obliged by a bruise on [his] hip to lie in & on the bed ever since’ (394).

The circumstances under which both these accidents occur, however—jumping from a boat and hiking on slippery grass—put paid to Burney’s pose as an ailing invalid. In fact, the lure of a quiet and peaceful retirement did not beckon to him. Although in April 1804, at the age of 78, he did ‘relinquish teaching and [his] musical patients’, it was partly because ‘both his eyes and his ears were beginning to fail’ but mostly because of the amount of work he had taken on (*Memoirs* iii. 335). He was no longer working on a book or, for that matter, on his poem ‘Astronomy’ at the

beginning of this volume, but he was still reviewing books regularly for the *Monthly Review*, a journal to which he had been contributing since 1785. By August 1801, he had decided to resign as a reviewer, claiming that he ‘received neither pleasure nor profit’ from the task anymore (Ralph Griffiths to CB, 31 August 1801 (Osborn)).

Burney was perhaps a bit disingenuous in relating his reasons for resigning. A month previously he had agreed for a fee of £1,000 to write the musical articles for *The New Cyclopaedia, or, Universal Dictionary of the Arts and Sciences*, edited by Abraham Rees, which was published periodically over eighteen years, beginning in 1802. By 1820, it consisted of thirty-nine volumes of text and an additional six volumes of plates.<sup>1</sup> It was a daunting assignment and one that would occupy most of Burney’s waking hours for the next three years. He relates his fears to John Wall Callcott in January 1802:

I am every day more & more frightened at the magnitude of my undertaking, at so late a time of life: at the large scale on w<sup>ch</sup> I have hitherto been working, and at the number of years it will require to complete it! I find that it will absorb all my thoughts & occupy every moment of that leisure w<sup>ch</sup> I used to devote to friends & other pursuits. I have been doing little else, since last July, than hunt for books & papers, w<sup>ch</sup> I thought I sh<sup>d</sup> never look into again; making indexes, tracts, & memoranda. (147)

His age and the large scale of the undertaking is a refrain that recurs throughout much of the remainder of the volume. He was alarmed because the musical articles were to include ‘whatever is connected with the subject; not only definitions of the musical technica, but reflexions, discussions, criticism, history, and biography... I am more and more frightened every day at the undertaking, so long after the usual allowance of three score years and ten have expired’ (165).

The difficulty of the task ahead of him is compounded by two factors. The first is the loss to marriage of his servant, Sarah Mose, who had been his ‘invaluable secretary’ (259), forcing him to rely on less capable transcribers. Her successor, Sarah’s sister Rebecca, is much less qualified even

<sup>1</sup> The articles in Rees’s *Cyclopaedia* are unsigned, but CB’s have been identified, edited, and posted on the Burney Centre website in two parts by A. P. Woolrich: (1) general articles <[https://www.mcgill.ca/burneycentre/files/burneycentre/rees\\_general\\_fulldocument\\_o.pdf](https://www.mcgill.ca/burneycentre/files/burneycentre/rees_general_fulldocument_o.pdf)>; and (2) biographies <[https://www.mcgill.ca/burneycentre/files/burneycentre/rees\\_biographies\\_list.pdf](https://www.mcgill.ca/burneycentre/files/burneycentre/rees_biographies_list.pdf)>.

though Burney ‘send[s] her to a writing-master every night to mend her hand’ (259). In September 1803, he complains to his son Charles about the poor quality of the transcriptions with which he has had to contend: ‘I work at the articles of the Cyclopædia already written, but w<sup>ch</sup> have been transcribed by others, & some so ill, that the correction takes more time, & a great deal more patience to make it fit for the compositor than if I had been my own amanuensis’ (245). Eventually, he is forced to transcribe for himself: ‘I have never been able to find, or educate an amanuensis, that did not cost me more time & trouble in correcting their articles, than in writing them myself’ (310).

The second obstacle is the difficulty of laying his hands on his source materials. Three years after changing apartments in Chelsea Hospital, he still had not organized his books and manuscripts properly. Referring to himself in the third person, he writes in March 1802 that ‘in removing to a new set of apartm<sup>ts</sup> in this College, books, & papers, were jumbled together in so confused & disorderly a manner, that D<sup>r</sup> B. has not yet, though six years have elapsed since his removal, found places for his books; & for his papers they are truly in a chaotic state’ (161).

The work, it turns out, is time-consuming and requires constant application. One can trace the slowness of Burney’s progress and his consequent frustration by his complaints to his correspondents. Near the end of January 1802, he tells John Wall Callcott that he has ‘not yet finished two letters of the 24 w<sup>ch</sup> [he has] to encounter’ even though he has his ‘own Hist<sup>y</sup> & Tours to draw from’ (147). A month later, feeling harassed by a ‘compositor [who] is always at *craave, craave, craave*’ (154), he gripes to Samuel Arnold that ‘the job w<sup>ch</sup> I have, too inconsiderately, undertaken . . . will, I perceive, occupy every moment of my leisure for the rest of my life—indeed I have no title to expect to live to see a work finished, w<sup>ch</sup> will occupy the press for at least ten years to come’ (154). By April, he sounds panicked: ‘in *nine months’ hard labour*, I have not brought forth two letters. I am more and more frightened every day at the undertaking’ (165). In May, he admits that he has had ‘to draw on [his] *sinking fund* [i.e. sleep] more deeply than ever’ and yet has ‘finished but two letters of the alphabet in 10 months’ (171).

At the beginning of 1803, Burney tells Anne Hunter that ‘in order to get before the press as much as possible, [he has] devoted during 18 months not only all [his] time & thought w<sup>ch</sup> [his] literary enterprise required, but those w<sup>ch</sup> used to be devoted to friendship & society’ (233). Even when he does travel, he takes his work with him. Persuaded by Frances Anne Crewe

to accompany her to Cheltenham spa in September 1803, ‘not being able to sleep, [he keeps] off the foul fiend hypochondria from 5 o’Clock in the morning till 8 or 9, & at Night from 11 to one by pursuing [his] Lexicographic labours’ (257). By this means, he ‘finished the foul copy of one letter, & transcribed two others fair for the press’ (258).

Underlying Burney’s dismay at the seeming snail’s pace of his labours is, of course, ‘the idea of not living to finish [his] MS’ (246). By the end of April 1804, he tells Cecilia Maria Henslowe that he ‘feel[s] [him]self quite oppressed by the business’ since he has ‘been working night & day for near 3 years at these articles & [has] not yet gotten half through the Alphabet’ (286). He did, nonetheless, despite his croakings, live to finish his manuscript and much sooner than he expected. His mistake lay in failing to consider that the second half of the alphabet would require significantly fewer articles than the first half. By 12 September, he reports to Dorothy Blore that ‘at length [he has] worked [his] way through the alphabet, rough’ (310), and nine days later, tells his son Charles that it is time ‘now, for last revisal of Copy—insertion of omissions’ (314). In a later letter, he clarifies his meaning:

When I said that I had worked my way to the end of the alphabet in my [depart]ment of the Cyclopædia, I only meant in my foul copy; when I had the honour of writing to you last, my dear Madam, the fair transcript for the press was not entirely finished—& since that time, I have given my articles a revisal—and am now I hop[e] for the last time going over it once more to fill up dates & termi[nate] some articles for w<sup>ch</sup> my materials were incomplete. (344)

Having finished the bulk of this seemingly endless chore in three years rather than the ten for which he contracted, Burney should have been able to relax and enjoy his regained leisure. It was not to be. A few days later, on 28 September, after telling Charles that only revisions and omissions were left to be completed, rumour had reached him that his publishers, George and John Robinson, had suffered considerable financial losses and were close to bankruptcy. For years, Burney had stored the unsold copies of his book *A General History of Music* in the Robinsons’ warehouse from which they, for a fee, would ship orders to purchasers. Although he, not the Robinsons, owned the books, Burney’s fear was that the books would be seized by the booksellers’ creditors. He estimates that the unsold books were worth more than £2,000 (317), a sum he could ill afford to lose. Unable to reach his attorney, he consults his bankers, Richard Fuller, Sons, & Vaughan, who reassure him that ‘books

not printed for themselves, & only lodged in their shop for sale—ought to be on a footing with bonds, plate, & Jewels lodged with bankers for safety—w<sup>ch</sup> in case of bankruptcy, are restored to the owners' (315). His growing alarm can be traced amusingly—for the reader, at least—in his inflation of the expense of the book's original publication. On 2 October, he tells Frances Anne Crewe that '[m]ore than 2000 Vol<sup>s</sup> of [his] 30 years labour, travelling expences, in search of materials, & the materials, paper, printing &c &c besides [his] own labour cost [him] at least £5000' (323). On 5 November, he laments to Christian Latrobe that he 'cannot stir out of [his] house or think of anything else' (337) and that the book had 'cost [him] more than £6000 printing, besides 30 years labour' (337). By 27 November, in a letter to Dorothy Blore, the '30 years labour' remains constant, but the cost of creating the book has ballooned to 'near £7000' (345).

