Miscellaneous works Of The Late Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl Of Chesterfield

Consisting Of Letters to his Friends, never before printed, And Various Other Articles

Chesterfield, Philip Dormer Stanhope of

Dublin, 1777

Section VI.

SECTION VI.

LORD Chesterfield's resignation, at a time of life, when he could still have rendered essential services to his country, might have been considered as the effect of sudden passion, or as an artful attempt at full power, had not the state of his mind as well as that of his body required ease and tranquillity. The frequent attacks of giddiness he lately had been seized with, made rest and quiet necessary for him; and his extreme delicate way of thinking confirmed him in the resolution of indulging himself with them. He found, that ministers are frequently obliged from political reasons to prefer the most unworthy persons to those who are the most worthy; and to prostitute to importunity and undeserving greediness the rewards of merit. He therefore determined to renounce the pursuits of ambition, and, though still upon the watch to serve his country, to live for himself, and to divide his time between social pleasures, paternal cares, and mental enjoyments. Nor does it appear, that he was on any occasion tempted to venture again his frail vessel upon that boisterous sea, from which after having been long tossed about, he now found himself securely arrived in port. To put some interval between life 1748.

1748. and death was always the wiſh of the wiſe; and happy are thoſe who are able to do it.

But this philoſophical retirement which lord Cheſterfield propoſed to himſelf, and in which he paſſed the laſt five and twenty years of his life, at the ſame time that it attracts the admiration of the thinking part of mankind, and may perhaps, excite the envy of thoſe who have it not in their power to embrace it, affords much leſs matter of entertainment. Our earl's life now ceaſes to be connected with the hiſtory of his country; and, though we ſhall ſtill keep to the form of annals we have adopted, we ſhall content ourſelves with placing under the ſeveral years ſuch unconnected facts as are come to our knowledge, and may be intereſting to our readers.

We think ourſelves obliged to mention, not without much concern, that the very day lord Cheſterfield bad farewel to the cares of adminiſtration, he renewed his evening viſits at White's [1], which had been interrupted for four years. He likewiſe made a ſhort excurſion to Bath, not ſo much on account of the waters, as to avoid being in London while he was the chief ſubject of converſation.

For ſome time lord Cheſterfield had turned his thoughts towards the part he intended to act, which was, according to the expreſſion he borrowed from Tully, to enjoy eaſe with dignity. The building a houſe for himſelf, in which he wiſhed to unite magnificence with convenience and taſte, had occupied his thoughts for ſome time; and we ſee in moſt of his letters to his friends how much he had it at heart. He ſucceeded in it to his wiſh, and was particularly pleaſed with the two apartments he moſt frequented; the one being a kind of private room

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or parlour, which he called his *boudoir*, ornamented with great elegance and richneſs; the other, his library [2], ſtocked with a noble collection of books, and adorned with the portraits of ſeveral of the moſt eminent authors. 1748.

This new houſe not being quite finiſhed, and that which he was going to quit being ſtript of ſome of its furniture [3], lord Cheſterfield ſpent part of the ſummer in excurſions into the country. He paſſed ſome time at Cheltenham, and afterwards at Bath, for the ſake of his health; and viſited with uncommon pleaſure his friend lord Pembroke's houſe at Wilton. He found it ſo much improved, that he ſcarce knew it again; and, in its preſent ſtate, judged it the fineſt ſeat in England [4].

But while he was thus amuſing himſelf, he had the misfortune to loſe his brother John Stanhope, who died of the gout towards the latter end of the year, and was ſincerely regretted by the earl. His affairs, which were ſomewhat embarraſſed, and the family arrangements neceſſary to be taken on this melancholy occaſion, required lord Cheſterfield's preſence in London, and prevented him from executing his plan of ſpending ſome time at Paris [5].

Among other effects, Mr. Stanhope left a villa at Blackheath, upon which he had laid out conſiderable ſums of money. The leaſe of this villa was for ſeven years, and could not have been diſpoſed of without great loſs. This induced the earl to keep it; and though he would rather have preferred a houſe in the country towards Richmond, yet he ſoon grew enamoured with this charming ſpot. The ſituation was delightful; commanding one way an extenſive proſpect over the Thames towards London and Hamp-

1748. ſtead; and adjoining on the other ſide to Greenwich Park, into which he had a private door from his own garden.

He therefore bought it, added much to its conveniencies by the galleries and other improvements he made to it, and rendered it a country reſidence entirely fit for his ſituation and ſtate. He conſtantly retired there, as ſoon as the ſeaſon permitted him to quit his winter habitation; and it was to him, in every reſpect, what *Tuſculum* was to Tully.

1749. One of the taſtes which he contracted in this retirement was that of gardening. He did not indeed attend particularly to ornament; nor to the more improving art of raiſing exotic plants, and uniting in one ſpot the productions of different climates: for neither of theſe had he ſufficient room, or inclination. But the cultivation of fruit-trees afforded him an uſeful as well as agreeable amuſement; and he ſucceeded in it ſo well, that he was generally provided with moſt excellent productions of all kinds from his own ground. He even challenged his friends, both at home and abroad, to produce melons and pine-apples equal to his in taſte and flavour [6.]

The decoration of his houſe engaged alſo much of his attention; and, in order to compleat it, he had long been in ſearch of original paintings. In this purſuit he was not ſo anxious with regard to the number as to the quality of the pictures, and his chief view was to have nothing but what was excellent. He wiſhed not ſo much to have many pieces of the ſame maſter, as to poſſeſs a few capital ones of the beſt. He did not at firſt truſt to his own judgment, but relied chiefly upon the taſte of thoſe who were eſteemed connoiſſeurs in the art of painting. Sir Luke

Schaub

Schaub was one of the principal. That gentleman, a native of Switzerland, and employed in very important negociations in Europe by the Engliſh court, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his knowledge of the works of the moſt eminent painters, and had formed a collection ſcarce inferior to any in this country. Lord Cheſterfield was extremely intimate with him, and could depend on his opinion; as he alſo could upon that of Mr. Harenc, a French gentleman of diſtinction, who, to enjoy the free exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion in which he was bred, had retired from Paris with a conſiderable fortune, and ſettled in England. This gentleman cultivated every object of taſte, and united in his perſon the man of breeding and of letters, the poet and the wit. He was no leſs ſkilled in muſic, and was univerſally eſteemed the beſt performer on the violin among gentlemen. His judgment in pictures was likewiſe generally acknowledged. He was lord Cheſterfield's particular friend: and indeed how could he be otherwiſe, conſidering the variety of his talents, and his neighbourhood to his lordſhip at Blackheath? The earl availed himſelf much of his judgment and taſte, and gradually acquired a conſiderable ſhare of knowledge, which however he always declined making a ſhew of, rather chuſing to quote his authority in the opinion he gave of his pictures [7]. 1749.

Theſe were lord Cheſterfield's amuſements. But his principal care and employment was his correſpondence with his ſon. He had ſpent two years at the Swiſs and German univerſities of Lauſanne and Leipzig; and beſides having acquired a conſiderable proficiency in the Latin and Greek languages, had been trained up to the knowledge of the laws of nations, the conſtitutions of the Germanic body, the intereſts, forces,

