

## **The McGill Burney Project**

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## The McGill Burney Project

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It is probable that most Burney aficionados are familiar with Frances (Fanny) Burney mainly, or entirely, through her novels—*Evelina* (1778), *Cecilia* (1782), *Camilla* (1796), and *The Wanderer* (1814). For a good part of the 19th and 20th centuries, however, she was better known for her voluminous journals and letters. The topic of my paper is the McGill Burney Project, which for the past 40 years has been preparing modern unabridged and unexpurgated editions of these journals and letters, which stretch from 1768 (when Fanny turned 16) to 1839, the year before her death at the age of 87.<sup>1</sup>

The Burney Project for the past 17 years has been housed in the Redpath Library at McGill University, in the so-called Burney Room, which is actually a large working area with two inner offices. One office belongs to me, director of the Project and general editor of *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney* (Oxford: Clarendon Press and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988- ). The other is reserved for visiting scholars, one of whom is Prof. Alvaro Ribeiro of Georgetown University, my associate director, who is editing *The Letters of Dr Charles Burney* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991- ), Fanny's father.

Dr. Burney was a musician who emerged from provincial obscurity to become 18th-century England's most noted music historian.

Fanny emerged from his shadow with the publication of *Evelina*, her first novel, and from that time on equalled and even surpassed him in fame. Both father and daughter were voluminous letter writers. When Dr. Burney died in 1814 at the age of 88, he left behind him a huge correspondence and also memoirs which it fell to Fanny's lot to sift through for possible publication.

Fanny spent the last decades of her life going through Dr. Burney's papers and her own with an eye to posterity. In 1832 she published her last work, *Memoirs of Doctor Burney* (London: Edward Moxon), which is in fact mostly her own narrative interspersed with carefully selected excerpts from Dr. Burney's manuscript memoirs, much of which she destroyed. At her death she bequeathed her own journals and correspondence to her niece, Mrs. Charlotte Barrett, and her father's papers to her nephew, Charles Parr Burney. Mrs. Barrett published an incomplete edition of her aunt's journals and letters in the 1840s (later reprinted with notes by Austin Dobson).<sup>2</sup> Prof. Sabor has spoken about Dobson and also about Mrs. Annie Raine Ellis, who published *The Early Diary of Frances Burney* (London: George Bell) in 1889.<sup>3</sup> Except for some items in the *Memoirs* and occasional pieces in scholarly books and journals, the letters of Dr. Burney were unpublished until 1991, with the appearance of the first volume of Prof. Ribeiro's projected complete edition.

Dr. Burney's letters and other papers, bequeathed to Charles Parr Burney, remained in that branch of the family until 1953 when they were released on the market along with other Burney family material that had accrued over the years. The letters (and the rest of the material) were purchased by the American collector James Marshall Osborn and are now in the Osborn Collection in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscripts Library, Yale University. Fanny's journals and letters descended through Mrs. Barrett to the Wauchope family. In 1924 a large part of the Wauchope manuscripts was purchased by the American lawyer and industrialist Owen Young, who later transferred them to the Berg Collection in the New York Public Library. The residue of the Wauchope cache remained in the possession of Miss Ann Julia Wauchope, who in 1952 authorized its transfer to the British Library.

Enter Joyce Hemlow, the architect of modern Burney studies and founder of the McGill Burney Project. Dr. Hemlow became interested in Fanny Burney while a graduate student at Harvard in the late 1940s. Under the direction of the eminent Pope scholar George Sherburn she

wrote her dissertation on "Fanny Burney and the Courtesy Books" (Diss. Harvard, 1948). In the meantime the Burney materials in the Berg Collection had become available to scholars. After she came to the McGill English Department in 1948 the Osborn materials surfaced. In addition, Dr. Hemlow was the prime mover in the uncovering of the papers possessed by Miss Wauchope, who responded to a query sent out by Hemlow to descendants of the Burney and Barrett families. It was Joyce Hemlow whom Miss Wauchope entrusted with arranging the transfer of the Wauchope materials to the British Library. Equipped with a mass of manuscript materials never before available, Dr. Hemlow now embarked on the writing of a badly needed scholarly biography of Fanny Burney. Dr. Hemlow's work, *The History of Fanny Burney*, was published by the Clarendon Press of Oxford University in 1958. It met with critical acclaim, winning the James Tait Black Memorial Prize in Britain and, in Canada, the Governor-General's Award for Biography.