In the end, Burney's concern proved to be for naught as the Robinsons had no objection to his removing the books. Accordingly, their warehouse men loaded the books onto a cart that Burney had borrowed from John Broadwood & Son, the harpsichord and piano sellers, and delivered them to Chelsea Hospital where he had 'a promise of a spare room' in which he could lodge them (315). Disaster was averted, but disappointment would follow as Burney discovered the extent of the Robinsons' neglect of his property:

I have, however, recovered many of my books, but no plates, nor one set complete for sale—they have been kept in so slovenly & dirty a manner, that out of 312 complete sets, as I thought, ready for sale, and 6 or 7 hundred copies of my 1<sup>st</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> & 4<sup>h</sup> Vol<sup>s</sup> not one is furnished with plates or index fit for use. I have now, except 125 Sets left in the Hands of different booksellers in different parts of the Town, all my books at home, tied up in immense bundles of w<sup>ch</sup> I know not the contents. I have now 2 book-binders w<sup>th</sup> me opening & arranging these books, all in sheets, torn and almost all dirtied so much, that I shall be ashamed to dispose of many of them—This being my lamentable case, I cannot stir out of my house or think of anything else. (337)

In May 1805, writing to Sarah (Rose) Burney, he laments the 'most enormous expence' of 'render[ing][the books] fit for sale by reprinting the plates'. The 'trouble & vexation', he tells her, 'kept [him] on the fret for more than 6 months' (370).

Personal concerns aside, Burney had larger issues to worry about. The Napoleonic Wars and their effects on domestic politics are never far from

his thoughts. His disapproval of the French Revolution, apparent in *LCB* 3, carries over into this volume:

When we consider what French liberty has cost, in blood & money, supposing it to have all the charms w<sup>ch</sup> Jacobins pretend for those who survive the conflict, the purchase must be allowed to have amounted to an enormous price! What amends can be made to the millions who have been beggared, mangled, slaughtered, & *guillotined*, in the struggle? But it seems to me as if the present principles afloat had done more harm to the mind, than the body, That universal spirit of discontent, disbelief, & impatience of all control had not added to general happiness, or domestic comfort. (78)

The progress of the War of the Second Coalition (1799–1802) similarly fails to inspire confidence as he tells Lord Bruce on 25 May 1800:

I fear that existing circumstances, with respect to War, are not auspicious to us in any part of Europe, nor indeed America, or Africa. The French seem to be again triumphant in Egypt. Jacobinism thrives with their partisans in America; & in Europe they are over-running Germany, & Italy seems again likely to be conquered by Bonaparte! I fear that France will continue to be too powerful for all Europe, as she has been, by land, ever since the Revolution. (10–11)

When the negotiations for the Treaty of Amiens begin in late 1801, Burney's mistrust of Napoleon renders him sceptical: '[O]ur prospects are still more gloomy... The Revolution shook the globe; & the war it occasioned has beggared all Europe. We might have had a peace, perhaps, after Bonaparte's return from Egypt; but whether a secure one, was very much to be doubted' (78).

Surprisingly, perhaps, the attitude of this self-proclaimed alarmist towards the peace shifts, and he decides to reserve judgement 'till [he] know[s] the conditions in w<sup>ch</sup> it is granted' (114). In the event, though, they turned out not to be to his liking. As he tells Frances Anne Crewe seven months after the signing of the treaty, 'most people... think the Peace a bad one—and that Buonaparte has behaved abominably during the negotiation at Amiens & since' (212). Nonetheless, although 'sick and indignant at the raptures ab' the Peace' (121), Burney, quite rationally, accepts that Britons 'need to make it [their] business to make the best of it' (125). Having disbanded the army and navy and given up too many of its conquests, the nation was no longer prepared for war (212–13).

The country was not entirely prepared for peace either it seems. Britons in 1800 and 1801 were faced with the possibility of famine owing to wartime shortages, bad weather, and drought leading to increased taxes and rising prices of food. Scarcity of the latter and the steep price of bread resulted in riots in several towns in the West Midlands in May and in Nottingham in September 1800 (51 n.), which then spread to other cities including Birmingham and London (52 n.). In November, Burney hears a rumour that insurgents are training regularly in Wolverhampton. For Burney, this turmoil is both frightening and depressing:

this rioting is sad work! How ripe for mutiny & insurrection is the whole kingdom! Nothing but the military keeps off anarchy here, now, any more than in Ireland. One good I hope will accrue from the mob helping themselves to food, w<sup>ch</sup> is, that it will fright the farmers, Millers, Butchers, Bakers, &c, & make them bring out their hoards, if they have any, & lower the markets—but very wise people say, that we have eat up our old stock of every thing—Corn, Cheese, Bacon, Hams, &c &c w<sup>ch</sup> we used to have before-hand for 2 or 3 years, are all devoured, and we have not food for 6 months in the kingdom! How frightful! if true. (52–3)

‘War & distress produce interesting letters’ (204), Burney tells Frances Anne Crewe, but his letters are just as interesting, if not more so, when they deal with other topics. Because Burney was writing articles for Rees’s *Cyclopædia*, there is more consideration of music than in previous volumes. The subjects vary widely as one might expect from someone who is working his way through the alphabet, ranging from discussions of foreign instruments to theoretical concerns such as the doctrine of the Trinity applied to music, to the history of dramatic music in Italy, and to more mundane technical matters such as the origins of ledger lines and of the staff. Burney’s letters reflect his method in the *Cyclopædia*: ‘I jump from dry definitions & theory to Biography, and from Biography to Hist<sup>y</sup> just as they come across me’ (229).

Theban harps are briefly mentioned early in the volume (49), but slightly more space is given to the English horn (*cornò Inglese*) and to the second clarinet (*chalumeau*), which by association leads him to the history of the swell in English organs (228–9). Writing about Henry John Todd’s book *Miltonic Music*, Burney cautions against confusing John Milton, the poet, with John Milton, the father, who was ‘not a Musician of the first class in his time—but of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Class... his compositions may be ranked w<sup>th</sup> the best’ (84). A request by John Cooper Walker for ‘specimens of

dramatic Music previous to 1550' (85) and 'old Madrigals, w<sup>ch</sup> may have been performed on the stage between the acts of a drama, or incidentally' (89) triggers a display of learning over several pages on Poliziano's melodrama *Orfeo*, madrigals, and trios, Francesco Sbarra's musical drama *La Verità raminga* (87), the origins of dramatic music in Italy (87–8), and the shortcomings and plagiarism of Italian music historians (87–9), followed by an acknowledgement of the impressive amount of sixteenth-century music in his library:

The oldest printed music w<sup>ch</sup> I c<sup>d</sup> find in any of the libraries in Italy or elsewhere was printed in the year 1519—I have some *Trios* or madrigals in 3 parts by *Costantio Festa*, an excellent composer of that time—some by *Archadelt* of 1544. of *Alessandro Striggio*, 1559; who was often employed in several courts of Italy on occasion of great festivals—& of the famous Madrigalist *Luca Marenzio*, I have 8 or 9 sets—& have transcribed the best of numerous others. (89–90)

Burney is critical not only of ill-informed music historians but also of theorists who fail to ground their theories in actual practice. Thus, '[a]s to Boethius, too much weight has been given to his treatise on Music. It contains nothing of the least use to modern practice, either in melody or harmony' (148) and 'is useless in its totality' (148). Similarly, he concludes that Marcus Meibomius's *Antiquae musicae auctores septem*, a 'collect. of original writers on Gr. Harmonics' would 'waste [his] time, and that of those who may consult the new Encyclopædia' (148).

In a letter to the amateur composer Henry Harington, whose catches and glees he admired (428), Burney, having read Harington's *Symbolon Trisagion; or, The Geometrical Analogy of the Catholic Doctrine of the Trinity Consonant to Human Reason and Comprehension*, claims that he 'c<sup>d</sup> add something to [Harington's] Doctrine of *Triunity* relative to music: such as [the] triple progression of Pythagoras' (429). What follows is more for the musician and musical theorist than for the general reader:

I believe it has never been observed before that in the ascending or descend<sup>s</sup> there are no more than 3 notes in one key—even in the simplicity of the Hexachords the moment when you produce a 4<sup>th</sup> note you modulate into a new key.

If you begin at F in the base & ascend to B flat then to E flat A flat D flat G flat C flat you'll have all the major keys in flats, & if you begin to descend from A in [xxxxx 1 word] to E—D—F sharp C sharp G sharp D sharp A sharp you have all the major keys in sharps. (429)

Harington's book, which is a work of natural theology (i.e. an attempt to prove the existence of God and divine purpose through observation of nature and the use of human reason) draws an analogy between musical harmony and the Christian doctrine of the Holy Trinity. Burney, in what amounts to an editor's nightmare, equates it to the doctrine of vibrations to be found in the works of Marin Mersenne, René Descartes, John Wallis, Leonhard Euler, Roger Cotes, and Robert Smith (430 nn.) and praises Harington for showing that 'his <love of> music' and 'knowledge of practical harmony has been extended to the... Theory of sound' (431).

