

The Women's Print History Project

# Oh! Those Fashionable Burney Novels! The WPHP Monthly Mercury

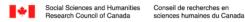
Produced by Kate Moffatt and Kandice Sharren Mixed and mastered by Alexander Kennard Transcribed by Hanieh Ghaderi and Sara Penn Music by Ignatius Sancho, "Sweetest Bard," A Collection of New Songs (1769), played by Kandice Sharren

Project Director: Michelle Levy (Simon Fraser University)

Moffatt, Kate, and Kandice Sharren, hosts. "Oh! Those Fashionable Burney Novels!" The WPHP Monthly Mercury, Season 2, Episode 1, 16 June 2021, https://womensprinthistoryproject.com/blog/post/76.

PDF Edited: 22 April 2024

This podcast draws on research supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Digital Humanities Innovation Lab at Simon Fraser University.

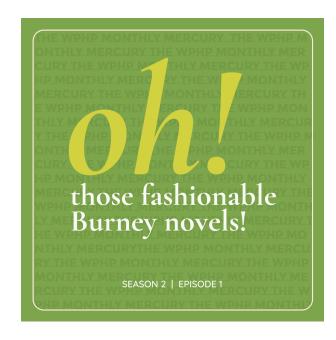






# Oh! Those Fashionable Burney Novels!

Kate Moffatt and Kandice Sharren



At the age of eight, Frances Burney didn't know her letters; at the age of ten, she penned a novel which is now lost, "The History of Caroline Evelyn"; at the age of eighteen, she was friends with Hester Thrale and Samuel Johnson; and at the age of twenty-six, she anonymously published *Evelina*, which, when her identity as the author was revealed soon after, thrust her into a writing career that would span decades and a fame that would last centuries (ODNB).

In the first episode of Season 2 of *The WPHP Monthly Mercury*, "Oh! those fashionable Burney novels!", hosts Kate Moffatt and Kandice Sharren delve into the publication history of Frances Burney's first two (and most popular) novels, *Evelina* (1778) and *Cecilia* (1782). Although both were regularly reprinted well into the nineteenth century, we recently realized that the WPHP was missing the post-1800 editions of these works (although it did already hold all of the editions of her two far less popular novels, *Camilla* (1796) and *The Wanderer* (1814)—thank goodness!). In this episode, we explore why these titles were missing and our subsequent task: creating an as-comprehensive-as-we-can-make-it bibliography of Frances Burney's novels up to 1836.

Join us as we share Burney's writerly life story, the reception history of her works and their critical rise and fall, the challenges we faced in attempting to collect the bibliographic data for every edition of Burney's works up until 1836, and what it is, exactly, that this kind of work can tell us—about a writer, about their reception history, about their publishers, and about the complexities of uncovering a full publication history even for a well-documented eighteenth-century woman author like Frances Burney.

To see all of the editions, check out Frances Burney's person record, which lists and links to every Burney edition in the WPHP. We've also connected all of the title records for the editions of each individual work to one another; click the

following titles to be taken to the title record of the first edition, where, at the bottom of each page, there is a "related titles" section that lists and links to all editions of that work in the WPHP: *Evelina*, *Cecilia*, *Camilla*, *The Wanderer*.

(If you know of any editions that we're missing, feel free to get in touch!)

Keep up with us on social media! You can find us on Instagram, Twitter, and Facebook. We're hosting the first-ever WPHP Read-a-thon in July—find out more here!

# WPHP Monthly Mercury Episodes Referenced

Season 1, Episode 9: "Bluestockings in Print" Season 1, Episode 6: "Mind the (Data) Gap"

#### WPHP Records Referenced

*Cecilia* (title, first edition)

*Camilla* (title, first edition)

*Belinda* (title)

Austen, Jane (person, author)

Northanger Abbey (title)

Burney, Frances (person, author)

Meeke, Elizabeth (person, author)

Johnson, Samuel (person, author)

Piozzi, Hester Lynch Thrale (person, author)

*Evelina* (title, first edition)

More, Hannah (person, author)

Montagu, Elizabeth (person, author)

*The Wanderer* (title)

Thomas Lowndes (firm, publisher)

Tragic Dramas (title)

Thomas Payne and Son (firm, publisher)

Thomas Cadell (firm, publisher)

Haywood, Eliza (person)

The British Novelists (title)

William Emans (firm, publisher)

Henry Fisher (firm, publisher)

William Lowndes (firm, publisher)

Minerva Press, A.K. Newman and Co. (firm, publisher)

# A.K. Newman and Co. (firm, publisher)

#### **Works Cited**

Austen, Jane. Northanger Abbey. Second Edition. Edited by Claire Grogan. Broadview, 2002.

Burney, Edward Francisco. Frances Burney. 1784–5. National Portrait Gallery, London.

Burney, Frances. Camilla. Thomas Cadell and William Davies; Thomas Payne, 1796.

Burney, Frances. Cecilia. Thomas Payne and Son; Thomas Cadell, 1782.

Burney, Frances. Evelina. Thomas Lowndes, 1778.

Burney, Frances. The Wanderer. Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1814.

Croker, John Wilson. "Standard Novels and Romances." Rev. of The Wanderer, by Frances Burney. *Quarterly Review*, April 1814, 123–30.

Gallagher, Catherine. Nobody's Story: The Vanishing Acts of Women Writers in the Marketplace, 1670–1820. U of California P, 1994.

Gilson, David. A Bibliography of Jane Austen. Oxford UP, 1982.

Justice, George. The Manufacturers of Literature: Writing and the Literary Marketplace in Eighteenth-Century England. U of Delaware P, 2002.

Lynch, Deidre Shauna. *The Economy of Character: Novels, Market Culture, and the Business of Inner Meaning*. Chicago UP, 1998.

Parisian, Catherine M. Frances Burney's Cecilia: A Publishing History. Ashgate, 2012.

Pink, Emma E. 'Frances Burney's Camilla: "to Print My Grand Work...by Subscription." *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 40, no. 1, 2006, pp. 51–68.

Rogers, Pat. "Burney [married name D'Arblay], Frances [Fanny] (1752–1840), writer." Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Oxford UP, 2006, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/603.

Sabor, Peter, ed. The Subscription List to Frances Burney's Camilla, by Frances Burney. Burney Centre and Burney

Society, 2003.

Salih, Sara. "Camilla in the Marketplace: Moral Marketing and Feminist Editing in 1796 and 1802." *Authorship, Commerce and the Public: Scenes of Writing, 1750–1850,* edited by E.J. Clery, Caroline Franklin, and Peter Garside. Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, pp. 120–35.

Sharren, Kandice. "The Texture of Sympathy: Narrating Sympathetic Failure in Frances Burney's *Camilla* and *The Wanderer*." *European Romantic Review*, vol. 28, no. 6, Nov. 2017, pp. 701–27.

Spedding, Patrick. A Bibliography of Eliza Haywood. Routledge, 2004.

Thaddeus, Janice Farrar. Frances Burney: A Literary Life. MacMillan, 2000.

# **Further Reading**

Burney, Frances. *The Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney (Madame D'Arblay)*. Edited by Joyce Hemlow, 10 vols. Clarendon, 1972.

Civale, Susan. Romantic Women's Life Writing: Reputation and Afterlife. Manchester UP, 2019.