It is appropriate that Fanny Burney was a friend of Frances Bowdler, sister of the Thomas Bowdler of "Bowdlerizing" fame (or infamy). For Dr. Hemlow's examination of the Burney papers revealed the pains the elderly Fanny had taken to destroy or otherwise suppress "offensive" materials. Fanny was concerned not so much with "indecentencies" (though they are there) as with suppressing materials that might portray the Burneys in an unfavorable light or cause offense to the families of other people mentioned. Dr. Burney had begun this process of destruction when, after his second wife's death in 1796, he burned all his correspondence with her. Also fed to the flames were most of the letters of his early patron Fulke Greville, with whom he eventually had suffered a permanent breach. After Dr. Burney's death Fanny went through her own journals as well and destroyed large portions. For example, her journals of 1768 to 1777 amount to some 800 manuscript pages, but (judging by remaining stubs and other evidence) probably at least another 400 pages were burned. In addition, about 20% of the surviving text has been laboriously crossed out, line by line, with heavy black ink.

Fanny's ghost would no doubt be horrified to discover that 95% of these lines, which she thought she had obliterated, have now been deciphered after long, painful scrutiny under a magnifying glass and a strong light. To be sure, these recovered lines indicate that her intentions were not simply of the whitewashing variety. In some cases she merely tried to get rid of material she thought might be boring or repetitious to future readers (such as accounts of business details relating to her books

or of concerts attended in London). But in many instances skeletons come rattling out of closets. For instance, a suppressed paragraph reveals that in 1770 Fanny's stepsister Maria Allen was jilted by her suitor Martin Rishton.<sup>4</sup> This fact might seem inconsequential since Rishton later made up with Maria and romantically eloped with her to Ypres. Fanny, however, was unable to bring herself to destroy Maria's letters to her, since Fanny loved her stepsister, and Maria's letters of 1798, now in the Berg Collection, reveal that Rishton had been carrying on a lengthy affair with Maria's erstwhile best friend Mrs. Dorothy (Dolly) Hogg, whose name, with one accidental exception, is entirely suppressed from Fanny's journals. Rishton's early jilt takes on a new significance in the light of his later philandering.

The consequences for biography of this kind of cloaking are obvious. An example is G. E. Manwaring's biography of Fanny's elder brother James Burney, published in 1931 under the title, *My Friend the Admiral: The Life, Letters and Journals of Rear-Admiral James Burney, F.R.S.* (London: Routledge). The main title is in fact a quotation from Charles Lamb, whom Burney befriended in his later years. Fanny herself was very proud of referring to him as "my brother, Admiral Burney." This is in spite of the fact that Burney did not receive his promotion to Rear-Admiral until an old man, only four months before his death. And despite the fact that he had not been allowed an active command in the navy for almost 40 years (this during the period of the Napoleonic Wars!). Manwaring, handicapped by a lack of evidence, fails to address the issue of this forced inactivity, merely dismissing it as an "enigma" (234). Suppressed passages in Fanny's journals, however, and a closer examination of Admiralty records reveal that James Burney had a history of insubordination culminating in his failure to obey a superior's orders while convoying a fleet of merchant vessels to the East Indies. Small wonder, then, that he was eased out of active service and never trusted again with a command. Other suppressed passages and newly surfaced letters in the Burney Papers disclose that as a young officer with Captain Cook James Burney had (not so surprisingly) a "Piece" (meaning a woman) in Tahiti (letter of Samuel Crisp to Fanny Burney, 22 Aug. 1775, British Library), and, far more damningly to a proto-Victorian like Fanny, that in 1797, though married with two children, he succumbed to an apparently incestuous impulse and ran off with his half-sister Sarah Harriet Burney. In the light of these subsequent revelations of Burney's

character, Manwaring's biography of "the Admiral," though fairly well researched, becomes little better than hagiography.