1749. forces, and negotiations, of the ſeveral princes, and in general in every kind of ſcience the moſt uſeful for a man deſigned for public employments; and was now beginning his travels, in order to acquire the more difficult knowledge of the world. In that, it ſeems, he had made but little progreſs, under the learned Mr. Bochat at Lauſanne, and the ſtill more learned profeſſor Maſcow at Leipzig. The excurſions he made to Dreſden in vacation time, had indeed made him acquainted with one of the politeſt courts of Europe; and the encouraging reception he there met with from Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, envoy at that court, and lord Cheſterfield's affectionate as well as witty friend [8], might have effectually rubbed off that learned ruſt, which his father was ſo fearful he would too long retain. But he did not ſtay there long enough to be much benefited either by his converſation or example [9]. His ſhort viſit to the court of Berlin procured him a moſt gracious reception from the monarch [10]; and great civilities from Algarotti, Dargens, Cagnoni, Maupertuis, and the other wits whom that prince had choſen for his friends. But even lord Cheſterfield did not recommend to him, at that time, and in that place, any other ſtudy except that of the civil, military, and eccleſiaſtical government of that country, and eſpecially of the reformation in the laws introduced by a prince, whom he held out to him as moſt deſerving of his attentive obſervation [11]. Much leſs could the court of Vienna, during his ſhort ſtay there, improve his manners, or put him in poſſeſſion of the graces. Neither is Italy any longer their ſeat; though perhaps ſtill the principal ſchool of the arts. But of theſe lord Cheſterfield eſteemed only painting and ſculpture, and dreaded above all things for his ſon the dangerous allurements of muſic

muſic [12]. Turin was the place where he in- 1749.
tended he ſhould purſue his ſtudies, and be initiated in the world. But a dangerous attack of an inflammation of the lungs, which ſeized Mr. Stanhope at a place called Laubach, in his paſſage through the Tyroleſe, obſtructed his courſe. Venice, Rome, and Naples, were, on account of the climate, ſubſtituted to Turin. In theſe elegant cities he certainly improved his taſte, and obtained a competent knowledge of the Italian tongue. The ſtrong recommendations he had to perſons eminently qualified to form both his heart and his manners, opened to him the beſt ſchools of improvement. But yet it is to be feared, that the company of his countrymen, the firſt acquaintance with a ſex too powerful to be reſiſted, and above all the relaxing effect of the moſt enchanting climate, rendered Venice, but eſpecially Rome and Naples, no leſs noxious to our young man's habit, both of body and mind, than Capua was to Hannibal's army.

Lord Cheſterfield, indeed, was ſufficiently ſen- 1750.
ſible of the dangerous ground his ſon trod upon, when he entered the Pope's dominions. As if he had been poſſeſſed of Gyges's ring, with which he ſo earneſtly wiſhed to accompany him inviſibly, his genius hovered over him, and conſtantly ſuggeſted the expedients he thought moſt proper to preſerve him from contagion. Accordingly we obſerve him in an admirable letter, written at the beginning of this year, giving him the moſt judicious and earneſt cautions againſt the impreſſions of irreligion and immorality [13]. He treated theſe ſubjects, indeed, rather as a man of the world, than as a divine, truſting for the reſt to the private inſtructions of Mr. Harte.

It

1750. It would be unjuſt to ſuſpect, that his guide neglected any thing in his power to ground his pupil in the principles of morality and virtue; as he had effectually infuſed into him a ſufficient quantity of claſſical and other learning. But it was impoſſible he ſhould ſucceed in finiſhing the poliſh of his education in the manner lord Cheſterfield wiſhed; and it is matter of aſtoniſhment, that the earl ſhould not have perceived, how much the tutor's example muſt have defeated his precepts. The three principal articles he recommended to his ſon, were, his appearance, his elocution, and his ſtyle. Mr. Harte, long accuſtomed to a college life, was too awkward both in his perſon and addreſs to be able to familiarize the graces with his young pupil. An unhappy impediment in his ſpeech, joined to his total want of ear, rendered him equally unfit to perceive as to correct any defects of pronunciation; a careful attention to which was ſo ſtrongly recommended in all lord Cheſterfield's letters, as abſolutely neceſſary for an orator. Nor was the pen of his young ward likely to be improved by that of a man, whoſe chief work, though profeſſed to be written in Engliſh, *was*, to borrow lord Cheſterfield's expreſſion, *full of Latiniſms, Galliciſms, Germaniſms, and all iſms, but Angliciſms* [14].

It is really difficult to conceive by what infatuation lord Cheſterfield muſt have been led in his choice of a guide, ſo evidently calculated to counteract the refined plan of education he had propoſed for his ſon. And it is a matter of ſurprize, that his lordſhip did not apply what he ſaid of the graces, *ſenza che ogni fatica e vana*, to example, which might have been done with equal propriety [15]. He recommended, indeed, to his ſon the imitation of a moſt accompliſhed French

French nobleman then ambaſſador at Rome [16], 1750.
and at whoſe houſe young Stanhope might have been much improved; but in this, as in other things, the earl was diſappointed in his wiſhes.

The ſame favourable reception, which lord Cheſterfield had procured for his ſon in the different countries he paſſed through, he himſelf gave to all foreigners properly introduced to him, eſpecially when they were perſons of genius and merit. This was particularly the caſe with Mad. Du Bocage, who on a viſit to England, in company with her huſband, and abbé Guaſco, an intimate and very learned friend of the preſident Monteſquieu, met with all thoſe marks of polite attention from our earl, the practice of which he ſo much recommended to his ſon. He was not only her introducer and her guide throughout London; but alſo procured her, by his letters to Mr. Dayrolles and to Mr. de Kreuningen at the Hague, the ſame advantages in Holland.

Her letters [17] teſtify the impreſſion which this friendly and engaging politeneſs had made upon her; and lord Cheſterfield's anſwers to her are a remarkable ſpecimen of his atticiſm in a language not his own, as well as of his refined wit [18]. He modeſtly refuſed her his own buſt; but ſent her in lieu of it thoſe of Milton, Dryden, and Pope, the originals he thought her ſo well qualified to copy.

Mr. Stanhope, in return, upon his arrival at 1751.
Paris, met with a moſt hoſpitable reception from her, as well as from many families of the firſt rank, not leſs diſtinguiſhed by their virtues, than by their amiable manners and wit. Thoſe who had been his father's friends in that city, and continued his correſpondents, took upon them the

1751. the charge of introducing him into the beſt companies, and of being the directors of his youth. Mr. Harte had now quitted him, having returned to England to enjoy the reward of his ſervices [19]; and it is to be feared, that, being now left to himſelf, he took a delight in frequenting thoſe perſons with whom he thought himſelf perhaps more at liberty, than with thoſe accompliſhed foreigners whom he ſhould have ſtudied to imitate.

Lady Hervey, who was then reſiding at Paris, and ſeveral ladies of the higheſt rank in France, were the principal guides to whom lord Cheſterfield truſted for the finiſhing of his ſon's education. They could not but be ſenſible that the laſt varniſh was wanting, and even that ſome defects remained in his character inconſiſtent with good breeding, and perhaps with good manners. A father ſo deſirous that his ſon ſhould anſwer in every reſpect the model of perfection he had ſketched out to himſelf, muſt have been exceedingly mortified at this circumſtance; and the fertility of his genius in expedients to endeavour to inſpire his ſon with the deſire of pleaſing, is not any where more conſpicuous than in this part of his letters [20]. Finding the diſorder obſtinate, he had recourſe to more deſperate remedies; as empirics too frequently adminiſter poiſon in their vain attempts to ſubdue unconquerable maladies, or to cure diſeaſes, leſs dangerous than thoſe which their inconſiderate practice entails upon their patients.

Far be it from me to endeavour to conceal or excuſe theſe luxuriances of a warm imagination. Vice can at no time, and under no pretence, become any part of a rational education; nor would it be ſufficient to ſay, that the manners of great cities,

cities, especially Paris, have in some degree authorized polite gallantry. In vain also would it be urged, that lord Chesterfield, knowing perhaps by his own experience with how much difficulty certain passions are resisted in youth, might have thought there was no other choice but that of coarse debauchery and sentimental engagements; that, when mutual liberty is allowed in what is called at Paris the married state, chastity can no more be expected on one side, than fidelity is on the other; and that the crime of corruption cannot be charged where general depravity prevails. We shall not rest the defence of the earl on such weak foundations: drawing a veil therefore on this part of lord Chesterfield's conduct, which was not intended, and ought not to have been exposed to the public eye, we shall content ourselves with deploring the weakness of human nature, which hitherto never admitted of perfection. 1751.

Lord Chesterfield's advice in regard to dissimulation might perhaps admit of a more plausible vindication. He certainly distinguishes it always from simulation, or any degree of falshood at least in words, and seems to make it consist principally in a necessary condescension to the foibles of those with whom our connections or duties oblige us to live. If he goes somewhat further, and advises to conceal our secret feelings, and endeavour to excite as well as watch those of the persons whom we are called upon by the interests of our country to deal with, and who certainly would take the same advantage over us that we wish to have over them; he would be justified, if not by the precepts of moralists, at least by the examples of most, or perhaps of all courtiers and ministers. But it must be candidly owned that

1751. that these distinctions are too nice for the practice of mankind. He who constantly walks on the edge of a precipice will scarce avoid falling into it; and it is evident that every thing which goes beyond silence and simple observation, can never be authorized.