Doody, Margaret Anne. Frances Burney: The Life in the Works. Rutgers UP, 1988.

Hazlitt, William. "Standard Novels and Romances." Rev. of The Wanderer, by Frances Burney. *Edinburgh Review*, Feb. 1815, pp. 320–38.

King, Heather. "Pictures of Women in Frances Burney's Cecilia and Camilla: How Cecilia Looks and What Camilla Sees." *Beyond Sense and Sensibility: Moral Formation and the Literary Imagination from Johnson to Wordsworth.* Edited by Peggy Thompson. Bucknell UP, 2015, pp. 45–59.

Looser, Devoney. Women Writers and Old Age in Great Britain, 1750–1850. Johns Hopkins UP, 2008.

Rennhak, Katharina. "Tropes of Exile in the 1790s: English Women Writers and French Emigrants." *European Romantic Review*, vol. 17, no. 5, 2006, pp. 575–92.

Schellenberg, Betty A. The Professionalization of Women Writers in Eighteenth-Century Britain. Cambridge UP, 2005.

Zonitch, Barbara. Familiar Violence: Gender and Social Upheaval in the Novels of Frances Burney. Delaware UP, 1997.

00:00:00	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Hit Record.
00:00:01	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Yeah, that's totally working. Okay. Me too. Perfect.
00:00:04	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	So—
00:00:05	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	All right. We haven't done this in so long—
00:00:06	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	I know!
00:00:08	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	It's so weird [laughs].
00:00:10	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Welcome back.
00:00:12	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Welcome back to <i>The WPHP Monthly Mercury</i> . Okay. Alright. We should clap.
00:00:18	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Alright.
00:00:19	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	On the count of 3. 1, 2, 3!
00:00:24	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	These are pretty good!
00:00:25	П	[music playing]
00:00:33	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	"Alas! If the heroine of one novel, be not patronized by the heroin of another, from whom can she expect protection and regard? I cannot approve of it. Let us leave it to the reviewers to abuse such effusions of fancy at their leisure, and over every new novel to talk in threadbare strains of the trash with which the press now groans.

00:00:54	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Let us not desert one another; we are an injured body. Although our productions have afforded more extensive and unaffected pleasure than those of any other literary corporation in the world, no species of composition has been so much decried. From pride, ignorance, or fashion, our foes are almost as many as our readers.
00:01:!4	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	And while the abilities of the nine-hundredth abridger of the History of England, or of the man who collects and publishes in a volume some dozen lines of Milton, Pope, and Prior, with a paper from the Spectator, and a chapter from Sterne, are eulogized by a thousand pens—there seems almost a general wish of decrying the capacity and undervaluing the labour of the novelist, and of slighting the performances which have only genius, wit, and taste to recommend them.
00:01:42	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	I am no novel-reader. I seldom look into novels. Do not imagine that I often read novels. It really is very well for a novel.
00:01:52	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Such is the common cant. 'And what are you reading, Miss—?'"
00:01:56	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	'Oh, it's only a novel!'
00:01:58	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	replies the young lady, while she lays down her book with affected indifference, or momentary shame.
00:02:03	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	"It is only Cecilia, or Camilla, or Belinda;"
00:02:07	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	or, in short, only some work in which the greatest powers of the mind are displayed, in which the most thorough knowledge of human nature, the happiest delineation of its varieties, the liveliest effusions of wit and humour, are conveyed to the world in the best-chosen language."
00:02:23	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	This passage from Jane Austen's 1818 novel <i>Northanger Abbey</i> , decries the "common cant" that declared novels a lesser genre around the turn of the nineteenth century, reminding readers that novels do, in fact, "have only genius, wit, and taste to recommend them" and that they are the works "in which the greatest powers of the mind are displayed"—and goes on to name three popular

podcast hosts: Frances Burney. Kandice Sharren So who better to begin the second season of *The WPHP Monthly Mercury* 00:02:52 (co-host) with? In this episode, we are going to follow the decades-long careers of two of Burney's heroines—Evelina and Cecilia—following their entrances into society. П 00:03:07 [music playing] 00:03:14 Kandice Sharren Hello and welcome to the second season of the WPHP Monthly Mercury, the podcast for The Women's Print History Project! The WPHP is a bibliographic (co-host) database that collects information about women and book production during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. My name is Kandice Sharren— Kate Moffatt And I'm Kate Moffatt— 00:03:31 (co-host) Kandice Sharren 00:03:33 And we are long-time editors of the WPHP, and the hosts of this podcast. This (co-host) season we have some exciting special guests to interview, new research to share, and new stories to tell. Join us every third Wednesday of the month to learn more about the history of women's involvement in print. 00:03:50 Л [music playing] Kate Moffatt 00:04:00 In 2017, I stood in front of Frances Burney's portrait in the National Portrait Gallery in London and informed my classmates that while I enjoy both Burney (co-host) and her writing—one can't help but love a novelist whose debut work includes the line, "Oh, these fashionable people!", exclaimed when her heroine walks into a party where everyone is much, much cooler than she is—that I thought her hat was absolutely ridiculous. 00:04:24 Kate Moffatt But the fact that Burney has a portrait in the National Portrait Gallery at all (co-host) speaks to the level of recognition she had as a novelist during her lifetime and for

woman author.

works in the genre, two of which were written by a particular favourite of your

subsequent editions of her work. As we have often bemoaned on this podcast, the vast majority of women in the WPHP have very little information available about them, let alone portraits of them hanging in the National Portrait Gallery. Burney has, by any standard, been well-documented for an eighteenth-century

00:04:50 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

Frances Burney was born on June 13th, 1752, in King's Lynn, to Charles and Esther Burney. She lived in King's Lynn until she was eight, and then the family moved to London in 1760; her father was a music teacher there, and friends with prominent figures of the period including David Garrick and members of the Bluestocking circle. Burney didn't learn to read or write until she was 8, although by 10 she had written a novel (now lost) called *The History of Caroline Evelyn*.

00:05:18 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

A few years after moving to London, her mother died; her father was remarried in 1767 to another woman from King's Lynn, named Elizabeth Allen (fun fact: Elizabeth Allen's youngest child from her previous marriage was actually Elizabeeth Meeke, another novelist we have in the WPHP!) It was while in London- though they moved around a fair bit, from Poland Street in what would be modern Soho to Bloomsbury, and then to a house near Leicester Square, that Burney became friends herself with Samuel Johnson and Hester Thrale in her late teens.

00:05:47 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

Her first novel, *Evelina*, was published anonymously in 1778, and it was by all means a smash success—when her identity was found out shortly after publication, it lent her a fame that lasted decades (and, arguably, centuries). In 1782, she published her second novel, *Cecilia*, which was also a success. As a result, Burney moved in writerly circles, with names we recognize—in addition to knowing Thrale and Johnson, Burney also attended dinner, events, and salons alongside such names as James Boswell, Hannah More, Joshua Reynolds, Edmund Burke, and Elizabeth Montagu.