Long before concluding her biography of Fanny, it had therefore become evident to Dr. Hemlow that for a number of major reasons, a new edition of Fanny's journals and letters was called for. Not only was Mrs. Barrett's seven-volume edition grossly incomplete, containing, by conservative estimate, less than a third of the extant material, but the depredations by both Fanny and Mrs. Barrett on the surviving text needed to be rectified. (Added to Fanny's obliterations and revisions were Mrs. Barrett's shuffling of the papers out of proper chronological order and her attacks with scissors and glue-pot, whereby she sometimes cut up three different letters and combined parts thereof into a "new" one!) Even Mrs. Ellis's relatively admirable edition of the earliest years was marred by her failure to decipher the 4,000 obliterated lines in the manuscripts. A new edition was needed of (as far as possible) Fanny's original text, complete and unexpurgated, with modern, full annotations. (Mrs. Ellis's annotations are full in their way but highly digressive and often inaccurate. Mrs. Barrett's notes are cursory, at best, and Dobson's, though occasionally useful, are also sparse).

After the publication of her biography, then, Dr. Hemlow began the long and arduous task of preparing the new edition. McGill gave her as working space the octagonal room in Morrice Hall (formerly the reading room of the Presbyterian College). Here she was joined in her labors by colleagues and students from the English Department. The Department also granted her funds to hire a project secretary, and so she was joined by Mrs. Patricia Hawkins, who would loyally and efficiently serve as her secretary and editorial assistant for over 20 years.

A major task at the outset was to track down all the surviving correspondence of the Burney family that was not in the three major Burney collections. Casting her net as widely as possible, Dr. Hemlow dispatched queries to some 3,000 libraries and archives around the world. Eventually letters or groups of letters turned up in a hundred collections, public and private, from geographically as far away as Sydney, Australia. The results of her search were published by the New York Public Library and the McGill-Queen's University Press as *A Catalogue of the Burney Family Correspondence* (New York and Montreal, 1971). Listing some 10,000 letters, the catalogue begins with a note (now at Harvard) to Dr. Burney from the poet Christopher Smart, dated 29 July 1749, and concludes with a letter in the Osborn Collection of 24 April 1878 by Mrs.

Barrett's son Richard Arthur Francis Barrett. Besides the letters of four generations of Burneys, there are letters by over a thousand people who wrote to them. But the largest correspondences by far are those of Dr. Burney and of Fanny Burney.

A concurrent, major task was to obtain copies of the correspondences of Dr. Burney and of Fanny, to be used for the editing work at McGill. The result is to be found in the Burney Room's fireproof safe, containing over 120 microfilm reels, and in several filing cabinets filled with photocopies. Additional letters had to be transcribed on the spot, since filming was not permitted in certain collections. Letters on film or photocopy then were transcribed in the Burney Room by a succession of typists. Transcription of the 10,000 manuscript pages of Fanny Burney's journals and letters took over 20 years to complete.

At the outset Dr. Hemlow as faced with the same dilemma that had confronted Mrs. Barrett over a century earlier: how to contend with the sheer magnitude of Fanny's journals. Mrs. Barrett's publisher, Henry Colburn, had quickly made it clear that it would be impossible to publish them all. As a result, Mrs. Barrett skipped over the first ten years, which Fanny called her "juvenile journals," beginning her edition with the publication of *Evelina* in 1778. She also chose to concentrate on the period up to 1791 (which includes the so-called "Streatham years" and the years of Fanny's service at Court), besides choosing selectively from that period. Thus she was able to limit her edition to seven volumes, with approximately five devoted to the years of Fanny's greatest fame, when the astonishing success of *Evelina* was still a recent memory.

Given the existence of Mrs. Ellis's edition of the decade 1768-77 and the paucity of space allotted by Mrs. Barrett to the years after 1791, Dr. Hemlow decided to begin her new edition with Fanny's exit from Court in 1791. Thus her edition covers in effect roughly the latter half of Fanny's life, the years of her marriage to General d'Arbly and of her widowhood. Fanny's constant devotion to her journal-writing is evidenced by the fact that the 10,000 surviving manuscript pages of her journals divide almost equally between the two halves of her life. Starting as she was, therefore, in 1791, Dr. Hemlow initially set her typists the task of transcribing the 5,000 pages of the later period. Their work was considerably slowed down, of course, because of the need to examine concurrently the original manuscripts in order to decipher obliterations and to undo the cutting and pasting work of Mrs. Barrett (accomplished by "float-off" operations in the New York Public Library

and the British Library, which I will talk about later). Dr. Hemlow also undertook the annotation of the journals, necessitating frequent and lengthy trips to libraries, record offices and archives in the United States and England, where she consulted manuscript materials as well as unique or rare book sources. Work was also necessary in France because of the years Fanny spent there.