Let us therefore hasten to quit this tender ground; and sincerely wishing that lord Chesterfield had lived to publish his own letters, which would have given him an opportunity of expunging some obnoxious passages; let us be allowed to say that these transient errors (for they are all confined to a period of three or four years) took their rise from the strong desire he had of making his son master of those qualities it seemed most difficult for him to acquire, and of training him up to be a complete public man and a consummate politician. Had he been satisfied with fitting him for the middle station of life, he would neither have had the temptation nor the desire of having recourse to these dangerous expedients. Fond parents would spare themselves much anxiety and chagrin, if the mode of education were suited to the different dispositions observable in the child at different times, rather than that the child should be obliged to conform to a settled plan.

The death of the prince of Wales, which happened this year, deprived lord Chesterfield of a friend, who, perhaps, had he lived to ascend the throne, would have conferred upon the son those favours he formerly intended for the father. This unexpected event obliged him to turn his thoughts another way. He appears, from some of his letters, to have been desirous of introducing his son into the family of the young prince of Wales, which was established soon after. I have been informed,

that

that there had been ſome thoughts of appointing our earl governor to the young prince; and I am authorized by ſome reſpectable friends to ſay, that, notwithſtanding ſome repreſentations, he would have been prevailed upon to accept of this employment. I am not equally well informed what was the reaſon that this event never took place, and that he did not ſucceed in procuring an eſtabliſhment for his ſon in the young prince's houſehold. Perhaps the illegitimacy of his birth may have had ſome ſhare in this diſappointment; as it certainly had in the failure of another ſolicitation [21]. 1751.

Lord Cheſterfield, who always had the honour, as well as the advantage, of his country in view, had long deplored that Great Britain ſhould be almoſt the laſt of all the European powers which ſtill perſiſted in the uſe of the defective Julian calendar. Neither the ſcruples which it occaſioned among zealous churchmen concerning the true time of the principal anniverſary feſtivals, nor even its conſiderable and increaſing diſagreement from the heavenly bodies (a circumſtance, on account of the ſlowneſs of its progreſſion, perceptible only to aſtronomers), were, perhaps, the chief motives that induced lord Cheſterfield to wiſh for a reformation: but he was more particularly diſpoſed to encourage it from the confuſion which the different beginnings of the year might produce in ſettling hiſtorical tranſactions, and the variance there was in the accounts of almoſt every other ſtate. The inconveniencies were evident; but the difficulty of obviating ſeveral inconveniencies attending a ſudden alteration, and eſpecially in overcoming people's prejudices, were not leſs ſo. Theſe difficulties he found ſtill more conſiderable than he imagined. Having conſulted the duke of Newcaſtle; that miniſter, then in the

1751. the zenith of his power, ſeemed alarmed at ſo bold an undertaking. He conjured the earl not to *ſtir matters*, that had long been quiet, and added that he did not love *new-fangled things*. Lord Cheſterfield, however, did not ſuffer himſelf to be deterred by theſe obſtacles, but reſolved to digeſt his plan thoroughly before he communicated it to the public. With regard to the civil and political points, he conſulted perſons of the greateſt eminence in the ſeveral parts of the world where he maintained a correſpondence. He was particularly obliged to the great chancellor Dagueſſau for the moſt uſeful informations, and received from him a moſt inſtructive letter on this ſubject, which we regret much not to be able to give to the public. In the aſtronomical part, he conſulted thoſe of his countrymen who were moſt in repute for their knowledge in that ſcience; and particularly the earl of Macclesfield, then preſident of the Royal Society, who readily entered into the plan of reforming the calendar, and furniſhed lord Cheſterfield with all the learning that was wanted on the occaſion.

Thus prepared, our earl made his motion in the houſe of lords, on the 25th of February of that ſtyle he wiſhed to amend. The ſpeech he made on that occaſion was entirely calculated to captivate the attention and ſecure the favour of his hearers. Witty reflections upon time, its meaſure, though fixed in itſelf, ſtill dependent on the variable motions of the celeſtial bodies; a conciſe and clear account of the ſeveral attempts made at different periods, and by different nations, to reconcile thoſe two meaſures with one another; the inconveniencies attending the preſent ſtyle with reſpect to all public and private tranſactions; the method of obviating the difficulties ariſing from a ſudden alteration:

alteration: theſe were the principal topics which he dwelt upon. He diſplayed ſuch powers of oratory in this ſpeech, and delivered it with ſo much grace, that he eclipſed lord Macclesfield, who ſeconded his motion, and in a ſpeech, previouſly prepared and ſince printed, entered much more fully into the argumentative part of the plan. Our earl did ample juſtice to his learned colleague; and in his familiar letters [22], expreſſed himſelf with great modeſty on this point, attributing entirely to his powers of utterance the advantage he obtained over him on this occaſion. A bill ſo wiſely contrived, and ſo ably ſupported by eloquence and reaſon, paſſed without any oppoſition in both houſes; but thoſe who now enjoy the advantages reſulting from it, ought to be informed, that they owe them to the induſtry and reſolution of the earl of Cheſterfield. 1751.

The earl's feelings were excited, in the courſe of this year, by two events of a very different nature. The firſt was the appointment of Mr. Dayrolles to the place of miniſter and commiſſary plenipotentiary at the court and congreſs at Bruſſels; and his marriage with a lady, no leſs diſtinguiſhed by the goodneſs of her heart, than by the graces and beauty of her perſon, and her various accompliſhments. His intimate connection with a friend, whoſe attachment he had ſo long experienced, made him ſhare his ſatisfaction in the livelieſt manner; and his letters on this occaſion are truly expreſſive of what his heart felt.

On the other hand, ſcarce any event could have been more affecting to him than the death of lord Bolingbroke. He had ſeen him for ſeveral months labouring under a cruel, and to appearance incurable diſorder. A cancerous humour

1751. mour in his face made a daily progreſs; and the empirical treatment he ſubmitted to, not only haſtened his end, but alſo expoſed him to the moſt excruciating pain. He ſaw him, for the laſt time, the day before his tortures began. Though the unhappy patient, as well as his friend, did then expect that he ſhould recover, and accordingly deſired him not to come again till his cure was completed; yet he ſtill took leave of him in a manner which ſhewed how much he was affected. "He embraced the earl with tender-"neſs, and ſaid, God who placed me here, will "do what he pleaſes with me hereafter, and he "knows beſt what to do. May he bleſs you!" It would be needleſs to give our readers any account of the opinion the earl entertained of lord Bolingbroke. This is ſufficiently expreſſed in the letters we now give to the public, as well as in thoſe to his ſon; but it may not be improper to add, that he retained all his life a grateful remembrance of the friendſhip that had ſubſiſted between them; and that he transferred it to his heir, and rejoiced in the hopes of ſeeing him in all reſpects worthy of the name he bears [23].

Hitherto lord Cheſterfield's ſtate of health, though often interrupted by fits of giddineſs, had afforded him ſufficient intervals, to enable him to enjoy the pleaſures of retirement with his books, and thoſe of ſociety with his friends. The laſt he indulged in with peculiar ſatisfaction. His houſe and his table were open not only to the moſt diſtinguiſhed of his countrymen, but likewiſe to all foreigners who had any pretenſions to learning or wit. But in the firſt months of this year, a diſorder, unhappily hereditary in his family, began to ſeparate him from ſociety; and that conſtant ſerenity and chearfulneſs, which he had ſo remarkably poſſeſſed in the different periods of his life, gave

way

way to intervals of melancholy and apprehenſions. 1752.
He felt the firſt ſymptoms of deafneſs with a kind of horror; not unlike that which Swift could not help ſhewing on the apprehenſion of loſing his ſenſes. This afflicting ſenſation was for a time increaſed, while being confined at home for ſome months on account of a fall from his horſe, he ſubmitted patiently to all the means that were employed for the cure of his deafneſs, firſt by regular phyſicians, and afterwards by empirics. The attempts of both proved unſucceſsful; and though ſtill equally capable of contributing to the ſatisfaction of his friends in ſociety, the earl was no longer able to receive any from them.