00:06:19 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

Burney's popularity and the contacts it afforded her meant she was presented to the king and queen; in the mid 1780s, she was offered a position as "second keeper of the robes" to Queen Charlotte and while she was not thrilled about going to court [Kandice laughs], she accepted the position when her father enthusiastically encouraged her to do so. The Burney family was rather concerned with both appearances and their status, as evidenced by both her dad, Charles Burney's, enthusiasm for Frances's position at court and by Frances Burney's extensive editing of the family's letters and materials while preparing her father's memoirs. [Kandice laughs]

00:06:51 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

Iust a little bit!

00:06:51 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

Burney worked at court for five years, utterly miserable and ill—it was only with pressure from those in the writing circles she had frequented prior to working for the queen that Charles Burney agreed to write and ask if Frances could be released from her position for the sake of her health, which thankfully worked.

00:07:06 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

In 1793, free of court, Burney met a group of French emigres who had moved to Surrey, near where Burney's sister Susan lived—Susan called them, and this is a quote, "a little colony of unfortunate ... French noblesse in [her] neighbourhood" [Kandice laughs], and among them was Alexandre-Jean-Baptiste Piochard D'Arblay, apologies for my French accent, the man Burney would marry later that same year. D'Arblay was foreign, and French, and her father disapproved—but it was by all accounts actually a very happy match.

00:07:35 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

It's worth noting here actually, that we do call Frances Burney, "Burney", throughout this episode, because it's how she was best known as a novelist. But in reality, for most of her life, she was actually "Madame D'Arblay", which is how most scholars refer to her. Burney and her husband lived together in England after their marriage in 1793. Burney published *Camilla* in 1796, but the mid to late 1790s were quite mad for the Burney family [Kandice laughs] in ways that had nothing to do with her third novel's publication.

00:08:00 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

Remember how I said they cared quite a lot about appearances? Okay, so alongside sickness and deaths in the family [Kandice laughs], her brother James had begun living with his half-sister, Sarah, in what was supposed to be a sexual relationship; and this scandal was so effectively hidden by the family that it was only discovered very recently. [Kandice laughs]

00:08:23 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

But D'Arblay went back to France in 1801. Burney joined her husband there in 1802, and then the Napoleonic War broke out in 1803, and so she was stuck there, with her son Alexander for years. She returned to England alone in 1812, published her fourth novel, *The Wanderer*, in 1814, visited her husband in France again, and then they both returned to England for good in 1815. Her husband died in 1818, just a short three years after they came back to England. But Burney lived to be 87. She died in London on January 6th, 1840.

00:08:57 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

Alongside knowing quite a lot about her life because her letters and journals were published as *The Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay* in 1842, two years after her death, we also know quite a lot about the publishing history and

reception of Burney's works— largely because she was one of the major novelists of the late eighteenth century. Kandice, you've worked on Burney's publishing and reception history quite a lot, do you want to walk us through it?

00:09:21 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

Do I ever! [Kate laughs]. Okay, so I really want to preface this first by saying that in-text citations in a podcast episode are really awkward. So be sure to check out our bibliography on the WPHP site for this episode, because there will be a lot more information than just the people who I name-check here.

00:09:43 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

But, a lot of this information comes from a few key sources. As Kate mentioned, we have Burney's letters and journals, both the way they were published in 1842, but also manuscript materials that are often kind of edited, but we can see things that had been taken out for publication. And the information that is in those letters and journals, because there are a lot of them, has been very helpfully distilled by quite a few different scholars, including Janice Farrar Thaddeus, George Justice, Peter Sabor, Emma Pink, and Sara Salih, to name a few that I've found particularly helpful in reviewing this information for this episode.

00:10:21 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

So, as Kate mentioned, because Burney was one of the major novelists of the late eighteenth century, we know a lot about her publishing and reception history, including *Evelina*. *Evelina* was written in secret and published anonymously in 1778. Burney was so worried that her identity would be discovered that she had her brother negotiate with her publisher. And I think he was in disguise when this was happening.

00:10:51 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

He sure was.

00:10:52 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

So she didn't want anyone [both laugh], she didn't want anyone to know that she was publishing this novel. The copyright was sold outright to Thomas Lowndes for 20 guineas, which meant that he had the exclusive right to reprint it for the next 14 years (that was how copyright law worked in the period.) And that copyright could be extended for another 14 years after that if the author was still alive when the copyright expired.

00:11:20 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

As Kate noted, Burney lived to be 87 years-old [both laugh], so the copyright was definitely renewed. So, basically this meant that Burney had sold the copyright; that meant she had no claim on it anymore, but her publisher had the copyright for 28 years. This is going to be important later in the episode. And Burney's

anonymity when *Evelina* was first published was so absolute that her own father didn't know she had written it until after it was published.

00:11:49 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

So she kind of slowly was letting people in on the secret. But mostly the people who knew at the time of publication were basically siblings who helped her get it published. And then slowly she started opening up the information. When Burney's father did find out that she was the author of this totally popular novel, that was blowing up all over London [Kate laughs], he obviously, because he was kind of on the make, didn't want to keep it secret anymore. So, he did ask her permission, but basically at this point her anonymity was over.

00:12:22 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

And he revealed her identity to his benefactors in a letter. This meant that by the time Burney's second novel, *Cecilia*, was published in 1782, she was very much a fixture in London society because she had befriended among others, Samuel Johnson, and the Bluestocking Hester Thrale, at whose London house she was a regular visitor and she wrote large portions of her second novel there, as well as the play, *The Witlings*, which was abandoned because her father and her friend Samuel Crisp were concerned that it would be seen as a satire on the prominent Bluestocking Elizabeth Montagu.

00:12:57 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

And this is a name that should be familiar to anyone who listened to our Bluestocking episode in Season 1. So the success of *Evelina* is apparent in Burney's earnings for the copyright of *Cecilia*. This time, Burney successfully sold the copyright for £200 to Thomas Payne and Thomas Cadell. And she successfully negotiated for an additional £50, if the novel went into a second edition, and this was because *Evelina* went into four London editions alone by the end of 1779.

00:13:31 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

So that's not including reprints that happened in Dublin, which there were quite a few of those as well. To try to get out of paying the further £50, Burney's publishers basically printed an unusually large number of books for this first edition. So, typically one edition would be 1000 books. They printed 2000. It kind of worked, but despite these sneaky tactics, *Cecilia* did go into a second and then a third edition in 1783.

00:14:00 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

So it took a little bit longer than it had for *Evelina*, but ultimately Burney did get that extra £50 too. After that £50 though, Burney did not get any more money for *Cecilia*. So, ultimately, as with *Evelina*, the publishers were really the financial winners here. *Cecilia* and *Evelina* were both reprinted regularly until they went