Dr. Hemlow's edition of *The Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney (Madame D'Arblay), 1791-1839*, began to appear in 1972 with the publication by Clarendon of the first two-volume installment. Like her biography of Fanny, these volumes were greeted with critical praise. Reviewers such as C. P. Snow and Malcolm Muggeridge were "enthralled"<sup>5</sup> by the unfolding narrative of Fanny's journals and impressed by the editor's job of restoration and the thoroughness and accuracy of her annotations. Ten more volumes were to follow (the last appearing in 1984), some edited by Dr. Hemlow with or without assistance and others by outside scholars whom she had enlisted.

Fanny's letters and journals have been justly famous ever since their first publication in the 1840's. Dr. Burney's letters, on the other hand, except for an item here and there, languished in unpublished obscurity until 1991. Before that date they remained arguably the last major unpublished correspondence of the 18th century. They contain a wealth of information about contemporary composers and musicians, besides revealing important aspects of Burney's musical thought not found elsewhere. His letters also offer a major gloss on the genesis of his magnum opus, the *General History of Music* (London, 1776-89), which remains to this day perhaps the single most important source for music historians of the 18th century. The informal letters he penned to family and friends are written in a lively and entertaining style, punctuated by sallies of wit and imagination.

In 1975 Prof. Ribeiro, then a doctoral candidate at Oxford, came to the Burney Project for a year to undertake an edition of the earliest letters as his dissertation. He published his dissertation (Diss. Oxford, 1980) in 1991 as the first volume of his projected 4-volume edition of Burney's letters. The publisher, as for Prof. Hemlow, is the Clarendon Press of Oxford. Another Burney project is an edition of *The Memoirs of Dr. Charles Burney* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), reconstituted from the autograph fragments left by Fanny and now scattered among the Berg and Osborn Collections and the British



Library. This edition was done by Prof. Slava Klima of McGill, Garry Bowers, and Dr. Kerry Grant.

Turning again to Fanny: As work progressed on the 12-volume edition of Fanny's later Journals, it became evident to Dr. Hemlow that another hand would be needed to edit the early years. Accordingly, I was offered an appointment in the English Department in 1976, with the understanding that I would undertake the editing of the 5,000 manuscript pages of the early years. This opportunity was given to me because of my background as co-editor of three volumes (vols. 37-39) of *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937-83), 48 volumes in all, general editor Wilmarth Lewis. I had also edited Walpole's last literary notebook, which I presented in 1976 as my dissertation at Yale (and which was published by the Yale University Press in 1978 as *Horace Walpole's Miscellany, 1786-1795*). Walpole and Burney were acquaintances and admired each other's works. Aided by generous annual grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, I began the transcription and editing of the early journals, employing a succession of McGill graduate students as my assistants.

Before this could be started, it was first necessary to perform yet another "float-off" operation on the manuscripts in the Berg Collection in New York. As I mentioned earlier, this operation had previously been performed on the Burney manuscripts in the British Library and the Berg, but the Berg operation had been limited to the journals from 1791 onwards. This time around, it was necessary to repair the damage inflicted by Mrs. Barrett on the earlier journals in the Berg. The operation, as its name suggests, involves literally the soaking of manuscript leaves in pans of tepid water until the pieces of paper pasted on them "float off." The leaves and "paste-overs" are then allowed to dry, and microfilmed for later transcription. The latest (and last) operation was performed by Mrs. Althea Douglas in 1979. In the 2,500 leaves or 5,000 pages of 1768-91 there were over a thousand paste-overs on some 500 leaves. The paste-overs thus removed consist mostly either of blank pieces of paper used by Mrs. Barrett to cover the text beneath, or of fragments of leaves (usually with writing on both sides) transposed from other places in the run of manuscripts. Once the manuscripts had been floated for this final time, it was at last possible to finish the job of transcribing all the extant text of Fanny's journals. My assistants finished their work in 1983, but then had to scan and re-enter all the

transcriptions unto computer, taking another 5 years or so, as I led the Burney Project into the computer age.