Mr. Stanhope having now paſſed a year and a half at Paris, was ſent by his father to ſeveral courts of Germany, and laſt to Mr. Dayrolles at Bruſſels. Lord Cheſterfield was in hopes that by ſpending a winter with him, being introduced to that court and employed in his office, he would have had an opportunity of being thoroughly acquainted with the life of a courtier, and that of a man of buſineſs. Unfortunately, the prime miniſter of that court, a proud Italian [24], being informed of Mr. Stanhope's illegitimacy, inſiſted upon his not appearing at court. This affected the feeling heart of Mr. Dayrolles ſtill more than that of lord Cheſterfield, who controlled the warmth of his friend on that occaſion, and obſerved to him very juſtly, that perſons in Mr. Stanhope's ſituation muſt ſometimes expect diſagreeable things of that kind, and that the beſt uſe he could make of this incident, was to endeavour to counterbalance the diſadvantage of his birth by ſuperior merit and knowledge [25]. To fill up the vacaney which this diſappointment occaſioned, he ſent him for the third time to Paris, in order to improve himſelf ſtill more in the ſcience of the

1752. world, so necessary for the public life he was intended to pursue.

1753. His first setting out in that station would have been a brilliant one, could lord Chesterfield's expectations, and those of his kinsmen the Pelhams, with whom he was now on the best terms [26], have been answered. The post of resident at Venice, now vacant by the promotion of Sir James Gray to that of envoy at the court of Naples, had been proposed by them for Mr. Stanhope, and they were in hopes that his Majesty would make no difficulty in appointing him to it. Lord Chesterfield was highly pleased with the prospect of his son's being fixed in such a city, where from the variety of travellers of different nations who resort thither, he might have acquired that desire of pleasing, which was the only thing he then seemed to want. His disappointment was therefore great, when after eight months solicitation, the king at last absolutely refused to appoint the young man, alledging the circumstance of his birth as the reason. His father, though much hurt at the refusal of a favour by no means unprecedented, resolved to bring him into the next parliament, wisely foreseeing that a senatorial cloak, more extensive still than that of charity, would cover his son's involuntary sin.

In the retirement where lord Chesterfield now spent by choice the best part of the year, and where, having fewer opportunities to exercise his sense of hearing, he sometimes forgot he had lost it, his books, his garden, and his pen, contributed to fill up his time. From his correspondents he received most of the new productions in the literary way, and repaid them by the judgments he passed upon them. The care of his vegetables

also

also took up much of his attention. But it was chiefly his pen which agreeably and usefully employed his vacant hours. Willing to contribute as much as possible to the advantage of his country, though now in a great measure isolated from it, he amused himself with the composition of moral and literary essays. These he sent to the editor of a new periodical paper entitled *The World*. But the first essay he sent had nearly disgusted him of writing any more; for being somewhat long it was neglected, and might perhaps never have been printed, if lord Lyttelton coming accidentally into the publisher's shop, and being shewn this paper, had not instantly recognised the masterly hand of his former associate and friend, and desired that it might be immediately put to the press. The reception it met with encouraged him to go on, and he continued to furnish occasional papers from that year to 1756, when this publication ceased. One of the volumes was by the ingenious editor dedicated to his lordship. 1753.

His son, whom he had now sent for from Paris, was examined by him with the same attention as he had been in his preceding visit. He found him improved in his figure, manners, and address; but still thought him far from being the graceful, sociable, amiable man he wished him to be [27]. With a view to correct his carelessness and inattention, as soon as he had lost all hopes of the residentship, he sent him first to Holland, and then to some courts of Germany. The formal etiquette of these courts he thought would engage him to pay a stricter regard to those little duties of society which he had hitherto too much neglected; as he was not likely to meet with many of his countrymen at these courts, he hoped the chief obstacles which had obstructed his im-

1753. provement would now be removed [28]. He alſo took great care to direct his ſon to the particular objects proper for his attention at theſe different places, and the knowledge of which was neceſſary to prevent his appearing a ſtranger in them.

Though lord Cheſterfield now took but little ſhare in political tranſactions, or parliamentary debates, yet was he far from being indifferent to either. To his friends he communicated his thoughts concerning public affairs with the utmoſt freedom, and the intereſt of his country was the chief object of his anxious cares. Indeed, when he reflected on his own ſituation, precluded by his deafneſs from one of the beſt means of information, he could not help laughing at his own weakneſs. "This political excurſion," ſays he in one of his letters, "which is the remains of "the man of buſineſs, puts me in mind of "Harlequin's making ſeveral paſſes againſt the "wall *par un reſte de bravoure* [29]."

The circumſtances which appeared to him the moſt open to cenſure in the preſent adminiſtration, were the want of foreſight, and the irreſolution of the councils. On theſe accounts he was much diſpleaſed with the repeal of the bill for the naturalization of the Jews, which he reproached the miniſtry with having weakly given up. A ſpirit of divination ſeems to have animated his pen, when, after having quoted a very true maxim of his favourite author the Cardinal de Retz on this occaſion, that mobs are always kept in awe by thoſe who do not fear them, he adds, "that they "grow unreaſonable and inſolent when they find "that they are feared. Wiſe and able govern-"ors," ſays he, "will never, if they can help "it,

" it, give the people juſt cauſe to complain, but 1753.
" then on the other hand they will firmly with-
" ſtand groundleſs clamour [30]."

The ſource of this clamour he principally diſliked; " being that narrow mob-ſpirit of intole-
" ration in religious, and inhoſpitality in civil
" matters, both which, all governments ſhould
" oppoſe." A very contrary ſpirit breathes indeed in all our earl's writings; it is the ſpirit of humanity, comprehenſive benevolence, and true liberty, very different from lawleſs licentiouſneſs. With what honeſt warmth does he not reprobate the " contempt which moſt hiſtorians ſhew for
" humanity in general, as if the whole human
" ſpecies conſiſted but of about one hundred and
" fifty people, called and dignified (commonly ve-
" ry undeſervedly too), by the titles of emperors,
" kings, popes, generals, and miniſters [31]?" What patriot would not join with him, when after having ſpoken of the liberty the Turkiſh janiſſaries ſometimes take of ſtrangling their vizir, or their emperor, he adds; " I am glad the capital
" ſtrangler ſhould in his turn be ſtrangleable;
" for I know of no brute ſo fierce, nor no crimi-
" nal ſo guilty, as the creature called a ſovereign,
" whether king, ſultan, or ſophi, who thinks
" himſelf either by divine or human right veſted
" with an abſolute power of deſtroying his fel-
" low creatures; or who, without inquiring into
" his right, lawleſsly exerts that power [32]?" What good man would not applaud him, when on account of the diviſions in France between the parliament and clergy, he ſo ſtrongly enforces the ſubjection of the church in every country to the ſupreme legiſlative power, and warmly recommends to his ſon the reading of the tracts of that great champion, I had almoſt ſaid martyr, in the

cauſe

1753. cauſe of civil liberty, Fra-Paolo, and in particular his treatiſe De beneficiis [33]?

1745. The obſtinacy of lord Cheſterfield's deafneſs, which increaſed every day, and diſqualified him more and more for ſociety, had induced him to yield to the repeated advice of the faculty to try whether any benefit could be obtained from a journey to Spa. He was confirmed in this reſolution by a very ſevere fit of a gouty rheumatiſm, which at the ſame time that it exerciſed his patience for two or three months in the beginning of this year, gave his phyſicians and himſelf ſome hopes, that the waters might at leaſt in ſome meaſure relieve his deafneſs, which they attributed to the ſame cauſe. It does not appear, however, that his rheumatic diſorder was the only circumſtance that induced him to undertake this journey to Spa, for he had mentioned two months before to his ſon, that he would probably meet him at that place [34]. He accordingly appointed the time of their meeting; and having entire leiſure there, employed it in giving him juſt notions of the Engliſh conſtitution, and of the part which he would ſoon be called to bear in the ſervice of the ſtate. No man was certainly more capable of delivering thoſe inſtructions in a more captivating or rational manner, and to thoſe who would have aſſiſted at theſe lectures, it would have recalled to mind Pericles, training up young Alcibiades.

Lord Cheſterfield having accompliſhed the time fixed for his reſidence at Spa, which he now thought a painful taſk, returned with all poſſible diligence to London and his villa. He preſently found that the ſmall benefit he derived from the waters was but temporary, and ſoon after had ſevere returns of the complaint for which he had undertaken this expedition.

Mr.