more editions began to be printed by an even wider range of publishers. Kandice Sharren We're going to be coming back to this. This is really what this episode is about. 00:14:33 (co-host) So there were a ton of editions of both *Evelina* and *Cecilia*, in part, because it was profitable for publishers to continue making them available: they didn't have to split profits with the author, and there seems to have been a continued market for these novels. But this was not something that was particularly amenable to Burney, whose subsequent novels kind of drew on alternate publishing arrangements that she hoped would be more profitable for her. 00:15:03 Kandice Sharren So, for her third novel, Camilla, which was published in 1796, Burney used (co-host) subscription publication and charged basically a guinea per copy. So this is basically like eighteenth-century Kickstarter [Kate laughs], and over 1000 people subscribed. So Peter Sabor estimates that Burney saw about £1000 of profits from the subscription, in addition to the £1000 that her publishers paid for the copyright. 00:15:31 Kate Moffatt I had no idea! That's so much money, actually. (co-host) 00:15:35 Kandice Sharren No, I know! And especially if you consider that four years before, Ann Radcliffe (co-host) set a record when she was paid £500 for *The Mysteries of Udolpho*; this is, like, four times as much as Ann Radcliffe made on *The Mysteries of Udolpho*. [laughs] 00:15:48 Kate Moffatt Wow! [Kandice laughs] (co-host) 00:15:53 Kandice Sharren But this also potentially caused problems for the reception of *Camilla*. So both Burney's contemporaries and modern scholars have seen Camilla as an attempt (co-host) to cash in on the cultural cachet that she had acquired fifteen years earlier. Kandice Sharren 00:16:10 This is something I think Catherine Gallagher in contemporary scholarship has (co-host) been quite kind of critical of Burney for, but there are other examples, basically from the time it was published until now, where we see people kind of commenting on how Camilla was just a cynical attempt to make money. Although, as Emma Pink has pointed out, it also demonstrates Burney's savviness as a cultural producer. Pink essentially argues that she only used subscription publication once because she knew she could only get away with it once. So she was cashing in, but she was being smart about it. [both laugh]

out of copyright in the first decade of the nineteenth century. And then even

00:16:47 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

I think it's really interesting given all of this, that *Camilla* didn't go into very many subsequent editions. Burney extensively revised the novel for a second edition that came out in 1802, but that's really the only other London edition that came out in our period under discussion. This could potentially be because of its lukewarm reception. But these fewer editions could've also been influenced by increases in the cost of paper and the 1797 Stamp Act, which drove up the price of books.

00:17:26 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

So, *Camilla*, which is like a five-volume novel, would be quite expensive for most people. Most people wouldn't want to necessarily buy it. If you were a subscriber, you already had your copy anyway, there were a lot of people who bought it. So, it's got a pretty limited second-edition or subsequent-edition market, but it is really interesting to note that there were three or four, depending on how you count, American reprintings of *Camilla* in 1797 alone.

00:17:57 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

And that's partly because American printing was spread out across a bunch of small towns. So, there wasn't like a centralized place where a book was being reprinted, but that's still a massive number of reprintings. So there was definitely interest in this novel and people did want to read it. Burney's final novel, *The Wanderer*, wasn't published until 18 years later, in 1814, and this, too, only went into two editions. So this was a hugely widely anticipated novel, which meant that the first edition was printed in again, as with *Cecilia*, a much larger number than would typically be printed for an edition. In this case it was 3000 copies.

00:18:44 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

The second edition was printed before they'd even really started selling the first edition, and they printed another 1000 copies for that, but fewer than half of those sold, and this is in part because *The Wanderer* was absolutely slaughtered by at least its initial reviews, not all reviews of it were negative, but the ones that were negative were really, really negative [Kate laughs]. So, this is all part of the narrative of Burney's reception history, where it is essentially a narrative of decline.

00:19:21 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

Evelina and Cecilia are kind of the pinnacle of her work. And then from there, everything just kind of gets worse and worse and worse, until we get to The Wanderer, which is apparently just horrendous [Kate laughs]. So, to give you a little taste of how The Wanderer was treated by reviews, I'm going to give you a little quote from John Wilson Croker's review of The Wanderer, which appeared in the Quarterly Review.

00:19:47 Kandice Sharren Croker says, "The Wanderer has the identical features of Evelina, but Evelina grown old; the vivacity, the bloom, the elegance, the 'purple light of love' are (co-host) vanished; the eyes are there but they are dim; the cheek but it is furrowed; the lips, but they are withered. And when to this description we add that Madame D'Arblay endeavours to make up for the want of originality in her characters by the most absurd mysteries, the most extravagant incidents, and the most violent events, we have completed the portrait of an old coquette who endeavours, by the wild tawdriness and labourious gaiety of her attire, to compensate for the loss of the natural charms of freshness, novelty, and youth." We should— Kate Moffatt Wow! 00:20:35 (co-host) 00:20:39 Kandice Sharren I know! [both laugh] I know! [both laugh] (co-host) 00:20:49 Kate Moffatt I don't think I'd ever fully read through this quote yet. So this was just an (co-host) absolute delight. 00:20:54 Kandice Sharren I think that's maybe the worst personal attack in the review, but the whole (co-host) review is like that [laughs]. It's brutal. John Wilson Croker hated basically everybody though, [Kate laughs], so we should always take what he says with a grain of salt. I was actually talking about this with one of the RAs on the project last week, where we were also talking about his absolutely brutal review of Anna Laetitia Barbauld's Eighteen Hundred and Eleven; he hated basically everyone with a couple of odd exceptions. 00:21:35 Kandice Sharren But he seems to have particularly liked lambasting older women in his reviews, so we should take what he says about this novel with several grains of salt. But there (co-host) are a lot of reasons that *The Wanderer* didn't do well critically. A big one was Burney, and this is something that comes up in Croker's review a bit too, is Burney's marriage to a French émigre, and her residence in France during the Napoleonic Wars, was kind of a big problem for a lot of people, especially because she tried to avoid completely dismissing all French people, which, in 1814 in England was not something that you could really do. [laughs] 00:22:26 Kandice Sharren But I think there's also, and this is something that I've actually argued elsewhere, I think Camilla and The Wanderer both make some really surprising and (co-host) challenging formal choices and some innovations that I think can be quite

unsettling for readers. So I think if you are going to these novels and expecting

you're going to get. They're unsettling and they're uncomfortable. Kandice Sharren And I think they often ask you, as a reader, to reflect on your own terrible 00:23:00 (co-host) impulses as a human [both laugh], which I don't think that's something John Wilson Croker wanted to do [both laugh], based on the little I know of him. And apparently lots of other people didn't want to do that, either [both laugh]. Kate, I love how much this review has just killed you! Kate Moffatt 00:23:30 It was so good. It was so good. It was just brutal! [laughs]. It was absolutely (co-host) brutal. And like one of those ways that's like, you're just like, you're a terrible person. And somehow it's almost delightful. It reminds me of that last episode of Season 1 with Kate Ozment where we were talking about these publishers that are really terrible people. That is what this is making me think of in some really great ways. [laughs] 00:23:55 Kandice Sharren Yeah. I feel like John Wilson Croker gets over-quoted in scholarship a bit. But (co-host) because he's so over the top, she misses the point, and you're kind of like, "all I have to do is like quote from this and you can see what all the issues are and what is going on and all the anxiety and how much he hates women specifically a lot of the time." [laughs] 00:24:20 Kate Moffatt Yeah, yeah, wild. Absolutely wild. (co-host) 00:24:24 Kandice Sharren Despite Burney's fall from critical favour, her first two novels *did* continue to be (co-host) reprinted throughout the nineteenth century. There were a lot of editions, as I've already mentioned. And last summer, I realized that we were actually missing a lot of them in the WPHP. When I was putting together a guest lecture on Burney's play, The Witlings, and wanted an illustration from Evelina. I knew there was an illustrated edition. I went to look for it in the database because that's often my shortcut for finding things. And it wasn't there. No editions of Evelina from after 1800 were there [both laugh]. And that's what the rest of the episode is going to be about. Kate Moffatt So, in our defense, we initially missed including a lot of the post-1800 editions in 00:25:14 the WPHP because they aren't accounted for in most of our sources. Of all of (co-host) our sources, the most comprehensive is the English Short Title Catalogue, and

that only includes titles published in the years up to and including 1800.

them to be these kind of spritely joyful novels, like *Evelina*, that's not what

00:25:34 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

Our main source for fiction, Garside and Raven's bibliography of the *English Novel*, only includes detailed bibliographical information for first editions; it then lists the years in which subsequent editions appeared, but it doesn't give you any further data. And if a book went into more than a few editions, it'll just tell you approximately how many there were, and that's it. So we realized, looking at this, that we had these gaps in our data that existed because of the limitations of these sources. And we were like, "okay."