Even with all the pasted-over leaves floated, however, there still remained, in this first phase of my work, the chore of deciphering the 4,000 lines Fanny had attempted to obliterate in the first decade of her journals. Fanny's "oblits" had proven stubbornly opaque to the methods of modern science, including the use of infrared light and even nuclear activation auto radiography, attempted unsuccessfully on a letter by Fanny in the Osborn which was sent to the Brookhaven Laboratory on Long Island. Fortunately, timely help arrived in the person of Dr. James Neil Waddell who had written his dissertation at the University of Leicester on "The Language of Fanny Burney" and who now volunteered to decipher Fanny's oblits. Armed with a magnifying glass, a strong light, and his knowledge of Fanny's idiom, Dr. Waddell was able, over a period of a month, to recover an astounding 95% of the obliterated lines, restoring the 20% of the surviving text of the first ten years that had been rendered illegible. (The deciphered obliterations amount to perhaps a hundred published pages). As I noted earlier, these recovered passages contain much valuable material that had been effectively "lost" for over 150 years

In the meantime I had begun my annotations of the early journals. This work necessitated several trips a year to Yale and the New York Public Library to examine the manuscripts there and books not available at McGill. In addition, between 1980 and 1983 I spent a total of four months in England consulting materials in the British and Bodleian Libraries and in numerous other record offices and archives in London and the provinces. Especially valuable were my examinations of manuscript sources. A principal goal for me was to discover as much as I could about Fanny's earliest friends and acquaintances, the people she knew during her formative years. Thus, by examining archives in King's Lynn and Norwich, I learned much about the physician George Hepburn of Lynn and his family, who were friends of the Burneys in Lynn. The Pringle family were neighbors of the Burneys in Poland St., and by examining his will and other records in the India Office Library I discovered the subsequent history of young Andrew Pringle, who joined the Bengal Army in 1770, rose to the rank of captain, and married his colonel's daughter, but only after fathering two children by two different native women, whom he provides for in his testament. New information about Fanny's own family was also forthcoming. For example, the logs

of the *Aquilon* in the Public Record Office, a ship on which James Burney served as a young man, contain evidence of insubordination in the form of his pay being withheld for 2 months after the ship's return to England. On a later trip to England I examined the rate books for York Street, where two of Fanny's aunts lived. This helped me to the discovery, corroborated by other evidence, that Dr. Burney actually owned a coffee-house, Gregg's, in York St. and that his sisters managed it for him. Dr. Burney in "trade"! This was too much for Fanny, who did everything possible to suppress the fact in her journals.

My initial work on the journals was greatly facilitated by a Fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities, which gave me a year off from my teaching duties (in 1981-82). As a result I was able virtually to complete my researches on the first two volumes. The first volume of *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney*, covering 1768 to 1773, appeared in 1988, co-published by the Clarendon and the McGill-Queen's Presses. This volume begins with Fanny's famous address "To Miss Nobody" and records her early years in Poland Street and Queen Square. In these years she is mostly observer, charting the achievements of her father, commenting on the romances of her sister Esther and stepsister Maria, and describing visits by notable family friends such as David Garrick and Christopher Smart. Volume 2 (1774-77), published in 1990, shows her life in St Martin's Street as she secretly works on her first novel, *Evelina*, records the visits of exotic figures such as Omai, the first Tahitian brought back to England, and asserts her independence against her family by rebuffing a wealthy but boring suitor, Thomas Barlow. Volume 3, covering 1778-79 and published in 1994, I edited with Dr. Stewart Cooke, who over the years has been my right-hand man on the Project. Beginning with the publication of *Evelina*, this volume records Fanny's overnight transformation into a celebrity and her befriending by Hester Lynch Thrale and Samuel Johnson. It also records the still-birth of Fanny's first play, *The Witlings*, which she withdrew because of her father's and Samuel Crisp's fears that it would antagonize the powerful and influential bluestockings. Much of her time during these years was spent at Streatham Park, the seat of Hester's husband Henry Thrale. Volume 4, covering 1780-81 and edited by Prof. Betty Rizzo, is now at the Press. In this volume Fanny describes her first extended visit to Bath, work on her second novel *Cecilia*, and the decline and death of Henry Thrale, marking the end of the "Streatham Years." Currently I am turning my

attention to Volume 5 (1782-83), edited again with Dr. Cooke. Volume 6 (1784-86) is being edited by Prof. John Abbott of the University of Connecticut. I have fortunately just been awarded my second National Endowment for the Humanities Research Fellowship, this time for work on volumes 5 and 6.