In addition, there is an interesting section on Welsh music occasioned by the gift of Edward Jones's book *The Bardic Museum, of Primitive British Literature*. In his letter, Burney confesses that his knowledge of Welsh is not sufficient to judge whether or not Jones's translation does justice to *The Welsh Triads* (*Trioedd Ynys Prydain*), included in volume two of *The Bardic Museum*.

There is even a discussion of a music machine invented by Anne Young, an Edinburgh music teacher and pianist, designed to teach children the fundamentals of music. Upon viewing it in operation, Burney is less than impressed:

I found [it]... to be a very ingenious contrivance, though so complicated as to be likely to require more time for a child to learn... to play the game for w<sup>ch</sup> it is constructed, than to learn the first rudiments of music in common way by easy tunes w<sup>ch</sup> are exercises for the eye, ear, & fingers... The expence too of the instrument & time & trouble of a person to teach it, struck me at once as impediments to its sale. (107)

Unlike some other critics of the period, Burney does not dwell on older music to the exclusion of the new. On the contrary, he is a defender of 'such great & original composers as Haydn and Mozart' against the sneers of the conservative English Handelians (356). 'Mozart's vocal music is exquisite' (392), he writes, and his 'dramatic Music' is 'the most delightful... that has ever been composed' (359). His love of Haydn's compositions is readily apparent. One of the three extant letters from January 1800, the one to Longman, Clementi, & Co., reveals that Burney, at Haydn's request, had been collecting subscriptions for Haydn's new oratorio, *The Creation*, since the previous July. His subscribers' list has not been preserved, but in a subsequent letter to the booksellers, he mentions that he has collected eighty-seven signatures, more, he claims, 'than all [Haydn's] other friends, whether at home or abroad, put together' (*Memoirs* iii. 393).

Burney's defence of Haydn's *The Creation* involves him in, not exactly a quarrel, but, rather, a dispute with the musician and music critic William Crotch. Crotch had delivered a series of six lectures on music at the Royal Institution in Albermarle Street in January 1805 in which, according to some 'enlarged and enlightened judges both of old and new Music' (355), his remarks on Haydn had been 'severe, and even, contemptuous' (355). Burney attempted to set him straight:

I am told that you were remarkably severe and sarcastic on the Introduction to Haydn's Oratorio of the *Creation*; and it should seem, without considering that it was a description of *Chaos*, before Order existed. He had to remind his audience of *confusion*, floating *forms*, and the throes of *Nature in labour*. I have no doubt but that this was the idea with which he composed this Symphony. (357–8)

In an earlier letter to Lord Bruce, having recently heard a performance of *The Creation*, Burney writes a fuller and more eloquent defence of Haydn's 'picturesque Music' (8):

The Handelians, who are most of them utterly unable to judge of Handel's real merit, & all jealous of that of others—with pert & flip-pant *soi-disant connoisseurs* of the Old School, have handed it about, as a *bon mot*, that the opening of the *Creation* is so confused, that "Chaos is come again." But instead of a sarcasm this is the greatest comp<sup>w<sup>ch</sup></sup> they c<sup>d</sup> pay Haydn: for it may be asked, what *sh<sup>d</sup>* be come again but *Chaos*, when Chaos is to be described? Were sounds but to be arranged in Harmonic & Symmetric order, before order was born? It struck me as the most sublime idea in Haydn's work that he had represented the birth of order by Dissonance, & broken phrases—a whisper here—an effort at existence there—a groan—an agonizing cry—personifying Nature, & supporting her in labour, how admirably has he described her throes! not by rare consonance, & graceful melod<y>, but by appropriate sounds, w<sup>ch</sup> applied to any other purpose w<sup>d</sup> be little better than Jargon; but w<sup>ch</sup> here *in loco*, are sublimely beautiful!... When dissonance is tuned, when order arises, & Chaos is no more, what pleasing, ingenious, and graceful melody & harmony ensue! (8)

Although he complains about never having time for pleasure, especially from 1801 through 1803, Burney does manage to find time for the occasional concert and other outings: 'To be sure I have been at a few great Concerts this year, at 3 or 4 pic-nics, & Fr. plays, & not a few dinners, conversazionis, &c.' (185). The concert that draws from him the

lavish praise quoted above is the performance of *The Creation* at the King's Theatre directed by Johann Peter Salomon, one of several Salomon concerts he attends during these years. He also attends the Concerts of Ancient Music several times and takes in performances by well-known artists such as the Wesley brothers and the Abrams family. He reserves special praise, however, for performances by the Italian soprano Brigida Banti whose 'exquisite voice' (13) he hears in the operas of *Zenobia* (12) and *Elfrida* (28). His admiration of Banti's singing is such that upon seeing in the opera *Artaxerxes* the English soprano Elizabeth Billington, a 'wonderful performer' (113), who 'as an actress... will not bear a comparison' (113–14), he concedes that 'though I always liked her & her singing very much, her voice seems *thin* after the Banti's firm, full, and rich tones' (113).

Even during the *Cyclopædia* years, Burney manages to squeeze in the occasional trip, like his annual visit to his friend Richard Cox at Quarley in Hampshire (with a stop at Lord Ailesbury's Savernake Lodge and a day in Salisbury) and short stays at Bulstrode Park, Buckinghamshire, the estate of the Duke of Portland. In addition to the visit to Cheltenham, Mrs Crewe persuades Burney to accompany her to Malvern Wells and its nearby hills (where the hiking mishap took place). Towards the end of the volume, ill health persuades Burney to spend time in Clifton Hot Wells, a 'charming place' that had fallen 'quite out of public favor' (448). His letters from there entertain us with descriptions of the pump room where he 'cannot find the name of a single individual of [his] acquaintance' (448–9); of the nearby Downs with its 'cadaverous invalides, the females riding upon Donkeys' (450); of the 'hundred shells of houses... built on the summit of Clifton Hills, not one of w<sup>ch</sup> has ever been inhabited or finished' (448); and of the Master of Ceremonies Ball where 'only 16 couples c<sup>d</sup> be mustered' (451). The redoubtable Burney, however, makes the most of it: 'though this place is so denuded of good company, its air, water, rocks, woods, & grand scenes, charm me as much as ever; & with walking, riding, books, pen, Ink, & meditation, I amuse myself sufficiently' (451). With typical Burney energy, he manages side treks to Bristol Cathedral and Wells Cathedral as well.

By the fall of 1806, the whirlwind of Burney's social life had returned in full force. He assures his daughter Frances d'Arblay that at the age of 80 he has 'Winter invitations to more dejeuners, dinners, concerts, conversazioni, & even rants & assemblies, than ever... If I were to give you a list of the notice & honour I have rec<sup>d</sup> from old and new friends within these two years "it w<sup>d</sup> make your hair stand on end"' (463). Having

outlived many of his friends—Thomas Twining, Dorothy Young, Richard Cox, Lord Macartney, Lady Mary Duncan, Elizabeth Carter, and Fulke Greville all died in 1805 or 1806—Burney ‘in spite of age & infirmities [had] lately more than doubled, in number, the friends [he had] lost’ (443). Though in the past, Burney had been ‘honoured . . . with Notice and civilities’, it is fitting that after a lifetime of hard work, his friends among ‘the Great’ (417) should recognize his achievements with a pension from the crown of £200 annually and that the volume should end with the irrepressible Burney preparing for a trip to yet another spa.