00:26:04 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

How many authors in the WPHP is this impacting? So we looked closely at a few other canonical authors whose works we knew were originally published in the eighteenth century, but were reprinted in the nineteenth. And Ann Radcliffe is a great example. We were also missing a *ton* of her post-to-1800 works. And one of the issues that we run into here is that, aside from the limitations of the sources that we make use of regularly, there are very few specific targeted sources that fully capture an author's full bibliography.

00:26:35 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

Bibliographies of popular eighteenth and nineteenth-century authors do exist, but they're fairly few and far between. If you remember, at the end of the last season, Kate Ozment told us about her dream of creating a comprehensive bibliography about Delarivier Manley. It's a dream because they require a huge amount of resources and time [Kandice laughs] just to identify and describe the works of a single author, which is probably why there are really only a handful for authors from our period.

00:27:02 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

Among them, in which we've made use of, are Patrick Spedding's *Haywood bibliography*, and David Gilson's for Jane Austen's works. So Frances Burney, despite being totally beloved by the two of us and a lot of people in the eighteenth century, is among the many for whom no such bibliography exists. So that means that there is no single go-to place that will identify all the editions of Burney's works that appeared during our period. And this matters because it helps us understand the reception of *Evelina* and *Cecilia* beyond their initial appearances.

00:27:32 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

Despite Burney's popularity and the fact that we have all of this information about the publication history of Burney's works—thank you Kandice—a full bibliography of her entire *oeuvre* doesn't yet exist. And we realized that our work on the WPHP, at least up until 1836, has managed to kind of comprehensively capture Burney's publications and the many later editions of *Evelina* and *Cecilia* for the first time.

00:27:57 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

So for the rest of this episode, we're going to be focusing on these two novels because they posed such significant bibliographical challenges for us. But before we get into that, we wanted to counteract John Wilson Croker's very cranky review with some reviews of our own. Kate, why don't you start by telling us about *Evelina*?

00:28:18 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

Oh! These fashionable people! *Evelina* is one of my favourite eighteenth-century novels. And I don't even know where to begin with how and why I love it. Evelina is this fatherless, motherless, young woman who ends up going to London with some family friends, and she's there for the first time because she grew up in the country and she is so out of her league—she just has no idea what she's doing [Kandice laughs]—but she's very well suited to being one of the girls that people looks at and they're like, "she has such great taste."

00:28:52 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

It's impeccable natural taste. She's so artless, she's so authentic and genuine [Kandice laughs]. And so she's a total fish out of water. She has no idea what the rules are. She embarrasses herself multiple times, very thoroughly [both laugh]. But you adore her for it. And it's an epistolary novel, it's written in letters, which means that you do see or read her embarrassment basically firsthand, which is really great, you know? But it's a fantastic novel. It follows her through London. She's got some unsavory family who she has to spend an unfortunate amount of time with—

00:29:24 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

there's this very delightful and down-on-his-luck young man that she meets and she helps. And then he becomes slightly less delightful when you realize he's kind of in love with his half-sister [Kandice laughs]. There's a captain who really likes to pull pranks on people. There's at least one wig that gets travelled in the mud and then put back on someone's head [Kandice laughs], there's two fops who decide to find two old ladies and have an old lady race.

00:29:55 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

There's a monkey, there's a flirtatious note sent that absolutely devastates Evelina. She's just horrified at being flirted with. Everyone's secretly related in some way or another. It's exactly what you want—as Kandice said, during her publication history bit there—*Evelina*: it's joyful, it's very cheerful. It's very funny. And you're in the head of this young woman, who's really just trying to find her feet and she's successful occasionally [both laugh], but it's quite wonderful. It's a favourite.

00:30:31	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	And for me, my favourite Burney novel is actually <i>Cecilia</i> . If I had to rank them, it's really hard because I also really love <i>The Wanderer</i> . But I really love <i>The Wanderer</i> because it's extremely weird and interesting. Yeah. [laughs]
00:30:45	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	And uncomfortable. And makes you think about yourself like that.
00:30:48	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Yes. And I like that.
00:30:50	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	So <i>Evelina</i> gives us secondhand social anxiety.
00:30:54	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	I mean, all of Frances Burney is just secondhand social anxiety [laughs], but <i>Cecilia</i> is the one that I just truly enjoy the most. And I think I like it because instead of telling the story of a young woman, who's seeking legitimacy from her father who hasn't acknowledged her. It's the story of an orphaned young woman of good fortune who knows who her family is, knows where she comes from, has a lot of money, could be self-sufficient, but there's a catch, and it is that in order to keep her fortune or at least part of her fortune, her husband has to take <i>her</i> last name when he marries.
00:31:41	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	A delightful twist here. That's such a great plot point.
00:31:46	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	I know, I know. I love this premise [laughs], and it's like the problem. And it's so fascinating how much of a problem it is. And I think that in itself is just like a really fascinating little insight. But it has so many things that I love. Early on in this novel, you find out that she is coveted by her really creepy neighbor, Monckton [Kate laughs], who has married an older woman who lives in the neighborhood for her money. And he's just sitting around waiting for this woman to die so that he can marry Cecilia.
00:32:23	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	And Monckton is just such a fantastic portrait of someone who is just a horrible, disgusting person on the inside, but is just insidiously good at hiding it. Cecilia is like, "oh, he's my friend, he'd never do anything bad." And then later on in the novel, she finds out like, "oh no, this guy is not my friend." So it's got things like that. The novel again opens with Cecilia going to London for the first time in this case to live with one of her guardians, M.r Harrell and his wife, the Harrells

are perpetually in debt and keep asking her for money in increasingly desperate ways to help them pay it off.

00:33:02 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

So the part of her money that she gets whether or not she keeps her last name upon marrying is slowly siphoned off by the people who are supposed to be protecting her. She also meets the man of her dreams pretty early on, Delvile. Although, in typical Burney fashion, he's pretty drippy and uninteresting [both laugh]. And his parents won't let them get married because they are proud and they refuse to let their son give up his name—cue six volumes of drama—including Monckton following Cecilia around in disguise at a masquerade ball [Kate laughs] and chasing off any other young men who get close.

00:33:46 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

It's gross. A scene in which Cecilia has been driven mad by the stress of her life and is running dishevelled through the streets of London. The ending is the inspiration for the title, *Pride and Prejudice*. You get other young star-crossed lovers who eventually find their way to each other. Anyway, this novel is so fantastic that I don't really want to spoil anything.