Mr. Bougainville, the ſame gentleman who has ſince diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much among the French, and who was not only a man of ſcience, but alſo of taſte and wit, had been recommended to lord Cheſterfield [35]. He was ſurprized to find in that nobleman ſuch a variety of knowledge, and ſuch a thorough acquaintance with the French language, manners, and literature. As he was brother to the ſecretary of the academy of inſcriptions and belles lettres at Paris, he ſuggeſted to him the idea of electing lord Cheſterfield one of their foreign members. The propoſal was firſt intimated to his lordſhip, and upon his acceptance the appointment was made, and a letter was written to him in the name of that learned body. This drew from him a letter of thanks, which he communicated to me in Engliſh, and for the tranſlation of which he did me the honour to borrow my pen [36]. 1754.

His ſon had now got a ſeat in parliament, and the father equally anxious for his ſucceſs took infinite pains to prepare him for his firſt appearance as a ſpeaker. The young man ſeems to have ſucceeded tolerably well upon the whole, but on account of his ſhyneſs was obliged to ſtop, and, if I am not miſtaken, to have recourſe to his notes. Lord Cheſterfield uſed every argument in his power to comfort him, and to inſpire him with confidence and courage to make ſome other attempt; but I have not heard that Mr. Stanhope ever ſpoke again in the houſe.

He had an opportunity next year of conferring an obligation on the court unaſked and unpaid for it. A noble earl, who had expected to be appointed to the poſt of groom of the ſtole, as being the firſt on the liſt of the lords of the bedchamber [37], thought proper to reſign that 1755.

place.

1755. place. To ſhew his diſpleaſure, late in the ſeaſon and at a time when the arrangements for the king's annual expedition to Hanover were already taken, he made a motion in the houſe of peers to preſent an addreſs to his majeſty to deſire he would not leave England at a period when a new war was expected. He hinted, indeed, that theſe frequent voyages were inconvenient to the nation and contrary to the act of ſettlement. A public debate on this delicate ſubject would have been attended with improper reflections from the ſpeakers on both ſides of the queſtion. Lord Cheſterfield took therefore the moſt prudent ſtep in moving for an adjournment, which paſſed without difficulty. As this circumſtance muſt have been very agreeable to the king, many perſons conjectured that our earl's views were intereſted, and that he expected to be appointed to ſome high poſt in the adminiſtration. But every motive of this kind he ſolemnly diſclaimed in a very intereſting letter to Mr. Dayrolles [38], which on many accounts I recommend to the peruſal of my readers. I am certain, that the ſentiments it contains are ſuch as the moſt virtuous man would adopt.

Indeed his ſtate of health became every day more diſtreſſing. He found himſelf by his increaſed deafneſs cut off from the ſociety of mankind, and ſtruggling againſt multiplied infirmities both of body and mind. He had taken with him to Blackheath all the materials neceſſary for writing ſome hiſtorical tracts of his own times, which he intended to pen with the ſtricteſt regard to truth, and none to perſons, himſelf not excepted. But finding his mind ill diſpoſed for ſuch a work, he did not attempt it, well knowing, that whatever is not done with inclination and ſpirit, will be very ill done [39].

The

The preparations for a rupture with the court of France on account of America, seemed at first not very alarming to lord Chesterfield. He thought they would not attempt any diversion in Flanders, or if they did, that their force could be opposed in that quarter; or, at least, that the Dutch could be sufficiently supported to prevent their submitting to a neutrality, or accepting any other terms the French might wish to impose. Still depending upon our former alliances, and our resolution not to be parties upon the continent, he rather wished for a war, if vigorously carried on at sea, as being the best means of destroying the enemy's navy and commerce [40]. 1755.

But he soon altered his opinion when he was informed of the defection of those who had been thought England's firmest allies, and especially the house of Austria. It must be owned, that the lowness, or rather the fluctuation, of his spirits had some influence upon his opinions concerning the event of the war. His discouragements arose not more from the number of our enemies, than from the sinking spirit of the nation, and the divisions as well as the incapacity of those who presided at the helm.

In these circumstances, however, he had still a fresh opportunity of manifesting his friendly disposition to government. The subsidiary treaties with the courts of Russia and Hesse-Cassel being submitted to the consideration of parliament excited great debates in both houses. Lord Chesterfield who approved of the first as much as he disliked the second, spoke warmly, though without preparation, in defence of his opinion in the house of lords. He shone as usual, and did not seem to have lost any of his former vigour; but this exertion fatigued him so much, that he was obliged to be carried home immediately after,

and

1755. and never again appeared as a ſpeaker in the houſe [41].

1756. to 1768. From this day, which may be looked upon as the cloſe of our earl's political career, his life may be divided into two periods; the firſt concluding with the death of his ſon Mr. Stanhope, which happened in 1768; the ſecond with his own deceaſe, in 1773. In the former of theſe, the chief object of his care and attention was the improvement and promotion of Mr. Stanhope. In the latter, the care of his own health, or rather, the temporary alleviation of thoſe infirmities, which he well knew would attend him to his grave.

The purſuits of each of theſe periods are diverſified only by his correſpondence with his friends, his amuſements in his garden, and his application in his library: for though he continued to receive company, foreign as well as Engliſh, he frequently laments the little capacity he had left him by his deafneſs either of entertaining or being entertained by them. His memoirs, therefore, henceforward will contain little more than references to his letters, and a hiſtory of that gradual decay, the firſt advances of which he appears himſelf to have diſcovered above twenty years before his death.

Retired from the councils, and in a great meaſure from the ſociety of the principal men in power, lord Cheſterfield ſeems not to have pretended to any knowledge of the interior plans of government, and only hazards his conjectures on public affairs. He expreſſes, in many of his letters, the impoſſibility there is, that any perſon who is not in the immediate circle of buſineſs ſhould be able to form a competent judgment in political matters; ridicules the abſurdity of pretenders to that ſort of knowledge;

knowledge; and offers his opinions as mere random thoughts, thrown out upon the public topic of the day. It is no wonder then, that we find his lordſhip, in the ſubſequent years, frequently miſtaking in his views and expectations on the conſequences of that war which was now declared: a war, which from the various, and, as it was then thought, almoſt unnatural combinations it produced, contradicted the whole uniform experience of our earl, as a ſtateſman; and when ſeen through the gloomy medium of a diſtempered habit, appeared every way formidable and deſtructive to Great Britain. It muſt be acknowledged, indeed, that the miſcarriage of our fleet before Mahon, and the loſs of ſo conſiderable a poſſeſſion as the iſland of Minorca, in the very outſet of the war, joined to the apprehenſions lord Cheſterfield conceived of a ſecret negotiation between France and Spain to deprive us of Gibraltar, were ſufficient to give him the alarm. On the other hand, it is equally certain, that the Engliſh are ſeldom ſucceſsful in the commencement of hoſtilities. The lion, confiding perhaps too much in his own ſtrength, gives way to indolence and ſecurity, till rouſed into action by repeated attacks of his enemies. Yet whatever dependence might reaſonably have been founded on this reflection, there were other cauſes, which might fairly juſtify the apprehenſions of a ſpeculative politician. The balance of Europe ſeemed to be entirely deſtroyed. All the principal powers had thrown their weight into one ſcale. There remained among the crowned heads but a ſingle ally for Great Britain, and he had been almoſt from his cradle her enemy. Beſides, it was impoſſible for lord Cheſterfield to conceive, that the force of the king of Pruſſia alone would be ſufficient, in conjunction with us, to withſtand the united efforts of France, Auſtria, 1756 to 1768.

the

1746 to 1768. the Empire, Saxony, Ruſſia, and Sweden [42.] The wonders that monarch was equal to were yet to be ſeen; and however great might be the idea our earl had entertained of him, it can bring no imputation upon his political ſagacity not to have foreſeen the miraculous exertions, of which, that hero ſhewed himſelf capable in the events of the war.

With reſpect to the ſuppoſed engagements between France and Spain relative to Gibraltar, though lord Cheſterfield ſeems to have miſtaken both the time and the object of them, ſtill it muſt be conſidered, that there was great probability in the conjecture. He well knew, from his own experience, how much the pride of Spain is hurt that Great Britain ſhould retain that important and almoſt impregnable fortreſs, the principal key of her dominions; and however her general political intereſts may recommend a good underſtanding with the Engliſh, it is probable ſhe will never heartily unite with them, ſo long as that place remains in their hands. A few years after ſhe choſe to enter the liſts, but in a ſhort time found how unequal a conteſt ſhe had engaged in with an enemy then in the full career of victory.