## 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 14-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 *A General History of Music*  
summer Disappointed in attempts to become organist in the Queen's Band and of St Martin's-in-the-Fields
- 1783 12 July Frances Burney publishes *Cecilia*  
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 *Commemoration of Handel*  
Jan. Publishes a brief account in the *London Review* 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
- June Starts contributing to *Monthly Review*  
Sept. Visits Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill, with Frances
- 1786 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 *History of Music*  
29–31 Dec. Visits Frances at Windsor; converses with George III about music

- 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 *Sonatinas*, dedicated to Burney
- 1788 Nov. Moves to a smaller apartment at the Royal Hospital
- 1789 30 April Publishes last two volumes of *A General History of Music*
- 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 *Remarks on the Greek Verses of Milton*
- 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 Abraham Rees's *Cyclopædia*, published in thirty-nine volumes from 1802 to 1819 with some 1,750 contributions by Burney
- Aug. Resigns as reviewer for the *Monthly Review*
- 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 *A Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean*
- 1804 24–9 Aug. Begins summer travels at Bulstrode  
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  
Sept. 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  
 1808 Sept. Returns for another visit to Bulstrode  
 July 'Memoirs and Character of the late Mrs. Ord'  
published in *Gentleman's Magazine*  
 July–Aug. Visits Bulstrode  
 Sept. Sarah Harriet Burney publishes *Geraldine  
Fauconberg*  
 1809 Aug. Visits Bulstrode  
 30 Oct. Duke of Portland dies  
 1810 Charles Jr elected to The Club  
 28 Apr. Appointed Correspondent of the Institut de  
France  
 1812 25 May Edmond Malone dies  
 14 Aug. Frances returns surreptitiously to England  
from France with her son  
 1814 25 Apr. Sarah Harriet Burney publishes *Traits of Nature*  
 28 March Frances Burney d'Arblay publishes *The  
Wanderer*  
 12 Apr. Dies at Chelsea Hospital and is buried there  
 Apr. and July Obituary notice in *Gentleman's Magazine*  
 1817 Aug. Monument to Burney erected in Westminster  
Abbey  
 1832 23 Nov. Frances Burney d'Arblay publishes *Memoirs of  
Doctor Burney*



## 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, Jr = 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  
SRB = Sarah (Rose) Burney, 1759–1821

### 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.
- Alumni Cantab.*                John Venn and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 10 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922–54).

- Ancestry ancestry.co.uk.
- Annals* London Literary Society, *Annals of the Club* (1914).
- 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.
- Berg The Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, New York Public Library.
- BL British Library, London.
- Burke Corr.* *The Correspondence of Edmund Burke*, ed. Thomas W. Copeland et al., 10 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958–78).
- [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 3rd, 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).

[Burney, Charles]

*LCB*

Peter Sabor et al., *The Letters of Dr Charles Burney, 1751–1784*, 6 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991–).

[Burney, Charles]

*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* (1796).

[Burney, Charles]

*Tours*

*Dr. Burney's Musical Tours in Europe*, ed. Percy A. Scholes, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959).

[Burney, Frances]

*AJL*

*The Additional Journals and Letters of Frances Burney*, ed. Peter Sabor et al., 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015–18).

[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).

[Burney, Frances]

*JL*

*The Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney (Madame d'Arblay)*, 1791–1840, ed. Joyce Hemlow et al., 12 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972–84).

[Burney, Sarah Harriet]

*LSHB* *The Letters of Sarah Harriet Burney*, ed. Lorna J. Clark (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997).

[Burney, Susanna]

*JLSB* *The Journals and Letters of Susan Burney*, ed. Philip Olleson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

*Cat. Misc. Lib.* Leigh and Sotheby, *A Catalogue of the Miscellaneous Library of ... Charles Burney*, 9 June 1814.

*Cat. Mus. Lib.* White, *A Catalogue of the ... Collection of Music ... of ... Charles Burney*, 8 August 1814. The Music Division of the Library of Congress priced copy.

CCEd Clergy of the Church of England Database (online).

Cobban Alfred Cobban, *A History of Modern France*, 3 vols (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969).

*Cobbett's* *Cobbett's Annual Register* (1802–3); *Cobbett's Political Register* (1804–6).

*Dictionary* Samuel Johnson, *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755).

*EJL* *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney*, ed. Lars E. Troide et al., 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon; Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988–2012).

*ER* *Edinburgh Review*.

*Essays* William Mason, *Essays, Historical and Critical, on English Church Music* (York, 1795).

Exeter *Exeter Working Papers in Book History: The London Book Trades, 1775–1800* (online).

Findmypast findmypast.co.uk.

Fortescue J. W. Fortescue, *A History of the British Army*, 13 vols (MacMillan, 1899–1930).

Gazley John G. Gazley, *The Life of Arthur Young, 1741–1820* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1973).

- GM* *Gentleman's Magazine* (1731–1880).
- Haydn, Creation* H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicles and Works, Vol. IV: Haydn: The Years of 'The Creation', 1796–1800* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1977).
- Haydn, England* H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works, Vol. III: Haydn in England, 1791–1795* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976).
- Highfill Phillip H. Highfill Jr, Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and Other Stage Personnel in London 1660–1800*, 16 vols (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973–93).
- History of Parliament* *The History of Parliament: British Political, Social, and Local History* (online edn).
- History of Shrewsbury* H. Owen and J. B. Blakeway, *A History of Shrewsbury*, 2 vols (1825).
- Houghton Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Hyde The Hyde Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- IGI International Genealogical Index.
- Life* *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, ed. G. B. Hill, rev. by L. F. Powell, 6 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934–64).
- Lonsdale Roger Lonsdale, *Dr. Charles Burney: A Literary Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965).
- London Stage* 1, 2, [etc.] *The London Stage 1660–1800*, Parts 1 to 5 in 11 vols, (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960–8). References are to volume and page in each part.
- Madelin Louis Madelin, *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire*, 16 vols (Paris, 1937–53).

- M. D. George      Mary Dorothy George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, vols 5–11 (London: British Museum, 1935–54).
- MR*                    *Monthly Review* (1749–1845).
- NA                    National Archives.
- Neton                Albéric Neton, *Sieyès (1748–1836), d’après des documents inédits* (Paris: Perrin, 1901).
- ODNB*                *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online edn.
- OED*                *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), online edn.
- OMO                Oxford Music Online.
- ORO                Oxford Reference Online.
- Osborn              The James Marshall and Marie-Louise Osborn Collection, Beinecke Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
- OSEO                Oxford Scholarly Editions Online.
- Percy Letters*        *The Correspondence of Thomas Percy and Edmond Malone*, ed. Arthur Tillotson (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1944).
- Phil. Transactions*    *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* (Royal Society, 1665–).
- Piozzi Letters*        *The Piozzi Letters*, ed. Edward A. and Lillian D. Bloom et al., 6 vols (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1989–2002).
- Rees Bios            *Rees’s Cyclopædia; or, Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature* Online, biographies, ed. A. P. Woolrich.
- Rees General        *Rees’s Cyclopædia; or, Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature* Online, general music articles, ed. A. P. Woolrich.

Scholes	Percy A. Scholes, <i>The Great Dr. Burney</i> , 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948).
<i>Scientific Papers</i>	<i>The Scientific Papers of Sir William Herschel</i> , ed. John Louis Emil Dreyer, 2 vols (Royal Society, 1912).
Sermoneta	Vittoria Colonna Caetani, Duchess of Sermoneta, <i>The Locks of Norbury: The Story of a Remarkable Family in the XVIIIth and XIXth Centuries</i> (John Murray, 1940).
<i>Thraliana</i>	<i>Thraliana: The Diary of Mrs. Hester Lynch Thrale (later Mrs. Piozzi), 1776–1809</i> , ed. Katharine C. Balderston, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1951).
Watson	J. Steven Watson, <i>The Reign of George III</i> (Oxford: Clarendon, 1960).
Windham, <i>Diary</i>	<i>The Diary of the Right Hon. William Windham 1784 to 1810</i> , ed. Mrs. Henry Baring (1866).
Windham, <i>Papers</i>	<i>The Windham Papers: The Life and Correspondence of the Rt. Hon. William Windham 1750–1810</i> , 2 vols (Herbert Jenkins, 1913).
<i>YW</i>	<i>The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence</i> , ed. W. S. Lewis et al., 48 vols (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1937–83).

## EDITORIAL 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
AL	Autograph letter
ALS	Autograph letter signed

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

LETTERS OF  
DR CHARLES BURNEY  
FROM 10 JANUARY 1800 TO 18 DECEMBER 1806

Royal Hospital, Chelsea  
10 January 1800

To Sarah Rose Burney<sup>1</sup>

ALS (Burney-Cumming)

*Addressed:* To / M<sup>rs</sup> Burney / Greenwich / Kent.

*Pmk:* 8 o'Clock 11 JA 1800 M. 10 o'Clock 11 [J]A 1800 F. Unpaid  
Penny Post

Chelsea College 10 Jan<sup>y</sup>  
1800

My dear Rosette.

As our dear Charles when he went on his brotherly and pious pilgrimage,<sup>2</sup> left you far from well, as he told me w<sup>th</sup> great concern himself just before his departure, I took the liberty of addressing a letter of enquiry to M<sup>rs</sup> Bicknell,<sup>3</sup> on Monday last; but having had no

<sup>1</sup> Sarah ('Rosette') [SRB] (1759–1821), daughter of Dr William Rose (1719–86) and his wife Sarah Clark (c.1726–1805). She married in 1783 Charles Burney, Jr [CB Jr] (1757–1817), classical scholar, CB's second surviving son.

<sup>2</sup> To fetch his sister Susanna Burney Phillips [SBP] (1755–1800), wife of Molesworth Phillips (1755–1832), from Parkgate, Cheshire, where she had disembarked after crossing the Irish Sea. The trip was in vain as she died on 6 January 1800.