00:34:11 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

And there is something that happens about halfway through the novel that was so shocking that I threw the book across the room the first time I read it. And if that is not a recommendation, I don't know what is; seriously, this is one of my absolute favourite novels, and I will never not be furious that it hasn't been given its own ten-hour BBC miniseries adaptation.

00:34:40

[music playing]

00:34:47 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

П

So, now that you know why these novels went into so many editions —we are clearly not the only ones who have been this enamoured of *Evelina* and *Cecilia*—let's get into the nitty gritty of this episode; which is tracking those editions down. There's a common reaction among members of the WPHP team when we realize a title has gone into many, many editions: first, we cheer, because we love to see women's titles be successful. [Kandice laughs]

00:35:12 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

And then we moan because we know that tracking those down and sorting out which edition is which is going to require many, many hours and many, many sources because the comprehensive bibliography of Burney's works doesn't exist. And that really is where the episode originated. As Kandice mentioned, we only realized we were missing the later editions of Burney's works because she was hunting for a particular illustrated edition and was surprised, or maybe a better word is appalled [Kandice laughs], to find that it wasn't in the database yet.

00:35:40	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	As a general rule, we currently consider our post-1800 data to be incomplete, mostly due to the lack of comprehensive sources comparable to those available for pre-1800 like the ESTC. But we can and we do make use of sources like the British Library and American Antiquarian Society catalogues, the <i>HathiTrust Digital Library</i> , the <i>Nineteenth Century Collections Online</i> database, <i>Google Books</i> , and <i>Archive.org</i> to find the post-1800 editions of titles that we may have full pre-1800 data for already.
00:36:10	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	But as we have been bemoaning all episode, no single one of these sources is comprehensive. There are gaps in each of them, as we talked about last season, in our episode, "Mind the (Data) Gap." Luckily, we are very well-versed in amalgamating what might be available across multiple sources to create something cohesive, coherent, and comprehensive.
00:36:29	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	And really that's where the WPHP comes in, because now that we have managed to collect all the various Burney editions that we could find, the WPHP is now more comprehensive for Burney titles in this period than any other source that we've seen. Our process for finding all of the post-1800 editions of a particular title looks a little something like this. [Kandice laughs]
00:36:51	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Step one: figure out if any bibliographies exist for the author or title you're looking for. In this case, we lucked out! Catherine Parisian has a whole chapter on post-copyright editions of <i>Cecilia</i> .
00:37:03	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Step two: add the editions that meet the various WPHP edition requirements into the WPHP.
00:37:10	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Step three: Open six tabs on your computer: one for <i>Archive.org</i> , one for <i>HathiTrust</i> , one for <i>Google Books</i> , one for NCCO, one for the British Library catalogue, and one for the American Antiquarian Society catalogue.
00:37:24	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Step four: Mentally steel yourself for opening many many more tabs.
00:37:29	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Step five: In each source, search for the title (usually by the shortened version, in this case "Evelina" or "Cecilia", to ensure you don't miss anything that has a slightly different full title), and limit the search to the relevant date range and by author, if possible.

Kandice Sharren 00:37:43 Step six: Sort through the results. Make yourself another cup of coffee. Sort (co-host) through more results. Kate Moffatt 00:37:49 Step seven: Realize that an edition with an 1819 publication date in the (co-host) bibliography you found is the same as the edition with the 1820 publication date in the British Library catalogue [Kandice laughs]. Delete the duplicate record you accidentally made, and spend twenty minutes exclaiming to your partner-in-data-creation-crime—Kandice—about William Emans, who published Cecilia in no less than twenty-six different parts between 1819 and 1820. 00:38:12 Kandice Sharren Step eight: Compare similar-but-perhaps-not-quite-the-same title pages from (co-host) two different sources to each other. Squint. Make the editorial decision that they're two different editions. 00:38:24 Kate Moffatt Step nine: Open yet another tab and check WorldCat to see if any editions are (co-host) listed there that you haven't managed to find digitizations or sources for in your other tabs. Add any you've missed into the database. Curse them for existing even as you feel proud of the author's success. Kandice Sharren 00:38:40 Step ten: End scene. [both laugh] (co-host) 00:38:46 Kate Moffatt In all seriousness though, this task actually faced some very specific limitations (co-host) and challenges. Some of which we kind of hinted at in our lovely little steps there. Some of these challenges are specific to the WPHP. We've talked about some of them before on this podcast, such as not having access to physical archives or special collections, working with online databases that have their own specific editorial choices that they're making regarding data, and having to trust the data in existing sources when gaining access to a book in physical or digitized format is impossible. 00:39:19 Kate Moffatt Specific to this particular endeavor though were limits of the WPHP itself. So (co-host) like this unofficial bibliography of sorts is a WPHP-based effort, not an independent project purely focused on Burney in its own right. So if it was, we may have made different editorial choices on what kinds of data we collected if we'd been working on this independently. We didn't collect any of the many translations that we came across, for example, because the WPHP currently only includes works published in the UK, Ireland and America.

00:39:51 Kate Moffatt Cecilia and Evelina were also included in Barbauld's British Novelists collection, (co-host) which was first published in 1810 and republished in 1820 in 50 volumes, all of which I physically looked at and pulled data from at the British Library in 2018. We have this collection in the database as a title record. So, we haven't created individual records for each novel included in it. This was an early project decision so that we wouldn't be duplicating data. Kate Moffatt And thinking about these challenges reminded us of another more general 00:40:17 (co-host) challenge that we face with the WPHP, which is the unevenness of recovery, and subsequently the problem of canonicity. So sure, for Burney, Radcliffe, Austen, Haywood, and so many others we're familiar with, canonicity makes these authors and their titles more available and more visible. 00:40:37 Kate Moffatt But how many authors are there who we haven't noticed this (co-host) pre-1800/post-1800 editions problem for? And how would we even go about finding them? A challenge of this kind of recovery work is that you do know that you have gaps in your data, but sometimes you can't find them because you don't know what they are [Kandice laughs]. Finding the gaps can be a task unto itself. Kandice Sharren 00:41:00 Even though we probably won't identify all of these gaps, we did find filling in (co-host) this particular gap—the post-1800 editions of *Evelina* and *Cecilia*—interesting for what it suggested to us about Burney's reception history in the early nineteenth century, and how it interacts with the standard narrative of her critical decline. Kandice Sharren We still aren't completely certain that we have identified all of the editions of 00:41:20 Evelina and Cecilia, but we now have 72 titles by Burney in the WPHP, 56 of (co-host) which are either Evelina or Cecilia; or in the case of Barbauld's British Novelists, both. So we have 34 editions of Evelina and 24 of Cecilia, which is just an incredibly large number for this period. Kate Moffatt 00:41:50 Bonkers. It's absolutely bonkers. [both laugh] (co-host) Kandice Sharren 00:41:54 It really is. But as we were adding these editions to the database, we started

noticing some interesting trends. And the first is related to how Burney's

authorship is acknowledged on the books themselves. So we've already talked a bit about how *Evelina* was published anonymously, and this means that it was published with no information about the author at all on the title page. And this

(co-host)

is something that continued even after Burney's authorship was revealed, even on subsequent editions.