The national debt was another very alarming conſideration to lord Cheſterfield; but his fears in this reſpect were the fears of the whole nation. The multitude had always looked upon it as a prodigy big with ruin. The ableſt and moſt enlightened ſtateſmen had fixed the point it then ſtood at, as the utmoſt verge of ſafety; and all beyond was ſtigmatized with dark and fatal predictions. The increaſe of it to that enormous bulk at which it arrived before the end of the war, in the midſt of the greateſt national proſperity, was, in the conception of all men at that time, as

utter

utter an impoſſibility as the aſtoniſhing triumphs of our ally the king of Pruſſia. 1756 to 1768.

The events of 1757 and 1758 ſerved only to confirm lord Cheſterfield in his political deſpondency. His letters in this period to Mr. Dayrolles are all expreſſive of his fears and apprehenſions for the event. He continued under the influence of the ſame impreſſions till the latter end of the year 1759, excepting a ſmall interval in the beginning of the ſummer 1758 [43].

During the greateſt part of this time, Mr. Stanhope, who had returned to England in 1754 to take his ſeat in parliament, continued at home. In 1757 he repaired in a public character to Hamburgh, the reſidence at that time of all the principal perſons of thoſe parts of the Empire, which either were, or ſeemed likely to be, the ſeat of war. His letters to his ſon at this conjuncture, though of a different turn from thoſe of former periods, ſhew no leſs anxiety for his ſucceſs. A very remarkable hint is conveyed in one of them, for detaching the empreſs of Ruſſia from her connections with our enemies [44]; but this ſeems to have been too nice a commiſſion for ſo young a negotiator. The immediate aim of lord Cheſterfield at this time was to procure for Mr. Stanhope, either an appointment to the court of Berlin, or that he might ſucceed Mr. Burriſh in his employment at Munich; and he omitted no opportunity of exhorting him to recommend himſelf, by diligence, activity, and addreſs, to thoſe who had it in their power to promote him. Mr. Stanhope's health, as well as other reaſons, made him wiſh to return home for ſome months in the year 1758, and alſo in the ſummer 1759; but he was both times diſappointed. He could not be ſpared from Hamburgh. However the earl might

wiſh

1756 to 1768.

wiſh to ſee him, he looked upon this neceſſity of his abſence as a ſufficient compenſation.

But Mr. Stanhope's ill ſtate of health was ſuch as to overcome all other conſiderations. Leave was aſked and obtained for him to come home in Autumn 1759, and he continued in London till the end of the war.

In June 1763 we find Mr. Stanhope at the Hague, on his way to Ratiſbon, to which place he was ſent in a public character. In this ſituation lord Cheſterfield's experience ſeems to have furniſhed him with a very uſeful expedient for abridging the tedious and intricate ceremonials ſo much inſiſted upon in German courts [45]. His ſtay, however, was but ſhort. In autumn he was called home by the miniſtry, to attend the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament [46], for which they thought it neceſſary to collect their whole force. Lord Cheſterfield, though not much pleaſed with this ſummons, recommended, agreeable to his conſtant maxim, a ready and obliging ſubmiſſion to it; and we may reaſonably conclude, the earl's admonition had its intended effect: for ſoon after, Mr. Stanhope was appointed envoy-extraordinary to the court of Dreſden, whither he repaired as ſoon as the ſeſſion was over. From this time to the latter end of the year 1766, Mr. Stanhope continued in Germany, having at the requeſt of the miniſtry, who were ſtill hard preſſed, vacated his ſeat in parliament ſoon after his arrival at Dreſden. This reſidence appears to have compleated the ruin of his conſtitution. His health, which in all ſituations was delicate, ſeems to have been quite overcome by the German winters. He was obliged in 1766 to have recourſe firſt to the waters of Baden, and then to a tour into the ſouth of France [47]. The earl, who watched perpetually

tually over him as his guardian angel, and forgot his own infirmities to provide againſt thoſe of his ſon, expreſſes great anxiety on theſe occaſions, and ſeems with difficulty to conceal ſome forebodings of the event. Mr. Stanhope, however, in the ſpring of 1767, either found or fancied he found, himſelf well enough to return to Dreſden, which he accordingly did in May following: and his perſuaſion in this reſpect was ſo ſtrong, that notwithſtanding he was again attacked by the ſame complaint, he wrote to the earl that he thought himſelf able to paſs the winter at that court. His lordſhip ſeems to have been ſo much influenced by this declaration, that he was taking meaſures for ſecuring him a ſeat in the next parliament, which was to be choſen in 1768. In this view his lordſhip was diſappointed by the miniſter on whom he had placed his dependence [48]; but this diſappointment he had not occaſion long to regret. Mr. Stanhope, notwithſtanding his ſanguine expectations, was obliged to quit Dreſden, and repair again to the South of France, from whence he never returned. During his illneſs there, he ſeems to have expreſſed ſome jealouſy at his place being ſupplied by a new perſon during his abſence. Lord Cheſterfield makes him eaſy on this head, by acquainting him that he had received aſſurances from the miniſtry, that perſon ſhould not interfere with him as ſoon as he was capable of reſuming his employment [49]. The gentleman here alluded to was ſhortly after appointed envoy to Denmark, where, by a very ſpirited and judicious exertion upon a melancholy occaſion, he merited the honour of a red ribband, and an appointment to a much ſuperior court [50]. 1756 to 1768.

The laſt letter lord Cheſterfield wrote to his beloved ſon is dated the 17th of October, 1768. It is full of the moſt tender anxiety for his welfare,

and

1756 to 1768. and of his alarms upon receiving information that Mr. Stanhope's complaint was of a dropſical nature. This was actually the caſe. Every medical aſſiſtance was tried in vain to relieve him. Mr. Stanhope died of a dropſy, at a houſe in the country near Avignon, on the 16th of November, 1768.

The effect of this ſtroke on lord Cheſterfield was ſuch as might be expected. If his lordſhip's age might be ſuppoſed to render him leſs ſuſceptible of impreſſions, his infirmities made him leſs capable of reſiſting them. The ſtate of his health was now become very critical. From the year 1756 his rheumatic complaints [51] and the giddineſs in his head had been increaſing; but they proceeded by ſlower, and, to himſelf at leaſt, much more imperceptible degrees, than his deafneſs. The compariſon he ſeems conſtantly to have made between the loſs of hearing and that of ſight, proves ſufficiently in what unuſual eſtimation he held the former. Every man almoſt knows the value of his eyes, and may from thence be taught to judge of what only the few, who are formed for the more delicate enjoyments of converſation, are capable of feeling under the calamity our earl was afflicted with. Perhaps he carried this matter rather too far, eſpecially as his defect amounted at moſt only to a difficulty, not a deprivation of the ſenſe. By his own account, all he required in order to be able to diſtinguiſh what was ſaid, was, that the perſon ſpeaking ſhould not be at too great a diſtance, and that the voice ſhould be directed in a ſtraight line towards him. His other complaints were of a more ſerious nature; but even theſe admitted of conſiderable relief. The uſe of a milk diet, to which, after a very ſevere fit of illneſs in the beginning of the year 1759, he confined himſelf

almoſt

almoſt entirely for ſome time, was of peculiar ſervice to him. In this and the following year the general ſtate of lord Cheſterfield's health ſeems to have been better than he had reaſon to expect, yet we do not find him ſpeaking of it with that chearfulneſs which his good-humour and lively diſpoſition would lead us to imagine. The mind when unoccupied by purſuits of pleaſure, buſineſs or ambition, naturally inclines to ſpeculation; and this, when influenced by perſonal infirmities, as naturally contracts a melancholy caſt. It is no wonder then, that our gay and ſprightly earl, whom retirement, and the ſolitary occupations of the library and the garden, aſſiſted by the enemy he ſo much dreaded, the defect of hearing had inſenſibly conducted to this point, ſhould, in ſpeaking of his health, expreſs himſelf in terms ſometimes bordering upon diſguſt and deſpondency. For this reaſon we muſt not be ſurpriſed that, in ſome of his letters at this period, he deſcribes himſelf as totally unconnected with the world, *detached from life, bearing the burthen of it with patience from inſtinct rather than reaſon, and from that principle alone, taking all proper methods to preſerve it* [52]. It is true, he endeavours to gloſs over theſe ideas as the reſult only of a philoſophic habit of mind; but it requires little care in the analyſing, to diſcover the genuine ſource of them. This is evident, whatever ſeeming moderation there may otherwiſe be, in the paſſage where he compares himſelf to Solomon, and exclaims with that diſappointed monarch, "All is vanity and vexation of ſpirit [53]." There is more good humour in the reſemblance he makes out between himſelf and the cabbages in his garden, which, in more than one of his letters, he jocoſely ſtyles his *fellow vegetables*.