<sup>3</sup> Sabrina Sidney (c.1757–1843), married (1784) John Bicknell (c.1746–87), the lawyer who in 1774 had parodied, under the pseudonym of 'Joel Collier', CB's *Tous* (William Bewley to CB, 5 September 1774 (Osborn)). She was now housekeeper to Charles, who had accepted her two sons into his school. See Roger Lonsdale, 'Dr. Burney, "Joel Collier", and Sabrina',

answer;<sup>4</sup> I think it best to deal w<sup>th</sup> *principals*, & hope you will be able to give a favourable bill of health during my extreme suffering from the most melancholy event w<sup>ch</sup> could happen to myself in my family—It was the first wish of my heart to spend the few days to w<sup>ch</sup> my time of life en{t}itles me to expect in her society, without encroaching on the happiness of others!—I c<sup>d</sup> never think of taking any of my other daughters from their husbands and Children for my gratification—but I was sure that living with me w<sup>d</sup> have greatly increased the happiness of our excellent & much beloved Susan, without diminishing that of a Partner who knew not her worth sufficiently to deserve her society<sup>5</sup>— But it is too soon to write a commentary on his conduct, at Present—pray tell me, or let somebody else, how you do—What a Journey has our dear Charles had to perform.<sup>6</sup> And what trials for his fortitude! All who hear of it have taken him to their hearts, unsight unseen—Adieu my dear Rosette—I am sure of your pity for the dreadful loss of such a daughter! God bless you—believe me ever yours very affectionately

Cha<sup>s</sup> Burney.

---

*Evidence in Literary Scholarship: Essays in Memory of James Marshall Osborn*, ed. René Wellek and Alvaro Ribeiro (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979), 281–308; Wendy Moore, ‘Educating Sabrina’, *Burney Letter* 18.2 (2012), 8–10. See also Wendy Moore, *How to Create the Perfect Wife* (Philadelphia: Basic Books, 2013).

<sup>4</sup> In his letter to CB of 10 January, CB Jr wrote that ‘Bicknell has been dreadfully affected during the Holidays, with the Piles. She has scarcely stirred from Bed & Room—Rosette is better’ (Barrett).

<sup>5</sup> Phillips was a gambler and a womanizer who treated SBP badly. Their marriage had almost completely collapsed in 1795 when he inherited land and left for Belcotton, co. Louth in Ireland. A year later, he blackmailed SBP into joining him, and she reluctantly left England. The privation of her standard of living in the primitive farmhouse, along with the isolation compounded by an inattentive husband, fatally compromised her health.

<sup>6</sup> In his letter of 1 January 1800, CB Jr describes how, owing to a miscommunication, he had driven from Chester to Holyhead in Wales and back, ‘ninety miles, in the snow and Ice, in December,—over Welch Mountains—& Welch Terrains,—Those of Styx & Acheron can alone be worse . . . It is so cold, that I can scarcely write’ (Barrett). On 10 January 1800, after attending SBP’s funeral, CB Jr wrote again from Chester: ‘I am thus far, on my Road towards Greenwich from Park Gate.—Fanny Ph. Willy & Susan [Adams]—& the Major are with me.—I have so contrived the journey of Susan & Willy, that they will sleep on the Road, when we stop for the Night.—The Major returns to Ireland’ (Barrett).

Royal Hospital, Chelsea  
11 January 1800

To Longman, Clementi, & Co.<sup>7</sup>

ALS (Boston University Special Collections)

Addressed: To / Mess<sup>rs</sup> Longman Clementi & Co / 26 Cheapside

Pmk: 11 JA 1800 N[t]JewsR-Chelsea<sup>8</sup> Paid Penny Post

Endorsed: D<sup>r</sup> Burney / 10 Jan<sup>y</sup> 1800

Chelsea College. 11<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1800

D<sup>r</sup> Burney presents his compliments to Mess<sup>rs</sup> Longman, Clementi, & Co. and acquaints them that he rec<sup>d</sup> a letter last aug<sup>t</sup> from D<sup>r</sup> Haydn,<sup>9</sup> dated Vienna 15<sup>th</sup> July—acquainting him that he had composed an Oratorio entitled *The Creation of the World*,<sup>10</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> he was printing by Subscription, in Score at £1.10.0 each Copy; and entreated D<sup>r</sup> B. to

<sup>7</sup> In 1798, instrument maker James Longman (1745–1803) of the bankrupt musical publishing firm of Longman & Broderip sold his interest while remaining on the payroll of the new company that traded as Longman, Clementi, & Co. from 1798 to 1801 at no. 26 Cheapside. The owners were his brother John (1744–1819), Muzio Clementi (1752–1832), ‘Frederick Augustus Hyde (a former employee of Longman & Broderip), Frederick William Collard (piano maker), Josiah Banger (one of the assignees) and David Davis (organ builder and former employee of Longman & Broderip, who had managed the firm for the assignees)’ (Jenny Nex, ‘Longman and Broderip’, *The Music Trade in Georgian England*, ed. Michael Kassler (2011), 82). In addition to being a music publisher, Clementi was also a composer, pianist, and conductor. At the time, his reputation rivalled that of Haydn (Margaret Cranmer and Peter Ward Jones, ‘Clementi’, OMO).

<sup>8</sup> Referring to Jew’s Row (later Royal Hospital Road) on which there was a postal receiving house.

<sup>9</sup> Franz Joseph Haydn (1732–1809), composer. See *LCB* iii. 442 in which CB mentions ‘the letter with which you [Haydn] have honoured me, of July 15<sup>th</sup>’.

<sup>10</sup> Composed between 1796 and 1797, it premiered publicly at the Burgtheater, Vienna on 19 March 1799 and quickly swept across Europe. In July 1799, Haydn announced: ‘The success which my Oratorio *The Creation* has been fortunate enough to enjoy... [has] induced me to arrange for its dissemination myself. Thus the work will appear... neatly and correctly engraved and printed on good paper, with German and English texts; and in full score, so that [at least] one work of my composition will be available to the public in its entirety, and the connoisseur will be in a position to see it as a whole and to judge it’ (qtd. in George Feder and James Webster, ‘Haydn, (Franz) Joseph’, OMO).

procure him some Subscribers. This he most readily promised to do. But as D<sup>r</sup> H. talked of publishing in 3 or 4 months, from the date of his letter, and wished to have the names at least a month before the work appeared that they might be printed and inserted in the book; D<sup>r</sup> B. wrote to him immediately,<sup>11</sup> to beg that he w<sup>d</sup> not publish his Oratorio, at least in England till Spring 1800; as he was then going into the Country himself for 2 or 3 months, whither all the persons of his acquaintance, the most likely to subscribe, had been gone some time, for the rest of the year 1799; & that till the meeting of Parliament after X<sup>mas</sup> he sh<sup>d</sup> not have an opportunity of manifesting his zeal for the interest of a composer he so much admires, and indeed, for the lovers of Music whose patronage he wished to obtain.

To this letter D<sup>r</sup> Burney having rec<sup>d</sup> no answer so late as Nov<sup>r</sup> fearing that the packet in w<sup>ch</sup> it was sent had been taken by the Enemy or wrecked in a Storm, or that some fresh accident had happened to the Vessel in w<sup>ch</sup> an answer might have been sent, he wrote again, the 21<sup>st</sup> of that month, & sent D<sup>r</sup> Haydn 32 names w<sup>ch</sup> he had procured for his work, w<sup>th</sup> a repetition of his wish that the publication might be postponed in this Country till Spring. But to this letter having rec<sup>d</sup> no answer, on the 8<sup>th</sup> of the present Month, he sent a 2<sup>d</sup> list of 14 additional Subscribers—& has procured 2 more since the departure of this letter.

Dr. B. is somewhat disturbed to find that the work is coming out before the names he has procured can have been rec<sup>d</sup> by D<sup>r</sup> Haydn, or those of other friends of whose compliance w<sup>th</sup> his wish he was sure, as soon as they came to Town—He likewise perceives a difference in the *terms of Subscription*, w<sup>ch</sup> he did not expect—D<sup>r</sup> H. having stated clearly in his first, & as yet, only letter on the subject, that the Subscription w<sup>d</sup> be 30 Shillings each Copy (*1£ 10 Shilling l'Esemplare*) no more has been asked of any of the Subscribers. The difference, indeed, is not much; but it is a *difference*, w<sup>ch</sup> it will be so awkward & unpleasant to demand, that D<sup>r</sup> B. cannot set about it. D<sup>r</sup> Haydn in his letter states that no money w<sup>d</sup> be required till the delivery of the work, & that the carriage was to be at his own expence. (*Il trasporto Sarà a conto mio.*) When the work is come over, on these terms, D<sup>r</sup> B. will communicate to Mess<sup>rs</sup> Longman, Clementi, & Co. the 50 names he has procured, & their address, if necessary. But as other friends of D<sup>r</sup> Haydn besides D<sup>r</sup> B. have been at work in procuring Subscribers, he thinks it will be pity if they are not all collected & printed, to be added to the foreign list.