00:42:25 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

Burney is a really interesting example of someone who everyone knew who she was. Everyone knew she was the author of *Evelina*, but she didn't actually put her name on the book and her publishers didn't either. *Cecilia*, same thing. It was published as "by the author of *Evelina*", and that continued on its subsequent editions as well. We see that with Camilla too, where on the title page it says "by the author of *Evelina* and *Cecilia*", although here she did sign the dedication as "Madam D'Arblay."

00:42:57 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

And the same thing happened with *The Wanderer*, no name on the title page, but she dedicated it to her father and signed it "F.B. D'Arblay." So, for Burney's novels, on the authorized editions by the publishers who held copyright, Burney's name did not appear on the title pages. And that was a general rule, even if she did indicate her name elsewhere in the book, the title page would just indicate the other works that she had written.

00:43:25 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

By contrast, in some of the reprints in Dublin, specifically the 1783, the 1784, and the 1795 Dublin reprints of *Cecilia*, we see her being described as "Miss Burney, author of *Evelina*." The publishers who worked with Burney, who she sold her copyright to, didn't use her name, but the ones who had no connection with her would indicate her name on the title page sometimes. And we see this as well in some much later editions of *Evelina* and *Cecilia*.

00:44:01 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

So for *Evelina*, there's an 1821 London edition and an 1832 New York edition that are both "*Evelina* by Miss Burney." And there's an 1823 and 1826 London edition of *Cecilia*, where she's also described as "Miss Burney." It is worth noting that by this point, even though we are calling her Burney in this episode, she had not been "Miss Burney" for about thirty years. So they're not using her name as it actually was at this point in her life. Instead, they're invoking a past "Miss Burney," the "Miss Burney" who wrote these novels.

00:44:40 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

And we see this as well, actually—and I think this is personally really fascinating: the 1810 Barbauld's *British Novelists*, where Barbauld includes *Evelina* and *Cecilia*, she prefaces the first volume of *Evelina* with an essay, which she did for all the authors in the collection, titled "Miss Burney." Although she does begin the essay by identifying that "Miss Burney, [is] now Mrs D'Arblay." So, when Frances Burney did sign her name in her dedications and after prefaces, she

identified herself as "D'Arblay." Other people are always identifying her as "Miss Burney", even after she's been married for twenty or thirty years.

00:45:27 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

Interesting!

00:45:29 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

I know! It's really interesting. And it's really interesting as well when you think about it in the context of the two works she wrote after or published after *The Wanderer*. In 1818, she published a collection of tragic dramas, which was signed on the title page as "Frances Burney", and in 1832, she published *Memoirs of Doctor Burney*, which she signed on the title page as "by his daughter Madame D'Arblay." We should note that authors didn't always have control over how their publishers marketed their books.

00:46:08 Kandice Sharren (co-host) However, Burney was a pretty major author, so she probably would've at least had some input. But it's interesting to think about these as strategic marketing decisions. 1818 is only four years after *The Wanderer* was absolutely kind of critically destroyed [both laugh], so maybe this was an instance of either Burney or her publishers or both wanting to distance this work from that particular failure.

00:46:36 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

By 1832, perhaps, the hope might have been that "D'Arblay" wouldn't invoke such a strong reaction. It's a fascinating trend to constantly refer to her as "Miss Burney." After *Evelina* and *Cecilia* went out of copyright, there were only two editions of *Evelina*, one from 1815 and one from 1829, that identify the work as "by the author of *Cecilia*, *Camilla*, and *The Wanderer*", following the trend that she herself had used on the titles of novels as they were being published.

00:47:23 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

So these are interesting; one because it seems to have been the way she preferred her name to appear on the title pages of her works at least for fiction. But also because these are the only titles that identify *The Wanderer*. And interestingly, both of these, this 1815 and this 1829 reprint, are published by A.K. Newman and Co., which brings us to the next element of these subsequent editions that we found interesting, which is who was publishing them.

00:47:58 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

We love firms. We love them so much.

00:48:01 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

We couldn't get through an episode without talking about firms. During her writing career, Burney was careful to associate her works with reputable and,

where possible, prestigious publishers. Thomas Payne, Thomas Cadell, and the Longman firm are all major booksellers of the eighteenth century, and her first publisher, Thomas Lowndes, who was the original publisher of *Evelina*, was a quite respectable circulating library publisher who published a lot of fiction, so he made sense for a first-time author.

00:48:33 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

The people reprinting her works *after* they went out of copyright are far more diverse. *Evelina* and *Cecilia* were included in canonizing series like Barbauld's *British Novelists*, but *Cecilia* was also included in J.F. Dove's reprint series, *Dove's English Classics*, in the mid 1820s. Thomas Lowndes' successor, William Lowndes, is a bit of an exception in that he actually reprinted *Evelina* in 1810 after he no longer held copyright, which he is the only one who did this, and he only did it once.

00:49:05 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

But it's also worth noting that the publishers who reprint *Evelina* are not the same as the publishers who reprint *Cecilia*. And we can really only speculate as to why this is: is it because the critical narrative that is posited in Croker's review that all of Burney's novels are essentially the same story mean that publishers felt that they would only be able to sell one?

00:49:29 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

It's not like there are way, way, way more editions of *Evelina* than *Cecilia* or vice versa. There were about twenty editions of each published in Great Britain with a healthy number of Dublin and American reprints each. So that disparity between the number of editions is more about where they were getting reprinted in Dublin or how many times they were reprinted in America, rather than how many times they're being reprinted in London after they go out of copyright.

00:49:58 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

And some other things that are interesting is how publishers were deciding to market the books, right? So, in Britain, we also saw some reprintings that were reprinted outside of London, or likely to be distributed there. And this is from Catherine Parisian's chapter about post-copyright editions of *Cecilia*. She's written about how the publisher William Emans started publishing *Cecilia* in parts in 1819 in Newington.

00:50:21 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

He ended up publishing it in twenty-six different parts, seriously abridging the second half of the novel without actually saying that he was doing so, which I find really interesting. And he basically did away with Burney's original book and volume divisions, and publisher Henry Fisher did the same in Liverpool, though without the sneaky abridgements. And he also respected Burney's book and volume decisions. She argues that it's very possible that both were marketing outside of London.

00:50:47 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

Not only did publishing in parts make the novel more accessible for a working-class individual to buy, but Parisian notes that the contents of *Cecilia*, while being very of the moment in 1782, would be unfashionable for a novel in 1819. And something like being unfashionable would be a bit less of a concern if you're outside of London. Both of their locations also supported this, Emans in Newington and Fisher in Liverpool; it put both of them in close proximity to a book-buying public outside of London.

00:51:16 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

And, fun fact that Emans 1819 edition that he did in twenty-six very abridged parts is the one that's also in the British Library catalogue as an 1820 edition. This weird year disparity is probably because he printed in parts over the course of many months—it probably crossed at least one year. And so he likely provided different dates on the new title pages for each part as he published it.

00:51:40 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

We actually like to include if there's parts published in different years—we like to include them separately in the WPHP. And we would love to do that for this, but we haven't been able to track them down, and that's partially because these sorts of books as Parisian also points out, they don't survive as easily because they aren't often bound.