The three published volumes of the edition have been well received. Volume 1 was nominated for the Gottschalk Prize of the American Society for 18th-Century Studies, and Volume 3 for the Morton Cohen Award of the Modern Language Association. The entire edition will be in 12 volumes. I currently envision volumes 6-12 as a separate unit, to be called *The Court Journals of Fanny Burney, 1786-1791*, when she was Second Keeper of the Robes to Queen Charlotte. In the meantime Prof. Sabor and I, with the help of Dr. Cooke, are preparing a Penguin Classics edition of *Selected Journals and Letters of Frances Burney*. We are trying of course to select the passages that are the most entertaining and revealing, from Fanny's girlish fantasies of love to her portraits of Dr. Johnson, her account of being chased by the King at Kew, her horrifying description of her mastectomy without anesthetic at the age of 59, and so on. Not the least challenge of this book is the task of whittling 24 volumes of materials down to one! While I am recommending books, I might also mention Prof. Sabor's recent edition of *The Complete Plays of Frances Burney* (London: Pickering, 1995), most of them never before published, and Dr. Cooke's new Norton Critical Edition of *Evelina* (New York: Norton, 1998). Besides Dr. Cooke, I want to mention another former graduate assistant on the Project, Dr. Nancy Johnson, who went on to work as a researcher for the *Yale Edition of the Papers of James Boswell*, and who is now an assistant professor at SUNY-New Paltz. Other former students on the Project have gone on to various editing jobs, such as for Time-Life.

The personnel in the Burney Room currently consists of myself, Dr. Cooke, and Lisa Saroli, a McGill M.A. candidate doing as her thesis an edition of one month of Fanny's Court Journals, at the time of King George's "madness." The Project is periodically visited by students and scholars from other institutions, who come to utilize its valuable research materials. Eminent visitors other than Burney specialists have included, for example, the noted music scholar and conductor Christopher Hogwood and Professor Doctor H.-J. Müllenbrock, holder of the Chair of

Modern English Literature at the Georg-August University in Göttingen, Germany.

Major holdings in the Burney Room include virtually complete microfilm runs of the Burney family manuscripts in the Berg and Osborn Collections and the British Library, and photocopies or microfilms of all the correspondence of Dr. Burney and of Fanny Burney. In addition, there are filing cabinets filled with information gleaned from fifty years of hunts through wills, parish registers and other unique archival materials, as well as notes, quotations and other data taken from rare published works in the Bodleian and other major research libraries in Britain and the United States. The books in the Burney Room are a mixture of items owned by myself and works on loan from the McLennan Library, McGill's research library for the humanities and social sciences. Items in the first category worth mentioning include my complete set of the *Gentleman's Magazine* and my 48-volume set of *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*. Works on loan from the McLennan include a complete run of *The Annual Register*, early editions of various peerages (Burke, Debrett, Cokayne), lists of the alumni of Oxford, Cambridge, Eton and Westminster, numerous biographies of 18th-century figures, editions of the letters or correspondences of Swift, Pope, Johnson, Burke, Gibbon and others, an original set of *Rees's Cyclopaedia* (to which Dr. Burney contributed the musical articles), and many other books on virtually all aspects of 18th-century life and culture.

The Project's resources are open to all serious scholars and graduate students and, in general, may be consulted on weekdays between the hours of 10 and 5. As suggested earlier, they should prove useful to anyone interested in the 18th century (as well as the early 19th century), but will be of particular value to students of 18th-century social, musical and literary history, and, more specifically still, to people wanting to learn more about the Burneys and their circle, which included so many of the major figures of their time.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>This paper is a slightly emended version of my talk delivered to the meeting of the Burney Society at Quebec in Oct. 1998. It is also an updating of my article, "A History and Description of the Burney Project," *Fontanus*, 1 (1988) 37-49.

<sup>2</sup>*Diary and Letters of Madame d'Arblay*, ed. Charlotte Barrett (London: Henry Colburn, 1842-6), and *Diary and Letters of Madame d'Arblay*, ed. Austin Dobson (London: Macmillan, 1904-5).

<sup>3</sup>Prof. Sabor's address to the Burney Society has been published as "Annie Raine Ellis, Austin Dobson, and the Rise of Burney Studies," *The Burney Journal*, 1 (1998) 25-45.

<sup>4</sup>Lars E. Troide, ed., *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988- ) I:142.

<sup>5</sup>The term is Muggeridge's. See his review in *The Observer*, 23 April 1972.