<sup>11</sup> Missing, as is the letter sent on 21 November 1799 and the second list of subscribers.

[Royal Hospital, Chelsea  
14 January 1800]

To Sabrina Bicknell

ALS (Bodleian, MS. Eng. Lett. c. 461, ff. 7–8)

*Addressed:* To / M<sup>rs</sup> Bicknell / Greenwich<sup>12</sup>

Tuesday 2 o’Clock

My dear M<sup>rs</sup> Bicknell.

Though I have been so unfortunate as never to have rec<sup>d</sup> your kind answer<sup>13</sup> (w<sup>ch</sup> I am sure it was) to my inquiries after the health of poor M<sup>rs</sup> Burney, I was too well acquainted w<sup>th</sup> your friendly & obliging disposition to imagine, if my request had been rec<sup>d</sup> by you, that you w<sup>d</sup> not have instantly granted it—& I now thank you sincerely for your intention though it was frustrated, no one can tell how. M<sup>rs</sup> B. was so good as to gratify me with a most comforting & satisfactory letter,<sup>14</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> I rec<sup>d</sup> on Sunday Morn<sup>g</sup><sup>15</sup> and for w<sup>ch</sup>, when she returns home, I beg of you to give her my kindest love and thanks.

Our poor dear D<sup>r</sup> Cha<sup>s</sup> has indeed had the most trying, most afflictive, & heart-rending scenes [to go] through, for his mind, as well as fatigues for his body, that a benevolent & affectionate brother c<sup>d</sup> have to encounter—I long to see, embrace, & thank him, for the heroic manner w<sup>th</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> he has met such a calamity, and supported himself under all its consequences. It has exalted him in the opinion, not only of his friends & relations, who expected a great deal from his good nature, affection, & liberality, but strangers hear of it w<sup>th</sup> love & admiration!

<sup>12</sup> Now part of south-east London, Greenwich was originally part of the historic county of Kent. CB Jr moved his school from Hammersmith to Greenwich in 1793 and remained there until he transferred the school to his son in 1813.

<sup>13</sup> Missing.

<sup>14</sup> Both the letter that went astray and the one being answered are missing.

<sup>15</sup> 12 January 1800.

[14 January 1800]

I rejoice sincerely at the acc<sup>t</sup> you give of the amendm<sup>t</sup> of our dear M<sup>rs</sup> B. \_\_\_'s health, & hope she'll have her worthy husband & excellent boy home very soon to complete the recovery of her health & spirits.<sup>16</sup>

You are very good, Dear M<sup>rs</sup> B for entering so cordially into the wishes of my daughter M<sup>rs</sup> d'Arblay<sup>17</sup> and my[self, to] see the whole party of afflicted travellers after their melanch[oly] Pilgrimage, as soon as possible—and not only little Willy<sup>18</sup> and his most excellent & affectionate maid;<sup>19</sup> but even my son, grandson<sup>20</sup> & grand-daughter the dear Fanny Phillips,<sup>21</sup> we wish to see, & weep over, & hear their melancholy tale, terrible as it mu[st] be, ere our sorrows can digest, or our minds receive any other impressions. Therefore I must entreat our dear Rosett[e] if they go first to Greenwich,<sup>22</sup> to give them leave to come t[o] us here for a short time,<sup>23</sup> (except Fanny, who must remain with me to live on) as soon as their fatigues & spirits will let them.

Adieu, dear M<sup>rs</sup> Bicknell—believe me to be with great regard & gratitude

Your's most truly  
Cha<sup>s</sup> Burney.

I inclose my own letter to my son at Park-Gate, written on a chance of his getting it before his departure<sup>24</sup>—he will probably see [the] state of mind expressed in it on the rec<sup>t</sup> of the heart-breaking ne[ws—] I forget its contents—but it is fit that he sh<sup>d</sup> know it was wr[itte]n].

<sup>16</sup> CB Jr arrived back in Greenwich on 16 January.

<sup>17</sup> Frances [FBA] (1752–1840), novelist, CB's second daughter; married (1793) Alexandre-Jean-Baptiste Piochard d'Arblay (1754–1818), native of Joigny, artillery officer. They had one child, Alexander Charles Louis d'Arblay (1794–1837).

<sup>18</sup> SBP's younger son John William James (1791–1832).

<sup>19</sup> Susan Adams (1768–post August 1840), SBP's servant.

<sup>20</sup> SBP's elder son Charles Norbury Phillips (1785–1814).

<sup>21</sup> SBP's daughter Frances (1782–1860).

<sup>22</sup> CB Jr and his family resided in Greenwich.

<sup>23</sup> The d'Arblays came to Chelsea College to stay with CB for over a month (*JL* iv. 383 n. 2). In *Memoirs*, FBA relates how CB refused to see her upon their arrival:

He gave them the apartment that for so far happier a purpose had been destined, and remitted a meeting to the next morning.

Nor yet, even at breakfast, was he able to encounter her grief; it was twelve or one o'clock at noon ere he could assume the strength necessary: and then, his first words, on opening the parlour door, at which he stopped and stood, feeble and motionless, with shut eyes, and a look of unutterable anguish, were an almost inaudible exclamation, 'I dread to see *you*, Fanny! I dread to see *you*!'

(iii. 294–5)

<sup>24</sup> See *LCB* iii. 530–3.

If Willy & Susan [Adams] come to town in the Greenwich stage to Charing-Cross,<sup>25</sup> when set down there, beg of the good Susan to take a Hackney coach for herself and Willy, to Chelsea College.

[*The last line of a postscript, covered by a seal, is partially visible on the address page.*]

of your health and [xxxxx 1 or 2 words] if [xxxxx 1 or 2 words] the boy.

[Royal Hospital, Chelsea  
post 21 April 1800]<sup>26</sup>

To Christian Latrobe<sup>27</sup>

ALS (Osborn)

My dear Friend.

I was obliged to quit the good place in w<sup>ch</sup> you saw me on Monday Night,<sup>28</sup> where there was no room for two very particular friends (M<sup>rs</sup> & Miss Crewe)<sup>29</sup> who wished me to tell them how to hear Haydn's music, w<sup>ch</sup> the public in general want to be told—so I went w<sup>th</sup> them almost to the bottom of the room, to the 1<sup>st</sup> bench on w<sup>ch</sup> 3 places c<sup>d</sup> be found.

<sup>25</sup> A distance of approximately 8 miles.

<sup>26</sup> The three-month gap in CB's correspondence is explained by his grief at SBP's death: 'I neither went to the Club or Theatres. The 1<sup>st</sup> dinner invitation accepted was to Count Woronzow' [in April] (CB, Diary).

<sup>27</sup> The Reverend Christian Ignatius Latrobe (1758–1836), musician and composer; Moravian minister and secretary of the Unity of the Brethren in England (1795).

<sup>28</sup> At Salomon's performance of *The Creation* on 21 April in the Antient Music Room, i.e. the large concert-room situated inside the King's, on the east side, level with the first tier of the boxes. The reason for this change was, states the playbill, 'the present Performances in the Opera House not allowing sufficient time to erect an Orchestra on the Stage'. The principal singers were Mme Mara, Mme Dussek, Small, Page, Denman, and Bartleman. Samuel Wesley presided at the organ and at the piano forte. (*London Stage* 5 iii. 2261; *Morning Post and Gazetteer*, 21 April 1800).

<sup>29</sup> Frances Anne Greville (1748–1818) and her daughter Elizabeth Emma (1780–1850). Frances Anne had married (1766) John Crewe (1742–1829), of Crewe Hall, Cheshire; M.P. for Stafford (1765–8) and Cheshire (1768–1802). CB, who at the time was apprenticed to her father Fulke Greville (1717–1806), was proxy for the Duke of Bedford as godfather to Frances Anne at her baptism.