00:51:59 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

So if you have some of these serialized parts of *Cecilia* printed by Emans, hit us up. [laughs]

00:52:07 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

We want them. [laughs]

00:52:08 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

So most interesting to me personally are the two editions of *Evelina* published by A.K. Newman and Co., one in 1815 and one in 1829. Because to me it suggests something really interesting about how *Evelina* was positioned and perceived at this moment in time. A.K. Newman inherited the very, very successful Minerva Press from William Lane when he retired in 1809, and the Minerva Press published the, by far, the most number of new works of fiction between 1790 and 1820.

00:52:46 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

But by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Minerva Press was basically shorthand for circulating library novels, which were widely criticized for being derivative. They actually get invoked in John Wilson Croker's review of *The Wanderer* as an example of what is so terrible about *The Wanderer* [both laugh]. So Burney's novels were one of these so-called source texts for Minerva writers: in *The Economy of Character*, Deidre Lynch talks about circulating library novels as part of "the Burney school" of fiction, and she breaks down some of the formal traits of Burney's fiction that get picked up by circulating library novelists.

00:53:29 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

So when Croker compares *The Wanderer* in his unfavourable review to a Minerva publication in the opening lines, basically what he's saying is that Burney has become an imitator of her imitators. Harsh burn [both laugh]. Basically the fact that Newman reprinted *Evelina* in 1815 and then later in 1829 suggests to me that he recognized it as something that was related to his business and would fit in well with the books that he was publishing.

00:54:07 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

And this is particularly interesting for the 1815 copy, is the fact that the imprint on both editions only reads "Printed for A.K. Newman and Co., Leadenhall Street," rather than "Printed at the Minerva Press for A.K. Newman and Co." So, this 1815 edition was printed kind of in a transition period. During the late eighteen-teens, the Minerva Press imprint was starting to go out of use, but it was uneven. A.K. Newman was kind of interested in transitioning out of publishing these popular novels, more into children's literature. And you see him slowly drop the Minerva Press imprint. Basically by about 1820, it didn't get used anymore.

00:54:51 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

However, 1815 is actually still pretty early for this to happen. So, it kind of suggests to me that maybe there's some kind of conscious marketing on Newman's part going on about which books would get the Minerva imprint and which ones wouldn't. So, *Evelina* is a kind of precursor to many of the tropes in the circulating library novels, but it doesn't quite belong under the Minerva imprint. So when he reprints it, he's making it available to readers who might want to read the original rather than the copy, according to the way it was framed in public discourse.

0055:35 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

I'm not necessarily saying that all these other novels were just copies of *Evelina* because they're not [both laugh], don't come after me. I'm on your side [both laugh]. But I think it's interesting that he's saying "this is a related work", but it's not, it doesn't quite fit in this category.

00:55:56 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

So this combined with the fact that Newman is using Burney's more official signature as he's calling her "the author of Cecilia, Camilla, and The Wanderer", suggests to me that maybe his republication of *Evelina* is a legitimizing move of sorts. When he's starting to get interested in moving away from these profitable, but widely derided Minerva Press novels, he's kind of using Burney to do so. He's creating a new association. So using her official authorial identity suggests maybe an authorized relationship of sorts, even though, as far as we know, Burney had nothing to do with these publications.

00:56:41

[music playing]

00:56:51 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

So, these insights into A.K. Newman's reprinting practices are just one of the many possible tidbits we could glean by looking at these full scope of post-1800 editions of *Evelina* and *Cecilia*. And these are just the reprintings of one author's novels.

00:57:11 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

And we were surprised to see how many reprintings there were, which I think is really interesting given that we were both fairly familiar with Burney prior to doing this little project for the WPHP. And if that's how surprised we are looking at Burney's novels and the reprintings of those, it does make me wonder how much is out there that we just haven't realized we're missing yet.

00:57:35 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

And I think this also really speaks to, this is something that came up a lot while we were drafting this episode, the primacy of first editions in bibliography. So we do have a couple sources that we've used that go beyond just the first edition, the ESTC as one of them. But also *The Jackson Bibliography of Romantic Poetry* gives as information about as many editions as it has been able to find, but those are really the only sources that recognize that people might want full bibliographic information beyond the way a book first appeared or the first couple of printings.

00:58:20 Kandice Sharren (co-host)

But as we can see, there's so much to be learned by moving beyond that first edition. Things change. The reception changes over time and you can start to see some of the ways that an author is maybe being received twenty or thirty or forty years after they first published, coming up in the book itself. Even though the book itself is not a review and there aren't little critical blurbs on the front of the book, you can still get those kinds of clues coming out.

00:58:58 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

And this has been really useful for us in that we gave the example of, we realized like, "okay, well, what other canonical authors that we know were published after 1800 are missing from the database?" And we found Ann Radcliffe and we were like, "wow, we're missing a lot of those editions."

00:59:15 Kate Moffatt (co-host) And I think this has been really useful for us in terms of thinking about how we're going to approach collecting the editions of authors who aren't as canonical, whose names aren't as familiar, who we don't immediately go: "Oh yeah. That person absolutely had their books reprinted after 1800. I should check other post-1800 sources for their editions." So this has changed the way that we will, I think, do a lot of our data entry for other less familiar authors moving forward to make sure that we're capturing that data.

00:59:41 Kate Moffatt (co-host)

Because, as Kandice said, there is so much information that can be gleaned and gathered from being able to look at all of the editions, even just in a particular period in one place, rather than trying to look at it across multiple sources and do the work that way. It's much easier to see patterns, to see interesting tidbits, as Kandice called them, when they're in one place.

01:00:07 Kandice Sharren And I think too, just to maybe make one final concluding point, this actually (co-host) really highlighted to us what the value of a resource like *WorldCat* is for this project. So, WorldCat is one that we haven't really been able to use for verifying titles because it doesn't really provide complete enough bibliographical information consistently enough that we feel like we can use an entry or catalogue record in *WorldCat* to verify what we have already in the database. Kandice Sharren 01:00:44 However, it was actually really instrumental in helping us make sure that we had (co-host) all of these different editions of *Evelina*. We had the Parisian chapter on *Cecilia*, the whole book on Cecilia and it's afterlife basically, but Evelina, we didn't have that. So we had to kind of think outside of our normal workflow to find information about these other editions that weren't being included in the resources we normally use. П 01:01:17 [music playing] 01:01:27 Kate Moffatt This has been the first episode of Season 2 of *The WPHP Monthly Mercury*. If (co-host) you're interested in learning more about what we discussed today, we've compiled a list of suggestions for further reading and links to some relevant entries in the WPHP in a blog post that you can find at womensprinthistoryproject.com. We'll also be doing a Read-a-Thon of WPHP titles next month. So get your reading glasses on and follow us @TheWPHP on Twitter and @womenprinthistoryproject on Instagram. П 01:01:57 [music playing] 01:02:11 Kandice Sharren [outtakes] You find out that she's coveted by her creepy neighbour, Monckton, (co-host) who married this older woman for her mother—ugh. Sorry [both laugh]. For her mother. [both laugh] Kate Moffatt 01:02:25 That sounds like it was in *The Three Monks!!!* [both laugh] (co-host) 01:02:29 Kandice Sharren The Three Monks!!! [both laugh] (co-host) Kate Moffatt 01:02:30 That sounds like it should be in *The Three Monks!!!* Okay. [both laugh] (co-host)