1756. to 1768.

There was another and more ſtriking compariſon brought home to the earl about this time. His

1756 to 1768. old ſervant White, who had lived with him forty years, was ſeized with a dangerous fit of illneſs. His ſentiments on this occaſion, as expreſſed in his letter to the biſhop of Waterford [54], are a very natural picture of a feeling mind under the dominion of ſome of the cloſeſt attachments of ſympathy. The near equality of their age, the time they had paſſed together, the mutual decay of conſtitution, and the conſequent doubt which of them would arrive ſooneſt at their laſt ſtage, became matter of very intereſting contemplation to the earl.

In other reſpects, lord Cheſterfield's vivacity was uniform and undiminiſhed. His attention to public and private tranſactions ſtill the ſame. The earl of Halifax was in the year 1761 appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, and went over to take poſſeſſion of his government immediately after the coronation. The celebrated ſpeech, with which this nobleman opened the ſeſſion of the Iriſh parliament, is well known as a maſterpiece of oratory. But it had a further recommendation to lord Cheſterfield. The three great objects propoſed in it were, the encouragement of the Proteſtant charter-ſchools; the improvement of the linen manufacture; and the allowing a proper indulgence to Roman Catholics [55]. Theſe were the points lord Cheſterfield had moſt at heart. No man, as we have already ſeen, knew beter than he did the real intereſt of that country, or had purſued it with more ſucceſs; the face of the whole kingdom having been changed during his wiſe and diſintereſted adminiſtration. His zeal for the welfare of Ireland, which commenced at that period, did not ceaſe with his office. He continued to watch over it with a kind of paternal care, and rejoices in every inſtance, where he ſees the ſame plan of beneficial meaſures promoted

promoted or improved. The eſtabliſhment for encouraging Proteſtant charter-ſchools had been ſet on foot by the biſhops of Waterford and Meath, and lord Cheſterfield had ſubſcribed towards it [56]. The promotion of Iriſh manufactures, particularly thoſe of linen, is ſtrongly recommended in ſeveral of his letters to the biſhop and in thoſe to Mr. Prior [57]. In ſpeaking upon this point, he frequently takes occaſion to deplore the too prevalent cuſtom of hard drinking in Ireland [58]. The importation of *five thouſand tuns of wine, communibus annis*, he conſiders as a melancholy proof of this fatal cuſtom; and humorouſly adds, that *a claret-board, if there were one, would be much better attended than the linen-board* [59]. He exhorts the Iriſh to mind their ſpinning and weaving, and lay aſide their politics. Mild treatment and an eaſy unſuſpicious intercourſe with the Roman Catholics had been the rule of lord Cheſterfield's government, in a criſis, which might well have juſtified the moſt rigorous execution of the laws againſt them. It was his conſtant maxim, that gentle uſage was the moſt likely means to keep them quiet, if not to gain them over; and he urged it again in the year 1757, as the beſt advice he could give at a period, which he eſteemed little leſs dangerous than that of his own adminiſtration. 1756 to 1768.

The expulſion of the Jeſuits from France, which happened about this time, was an event of too extraordinary a nature not to attract the attention of our earl. Though they had with great ability reſiſted ſeveral powerful attacks, that had been made againſt them, yet this, he obſerves, appeared to be the deciſive ſtroke; and he ventures to pronounce, that they will never recover it [60]. The ſubſequent hiſtory of that learned, but pernicious ſociety, hath fully con-

1756. to 1768. firmed this prophecy. Their disgrace in France hath been followed by their expulsion from all parts of the world. They have been banished even from Paraguay, which might be emphatically styled the kingdom of their own creation; and where, according to the opinion of the celebrated Montesquieu, the good laws and institutions they had made, seemed to promise an eternal duration of their sway, and might be admitted as an apology for their ambition [61]. The earl seems to have carried his observation still farther on this subject, and to have extended it to the religious, as well as political, dominion of the pope; the permanence of which he seems to doubt, and gravely admonishes a lady in France, that *he trembles for the holy father himself in the next century* [62]. The seizure of a considerable part of the papal territories, within a few years after, had the appearance of anticipating considerably his lordship's prediction.

From the beginning of the year 1765, the effects of that slow and gradual progress towards dissolution, which the earl had so many years experienced, became more visible. Though he describes himself rather as gliding gently along the steep, than hurried down the precipice, yet the complaints he makes of the difficulty he finds in writing, and the intervals between his letters to the bishop of Waterford, which are the most regularly continued of any we find in this period to his friends, are sure indications of a very considerable change. It is evident, however, that his faculties were not in the least impaired; and what is extraordinary, his correspondence with his son is not less punctual, nor the intelligence he gives him of public affairs, from time to time, less interesting or less entertaining than formerly.

In

In this ſtate of mind, but with a ſtate of body very unequal to the ſhock, lord Cheſterfield received the news of Mr. Stanhope's death: an only and moſt tenderly-beloved ſon, on whoſe education the utmoſt care and attention a fond parent is capable of had been beſtowed; of whoſe ſucceſs in life the moſt ſanguine expectations had been formed; and for whoſe ſake chiefly his father ſeemed now to ſupport the remaining burthen of a painful and tedious exiſtence. The affliction of itſelf was ſufficient; but it was enhanced by another, ſcarce leſs diſtreſſing, piece of intelligence. It was announced by a lady, who took this firſt opportunity of acquainting the earl that ſhe had been married to Mr. Stanhope ſeveral years, and had two children by him, which were then with her. Whatever lord Cheſterfield's feelings might be at receiving this authentic information of a clandeſtine engagement, contracted by his ſon ſo long before, concealed with ſo much art and induſtry, and brought to light at ſuch an inſtant, he did not confound the innocent with the guilty. He took upon himſelf the care of providing for the children, and informed Mrs. Stanhope, that ſhe ſhould be exonerated from the expence of their future maintenance. 1756 to 1768.

Lord Cheſterfield's deareſt hopes being thus defeated, he endeavoured to fill up the vacancy by an attention truly becoming his character and rank. He had in the year 1767 adopted the ſon of his kinſman Mr. Stanhope of Mansfield, heir to the title, but not to the eſtates [63]. At this advanced time of life we find him with uncommon care, and even anxiety, ſuperintending the education of his ſucceſſor; and it is remarkable, with what ſatisfaction he acquaints the biſhop of Waterford with the early proſpects of his improvement 1769 to 1773.

1769 to 1773. provement [64]. The choice he made of a perſon to accompany the young gentleman in his travels, and to take the care of his education, was worthy of himſelf [65]; and the correſpondence, which, notwithſtanding his infirmities, he regularly kept up with him, is an undoubted proof how much he had at heart the future luſtre of the honours he bore. Theſe letters have not yet appeared under any ſanction of authority; but the principle of them is ſo noble, and the end propoſed ſo becoming the dignity of a great name, that it is hoped they will not always be withheld from the public. It is plain, from a letter of the earl's to Mr. Dayrolles, dated Sept. 10, 1772, that this attention continued the ſame to the end of his life.