If I had leisure, I c<sup>d</sup> write a folio dissertation on the beauty of that divine music, & the intelligence, the mind, & conceptions, of the matchless composer! The Handeliens, who are most of them utterly unable to judge of Handel's real merit; <sup>30</sup> and all jealous of that of others—as well as pert & flippant *soi-disant*<sup>31</sup> Connoisseurs, have handed it ab<sup>t</sup> as a *bon Mot*, that the opening of the *Creation* is so contrived, that “Chaos is come again!”<sup>32</sup>—And what *sh<sup>d</sup>* be come again, but *Chaos*, when chaos is to be described? are sounds to be arranged in harmonic & symmetric order, before order was born? It struck me as the most sublime Idea in Haydn's work to describe the birth of order by dissonance & broken phrases—a whisper here—an effort there—a groan—an agonizing cry—personifying nature—and supposing her in labour, how admirably has he described her throes, not by pure harmony & graceful melody, but by appropriate sounds, w<sup>ch</sup> applied to any other purpose w<sup>d</sup> be little better than jargon;<sup>33</sup> but here—in *loco*<sup>34</sup>—are sublimely beautiful! Yet if the hearer does [not] help the composer out, musical imitation is so feeble, that his designs & conceptions will never be understood—But if this is not picturesque music, it is in vain ever to be attempted. When dissonance is tuned, when order arises, & Chaos is no more, what pleasing, ingenious, and graceful melody & harmony ensue! What a new & powerful effect had the encored Chorus on the feeling part of the audience, who unable to stay till it was finished to express their raptures, broke in upon the performers with impassioned applause both times, before the movement was finished!—And what a flash of harmony on the last word of the sublime text of genuine Scripture—“And God said, Let there be light: & there was light!”<sup>35</sup>

But I must shorten my Dissertation, being in a very great hurry—w<sup>th</sup> a 1000 things to say on the subject—No subscriber has yet rec<sup>d</sup> a book—they are not expected till the middle of May. I am equally impatient with

<sup>30</sup> George Frideric Handel (1685–1759), George III's favourite composer. For more about CB's delicate and complex balance of critical admiration of Handel's works, see Todd Gilman, ‘Charles Burney's Handel Reconsidered’, *Writing Lives in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Tanya M. Caldwell (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2020), 173–206.

<sup>31</sup> So-called.

<sup>32</sup> See *Othello* (3.3.102). See also the *Morning Herald*, 7 April 1800: ‘[I]t breathes no more the sacred inspiration of Handel, than Kotzebue does of that which immortalized our own Shakespeare! . . . If it be again performed in this country, we recommend at least that the misnomer of Creation be erased, and that of Chaos *come again*, substituted in its stead!’

<sup>33</sup> ‘Unintelligible or meaningless talk’ (*OED*).

<sup>34</sup> In the proper place.

<sup>35</sup> Genesis 1:3.

yourself to see the score. & am called upon once daily by upwards of 60 subscribers, who have done themselves the honour to give me their names for our *truly Magnus Apollo*.<sup>36</sup>

I long to talk over this interesting subject w<sup>th</sup> one so willing & so qualified to see the beauties of this first of all sacred *melodramas*; but, unfortunately, I am engaged to dine in town, & to music in the Evening, on Sunday *next*.<sup>37</sup> But on any Sunday that I dine at home, & you will enliven my board, if you will let me know, you shall name the hour that shall best suit your convenience—& let it be soon, that we may laugh at, & treat with proper contempt, prejudiced & ignorant critics.<sup>38</sup> The Wesleys,<sup>39</sup> such excellent judges of good music, speak of Haydn's powers with the heartiness I wish them to do.<sup>40</sup>

Adieu my dear friend, for the present. If Sallust's Apophthegm<sup>41</sup> be well founded: *Idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est*, you and I are not likely to quarrel ab' Music, or anything else! *vale*.<sup>42</sup>

Cha<sup>s</sup> Burney.

<sup>36</sup> Leader or oracle, from Virgil's *Eclogue III*: 'Dic, quibus in terris—et eris mihi magnus Apollo—tris pateat caeli spatium non amplius ulnas' (lines 104–5) ('Tell me in what lands—and to me be great Apollo—heaven's vault is but three ells wide' (translated by H. R. Fairclough, <https://www.theoi.com/Text/VirgilEclogues.html>).

<sup>37</sup> 27 April.

<sup>38</sup> Latrobe, like CB, was an admirer of Haydn and Mozart and critical of the conservative English Handeliens (Edward Holmes, 'The Rev. Christian Ignatius Latrobe', *Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 4.88 (1851), 249–50, 255).

<sup>39</sup> Samuel Wesley (1766–1837), organist and composer, and his elder brother Charles (1757–1834) had acquired reputations as musical prodigies. At Salomon's performance on 21 April, 'A Concerto on the Organ by Mr. [Samuel] Wesley' was presented between acts (*True Briton*, 21 April 1800). It was probably *Organ Concerto in D Major* (Michael Kassler and Philip Olleson, *Samuel Wesley (1766–1837): A Source Book* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2001), 32).

<sup>40</sup> CB's mention of the Wesleys was probably not solely because of Samuel's performance. Latrobe would be more receptive to their opinions as the nephews of John Wesley (1703–91), the main founder of Methodism, which was inspired in part by encounters with Moravians (Henry D. Rack, 'Wesley [Wesley], John', *ODNB*).

<sup>41</sup> Gaius Salustius Crispus [Sallust] (86–c.35 BC), *Catalina Iugurtha Historiarum Reliquiae*: '*Nam idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est*' (vol. 1, para. xx) (*The Conspiracy of Cataline*: 'The firmest friendship is based on identity of likes and dislikes'). It is the basis of Samuel Johnson's essay No. 64, 'The requisites to true friendship', in the *Rambler* of 27 October 1757.

<sup>42</sup> Goodbye.

Royal Hospital, Chelsea  
25 May 1800

To Lord Bruce<sup>43</sup>

ALS (Ailesbury)

Chelsea College 25<sup>th</sup> May, 1800

My dear Lord.

I was much mortified in being from home when your Lordship did me the honour to clamber to my aerial apartments:<sup>44</sup> & still more so, when I heard at Lord Ailesbury's<sup>45</sup> that you were returned into the country. Your Lordship, & dear Lady Bruce, continuing to rusticate during the whole winter has made *La Saison noir*<sup>46</sup> pass with me more heavily than usual. For with whom can I talk more openly & comfortably about Politics and our favourite arts of music, painting, &c than with personages of such sound principles, taste, & candour?

I fear that existing circumstances, with respect to War,<sup>47</sup> are not auspicious to us in any part of Europe, nor indeed America, or Africa. The French seem to be again triumphant in Egypt.<sup>48</sup> Jacobinism<sup>49</sup> thrives with

<sup>43</sup> Charles Brudenell-Bruce (1773–1856), Lord Bruce, married (1793) 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.

<sup>44</sup> In June 1798, CB had been forced to move from the first to the second floor. His apartment, located just below the attic, comprised two bedrooms, two parlours, a small kitchen, and some closets (*LCB* iii. 591, n. 1935). The view from his bedroom window was of the hospital's burial ground where his second wife was interred in 1796 (Henry B. Wheatley, *London Past and Present: Its History, Associations, and Traditions* (1891), i. 385).

<sup>45</sup> Lord Bruce's father, Thomas Brudenell-Bruce (1729–1814), 2nd Baron Bruce of Tottenham (1747), 1st Earl of Ailesbury (1776), Governor to the Prince of Wales (1776), Chamberlain to the Queen (1780), Lord Chamberlain (1781–92), Treasurer (1792–1814).

<sup>46</sup> The dark season.

<sup>47</sup> The War of the Second Coalition consisting of Russia, Great Britain, Austria, Portugal, Sweden, the Ottoman Empire, and the Kingdom of Naples versus France and Spain.

<sup>48</sup> French troops under General Kléber occupied Egypt at this time.

<sup>49</sup> The Society of the Friends of the Constitution or Jacobin Club, led by Maximilien Robespierre (1758–94), was one of the most radical political groups in the French Revolution.

their partisans in America; & in Europe they are over-running Germany, & Italy seems again likely to be conquered by Bonaparte!<sup>50</sup> I fear that France will continue to be too powerful for all Europe, as she has been, by land, ever since the Revolution.

I wish your Lordship & Lady Bruce had been in Town to hear Haydn's Oratorio performed the 3<sup>d</sup> time, under the direction of Salomon.<sup>51</sup> It was previously attempted at Covent Garden by the common Oratorio band & singers;<sup>52</sup> but as I knew it w<sup>d</sup> not have justice done it, I w<sup>d</sup> not go. If I had leisure I c<sup>d</sup> write a folio dissertation on the excellence of this divine Music, & the intelligence, the mind, & conceptions, of the matchless composer! The Handelians, who are most of them utterly unable to judge of Handel's real merit,<sup>53</sup> & all jealous of that of others—with pert & flippant *soi-disant connoisseurs* of the Old School, have handed it about, as a *bon mot*, that the opening of the *Creation* is so confused, that "Chaos is come again." But instead of a sarcasm this is the greatest comp<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> they c<sup>d</sup> pay Haydn: for it may be asked, what *sh<sup>d</sup>* be come again but *Chaos*, when Chaos is to be described? Were sounds but to be arranged in Harmonic & Symmetric order, before order was born? It struck me as the most sublime idea in Haydn's work that he had represented the birth of order by Dissonance, & broken phrases—a whisper here—an effort at existence there—a groan—an agonizing cry—personifying Nature, & supporting her in labour, how admirably has he described her throes! not by rare consonance, & graceful melod<y>, but by appropriate sounds, w<sup>ch</sup> applied to any other purpose w<sup>d</sup> be little better than Jargon; but w<sup>ch</sup> here *in loco*, are sublimely beautiful! Yet if the hearer does not help the

<sup>50</sup> Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821), First Consul, would leave Paris on 6 May and travel across the St Bernard Pass in the French Alps into Italy between 20 and 24 May to surprise the Austrian troops.

<sup>51</sup> Johann Peter Salomon (1745–1815), German violinist, conductor, and composer:

On 29 Mar. the following card had appeared in most of the daily newspapers: Mr Salomon having received from Dr Haydn an early Copy of his New Oratorio called *The Creation of the World*, and having been favoured by him exclusively with particular directions on the style and manner in which it must be executed, in order to produce the effects required by the Author, begs to acquaint the Nobility and Gentry, that he means to perform it on Monday, the 21st of April next, at the King's Theatre.

(*London Stage* 5 iii. 2261)

<sup>52</sup> On 28 February. Despite CB's misgivings, *The Sun* published a favourable review: '*The Creation*, a Composition by Haydn, never before performed in England, was last night brought forward by Mr. Ashley... It met with a very favourable reception throughout' (29 March 1800).

<sup>53</sup> See, for example, the review in the *Morning Herald*, 29 March 1800, which saw the piece as 'not equal in grandeur to the divine compositions of the immortal Handel' while conceding that it was, 'nevertheless, on the whole, a very charming production'.

composer, musical imitation at best is so feeble, that his designs & conceptions will never be understood. But if this is not picturesque Music, it is in vain ever to be attempted. When dissonance is tuned, when order arises, & Chaos is no more, what pleasing, ingenious, and graceful melody & harmony ensue! What a new & powerful effect had the first Chorus (always encoired) on the feeling part of the audience! Who at all the 3 performances,<sup>54</sup> unable to stay till it was finished, to give way to rapture; broke in upon the performers with impassioned applause, before the movement was ended. And what a *flash* of harmony on the last word of the sublime text of genuine Scripture: “Let there be light, & there was LIGHT!”

But though professors & a few other real judges of good composition, & new effects, are enthusiastic admirers of this Oratorio, “it is caviar to the multitude”<sup>55</sup>—the public, in the cant of modern language, is *not up to it*, & must *learn to hear* this Music, as well as the performers to execute it.

The subscribers books are not yet arrived.

This Oratorio is a Phenomenon—and another, of a different kind, applauded on the stage in the Opera of Zenobia, last Thursday at Banti’s benefit.<sup>56</sup> The composer of this drama is no less a personage th[an] the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe.<sup>57</sup> This opera being performed for the benefit of our favorite Singer, and perceiving a great disposition to sneer at the composer, I went into the Pit, determined from my old acquaintance with & respect for the Dowager Lady M. E.<sup>58</sup> to endeavour to avert disgrace as much as possible, & begged of those around me who applied for

<sup>54</sup> The second performance was at Covent Garden Theatre on 2 April (*London Stage* 5 iii. 2260).

<sup>55</sup> i.e. ‘above their comprehension, unappreciated by them’ (A. Wallace, *Popular Sayings Dissected* (New York, 1895), 89. Cf. *Hamlet*: ‘’twas caviary to the general’ (2.2.461).

<sup>56</sup> Brigida Giorgi (1755–1806), Italian soprano, married (1779) dancer Zaccaria Banti (c.1756–1836) whom she met in London. She was the principal soprano at the King’s Theatre from 1794 until 1802 (Bruce Carr, ‘Banti, Brigida Giorgi’, OMO; *LCB* i. 230 nn. 11 and 12). On 22 May 1800, *The Times* advertised, as a benefit for Madame Banti, a performance at the King’s Theatre of ‘a New Serious Opera, called, *Zenobia of Armenia*; the Poetry by Melastino [sic], and the Music entirely new, composed by an English Gentleman’. Lord Mount Edgcumbe later wrote that Banti ‘flattered me highly by desiring to perform for her benefit an opera of my composition, which on private trial she had found to suit her voice’ (*Musical Reminiscences of the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe*, 4th edn (1834), 81).

<sup>57</sup> Richard Edgcumbe (1764–1839), 2nd Earl of Mount Edgcumbe (1795), musical amateur and composer. See George Biddelcombe, ‘Mount Edgcumbe, Richard, 2nd Earl’, OMO.

<sup>58</sup> Emma (1729–1807), daughter of John Gilbert (1693–1761), Archbishop of York (1757), married (1761) the Honourable George Edgcumbe (1720–95), M.P. for Fowey (1746–61), 1st Earl of Mount Edgcumbe (1789).

an opinion, to listen, & give way to their own feelings. And upon the whole, it was much better than was expected, & was very fairly heard. There were no strokes of original genius or learning hazarded in the melody; harmony, or modulation; yet there was nothing to offend. And though most of the passages had been heard before at the opera house, there was nothing vulgar in them. Without studying composition regularly, memory had furnished the author of the music w<sup>th</sup> pretty commonplace; & it must appear to candid judges, that his Lordship has kept *good company*: as no street or playhouse passages occurred. It was very well performed, & the Banti (for whom good composition is less wanted than for ordinary singers) was admirable! Having had an opportunity given to her by thin & simple accomp<sup>s</sup> to display her exquisite voice.

But my letter is becoming enormous by its length; & I must hasten to acquaint your Lordship why I presumed to break into your peaceful retirement, w<sup>ch</sup> in the heat of musical criticism I had nearly forgotten. In the last letter with w<sup>ch</sup> your Lordship kindly honoured me,<sup>59</sup> you had the goodness to say that when it sh<sup>d</sup> again be my turn to have the music graduates<sup>60</sup> to dine with me, you w<sup>d</sup> furnish me with something out of the Park or field with w<sup>ch</sup> to grace & ameliorate my homely fare. Now as the lot falls to me to give a dinner to my graduate brethren on Wed<sup>y</sup> the 11<sup>th</sup> of June; If at this time of the year, your Lordship has anything of the kind to bestow (of the probability of w<sup>ch</sup> I have my doubts) it w<sup>d</sup> be of great use to myself, & a regale to my company.

I beg permission to present my humble respects to Lady Bruce, and anxious wishes for her Ladyship's health & happiness, including the sweet little inhabitants of the nursery;<sup>61</sup> and have the honour to be with the highest respect & regard

My Lord,  
Your Lordship's most obliged  
and very affectionate Servant.  
Cha<sup>s</sup> Burney.

<sup>59</sup> Missing.

<sup>60</sup> The Society of Musical Graduates, a small group of musicians with university degrees in music, founded in 1790. The society's first president was Samuel Arnold. See Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750–1850: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 67.

<sup>61</sup> At this time, Lord and Lady Bruce had four children: Maria Caroline Anne (1794–1835), Augusta Frances Frederica Louisa (1795–1869), Mary Anne Jemima (1797–1841), and Emily Henrietta Matilda (1799–1803).

Royal Hospital, Chelsea  
26 May 1800

To Muzio Clementi

ALS (Library of Congress, Music Division, ML95.B9285)

*Addressed:* To / M<sup>r</sup> Clementi / n<sup>o</sup> 26. Cheapside.

*Pmk:* o'Clock [26] MY [1]800 Pimlico Unpaid Penny Post

*Endorsed:* D<sup>r</sup> Burney 26 May 1800

*Annotated:* promised Mr C—would write to him when he had heard from Haydn re my 1000—[xxxxx 1 word]

Chelsea College, May 26<sup>th</sup> 1800.

Dear Sir.

Being informed that the score of Haydn's Oratorio, *Creation*, is consigned to your house, & finding the subscribers grow impatient for their books, I take the liberty of begging you to inform me when I may tell my friends who have favoured me w<sup>th</sup> their names, you think the books will arrive, & be ready to deliver.

D<sup>r</sup> Haydn wrote to me last summer to desire I w<sup>d</sup> procure him subscribers; but almost every one who was likely to patronize such a work was then gone out of town so that I c<sup>d</sup> do little till after Christmas, when people returned to the Capital. Since that time I have increased the N<sup>o</sup> of my subscribers to 73 or 4, whose names and residence<s> I shall transmit to you & M<sup>r</sup> Longman, as soon as I hear the books are in your possession.<sup>62</sup> I have rec<sup>d</sup> no money from any of the subscribers, as none was required by the author till the delivery of the several copies of the work.

I sent D<sup>r</sup> H. 34 names soon after X<sup>mas</sup> and in Mar. 14 more in a letter w<sup>ch</sup> Salomon was then writing to him.<sup>63</sup> These, in all probability, will have arrived in time to be printed—the rest I have transmitted to Vienna in a

<sup>62</sup> In *Memoirs*, CB notes: 'I procured him more subscribers to that sublime effort of genius—the *Creation*, than all his other friends, whether at home or abroad, put together' (iii. 393).

<sup>63</sup> Both letters are missing. Salomon was arranging with Haydn to have the score of *The Creation* sent to London for a public performance.