In the year 1771, the earl's good friend the biſhop of Waterford met with a very ſevere misfortune in his family. His ſon Mr. Chenevix, a gentleman of the moſt promiſing expectation, had it not been for a conſumptive habit (of which his conſtitution gave early ſymptoms) fell a ſacrifice to that fatal diſtemper, notwithſtanding all his care by regularity of diet and exerciſe to put a ſtop to it. He died at Nice, to which place he had been ſent by his indulgent father, in the fond hope of reſtoring his health. Lord Cheſterfield's friendſhip for the biſhop of Waterford was too ſtrong to be merely perſonal. It extended to his whole family. The biſhop's brother, lieutenant-colonel Chenevix of the Carabineers, had received marks of the earl's regard and confidence during his adminiſtration in Ireland, and had acquitted himſelf with an ability and integrity ſuitable to the truſt repoſed in him [66]. The death of this gallant and worthy officer, which happened in the year 1758, was much regretted by his lordſhip. The ſame cauſe operating in a greater degree, and aided,

aided, moreover, by that partiality our earl always seems to have entertained for the rising generation, wherever he discovered the dawnings of merit to justify it, had from the beginning warmly interested him in favour of young Mr. Chenevix. He made frequent inquiries about him, and in particular we find him in the year 1761 earnestly congratulating the bishop on the success of his son at the university, and on the report of his being likely to answer not only the hopes, but the wishes of his worthy father [67]. These congratulations are repeated in 1767, when Mr. Chenevix first appeared in the pulpit [68]. The earl's letter to the bishop of the 19th December 1771, is a letter of condolence on the melancholy event of his son's death. This is the last letter from the earl to the bishop in this collection; and it is probably the last he ever wrote to him: his correspondence thus closing with the kind office of endeavouring to administer comfort to his friend, labouring under the same affliction he had himself but lately experienced. It is observable, that he prescribes to him the same kind of relief. *The care of your grandson*, says the earl, *will be a proper avocation from your grief.* 1769 to 1773.

We have already given an account of lord Chesterfield's health to the year 1769. From that time, the only material alteration in it was a stubborn inflammation in his eyes, which frequently deprived him of the only comfort he had left. His fears upon this occasion, lest he should totally lose the blessing of sight, are expressed in the strongest terms. It is observed in the notes subjoined to a few of his last letters to the bishop of Waterford, that the originals are some of them written in a very trembling hand; and that there are others which are evidently in the hand-writing of

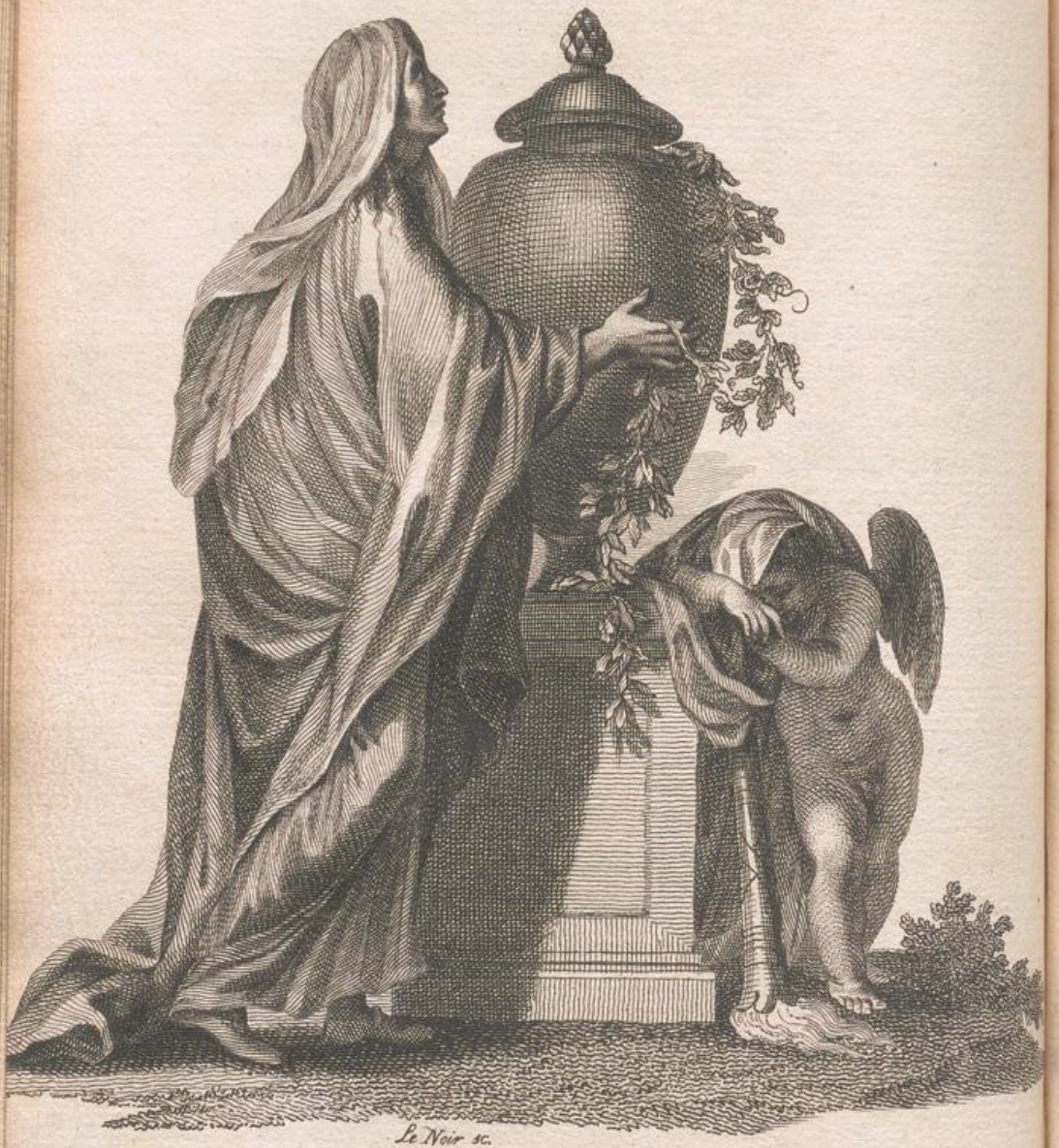
1769 to 1773. of another perſon. This goes no further than the latter end of 1771. I am informed, from private authority [69], that the few letters the earl ſent in the year 1772, were all dictated to an amanuenſis, and only ſigned by him.

Lord Cheſterfield had now, as he himſelf mentions out-lived almoſt all his friends and contemporaries. He had ſtill, however, one brother living, Sir William Stanhope; who had for ſome years been in a very precarious ſtate of health, and had been obliged to paſs his winters in the ſouth of France, in order to avoid the rigour of this climate. In the ſummer 1772, Sir William, on his annual return to England, was taken ſuddenly ill, and died near Dijon, not being able to proceed any further on his journey [70].

Lord Cheſterfield himſelf had been ſeized in the beginning of the ſame ſummer with a *diarrhoea*, which baffled the beſt endeavours of the medical art. He mentions it in the laſt letter to his friend Mr. Dayrolles, publiſhed in this collection, dated Sept. 24, 1772. This ſymptom continued more or leſs troubleſome ever after, and was in the end the cauſe of his death. He was afflicted with no other illneſs, and remained to the laſt free from all manner of pain, enjoying his ſurprizing memory and preſence of mind to his lateſt breath; perfectly compoſed and reſigned to part with life, and only regretting, that death was ſo tardy to meet him.

Upon the morning of his deceaſe, and about half an hour before it happened, Mr. Dayrolles called upon him to make his uſual viſit. When he had entered the room, the *valet de chambre* opening the curtains of the bed announced Mr. Dayrolles to his lordſhip. The earl juſt found

ſtrength



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ſtrength enough, in a faint voice, to ſay, *Give Dayrolles a Chair*. Theſe were the laſt words he was heard to ſpeak. They were characteriſtic; and were remarked by the very able and attentive phyſician [71] who was then in the room. *His good breeding*, ſaid that gentleman, *only quits him with his life*. 1769 to 1773.

Thus died, on the 24th day of March, 1773, Philip-Dormer Stanhope, earl of Cheſterfield; a nobleman unequalled in his time, for variety of talents, brilliancy of wit, politeneſs, and elegance of converſation. At once a man of pleaſure and of buſineſs; yet never ſuffering the former to encroach upon the latter. His embaſſy in Holland marks his ſkill, dexterity, and addreſs, as an able negotiator. His adminiſtration in Ireland, where his name is ſtill revered by all ranks and orders of men, indicates his integrity, vigilance, and ſound policy as a ſtateſman. His ſpeeches in parliament fix his reputation as a diſtinguiſhed orator, in a refined and uncommon ſpecies of eloquence. His conduct in public life was upright, conſcientious, and ſteady: in private, friendly and affectionate: in both, pleaſant, amiable, and conciliating.

Theſe were his excellencies;—let thoſe who ſurpaſs him ſpeak of his defects.

END OF THE MEMOIRS.